

Mikhail Gorbachev addresses Soviet war and labour veterans

PERESTROIKA'S success in the Soviet Union will allow the country to solve the difficult problems facing it and to be a guarantor of world peace in the future, President Mikhail Gorbachev said on May 7.

Gorbachev delivered the concluding speech at a meeting of Soviet World War II and labour veterans, army officers and representatives of the public, held on the occasion of the forthcoming 45th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War.

Gorbachev described the transition of full power from the Communist Party to local councils as the "most profound change" in society's political life.

"Through the soviets people can be drawn into the solution of all problems and their estrangement from power can be overcome," he said.

Speaking about the situation in the Commu-

nist Party on the eve of the 28th Party Congress, he said "a major discussion on the destiny of the state, society, the federation and the Party itself is taking place. These problems must be solved in the interests of the entire society and all peoples."

On ethnic problems, Gorbachev said "a unique society, in which hundreds of peoples live, has been created in the country by the efforts of generations."

At the same time, he said "there are forces that would like to use the atmosphere of democracy, glasnost and freedom to implement their futile ambitious plans, including separatist plans."

The President said these forces were pursuing an "irresponsible policy leading to deadlock."

He said the road chosen by the Soviet Union was correct and emphasised the need to continue efforts to implement Soviet State founder Vladimir Lenin's plans for establishing a federation of free peoples.

Gorbachev noted that the country was approaching a critical point in perestroika and that those who would like to defeat this policy were aware of this, as well.

Speaking about what he described as "extremist slogans, carried by some demonstrators" at the May Day demonstration on Red Square, he said "through this disturbance, the demonstrators revealed that they understood that their time is passing."

"Now we need a real policy and real deeds. The force is with us, we must be staunch and firm in our decisions."

Gorbachev opposed a return to the years of Stalin's repression and emphasised the importance of law and those who must ensure its implementation.

"Both the President and the government understand that the future of the country is connected with democracy and the triumph of law," Gorbachev emphasised. □

Gorbachev meets watch factory communists

SOVIET Communist Party chief President Mikhail Gorbachev met communists and other work collective members at the Second Watch Factory Production Association.

The enterprise Communist Party Organisation, the biggest in the fourth Party constituency (Moscow's Frunze district), nominated Gorbachev to be its delegate to the 28th Party Congress.

Gorbachev visited several workshops and production sectors to talk to workers and specialists about issues of greatest concern for them — especially, the empty shelves in the shops and long housing waiting lists.

"I want to reaffirm the intention, about which I spoke during meetings in Sverdlovsk," Gorbachev said, "to give a second wind to the housing programme. Believe me, it is today's highest priority task for me as President."

Gorbachev responded to numerous questions concerning the content and the central message of the letter addressed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party to all communists, the formation of the Russian Communist Party

and the problem of a multi-party system in general, inter-ethnic relations, the situation around Lithuania, co-operation with East European countries, the situation of women in the country, the activity of the newly-formed Moscow Soviet and the improvement of the election system.

Asked about the regulated market economy, Gorbachev said that it should be kept in mind that the market is not a capital invention — many people believe that the turn towards the market we are now making looks like a retreat, like a movement back to a capitalist economy and the capitalist system in general. It is not so. The market existed in ancient Rome. It is an environment in which interests are realised, commodities compared and in this way the needs of entire regions and individuals are mutually satisfied.

Planned control, the Soviet leader continued, implies that we shall control the situation by means of the taxation policy and our policy in general. We shall have to ensure direct compensation to all those who have fixed pay. We shall have to think through and through a dependable system of social protection for the period of transition to the market economy. This process, naturally, will not be painless. But I believe we shall be able to traverse this path with minimum losses.

We are now probably passing through the most complex process, Gorbachev said. Radical changes are occurring in the economy. We are advancing towards the 28th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, the Party is reforming itself, heated debates are developing, and positions are being identified. All this is being done so that we can come to the communist forum with certain results to enable us to work out good documents, a Party programme. This programme will help the people to understand the Communist Party's aims and tasks better and to consolidate our society.

(Moscow, May 7)

Yakovlev: No alternative to perestroika

SOVIET perestroika is the only realistic programme that can set the ground for the consolidation of Soviet society, Alexander Yakovlev, a member of the Presidential Council and the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party, told reporters in Moscow on May 4.

The news conference was organised by the Soviet Foreign Ministry and the news agency Interfax.

"A dangerous gap between political and economic reforms" is one of the major causes of the destabilisation of Soviet society, Yakovlev said.

It can be bridged with the help of government steps towards a regulated market economy, designed to "boost living standards, ease tensions and thwart extremists on both left and right," he said.

Commenting on the May Day celebrations, Yakovlev said extremist slogans put up by some marchers were an "attack by the ultra-right and their backers."

Yakovlev rejected rumours about a coup attempts staged by the Soviet Armed Forces on February 25.

"We have no grounds whatever to suspect the Army of malicious plotting against the country's leadership" he said.

Asked about the possible depolitisation of the armed forces and law enforcement bodies, he said the issue was not on the agenda.

Commenting on preparations for the 28th Party Congress, Yakovlev said the Soviet Communist Party will "approach it as a renewed party, capable of leading society in conditions of a multi-party system."

The creation of a separate Russian Communist Party will endanger Party unity and the country's integrity, he said, stressing that the

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Eduard Shevardnadze's speech at two-plus-four talks

"WE are for the right of Germans to self-determination," Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Six countries who met in Bonn on May 5.

He expressed confidence that a united Germany would enter the family of European nations as "a democratic peaceful state, aware of its responsibility and its duties in maintaining international peace and security."

The Soviet Foreign Minister said the sides would have to "jointly work out a political, legal and material model, which would not fall out of step whatever the circumstances in the future." He spoke about incorporating important elements of the European-scale settlement into the German settlement, about the eventual overcoming of the split in Europe, about working out dependable guarantees to ensure stability and security for tens of years ahead.

Shevardnadze favoured a comprehensive approach to these issues. "We propose to be guided by the principle: nothing has been agreed unless all aspects of the settlement have been agreed, unless a full balance of interests has been reached," he said.

We expect the Six to work out a single document embracing all aspects of the settlement, the Soviet Foreign Minister noted. It should comprise provisions on a united Germany's

borders (encompassing East and West Germany and Berlin), its armed forces, its military-political status, the continuance of obligations, a transition period and measures within it, the deployment of military contingents of the allied powers on German territory.

In this connection, the Soviet Union favours the participation of Poland in the consideration of matters of concern to Poland, especially those relating to borders and security.

Shevardnadze reaffirmed the Soviet Union's negative attitude to a united Germany's membership of NATO, because it would essentially affect the Soviet Union's security interests, lead to a sharp imbalance of forces in Europe and create a dangerous military-strategic situation for the Soviet Union.

The population of our country, which suffered immense losses in the past war, cannot put up with the idea of a united Germany's membership of NATO, Shevardnadze said. It is necessary to rely on universal European security structures and not on blocs.

The preservation of the quadrilateral rights and responsibilities, as well as the presence of the allied powers' troops in Germany during the transition period, the Soviet Minister noted, will exercise a stabilising influence on the entire process of building German unity and will create a quiet, favourable environment for it.

Shevardnadze then touched upon the problem of synchronising the solution of the German is-

sue with the development of new European-scale security structures. He said that bloc structures should first of all be replaced with non-bloc ones.

On the practical plane, effective mechanisms of European-scale interaction should be established to facilitate the dependable maintenance of security of all European nations, the Soviet minister said.

It is necessary to work towards institutionalising 'greater Europe' summits and holding summit meetings at least once every two years. The foreign ministers of the 35 countries should also meet on a regular basis, at least once a year.

The Soviet Union attaches special attention to the creation of a European centre for averting the danger of war, to be based in Germany. The simple sense of political responsibility, the minister noted, demands that such a mechanism be created to comprise all information about the military-strategic situation in Germany and Europe and about the movements and activities of all troops, and to act as the centre for averting war danger and the development of crisis phenomena.

"History is offering us a unique chance to build a new peace order on the European scale in such a way as to make it a model for the 21st Century Europe," Shevardnadze stressed in conclusion. "We must live in peace and cooperation, in this, our common European home." □

Soviet General breaks down World War II losses

THE Soviet Union's victory over Nazi Germany involved eight campaigns – two defensive and six offensive – and hundreds of operations, General Pyotr Lushev, Soviet First Deputy Defence Minister – Commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, said on May 7.

"By the end of the war the growing might of the socialist economy enabled the Soviet Union to produce twice as much military hardware of a

far better quality than Nazi Germany.

"In all, during the war Soviet industry produced 102,800 tanks, 825,000 artillery guns and mortars and 134,100 aircraft, and more than 10 million tonnes of ammunition and 16 million tonnes of fuel – almost three times as much as produced by Germany and the countries it occupied.

"Combat operations by American, French and British troops considerably hastened the complete rout of Nazi Germany.

"During our nation-wide holiday we pay tribute to the heroic efforts of the World War II allies. Yet, it was the Soviet Union and its armed forces that made the decisive contribution to victory not only in the Great Patriotic War but also in the entire Second World War," the General said.

"More than 70 per cent of all forces of the fascist bloc were defeated on the Soviet-German Front," he added.

"For years, the true scope of the Soviet Union's losses was concealed or distorted," Lushev stated. "In 1946 Stalin mentioned that seven million Soviet citizens died. Some time later Voznesensky doubled it and added another million.

"Khrushchev made public data listing losses at 20 million. But all those data were reckoned according to questionable estimates.

"Today, after serious analysis, we know that the Soviet Union lost 27-28 million people during the war.

"Combat losses, including the campaign in the Far East (those killed, those who died of wounds or did not return from captivity) numbered 8,666,000. Those wounded, shell-shocked and the sick numbered 18 million.

"The enemy losses were: Germany – 5.5 million people – and its allies – 1.2 million people. One should take it into account that the first period of the war, when we fought on the

front alone in exceptionally complex and unfavourable conditions against a superior enemy, accounted for the greater part of our losses.

"In subsequent periods, Germany and its satellites sustained even greater losses than the Soviet Union.

"However, the losses by no means belittle our victory. On the contrary, they are evidence of the courage and heroism of the Soviet people and their Army who, in an unprecedented war, ensured the complete defeat of a strong and cruel enemy." □

Soviet spokesman on President Bush's statement

THE Soviet Union was satisfied with President Bush's statement on the United States' refusal to modernise its ground-based tactical nuclear weapons in Europe and to deploy more powerful Lance tactical missiles there, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov told a briefing in Moscow on May 7.

The decision can be assessed as the result of a sober-minded analysis of the situation in Europe, he said. The Soviet side considers it expedient to start negotiations on tactical nuclear missiles before an agreement on conventional armed forces is signed.

The Soviet Union believes "these issues should be discussed in tandem, taking into account also air-based nuclear systems, of course," Gerasimov said.

Against this background, reports that some NATO circles are preparing to deploy new air-launched missiles with nuclear warheads, capable of reaching the European part of the Soviet Union, on West German territory are "harshly dissonant," Gerasimov said. □

Soviet-US consultations on air transport

THE third round of consultations on the development of Soviet-US air communications ended in London in early May.

The sides put together a new agreement on air communications which would involve more Soviet and American cities. In the latter case, San Francisco, Chicago, Miami and Anchorage will be added to New York and Washington.

The agreement provides for a greater number of Soviet and American air firms to transport passengers and cargo, an increase in the frequency of regular flights and development of charter transportation between the two countries. From summer 1991 on the frequency of flights may more than double.

In the course of the consultations the sides discussed the agreement's provisions giving the air firms access to the Soviet and American markets. They expressed mutual interest and agreed to continue discussing this question through normal channels.

The delegation expressed the hope that the new agreement would be prepared and signed during the forthcoming summit. □

Shevardnadze and Baker at news conference in Bonn

ASKED, during a news conference in Bonn on May 6 about the results of the 'two plus four' meeting, whether military-political problems, including Germany's membership in NATO, are subject to consideration within the framework of the six-nation talks or at another forum, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said:

"The very agenda of the meeting illustrates that the solution of military-political issues and the external aspects of building German unity are subject to discussion within the framework of the six-nation talks."

Simultaneously, Shevardnadze noted that his stance regarding a united Germany's membership in NATO had not changed. "The unequivocal answer to this question was made in my speech at the meeting. Talks are getting under way. This is a complex and painful process. But I am sure that we will find mutually acceptable solutions, which will suit both West and East, the Soviet Union and Western powers, solutions which will accord with the interests of the German nation," Shevardnadze stressed.

US Secretary of State James Baker, asked whether the proposal for a 'two plus four' conference is an attempt to turn it into a certain governing committee to approve decisions on definite themes, said: "We did not mean transforming the 'two plus four' forum into a governing committee. There is a range of issues,

which, alongside discussion at these talks, should be forwarded to other forums to make final decisions on them."

Shevardnadze, commenting on a question whether the 'two plus four' talks are a forum to discuss Germany's membership in alliances and if final decisions could be made at it, noted that "the earlier Ottawa decision to set up the 'six-nation' mechanism tells about this explicitly.

"As for the Soviet Union, we will be guided by this formula. This mechanism is formed to settle the external aspects of building German unity. But this does not mean that all decisions without exception will be made within the 'six-nation' framework. There will be consultations, recommendations and there will also be decisions."

Shevardnadze stressed that he was optimistic about the outcome of the 'two plus four' forum. "I think that we will be able to find mutually acceptable solutions on all issues," he said.

Answering the same question, Baker said that, in his view, the 'two plus four' talks could be capped with decisions which are within the competence of this mechanism. But he said there were issues which were beyond its competence.

Baker said he concurred with Shevardnadze that they would succeed in completing work satisfactory. Baker said that there were issues, on which there was broad consensus, and the ones on which decisions would be made. There are many issues, on which consultations should be held at this forum.

Touching on specific military-political issues, which, in his view, should not be solved within the 'two plus four' forum, Baker said that there were several issues, on which they did not have powers to make decisions and they could not solve them within their forum. One of them is the issue of the armed forces. Negotiations are under way in Vienna now and each of the six countries is represented at them just like other countries. It is a forum to adopt decisions on conventional armaments.

Asked if a sovereign Germany would be able to make independent decisions on the strength of its armed forces, their deployment in the eastern part of the country, on possessing nuclear and other weapons, Baker said that, as for West Germany, its armed forces are a part of NATO. Decisions about this can be made at close consultations with allies. Ultimately, basic decisions concerning a nation's armed forces should be made by the nation itself.

Shevardnadze, commenting, at journalists' request, on the content of his talks with West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, noted that "those were important talks, which summed up how the agreements signed in Bonn last year are being implemented. Co-operation in economic, scientific, cultural and interpersonal contacts are successfully developing. We also stated that the potential of co-operation between our two countries was not used to its full extent. There are great reserves here and we spoke about ways to utilise these reserves," Shevardnadze said. □

Soviet legislators on pressing issues of world politics

THE forthcoming elections in Romania, Soviet-American and Soviet-Chinese relations, the European process and the Middle East situation were the main topics at a news conference organised by the USSR Supreme Soviet Press Centre on May 3.

However, most questions to Soviet lawmakers concerned two issues: prospects for a Middle

East settlement and Germany's reunification.

The Soviet Union believes that a Middle East settlement should be achieved, above all, by the states in the region, said Alexander Dzasokhov, Chairman of the International Affairs Committee.

However, this process could be considerably promoted by the constructive participation of other countries, including the USSR and the United States.

He pointed to the positive evolution in the position of the Palestine Liberation Organisation over the past year, which shows greater readiness for progress in settling outstanding problems.

Dealing with the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel, Dzasokhov pointed to the illegal intentions of some Israeli circles to settle immigrants on the occupied Arab territories.

According to him, the Soviet firm stand played a positive role in this issue: only several dozen Jewish families from the USSR settled on the occupied lands.

Speaking about Germany's reunification, the Soviet legislator called for settling this problem within the framework of the present positive changes in Europe.

"It would be regrettable if Germany's reunification hampers the European process," he noted. Dzasokhov opposed a united Germany's membership in NATO. In his opinion, this would be a dangerous step upsetting the military and political situation in Europe.

Turning to the Lithuania situation, Dzasokhov stressed that Moscow is guided by the priorities of political measures and peaceful ways of settling problems in all its actions. □

Soviet Foreign Minister meets West German Chancellor

SOVIET Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze had an hour-and-a-half conversation with West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Bonn on May 4.

Shevardnadze was in Bonn to participate in the first foreign ministers meeting within the framework of the 'two plus four' mechanism.

Shevardnadze and Kohl discussed in principle prospects for the development of mutually beneficial bilateral relations and co-operation in the new situation in Europe and in the world, particularly, taking into account German unification. The conversation was held in a constructive atmosphere.

Later that day, Shevardnadze met his West German counterpart Hans-Dietrich Genscher. They discussed German affairs, particularly a united Germany's military and political status, the synchronisation of the reunification with the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the creation of new security structures in Europe.

The Soviet side stressed the necessity of a combined approach to foreign aspects of German unification which could help ensure the balance of all sides' interests.

Shevardnadze stressed unacceptability for the Soviet Union of a united Germany's inclusion in NATO. This would lead to a break of the existing balance in Europe, he said.

The Soviet Union stands for a joint search for decisions which would take into account all sides' vital interests and interests of Europe as a whole. These interests demand the creation of new all-European security structures, in which a future Germany will hold a worthy place. □

PERESTROIKA

Perestroika has Given the People an Opportunity to Know Themselves Better
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The political and military situation in Afghanistan

"OVER the twelve years since the April Revolution the Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan have traversed a long road and acquired vast combat experience. Today they meet the most stringent requirements and can defend on their own the country's sovereignty and independence from any enemy," said Colonel-General M. Mangal, head of the Political Directorate of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan, in an interview given to the foreign media.

Mangal described the policy of national reconciliation as a fundamentally important initiative of Afghan leadership, and expressed the conviction that the people would follow those who were trying to establish peace in the country, not the extremists who were trying to attain their selfish aims and wanted the war to continue.

President Najibullah ordered an amnesty on the occasion of the Muslim holiday Id al-Fitr (end of Ramadan). Prisoners aged over 60 and those suffering from serious diseases would be released from jail (the nature of their crimes and the length of time already served would be taken into consideration). Some people who took part in the abortive coup attempt of March 6 were released from custody on April 24.

In contravention of Islamic laws, which order that all combat operations be stopped during the month of Ramadan, the holy month for all Muslims, Afghan extremists continued the artillery and rocket shelling of Kabul. Twenty-two people died and another 48 were wounded during the shelling of the city on April 20 and 23. A note handed to the charge d'affaires of Pakistan in the Republic of Afghanistan, stressed that extremists were able to continue such barbaric acts due to Pakistani support. According to competent Afghan agencies, 'irreconcilable' opposition groups fired 81 artillery shells at Kabul during Ramadan, killing 58 and wounding

106 civilians.

The following figures indicate that the intensity of shelling of the Afghan capital by opposition groups has increased: in 1988, when Soviet military units were stationed in Kabul, 635 rockets were fired on the city. In 1989, after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the number increased to reach 2,200 with more than 2,000 killed and wounded in consequence. In 1990 the number of victims of shelling is approaching 500.

To stop terrorist acts staged by extremists, Afghan army units are carrying out operations to rout rebel groups in the environs of the capital. According to figures released by the Defence Ministry, 150 opposition members, including eight Saudi advisers, were killed in Pagman and Dekhsabz districts on April 16-23. At the same time government troops seized some 600 surface-to-surface missiles, 480 rockets, 29 food and military equipment storages, 200 cases of ammunition for automatic weapons and 246 mortar shells.

The armed opposition displays heightened activity in the south-east provinces of Afghanistan. Rebels are shelling and rocketing administrative centres of Kandahar, Nangarhar and Paktia provinces, and the district of Khost. On April 12-17 the Afghan Army killed more than 1,000 rebels during retaliatory operations. Large quantities of weapons and ammunition were seized.

Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi, the leader of the Herakat-e-Inqilab-i-Islami (the Islamic Revolutionary Movement of Afghanistan - IRMA), ordered his fighting men to attack armed groups of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan (IPA). The order came after supporters of the IPA leader Gulbuddin Hekmatyar had killed Nasim Ahunzada, a IRMA field commander, in Helmand province. Over five days (April 13-18), IRMA fighting men hunted down more than 100 followers of Hekmatyar, seized the headquarters of an IPA group in Nadali (Helmand province), took dozens of their adversaries prisoner and executed many of them.

Bitting fighting continues between units of Hekmatyar's Islamic Party and Burhuddin Rabani's Jamiat-e-Islami (Islamic Society of Afghanistan - ISA). In Paktia province, IPA men blew up an ammunition truck belonging to an ISA unit. A powerful bomb planted by IPA men exploded in one of the ISA headquarters in Uruzgan province. Major clashes between the two groupings occurred in Mirbachakot district (Kabul province) and Sangcharak district (Sar-i-Pul province) with more than 100 fighting men killed and wounded on both sides. □

(Novosti)

TASS comments on tactical nuclear weapons

By Vladimir Bogachev, TASS analyst on military affairs:

SPEAKING to journalists in the White House recently, US President George Bush said that the United States had abandoned plans to modernise US Lance land-based nuclear missiles and nuclear artillery in Western Europe.

At the same time US Secretary of State James Baker in Brussels declared the US readiness to begin talks with the USSR on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe right after an agreement on conventional forces is achieved in Vienna.

The Soviet Union welcomes Washington's decision to accept, at long last, the Soviet proposal for talks on nuclear tactical weapons. In fact it is quite possible to begin such negotiations without waiting for the end of the Vienna forum on conventional weapons.

The world was recently worried over press reports about the Pentagon's plans to replace 88 land-based Lance nuclear missiles in Western Europe with an operational range of 112 kilometres with 389 air-to-ground nuclear missiles with a range of over 400 kilometres by the end of 1991.

There was an impression that the United States was reviving plans to modernise nuclear weapons in Europe in a new and more dangerous form.

The London-based newspaper the *Guardian* reported as recently as last Wednesday (May 2) that the US Air Force had started to prepare its bases in Britain and other European countries to receive the new air-to-ground missiles.

According to Western press reports, it is planned to arm the F-15, F-16 and F-111 jets with new missiles.

Whereas Lance missiles in West Germany can now hit targets in the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, new US air-to-ground missiles, taking into account the operational range of the F-111 plane - 2,000 kilometres (if these planes are armed with new missiles) will be able to hit targets on the Volga, in Transcaucasia and the Kola Peninsula.

Thus, the target range of new US missiles in Europe will be greater than that of Pershing-2 missiles which are to be destroyed under the Soviet-American INF Treaty.

Let us hope that, accepting, in principle, the Soviet proposal for talks on tactical nuclear weapons and suspending the modernisation of Lance missiles and nuclear artillery, Washington does not intend at the same time to give the go-ahead for the deployment of more dangerous air-based nuclear missiles in Western Europe. □

Sino-Soviet relations have excellent prospects

By Konstantin Vnukov

IT IS quite a problem to analyse relations between two great neighbouring powers in our rapidly changing world.

As Deng Xiaoping put it, Mikhail Gorbachev's historic visit to Beijing and talks with top Chinese leaders made it possible to close down the past and open up the future. The joint communique laid a solid foundation for new Sino-Soviet relations with reference to the 21st Century.

Li Peng, member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Prime Minister of China's State Council, recently visited the USSR. This was the first visit of a Chinese premier since 1964 and the first official visit since January 1957.

Attempts to ideologise Sino-Soviet relations greatly damaged both sides' national interests. The Moscow talks reflected the two sides' intention to consider mutual interests. Both sides realise that the failure or success of Soviet perestroika or the Chinese reforms will inevitably tell on the destinies of socialism as a social economic formation. The Chinese guest exchanged with

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Anatoli Lukyanov, and Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov information on the complicated radical shifts in the two countries.

The main goal of Li Peng's visit was to establish qualitatively new good-neighbourly relations between the USSR and China. To all appearances, this goal was attained.

The programme for long-term economic, scientific, and technological co-operation till 2000, signed during the visit, will promote bilateral ties in nuclear power engineering, aircraft building, space research, and other promising high technologies.

An agreement was reached on ways and methods of diversifying direct, crossborder, and other ties and switching over to new forms of production co-operation, financing, and crediting, as well as on state loans for supplies of Chinese consumer goods to the USSR and the construction of a nuclear power station in China with Soviet assistance.

During the visit the sides signed an agreement

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The Lithuania problem should be tackled in a civilised manner

THE situation in Lithuania has drawn public attention to the historical aspects of the problem. In this interview given to TASS correspondent V. Dzhibuti, Dr. V. Kuritsyn discusses Lithuania's relations with Russia and then the Soviet Union.

DZHIBUTI: To listen to Lithuanian separatists one may think that all Lithuania's problems today result from the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact. Is it so?

KURITSY: It is a difficult problem, which requires an excursion to the distant past. Nationalists studiously avoid reminding their people that Lithuania became part of Russia in the late eighteenth century and ever since we have lived together for almost two centuries. Lithuania was completely integrated with the Russian market and Russian culture.

The First World War upset that historical balance, didn't it?

Yes. Throughout almost all the war years Lithuania's territory was occupied by the German army. At that time the first bodies of Lithuanian self-government began to be set up under the aegis of the German military administration. In September 1917 a number of national parties created an inter-party coordinating council. It should be noted that that council was created on the basis of inter-party agreements rather than elections. On February 16, 1918, the national council declared Lithuania independent.

Now this document is considered a major point of reference in the creation of the independent Lithuanian state.

Although Lithuania was declared independent, it was under strict control of the German occupation authorities.

Representatives of the national council interpreted "freedom" and "independence" in

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final decision on the issue should be taken by Russian communists.

He rejected the idea of a round table discussion with opposition forces, saying that he didn't see "partners for serious talks with the Soviet Communist Party."

Lithuanian secession from the Soviet Union was a "reckless step," he said.

"It is absurd to take a decision that can result from talks and then begin the talks," Yakovlev stressed.

A solution to the current situation can be found only through talks, which can begin only after the Lithuanian leadership "repeals, suspends or freezes the Lithuanian declaration of independence during these talks," he stressed. □

their own way. They even suggested establishing a monarchy in the republic and invited German Prince Urach to take the Lithuanian throne. This fact is not mentioned in Lithuania today either.

But this is a fact whether you like it or not. Another controversial issue is the Brest Peace Treaty.

It is known that that treaty was unfair to Russia. It obliged us to pay a contribution to the German Empire. Under that treaty Russia was also to cede a number of territories, including the right to the Baltic territories. Two-thirds of Latvia and the entire territory of Lithuania fell under German control.

Did that treaty change the legal status of Lithuania?

No, Lithuania stayed under German control. Its occupation continued till November 13, 1918, when the Brest Treaty was officially ended by a declaration of the Soviet Government and a new German Government.

As far I know, after that the national council received support from the Entente powers.

The Entente armed units formed by Lithuanians who previously served in the Russian army and also Lithuanians who were recruited into the so-called "workers battalions" during the German occupation.

At the same time a Lithuanian revolutionary committee was set up and a Soviet government formed. A period of dual power came: there was a bourgeois government of the national council and a Lithuanian Soviet government, which also had military units.

The two fought with intermittent success and if the Lithuanian Soviet government had not made some mistakes in tackling the national, land and religious questions, the outcome of that struggle would have been hard to predict. Those mistakes allowed the national council, which was supported by intervention forces, to win the civil war and declare Lithuania a bourgeois state.

Did Lithuania become completely free and independent as some are suggesting now?

Certainly not. Economically and, consequently, politically, it remained dependent on the Entente powers.

A coup d'état was staged in Lithuania in 1926, as a result of which a government of a pro-fascist party came to power. After that Lithuania could hardly be called a democratic state. That situation continued till 1939.

Could you say a few words concerning the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and the idea to rescind and invalidate it?

The very issue is a misunderstanding from the legal point of view. Formally, the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact was a non-aggression pact, and the secret protocol didn't change this. So, the moment the Soviet Union was attacked, the pact became null and void.

Is the same true of the secret protocol?

The secret protocol did provide for the division of the spheres of influence between Germany and the USSR. The Baltic area and part of former Polish territories were transferred to the sphere of the USSR's national interests. Undoubtedly, this treaty was immoral, and the Second Congress of People's of the USSR has justly qualified it as such. But the Vilnius territory which belonged to Poland, became part of the USSR's territory under this protocol, and only then the USSR transferred it to Lithuania.

A legal question naturally arises: Now that the Lithuanians demand that all the consequences of

the pact should be eliminated, what is to be done about the Vilnius territory in view of all this?

The Lithuanian government has not answered this question thus far.

Another disputable issue arises in connection with the allegation by the Lithuanian leaders that Lithuania doesn't have to secede from the USSR because it never joined it of its own free will in the first place. What could you say in this connection?

The decision on Lithuania's joining the USSR was taken by the parliament which had been elected before the republic's joining the USSR. That is why these documents are valid from the legal point of view.

Would you dwell on the legal consequences of the thesis on "occupation"?

It is worth remembering that some of the Sajudis leaders were elected people's deputies of the USSR in accordance with the Soviet Constitution. It is common knowledge, however, that the people under occupation do not elect their representatives to the highest bodies of government. So, becoming members of the Soviet legislature only a year ago, the Sajudis leaders thereby confirmed that they recognised the Soviet Constitution.

And one more question that comes to mind. If Lithuania was a country under occupation, how should her parliamentary deputies be looked upon? I wonder whether it is possible to conduct talks with them, for it may happen that an even more radical group could call in question their decisions calling them collaborationists from the legal point of view.

Complicated processes are under way in Lithuania at present. A trend towards a dictatorship is growing increasingly clear. This is inevitable because a considerable part of the Lithuanian population do not support the government, fearing that their interests have been or will be impaired. Take, for instance, the law on citizenship it is necessary to swear allegiance to the present government.

In conclusion, I would like to say a few words about "independence" which the Landsbergis leadership wants to achieve for Lithuania. The right to self-determination is a legitimate right of any nation. To argue against this means going against the law. But there should be a legal constitutional procedure complete with the determination of the rights of the Russian-speaking population and the observance of the rights of those people who may be unwilling to remain in Lithuania.

It is likewise necessary to protect the interests of the other republics which are connected with Lithuania by mutual obligations, accounts and deliveries. For fifty years they all have functioned within a single economic market. There should be a certain settlement in this field and as an array of other legal, economic and even purely psychological questions are concerned.

It is not the question of for or against independence. No such question exists. The question is that all the problems should be settled in a civilized manner.

(Sovetskaya Rossia, April 26. In full.)

Expert Opinion

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Resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet

On urgent measures to improve the situation of women, mother and child welfare and the family institution

ATTACHING great importance to the early solution of the more urgent problems relating to the family institution, mother and child welfare, and social protection of the least well-off families with children, and pursuant to the resolutions of the First Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, the USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. In order to improve the financial situation of families with children:

1) to raise:

the size of the state benefit for mothers with children under 18 months to the level of the minimum wage, with the benefit to be paid for each child in the case of the mother having two or more children. For persons living in places covered by regional pay differentials, the size of benefits shall be set using these differentials. If pay differentials set for the non-productive sectors of the economy shall be applied;

the size of the state benefit for children under guardianship (in care) to the level of the minimum wage;

the size of the state benefit for children of conscripts to the level of the minimum wage;

the size of the state benefit paid to single mothers, widows or widowers, and those raised in children's homes (boarding-schools) to bring up and provide for their children to the level of the minimum wage;

2) to pay child benefit to working women under 18 for 18 months after the birth of the child, regardless of their length of service;

3) to provide a 50 per cent minimum wage child benefit for working mothers with a length of service under 12 months and for non-working mothers during the 18 months after the birth of the child;

4) to extend the right of eligibility for state allowance paid to widows under existing legislation to cover widowers who have children but do not receive survivor's benefits.

2. By January 1, 1991, the USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions are required:

to develop a single system of state benefits for families with children, allowing for the type of family, its income, and the cost of living index;

to lay down the procedure for the provision of temporary disability benefits for persons employed to care for children under 3 years of age and disabled children in the event of a mother's illness for the period when she is unable to care for the child.

3. To allow the Councils of Ministers of Union and Autonomous Republics and the Territorial, Regional, District, and City Soviets of People's Deputies to introduce, within limits of the moneys at their disposal, increases on all types of benefits required by existing USSR legislation for families with children, and to provide extra benefits and perquisites to improve the welfare of families with children, primarily those with many children, single-parent and young families, and families raising handicapped children and children without parents.

4. That all orphans and children separated from parents studying or being raised in educational institutions, regardless of what government department has jurisdiction over them, shall be eligible for the benefits available under existing legislation to the given category of children living in children's homes or boarding-schools.

5. That the money paid by parents for child-

ren in institutional care and also the state pensions and benefits provided for them shall be deposited on such children's personal accounts in savings banks.

6. With a view to improving screening programmes for pregnant women and protection of their health and the health of their newborn babies, the pre-natal 56-day-long maternity leave (70 days since December 1, 1990) and a 56-day-long (70-day-long in the case of complicated delivery or the birth of two or more children) post-natal leave shall be calculated as total and given in full, regardless of the number of days actually used before childbirth.

7. With a view to providing favourable conditions for the care of newborn and small children:

1) the leave to care for the child during the three years after birth shall be granted fully or piecemeal to the mother or, at the discretion of the family, to the father, grandmother, grandfather or other relatives actually looking after the child;

2) working men whose wives are on maternity leave shall be given annual leave, if they so wish, during the period of their wives' leave.

8. In order to establish conditions enabling parents to combine work with child rearing:

1) to allow women with children aged under 14, including other children in their care, to work shorter hours or part of the week at their request;

2) a woman's work record shall be considered uninterrupted for calculating the size of temporary disability benefits in the case of her contract being cancelled as she leaves the job to care for a child under 14 years of age, including children under her guardianship, or a disabled child reaches the said age;

3) such maternity perquisites as limits on night shift, overtime and weekend work and on business trips, extra leaves, preferential work schedules, and other benefits provided under existing legislation shall likewise cover single fathers with children (in the event of mother's death, stripping of parental rights, a long period in medical care, and in other cases of the absence of maternal care) and shall also apply to guardians of children under age;

4) one of the parents (guardian) bringing up a disabled child shall be entitled to:

a temporary disability leave for the whole period of the treatment at health resorts, including travel time, of a disabled child under 16 years of age, given medical papers certifying the need for the child to be in individual care;

one extra day off a month on full pay, the money coming from social insurance funds.

9. In order to further improve working conditions for women and persons under 18 years of age:

1) to consider it necessary to provide practical conditions for the use of their labour primarily in operations corresponding to their mental, physiological and age characteristics, and for improving their professional skills, promotion, and full participation in all activities.

2) The USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions are required to ensure that in the period 1990-91:

measures are drafted to provide greater motivation for individual and amalgamated enterprises and organisations for rational use of the labour of women, of persons under 18 years of age and of persons with a limited ability to work;

new norms are developed for maximum loads for women and people under 18 in the case of lifting and movement of loads by hand in keeping with scientifically sound standards;

the lists of operations, occupations and jobs with arduous and harmful conditions where women's and teenage labour is not allowed to be used are reviewed and supplemented with types of operations where women of child-bearing age must not be employed;

industries, operations and jobs where women's work on night shifts is not particularly necessary are identified and, accordingly, definite periods and procedures for exempting women from working on the night shift, priority to be given to women with children under 14 years of age or disabled children under 16;

criteria are developed for job classification, allowing for mental, physiological, age and other characteristics of workers, and rough lists of jobs and occupations to be filled primarily by women, people under 18 and persons with a limited ability to work are drawn up;

statistical accounting according to work is introduced, with a separate account for women and persons under 18 in employment indices, categories of workers, forms of work organisation and working conditions, sickness, injuries and their causes.

10. In order to prevent the harmful effect of work in tobacco and cotton cultivation on the health of women and children, it shall be considered necessary to instruct the Councils of Ministers of Union Republics to ensure the development and promotion of harmless methods of tobacco harvesting and cotton picking and primary processing, and appropriate forms of work organisation and working conditions.

11. To ensure that pregnant women are timely transferred to a different, easier job, precluding the influence of unfavourable production factors:

1) the heads of individual and amalgamated enterprises and organisations shall, jointly with trade union committees, sanitary inspection bodies and with the participation of women's organisations and in keeping with medical standards, identify jobs and operations to which pregnant women may be transferred or which may be performed by them in the home, and shall also set up special shops (sections) for their employment and launch operations and create shops on a share-holding basis for these purposes;

(continued on next page)

USSR Yearbook '90

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What are our prospects?

IN THE section "Economics: Ideas and Reality", the journal *Dialog* prints an interview with Academician Abel Aganbegyan on the prospects of economic development of the USSR.

The poignancy of the economic crisis manifests itself in catastrophic shortages of goods on the consumer market, in a huge budget deficit, an almost 10 per cent inflation, the growth of the shadow economy and the black market, and the disruption of the monetary system. The government worked out a programme for the emergence out of the crisis, which was adopted by the latest Congress of People's Deputies after heated debates. From the author's point of view, the main shortcoming of this programme is that it is largely oriented to the use of administrative rather than economic methods.

The programme provides for a reduction of the budget deficit from 92 to 60 billion roubles through a loan of 60 billion roubles for enterprises and organisations.

Measures are being sought to speed up the production of consumer goods. In two years, military spending is to go down by 14 and arms production by 19.5 per cent. Conversion has begun. In 1991 special funds will be allocated for the conversion of defence works to the production of consumer goods to a total of 10 billion roubles. Light and food industry equipment has been bought on big credit borrowed from West Germany and Italy.

Enterprises turning out consumer goods are exempted from progressive taxes on the added growth of the wage fund.

The import of consumer goods is increasing through the reduction of the import of machines and metal products.

As a result of the aforesaid, the retail trade turnover in 1990 will rise by approximately 40 billion roubles, while the cash earnings are expected to rise by 50 billion, which will leave a gap of 10 billion roubles. It will be smaller than in 1989, but the author fears that it may be much bigger as a result of derated plans for the growth of wages and salaries and the overrated assignments for the growth of consumer goods production. Besides, one cannot ignore the huge accumulation of money and the deferred demand which has accumulated over the past years. To withdraw from the population and to make use

(continued from previous page)

2) pending the resolution of the question of rational employment of pregnant women in accordance with a medical report, they shall be relieved of their job with the retention of average pay for all the days taken off work for this reason, the money coming from the employer.

12. In the interest of protecting and improving the health of women and children:

1) The USSR State Planning Committee and the USSR Ministry of Finance are required to set aside in 1991-1992 extra hard currency funds for building and equipping new types of children's establishments and maternity clinics and consultation centres; for importing technology to increase production of biologicals, vaccines, baby food, and drugs for children; and for purchasing baby food, including medicinal, and contraceptives until the demand for them has been met in full, taking into account domestic output of such products;

2) the USSR Council of Ministers and the Councils of Ministers of Union Republics are required to provide preferential conditions for the establishment of joint ventures with foreign firms and organisations to manufacture treatment and diagnostic equipment and instruments for maternity clinics and children's establishments, means of rehabilitation, and artificial limbs for disabled children.

of this money and the deferred demand which has accumulated over the past years. This money must be used for the improvement of living conditions, for the acquisition of gardening plots with the necessary infrastructure, mass construction of private garages and the transition to corporate forms of economic management. All this will help balance out the population's earnings with the available commodities and pay services.

According to the author, from the purely economic viewpoint 1991 will be more difficult than this year. A law on pensions is to be adopted in 1990, which will precipitate additional expenses of 29 billion roubles. The newly-adopted law leaves means another 9 billion roubles. There are also plans for raising students' stipends in 1991. All this means that cash earnings in 1991 will grow much more than 1990 and that a new source is needed for paying out all this additional money.

The author proposes that the sphere of paid services be augmented not by 10 but 100 and more billion roubles. But the construction of flats, garages, and so on, requires funds. In the author's view, it is expedient to use part of the sums obtained through the reduction of the centralised investments by 27 billion roubles in 1990 for these purposes. All this must go parallel with the deepening of the economic reform and was partially provided for in the government's resolutions and programme.

The recently adopted Laws on Property, Land and Lease will form the basis of the economic reform, and other laws are also being considered. A reform of the agricultural and wholesale prices, which will start on January 1, 1991, will make it possible to switch over to an agricultural market and to a market of goods of production destination.

Right after the commodities market it is necessary to set up money and investment markets. A bank reform is being carried out for this purpose. While before perestroika there were only three banks which were financed from the state budget, today they number 300. The banks are switching over to a commercial basis, to self-repayment.

Work on legislation on shares is nearing completion. At the first stage shares will not circulate freely - it has been decided to distribute them only among the personnel of every given

3) the State Commission for Food and Purchases of the USSR Council of Ministers is required to develop, by the start of the 13th five-year-plan period, ways of motivating farm sector producers to grow chemical-free products, primarily for small children and pregnant women.

13. To order the USSR Council of Ministers to submit proposals to the USSR Supreme Soviet in six months' time concerning changes to be introduced in existing legislation in keeping with this Resolution.

14. Articles 1, 4 and 5, and Paragraph 4 of Article 8 of this Resolution shall take effect from January 1, 1991.

15. Compliance with this Resolution shall be monitored by the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Women's Affairs, the Family Institution and Mother and Child Welfare, by the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Science, Education, Culture and Upbringing, and by the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Public Health.

A. LUKYANOV,
Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, the Kremlin,
April 10, 1990.

enterprise. But this will mark a major step forward.

The introduction of a more or less real non-commodity exchange rate of the dollar and the holding of hard currency auctions make it possible to form a convertible currency market.

In the author's view, the consumer market can return to normal within three years in this way. Its normalization would make possible a reform of retail prices aimed not at changing the level of prices but at making them freer. For this purpose, two-thirds or three-quarters of all prices should be market ones. It is only the prices of the most important elements of welfare, of some industrial goods that could be centrally regulated. It is possible to make the current inflation regulated, to keep it within ten per cent through the regulation of cash incomes, in the context of gradually switching retail trade to payments by cheque and credit cards, and pursuance of a tough monetary and anti-inflation policy. But this requires firm social guarantees to those who receive fixed incomes.

The author believes that this country has immense potentialities for extricating from the crisis in the context of the state's regulating role and existence of a developed market. The most important is that no mistakes should be made in the USSR's economic policy and that reforms should be carried out resolutely. Otherwise, social tension may increase and the country may be plunged into an abyss of spontaneity. Carrying out a major economic structural manoeuvre, our country must turn to man in deed, the author says in conclusion.

(Novosti, April 16. In full.)

(continued from page 152)

on the principles of mutual reductions in armed forces and confidence-building measures on the Sino-Soviet border. All these accords, worked out in the shortest possible time, will help strengthen mutual trust and good-neighbourly relations and shape the Eurasian security structure.

Major promising changes have of late taken place in Sino-Soviet relations despite the complicated processes underway in both countries. Li Peng's visit enables us to look into the future with optimism. □

(Novosti)

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Yegor Ligachev's interview with Soviet television

POLITBURO member Yegor Ligachev said in an interview with Soviet television on May 7 that the country's leadership should be "consistent, progressive and steadfast" in order to lead the Soviet Union out of today's complex social and economic situation.

Speaking about the radical measures necessary at present he favoured the planned-and-market economy, which implies stronger planning and market control on the basis of commodity-money relations and rules out unemployment. He stressed that no amount of material benefits can compensate for the moral losses related to joblessness.

Ligachev dwelled on the problems of Soviet agriculture. He spoke in support of a variety of forms of ownership in the agrarian sector. At the same time he stressed the priority importance of state and co-operative property.

Ligachev said that the Soviet Communist Party underestimated the danger of separatist and

nationalist tendencies when it began perestroika and does not show enough determination in the struggle against nationalism at present. He pointed out that it was inadmissible for Party members to participate in the nationalist and separatist movements, or lead them.

Speaking about his view on the unity of the Party, Ligachev noted that under conditions of a multi-party system the Communist Party cannot afford to turn into a parliamentary-type party with the freedom of factions and groups with their own internal discipline. This does not mean uniform thinking within the Party. There should be various viewpoints within the framework of a single platform.

Ligachev favoured the creation of a Russian Federation communist party, preferable before the 28th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In closing Ligachev called for national unity and consolidation. Unity was the force that helped the Soviet people to triumph in the war against Nazism, he stressed.

Politburo discuss forthcoming Party Congress

AT its regular meeting the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) considered the entire spectrum of matters connected with preparations for the Party's 28th Congress.

It was pointed out that the preparatory work is entering a decisive phase. More than 200 delegates have already been elected. The Politburo considered it necessary for Party organisations to more actively work towards the election of delegates from among workers and farmers.

The CPSU Central Committee formed a commission to prepare the Congress. On the commission are representatives of Party organisations.

The Politburo set up a number of groups from among commission members to work out, with due regard for the all-Party discussion, draft basic documents and resolutions for the Congress. Members and alternate members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committee were assigned to head these groups.

Matters connected with preparations for a Russian Party conference were also considered at the meeting. The Politburo recognised it advisable to recommend the Russian Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee to submit items concerning the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee and Party rules for the 28th Congress of the CPSU and the establishment of a Russian Communist Party for consideration at the conference. □

Gorbachev calls on Latvia to respect USSR Constitution

"THE Soviet President considers that the adoption by the Latvian Parliament on May 4 of the declaration to restore the independence of the Latvian Republic is the violation of constitutional standards and leads to the rupture of the republic's state ties with the USSR."

This view of the Soviet President was conveyed, on his instruction, to the citizens of Latvia by Alfred Rubik, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party, People's Deputy of the USSR and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who spoke to Mikhail Gorbachev by phone.

Appearing on republican television on the evening of May 5, Rubik set out in detail the President's position. He said Gorbachev regarded as unsound all attempts to portray the declaration as a document defining the way towards the republic's secession from the Soviet Union as different from the Lithuanian variant.

Gorbachev emphasised that talks were possible only given the respect by the republic of the USSR Constitution. Any talks without re-establishing the state status of the Latvian SSR, which existed prior to May 4, are out of question, Rubik quoted Gorbachev as saying.

In the event the republic ignores the USSR Constitution, the President reserves for itself the right to adopt retaliatory measures of the political, economic and administrative nature. □

Pravda interview with Ukrainian Communist Party chief

IT IS by taking the road of full cost-accounting that each republic may become a sovereign state within a new Soviet federation, making its contribution to all-union affairs and receiving an appropriate equivalent of

its efforts, Ukrainian Communist Party chief Vladimir Ivashko said in an interview published in the May 3 issue of *Pravda*.

By taking this path it is possible to remove the imbalance that is tilting the Ukrainian economy towards heavy industry and ecologically dangerous processes, he said.

Ivashko believes that in the Ukraine, where people of many nationalities live, confrontation on an ethnic basis is avoided. "We give priority to and promote the restoration of the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian national culture but not to the detriment of any other nationality," he said.

In the Ukraine, there are a number of ethnic associations and cultural centres of Poles, Jews, Hungarians, and Greeks.

However, Ivashko emphasised that this does not mean the absence of nationalist currents. "Consequently, we still should see to it that a line be clearly drawn between the ethnic and nationalist, between efforts towards preserving and enriching the Ukrainian ethnic culture and distinctiveness of history and politics, on the one hand, and aspirations for isolation, right up to separatist ideas, on the other.

Speaking of the situation in the west of the republic, Ivashko pointed out that adversaries of the Party and socialism are trying to make use of the complex situation there for their own purposes.

"Everything that is being done in the western regions unlawfully will be revoked," he said. "Other political and economic measures will also have to be taken. However, there should be no haste in this respect. One needs to sort things out impartially."

Evaluating the results of the recent elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet, Ivashko said that 85 per cent of its deputies are Communist Party members. At the same time he cautioned against undue optimism.

"The process of differentiation is manifest within the Party and society. One should perceive in practice who is who," he said. "All the more important is the very fact that the slogan 'for soviets without communists' - the slogan which our political adversaries zealously propagandised - did not work." □

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