

Press conference on prisoners of war in Afghanistan

AT a press conference for foreign journalists in New York on June 16 the establishment of an international committee for the rescue of Russian prisoners of war in Afghanistan was announced.

The committee consists of representatives of the public of the United States, the Soviet Union and Europe. Among them are the American artist Leonard Baskin, Russian artist Mikhail Shemyakin, American authors Suzanne Massie and Robert Massie, the president emeritus of the Jewish Theological Seminary Rabbi Bernard Mandelbaum, the French actress Marina Vlady, American physician Pinkas Lebovits, the assistant director of the Harriman Institute at Columbia University Jonathan Sanders and the New York correspondent of the newspaper *Literaturnaya Gazeta* Iona Andronov.

The committee leaders stated that they intend to launch a large-scale campaign to liberate Soviet prisoners of war. To this end, they plan to address themselves to the White House, the United Nations, the International Red Cross, Pakistan and the leaders of the opposition formations.

No medical treatment

A statement by the committee read out to journalists, says, in part: "Even some Americans unfriendly to the Soviet Union, after visiting the mujahideen in Afghanistan, have told of the killing of Soviet POWs, how prior to their execution the young men's eyes were torn out, their noses, ears, and genitals cut off. Sometimes, the doomed prisoners were skinned alive. American eyewitnesses also inform us that

those POWs who have survived so far are chained hand and foot and held underground in constant darkness.

"The tormented prisoners are not given medical treatment. Many suffer from hepatitis, malaria and other diseases. Suicides are more and more frequent among them. Thirty-four POWs, according to American data, were killed attempting to escape. The time has come to put an end to this nightmare along with the end of the bloody slaughter in Afghanistan".

The journalists were reminded of the statement made by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev on June 1: "We established contact with the American side to consider this question in practical terms. It (the question) began to be studied at working level, at the level of experts. I would add that this problem was put also to Pakistan. We will do everything for our people to return to the homeland". □

Pakistan's Ambassador on Soviet prisoners of war

THE fate of Soviet servicemen who find themselves in the hands of the armed Afghan opposition is the cause of increasing concern among the public at large. UN Assistant Secretary General Diego Cordovez stated that he intended specially to attend to this problem.

The International Committee for the Rescue of Russian Prisoners of War in Afghanistan was formed in New York the other day. It comprises eminent cultural personalities and representatives of the public of the United States, Western Europe and the USSR who call for the freeing of Soviet prisoners of war. How does the Pakistani Administration react to these appeals and demands? TASS political news analyst Yuri Kornilov put this question to Shahid Muhammad Amin, Ambassador of Pakistan to the USSR.

Being guided by humane considerations, the Pakistani Government pays the greatest attention to the issue of liberating Soviet prisoners and their return home, said the Ambassador. At the same time, he alluded to difficulties involved in determining the exact number of Soviet prisoners and their location. The Ambassador noted that in the Soviet Union the notion prevailed that many of them, if not the majority, are in Pakistani territory.

But this is borne out by facts. Yuri Kornilov said. At a press conference involving five former Soviet prisoners, two of them — A. Zhurayev and M. Yazkuliyeu — said that they fled from captivity by escaping from their guards in Islamabad and reaching the Soviet Embassy. Does not this piece of evidence show that extremists hold their captives, or at least some of them, in Pakistani territory? Moreover, in the capital of the country, just around the corner from the Pakistani authorities.

Afghan tragedy

Yes, some of the prisoners do get into our territory, Shahid Amin went on. And the Pakistani authorities, if they learn of these facts, seek to give assistance to these people, to put them in contact with the Soviet Embassy.

The Ambassador also said that a large amount of work is being done now to bring home to the Afghan opposition that it should set free the Soviet people taken prisoner and help them to return home. He expressed the hope that a successful solution to the problem would be found.

The public of our country favours an end to the Afghan tragedy on the basis of the Geneva agreements, so that Pakistan, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union can live in peace and concord. And certainly, our public stands for the return home of all Soviet prisoners. People in Pakistan realise full well what feelings the relatives of the Soviet servicemen who went missing or found themselves in captivity must now have. The situation is complex but I believe in a good outcome, the Ambassador said. □

Mikhail Gorbachev's message to Berlin meeting

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV has sent a message of greetings to the participants in an international meeting for nuclear-free zones, which has opened in Berlin.

Mikhail Gorbachev points out that the historic treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles has entered into force. "The pace should not be slackened. It is essential to move dynamically in the direction mapped out by it", he emphasises.

"The Soviet Union is fully prepared to eliminate its status of nuclear power — and as soon as possible — together with the other countries possessing nuclear weapons", the message says. "While we still have it, we are

ready for radical limitations on its practical manifestations, specifically through support for the establishment of nuclear-free zones and the provision of appropriate guarantees for countries participating in creating them."

"The value of nuclear-free zones is", Mikhail Gorbachev emphasises, "that they can contribute to narrowing the sphere of nuclear preparations, to disengaging the nuclear forces of the opposing alliances, and thereby to reducing the risk of a nuclear conflict. The establishment of nuclear-free zones builds international trust, promotes stability in relations between nuclear powers, and consolidates the regime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons." □

(Moscow, June 20.)

IN THIS ISSUE

Geneva Accords on Afghanistan and verification problems	p. 222
USSR note to UN Secretary General	p. 223
Is perestroika well-grounded?	p. 224
Discussing the motions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference	p. 225
Africa: is disarmament for development possible?	p. 228

Geneva Accords on Afghanistan and verification problems

By K. Gevorkyan

AT THE recent UN General Assembly special session on disarmament Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said that verification is the number one problem for regional conflicts. The lack of verification calls in question any progress in the settlement of these conflicts.

Shevardnadze voiced special concern over the observance of the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan. Millions of people the world over welcomed the signing of the accords and sincerely believed that the Afghan crisis, one of the most serious in recent years, will be resolved for the benefit of peace in Asia and the entire world. From the very first days one side, i.e. the USSR and Afghanistan, has been strictly abiding by its commitments. But the other side and, above all, Pakistan, is persistently violating them, thus undermining its reputation and casting doubt on the settlement of other regional conflicts after the Afghan pattern.

Finnish General Rauli Helminen, head of the group of UN military observers supervising the implementation of the Geneva Accords, stressed at a news conference in Kabul that the Soviet troops are being withdrawn from Afghanistan strictly on schedule. The Soviet command supplies the UN observers with all necessary information.

As many as 34,000 officers and men, or 37.3 per cent of the Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan, have returned home in the first 25 days after the Geneva Accords came into force.

In keeping with the Geneva Accords, 50 per cent of the Soviet troops have to be withdrawn within the first three months.

At the same time, UN representatives in Kabul had by June 13 received from Afghanistan 25 notes of protest in connection with violations of the accords by Pakistan. Here are only some facts of the violations.

Vast amounts of arms are being trans-shipped from Islamabad and Karachi depots to the Afghan opposition's bases in Chitral, Landi Kotal, Parachinar, Terimanghal, and Chaman and further to Afghan territory. On May 17, 15 trucks delivered arms from Wana (Pakistan) for the Gulbuddin Hekmatyar Group in Afghanistan. On May 24, over 200 trucks with arms and munitions arrived in the Afghan settlements of Alikhel and Jaji Maidan via Pakistani frontier posts in the Kurram agency.

International importance

The so-called Islamic regiments, who keep remanning the armed opposition forces inside Afghanistan, reportedly remain stationed on Pakistani territory. Foreign instructors continue infiltrating Afghanistan through Pakistani territory to teach rebels to conduct military operations and handle the latest arms, Stinger missiles included.

Recent statements by General Zia-ul-Haq, leader of the Pakistani regime, are also very alarming. In an interview with the magazine *Insight* he said that the Geneva Accords, under which the USSR agreed to pull out from Afghanistan, is nothing but a fig leaf. Such a

statement came from the leader of the country who signed a treaty of major international importance. Islamabad seems to be revising its attitude to the Geneva Accords. Thus, General Zia disbanded the Junejo Government who had worked for their implementation.

Former Pakistani foreign minister Zain Noorani, who was removed at the same time as Junejo, said the other day that differences between him and Zia regarding the letter and spirit of the Geneva Accords had been the main reason for his dismissal. The former minister did not go into details. "If I do this, I'll be put into prison," he said.

Islamabad is undermining the Geneva Accords that were reached at a high price and carry peace and stability to South-West Asia. The nations, striving for a lasting peace in the region, voice natural alarm over this policy of the Pakistani regime.

In the Soviet view, Pakistan must bring its actions into line with its commitments under the Geneva Accords. Or else, the efforts exerted to reach these accords may be reduced to zero.

During their meeting in the Kremlin, Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and Afghan President Najibullah expressed serious concern about violations of the Geneva Accords by the Pakistani regime. The USSR and Afghanistan hope that the UN verification mechanism will eventually take the necessary measures to rule out the violation of the accords by Pakistan. If this unseemly practice persists, the other side will be impelled to take resolute countermeasures. □

(Novosti)

Pakistan violates Geneva agreements

"INSTEAD of taking effective measures to terminate interference in Afghanistan's affairs Islamabad is resorting to all sorts of subterfuges making it impossible for the United Nations observers to carry out their control and inspection functions", a press briefing in Moscow on June 17 was told by Gennadi Gerasimov, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman.

In this connection the head of the ministry's Information Directorate cited the following fact: when United Nations observers travelled on June 4-6 to the area of the towns of Parachinar and Peshawar to investigate complaints made by Afghanistan, they were barred by the Pakistani authorities from visiting the localities that were named in the Afghan Foreign Ministry's notes as staging areas for caravans supplying arms to the anti-government groupings in Afghanistan. "This contradicts Pakistan's undertaking to give full support and co-operation to the entire personnel of the United Nations good offices mission when it discharges its functions on Pakistani territory", Gennadi Gerasimov stressed.

Pakistan admits, he said, that it is not restricting the activity of the headquarters of the "Alliance of Seven" which is the organiser and instigator of hostilities by Afghan anti-government formations. This too is a flagrant violation of the provisions of the Geneva Accords, he went on.

Such facts show that to this day Islamabad has not drawn proper conclusions about the need to undeviatingly implement the Geneva agreements. "Responsibility for these violations rests with the Pakistani leadership which should be well aware of the extent of the negative consequences with which violations of the Geneva Accords are fraught with, not only for the settlement of the Afghan problem but also for the cause of peace and security in the entire region", Gerasimov said in conclusion. □

SOVIET TROOPS WITHDRAWAL

THE first month of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan has passed entirely as planned, Lieutenant-General Boris Gromov, commander of the Soviet limited military contingent in Afghanistan, said in an interview with Soviet Television.

The troops' movement to the Soviet border was well-organised and went without any losses. At the same time there were attempts to attack the Soviet troops, particularly on the units covering the withdrawal.

"I should note that over the past month, starting from May 15, Pakistan has been continuously violating the Geneva agreements", the Soviet commander emphasised.

"This manifests itself in the fact that the leadership of the 'Alliance of the Seven' is operating actively in that country and are training gunmen in the refugee camps. Terrorists continue to exist on the territory of Pakistan. The number of armed insurgents in Afghanistan has increased by nearly 9,000 over this month, and weapons and ammunition are continued to be brought into Afghanistan, mainly from Pakistani border provinces."

Islamabad is erecting great obstacles to the return home of Afghan refugees from Pakistan, Gromov said. □

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USSR note to UN Secretary General

THE Soviet Mission at the United Nations has sent a note to the United Nations Secretary General in which, in response to a request of the international community, it informs the United Nations in detail on the course of the Soviet-American disarmament talks.

The Soviet approach to the talks on nuclear and space arms is based on the stage-by-stage programme of totally eliminating nuclear arms in the world by the year 2000 outlined in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of January 15, 1986, it is said in the note that was distributed here today as an official document of the third special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament.

Questions of reducing strategic offensive arms in conditions of observance of the ABM Treaty hold the central place in the Soviet-American

dialogue on security issues. Progress along this direction — in conditions of fulfilment of the INF Treaty — would objectively facilitate the lowering of the risk of a nuclear conflict and lead to a greater stabilisation of the military-political situation in the world as a whole. Substantial work has to be done for the treaty on strategic offensive arms to become a reality. For its part the Soviet Union will continue its vigorous efforts to achieve progress in preparing the treaty on the 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive arms in conditions of observance of the ABM Treaty and will display the necessary constructiveness, flexibility and readiness to compromise.

The prohibition of nuclear tests, the note says, was and remains a priority task of Soviet foreign policy.

The speediest conclusion of a universal and verifiable multilateral convention on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons is another Soviet priority in the field of arms

limitation and reduction. Here the USSR proceeds from the premise that the future convention should effectively ensure the full and universal prohibition of the development, manufacture and stockpiling of chemical weapons in any form whatsoever, the elimination of the stockpiles of these weapons without any exceptions whatsoever and guarantees of the non-reappearance of such weapons anywhere and ever. That is why the Soviet Union stands for the creation of a reliable and effective verification system that would plug all possible loopholes for circumventing the convention.

The USSR and the other socialist countries are for a comprehensive approach to the problem of disarmament and are vigorously working for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction to be accompanied by substantial cuts in armed forces and conventional armaments, the note says. □

(New York, June 17.)

Eduard Shevardnadze receives Chinese envoy

ON June 20 Eduard Shevardnadze, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, received Tian Zengpei, special envoy of the Chinese Government at the Soviet-Chinese political consultations and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the PRC.

During the meeting Eduard Shevardnadze spoke of the process of revolutionary renewal of Soviet society and of the importance of the forthcoming 19th All-Union Party Conference. "The restructuring process in the USSR and reforms in China are not only a major factor in the life of our two countries but are of international importance as well. The opinion of the Soviet leadership is that it is essential to proceed further in strengthening good-neighbourliness and mutually-beneficial co-operation, mutual trust, and in broadening

the political dialogue and in raising its level."

Having emphasised the importance of efforts to resolve regional conflicts, Eduard Shevardnadze pointed out that a new situation was taking shape in Kampuchean affairs, the situation which opened quite good prospects for a solution to the problem. "The Soviet Union is interested in the earliest settlement of the Kampuchean situation and in the establishment of peace, stability and good-neighbourliness in South-East Asia, and is ready to promote the process as much as it can."

Tian Zengpei expressed satisfaction with the development of relations between the two countries in recent years. He positively referred to the restructuring which is being effected in the Soviet Union and which, he said, arouses great interest in the PRC. The Chinese envoy set out his country's viewpoint on a number of international problems and, in particular, on a settlement of the conflict in Indochina.

The meeting was held in a business-like and friendly atmosphere. □

Vienna meeting — Soviet delegation's press conference

THE leader of the Soviet delegation to the Vienna follow-up meeting of the states participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, Yuri Kashlev, delegation member Major-General Viktor Tatarnikov, Andrei Kokoshin, a corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and Professor V. Kremenyuk gave a news conference in Vienna on June 17 on the Soviet approach to cuts in armed forces and conventional armaments.

They set forth the Soviet concept of non-offensive strategy and sufficiency and offered the latest ideas of Soviet scientists on this score.

The speakers also explained the main points of a memorandum on how security can be achieved through disarmament, which has been submitted by a group of socialist countries to the UN General Assembly's third special session on disarmament and which affirms new notions about a reasonable blend and harmony of national and general security.

The Soviet representatives gave special attention to issues related to a mandate for future talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals and explained a recent Soviet proposal for holding these negotiations phase by phase.

They stressed the Soviet Union's readiness to agree to reciprocal cuts in all kinds of offensive weapons, including tactical nuclear arms, strike aircraft and tanks. □

Towards a joint market of CMEA countries

"A JOINT market of the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) is both a distant perspective and a goal the attainment of which it is essential to strive for now," maintains Yuri Shamrai, one of the leading experts of the USSR Mission at the CMEA.

The deepening of socialist economic integration, he said in an interview on June 17, objectively leads to the formation of a market in which goods, services, the work-force, currency, and capital investments could move freely between the countries concerned.

Unlike the 'common' market, a joint market does not absorb individual national markets but only unites them, retaining the economic independence of the countries, he explained. There

are already substantial elements which may become components of a joint market: border trade, direct exchanges of goods through home-trade and material and technical supply bodies of the countries.

A large-scale change-over to wholesale trade in the means of production and consumer goods on the domestic markets, the wholesale trade in which partners from CMEA countries would participate, would be the main prerequisite for forming a joint socialist market.

The coordination of national economic mechanisms is essential for movement to a joint market, Shamrai pointed out.

The leading role in coordinating mechanisms should be played by the fixing of real rate ratios between the currencies of CMEA countries, the introduction of their mutual convertibility, and their wide-scale utilisation in mutual settlements. □

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Is perestroika well-grounded?

By Mikhail Poltoranin, *Novosti* political analyst

ONE need not make guesses or conduct polls to know who is opposed to perestroika. It is enough to start going over to actual, not formal self-management and this will at once show up who is really concerned for perestroika and who is just simulating. Opponents of radical change will then emerge from their offices and reveal their true colours in public as has been the case at Nizhnevartovsk, Tyumen region.

Every year building workers at Nizhnevartovsk set aside about 600,000 roubles from their profits for the upkeep of superior bodies and the ministry. From these, however, come only instructions and regulations that more often than not hold back progress. Occasionally officials from Tyumen or Moscow visit to mouth stereotyped slogans: "Perestroika is today's revolution. We are at its spearhead and will allow no one to hold up renewal. Be more daring in your efforts."

And the builders followed the advice. The council of the work collective of their association, which was put on a self-financing basis, decided that it was stupid to spend such huge sums on the proliferation of hangers-on. Part of that money could be better spent on benefits for women builders with babies. Let them stay at home, bringing up their children to the age of three. They would be financially supported by the association. The action was suited to the word. But "perestroika advocates" from higher echelons went up in arms against the decision.

This example, I think, demonstrates graphically how and when opposition to reform arises at higher economic levels. While the reform does not affect their personal interests, they tolerate and even welcome change. But as soon as they are asked to cede some of their rights, they at once join

forces to uphold their clan interests. The same is true of many other executives with Party and local government backgrounds.

It would seem that nothing is easier than to ignore the ambitions of this social section and speedily to introduce self-management throughout the whole of society. But the fact is that so long as self-governance is not firmly established, perestroika will not be well-grounded. And to ignore such ambitions is very hard. In the USSR, with its historically evolved one-Party system and decades of centralism, there is a high concentration of administrative power. Top echelons have clamped down on lower organisations with no say and used their funds and other contributions to create unashamedly a swollen bureaucratic apparatus behind a fence of prohibitions and bans against democratic practices.

A lot needs to be abolished, reviewed or amended before we reach self-management. But this abolishing and reviewing is done by the apparatus, which is in control of all stages of decision making. Slight shifts in emphasis as regards Party guidance, reservations and woolly wording are effective in emasculating very bold ideas and concepts. Hence so many comments in the Soviet mass media on acts of sabotage on the part of the managerial bureaucracy.

Its champions, however, claim that intellectuals are panicking for nothing, there being no opponents of self-governance and perestroika in general. True, these words to lull civic awareness deceive few people. Everyone now knows that there are no revolutions without enemies. If it is quiet then the struggle has ended. In the meantime, it is only gaining momentum.

Academician Tatiana Zaslavskaya, writing in *Izvestia*, gave a well-argued reply to the "appeasers". Restructuring of social relations, she said, is not proceeding in a vacuum, but cuts across the vital interests of different classes, sections and groups of Soviet society. Each of these classes and groups is seeking to defend its interests against dangers threatening them.

This is reality and it must be taken into account. But perestroika cannot grind to a halt helplessly before such an obstacle. The future of socialism and the destiny of the people hinge on it.

It is from this point of view that the current situation in society is viewed in the motions of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. They analyse the grievous legacy of the period of stagnation and propose ways of further advance. These are revolutionary transformation and democratisation of ideological, political, economic and social life.

Naturally, all the motions focus on power — always the point of contention. "Power to the people" might be a fitting epigraph to this document. The Party motions advocate drastic limitation of bureaucratic powers and handing over of most functions to elective bodies. This is a guarantee that the apparatus will not be able any longer to dictate its terms to society. The motions also radically review the role of the Soviets of People's Deputies — actual masters of the country. In the words "democratic centralism" the accent is being shifted from the last word to the first.

In other words, the road is being cleared for self-governance in the Party, the Soviets, non-governmental organisations and the state as a whole. The people must be in a position to reach for the levers of power to start influencing the course of radical reforms and social processes.

True, the motions are only a platform for discussions at the Party conference. The Central Committee has outlined its programme for curbing forces and factors that are retarding democratisation. More than 5,000 delegates will decide what to accept and what to amend in this programme. Soviet people are now sending letters to the daily press, with their comments on the motions. Their tone is determined — clear away all obstacles in the way of self-governance and self-management. The conference delegates are well aware of that mood. □

Public opinion poll on forthcoming Party Conference

AN overwhelming majority of Soviet people associate their hopes for further development of democracy and openness in the country with the forthcoming 19th All-Union Party Conference. About 80 per cent of the four thousand people whose opinion was asked by the sociologists of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee show interest in the preparation of the conference, and intend to follow its work and get acquainted with materials and decisions of the conference. The public opinion poll covered all economic-geographical regions of the USSR.

"The vast majority of people resolutely stand for all-round and deep democratisation of the Party, society, and all socio-political institutions," Valeri Shchegortsov, a staff member of the Academy of Social Sciences, said. Eighty-seven per cent of respondents spoke out in favour of taking new practical measures to develop and deepen democracy. Eighty-four per cent regarded a further democratisation of the CPSU

as necessary, and only 2.4 per cent of respondents rejected the necessity of that.

Most respondents associate the democratisation of social life with a considerable expansion of the amount of information on the activities of the leading bodies of the Party and the state. The survey revealed the inter-relationship between the informational contentment of people and the shaping of their attitude towards the activities of the CPSU Central Committee.

The activities of the Central Committee of the Party in guidance of the restructuring process were approved by eight of every ten respondents. At the same time about six per cent of people expressed dissatisfaction with this aspect of activities of the CPSU Central Committee, and 15 per cent of people found it difficult to make any evaluation because they did not have enough information.

Half of the people who largely approve of the Central Committee's activities in the guidance of perestroika, are fully satisfied with information on its work. And vice versa, among people who disapprove of the activities of the CPSU Central Committee, the share of those who are displeased with information reaches 70 per cent. □

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Discussing the motions for the 19th All-Union Party Conference

"I AM not a Party member," said Vladislav Bokov, a Deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet and an assembly team leader in the nuclear power industry, in an interview with Vladimir Kolinko, a Novosti correspondent. "But I am looking forward to it, like everyone else. I have mixed feelings about it. On the one hand, I believe in the possibility of resolving the problems holding socialism back. On the other, I am not 100 per cent sure that the delegates to the conference will express the opinion of the majority of communists.

"I think that the separation of functions of Party, Soviet and economic bodies is particularly important. This action can deal a decisive blow to red-tape, the real scourge of socialist society. A complete transfer of executive power to the Soviets of People's Deputies will change a lot in our life. I think that radical enhancement of the role of the USSR Supreme Soviet is an important condition of revolutionary changes in this country.

"Frankly speaking, a Supreme Soviet deputy today simply hasn't the time to deeply analyse some ideas which are to become law. The session usually lasts two days and there are hundreds of pages of documents to go through. So the voting procedure turns into a formality.

"I am convinced that the efficiency of the Supreme Soviet can be guaranteed only if its

deputies are released from their main jobs for the entire term. That will enable them to give all their time to their duties as deputies. Their role in tackling state problems, and ties with the electorate would be considerably enhanced. A deputy's work is so demanding that it is hard to favourably assess his performance today: it requires all his time and should preclude incompetence.

"Secondly, I think that the Supreme Soviet should work on a permanent basis and not just twice a year in short sessions.

"Here is an example from the economy. Departmentalism has long been known to be the scourge of economic development. Any big department is going to act in its own interests. Thus the Ministry of the Nuclear Power Industry of the USSR intends to build nuclear power plants with a total capacity of 40 million kilowatts in the Ukraine. My team is to take part in the implementation of these plans, among others. The ministry does not care about the problems such a decision may generate: water shortages and a lack of up-to-date construction sites. It couldn't care less that the Ukraine does not need such capacities because today the republic produces more electric power than it consumes and there are no plans to develop power-intensive industries there. Why then does the ministry insist on building nuclear-power plants there? Because it will economically benefit from that. The republic has a powerful construction industry, a developed infrastructure and no manpower problem. The construction of new electric power plants will require minimal expenditures from the department. Because of

cost-accounting, this is important for the department, but not for the republic or state as a whole. Some may ask: what about the USSR State Planning Committee?

"Today it is only capable of bringing to a common denominator finances and material resources and cannot solve problems of the comprehensive development of the country. Powerful ministries are forcing their way through the State Planning Committee and branch departments of the Party Central Committee.

"The USSR Supreme Soviet, provided it works continuously, could become capable of resolving major national problems comprehensively, of efficiently distributing the state budget and resources.

"In this respect, I have big hopes for the forthcoming Party Conference. I don't think all questions will be easy to settle. I expect stubborn resistance from the bureaucracy. Frankly speaking, I don't share one of the ideas Mikhail Gorbachev expressed at the meeting with media executives. He said that people often take a conservative attitude towards perestroika only because they can't work in the new conditions. I don't think these words reflect the real state of affairs. The press gives us many examples about people with initiative being persecuted and dismissed today, not in some bygone days of stagnation. They are being punished for upholding perestroika. Can't their persecutors work in a new way? They sure can, but they don't want to. They show striking professionalism in compromising and discrediting the people we call champions of perestroika. So a serious battle lies ahead." □

Portrait of a Party conference delegate

By Igor Rapoport

Tatiana Kuznetsova, 35, a weaver at the silk-weaving factory Krasnaya Roza, will become one of about 5,000 delegates to the upcoming party conference.

She belongs to the "post-Stalin" generation (she was born the year he died) and, consequently, is free from the psychological burden of that period. Her life story is very simple and does not differ much from that of millions of her compatriots. Tatiana Kuznetsova (a common surname in Russia) spent her childhood in the countryside, she received a secondary education and later moved to Moscow where she worked at the Krasnaya Roza factory and lived in the hostel there (she has been working at the silk-weaving factory for 18 years now). It so happened that she does not have a family of her own. She has been a Party member for ten years and has done a good deal for the community. Here is one important thing: Kuznetsova's civic character was formed during the stagnation period and there is no escaping that fact. I want the reader to understand that it is very difficult for her to abandon old stereotypes of conduct and thinking and the habit of always "toeing the line". In that case, does delegate Kuznetsova conform to the high standards of an active champion of perestroika, mentioned by Mikhail Gorbachev?

That is exactly the case when there is the will but not enough skill.

Tatiana is quite popular in her Party organisation: during the elections she was elected

with a big majority over two other candidates (also women, for mostly women work at silk-weaving factories), receiving 66 per cent of the vote. She stood for election at Leninsky District in Moscow and became one of the 12 people in the district who will represent the capital at the Party conference (a total of 76 prospective candidacies were discussed).

I asked her what was it that she liked and disliked about our life.

"I am very glad that glasnost and democratisation are being vigorously promoted because they are enhancing the prestige of the Party among people which was considerably sapped in the past. Much to my regret, we still cannot cope with red-tape. Incidentally, all kinds of bureaucratic obstacles prevent our factory from carrying out technical retooling on which the quality of our products hinges. And today we still have to work with obsolete equipment which dates back to the '50s."

What features should a communist possess in the period of perestroika?

"He must be active and honest."

Do you think you possess these qualities?

No answer. I can see she is embarrassed. But I know that Tatiana is trying hard to be active. She came for the interview straight from the meeting of district communists who discussed the proposals of the CPSU Central Committee to the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

During our conversation Tatiana stressed several times that she is a staunch supporter of perestroika and, if need be, is ready to

prove it at the Party conference.

What would you say if you were given the floor at the conference?

"I would tell the delegates about the things which concern us. My fellow workers, mostly women, wanted me to raise the question of changing the regime of work at our factory from three to two shifts a day".

Some may think that such questions are not important enough to be discussed at a high Party forum. But we should bear in mind that any big undertaking, just like perestroika, has its leaders and the rank-and-file. We know our leaders by name. They will attend the Party conference. But we should also know the rank-and-file whose efforts, patience and knowledge promote the revolutionary cause. □

(Novosti)

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Party and perestroika

By Igor Sedykh, *Novosti* political analyst

IN THE run-up to the 19th All-Union Party Conference practically the entire country has joined in the debate about inner-Party topics. Open meetings and big rallies are being held to adopt recommendations for the conference.

Mikhail Gorbachev has described the all-union conference as a political examination for perestroika. The Party has had the courage to make a sober assessment of the road travelled and to admit its share of responsibility for the deformations of Stalin's days and Brezhnev's period of social stagnation. Such self-criticism, coupled with a constructive programme for getting out of the pre-crisis situation, has evoked unheard-of enthusiasm in Soviet society. It is now possible clearly to see the people's great faith in the strength of the Communist Party, in its ability for self-renewal and for the renewal of all society. If one analyses the essence of proposals made in the discussions, they all boil down to one thing: to guarantee the irreversibility of perestroika.

Reform

Indeed, the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee admit that the process of perestroika is contradictory, proceeding as it does amidst the struggle between the old and the new, with attempts being made to preserve the administrative and commandist methods of management. But let us pause and think: could the Party, all of its 20 million members, reform itself so quickly? Is the apparatus prepared to give up its formerly guaranteed privileges? It is an open secret that along with supporters of revolutionary perestroika there also are so-called evolutionists — advocates of cosmetic repairs of

the outdated system. So concern voiced in the Theses is quite understandable: the dogmatists — a sort of priestly caste of Stalin's days and stagnation — are fully determined to uphold their positions, only mimicking perestroika.

Socialist countries

I want to draw your attention to another important aspect — for all the variety of views expressed discussions are being carried out on the basis and in the name of socialism. The appeal of this social system, which offers wide scope for the individual to reveal his creative potential and which provides him with social protection, is so great that it has withstood both deformations and crisis phenomena that faced a number of socialist countries. A live and interested response and public support is meeting the process of renovation and reform, which is being conducted by the ruling communist parties in China, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, the results of recent conferences held by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. In this connection I would like to point to one common thing typical of all the socialist countries. First, reforms are initiated by ruling communist parties. Second, an overwhelming majority of the population in the socialist countries do not question the leading role of communists in the building of socialism.

Everywhere communists see the way towards consolidating the Party's leading role not in obsolete administrative and commandist methods, but in renouncing them, in democratisation of Party and public life, in purification of their ranks, in expanding socialist pluralism. The same spirit permeates the Theses of the

CPSU Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

"We," says the document, "need a constantly operating mechanism of comparing views, of criticism and self-criticism in the Party and society." Hence the declared goal of the political reform — to involve the broad masses in a real way in the administration of all state and public affairs and to complete the formation of a socialist legal state. In other words, the point and purpose of revolutionary perestroika is redistribution of power with the transfer of some decisive functions to organs of people's representation — to Soviets, to non-governmental organisations, and to work collectives.

Vanguard

But what role does the Party leave for itself? While remaining the ruling party and drawing on the support of the people, it reserves for itself the role of the determining political force. We find the fundamental aspect of this function described by Lenin: "The Communist Party, the vanguard of the proletariat, leads the non-party workers' masses, educating, preparing, teaching and training the masses ('school' of communism) — first the workers and then the peasants — to enable them eventually to concentrate in their hands the administration of the whole national economy."

Academician Tatiana Zaslavskaya compares perestroika to a social revolution, noting, however, that for it to succeed a revolution in the social mentality is required in the first place. This revolution is taking place before our very eyes. The 19th All-Union Party Conference is called upon to impart a new impulse to it. □

Armenia and Azerbaijan: Supreme Soviets in session

ARMENIA

THE seventh session of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, held in Yerevan on June 15, discussed the fulfilment of the remarks and proposals made by the standing commissions and deputies of Armenia's Supreme Soviet during the previous two sessions.

The session studied the question On the Decision of the Pre-Term Session of the Regional Soviet of People's Deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic of February 20, 1988 "on requesting the Supreme Soviets of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR to remove the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region from the Azerbaijan SSR and include it in the Armenian SSR".

It decided to give consent to the inclusion of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region in the Armenian SSR. The republic's Supreme Soviet requested the USSR Supreme Soviet to consider this issue.

The session formed a standing commission on inter-ethnic relations and internationalist education.

AZERBAIJAN

THE seventh session of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet on June 17 considered matters aimed at accelerating the socio-cultural development of the countryside, and tasks of the republic's Soviets of People's Deputies in the light of requirements of the current restructuring process.

The session also considered an application by the members of the Soviets of People's Deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region for a transfer of the region from the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic to the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. The session endorsed the resolution of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR on the unacceptability of a transfer of the Nagorno-

Karabakh autonomous region from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR.

The session holds that the resolution adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR On Measures to Accelerate the Socio-Economic Development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region of the Azerbaijan SSR in 1988-1995, and the measures being taken by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and the Council of Ministers of the republic to create favourable conditions for accelerating the development of productive forces and for meeting the economic and cultural requirements of both Armenian and Azerbaijani populations and of other nationalities of the autonomous region.

A standing commission for inter-ethnic relations and internationalist education was set up at the session.

The deputies endorsed a law of the Azerbaijan SSR On Nationwide Discussion of Important Questions of State Life. □

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SLCMs: limitation is necessary

Lieutenant-General Viktor Pavlov, expert on military-political problems, comments on the US stand on sea-based cruise missiles.

THE joint statement issued following the Moscow summit contains only one sentence concerning sea-based cruise missiles: "The sides also discussed the question of limiting long-range, nuclear-armed SLCMs". This conciseness is logical because the sides have, in effect, made no headway in resolving the SLCM issue.

The root cause of this is the desire of the American side to try to keep its programmes of massive deployment of the SLCMs beyond the framework of the future START treaty. The Americans for a long time pleaded exceptional difficulty of SLCM control. That is why at the Geneva talks the Soviet side repeatedly proposed complete prohibition of long-range SLCMs. It would be certainly easier to exercise control over non-existent missiles. This proposal of ours remains in force.

If the deployment of SLCMs were not strictly limited under dependable control, an agreement on reducing and limiting the other types of strategic offensive arms (intercontinental ballistic missiles — ICBMs, submarine-launched ballistic missiles — SLBMs, and heavy bombers with their armaments) would be senseless because a new kind of strategic offensive weapon would be deployed without control.

In keeping with the Washington accord of December 10, 1987, the sides agreed to set the limit for the number of long-range nuclear-armed SLCMs and to seek for mutually acceptable and effective measures of control over the exercise of such limitations.

The Soviet side proposed a complex of measures which would ensure the side's confidence in their dependability. Their list includes, among other measures, the use of national technical means of control and on-site inspections (on ships, at the bases, at the plants manufacturing SLCMs, and at the facilities for equipping them) and some kinds of limitation (for instance, of the number of the types of surface ships and submarines which would be allowed to carry SLCMs).

Control

To prove the effectiveness of the national technical verification means it was proposed that a method of instrumental control over the presence or number of nuclear weapons aboard ships be tested through joint effort and be further used.

If control were really the major obstacle to resolution of the SLCMs limitation issue the package of measures proposed by the Soviet Union would certainly unblock it. But, judging by all indications, the Americans regard the problem of control only as a cause for rejecting limitation of SLCMs.

At the same time, the American side is turning down the proposed instrumental method of discovering nuclear arms aboard ships. After the Moscow summit US Defense Secretary Carlucci stated in an interview with the Japanese

TV company NHK that the US needs effective naval might and that it cannot allow the talks to undermine its naval possibilities. Former US Secretary of the Navy Lehman once explained what possibilities were meant: to carry out an offensive against the Russians in their territorial waters and to attack targets lying deep in Soviet territory. These strategic tasks must be accomplished by means of SLCMs.

These plans are being implemented. By the beginning of this year nearly 50 American warships were armed with the Tomahawk missiles of various modifications. By putting into service 450-500 missiles of this type a year, the Pentagon intends to bring their total number to more than 4,000 by the mid-1990s. A Tomahawk cruise missile with four charges was tested in the USA last April.

How can the implementation of such plans be combined with the talks on reducing strategic offensive arms?

If the US confined itself, as it says, to only 800 nuclear-armed SLCMs and placed four warheads on each missile it would have an additional 3,200 nuclear charges, apart from the 6,000 agreed-upon for the future treaty. And who can guarantee that not more, if the Americans are rejecting control, too?

It is clear that the US stand on SLCMs is in conflict with the "renunciation of any intentions to gain military superiority" declared at the summit level in Moscow. □

(Novosti)

Soviet journal *New Times* comments

"THE problem of sea-based cruise missiles became one of the main obstacles in the way of completing the work for an agreement on a 50 per

cent reduction of strategic offensive armaments by the time of the summit meeting in Moscow", Colonel Vladimir Nazarenko, Candidate of Sciences, a military scientist, wrote in the latest issue of the journal *New Times*.

The simplest and most radical solution to the problem of sea-based cruise missiles would be a complete ban on their production, testing and deployment, including their nuclear version and dual-purpose cruise missiles. Another measure would be to limit the patrol zones of the ships carrying sea-based cruise missiles or at least to set a minimal distance at which they can approach the shores of another country, to permit the deployment of the cruise missiles only on certain types of ships and to set the maximum number of cruise missiles for each of the types.

Colonel Nazarenko pointed out that the Soviet Union supported the strictest possible control over sea-based cruise missiles on a reciprocal basis. It could be exercised rather effectively by national technical facilities and by joint efforts up to on-site inspection. "The Soviet side came up with concrete measures for the limitation of sea-based cruise missiles and a definite system of control, including reciprocal control on ships, both Soviet and American. However, our partners believe that it is impossible at the moment to exercise a really effective control over sea-based cruise missiles", he said.

Colonel Nazarenko believes that it is difficult to reach agreement on the reduction of strategic offensive armaments if the sides leave outside the negotiations such powerful destabilising weapons as nuclear sea-based cruise missiles. "The American side should agree as soon

as possible that the fourth component part of the US strategic forces, sea-based cruise missiles, should also be subject to reduction", he pointed out. □

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DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY 1987

The Yearbook put out by the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences is an annual analytical review examining the most important problems of disarmament and security. The review focuses on issues of limiting, reducing and banning armaments, lowering the level of military confrontation between states, and lessening the danger of war. Other subjects of analysis include the bilateral and multilateral talks on disarmament, as well as the political and military steps states are taking on the entire complex of problems involved in ending the arms race.

Published by the Novosti Press Agency, 1988.

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AFRICA: IS DISARMAMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT POSSIBLE?

By Anatoli Gromyko, Director of the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences

ACCORDING to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), a quarter of the world's population experiences a shortage of fresh water, and every fifth man on Earth suffers from hunger or malnutrition. The situation is typical first of all of the African countries. At the same time, these states spend the lion's share of their incomes on armaments, rather than on development and elimination of economic backwardness. Today, Africa buys up to two thirds of the world's arms exports.

This is to be explained not by the African governments' "aggressiveness", but by the fact that the policy of the industrialised Western states on that continent is aimed at stirring up conflict situations. It weakens national liberation movements and undermines Africans' unity in the struggle for a new international economic order. Besides that, this policy brings substantial profits to arms merchants. The arms trade in Africa brings the USA and other Western powers four times more profits than economic credits.

Therefore the share of military aid in the US "assistance" programmes for developing countries is constantly growing. Under the

current administration it has gone up from 25 to 43 per cent of the general sum allocated for aid purposes.

In order to prompt the African governments to increase expenditures on arms, the long-tested "divide and rule" principle is used. Inter-state and regional conflicts are being encouraged and stirred up, and those leaders of the third world who bank on militarism are being supported and supplied with arms. Very often arms deliveries are stipulated by economic agreements between the developing countries and the West. Shouldering the heavy burden of many-billion debts, the third world countries find themselves in a situation where they have no other choice.

In this connection an old parable about a voracious "white elephant" comes to mind. A certain Indian ruler presented it to those of his subjects whom he wanted to bring to ruin. Modern arms are a whole herd of such "white elephants" which completely destroy the faint hope of the third world for its development. In order to feed these "elephants" they have annually to spend 30 dollars of per capita income, two times more than on education and six times more than on health services.

Besides the burden of military expenses, the developing countries are suffering from the destructive consequences of military conflicts. In Angola war damage has topped 10 billion dollars. Subversive acts on railways in Mozambique are undermining the economic co-operation between

southern African states. They force Zambia and Zimbabwe to trade via South African ports.

However, the experience of international relations shows that military methods fail to solve the existing conflict situations. This applies to the Iran-Iraq war and to the south and the north of Africa. Muscle flexing does not work any longer. The Soviet Union has put forward a concept of new political thinking and the idea of a non-violent world in which all disputes among states should be solved peacefully, through negotiations and by taking into account the interests of all the countries.

The practical application of new political thinking has made it possible to start nuclear disarmament of two superpowers — the USSR and the USA. It promotes political detente all over the world and saves material resources. Addressing the third special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze pointed out that the Soviet Union intended to consider the problems of reconversion. This measure will enable the USSR to save tremendous funds for accelerated development.

This example of relations between the world's strongest powers, which were able to overcome the differences dividing them in the name of universal security, also shows the way to solve regional conflicts, relieve the developing countries of the burden of military expenditures and create conditions for their social and economic recovery. □

(Novosti, June 15. In full.)

USSR-Britain: trade-economic relations

THE National Exhibition of Great Britain, the first for over more than 20 years, will be the highlight of the "British-Soviet Month" in Moscow in April 1989. This was disclosed at a press conference held on June 21

at the Moscow office of the British-Soviet Chamber of Commerce.

Addressing Soviet and foreign newsmen, Michael Wilson, Executive Director of the British-Soviet Chamber of Commerce, said that already almost a hundred British companies declared their intention to participate in the exhibition. There is sound reason to believe that this figure will at least double within the next month. Thus almost all branches of Britain's economy will be represented at the exhibition from the power engineering industry to health protection. Many companies are planning to hold seminars and meetings with their Soviet partners in the course of the exhibition.

Simultaneously, Soviet organisations including the enterprises, which have been recently allowed to appear in the foreign market will mount their stands in Moscow's international trade centre. "We hope that direct contacts between Soviet and British businessmen will lead to new agreements, and in broader terms — to an improvement of the general climate of business ties between the two countries." Pyotr Biryukov, Executive Secretary of the British-Soviet Chamber of Commerce, emphasised.

The British-Soviet month will be a major event in Soviet-British relations. They are not confined to trade and economic ties. It is planned at the same time to organise sports competitions, various concerts with the participation of prominent performers from the two countries, the screening of films and a fashion show.

Symbolically, its holding coincides with the second anniversary of the inauguration in Moscow by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of the office of the British-Soviet Chamber of Commerce, one of the organisers of the British-Soviet month said. This is evidence of the role played by the British-Soviet Chamber of Commerce in developing co-operation between the two nations. □

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