

The 19th Conference of the CPSU opens in Moscow

THE 19TH ALL-UNION PARTY CONFERENCE OPENED ON JUNE 28 AT 10 AM IN THE KREMLIN PALACE OF CONGRESSES. IT WAS OPENED BY THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE MIKHAIL GORBACHEV.

ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE ARE 4,991 DELEGATES.

A PRESIDUM OF THE CONFERENCE CONSISTING OF 112 MEMBERS WAS ELECTED UNANIMOUSLY.

THE SECRETARIAT OF THE PRESIDUM, THE EDITORIAL AND CREDENTIAL COMMISSION WERE ALSO ELECTED.

THEN THE ORDER OF THE DAY WAS APPROVED:

1. ON PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTING THE DECISIONS OF THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS, THE MAIN RESULTS OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE 12TH FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND THE TASKS OF PARTY ORGANISATIONS IN PROMOTING THE PROCESS OF PERESTROIKA.

2. ON MEASURES TO FURTHER DEMOCRATISE THE LIFE OF THE PARTY AND SOCIETY.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE MIKHAIL GORBACHEV DELIVERED THE REPORT "ON PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTING THE DECISIONS OF THE 27TH PARTY CONGRESS AND THE TASKS OF PROMOTING PERESTROIKA".

Summary of Mikhail Gorbachev's report

"THE fundamental question facing us, delegates of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, is how to deepen and make irreversible the revolutionary restructuring that is unfurling in our country on the initiative and under the guidance of the Party," Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said. He delivered a report "On Progress in Implementing the Decisions of the 27th Party Congress and the Tasks of Promoting Perestroika" at the CPSU Conference which has opened in the Kremlin. Here follows a summary of his report.

"The three past years in our life can rightly be described as crucial ones. By the efforts of the Party and the working people we have succeeded in stopping the country's slide to a crisis in the economic, social and spiritual spheres. Society now knows and understands better its past, present and future. The policy

of perestroika, translated into concrete socio-economic programmes, is becoming the practical cause of millions. Herein lies the essence of the political situation in the country," he said.

"The process of revolutionary renewal is ever deeper penetrating the decisive sphere of life — the economy. Under way is the reform of the system of managing the national economy based on the provisions of the USSR law on State Enterprises, the speaker said. The recently adopted law on co-operation in the USSR opens the road to creating a big co-operative sector in the country's economy and a noticeable impulse has been given to individual labour activity," Mikhail Gorbachev said.

"The economy is gradually picking up speed," he said further. "Last year for the first time the entire increment of the national income was obtained by increased labour productivity. The growth of the real incomes of working people has resumed: in the first two years of the present five-year plan period they . . . increased in the *per capita* estimation by 4.6 per cent . . . the tendency towards an improvement of the socio-economic situation has gained ground this year as well."

All these are the real fruit of perestroika. But we must be self-critical and see that despite all the positive moments the situation in the economy is changing slowly, especially if we are to speak of the end result — the people's standard of living. "It must be frankly said that we have underestimated the entire depth and seriousness of the deformations and stagnation of the past years."

When speaking about the errors and mistakes of the past, Mikhail Gorbachev went on, one should be also self-exacting and self-critical. "During the three years we could have accom-

plished much more than we actually have along the main directions of perestroika, and first of all, in raising our economy's efficiency and improving its end results."

Dwelling on questions of solving the food problem the speaker said that although there are certain improvements in this field they cannot now satisfy us. The country now needs other, higher rates of building up food resources. Experience shows that the extensive, country-wide introduction of effective forms of organising and encouraging labour, for instance based on lease, is the shortest and reliable road to an abundance of foodstuffs. This is the key link in the present-day agrarian policy. "Everything depends on how quickly we will make people interested and organise the work of collectives on the basis of lease and contract, on how extensively we will draw the workers in agriculture into this process and make the farmer a genuine master."

The report dealt with various aspects of the problem of social development and says that the USSR has commenced the solution of a task of exceptional importance — by the year 2000 to provide practically every family with a separate apartment or a separate house.

Despite the fact that radical economic reform is only beginning and new economic management methods are just being mastered, they have already begun to tell favourably on the resolution of many production and social problems, the report continued.

But the main thing today is to draw lessons from the difficulties of the initial period of reform and identify the causes making the new economic mechanism skid.

These include the fact that not all the

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elements of reform are yet in place and that the nation has embarked on reform in the course of a five-year plan that has been drawn up in old, pre-perestroika conditions. There have arisen also difficulties stemming from the tenacity of the old stereotypes of economic management, the striving to preserve the customary command-and-administer methods of running the economy, and resistance to change.

"In a number of cases," the report went on to say, "we also encounter direct attempts to distort the substance of reform and fill new forms of administration with old contents. This is demonstrated by the experience of working out factory plans for the current year, whereby the former system of mandatory gross production targets has been effectively preserved under the guise of state contracts."

Signals about that have not been given timely and proper consideration. Now the mistake is being rectified, Gorbachev said.

Speaking of perestroika in the economy, he said "there are difficulties and they are not ruled out in the future as well, but reform is reaching ever wider economic fields and demonstrating its vitality. With account of the experience gained, we ought carefully to prepare for completing the changeover of all the enterprises in the sphere of material production to the new system of economic management from the beginning of 1989."

Gorbachev added that the lack of pricing reform is a major stumbling block seriously complicating the progress of economic reform. Also, pricing reform cannot but affect retail prices. The issue is currently being carefully studied and relevant proposals will be offered for nationwide discussion.

"The approach here must only be one — changes to retail prices must by no means entail a drop in the people's living standard. The issue is being formulated in this way: the funds the government now spends as subsidies will be completely given to the population in the form of compensation."

Much work has been done as part of the perestroika effort and with an eye to radical economic reform to rethink foreign economic policy, the report continued. As before, priority is given to relations with socialist countries and the long-term promise is seen in transition to a freely convertible rouble and a single socialist market.

"We shall seek to broaden foreign economic relations with capitalist and developing nations on the basis of mutual benefit as well. In this area, too, the course has been set for profound and comprehensive co-operation in science, technology and production through various forms of international co-operative arrangements," Gorbachev said.

"Perestroika and the renewal of socialism are unthinkable without the utmost activation of society's intellectual and spiritual potential contained in science and education, the whole of culture", the report says. "The task of drastically changing priorities, raising the role of the spiritual sphere and overcoming its underestimation was already set at the beginning of perestroika. Much has changed here. A new socio-political atmosphere has appeared, an atmosphere of openness, freedom, creativity and discussions, objective and unbiased research, criticism and self-criticism. A real revolution of the consciousness is under way without which it is impossible to create a new life."

The report says that the Party attaches much importance to the contribution made by Soviet scientists to perestroika. Positive changes are already taking shape as a result of the development of science and technology but so far we have not yet succeeded in radically changing the situation. "It turned out to be especially complex in the field of fundamental research which determines the prospects of science and scientific-technical progress. Making themselves

felt to this day are many braking factors inherited from the time of the domination of the command and administrative methods of guidance when quite often such directions of research were imposed on science that did not follow from the logic of its own development. And, on the other hand, many new and promising fields of research did not get timely support and were even forbidden." That is why today it is not enough just to rectify all these mistakes, the speaker said. We must have today a profound restructuring, a dismantling of many established structures and an improvement of internal relations in science.

The report critically evaluates the situation in the field of education and speaks of drawing up a programme of fundamental changes in instruction and education. "Of course, the expenditures on education and science are great but the price of their lagging behind is incomparably greater. Without a high quality of education, research, general and professional culture — without all this it is impossible to attain the aims of perestroika."

On noting the tremendous role in the socialist renewal of society that workers in Soviet culture are called upon to play the speaker said in particular that "a discussion of unprecedented scope, frankness and intellectual intensity about the roads of renewing socialism, about the past and the present is taking place in our journalism, in literary and scientific publications. And this is wonderful. The Party highly appreciates the intelligentsia's growing contribution to the implementation of perestroika . . . on the whole the processes in the sphere of culture are developing on a healthy basis. But we would not be objective and would have erred against the truth if we were to say that they are proceeding without contradictions, without hitches, that sometimes go beyond the framework of socialist values. . . I would not want to dramatise the situation. Besides there is no special reason for this. But it would not be reasonable to ignore such phenomena and bypass them."

Much attention in the report was given to the democratisation of international relations: "the cardinal changes in our own home required new approaches also to international affairs." "One cannot but admit that the command and administrative methods did not bypass the foreign policy sphere as well. It happened that even the most important decisions were adopted by a narrow circle of persons, without a collective and all-round study and analysis, and sometimes also without a proper consultation with friends. This resulted in an inadequate reaction to international events and the policy of other states, and sometimes in mistaken decisions. Unfortunately, the price for the people or the possible outcome of some variant of action was not always weighed."

New political thinking was required for the resolute renewal of the country's foreign policy, the speaker said. Its foundations were laid by the 27th Party Congress.

"New thinking is not a closed and completed doctrine," Gorbachev said. "It is dialectical, which makes it possible constantly to perfect and develop policy in accordance with the course of actual life and, naturally, in keeping with our socialist choice, with the Leninist principles."

"From the present-day positions characterised by the mounting threat of nuclear war, the aggravation of other global problems and the intensification of internationalisation of all processes in the world . . . we tried to analyse in a more profound way the intrinsically Marxist idea of interrelationship between the proletarian-class and universal human interests. This has led us to the conclusion of the priority of universal human values in our age. Here lies the core of new political thinking."

The new dynamism in Soviet foreign policy had enabled the USSR to advance a whole number of major initiatives, the speaker said.

These are a programme for the stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, a system of comprehensive security, freedom of choice, balance of interests, "common European home", restructuring of relations in the Asia-Pacific region, defence sufficiency and non-offensive doctrine, reduction of the level of arms as a way towards strengthening national and regional security, withdrawal of troops and bases from foreign territories, confidence-building measures, international economic security, the idea of direct inclusion of the authority of science in world politics.

"Dialogue underlies our contacts along state lines, and readiness for deep-going mutual control is at the basis of the sphere of disarmament."

"This made it possible to broaden the range of confidence far beyond the spectrum of the conventional world outlook," the speaker said.

He emphasised that this approach made possible major breakthroughs in world politics and, above all, in the field of disarmament. "We can give the following answer to the principal question that worries most of all the Soviet people and on which they would like to hear the appraisal of the work in the past three years — whether it became possible to push back the threat of war: yes, undoubtedly so."

On the basis of the analysis of the existing realities, the speaker draws conclusions as to what trends will determine the world's development on the threshold of the 20th-21st centuries. Gorbachev believes that the states will be motivated by gradual demilitarisation and humanisation of international relations.

Safeguarding the security of states will move from the sphere of military potentials into the sphere of political interaction and strict compliance with international commitments.

The immense growth of the scientific and technological potential will be used in a more civilised way. The diverse and voluntary communication of independent states and peoples will reliably serve their mutual enrichment, both material and intellectual.

"Soviet foreign policy, despite some errors and shortcomings of the past, has, on the whole, done great service to the country, to socialism, and to all of mankind," said the speaker, summing up the foreign-policy section in the report.

A large part of the report dealt with the forthcoming reform of the country's political system as a most important guarantee of perestroika's irreversibility.

"We are not beginning this work from scratch. We have the unique experience of the world's first socialist democracy," Gorbachev said. "Born of socialism, the forms and methods of popular government have exerted tremendous influence on the social progress of humanity and become part and parcel of the political culture of the times."

"It is in this country that a system of working people's power, embodied in the republic of the soviets, worker control, the right to work and other highly important social rights of individuals, and the equality of women and men and of different ethnic groups have become a reality. In other words, we have been the first with many democratic initiatives of the 20th century," the report continued.

The country's political system has to be overhauled, it said, because at a certain stage the system created as a result of the victorious October Revolution has been seriously deformed. It is these deformities that have made possible the omnipotence of Stalin and of his associates and the wave of repression and lawlessness. The command-and-administer methods of guidance that shaped at the time have had baneful effects on different aspects of the development of Soviet society. Many difficulties facing the country now are rooted in that system.

The report detailed these difficulties and said the Party has launched a decisive effort to update the socio-political structures. "We are learning democracy and glasnost, learning to argue and debate and to tell each other the truth. This is, of course, not small. But the processes of democratisation — both in the centre and at local level — are unfolding too slowly. One has to have the courage to admit today: if the political system remains immobile, unchanged, we shall not cope with the tasks of perestroika," Gorbachev said.

"An all-round enrichment of human rights and increased social activity on the part of Soviet people are the ultimate objective of the reform of the political system and the main criterion of its success," he added.

Human rights in socialist society are not a gift from the state and not anybody's favour, but an intrinsic quality of socialism.

Gorbachev then spoke of social rights, the ramified system of caring for people in socialist society and ways to upgrade and reinforce it.

"Perestroika has put emphasis on the issue of political rights of individuals," he said. "Their realisation has been affected especially painfully by the command-and-administer methods of guidance and related curbs on democracy. All that has slowed down and complicated the process of overcoming man's estrangement from power and from politics, a process started by the October Revolution."

Gorbachev dwelt on the implementation of political freedoms allowing people in the Soviet Union to express their opinions on any issue. He also touched upon the freedom of conscience. The draft law on the freedom of conscience, which is currently in the making, is based on Lenin's principles and takes into account all the modern realities. More precise legislative regularising is required also in the issue of citizens' personal rights.

The report said that the draft of political reform suggested to the conference is directed precisely at expediting the process of drawing working people on a wide scale into administering the nation's affairs.

"The human rights problem also has an important international aspect," Gorbachev went on to say. "We are deeply convinced of the correctness of our socialist choice and firmly intend, in removing all distortions and deformations, to enrich the rights of the individual precisely on the socialist ground, acting within the framework and by the methods that meet the nature of our system."

"But in the present-day conditions, human rights, above all the right to life, are becoming a subject of concern of the entire international community, they are being internationalised as well as many other aspects of public life."

"We are ready actively to co-operate with all other countries, exchange experience and scrupulously fulfil our commitments. We are convinced that perestroika will make it possible to reveal the indisputable advantages of socialism in safeguarding all human rights — social, political and individual."

Speaking on the problem of perfecting the organisation of government, Gorbachev said that the USSR needs to organise authority and government in such a way that the decisive, final word will always be that of the people, that processes of self-regulation and self-government of society be given maximum scope. Of principled importance here is the correct distribution of power among the basic links of the political system, primarily between the party and the state.

"Life puts forward the acute problem of restoring in full measure the power of the soviets of people's deputies," the report said. Party policy — economic, social and national — should be carried out primarily through the soviets of people's deputies as bodies of people's

government. It is necessary drastically to renew the very organisation of the work of the soviets, expand the range of issues that are handled at the sessions, free deputies on a periodic basis from their job to perform duties in the soviets, in electoral districts.

The speaker dwelt on a number of proposals expressed during the discussion of the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee and backed the idea of having permanently working chairmen of the soviets and presidiums of the soviets in local bodies of government. In his opinion, it is important to strengthen the role of the soviets as elected bodies of the people with the authority of the Party. The most real road for that is to recommend, as a rule, to the posts of chairmen of the soviets the first secretaries of corresponding Party committees.

To delimit powers between elected and executive bodies, it would be possible to set the rules under which members of the executive committees of the soviets, heads of their departments and sections should not serve as deputies of the particular soviet, the report says.

It would be expedient to apply the same principle to judges, prosecutors and arbitrators, and at the level of the USSR, trade union and autonomous republics — to members of the government and heads of departments. There is a need to introduce a number of democratic restrictions on the holding of elected posts, specifically a limitation of the terms in office.

"Real political weight of people's deputies is an indispensable condition for enhancing the activity of the soviets, which is directly connected with the entire process of shaping elected bodies of power. Hence the need for the radical renewal of our electoral system."

The country has already begun marching along that path, the report said.

Speaking on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, Gorbachev then made proposals to the conference concerning the way the supreme bodies of Soviet power should organise their activities and the powers they should have.

One proposal was for markedly increasing the representation of working people in the upper echelon of state power, namely for electing 750 deputies from Party, trade union, co-operatives, youth, women's, veterans', scientific and professionals' organisations in addition to the 1,500 deputies of the country's supreme body of power elected now from territorial and national districts. "Taken together, all the delegates, to be elected for a term of five years, would form a new representative supreme body of state authority — the congress of people's deputies of the USSR," Gorbachev said. "It would gather for its meetings once a year to deal with the more important constitutional, political and socio-economic matters of the country's life."

"In order to discuss and resolve all issues of legislative, administrative and supervisory nature and set guidelines for the accountable bodies and the soviets under it, the congress of people's deputies would elect from among its members a comparatively small (say, 400 to 450 deputies) Supreme Soviet of the USSR consisting of two houses. It would be a continuously working supreme body of power accountable to the Congress of People's Deputies."

The report made proposals also for invigorating the activities of the two houses of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"In the opinion of the CPSU Central Committee, the interests of a greater role for the supreme representative bodies and the entire system of soviets of people's deputies, a stronger legal nature of government and a better representation of the Soviet Union in world affairs would be served by instituting the post of President of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. It ought to be established that he shall be elected

and recalled through secret ballot by the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and be fully responsible and accountable to it," Gorbachev said.

The supreme power structure, he continued, ought to include also the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR working under the Supreme Soviet President.

The General Secretary then raised the issue of also instituting within the supreme power structure of such a body as a constitutional review committee to be elected by the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. It would monitor the compliance of laws and other legal instruments with the national constitution and be vested with sufficient powers for that.

Gorbachev suggested decisively altering also the very nature and style of work by the Supreme Soviet and rid its sessions of long speeches and accounts, excessive organisation and formalism. He said many of the proposed changes to the structure of the supreme body of power of the USSR and to the way it goes about doing its work could be accountable to the supreme bodies of power of the constituent republics as well.

All these changes can be sealed by legislative acts as early as next autumn so as to reorganise the national bodies of power after regular elections next spring.

The report also spoke of increasing the role of such an important form of socialist government as people's control. So as to lend proper weight to the people's control system, Gorbachev proposed considering the option whereby the Chairman of the People's Control Committee of the USSR could be a first vice-president of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

When speaking of interethnic relations, the report said life has confirmed the correctness of the idea underlying the organisation of the multinational Soviet Union. "The pooling of efforts has enabled every ethnic group and society as a whole sharply to accelerate their movement and reach new frontiers of historical progress. Despite all the difficulties encountered on our path, we state today that this union has stood the test of time. It continues to remain the decisive prerequisite of the continued development of all our peoples."

Gorbachev reminded the conference that a special plenum of the CPSU Central Committee will be devoted to the problems of interethnic relations.

In the present-day situation the rights of the constituent republics should be analysed and brought in accordance with radical economic reform. It is evidently expedient that after meeting their quotas for supplies to the nation as a whole, they should be able to build up production for their own needs through skilful and enterprising economic management.

"Also coming to light in the process of democratisation and glasnost (openness) over recent years have been such problems as were not always taken into account sufficiently, for example, issues connected with the language, culture, literature and the arts, historical monuments and nature protection."

"We have seen for ourselves lately," the report continued, "the kind of knots into which the problems of interethnic relations can knit themselves. It is imperative to preserve the friendship and brotherhood of our peoples like the apple of one's eye. There is simply no other way, no reasonable alternative. Those seeking to prove the opposite deceive both themselves and others. Moreover, attempting to set people of different nationalities at loggerheads with each other and sow strife and hostility between them means assuming grave responsibility to one's own people and to socialist society, not to mention the law. Objectively such actions hamper both the process of democratisation and the cause of perestroika."

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Eduard Shevardnadze receives Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister

EDUARD SHEVARDNADZE, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Foreign Minister, on June 24 received Takakazu Kuriyama the Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister. The conversation covered topical international issues and Soviet-Japanese relations. The Japanese diplomat is in Moscow in connection with the holding of consultations between the foreign ministries of the USSR and Japan at the level of deputy foreign minister.

Takakazu Kuriyama said that the Japanese Government appraises highly the Soviet-American treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles providing for the elimination of such missiles worldwide and views it as the first step towards real nuclear disarmament.

Eduard Shevardnadze drew the attention of the Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister to the Soviet programme for lowering military confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region prompted by new political thinking. In that context the importance was stressed of the Soviet initiative put forward in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Vladivostok, and the Soviet initiatives at the current special session on disarmament of the UN General Assembly, in particular concerning the limitation of naval activities in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. It was stressed that the Soviet Union is prepared to discuss these issues specifically with all countries, including with Japan.

The Soviet Foreign Minister reaffirmed the Soviet Union's invariable policy of developing relations of good-neighbourliness and broad co-operation with Japan in conditions of equality, mutual benefit and without any preliminary strings attached. The need was stressed for displaying proper responsibility so as to preserve in Soviet-Japanese relations the "new growth" of the good, which remains fragile so far.

Takakazu Kuriyama said that the Japanese leadership attaches much significance to relations with the Soviet Union, its important neighbour, and intends to make every effort to develop them in various fields, including the level of political dialogue.

In connection with the so-called "territorial issue" touched upon by the Japanese diplomat, he was told that the putting forward of that problem by the Japanese side and even more so the wish to lend to it an international character meets with the protests of the Soviet people and is in conflict with the interests of developing good-neighbourliness and co-operation between our countries.

In the exchange of views on further contacts at the level of foreign ministers of the USSR and Japan understanding was reached that the next meeting of the ministers will be held in New York during the session of the UN General Assembly.

Takakazu Kuriyama delivered to Eduard Shevardnadze a verbal message from Sosuke Uno the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs. □

Vladimir Petrovsky's speech at UN session

THIS special session will occupy a very conspicuous place in the history of the United Nations Organisation, Vladimir Petrovsky, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, said on June 26 in a speech at the closing plenary meeting of the UN General Assembly's third special session on disarmament.

"The session was called in the crucial period at the start of a real process of nuclear disarmament and became a truly people's assembly of representatives of various public and non-governmental organisations and the generator of new ideas and proposals the implementation of which will make it possible to fill them with

a tangible content and to set into motion all mechanisms of disarmament. The session has shown that the ideas of the new political thinking which presuppose renunciation of confrontation and countervailing of force, and parallel constructivism of bilateral and multilateral efforts of countries are beginning to be widely introduced to the practice of world politics.

"Really, the dialogue on security in the military sphere has become enriched with new content at the session. The culture of the dialogue has changed too. It ceases to be verbal fencing and a search for victory over an opponent but becomes the source of the quest for ideas and the source of the truth.

"Of course, revitalisation of UN activities, just

as everything new, encounters opposition on the part of the braking forces of conservative reaction," the Soviet representative pointed out. "We witnessed that at this special session as well. It is regrettable that a final document has not been coordinated precisely owing to counteraction by those forces. The more so as consensus was within reach, so to speak, and the Soviet delegation was ready to act so that consensus could be reached on all points of the document."

"Nevertheless, what has happened does not discourage us," Vladimir Petrovsky went on to say. "The session, having become a sort of laboratory of the new thinking, now creates greater opportunities for its rich potential to be used in practical acts and at other forums and to serve further headway in all directions of disarmament. The Soviet Union has received at the session a powerful store of energy for acting in all directions of disarmament. We are gratified to point out that our priorities are shared by the international community."

"The priorities are to conclude an agreement on a 50 per cent reduction in the strategic offensive arms of the Soviet Union and the United States with the observance of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972, to ban nuclear weapon tests, to prevent an arms race in outer space, to conclude as soon as possible a convention banning chemical weapons, to cut down conventional arms and the armed forces and, as a starter, to hold talks on these issues in application to the European continent from the Atlantic to the Urals, and finally to introduce the mechanisms of verification, openness and trust to the process of disarmament. Our routes of disarmament are a multi-lane highway where there is room for both bilateral and multilateral efforts.

"We hold that in present-day conditions it is exceptionally important that bilateral processes be substantiated by multilateral efforts and that there should be mutual enrichment from the experience gained as a result of acting in these two directions. We intend to continue to rely on the experience and wisdom of the international community and the knowledge which we have gained at this special session," Vladimir Petrovsky emphasised in conclusion. □

CMEA-EEC — joint declaration signed

A JOINT declaration on the establishment of official relations between the European Economic Community and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance was signed in Luxembourg on June 25. The declaration runs as follows:

The European Economic Community, of the one part, and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance on the other part,

Having regard to the acts establishing the European Economic Community and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and in particular the Treaty of Rome,

On the basis of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, and taking account of the results of the subsequent stages of the CSCE process,

Desirous of contributing, by the activities they pursue within their fields of competence, to the further development of international economic co-operation, an important factor in economic growth and social progress,

Declare as follows:

1. The European Economic Community and

the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance establish official relations with each other by adopting this declaration.

2. The parties will develop co-operation in areas which fall within their respective spheres of competence and where there is a common interest.

3. The areas, forms and methods of co-operation will be determined by the parties by means of contacts and discussions between their representatives designated for this purpose.

4. On the basis of the experience gained in developing co-operation between them, the parties will, if necessary, examine the possibility of determining new areas, forms and methods of co-operation.

5. As regards the application of this declaration to the community, it shall apply to the territories in which the treaty establishing the European Economic Community is applied and under the conditions laid down in that treaty.

6. This declaration is drawn up in duplicate in the Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Mongolian, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Spanish and Vietnamese languages, each text being equally authentic. □

Statement on Afghanistan by USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman

YURI GREMITSKIKH, First Deputy Chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, on June 25 made the following statement at the Press Centre of the 19th All-Union Party Conference:

It is to be deplored that forces trying to make dirty political capital by scuttling the fulfilment of the Geneva Accords and on fanning the flames of the psychological war against the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, continue their propaganda attacks. This can be instanced by the commentary of the Voice of America of June 24 which, incidentally, says that it reflects the viewpoint of the US Government. Crudely distorting facts, the Voice of America seeks nothing but to shift onto the Soviet Union the entire responsibility for the sufferings of the Afghan people as a result of the undeclared war unleashed against them by the armed opposition, to ascribe to us those cunning and heinous terrorist acts perpetrated by anti-government groups against innocent Afghan residents.

The point in question is the massive sowing of Afghan territory with booby-trap mines. We have already proven to the international community with numerous specific facts who in actual fact lay mines on roads, plant them in dwelling houses, mosques and crowded places, who strew about toys filled with explosives. We have shown on television the so-called fighters for the faith caught red-handed at the place of their heinous crimes, including those with booby-trap mines. Dushman bandits continue shelling Kabul and other Afghan cities and villages with rocket projectiles.

At the same time there is no evidence, nor can there be, any evidence indicating that such crimes are committed by Soviet soldiers.

It is self-evident that slanderous concoctions against the Soviet limited military contingent are aimed both at screening the crimes of the rebels and at diverting the attention of the international community from problems of achieving an all-round Afghan settlement, from crude violation by Pakistan of the Geneva Accords. A disquieting situation is shaping with Islamabad's non-fulfilment of its obligations under the Geneva agreements. Every day brings in new data that the Pakistani leaders continue to trample underfoot understanding reached with them and signed by them.

In contrast to the Voice of America, we do not use falsehoods, and what we say, we substantiate with concrete data. There are the latest facts which we should like to cite in addition to what was already said earlier.

Using their army transport, the Pakistani authorities transport weapons and ammunition from depots of the 12th Corps of the Pakistani Armed Forces to the Tuba trans-shipment base 24 kilometres east of the city of Chaman, from there they are shipped to rebels in the provinces of Qandahar, Helmand and Ghor. In the first half of June the Pakistani army brought great quantities of military hardware to the area of Chaman.

Anti-government forces have started receiving lorries equipped for rough terrain mounted with large-calibre machine guns. Up to 500 such lorries are massed at a storage facility in Quetta.

On June 20 Rais Jalil and Mullah Manon,

representatives of the Alliance of the Seven, arrived in Parwan province from Peshawar. Their aim is to form a new regiment Hizb-i Islami numbering 500-600. US military clothing was brought to the same place.

As many as 25 American, Pakistani and French advisers came from Pakistan to join units of Ahmad Shah Musad in the same province of Parwan (Chamalwarda village).

A total of 300 rebels with heavy armaments were moved from Pakistan via Nuristan (Kunar province) to Badakhshan (Archa area). In the near future another group of 100 is expected to arrive there to unite with the unit of Sayed Ali part of the Hizb-i Islami.

An operation lifting 12 armed groups of 100 men each to Zebak district has been started to reinforce units of Jamiat-i-Islami.

On June 16 twenty million Afghanis were sent from Peshawar to the rebels of the Jamiat-i-Islami operating in Herat province.

In Pakistan the formation of a "volunteer corps" numbering 3,000 has been started on the basis of border regiments of rebels.

Here are the results of violations of the Geneva agreements and encouragement of the rebels by Pakistan. Between last June 18 and 20 alone Afghan inhabited localities were shelled 31 times. Nine people were killed and 32 wounded. On June 20 a rocket projectile exploded on a school campus during shelling of Qandahar. As a result, two schoolchildren were killed and five wounded. This is not war but terrorism.

The above-mentioned facts clearly show why the Pakistani authorities are seeking in every way to thwart the inspection activities of UN observers on the territory of Pakistan. □

Soviet minister's talk with Canadian Ambassador

ON JUNE 24 Alexander Bessmertnykh, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, summoned Canadian Ambassador Vernon George Turner to the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and drew his attention to the fact that the Canadian authorities had resorted to a new hostile act against official Soviet representatives in Ottawa, an act which was fraught with negative consequences for relations between the two countries.

"Unfortunately they did not heed our advice to show a sense of responsibility and realism and our warning that if the Canadian side resorts to further straining of the situation it should expect immediate additional counter-measures.

"To all appearances, forces which are guided by selfish aims, without reckoning with the interests of maintaining normal relations between the Soviet Union and Canada, have the last word when decisions of this kind are taken in Ottawa.

"The Soviet side, confirming the groundlessness of the accusations that Soviet staff members in Canada engaged in impermissible activities, makes a resolute protest at the new provocative actions of the Canadian side. The Canadian side should be aware that it has assumed the entire responsibility for the serious consequences of the actions.

"At the same time the attention of the

Canadian Embassy in Moscow is being drawn to the fact that Colonel I. K. Bowen, Canadian Defence Attaché, engages in activities incompatible with his official status. In this connection he is declared *persona non grata* and is expelled from the USSR. The following seven former staff members of the Canadian Embassy are likewise declared *persona non grata*: Jacques Drapeau, a counsellor, Jan Drent, a naval attaché, Peter Leschinski, second secretary, Paul Mayer, first secretary, Michale Meise, first secretary, Francois Nado, third secretary, and Scott Hederington, first secretary.

"Besides, 25 Soviet employees who work at the Canadian Embassy in Moscow on assignment are being recalled as a retaliatory measure.

"The Canadian side is being notified again that if it resorts to any further provocative steps which will aggravate the relations between our two countries, it will encounter adequate countermeasures on our part."

The Ambassador said that he would immediately inform Ottawa of the Soviet side's statement.

(The names are retranslated from the Russian.)

* * *

GENNADI GERASIMOV, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, made the following statement at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists on June 22:

In connection with the decision of the Canadian authorities to declare several staff members of Soviet offices in Ottawa and Montreal *personae non gratae*, the following has to be said.

First, it is an obvious provocation, planned in advance, which has nothing to do with the nature of the activities of Soviet people in Canada. Allegations that they engaged in something inadmissible are entirely groundless and far-fetched.

Second, this action by the Canadian authorities was clearly timed to coincide with the moment when prospects for a positive change in East-West relations took shape, including Soviet-US and Soviet-Canadian relations. The opponents of such a turn of events are trying to frustrate this process, raising all kinds of obstacles. The Canadian security service served as a convenient tool in the hands of these forces.

Third, this anti-Soviet action also belies the internal political struggle in Canada, when some people are trying to pursue their selfish interests by worsening relations with the Soviet Union. Summing up, one can say that the actions of the Canadian Government were primarily aimed against further improvement of the international situation, Soviet-Canadian relations and, finally, against the interests of the Canadian side itself.

The provocation of the Canadian authorities naturally will not remain without due reply. □

East-West: miscalculations of the past

WERE there blunders in the West's policy *vis-à-vis* the Soviet Union, and was everything correct in the USSR's foreign policy in the stagnation period? These questions were put to the speakers at a press conference on the subject "Perestroika in Foreign Policy", which was held at the Press Centre of the 19th All-Union Party Conference on June 25.

For decades the myths of a "Soviet military threat" and "Soviet military supremacy" were instilled in the minds of people the world over, said Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergei Akhromeyev, Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR. It is necessary to dispel these myths so that the peoples of Europe and the whole world should live in a more tranquil, calm atmosphere.

In the opinion of Yuli Vorontsov, USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister, the Western countries would be well advised to wake up to the fact that the Soviet Union and the other socialist states cannot be forced to do what the West wishes. It is only possible to reach agreement with the socialist countries on the basis of equality.

Since 1917 and to this day a considerable number of Western politicians have proceeded from the entirely false premise that the difference in the social systems is an insurmountable obstacle to normal relations, said Vadim Zalgadin, First Deputy Head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee. We will certainly not give up our system, yet we proceed from the premise that

the difference in the social system is not only a source of disagreement, but also of tremendous possibilities for the exchange of experience, comparison and competition.

Academician Oleg Bogomolov, Director of the Institute of the World Socialist Economic System of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, believes that one of the shortcomings of the West's foreign policy is the underestimation of the potentialities of self-perfection by the socialist public system. Hence the distorted false image of these countries and hence also many subsequent foreign policy moves and actions.

A bad shortcoming in the West's policy is the selfish attitude to questions pertaining to the economic interaction between the systems and countries in the world arena, the attempts to use the levers of economic pressure on the countries of the socialist system, said Vitali Zhurkin, Director of the Institute of Europe of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

In the opinion of Yevgeni Primakov, Director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the concept in the West's policy *vis-à-vis* the socialist camp "everything that is good to us is bad to them, and vice versa" is erroneous.

Wherein do the speakers in the press conference see the blunders in Soviet foreign policy during the stagnation period? In the opinion of Marshal Akhromeyev, our response to the arms race started by the West was excessively direct in the seventies and the first half of the eighties. He believes that "it was necessary to be more active in winning the public

over to our side, in more clearly revealing the danger of the arms race and finding the methods to halt that race".

Yuli Vorontsov noted that the propagandist aspect often cropped up in the way of real effective work in those years. At times we were led by the Western countries, which were prepared to discuss anything, but did not display preparedness to get agreement. "It was necessary to take them by their hands, make them sit down at the negotiating table and draw up specific points of agreements. We sinned by often displaying a lack of initiative in this respect." While rejecting nuclear war and fighting to prevent it, we, nevertheless, proceeded from the premise that it was possible to win it, Vadim Zalgadin said. Hence the confrontation approach to non-confrontation situations, a military-political answer instead of a political one. When we brought our concept into correspondence with the realities and logic, the whole policy began shaping differently.

One of our miscalculations of our foreign policy in the stagnation period lies in underestimating such a powerful factor as the internal development of our economy, perfection of social relations, and ensuring a rise in popular well-being, Oleg Bogomolov feels. A very bad miscalculation was, in Academician Primakov's opinion, that a multi-variant approach poorly manifested itself in decision-making. Now we contemplate many variants before taking a decision.

Genrikh Borovik, Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, noted a lack of sufficient openness in taking important foreign policy decisions in the years of stagnation. □

Discrimination against Soviet tourists

GENNADI GERASIMOV described an incident in the USA which involved a group of Soviet tourists as an episode which demonstrates the limits of American freedoms. He was speaking on June 22 at a briefing in the Foreign Ministry Press Centre.

Gerasimov told journalists that a group of Soviet tourists were in the USA from June 2 to 16 on a tour arranged by American Express. American trade unions, which maintain friendly ties with Soviet trade unions, had prepared a programme along the entire itinerary of the trip for this tourist group. In particular, they organised meetings with American workers, union activists, visits to enterprises, offices, and homes of some American citizens who had earlier been to the USSR.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that the granting of American visas was not accompanied by oral or written restrictions on contacts with the representatives of American trade unions, therefore some members of the tourist group accepted invitations to visit the headquarters of several sectoral trade union affiliations of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organisations, had talks and meetings with their American counterparts in Washington and Chicago.

When the group arrived in San Francisco on June 8, a representative of the American Express Company informed the group leaders that he was instructed by the headquarters of the company with reference to the State Department to warn the Soviet tourists in future to refrain from meetings and conversations with representatives of American trade unions, including those on an unofficial basis. It was pointed out that otherwise

MARSHAL of the Soviet Union Sergei Akhromeyev, Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, proposed that the elimination of foreign military presence and bases in foreign territories be started from the Mediterranean.

Addressing a press conference in Moscow on June 25, he noted that although the Soviet proposal on putting an end to the stationing of foreign troops and military bases in the territory of other countries, which was put forward by the USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, at the session of the third special UN General Assembly, has not yet been elaborated in detail, "it is possible, as a first step, to withdraw the fleets of foreign countries from the Mediterranean."

the members of the group would have their visas cancelled and have to leave the United States.

Gennadi Gerasimov pointed out that "protests against this were heard from the American trade unions as well. They regarded the actions by the US authorities as a direct infringement on their own rights and freedoms. However, the State Department did not change its decisions and therefore the Soviet tourists could not but obey this decision."

The Soviet spokesman stressed that "during meetings between the Soviet Foreign Minister and the US Secretary of State the question of discriminations against Soviet trade unions was raised on more than one occasion. The American side promised to study the problem. As this incident shows, it is still being studied." □

For an end to military presence abroad

In the course of the forthcoming talks on the reduction of armed forces and arms in Europe, Marshal Akhromeyev continued, "it will also be possible to start the return of Soviet troops to Soviet territory from the territories of a number of East European countries, and the troops of the USA and Britain — to their territory from the FRG."

Touching upon the situation at the talks on strategic offensive weapons after the Moscow summit meeting, the Chief of the General Staff said that the Soviet side had attentively analysed the agreements reached at it by the leaders of the two countries. The activities have also been analysed of the working groups which have made considerable progress. At present the Soviet side is completing preparations for that so as to resume with fresh vigour the talks in Geneva on July 12.

"The preparations for the implementation of the INF Treaty, which has come into force, have added very many things we have to attend to," Marshal Akhromeyev continued. Preparedness has now been checked on all the facilities in the territory of the USSR for inspection by the US side. All the equipment and facilities have been prepared for the journey to and work at them by American inspectors. As the US side has informed us, work in this line has been completed in the USA, too.

The special control commission in Geneva, which was set up by the USSR and the USA, is examining the technical aspects of the forthcoming inspections and eliminations. On July 1 the sides will start their inspections. The elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is due to be started in August. □

Soviet Deputy Minister of Justice on penal law reforms

THE fundamentals of the Soviet penal laws, including the articles providing for responsibility for anti-Soviet propaganda, will be thoroughly revised, said Mikhail Vyshinsky, USSR Deputy Justice Minister. On June 26 he met journalists at the Press Centre of the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

The Minister singled out a number of the basic trends making the foundation for the revision of the Penal Laws in the USSR. "They are, in the first place, decriminalisation of actions, i.e. the rating of actions, which are so far considered to be a criminal offence, among the acts punishable under the administrative law, or their placing in general outside the limits of the effect of the penal laws."

Mikhail Vyshinsky noted that the other trend in the perfection of criminal laws is humanisation of the punitive measures, above all a sharp reduction in administering capital punishment. The question is also discussed of doing away

with capital punishment as a punitive measure. Another aspect is a sharp reduction in such a measure of punishment as deprivation of freedom, exile and expulsion. Mikhail Vyshinsky said that a change has been achieved in applying that measure of punishment in recent years. "While five or six years ago deprivation of freedom made up half or more of all the measures of punishment, today it has been reduced to about 30 per cent." Other severe measures of punishment will be eliminated too. At the same time broader use will be made of such measures as fines, corrective labour and suspensive sentences.

Answering the question from a correspondent of the Voice of America on how powers will be eliminated in the new situation between the state security bodies, courts and the procurator's office, Mikhail Vyshinsky said that the activities of the state security bodies are carried out within the framework of the law. The powers of the KGB are regulated not only by the rules of its activities, but also by the penal laws, the code of penal procedure and civil laws.

In the context of the reform of penal laws, some changes are possible here within the framework of the triad — decriminalisation, humanisation and toughening of judicial control over the activities not only of the law enforcement agencies, but also of other government bodies.

"The procurator's office exercised close control over the KGB's activities," Mikhail Vyshinsky said. "Therefore there is no need to change that institution. There was and is procurator's supervision, and it will remain so."

As far as the relations between the courts and the KGB are concerned, every case comes to the procurator's office upon completion of investigation by the KGB bodies, which brings the charge, and the court examines the case. "I do not know from my experience of recent decades a case brought and conducted by the State Security Committee that was not examined in court according to the existing rules of procedure. No deviations from that in practice are allowed," Mikhail Vyshinsky said. □

Soviet lawyer on problems of Nagorny Karabakh

"UNDERLYING the issue of Nagorny Karabakh is a totality of problems rooted in insufficient economic and cultural development of the autonomous region and questions of interethnic relations. Responsibility for the current situation there should by no means be borne by the inhabitants of Nagorny Karabakh, but by the bodies and persons, who were called upon to ensure the development of that region in accordance with the requirements of life and the Soviet nationalities policy," said Mikhail Vyshinsky, USSR Deputy Minister of Justice. He was addressing journalists at the Press Centre of the 19th Party Conference on June 26.

Answering the question about the possibility of the transfer of the Nagorny Karabakh autonomous region of the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR, Mikhail Vyshinsky said: "According to the Constitution of the USSR, a

change in the boundaries between neighbouring union republics is possible only with their mutual consent." He recalled that the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR turned to the USSR Supreme Soviet with the request for the handing over of the Nagorny Karabakh autonomous region to that republic. At the same time the highest state authority of the Azerbaijan SSR did not agree to that way of resolving the problem of Nagorny Karabakh.

"Until the decision on the transfer of the Nagorny Karabakh autonomous region is taken by Azerbaijan the constitution allows for no change in the boundaries of the republic's territory. Every republic in the USSR is a sovereign union state," the minister said. In his opinion this question shall soon be discussed by the Supreme Soviet.

At the same time Mikhail Vyshinsky noted that although the USSR Supreme Soviet has full legislative power in the country, its powers on that issue are limited. It is entitled only to endorse the corresponding decision on the consent for the turning over of the Nagorny Karabakh autonomous region of the Supreme Soviets of the Armenian SSR and the Azerbaijan SSR."

Touching upon the possibility of double administrative subordination of the Nagorny Karabakh region both to Armenia and Azerbaijan, Mikhail Vyshinsky said that the USSR has no such precedent and that would be hardly expedient.

The resolution of the problems of Nagorny Karabakh should be approached on the basis of the observance of the interests of the peoples and nationalities of that autonomous region and the principle of internationalism, he stressed.

In the opinion of Mikhail Vyshinsky, the process of perestroika and the drive for more democracy have brought to light the problems of sovereignty, the socio-economic development of the union republics, including the Baltic republics. Thus Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia favour that they be granted active sovereignty in the field of finance, ecology and other aspects of their activities.

"These problems will be discussed comprehensively and thoroughly at the forthcoming plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, which will discuss the questions of the nationalities relations in

the USSR. It is also necessary to examine questions pertaining to the rights of the union republic, distribute the rights and duties in the union relations in a new way in accordance with the requirements of today and tomorrow," the USSR Deputy Justice Minister believes. □

Proposals for memorial to victims of repression

SOME thirty thousand people in thirty Soviet cities have signed an appeal to the 19th Party Conference, calling for the creation of a memorial in the capital to honour victims of Stalinism.

The appeal was signed by famous writers and poets, including Sergei Zalybin, Yevgeni Yevtushenko, Vitali Korotich, Academician Boris Raushenbakh and other prominent Soviet intellectuals, Yuri Samodurov, a geologist who represented the group calling itself "Memorial", told a briefing at the Novosti Press Agency on June 22.

"The memorial will immortalise people's grief and memory of the millions of compatriots who had been subjected to groundless repressions and would exonerate them politically," said Samodurov.

"It will also become an effective factor in democratising the life of society and enhancing the trust of other countries in the initiatives of the Soviet State directed at building a non-violent world."

The memorial complex is to include a monument and an education centre complex with archives, a museum and a library.

They are to provide information on people repressed in Stalin times and help conduct research to determine who and with regard to whom perpetrated violations of democratic norms.

"Such materials would help introduce new legal self-consciousness and educate citizens in the spirit of intolerance towards evil and towards violence," Samodurov pointed out.

He expressed the hope that a special account would be opened at the State Bank of the USSR after the Party Conference to which citizens and work collectives could send their donations. □

Nagorny Karabakh Soviet addresses USSR Supreme Soviet

THE regional Soviet of People's Deputies in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region of Azerbaijan at a session in Stepanakert on June 21 considered the situation in the region and measures to stabilise it.

The session deemed it necessary to directly address once again the USSR Supreme Soviet with the request to consider with utmost attention the decision of the session of Armenia's Supreme Soviet which agreed to the autonomous region's inclusion in Armenia.

The session called on the region's population to restore normal work at enterprises, organisations, collective and state farms and mobilise all efforts to make up for economic losses. □

SUMMARY OF MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S REPORT

(Continued from Page 231)

"The process of consistent democratisation in Soviet society should complete the creation of the socialist law-based state," Gorbachev went on to say. "Speaking briefly, the main thing about a law-based state is the supremacy of law. No state body, official, collective, Party or non-governmental organisation and no person is relieved of the duty to obey the law . . . perestroika has revealed especially clearly the conservatism of our legal system which is as yet geared in a considerable measure not to democratic, economic, but to command-and-administer methods of guidance with their numerous bans and nitpicking regimentation. Many effective legal acts have therefore become a brake on social development. Hence the need to reform Soviet legislation."

The report says that public organisations form an important integral part of the Soviet political system, while the overall atmosphere in the country and a number of political decisions and legislative acts enable them to apply more vigorously their constructive potential to the process of perestroika.

This process will be facilitated by the laws on the rights of trade unions, on youth, on voluntary societies, on bodies of public self-activity, on self-organised public associations, currently being drafted.

The speaker considered in detail problems of the development and perfection of the trade union movement and of the Komsomol (an organisation of Soviet youth) working under Party guidance. He said, in part, that grooming a replacement is a question of so great importance that it is to become shortly a subject of special discussion at a plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

The report gives attention to issues of developing the women's movement and changing the status of women in society. It mentions the rapid growth of public organisations reflecting the diversity of social interest of various groups of the population.

Mikhail Gorbachev dwelt on problems of democratising the leading activity and inner life of the CPSU. Noting that "issues of the activity of the Party and its guiding role have been lately in the focus of attention of our society," he emphasised that this shows "most convincingly that the people associate the course of perestroika and their hopes for the future with the Party."

"At the current crucial stage, the CPSU should fully realise its functions and tasks of the leading force of society," the speaker said. This dictated the need to discuss the specific content of Party activity in the present-day conditions. "The Party should restructure its activity, style, methods and forms of work — from the primary Party organisation to the Central Committee."

The report analysed individual aspects of the CPSU's work, noted precisely what Leninist principles of Party work had been deformed, and what was the reason for that.

The speaker believes that many negative phenomena in the Party occurred because democratic centralism "was largely replaced at a certain stage with bureaucratic centralism" which seriously breached Lenin's demand that Party bodies should be controlled by the masses. The role of elected bodies of the Party was diminished and the Party apparatus grew excessively.

"It is necessary fully to revive in the Party the atmosphere of principled attitude, openness, discussion, criticism and self-criticism, conscious discipline, Party comradeship and unconditional personal responsibility and business-like approach," Gorbachev said. "Processes within Party organisations are unfolding precisely in this direction, and it is the task of the conference to give them resolute backing and open up unlimited prospects for them."

The report says that the CPSU Central Committee has come out in favour of social and political certification of the communists. "The process of certification should become a school for educating the communists so that on passing that schooling they emerge closely tied by bonds of Party comradeship, united by the common goals and tasks advanced before all of us by perestroika."

Speaking on admission to the Party, Gorbachev stressed the need "to get rid of quotas of all sorts and bureaucratic approaches to this issue of vital importance for the Party."

Speaking about elected bodies of the Party, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the need for "restoring, first of all, the authority of elected bodies as plenipotentiary representatives of the communists." Openness, critical and business-like approach should prevail in them. "All this fully applies to the activity of the Central Committee of the CPSU," the speaker pointed out.

Dwelling on issues of separating the functions of Party and state bodies, Gorbachev noted that they should be resolved starting with the upper echelons of the country's leadership.

"First of all, this implies that the Central Committee and the Politburo should act and operate as bodies of political leadership. Of course, it is necessary to embark resolutely on the course towards preventing the substitution of the bodies of authority and management. Everything that the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers should do, should be done by them."

The report stressed the need for precluding the practice when Party committees adopt resolutions containing directives to state and economic bodies and public organisations. It is necessary to abandon the current division of the Central Committee apparatus into branch de-

partments, restructure it and cut the number of personnel. Proposals were made on changes in other links of the Party apparatus.

The General Secretary spoke at length about the renewal of the Party's ideological work. "The past three years were marked by intensive work of public awareness. An honest, critical discussion was under way on the state of affairs in all spheres of our life," Gorbachev pointed out. "The Party is convinced of the correctness of this approach, of the correctness of its revolutionary initiative to promote glasnost, democracy and the socialist pluralism of views."

The speaker categorically disagreed with those who believe that the restoration of truth and justice and the destruction of outdated stereotypes and dogmas may bring about the "erosion of the foundations of socialism and the denigration of its history."

"We have no right to allow perestroika to run against the rocks of dogmatism and conservatism, against someone's prejudices and personal ambitions," Gorbachev pointed out.

Speaking about the specific portrait of the future socialist society which the Party is seeking to attain through perestroika, the General Secretary observed that socialism is being viewed in society as a system of genuine, real humanism, as a system of effective and dynamic economy, as a system of social fairness, lofty morality and culture and genuine people's government.

Socialism is being viewed in Soviet society as a system of genuine equality of all nations and ethnic groups of the country, as a system whose nature and interests are characterised by the intrinsic striving for peace.

"It is precisely this democratic, humane portrait of socialism that we mean when speaking about the new state of our society as a major stage in the movement towards communism," the speaker said.

"Our goals are: more democracy, more socialism, a better life for the working man, greatness and benefit of the nation," the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said in conclusion. □

(Mikhail Gorbachev's report will be published in its entirety in the next issue of Soviet News)

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