

## Mikhail Gorbachev's address to All-Union Student Forum

SOVIET President Mikhail Gorbachev addressed an all-union student forum which opened in Moscow's Youth Palace on November 15.

The Party regards young people as an active force in the country's revolutionary renewal, that are vitally interested in perestroika's success, he said.

Gorbachev analysed in detail the development of Soviet society, the course of perestroika, and the place and role of students in the country's life.

Perestroika, as a revolutionary reorganisation of society, is now acquiring new forms and depth, he pointed out.

Gorbachev cited the need for revolutionary renewal in socialism and Soviet society as a whole. "Perestroika does not mean the renunciation of our history. The 1917 October Revolution was not an error or fortuity but an epoch-making breakthrough into the future, he said.

At the same time Gorbachev pointed out that the deformations of socialism during the years of the personality cult could not but influence the socialist idea and its perception by the masses. Those deformations impoverished and distorted the humanistic content of socialism and had an adverse effect on society, on all political and social institutions.

The Stalinist distortions, Gorbachev said, obliterated the essence of the Marxist and Leninist concepts of socialism.

Assessing the stagnation period in Soviet society, Gorbachev said the greatest error of those years was the underestimation of developments in the scientific and technological revolution.

This miscalculation relegated a number of major sectors in the Soviet Union to the previous technological age.

Decisions being taken now, Gorbachev said, reflect the need to eliminate people's alienation from property, power, and cultural wealth.

These processes are gathering momentum and it is important to secure their dynamics, ensure their productiveness and proceed along the chosen road, he emphasised.

Describing the development of perestroika processes in the Soviet Union, Gorbachev said that the country is experiencing great tension, the contradictions between the old and new are placing great strain on society.

However, he said, perestroika has some specific results, too: an indepth reform of the political system has been realised and new bodies of power and administration have begun to function. One can speak of the revival of the power of the soviets, he added.

Speaking of the tasks of young people at the present stage, Gorbachev said that they must direct their energies into socially useful deeds for the benefit of perestroika.

The Soviet Communist Party favours broad representation of young people in the Soviets at all levels and the creation of real possibilities for the political development of young people and for their promotion to responsible positions on the staff, he said.

On international affairs Mikhail Gorbachev said: "The cold war laid bare the incompetence of policies of strength, the arms race and confrontation. Humanity is faced with grave global problems in the environment, information, science, technology and other fields, which question the survival of world civilisation and arouse global concern."

Mikhail Gorbachev then went on to mention the current reforms in the GDR. He said that the Soviet Union greeted these reforms, which he described as part and parcel of the overall existence of both German states enjoyed global recognition and had to be reckoned with. "I don't" he went on "think that German reunification is a burning issue."

**Then Gorbachev answered numerous questions asked by students:**

When asked his opinion on the prophecies of a national catastrophe awaiting the Soviet Union in 12 to 18 months, which we have heard from Boris Yeltsin and other experts, Western among them, Gorbachev said that a quicker economic reform was what we had needed for a long time, but the Soviet Union had only recently got the chance of rapid change. Now we are about to adopt a set of major laws — on property, land ownership, taxation and the socialist enterprise — and our present achievements allow us to boost the reform.

### GORBACHEV MEETS FABIUS, SUESSMUTH

PRESIDENT Mikhail Gorbachev met the President of the West German Federal Assembly Rita Suessmuth and the President of the French National Assembly Laurent Fabius, in the Kremlin on November 17.

West Germany and France participated in the building of Europe at its first stage linked with West European integration and now wish to play an active role at the stage of the deepening of the European processes, which has become possible due to the new Soviet foreign policy, Fabius explained.

Fundamental questions of development in the East and West of Europe, including perestroika in the USSR, and problems related to the common future of European peoples were discussed during the meeting.

The sides expressed satisfaction over the fact that the Helsinki Process, gathering momentum, is becoming more profound and thus creates the foundation for the historic solution of complicated problems which Europe inherited from the past.

It was also said that answers to these questions can be sought, proceeding from the principles of unconditional respect for the rights of every nationality, including its right to choose its own path of development, without any outside pres-

To the query about Nagorna-Karabakh, he said that its issues could be settled only if we proceeded from the fact that Armenians and Azerbaijanis had cohabitated there for centuries and would live on together. In all parts of the Soviet Union, people of any ethnic background are entitled to safety and assurance of their tomorrow.

In comment to his attitude to private ownership of the means of production, Gorbachev said that his stance was the one substantiated in the *Communist Manifesto*. At the same time, the preparation of the property act gave us a new and broader concept of private property, he pointed out. Despite the great possibilities which this concept offers the Soviet community, the leader did not think that progress to private property should be made the pivot at the present stage, when the law was only being considered.

Asked about his attitude to Article 6 of the Constitution of the USSR, regarding the leading role of the Communist Party, he said that if necessary, any constitutional article would be reappraised, amended or even cancelled, and Article 6 was no exception. Yet, he stressed, debates around this article shall not develop into attacks against the Party and its prestige, and attempts to sow doubt thus endangering perestroika. "We need the Communist Party," he said, and added that he saw no other political force, for the time being, able to consolidate the Soviet nation in team with the updated government bodies.

As he rounded off his talk with the student delegates, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "We are reforming our community in keeping with the latest realities. We are implementing the potential of our social system, and we shall remain true to socialism as we follow the road we have chosen." □

sure or attempts to influence internal processes.

Gorbachev noted that in the recent past, in post-war years, relations in Europe were developing abnormally and resembled religious wars.

Each of the sides was prepared to destroy the other solely because it had different views.

Luckily, this period has ended now that the awareness of the unity of civilisation and the primacy of common human interests is being gradually established.

The East and the West are now living through profound changes precisely due to the awareness of the needs of the times.

They have started moving towards each other, while each of the sides retains its identity.

If these new tendencies in policy are adequately reflected and supported, the world can become more tranquil and it will be possible to establish new relations among peoples, suiting their common interests.

It is certainly not easy to pass on to such relations. Politicians in the East and the West were molded by their times and all are burdened by old stereotypes. To get rid of them is difficult but necessary.

"We feel this also in our country, in the course of perestroika, which is, first and foremost, the process of profound changes in the way people think," Gorbachev said.

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# President Gorbachev receives French Foreign Minister

ON NOVEMBER 14 Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev received French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas who was on an official visit to the USSR.

Soviet-French co-operation was highly appraised in the context of the current important stage of European and world development.

A summit dialogue between the USSR and France has become a permanent and irreplaceable factor of an international scope.

The high degree of accord reached during the meeting between Gorbachev and Mitterrand in Paris last summer was confirmed on key questions of the present.

Gorbachev shared his thoughts on the main tendencies in East-West relations in the European process and in the socialist world.

"We have been at the crossroads quite recently," he said, "what road will the world take? To further confrontation, aggravation of ideological struggle, heightening of war danger, or along the road of co-operation, mutual understanding and the quest for accord? It seems the choice has been made. The task at present is to develop progress to a new, peaceful period in a calm and considered way."

Emphasis has been placed on inter-relationship of domestic and international processes in both parts of Europe. As regards

changes in East European countries and in the USSR, they are very different for the conditions in which they started, their economic possibilities, the levels of political culture, historic heritage, and so on. But they have a common tendency which favours the construction of a European home for it brings the countries closer, makes them more open and creates new opportunities for communication and equal exchange.

It was noted with satisfaction that responsible politicians are aware of the seriousness and positive meaning of changes that impart greater stability to mutual security.

Nevertheless, a balanced, constructive, in short adequate conduct is ever more important in connection with events in different countries.

The Helsinki process develops in its specific contemporary forms. And it will be very dangerous if someone tries, even if in a separate link, to return to what has already been the past stage of the process. This would mean to undermine it as a whole.

The depth and importance of changes dictate the need to step up the efforts; to meet each other halfway from the West and from the East. Both sides will be enriched by this reciprocal striving.

It is not the time to destroy the established international political and economic institutions.

Let them transform themselves, taking into

account internal processes, let them find themselves a niche in the new situation and interact.

It is useless to clamour about victory in the cold war, about the disintegration of some or other social system. Everything should be analysed realistically and interests should be balanced. When accusations of 'exporting revolutions' are replaced with calls for 'exporting capitalism', we have at hand a dangerous manifestation of old thinking.

It is time to show consideration for the fact that the world today does not consist of two mutually exclusive civilisations. It is one common civilisation in which human values and the freedom of choice have primacy.

There exists a useful experience in solving most diverse problems in various societies. And the skill of contemporary politics is in using it to one's own and common benefit.

In our dynamic age there is a need for an intensive dialogue, Soviet-French dialogue, in particular, Gorbachev said. Therefore the question about a new meeting with the French President is quite timely.

The conversation was rich in scope, which is characteristic of Soviet-French dialogue. Eduard Shevardnadze, ambassadors Yakov Ryabov and Jean-Marie Merillon, and the director of the political department of the French Foreign Ministry Bertrand Dufourcq were present. □

## Soviet spokesman on Soviet-American talks

ADDRESSING a briefing in Moscow on November 20, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed the hope that the forthcoming Soviet-American summit in the Mediterranean will give a fresh impetus to the efforts of both sides at the talks on strategic offensive arms.

Vadim Perfiliev noted that several days ago marked the twentieth anniversary of the first Soviet-American talks on the limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear arms. The Soviet Union regards the treaty on 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive arms being worked out in Geneva as an important milestone in the process that began in 1969. Simultaneously it is a starting point for further progress in the limitation of strategic offensive arms, Perfiliev said.

He noted that the SALT-1 Treaty, the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, the SALT-2 Treaty and the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles were also important milestones in the talks.

He said these documents created a legal foundation for strategic stability.

Regarding the work in Geneva on a treaty on strategic defensive arms limitations, the spokesman said that the Soviet side wishes the treaty to be ready for next year's Soviet-American summit.

He believes that ridding the world of the nuclear menace concerns not only the Soviet Union and the US other nuclear states should be involved in the process at subsequent stages, after Soviet and American strategic offensive arms are cut by half, Perfiliev said. □

## Italian public figure on Soviet President's visit

SOVIET President Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Italy will be of great importance for the development of versatile relations between Italy and the Soviet Union, Vincenzo Corghi, General Secretary of the Italy-USSR Society, said on November 18.

"I am convinced that the visit will promote wider bilateral cultural and public contacts between our two countries," Corghi went on.

"Favourable conditions for that are being created by the development of Italian-Soviet political relations and by the growing bilateral economic co-operation.

"The processes of transformation taking place in the Soviet Union arouse genuine interest among Italians," Corghi emphasised.

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The pace of changes in the East is clearly ahead of the changes in the West. The reason for this is that some in the West still hope in vain that processes in socialist countries will bring them to Western values. But fixed ideas in interstate relations should not interfere with realistic policies.

Gorbachev supported the idea expressed by Fabius, that the process of democratisation should be combined with the preservation of stability, otherwise anarchy will set in.

The Soviet President emphasised that although the changes are positive, they inevitably bring much sediment to the surface.

To promote everything positive and to get rid of the sediment will mean ensuring stability, both within separate countries and in world affairs.

On behalf of the West German Government, Suessmuth said that Bonn believe there is no alternative to European co-operation and European peaceful order. It is important that all countries, including the German Democratic Republic and West Germany, meet each other

"In order to disseminate and extend knowledge about the Soviet Union and about the problem which perestroika should resolve, the Italy-USSR Society arranged a number of meetings dealing with democracy, human rights, the role of trade unions in present-day conditions, and environmental protection issues. The meetings were attended by prominent public figures from the Soviet Union.

"A week of modern Soviet theatre was a success in Italy. A meeting dedicated to Russian and Soviet literature was held in Naples. A bilateral conference on combating drug addiction and alcoholism will open in Palermo soon."

The Italy-USSR Society devotes much attention to the development of cultural contacts between the two countries. A number of big exhibitions have been arranged in the country with its participation.

A lively interest was aroused by the Art in Russia and the Soviet Union exhibition in Turin. On view were 260 works created by Russian and Soviet painters in the period from 1870 to 1930.

Many works, among them those by prominent painters such as Levitan, Surikov, Repin, Polenov, Malevich and Tatlin were truly unique.

Another important cultural initiative of the USSR-Italy Society was its participation in the Russian Icons in the Vatican exhibition.

It was the first time that such a magnificent collection of Russian icons of the 13th-18th centuries were displayed in the Vatican and Italy, the local press pointed out. □

half-way, and learn from each other, without trying to give orders.

The European community on the whole is interested in the success of perestroika in the USSR and in other countries of Eastern Europe, said the President of the West German Federal Assembly.

Fabius expressed the French leaders' striving to promote the positive development of transformations in the Soviet Union.

The participants expressed readiness for the deepening and widening of equal and mutually advantageous co-operation between West Ger-

many and France, on the one hand, and the USSR, on the other.

In conclusion Gorbachev expressed satisfaction with the meeting of representatives of the three countries on whose activity and determination the prospects of the European process largely depend.

Also taking part in the meeting were the West German Ambassador to the USSR Klaus Blech and the French Ambassador to the USSR Jean-Marie Merillon. Taking part in the meeting from the Soviet side were Yevgeni Primakov, Rafik Nishanov and Vadim Zagladin. □

# Soviet Premier speaks at reception for Canadian Prime Minister

"THE trends now evolving in Soviet-Canadian relations constitute an important component of the positive trends that shape the present-day international affairs — the trends towards confidence-building and greater mutual understanding."

Nikolai Ryzhkov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, said this at a dinner given by the Soviet Government in the Grand Kremlin Palace on November 20 in honour of Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney who is on an official visit to the USSR, accompanied by his wife.

"The Soviet Union welcomes the active policy pursued by Canada in world affairs," the head of the Soviet Government said. "There exist today new opportunities for a more meaningful dialogue and for promoting practical interaction between the Soviet Union and Canada on many items of global agenda."

"Both our countries are strongly committed to arms control and to preventing military rivalry. They participate in the Helsinki Process which today is acquiring a new dimension."

"Our understanding is that Canada is going to play an active role in building a common Euro-

pean home," Ryzhkov said.

Ryzhkov said he believed that resumption of contacts in the military field between the USSR and Canada, and agreement to that effect has already been reached, would serve not only to build confidence in bilateral relations, but also to mould a new framework of relations between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, designed to promote political dialogue between them.

"There are good prospects for closer interaction between the two countries within the framework of the United Nations in solving painful regional problems," Ryzhkov said.

Regarding the development of relations between the two countries, the Soviet Premier said they still have a long way to go to activate the bilateral potential for co-operation on a large scale.

Ryzhkov said that in talks with the Canadian Prime Minister they recurrently went back to the Arctic theme.

He said that the Arctic countries are responsible before the world community for taking good care of and keeping pure that unique region. He made a call for work towards bringing the joint efforts by the Soviet Union, Canada, the Nordic countries and the United States into

line with this objective, while at the same time contributing to the preservation of the environment on the global scale.

He noted that the environment is increasingly gaining priority as an important independent area for Soviet-Canadian interaction.

Regarding economic matters discussed at the talks, Ryzhkov said there are reasons to hope that in conditions of Soviet perestroika it will be possible to intensify, through joint effort, the Soviet-Canadian trade, economic, scientific and technological co-operation which is clearly not commensurate either with the imperatives of the present time or the possibilities and needs of the Soviet Union and Canada.

"In any event, it would be fair to say that people in both our countries have come to realise that time for words is over and it is now time for action" Ryzhkov said.

"Perhaps, nothing serves better to show the present dynamism of Soviet-Canadian dialogue than the fact that within the framework of this visit the sides will sign as many inter-governmental agreements as over the previous 18 years," Ryzhkov noted.

The head of the Soviet Government appraised Prime Minister Mulroney's visit as a major event in Soviet-Canadian relations and in international affairs. □

## SOVIET-CANADIAN TALKS

TALKS between Nikolai Ryzhkov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Brian Mulroney, the Prime Minister of Canada, were held on November 20.

Ryzhkov positively appraised the progress in Soviet-Canadian relations over recent years. He noted that the participation of the USSR and Canada in multilateral processes, above all in the European process, imparts special importance to bilateral ties and contracts and results in a new quality of political dialogue at various levels, and between the leaders of the two countries.

Both sides' view the world today as an interdependent community of states, as was established when topical international problems were discussed.

The main ideas of Canada's policy of constructive internationalism coincide with the Soviet Union's foreign policy initiatives in the spirit of new political thinking.

Viewing their relations in the context of the present crucial period in world development, the Soviet Union and Canada are ready to promote the strengthening of East-West co-operation and interaction.

The sides noted that the positions of the two countries are coming closer on a broad range of problems. They linked this rapprochement to the overall warming of international relations and the use of new approaches, suiting requirements of the time, in international affairs.

Special attention was given to the consolidation of world security, to prospects of achieving arrangements in arms limitation and, specifically, the prevention of an arms race in space.

Both sides called for increased efforts to cope with these vital tasks.

The head of the Soviet Government informed Mulroney of broad transformations in every aspect of social life in the Soviet Union and about the radical economic reform. He spoke about the existing difficulties and the quest for the ways to overcome them.

The Canadian side reaffirmed political support for reforms and renewal in the Soviet

Union. Mulroney wished success to Soviet perestroika.

A broad range of questions on bilateral commercial and economic co-operation was discussed and ways to further improve co-operation were chartered.

The sides noted the importance of new forms of interaction, such as joint ventures. A Canadian-Soviet business council uniting prominent Canadian businessmen and Soviet enterprises is being set up during the visit. It aims to promote the efficiency of business ties and contacts.

It was noted that the new forms of the organisation of Soviet agrarian production create favourable conditions for co-operation in agriculture.

Co-operation in the Arctic, especially in environmental protection, holds a unique place in Soviet-Canadian relations.

In view of the ecological situation in the Arctic, which causes concern, the Soviet side reaffirmed the approaches proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev in Helsinki.

The Murmansk initiatives that were developed constitute a durable basis for bilateral and multilateral co-operation among countries concerned with a broad range of problems in the Arctic.

They also discussed bilateral humanitarian co-operation, which is becoming one of the main trends in Soviet-Canadian ties.

The sides noted the importance of the broad unbiased approach to questions of the human dimension, such as comprised at the CSCE, of the use of new forms for the development of scientific, academic, cultural and other ties, as well as people-to-people contacts.

The talks proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, in a spirit of increased confidence and mutual understanding that characterises the present stage of the development of Soviet-Canadian relations.

Then Soviet-Canadian documents were signed.

The two prime ministers signed:

An agreement on co-operation in the Arctic and the north, an agreement on co-operation in

environmental protection, an agreement on encouragement and mutual protection of capital investments, an agreement on co-operation in exploration and peaceful uses of outer space, a memorandum of mutual understanding on co-operation in the prevention and controlling of the pollution of the marine environment of the Arctic.

The foreign ministers of the USSR and Canada signed a memorandum of mutual understanding on co-operation in combating drug abuse and the prevention of illicit production of and traffic in narcotic drugs, an agreement on the prevention of accidents on the high seas beyond the limits of territorial waters, an agreement on the exchange of visits along the military lines, an agreement on co-operation between union republics of the USSR and Canadian provinces, an agreement on co-operation in peaceful uses of atomic energy, an agreement on relations in the audio-visual sphere and a protocol on joint audio-visual production, a memorandum of mutual understanding on scientific co-operation in the research of water ecosystems, a memorandum of mutual understanding of joint programmes in the areas of meteorology, studies of the atmosphere and climate.

Notes were exchanged on making changes in the table of air routes based on the 1966 agreement on air services. □

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# Eduard Shevardnadze speaks at parliamentary committee

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S forthcoming meeting with George Bush will greatly emphasise the extent of possible decisions on all elements of the Soviet-US agenda and make it possible to set a timeframe for their attainment, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told the Foreign Affairs Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet on November 17.

There are no plans to sign any agreements during the meeting, he said. In the final analysis, it is not formal papers that count but the real impetus which these talks will give to a quest for mutually acceptable solutions.

There is also no doubt that the forthcoming visit by the Soviet President to Italy will give fresh impetus to Soviet-Italian relations, Shevardnadze stressed. A package of major agreements has been prepared for the summit talks.

Dwelling in detail on the processes under way in East European countries, Shevardnadze stressed that they are logical and historically justified. What is now taking place is democratisation, renewal of socialism, the realisation of

peoples' right to a free choice.

The minister said that in European conditions this right has its specifics stemming from the results of the Second World War. European security and stability rely on existing realities: two German states, two military-political alliances and borders established after the war and fixed in international legal acts.

No one has the right to change these realities unilaterally, Shevardnadze stressed. But nothing is eternal and, of course, they will be changed. The main goal is to continue to work towards lowering military confrontation, to move towards disbanding military-political alliances.

The minister hailed the bold, innovative steps made by the new leadership of the German Democratic Republic. He said they were in the interests of socialism, the people of the republic, its allies in the Warsaw Treaty and Europe as a whole.

Shevardnadze wished the coalition government in Poland success in overcoming the country's economic difficulties. The new period in Soviet-Polish relations, he said, calls for new attitudes, bold decisions, tact and respect for the choice of the Polish people.

The Soviet Union actively supports the rene-

wal of socialism in Bulgaria, proposed by the new Bulgarian political leadership.

Shevardnadze dismissed suggestions that the changes in socialist countries aim at promoting Western values and that a strong West is a guarantee of their irreversibility.

"Regarding democracy and freedom as Western values is utter arrogance, 'a Western delusion of grandeur,'" the minister said. "Universal human values cannot be reduced just to Western ones."

Socialist countries could proceed with their reforms thanks to new political thinking, real cuts in armaments and the feeling of greater security that stemmed from them, Shevardnadze stressed.

Having expressed Soviet readiness to cooperate with the first government of new, independent Namibia, the minister said that the example of this country confirms the possibility of solving the most complex issues by political means.

Shevardnadze also said that real prospects have emerged for stabilisation and peace in Lebanon. He urged all parties to the conflict to display commonsense and restraint in order to retain the achieved results. □

## Eduard Shevardnadze gives interview to Soviet radio

MAJOR agreements might be achieved during the forthcoming meeting between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and US President George Bush, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said in an interview with Soviet radio. The meeting has no precise agenda, and no special preliminary work was done, he said. But it often happens in history that very serious breakthroughs in the way people think are achieved at such meetings of prominent leaders of great powers, Shevardnadze said.

The Soviet Minister is of the opinion that the meeting will be of much importance, also from the viewpoint of furthering the disarmament process.

As regards disarmament problems, Shevardnadze said he does not think that the pace of disarmament is too slow.

He said that if everything that happened after 1985 is analysed, the picture will be impressive.

At the same time he noted that the comparison between the pace of the disarmament process and of the arms race will show that the latter proceeds faster than the former, which is the most serious problem.

Touching upon the situation in Eastern Europe, the Soviet minister said that he does not see anything unusual in the current situation there.

Everything that happens in East European countries, Soviet allies, is legitimate. (And allied

obligations remained valid, which was confirmed by leaders of those countries more than once).

Processes of renewal, of the shaping of a new look of socialist society are under way. The processes proceed in a different way in various countries which is natural in view of specific features and attitudes and wishes of people.

This applies also to the GDR, the leaders of which decided to open the country's borders. All this reflects the new civilised relations forming among European countries, between East and West, Shevardnadze said.

Everything that happens in East European countries now constitutes elements of a new common European home, the foundation of which is laid down by common efforts, and these processes have a great perspective, Shevardnadze said.

A common European home cannot suit the interests of all peoples and be convenient for every person without processes of democratisation. It is precisely the process of democratisation which is the main characteristic feature of the developments in East European countries and the Soviet Union.

Touching upon the situation in Afghanistan, Shevardnadze expressed the confidence that peace will be established there, but it is difficult to say when this will happen. It is risky to make predictions, since the situation is very complicated and there is actually intervention against the Afghan people.

Noting that still there is progress in Afghanistan towards the settlement of this matter and there are positive elements, Shevardnadze said that a platform of national reconciliation is functioning, and the patriotic forces of the country are rallying around President Najibullah. Afghans realise now that they should decide the destiny of their country themselves.

In conclusion Shevardnadze expressed the confidence that most politicians believe in the sincerity of the Soviet Union's intentions. The principles of new political thinking undoubtedly have the greatest impact on world events, he said. □

(Moscow, November 16)

## Soviet Foreign Ministry protest at US interference

ALEXANDER BESSMERTNYKH, First Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister, called in United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union Jack Matlock on November 19 and made the following statement:

The US Senate Foreign Affairs Committee has passed a resolution on Nagorno-Karabakh.

This official document sets forth 'pretensions' and 'demands' to the Soviet side, and is an unceremonious attempt to teach it how, in the US authorities' view, this purely internal matter shall be resolved.

In fact, American lawmakers have assumed that they can instruct sovereign peoples of another state which actions to take.

The Senate committee's decision have provoked a sharp response from Soviet citizens, and their indignation is understandable.

It is well known that representatives of the Azerbaijani and Armenian people and republican and central authorities are working hard for a settlement in Nagorno-Karabakh. The solution of this conflict requires a delicate and responsible approach and consideration of a host of other factors.

In these conditions, the brazen and unwarranted interference not only violates the most elementary norms of international laws, but can provoke destabilisation and bring new suffering to people at a time of a fledgling tendency towards settlement in Nagorno-Karabakh. Ambassador Jack Matlock who has just returned from a tour of Armenia and Azerbaijani must be aware of this.

We cannot but regard this instigating action as a relapse into 'cold war' which can harm efforts of our two countries towards a constructive development of Soviet-American relations.

The USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been authorised to lodge a vigorous protest to the American side in connection with the above-mentioned gross interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. □

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# Nikolai Ryzhkov's meeting with Soviet miners

SOVIET Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov and members of the government held a scheduled meeting with the representatives of miners in the Kremlin on November 17, to discuss the fulfilment of **Resolution No. 608** of the USSR Council of Ministers, dated August 3, 1989, and the current situation in the country's coal-producing regions.

The meeting was marked by sharp, but at the same time, constructive discussion of urgent problems. Not a single vital area was left out. At the same time miners were criticised over the fulfilment of mutual obligations under the joint decisions of government commissions and representatives of labour collectives. Due to work stoppages, the coal industry failed to deliver 14 million tons of coal to consumers, including 1.2 million tons to the population.

The miners criticised in their speeches the failure to implement some of the provisions of the government resolution fully and on time. In connection with the delay in dealing with acute health and medical service problems, Soviet Health Minister Yevgeni Chazov dwelt on specific measures aimed at improving the situation in the coal-producing areas.

Replying to sharp criticism for the work of the

railways, minister Nikolai Konarev reported on measures to ensure the shipment of coal, pit props, equipment and materials required for the normal working of the mines.

Although the general tone of the speeches was critical, the miners called for the stabilisation of the situation and the resumption of uninterrupted work in the coal mines.

Participants in the meeting pointed to the importance and usefulness of the dialogue which helped work out a programme of action.

They deemed it advisable to specify some provisions of **Resolution No. 608** and amend it, if necessary. A decision was taken to change the existing system of control over the fulfilment of mutual obligations, and to improve some provisions of the resolution.

To this end, it was decided to set up regional commissions of plenipotentiaries of the government, local authorities and miners' work collectives.

The commissions' objectives will be to exercise control over the fulfilment of the decisions taken and analyse and tackle all problems connected with the development of each specific coal basin.

Summing up the results of the meeting, Ryzhkov said that the government "regards the needs of miners and the development of the coal industry as a whole with understanding."

He said a number of the issues raised at the

meeting were of a "principled, future-oriented nature."

The issues included changes in the organisational structure of the coal industry management, the transition of mines and regions to cost-accounting, changes in wholesale coal prices, and the comprehensive development of miners' towns and settlements.

All these issues will be thoroughly analysed and decisions will be taken on them, taking into account general changes stemming from the radical economic reform, Ryzhkov said.

Taking into account the importance of the problems raised by the miners, it was decided to submit them for the consideration of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers in the near future.

Participants in the meeting on November 18 met the prime minister's deputies and officials from the ministry of coal industry and other ministries and departments to solve specific problems faced by coal miners. □

## On results of conference on radical economic reform

A THREE day all-union scientific-practical conference on problems of the radical reform of the Soviet economy, which ended in Moscow on November 15, was attended by over 1,400 economists, economic managers and representatives of public organisations.

A broad range of opinions on the course and prospects of the current Soviet economic reform were expressed by over 250 speakers, Soviet and foreign journalists have been told at a news conference by Leonid Abalkin, Deputy Soviet Prime Minister and Chairman of the Council of Ministers' State Commission for Economic Reform.

He described the discussion as a major element in the Soviet government's activities. The newly formed government has been functioning for about four months, enough to specify the positions, intentions, immediate and long-range plans.

The plan and the budget for 1990 have been drafted and endorsed at the supreme legislative body of the USSR. These documents, which are of a complex, to a major extent emergency character, set immediate intentions.

A number of steps have been taken to put things in order in the financial sphere, in the consumer market, to regulate money incomes. It is now essential to prepare not only immediate but also long-term measures designed not for emergency conditions, but for forming new conditions of the country's economic and social development, radical changes in the system of methods of management of the economy. That question was put on the agenda of the Second Congress of Soviet People's Deputies starting on December 12.

The Soviet people are waiting for serious measures and decisions, Abalkin said. The Soviet government should submit to the Congress a serious programme of cardinal changes and prospects of the country's socio-economic development for the 13th five-year period.

Summing up the results of the forum, Abalkin said that a wealth of material obtained should be comprehended in a brief period of time and reflected in the documents and decisions being drafted. □

## Press conference on Ryzhkov's meeting with miners

REPRESENTATIVES from committees of striking coal mining regions in the USSR said at a press conference in Moscow on November 20 that they are satisfied with the results of their meetings with Soviet Premier Nikolai Ryzhkov on November 17.

They said that now nine out of 13 striking mines in Vorkuta (north Russia) have resumed

work. They expressed confidence that other mines would follow suit.

According to data cited by Deputy Premier Lev Ryabev and Coal Minister Mikhail Shchadov, 1989 losses in the industry due to strikes amounted to around 9 million tonnes of coal, including 2 million tonnes of coke.

Government officials described the situation in coal mining as complex, but said they were confident that the situation would be rectified and that the miners would not let the country freeze.

Shchadov said the meeting resulted in an agreement on some of the demands put forward by the Vorkuta strikers. Among other things, the miners have retained the so-called 'northern add-ons' to their wages after moving to other regions and achieved a repeal of the rules on discipline in coal mining that deprived those fired of the possibility to lodge protest with courts.

Ryabev and Shchadov also said that, although the supreme court of the Komi autonomous republic has found the Vorkuta strike to be illegal, none of the strikers have been prosecuted. For their part, representatives from the strike committees have disagreed with the court decision.

The two sides were satisfied that special commissions will be set up in coal mining regions, comprising government officials and workers, to supervise the implementation of **Resolution 608**. As is known, the decision was adopted last summer to meet the major demands of the striking miners.

Ryabev said that the miners' representatives who met Ryzhkov did not table any political demands raised during the Vorkuta strike.

Both the government representatives and members of the strike committees noted that a complex process is now underway to find solutions capable of meeting the interests of both sides. □

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# Alexander Yakovlev on Europe and the Korean Peninsula

POLITBURO member Alexander Yakovlev has described the current processes of democratisation in countries of Eastern Europe as a victory for common sense and socialism.

Answering questions at a press conference held in Tokyo's Japanese Press Club on November 15, Yakovlev, who heads a Supreme Soviet delegation visiting Japan at the invitation of the Japanese Parliament, said: "We regard the processes now under way in some of the East European countries as quite normal and healthy.

They are healthy because they represent positive democratic development. They pose a threat to none, except, maybe, those countries which have yet to go through the process of democratisation in the future and I mean not only in Eastern Europe.

I think that these processes impart an impulse

to the democratic development in the whole world.

Yakovlev said that he personally "is surprised at some news commentators in the West, including in Japan, who describe the processes at work in the socialist countries as a collapse of socialism, a collapse of Soviet policy."

"This is strange thinking, old-fashioned thinking," he went on, "thinking which proceeds from the possibility of winning the cold war. But if we are putting an end to the cold war, it means that our thinking and our approach must also be different. Moving along the road of democracy is a victory for common sense, not a victory in war. As regards the supposed collapse of socialism, I would say this: the commentators appear to have in mind the collapse of that socialism which they have created in their own minds. I regard this as a victory for socialism."

Yakovlev described the use by any state of its

military might in our time as an anachronism. He reminded journalists that back in 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev put forward the concept of a free social choice.

"We shall firmly follow this policy. And in this we also pin our hopes on the common sense of all other countries. This is a very serious matter. And now all have to demonstrate common sense. Either we shall take the road toward a free and democratic European home, or, if some interfere with these developments, we shall slip back, to the cold war. And so this will in fact be collapse and a general collapse."

Questioned how the Soviet side would react in the event of President Bush, whom Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder urged to declare during the summit with Gorbachev the withdrawal of the two countries' troops from the European continent, actually makes this proposal, Yakovlev reminded the audience that the USSR has repeatedly advocated disbanding all military blocs, including NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

"We favour withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territories of others. If the matter comes up at the forthcoming meeting it will not be the first conversation on this subject. I think that the congresswoman who made such a plea, selected the correct address."

Referring to the situation on the Korean Peninsula, Yakovlev favoured the unification of Korea. We, he said, want the two parts of Korea to meet each other halfway in a sort of a confederation, a federation or in any other form which is up to them.

Our sole interest in the region lies in the presence of foreign troops, for this affects our security. As for anything else it is for the Koreans to decide. □

## Nikolai Laverov addresses UNIDO session

THE positive changes in world development, registered in recent years, have notably improved the global situation and opened the way to the establishment of a more just international

order based on new political thinking, the leader of the Soviet delegation Nikolai Laverov said, addressing the third session of UNIDO's general conference in Vienna on November 20.

The present situation, he said, substantially enlarges the role of the United Nations which has become a symbol and at the same time an important instrument of the development of effective international co-operation.

Unequal development of the world economy, the mounting indebtedness of the developing nations, imposition of protectionist barriers in foreign trade are making ever more imperative the adoption by the international community of measures to remove obstacles in the way of the progress of Third World countries, Laverov said.

The Soviet delegation, he said, praises UNIDO's activity in elaborating and introducing new concepts and approaches to international co-operation in the field of industrial development, in broadening the direct business links between the organisation's member countries, including at the level of individual enterprises, firms and research institutions. Also deserving attention is the setting up in individual countries of UNIDO centres for investment and international co-operation. One such centre is being set up in the USSR.

The Soviet representative gave a positive assessment to UNIDO's activity in the setting up of mixed enterprises, the spread of advanced technologies, including those in the fields of environmental protection, modernising medium-sized and small-scale production, establishing free industrial and economic zones as well as international research centres for interdisciplinary fields such as biotechnology and gene engineering.

Laverov pointed out that these areas were of practical interest to all groups of countries, including the USSR.

The USSR's co-operation with UNIDO, Laverov said in conclusion, is based on an agreement signed in 1986 and covers such fields as industrial planning, a technological programme, training of personnel, new forms of international industrial co-operation and a system of advisory services. A further deepening and broadening of joint activities, the Soviet delegate said, is in the interests of all UNIDO member countries. □

## Draft law on ownership

By Igor Yefimov, TASS news analyst:

SOVIET newspapers on November 18 published a draft law on ownership in the Soviet Union, bringing it up for a nationwide discussion in accordance with the parliament's decision.

Exceptional importance is being attached to this bill: the nature of ownership in many respects predetermines the socio-political system of a country.

The first reading of the bill, understandably, was keenly debated in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The debate revealed a broad spectrum of opinions ranging from views expressed by some people who believe that the adoption of such a law questions the preservation of socialism in the Soviet Union and the arguments of those who advocate private ownership which they regard as a cure for all the current economic ills.

A working group tried to find a common language in this respect. Recently it submitted a specified version of the document to the parliament.

However, this version also gave rise to a heated debate. In the end, it was decided to extend the parliamentary debate by bringing the document up to a nationwide discussion and listening to what the people have to say.

The essence of a new law is primarily in the fact that a diversity of forms of ownership will replace state ownership which now covers virtually everything in the Soviet Union. All forms of ownership — and this must be specially emphasised — are recognised to be equal.

The personal property of citizens is the first form of ownership mentioned in the bill. This in itself is unusual to the Soviet Union where it has been viewed upon as being of no importance to the country, if not suspicious.

(continued on back page)

## Pravda on Afghan situation

THE impetus given to regional detente by the Geneva Accords to Afghanistan is gradually losing its force due to the obstructionist position taken by the United States, Pakistan and some other countries, Yuri Glukhov writes in the November 20 issue of *Pravda*.

The hostile attitude towards the Afghan Government in Kabul shown by Washington is incomprehensible, since this regime is a fully-fledged participant in the Geneva Accords.

It is also incomprehensible why the United States is resisting military relaxation of the situation in Afghanistan, Glukhov writes. The idea of "negative symmetry" put forth by the US in the past — a refusal to supply arms to the warring sides in Afghanistan — was backed by the Soviet Union.

The author asks what is the need to renounce it when such measures are so necessary now?

It is self-evident that the stabilisation of the situation in South West Asia will promote the long-term interests of the US. Whereas the stake on motley and squabbling Afghan groups as well as on sabotage, terror and subversive activities introduces a greater element of destabilisation in the region, he writes.

Perhaps the Afghan situation is a trump card in a political gamble? In which case all the statements made in Washington's top-level circles on the need for and possibility of American-Soviet co-operation in defusing regional conflicts are just empty talk, Glukhov states.

On the other hand, this co-operation is quite imperative, the author emphasises. Moreover, it has brought forth fruit in southern Africa and in the Afghan question. One should not act only according to one's words but also to observe understandings and go further. □

# Soviet view on world security outlined at UN

By Mikhail Kochetkov, TASS correspondent:

"THE Soviet Union believes that the discussion by the 44th General Assembly session of the implementation of the Declaration on the Consolidation of International Security should help find new possibilities, ideas and approaches to consolidate and perfect the system of collective security envisaged in the UN Charter, and particularly its core — the Security Council," a Soviet Government Statement on this issue circulated at the UN on November 20 pointed out.

The international climate is changing notably under the impact of new political thinking. Confrontation is giving way to international co-operation and interaction.

It is obvious, the statement says, that at the present juncture the United Nations has to discharge increasingly the function of regulator and guarantor of international peace and security, and of a world centre for the prevention of conflicts and crises.

The experience of past years has shown that the United Nations has impressive potential for finding effective political solutions to regional conflicts. There is growing awareness that in present day conditions national security should be ensured primarily by political means.

The United Nations' ability to play an effective role in the consolidation of international security is directly linked with the raising of the efficiency of its principal bodies. Thus, the Security Council could be made more efficient by

holding its periodical meetings at the level of foreign ministers.

The process of disarmament, primarily nuclear, is undoubtedly of decisive importance for strengthening international security. Of fundamental importance in this case, as before, are the Soviet-American dialogue, the negotiations on the nuclear-space complex and talks on the banning of nuclear tests and elimination of chemical weapons.

Further progress towards the noble goal of creating a nuclear-free, non-violent world calls for the more active involvement of other nuclear powers and of the world community as a whole in the joint search for the shortest routes to disarmament, in the solution of verification problems and consolidation of international trust.

Displaying goodwill and adhering firmly to the spirit and letter of the Geneva agreements concluded under the aegis of the United Nations, the Soviet Union has withdrawn its troops from Afghanistan. This ensured an important precondition for restoring peace in that country.

"We are convinced that the United Nations and its Secretary General have far from exhausted their resources in ensuring a strict, non-selective observance of the Geneva Accords, the statement says. At the present stage it is necessary to press for an end to the bloodshed, to set up with UN assistance a negotiations mechanism to achieve a settlement in Afghanistan.

The Security Council and the UN Secretary General have played an important role in achieving a cease-fire between Iran and Iraq. The UN action to grant Namibia independence is gaining momentum.

The galvanisation of numerous negotiation

mechanisms creates prerequisites for a political settlement, with the international community's participation, of conflicts in Central America, the Middle East, Western Sahara, Cyprus and in other regions.

The already started processes to settle conflicts and to break the deadlock in the solution of other regional problems must be made irreversible if the task of strengthening peace and security is to be solved. Very important in this light is the urgent liquidation of the apartheid regime in South Africa which destabilises the situation in that part of the continent.

It is important to concentrate efforts not only on the realisation of UN peace-making potential in settling regional conflicts, but also on the fuller use of its capability to prevent new seats of tension. The Soviet Union believes that peace-keeping operations should play a special role in this respect. The UN preventive functions could be promoted by the elaboration of agreed approaches to the creation of a system for the early detection of crises and conflicts.

The United Nations could provide the basis for the creation of an international centre to prevent a military danger. There is a growing need to raise the efficiency of the UN mechanism to collect information and facts and to investigate international disputes and conflicts.

The strengthening of international security should be promoted by an active joint search for the solution of economic, humanitarian and ecological problems confronting the world community, the Soviet Government stresses. It expresses readiness to carry on a constructive dialogue with all the countries of the world. □

## Joint ventures in Siberia and Far East

By Boris Prokhorov,  
TASS news analyst:

OUT of the diversity of events taking place throughout the vast Russian Federation we shall examine those illustrating growing contacts between the republic's enterprises and foreign firms and the development of joint ventures with foreign participation.

Let us have a look at only one region of the republic — the territory beyond the Urals.

The number of joint ventures registered in the Soviet Union has now grown to more than one thousand. The Russian Federation accounts for more than a half of them. Moreover, the Russian market resources and Russian conditions are attracting more and more foreign businessmen.

One of them is Angelo Loffredo, head of the Italian firm Financial Projects, who visited the Siberian city of Krasnoyarsk where he signed a number of protocols of intent with his partners in the Soviet Union.

Together with Soviet organisations the Italian firm wants to take up the processing of Siberian timber into constructions quality chipboards.

A large quantity of timber was submerged when the reservoir of Sayany-Shushenskoye, of one of the world's largest hydropower stations with a capacity of 6.4 million kW, was filled. At that time the builders were not able to completely clear the forest before the territory was

flooded and logs now float in the water, poisoning it and the clogging water intakes of the station's turbines.

To clear the reservoir and to make quite a good profit on this will be only one of the business offers made to the Soviet side by Financial Project.

Another one will be to arrange the co-production of solar power batteries. The raw materials will be supplied by Siberia. The technology will be Italian. The output will be sold on both the Soviet and foreign markets and incomes will be shared.

An agreement was signed last week in another Siberian city, Gorno-Altaysk, which is situated on the spurs of the Altai mountain range, to set up a joint Greek-Soviet venture.

It will deal with the introduction and technical servicing of hydraulic power elements — an invention by local engineer Yuri Lebedev.

He presented the idea and worked out the design of a hydraulic device which develops a pressure of 350 tons and is small enough to be put into an ordinary case.

Lebedev's invention is protected by a whole package of patents. Negotiations are under way to sell licenses to firms from a number of countries.

So far Lebedev-invented devices will be made in Gorno-Altaysk, the birth place of the inventor, by a joint venture, the idea of which was suggested by the Athens firm Viobloc Enterprise.

In Irkutsk, Eastern Siberia, an Austro-

Yugoslav building firm began the construction of a shoe factory which will turn out shoes from Yugoslav patterns. This is also a joint venture.

In Vladivostok, Soviet and Chinese firms last week decided to set up a joint-venture enterprises which have been established or in operation promise large-scale industrial production.

There are a variety of schemes, including a Soviet-Chinese restaurant call Neimengu has opened.

The city also has a jointly operated clinic the patients of which are treated by traditional Chinese medicine techniques — acupuncture, phytotherapy and other techniques.

A document, under which Soviet and Chinese specialists will begin to draw up projects for joint fish hatcheries, has been signed in Khabarovsk territory.

The hatcheries will begin to augment the fish stocks in the Ussuri and Amur rivers by releasing valuable salmon fry into them.

Of course, a single review just cannot cover the entire spectrum of joint ventures in the Russian Federation. This is why we have cited just a few examples describing the state of affairs in only one, albeit the largest region of the republic — Siberia and the Far East.

The Russian Federation also encompasses highly developed Central Russia, the fertile southern regions and the abundant European north. Everywhere there are ample and diverse opportunities for mutually-beneficial business co-operation with firms from various countries. □

## PRAVDA EDITORIAL

# Perestroika needs a boost

## Towards a Qualitatively New State of Soviet Society and Humane and Democratic Socialism

DUE to the revolutionary dialectic of perestroika, its every stage limelights ever new tasks, which requires a continued analysis of the real situation and introduction of necessary corrections into our practical activities.

After its April 1985 Plenum the Communist Party set forth the task of accelerating our development. The decision was a natural reaction to the years of stagnation into which the country had been plunged. As the situation developed and its analysis grew increasingly deeper, it became clear that many of the old bureaucratic structures required radical restructuring.

In these conditions, acceleration needed a more thorough strategy, which we have called perestroika. The great mission and purport of perestroika is the resolute denunciation of the administrative command-style system, creation of new conditions for an all-round economic reform, transformation of the political system and the spiritual renewal of society. The Party has formulated the concept of perestroika and clearly determined goals – a qualitatively new state of our society and humane and democratic socialism.

The dynamics of perestroika as a transition period whose duration is yet hard to determine are such that once started, transformation acquires its own momentum. As a result, as Gorbachev said at a recent session of the Central Committee's Politburo, at the current stage society again clearly realises the need for a boost in carrying out the transformation efforts which have been started within the framework of perestroika – the economic and political reforms, the implementation of the platform on ethnic relations and the transformation of the activities of the Party, which has initiated perestroika, and other spheres of life. In literally all the directions the concept of perestroika has been put to the test of life. That is why we need to aptly combine the transformation activities designed for a long-term perspective and the creation of the new and the assertion of the first positive results which can be achieved right now.

It goes without saying that depth and solidness are of prime importance. People are right that in many instances we are much too late in carrying out this transformation, thereby disorienting and disintegrating society. It is a kind of vicious circle: What we need is a radical turn in practical

policy and greater resoluteness in going ahead with the transformation efforts. But these efforts are blocked because many practical problems remain unsolved.

The Party more than ever before emphasises the need for urgent measures to overcome the food shortages, solve the housing problem and satiate the market with consumer goods. These measures are to help us ease tension and create an economic and moral atmosphere for further progress. Only in this new situation the very emergency measures taken to solve numerous problems, including the most urgent ones, could prove effective. Hence the natural political task the Party is advancing to the fore – moving to the goal more resolutely, building up confidence and creating a business-like atmosphere. We need less abstract word-mongering, harping and revelling in our ailments. We need more confidence, realism and optimism. What is more, we need the desire to translate into life more broadly what perestroika has already produced and what opens up possibilities for creative endeavour.

We all know pretty well that we live in a great country which has a powerful economic potential and a good industrious people. A long period of public apathy and economic stagnation and the poor effect of the people's strenuous efforts have given birth to a kind of inferiority complex. It is important to overcome this as soon as possible and act more resolutely and boldly. Then we will be able to do anything. The Party does not give up a critical view of the things that hindered, and continue to hinder, our progress. But it is out of the Soviet people's character to surrender before difficulties. We have objective reason for confidence that by vigorously promoting perestroika we shall be able to cope with all our problems.

Perestroika appeals to man, his abilities, work and moral standards. Everything is inter-related here. And no task is more important for Party organisations than that of bolstering people's spirits. This is the only way for us to create in society a proper atmosphere for reform, a constructive atmosphere stimulating work.

Society is painfully coming out of the period when the administrative-command system prevailed. It is a difficult process although new, economically sound methods of managing the economy are rapidly gaining ground. Yet, in many cases both phenomena co-exist. This

But then, the transfer of this entire property to the union republics would virtually deprive the federation of an economic basis for normal functioning.

The bill determines that land and natural resources "belong to peoples that live on a given territory and to the Soviet people as a whole." However, one can say with confidence that this wording will find its opponents.

Considering the fundamental nature of the bill for the entire economic reform in the Soviet Union, some parliamentarians suggested that it be adopted at the Second Congress of People's Deputies, to be held in the middle of next month.

However, a majority of the delegates are against a too hasty decision. Too much depends on the future law for it to be adopted hurriedly, they argue. □

transitional period should not be dragged out. Consequently, we must accelerate the development of new methods of management and new forms of our social life.

Some people say we must return to the old methods, at least for some time. It is a dangerous suggestion. The old system is gone for good. We must adopt and use new methods faster if we want to overcome the difficulties of the transitional period sooner. True, every process has its stages, but one should not stay in one phase for too long. We must move from one stage to another more rapidly if we want the transitional period to end quickly.

There is a lot of speculation about our being too slow. Perhaps we are in some cases. Consequently, we must better analyse the situation. But the Party is categorically against the suggestion that we should leap-frog the stages and achieve a new state of society in one go. This is impossible. Rash action may throw us back. History won't forgive us for such experiments. That is why the Party stands for persistent and continuous effort, which must be accelerated however. Life requires that we further elaborate the concept of perestroika and carry it into practice, building upon all the positive results it has already produced and the experience accumulated by the Party and the people in recent years.

The Soviet people are devoted to socialism. They know that through perestroika they will resolve their current problems and implement to a fuller extent the ideals of socialism. We all feel now that things are really changing throughout the country.

The Party is preparing for its 28th Congress and this preparation should help create a new atmosphere in society and renew the Party.

This requires considerable effort, of course. All progressive forces should become involved in it. We must ensure that many Party organisations recover from shock. Now that profound economic and social changes are taking place, that ideological and political struggle is being waged about key issues of social development and that discussion is gaining momentum in the Party itself, the Party's position and its organisational and ideological work are extremely important. Committed to the Leninist tradition of being in touch with the masses, in the very midst of the masses, the Party should assert its position as a genuine vanguard in our society at the stage of perestroika. This is a major condition for success of perestroika and the pace of reforms.

(Pravda, November 14. In full.)

### PERESTROIKA as seen by an ECONOMIST

By Ruslan Hasbulatov

at 30p from:  
Soviet Booklets (SN9),  
3 Rosary Gardens,  
London SW7 4NW.

(continued from p398)

The bill envisages the citizens' right to an apartment, a country house, shares, and other valuables. The bill specially stipulates that "composition and cost of property shall not be limited" if, of course, it has been acquired in a legitimate way.

There will also appear new notions, such as the property of the work collective, the individual peasant farm, and the joint-stock company.

The property itself will change its aspect: all-union property will not disappear but its scope will dwindle sharply. Along with it, there will be the property of the union republics and autonomous entities, and communal property.

During the parliamentary debate, the delegates failed to reach consensus on the issue who should own land and the natural resources.

Keeping these as the property of the union raises objections from a number of republics, the Baltic republics in particular.