

## Mikhail Gorbachev's television address to the Soviet people

*Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet appeared on Soviet Central Television Network on January 20 and made the following address to the Soviet people:*

Comrades,

We are all witnessing a protracted inter-ethnic conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia. We are all seriously concerned over the fact that the tension that arose there not only fails to subside, but becomes aggravated from time to time, leading to serious consequences every time.

Over the past two years the central authorities have sought to act, for their part, patiently and in a thoughtful manner, trying to solve difficult problems exclusively by peaceful, political means.

A comradely dialogue, discussions in the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Central Committee of the Party, in the government, through visits by USSR people's deputies and repeated meetings in Moscow with the leadership of the two republics and with deputies – all have been used, with the sole aim of achieving harmony, and restoring good-neighbourly and simply human relations, to find a way out of the dead end, and, in the final analysis, to normalise the situation concerning Nagorno-Karabakh.

By acting in this way, we proceeded from the conviction that violence, enmity and continuation of the conflict would not result in anything good but would only poison the atmosphere still further and lead to still greater loss of life and breed more violence.

Unfortunately, under these conditions Party, local-government and state bodies of the two republics did not show due responsibility and thoughtfulness and quite often conceded principled positions under pressure from nationalist groups.

This is what has been happening lately when sessions of the supreme soviets of Armenia and Azerbaijan took decisions that run counter to the Soviet Constitution. They not only failed to promote the normalisation of the situation but, on the contrary, aggravated it and heightened confrontation.

The situation was made use of by anti-social, anti-popular elements for further stirring up enmity and exacerbation of the conflict. Armed clashes started, particularly in border areas and in places where Armenians and Azerbaijanis lived side by side.

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On January 15, this year, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet had to adopt a decree introducing a state of emergency in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region and in some other areas of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

It would seem, this measure should have stopped violence and brought to reason extremists and the leaders of popular fronts that had plunged their peoples into an abyss of chaos and suffering.

But the voice of reason, the voice of the Soviet public and all peoples of our country was ignored this time also.

The calls for dialogue, conciliation and tolerance remained unheeded.

Moreover, militant national-careerists continued to heat up the situation, form groups of militants and to blockade roads and airports. Attacks on servicemen, arms depots and law enforcement agencies became frequent.

The events assumed a particularly tragic character in Baku: rampage, killings, and the driving of innocent people out of their homes and to beyond the republic.

Extremist forces' actions in Azerbaijan assumed increasingly overt anti-state, anti-constitutional and anti-popular character.

The legitimate authorities were forcibly debarred from performing their functions, and government structures were disrupted in a number of areas.

Engineering and technical facilities were destroyed along hundreds of kilometres of the state border. The aim of a forcible seizure of power in the republic was not practically concealed.

It could no longer continue in this way. Along with deep compassion for the innocent victims, wrath and indignation at criminal actions, facts of brutal violence, vandalism and the violation of laws have mounted in the country.

### Foreign Ministry briefing on situation in Baku

SOVIET First Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Bessmertnykh made the following statement at the Foreign Ministry Press Centre on January 20:

In connection with the inaccurate reports in the foreign mass media on events in Baku and in order to prevent their distorted interpretation, I would like to inform representatives of the press of the following.

Yesterday, on January 19, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet passed a decree introducing a State of Emergency in Baku on January 20. The decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, of January 15 this year, is in force on the territory of the city.

On the basis of this decree units of the Soviet Army and Interior Ministry troops were brought into the city early today.

What has prompted this decision? Despite all the measures that have been taken in the past few days to defuse the situation, to prevent its further exacerbation and to avert additional suffering from people living in the

Soviet people demanded from the country's leadership resolute measures to restore law and order, to ensure the people's safety.

You already know that the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has imposed a state of emergency in Baku, that units of Interior Ministry troops and the Soviet Army have moved into the city.

They occupied key objects and took under control government buildings. Resolute measures are being taken against ransackers, organisers and instigators of disturbances. Fire arms and ammunition are being seized from criminal elements.

To our deep regret there are victims. Military units were met by fire from terrorists in some places and had to use weapons in response.

Grief came today into some houses. I convey to these families my most sincere condolences.

The tragic events in Baku, the border areas of Azerbaijan and Armenia, other regions of the Caucasus have laid bare the price of nationalist rampage and playing on sacred national feelings. It is a crime to push people to blind enmity, to the madness of fratricidal war.

The state is duty-bound to put an end to lawlessness and inhumanity, to resolutely curb the criminal actions of extremists, who have lost human face, who are prepared to take other people's lives for the sake of personal ambitions, selfish interests and power.

The state is duty-bound to restore peace and security to the people and the possibility to develop in a free and democratic way, to work normally, live peacefully, to raise and bring up children in the two republics.

Soldiers and officers of the Soviet Army and Interior Ministry troops are fulfilling their duty in defending the USSR Constitution and law.

*(Continued on next page)*

republic and its capital, extremist elements pressed on with their destructive activity.

They established a headquarters, the actual goal of which was to remove the legitimate state bodies from power and seize it.

These violent anti-constitutional actions acquired an extremely dangerous dimension. Attempts were made to seize television and radio stations and paralyse the work of Party, state and local government bodies.

In Baku, teams of militants began to erect barricades and interrupt communications and continued pogroms. The security of the citizens of Baku was seriously threatened.

Teams of militants launched combat actions against troops sent into the city. Militants used firearms, including machine-guns, submachine-guns and sniper rifles.

In keeping with the decree and to protect themselves, troops retaliated.

According to the Azerbaijani Interior Ministry, eight soldiers and more than 40 militants were killed in the clashes initiated by extremists. A considerable number of people were wounded. □



# Mikhail Gorbachev addresses Kremlin conference

PERESTROIKA in the Soviet Union has entered a difficult, decisive stage of its development, President Mikhail Gorbachev said in the Kremlin on January 18, opening a nationwide meeting of representatives of workers, farmers, engineers and technicians.

Perestroika is gaining momentum, spreading to all strata of society and all spheres of life.

This process also acquires acute forms because it involves deep-going, fundamental changes, which are crucial if society is to be renewed, organised and start functioning in a qualitatively new way, he stressed.

"We become involved in the decisive clash of the old and the new, various positions, views and naturally, interests.

"We need perestroika as we need air," Gorbachev continued. "We need it to tap the possibilities of our socialist system. We need it to use the huge capital that has been accumulated over the years of Soviet power.

"Humanitarianism is the central plank of perestroika," Gorbachev said. "Perestroika is exactly focused on man, his life and cares, his interests and desires, to ensure a confident future for coming generations.

"We shall by no means give up the socialist choice," he went on. "Through the renewal of society we want to uncover the humane character of the socialist system. We want to create a humane and democratic society, a society with a dynamic economy, with highly developed science and culture, with living conditions befitting man," he said.

"Human rights should be firmly and reliably

protected in the society we seek to create," he added.

The past four years were marked with profound work, searching and making major decisions crucial for the state's short- and long-term future.

An atmosphere of democracy and public openness is taking firmer root in the country, the stronger voice of the working class, intellectuals and agricultural workers is being more distinctly heard, Gorbachev said. But there are people who would like to halt the process of democratisation and those who would like to use it "for unseemly aims," he noted.

Speaking of the need to reinvigorate the Soviet Federation, Gorbachev said that the hopes and aspirations of all peoples of the USSR could be justified only through tapping the federation's potential.

Events in Azerbaijan and Armenia are giving rise to concern, he said. The state has now had to use force against extremists, vandals and criminals in that region. But the main problems of inter-ethnic relations can be solved only through the development of the federation, Gorbachev stressed.

## Gorbachev on crisis in Transcaucasia

THE situation in Transcaucasia is not improving, President Mikhail Gorbachev said on January 19 at the opening of the second day of the All-Union Conference of Workers, Farmers, Engineering and Technical personnel.

Clashes, rampages or attempts to seize weapons are now less common in Transcaucasia but the situation remains tense, Gorbachev said.

The necessary measures are being taken by the Ministries of the Interior and Defence, the USSR Committee for State Security (KGB), and by transport workers under the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region and in a number of areas of Armenia and Azerbaijan.

A partial mobilisation of reservists has been declared in the northern Caucasus to give help quickly but that gave rise to discontent among the population.

Soviet people are resolutely demanding that urgent measures be taken to stop the development of negative processes, Gorbachev said.

He condemned attempts to play on ethnic sentiments for self-seeking purposes.

A handful of militants, irresponsible adventurers, and shadow economy dealers are interested in tension. They plunder both peoples. Perestroika is like a thorn in their flesh. But they are unable to launch a frontal attack on it, therefore they cling to tension on an ethnic basis, he said.

In Azerbaijan, there have already appeared forces that are pressing for the republic's secession from the Soviet Union, for an Islamic Azerbaijan. But this does not receive support among the people, Gorbachev said.

Statements are also heard from those who incite extremist forces and have befuddled people's minds but want to shift the blame onto the centre. "We have no complaints about Armenians or Armenia. It is Moscow that did everything to set the two peoples against each other. It is Moscow that needs this," they allege.

"We see the situation," Gorbachev said. "We shall properly evaluate it and will act so as to give help to the two peoples and to defend their lives. Although extremists may resort to any provocations to try to aggravate the situation - water supply pipelines are blown up in some places in an attempt to disrupt vital services - we shall do everything to prevent it from being exacerbated," Gorbachev said. □

"The current renunciation of old command forms and transition to new forms based on political and economic methods are causing many problems in the life of society," Gorbachev continued. This transitional period is giving rise to painful phenomena and it should be as brief as possible. □

## Gorbachev's closing remarks

THE working people of the USSR favour perestroika but are dissatisfied with its progress, Mikhail Gorbachev said in his closing remarks at the two-day meeting of representatives of the working class, peasantry and technical intelligentsia that ended in the Kremlin on January 19.

The Soviet leader emphasised this conclusion because revolutionary changes in the country are impossible without the people understanding and supporting them.

The discussion has confirmed once again that the working people do not want to, and will not put up with negative phenomena in the economy, public life and inter-ethnic relations, Gorbachev pointed out.

The centre has to lean on nationwide support to radically change the situation for the better. The economy must be reoriented towards the people's social needs in order to more fully meet the demand for foodstuffs, housing, and satiate the market.

Gorbachev thanked participants in the meeting for their words of support addressed to the Soviet Communist Party and for the concern for the fate of the Party that was voiced at the meeting. Perestroika will triumph if the process is efficiently and skillfully headed by a politically renewed party.

Responding to the proposal to speed up the convocation of the Party's 28th Congress (scheduled for October 1990), the Party's General Secretary recalled that the date of convocation has already been moved forward by six months, as it was originally scheduled for 1991. It would be hard to hold it still earlier, for instance in June, as some people have proposed.

"We would like to move towards the congress," he said, "through a very serious inner Party discussion on the basis of a platform that we shall soon publish, and through a very serious feed-back and election campaign that is expected to change the atmosphere and the personnel situation at every level - the primary organisation, the district and city organisations.

"If we agree to hold the congress first and the election later, this may call in question the Party discussion and, consequently, the creation of an atmosphere capable of making the next congress fruitful and progressive, with possible far-reaching consequences," Gorbachev noted.

Mikhail Gorbachev assured the audience that the importance of the discussion at the meeting will be made clear to the regular plenum of the Central Committee, which is expected to meet on January 29 and 30. □

(Continued from previous page)

The leadership hopes that the measures will be understood and supported by all peoples of our country.

At this hour I call on all citizens of Azerbaijan and Armenia to show wisdom and common sense, not to give in to provocative slogans and actions. I call on all those who have been deceived and misled or forcibly drawn into criminal actions to come to their senses and to stop.

I ask all of you to render every assistance in restoring civil peace, in jointly overcoming the trial that befell our lot.

I deeply believe that common sense and responsibility will triumph, will gain the upper hand.

Today as never before we need national accord, close co-operation and assistance to each other in the name of better life for all peoples of our state. □

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# The situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan

THE introduction of the State of Emergency in Baku was caused by the extraordinary circumstances that arose as a result of pogroms and attempts by extremists to instigate mass unrest with the aim of toppling the legitimate bodies of authority. The measure was intended to prevent more bloodshed.

In the morning of January 22, Azerbaijani Prime Minister A Mutalibov, who is a member of the republic's political leadership, addressed the population. Great trouble has come to our land, he said. People are being killed. I grieve their loss together with the entire people of Azerbaijan, I bow my head before their fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters.

Each one of us is fully aware of his share of responsibility for what is happening. I say this quite sincerely that we took all possible measures to prevent the introduction of the State of Emergency in Baku.

Practical measures are now being taken to restore the sovereignty of the republic and step up the struggle against extremists, Mutalibov went on to say. A number of leaders of nationalist and extremist groups have been detained and will be brought to court.

Questions have been considered relating to refugees and other social and economic issues.

On Monday (January 22) a mass funeral of those who died in the clashes on January 19 and 20 was held.

In defiance of facts, rumours continue circulating in the republic alleging that many hundreds and even thousands of people were killed in Baku, including women and children. The real facts were reported over the radio by the city's military commandant: on January 19 and 20, he said, 83 people were killed in Baku, including 14 servicemen and members of their families.

There is not a single woman or a child among the dead in Baku, competent sources told TASS. However, women were killed and wounded in the families of servicemen.

The military commandant stressed in his address to the population that the state of emergency would be mitigated in line with the ensuring of safety of the population.

In order to facilitate the restoration of order individuals possessing arms illegally are ordered to hand weapons in to representatives of the district commandants' offices before 9:00 on January 24. People who deposit weapons voluntarily before the indicated time will not be detained or prosecuted.

However, leaflets are still circulated in Baku calling for civil disobedience and confrontation. Extremists and nationalists, instigated by some leaders of the 'Popular Front of Azerbaijan' are doing all to further fan up the anti-Army and even anti-Russian hysteria.

Rumours are circulated alleging that troops are treating the population cruelly. Representatives of other ethnic groups are told to leave Baku and threatened with reprisals if they do not.

Terrorists in Baku continue shooting at military settlements, including the Salyansky Barracks. In their attempts to discredit servicemen, representatives of the 'Popular Front of Azerbaijan' do not stop short of dirty slander. Terrorist members of the front are among those who shoot at the barracks. At the same time rumours are spread and telegrams are sent across the country alleging that clashes, resulting in casualties, have taken place here among servicemen of different nationalities. These are downright lies.

Rioting has been reported in some towns and residential areas in Azerbaijan. In the town of Pushkino a mob destroyed the building of the

Party district committee and the monument to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

Outside Nakhichevan a radio location station was attacked. The attack was rebuffed.

In Stepanakert more extremist members of the so-called 'Karabakh Movement' have been detained. Two of them are charged with organising and carrying out acts of hostage taking.

In Armenia, threats are increasingly often voiced against Kurds residing in the Masis, Sevan and Razdan districts of the republic. According to available data, criminals have been involved, along with militants, terrorists and members of unofficial organisations, in seizing arms.

Along with this, there are instances when measures to settle the conflict are crowned with success. In Armenia more and more weapons are being turned in voluntarily.

In the village of Yeraskh in the Arafat district M Serobyian, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party and V Dayan, Deputy Prime Minister of Armenia met I Ragimov, Deputy Prime Minister of Azerbaijan and R Djalilov, Secretary of the Nakhichevan Regional Party Committee. Taking part in the meeting were M Surkov, People's Deputy of the USSR and General N Fedosov of the Interior Ministry troops. In order to avoid further escalation of the conflict, they decided to take joint measures to put an end to shootouts and clashes, to restore the damaged railway communications, restart railway traffic between Armenia and Azerbaijan, and clear the road to the village of Kerki in the Ilyichevsk district.

Commanders and political officers of the Border guards have been able to explain things to the local population and agree on the removal of pickets from the roads.

Over the past 24 hours it has become clear that the number of violations on the USSR State border have reduced. □

(Moscow, January 22)

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## The situation on the Soviet-Iranian border

A MUTUAL understanding is being established between the Soviet and Iranian border guard forces, Deputy Chief of the Political Administration of the Soviet Border Guard Forces Boris Golyshev said in an interview with the newspaper *Izvestia* on January 22. He was discussing the complicated situation at the Soviet-Iranian border resulting from unrest in Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Late on Saturday, Golyshev said, border guard commissars met in Astara. Iranian officials expressed a desire to see order restored quickly.

The commandment of the Transcaucasian Border District and the commandment of the Border Guard Forces of the KGB continue receiving appeals for servicemen deployed along the Soviet-Iranian border.

Their messages say that insufficient activity in settling conflicts in Azerbaijan's border areas leads to the activation of extremists and provokes their readiness to resort to unlawful actions. The border guard personnel insist on Soviet people's deputies visiting the conflict zone.

Late on Sunday, Golyshev said, up to 40,000 people crossed the Soviet border to Iran in the Prishibsky and Lenkoran districts. In order to halt violations of the state border, border guards are increasing the number of operational troops

in the districts.

Iranian police are reported to have attempted to blockade the city of Astara in Iran to prevent Iranian citizens from crossing into Soviet territory.

On the same night Lenkoran radio broadcasted an appeal from the Lenkoran popular front. It said, among other things, that "the border will be closed and it is necessary to restrain attempts to cross it as crossing on a legal basis will be organised soon."

In connection with the destabilised situation and continuous threats of reprisals, the evacuation has begun of the families of border guards.

*Izvestia* cites a report from the commandment of the Nakhichevan border force saying the situation was extremely grave in the area on Sunday. In Djulfa Party documents and books by Lenin were burned and a monument to Lenin was destroyed.

From early Sunday morning border guards have been receiving ultimatums demanding that they either protect Azers against aggression or leave the area. □

**Indira GANDHI**

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# Soviet Premier answers questions from readers of *Trud*

"THE year 1989 differed from all the preceding years of perestroika by the fact that it saw the beginning of large-scale practical realisation of what was contemplated to do to restructure the economy," Nikolai Ryzhkov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, emphasised in his response to questions from readers of the newspaper *Trud*.

In his answers published by *Trud* on January 21, the Soviet Prime Minister mentioned as major economic reform measures taken last year the completion of the transfer of the enterprises of all branches of the economy to cost-accounting, the social reorientation of the economy and the creation of economic and legal prerequisites for the formation of such forms of economic management as lease arrangements, co-operators, and individual enterprise.

Besides, administrative methods were substantially limited resultant of changing the managerial structure through the merger of ministries and abolition of a number of them.

Many functions were transferred from the centre to the republics and to local authorities, and the basic provisions of agrarian policy were reconsidered.

Ryzhkov also pointed to decisions aimed at rationalising investment activities, at reducing defence spending and at changing the specialisation of the enterprises of the country's defence sector within the framework of conversion.

As a result, state budget deficit was cut down to 92 billion roubles as against 120 billion

roubles, which the original plan envisaged.

These measures ensured the priority channeling of investments into the social sphere and a priority rate of increment in the manufacture of consumer goods as compared with the production of capital goods. This tendency will receive further development in 1990.

The position of low-income families was also improved. The minimum amounts of pensions were raised for 23 million pensioners. Distinctions in the provision of pensions for the working people of town and countryside were eliminated.

However, Ryzhkov said, many negative trends and processes are very strong and they have not been overcome. This applies primarily to the situation on the consumer market where the amount of unsatisfied demand is estimated by the USSR State Committee for Statistics at about 165 billion roubles.

There were shortfalls in the implementation of plans for the construction of housing and social service facilities. Some major production facilities were not brought into operation.

The situation in the field of transport, which has been unable to attain a normal rhythm, remains complex.

Touching upon government measures aimed at overcoming price rises, Ryzhkov said that an anti-monopoly law and a series of measures to establish a wide network of small and medium-sized enterprises are now being elaborated. This will promote the development of economic competition on the consumer market and prevent the jacking up of prices.

The government has fixed a list of consumer goods, the earlier endorsed state retail prices of

which shall remain unchanged in 1990, and limited the range of goods, on which contract prices and price levels may be set.

The list of light-industry products sold at socially low prices has been extended and the state-placed order for their manufacture has been enlarged.

The price control system has gained in scope considerably. In 1989 price control agencies ruled that more than 180 million roubles in unlawfully obtained profit and fines for overpricing must be exacted for the benefit of the budget.

The earlier elaborated wholesale prices are now being thoroughly analysed with due regard for wage increases and social insurance allocations and for an expected increase in interest on credit. The necessary adjustments are being introduced to these prices.

In December 1989 the Council of Ministers determined guidelines for a revision of purchasing prices. Projections for such prices are now being intensively elaborated.

The entire preparatory work to revise wholesale and purchasing prices should be completed in the first half of 1990 so that they could be put into effect at the beginning of 1991.

As far as retail prices are concerned, Ryzhkov said, it is essential to work out not only new prices but also specific amounts and forms of compensation to the population for price rises.

Such compensation is not only an economic problem but is also of acute socio-political character, since it involves the interests of various social sections of the population, union republics and regions. As of today, this problem has not yet been fully solved and requires further elaboration. □

## Environmental protection: global survival on the agenda

By Alexander Ignatov, *Novosti* political analyst

ABOUT a thousand religious and political leaders from 83 countries took part in the Global Forum on the Environment and Development for Survival, which was held in Moscow on January 15-19. On the last day of the forum the participants were received by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The emblem of the forum depicts a photograph of the Earth taken from space and two human beings carrying the planet in their hands. The Moscow discussions were sponsored by a new non-governmental organisation, the global forum of spiritual and parliamentary leaders on human survival. It held its first congress in Oxford in 1988. The second congress in Moscow was much more representative.

The religious leaders, MPs, scientists, businessmen, and members of leading international organisations and public-interest groups focused on environmental protection and its close ties with development, disarmament, and other global problems facing mankind on the threshold of the 21st century.

Authoritative experts speaking at the forum cited sinister data. An acre of forest is destroyed every second. The current global warming is unprecedented in the last 150,000 years. The future of the planet is in danger. The threats, which are coming to the fore and those which we are still unaware of, are real pitfalls for mankind as a biological species. These traps have been prepared by people themselves. But man is only one of the 30 million biological species on the

earth. His activities are more and more rapidly destroying these species.

But many speakers abandoned such black pessimism and demonstrated sober approaches to problems of survival. Environmental awareness is making its way. In Moscow leaders of the main religions of the world and experts in natural sciences for the first time showed such a unity of actions. Carl Sagan, a well-known American astronomer, read out an appeal to scientists and religious figures, which urges them to take joint actions with the view of saving our planet.

The appeal, first signed on January 3, 1990 by 23 leading American, West German, Japanese, and Italian scientists, has since then been backed by over 100 religious leaders. Its essence is that the global ecological crisis calls for an immediate adequate global response, in particular, on the part of leaders of different religions. An answer to the scientists, circulated at the Moscow forum, was signed by Muslim, Catholic, Protestant and Judaic clergymen.

The participants spoke not the hypocritical language of George Orwell, author of the book "1984", but the emerging global language of trust, goodwill, co-operation, and understanding. They spoke of environmentally sound development, close ties between poverty and environmental pollution, and the need for overcoming the estrangement that has reigned in Europe for the past 40 years. They also discussed the current profound shifts in people's attitudes and the thaw in the political climate.

The ideas expressed by the guests were consonant with what Gorbachev said in his address in the Kremlin. The Soviet President stressed,

among many other things, the need to highlight environmental problems, urgently work out a global strategy in this field, and approve an international environmental ethics code binding on all countries. He admitted that the USSR is still failing to meet the needs and demands of environmental protection.

Though the Soviet side was too late to realise the environmental tragedy, it is now vigorously trying to catch up with those who have left it behind. According to Gorbachev, up to 335 billion roubles will be allocated to a national programme which is now being elaborated and aims to reach an adequate quality of life by 2000-2005.

The Kremlin suggested that the international community examine a global programme for the protection and rational use of the environment. For this purpose it finds it vital to adopt international legal standards for preserving Antarctica and other unique natural zones and launch the establishment of an international mechanism for technological co-operation in environmental protection. Moscow urged all governments to report back to their public on environmental agency, which is being examined in the EEC. The USSR is prepared to join such an agency. Gorbachev reaffirmed his country's readiness to halt all nuclear tests jointly with the United States.

In just 10 years we will be entering the third millennium, which will belong to our children. Will they also have to tackle our problems which remain unsolved to this day? Will we be able to leave for them a viable civilisation? We still have to answer these complicated questions. □



# Eduard Shevardnadze receives US senators

SOVIET Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on January 17 received a group of US Senators who are in Moscow for the Global Forum on Environment and Development for Survival, under way in Moscow.

The group included Claiborne Pell, Albert Gore and Timothy Wirth, as well as Lloyd Bentsen, invited to the Soviet Union by the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

They had a frank discussion on a number of major international problems and the further development of Soviet-US relations.

Shevardnadze said "solid groundwork was laid in the past few years for further progress in Soviet-American relations.

"We have shown to the whole world that we can successfully solve major problems, including the in sensitive sphere of disarmament.

"This year may be unique in this respect: good prospects are opening for the solution of the

## Shevardnadze calls for European summit

SOVIET Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze spoke out for the dynamic development of the CSCE process given stability on the continent. This is expressed in his article published in the January 18 issue of the newspaper *Izvestia*.

The minister notes the positive nature of processes in Eastern Europe and writes that changes of such a great magnitude and rapid pace are fraught with a destabilising effect. He pointed out the need to define the most rational and viable forms for a European structure and, importantly, those forms that guarantee the security of countries and peoples.

Shevardnadze described the CSCE process as the basis for a rapprochement of political structures on the European continent. It is a key and strategic notion for building a single Europe of equitable nations, whose statehood and borders are recognised as unshakable constants. Shevardnadze emphasised the important role of Helsinki as a stabilising and unifying factor.

Shevardnadze dwelt on the German question, which was in the past, and remains to a greater degree, the core of Europe's security.

"Undoubtedly, relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany can become a catalyst in the European processes of integration and consolidation, but they also can become a destructive factor, if, going beyond certain limits, they contradict the existing international law and order."

Shevardnadze spoke out against artificially speeding up the inter-German process and moving it away from realities in Europe. Speaking about those circles in West Germany that would like to solve the problem by mechanically incorporating the GDR into Western structures, Shevardnadze stressed that in practice this would mean drastically changing the correlation of forces in Europe and undermining stability on the continent, with all the ensuing consequences.

In conclusion the minister expressed the view that the development of events in Europe and the accumulation of acute problems, puts on the agenda the need for their collective discussion. Recalling Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal in Rome for convening a Europe-wide summit, Shevardnadze emphasised that such a meeting is sorely needed. □

problems of strategic offensive armaments, conventional armed forces, chemical weapons and nuclear tests.

"Some issues from this sphere have to be resolved at political level. We are orienting our efforts on these issues to the June 1990 Soviet-US summit.

"The visit by US Secretary of State James Baker to Moscow in early February will have great importance for the preparation of the summit," Shevardnadze said.

The Soviet Minister said the Soviet Union took "serious steps" during the previous talks in Wyoming.

"We will continue taking steps in the future, too, but much will depend on what Baker brings to Moscow," he said.

Both sides expressed interest in progress and development in Soviet-US trade and economic relations which they described as lagging behind the general dynamics of the two countries' interaction in various spheres.

"We know that some Western countries, including the United States, have adopted a wait-and-see attitude to perestroika," Shevardnadze said.

"Indeed, our country is now living through a difficult period. It has turned out that a peaceful revolution, a turnabout in people's minds is the most difficult revolution.

"But we are sure that perestroika will be carried out," he emphasised.

## General Moiseyev on Vienna seminar

GENERAL Mikhail Moiseyev, Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, has described as "an unprecedented event in European, and not only European, history" the current seminar being held in the Austrian capital to discuss military doctrines.

The seminar is being attended by high-ranking military leaders from 33 European countries as well as of the United States and Canada.

The leader of the Soviet delegation returned to Moscow following the first stage of the seminar. Having recalled the defensive character of the Soviet military doctrine, he emphasised, in an interview published in the newspaper *Trud* on January 23, that the Soviet Union does not seek military superiority. "By agreeing to large unilateral cuts in our armed forces and weaponry, we have convincingly proved that our deeds match our words."

"Taking into account the considerable thaw in the international political climate in recent years, the Soviet Union and the United States, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (WTO) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) can jointly pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

"The new atmosphere also makes it possible to take a pledge not to be the first to launch a war with the use of conventional weapons.

"Military security in the space age is indivisible. It cannot be fully ensured by one country or an alliance of countries, however well they are armed," General Moiseyev said.

"Today, while striving for security, one should proceed from the balance of interests, not the balance of forces. This is why the nascent transformation of the WTO and NATO from military-political alliances into politico-military ones is reassuring.

During the discussion of the situation in Europe, both sides pointed out that some statements on the reunification of the two German states evoke legitimate concern with regard to the degree to which the interests of European peoples, the imperatives of the borders' inviolability and lessons of history are being taken into account.

The sides also discussed the situation in the Asia-Pacific region.

Shevardnadze pointed to the Soviet Union's large-scale measures to reduce its armed forces both East and West of the Urals.

"The day when there will be no Soviet military presence in Asia beyond Soviet borders is near," he said.

In this connection, he called on the United States to "correct its policy in that region."

Shevardnadze expressed conviction that the dialogue between the Soviet Union, the United States and other countries of the Asia-Pacific region "is the road, following which general and specific apprehensions, if such exist, should be removed."

The participants in the meeting emphasised the great importance of environmental problems discussed at the Moscow forum and noted their close connection with progress in disarmament efforts, as reductions in military spending is the main source of huge funds required for saving the planet's environment. □

Mikhail  
GORBACHEV

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## Programme for 28th Party Congress discussed

THE draft programme of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party for the 28th Congress of the Party was discussed at the January 22 meeting of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party.

Having thoroughly discussed the draft programme, the Politburo in the main endorsed the provisions of the programme and instructed the leader of the Soviet Communist Party Mikhail Gorbachev to perfect the document with taking into account the remarks. After that the draft will be submitted for discussion at the regular plenum of the Central Committee.

The Politburo decided to hold a plenum on this matter on February 5-6, 1990.

The meeting discussed the results of the trip made by Mikhail Gorbachev and a group of participants in the extraordinary December (1989) plenum of the Central Committee to the Lithuanian Republic and worked out appropriate proposals for the plenum.

The Politburo discussed information about the results of the meeting that Gorbachev, Alexander Yakovlev and Anatoly Lukyanov had with a delegation from the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party, headed by Shintaro Abe.

It was noted that the exchange of opinions made it possible to deepen the Soviet-Japanese political dialogue in which representatives of the

ruling Japanese party actively participated for the first time.

New opportunities were established for the improvement of Soviet-Japanese relations and for the development of bilateral ties in various areas.

It is important that both sides expressed the opinion that these relations should be brought to a level corresponding to the requirements of the times, commensurate with the role of both countries in the world today and the pace of international affairs.

Consent was expressed with the proposal of the Japanese side for the development of inter-party ties between the Soviet Communist Party and the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan.

The meeting discussed the results of Gorbachev's conversation and Shevardnadze's meetings with United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

It was noted that the role of the United Nations Organisations, its Security Council and Secretary General has enhanced in the process of transition from the cold war to peaceful international development through forming a consensus and ensurance of stability and law and order.

It was also noted that the political line in support of the United Nations remains unchanged. It stems from the adherence to the new political thinking, to perestroika, democratisation and glasnost within the country. □

## Central Committee appeal

Moscow, January 19

THE appeal by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR to the peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan, that was announced at a moment crucial for the fates of both republics, evoked hopes for restoring law and order.

However, extremist forces are hampering in every way measures to stabilise the situation that has further aggravated today in Baku and many other regions of Azerbaijan.

Unlawful actions of the self-styled "National Front Defence Committee" and nationalist, anti-Soviet groups pushing for power, the city's life has been largely disrupted. All traffic has stopped, except for the underground, enterprises have stopped work. Motor roads and railways are blocked. So-called self-defence groups search passengers and take away valuables. Communications and the radio and television centre have been immobilised.

Speakers at rallies call for the forceful overthrow of Soviet power, the secession of Azerbaijan and the reunification of northern and southern Azerbaijan in a single Islamic state. Those who disagree with these calls and families of servicemen are threatened with reprisals. They are prevented from leaving the republic.

This means that the popular front leaders were hypocritical when they assured the republican leadership during their meeting that they would not seek to increase tension.

While calling upon the population of Baku to protest against the imposition of a curfew in the city, the extremists themselves have virtually created a state of emergency.

Repeated calls on them to show good sense and cease unlawful actions are ignored by them. Moreover, understanding what turmoil that have led the people into, the extremist forces are

now seeking to blame the republican and central bodies of state authority for the uncontrollable developments.

The population, including Azerbaijanis, are increasingly indignant at the discord. Thousands of Baku residents turn to the Party, Soviet and law-enforcement bodies demanding that their safety be more rigorously protected and normal life be restored to the city.

The situation remains equally complicated in Armenia. Groups of militants are being actively formed there to be deployed along the border with Azerbaijan. Moral and physical terror is being stepped up by extremist groups to create an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty in the republic. Skirmishes are increasingly frequent between adjacent Armenian and Azerbaijani areas. A group of Armenian terrorists has used mortars to shell the Sadarak settlement in Ilyichevsk district of the Nakhichevan autonomous republic.

Unrest is causing huge economic damage to both republics and the country as a whole. One example is 143 freight trains immobilised by the railway blockade.

Tumult has spread along the USSR state border, especially within the areas guarded by the Prishib and Lenkoran border guard forces. Several thousand people crossed over to Iranian territory over the past 24 hours, part of them has returned home. About a thousand Iranians have been in Soviet territory. Extremists involve women and children in their unlawful actions at the border with the aim to prevent border guards from curbing their activity.

Despite the complexity of the situation, law-enforcement, regular army, interior ministry and border guard troops are stepping up the struggle against unlawful activities.

More than 200 criminal proceedings have been instituted in Baku. Some extremist leaders, including a militant chief, have been detained in Stepanakert in accordance with the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet. □

## Law on property will be heatedly debated

By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

IT WILL not be an overstatement to say that the law on property will be heatedly debated at the third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet which is to open on February 14. This view is confirmed also by the analysis of letters coming to parliament during the nationwide discussion of the bill.

Yuri Kalmykov, acting chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Legislation, told the committee's meeting on January 22 that approximately 70-80 per cent of the authors of letters support the principles of diversity of forms of property contained in the bill.

At the same time, many provisions of the document evoke contradictory comments. A number of authors categorically object to private property in the Soviet Union.

Kalmykov believes that the problem that will complicate the passage of the bill will be the definition of property on land and natural resources. It should be noted that the question of ownership of land and natural resources — whether they should belong to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or to republics — was more than once the stumbling block during the discussion of many documents in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

It is precisely the absence of a compromise solution that was the reason why the autumn session of Parliament last year twice rejected the government bill on the general principles of the management of the economy and social area in union republics.

The discussion of the law on property shows that in such a complicated matter even compromise solutions do not satisfy everyone.

Radically-minded authors believe that the wording of the document is not bold enough. Their opponents, mostly older people, assert that the published version of the law is aimed at the "destruction of the foundations of socialism" and even demand that its authors "be put on trial."

One of the authors of the law on property, Ukrainian economist Alexei Boiko, is of the opinion that his approach is largely explained by stereotypes in thinking which people often find difficult or even impossible to give up.

On the whole such a variety of opinions will undoubtedly affect the course of the debate in the USSR Supreme Soviet. It will be very acute. This law cannot be passed without struggle, the scientist believes. □

All extremist organisations and groups operating on Nagorno-Karabakh territory have been disbanded by order of the Stepanakert military commandant.

Interior Ministry forces have recaptured a sizeable portion of weapons seized by militants in the town of Echmiadzin on January 17.

Reinforcements for the troops of the Transcaucasian Military District are arriving in both republics from other military districts of the Soviet Union. □

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# Lessons of the developments in Eastern Europe and the future of reforms in the USSR

By Stanislav Kondrashov, columnist for the Soviet Government newspaper *Izvestia*

**CAN THE** experience of Soviet allies, Romania in particular, be used for adjusting the character and pace of current reforms in the Soviet Union? If yes, how exactly?

In answering that question, I would like to speak of Romania first. It has just demonstrated to the entire world the dramatic experience of a people's uprising against the brutal regime of autocracy and the army's support for the people – a factor which enabled it to win a hard victory. This experience, however, has no relation to current processes in the Soviet Union, if only because Gorbachev is no Ceausescu and there is no autocratic rule in our country. Even during the two decades under Brezhnev the country made no return to the kind of repressive Stalinism of which Romania was a patent example under the dictatorship of Ceausescu and his clan.

As the last bulwark of totalitarianism, Romania stood out in contrast among the countries of Eastern Europe. Incidentally, it seems appropriate to recall that the West, the US among others, encouraged in one way or another Ceausescu's special policy line within the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and closed its eyes to blatant violations of human rights and the fact that Romania's 'independence' rested on the political selfishness of a dictator.

Thus far, new political structures in Romania have not had time to show themselves in action and here, if we go back to the question that opened this article, one cannot speak of drawing on the Romanian experience.

On the other hand, it was precisely the Soviet Union that facilitated, by launching its perestroika effort, the awakening of the neighbouring nation. It was precisely Soviet perestroika that gave the green light to sweeping political transformations in Eastern Europe. As far as Poland and Hungary are concerned (they embarked on the road of reform earlier than others) perestroika created a felicitous atmosphere, to say the least.

It gave a powerful impetus to peaceful revolutions in the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and, eventually Romania. It also became a guarantor of their success. Having replaced the principle of so-called socialist internationalism by the principle of freedom of choice, Moscow buried the practice of armed intervention in

their affairs which came to be known in the West as the 'Brezhnev doctrine'. That doctrine was used for the last time in Afghanistan. And the very days the Romanians were trying to suppress resistance put up by members of the Securitate secret police, the Second Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin appraised the introduction of Soviet troops into Afghanistan as a move deserving political and moral condemnation.

And now let us consider the opening question in a broader context. It is believed that Eastern European countries are overtaking the Soviet Union as regards the radical nature and speed of change. The current Prime Minister of Poland is not a communist, but a member of Solidarity. In Czechoslovakia changes are even more mind-boggling: in less than six weeks, a dissident playwright (not so long ago he was looking at the skies through a prison grill) settled in the presidential palace and the communists became a minority in the government. Hungary and the GDR and also Bulgaria, if somewhat less resolutely, are introducing a multi-party system. The communists have lost their monopoly on power. This is an accomplished fact. Meanwhile, in the Soviet Union all senior state posts belong only to communists, only the CPSU leaders. The USSR Council of Ministers consists of about one hundred people and only one of them, the head of the nature conservation agency, is not a communist.

Of course, over the past year the USSR has made enormous strides along the road to democracy – from first realistic elections to the establishment of a realistically working parliament, in which the practice of affected complete unanimity (it is rooted in Stalin's times) was replaced by a competition of viewpoints and opinions. Left-wing radical deputies have formed an inter-regional group which resembles a parliamentary opposition. Pluralism of opinions has not developed into pluralism of political trends. The latter exist only in the streets – beyond the Kremlin walls. Although Gorbachev does not reject the idea of a multi-party system out of hand, his opponents failed during the latest Congress of People's Deputies to delete **article 6** – on the leading role of the CPSU – from the national Constitution. Meanwhile, similar articles moulded on the Soviet one, have already vanished from the constitutions of East European nations.

So, can the Soviet Union, looking at its neighbours, increase the pace of its democratisation effort? This question, believe me, generates a considerable interest in the Soviet Union as well. Sweeping winds of change over Eastern Europe inspire the Soviet public to a no smaller degree than they inspired demonstrators in Prague and Berlin who changed in November 1989 "Gorby! Gorby!" nonetheless, mutual influence and interaction cannot be automatic.

An old Russian saying defined the character of relations between children and their parents in patriarchal families in the following way: eggs should not teach the hen a lesson. Only the hen had the right to teach. Did not the Soviet Union exercise that right after World War II, having established in East European countries systems patterned on its own? However, times change. By proclaiming the concept of new political thinking, the Soviet Union renounced that right. But can it learn from others and derive a useful lesson?

The question is not patriarchal/authoritarian relations between younger and older generations. The case in point is the different size of countries which is simply beyond comparison, as well as their different history. Unlike its neighbours who occupy relatively small territories in eastern and central Europe, the Soviet Union is a great Eurasian power situated on one-sixth of the world's land surface and having a population of almost 300 million. Russian gravitation toward European civilisation is something traditional, but Asiatic elements in our world outlook are also strong.

One has to examine the problem of a multi-party system through the prism of the multi-ethnic state. The Czechs and Slovaks live in peace in Czechoslovakia, but Romania has the problem of the Hungarian minority and Bulgaria – the Turkish minority. But still can one really compare these homogeneous states with the multi-ethnic patchwork of the Soviet Union which has dozens of autonomous ethnic entities in addition to the fifteen republics making up the USSR? Sometimes it seems that harmonising relations between the builders of the tower of Babel. By the way, the experience described in the Bible is not very reassuring.

For the sake of making my point I can use other comparisons. The Soviet Union is a super ship which has been moving in the same direction over the past 70 years. Its great size and inertial force make it impossible to alter course as quickly as a small craft. Or take another comparison, this time for physics. The democratic processes in East European countries have been started by centripetal forces of national self-assertion. Forces at work in the USSR are centrifugal. Sentiment in the Baltic region is not only in favour of greater autonomy, but also in favour of outright secession from the USSR. In the Transcaucasian region, Armenia and Azerbaijan, by conflicting with each other, are moving away further and further from the centre, Moscow, and becoming estranged from it.

Viewed through the prism of Soviet realities, the question of drawing on the experience of Eastern Europe is becoming a difficult one. For instance, what are the Lithuanians pressing for when, citing changes in Czechoslovakia, they are demanding a speedy use of other nations' experience? Are they after speeding up nationwide change? Perhaps. But first of all they are doing it for their own self-assertion – even at the risk of putting an unbearable load on perestroika and, if you wish, destroying the Soviet Union. Their demands are justified and legitimate. But they are also egotistical from the standpoint of the central leadership in Moscow, because the whole of the Soviet Union can hardly sustain such a pace.

Centrifugal forces of inter-ethnic conflicts and of left- and right-wing radicalism are eroding the centre of the political spectrum (weak as it is in view of a still immature democracy). I am referring to that middle mass of citizens who are, in Western democracies, a token of the system's stability. In this situation it is difficult for Gorbachev to accept multi-party recipes offered by neighbours who have already gone through the process of renewal. No matter how bitterly the CPSU may be criticised (and with good reason, too), there is no other consolidating force on which the policy of perestroika could rely in the current difficult conditions. □

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# A mysterious line in the budget

By E. Arefyeva, senior researcher at the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute of World Economics and International Relations:

THE national budget for 1990, approved by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, was published recently. One of the main items in the expenditures section of the budget — 26,400 million out of the total of 200,900 million roubles — has the following title: "The Financing of Foreign Trade and Expenditures Involved in State, Banking and Commercial Operations, the Provision of Grant Aid to Foreign Countries and Other Expenditures Relating to International Ties".

The fact that these data have now been made public is, undoubtedly, a favourable development, but what should one think about expenditures under this heading? Are they too big or too small?

Unfortunately, those who have not attended the sessions of the Supreme Soviet committees can judge this only from indirect data. For example, we may assume from the discussion of the budget at the joint meetings of the two chambers of the parliament that a large part of expenditures under this article — about 10,000 million roubles — will go to economic aid to developing countries. We also know that the amount of resources delivered as grant aid has been cut by a quarter, or 600 million roubles, but the law-makers have not discussed either the structure of these expenditures or their purposes.

Consequently, the parliamentarians voted for the whole article, envisaging the allocation of 26,400 million roubles, without questioning the expediency of these expenditures (the only exception was deputy Nikolai Shmelev). At the same time, they grudgingly neither effort nor time on a long and futile search for budget allocations to cover an increase of 2,400 million roubles in spending on social programmes. Some deputies proposed raising the prices of tobacco, beer and some other goods, others urged the abolition of the state quality control authority and an increase in money supply, but no one dared analyse the expenditures under the article "The Financing of Foreign Trade . . ."

It was not accidental. The law-makers demonstrated amazing timidity in discussing international relations. In fact, there was no discussion at the open joint meeting. Unfortunately, the Foreign Ministry, which, I am convinced, is at the forefront of perestroika and has encouraged us to take a more rational approach to our internal problems, is too secretive about our relations with the Third World. No wonder the view that we have some mysterious foreign policy priorities with regard to developing countries blocks any discussion of the problem of economic assistance.

No one has yet provided any proof that our expenditures on assistance to developing coun-

tries serve well-conceived political and economic aims. How could the law-makers approve the division of such big sums from the budget without such proof?

Besides, whatever our foreign policy objectives, the structure and forms of economic assistance may strengthen the international positions of the Soviet Union or weaken them. I think that even a brief discussion in the Supreme Soviet of the structure of expenditures on economic assistance would have made deputies question many of them. This particularly applies to the financing of trade surcharges and privileges, especially the sale of oil at reduced prices and the purchase of sugar and nickel at higher prices. According to the US Central Intelligence Agency, import price privileges account for 75 per cent of all assistance to major recipients of Soviet aid, such as Cuba. Other Western sources indicate that trade privileges represent a quarter of all Soviet aid to the Third World.

The kernel of the matter is that these privileges are not only a waste of our meagre resources. It is also an obstacle to the Soviet Union's admission into international economic organisations, such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), which would have given us indisputable benefits in international economic relations. The IMF and the IBRD do not regard trade surcharges as aid and their existence tarnishes our image of a "donor" country. By international standards only a third of the aid we officially declare at the United Nations is genuine aid.

GATT considers all privileges and surcharges inadmissible because they mean an arbitrary raising of prices of big shipments of goods without regard for the actual price situation on the world market, which such price policies may destabilise. The industrialised member-countries of GATT believe that such methods of regulating bilateral relations ensures as advantage in counter trade: we overcharge for our exports and receive exclusive access to the markets of the countries which buy our goods.

In any case, this kind of assistance is extremely dubious and its reduction would allow us to save a lot of money. As for the ministries concerned (the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations), they would be the first to benefit by such reduction: such a move would have favourable political implications and give this country additional funds for the implementation of an effective export and

import policy.

Military supplies deserve special mention. According to Western sources, they amount to 180 per cent of our economic aid (60 per cent in the United States). Now that we have begun to convert defence plants to civilian production the world has been closely watching the dynamics of Soviet arms sales (for a long time the Soviet Union has been a major supplier of arms to the developing world). I think we agree that arms exports are a morally questionable business. Beside, they run counter to this country's new policy aimed at assisting the settlement of regional conflicts.

We also need to overhaul our aid policy and must abandon economically wasteful practices because we have to many problems in our economic relations with other countries arising from a shortage of resources. Perhaps these problems do not effect our aid programmes, but I think we should rather divert a part of our aid programmes to purely humanitarian assistance. All countries today allocate resources for aid to other countries or for the solution of specific problems. Even Bangladesh has found the means for making a token contribution to the UN emergency relief fund for Afghanistan.

The budget article I am discussing here should have contained many other volume figures, which we need badly today. Take, for example, the financing of the restructuring of foreign economic relations: the financing of exports and encouragement of foreign investments in joint ventures in the USSR require vast expenditures, which will pay off later in the form of a rise in living standards. We also need a lot of money to create special institutions that will credit and insure Soviet activities abroad and foreign businesses in the Soviet Union and finance personnel training, exchange of information, the production of export commodities and many other activities.

Perhaps the Western estimates are exaggerated and the types of aid I have discussed here are financed under other articles of the budget, but in any case, the inclusion in the budget of the article envisaging the allocation of 26,400 million roubles without indicating the specific programmes to which this money will go should have been examined more closely by the Supreme Soviet. True, we should trust the recommendations of the Foreign Relations Committee, but only after we have heard convincing arguments and realised that these huge expenditures are economically and politically feasible. □

(Izvestia, January 9. In full)

## Soviet-British consultations

A CONVERSATION was held on January 22 in the Soviet Foreign Ministry between Yuli Vorontsov, Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister and visiting British Minister for State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs William Waldegrave. The conversation was held within the framework of Soviet-British political consultations.

The sides compared positions concerning developments in Central and Eastern Europe. They confirmed the identity of approaches of the two countries towards the strengthening of European security and stability. Regional problems and some aspects of bilateral relations were discussed in a constructive spirit that has become traditionally characteristic of the Soviet-British interaction in international affairs.

At the request of the British Minister Vorontsov briefed him on the steps being taken in the Soviet Union to normalise the situation in

Transcaucasia. Waldegrave expressed understanding of the efforts made by the Soviet authorities to curb the escalation of the inter-ethnic conflict.

Vorontsov gave a luncheon in honour of Waldegrave.

Consultations with the British minister were continued on the same day by Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Anatoli Adamishin.

The sides discussed a range of questions relating to all directions of the European process. An interested discussion was held concerning the necessary steps to prepare for the European summit in 1990.

The sides stated the favourable development of the bilateral dialogue that enriched East-West relations as a whole. The sides specifically discussed forthcoming Soviet-British events, including the Days of Britain festival in the Soviet Union. □

### PERESTROIKA as seen by an ECONOMIST

By Ruslan Hasbulatov

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