

Mikhail Gorbachev and James Baker discuss Soviet-American summit

PRESIDENT Mikhail Gorbachev met US Secretary of State James Baker for more than three hours on February 9. Its second part was held within a narrow circle with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze participating.

The meeting focused mainly on issues to be discussed at the Soviet-American summit in June this year.

Gorbachev said that the current visit is not only of practical importance as a stage in the preparations for the June meeting, but also of its own political significance as confirmation of the fact that Soviet-American dialogue goes on uninterrupted, continues to deepen and achieves new levels of mutual understanding and interaction.

Recent stormy developments around the world and especially in Europe have shown how timely the improvement of Soviet-American relations was. They have shown how important it is that the two great powers – at this turning point in world development – have an opportunity to compare their positions with frankness, trust and far greater understanding of each other's views, and look for approaches that would meet their mutual interests combined with the interests of the international community.

Despite all reservations that can be made with regard to some latest political actions, the understanding of their responsibility before the world and the adherence to the agreements reached by the leadership of the two states remains decisive.

Baker remarked in response that Soviet-American relations are indeed undergoing a test of time and are adequate to the course of events. Rivalry remains in some areas, but a shift towards co-operation is ever more visible despite the fact that in both countries there are people who look at the USSR and the United States respectively as opponents.

The two agreed that in this situation it is very important that an intensive search continues on the entire range of issues of Soviet-American relations and that the USA and the Soviet Union demonstrate their determination to move forward and their sincere striving to facilitate a drastic improvement of the international situation.

The change in the US attitude towards the holding of an all-European meeting in 1990 within the Helsinki framework – of which Baker said – is important from this viewpoint. The meeting could become a preparatory stage for Helsinki-2 in 1992: it would be possible to sign an agreement on conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe, if it is ready by that time. In any case, it could give a powerful impetus to the completion of the negotiations.

Baker suggested proclaiming at the meeting that free elections are a human right.

Gorbachev said that the need for such a meeting is prompted by the rapid and profound character of current developments. The very fact that preparations for the meeting in these conditions will help calm the international process, consolidate positive elements, maintain the level of responsibility of political forces concerned, and reiterate that Europe, both East and West,

has a common fate and that it is necessary to shape a structure of all-European security as soon as possible.

Helsinki-2 will probably adopt a major document that will fully reflect new realities of the existence and development of world civilisation.

The 1990 meeting would make it possible to exchange ideas, thoughts and concepts in connection with current developments and produce a brief communique upon completion.

If the agreement on conventional armaments and armed forces at the level of heads of state and government is signed, the meeting itself would become a major historic event.

Without going into specifics of the talks on arms reduction that started on February 8, Gorbachev and Baker considered the most essential elements within the context of the new proposals brought by the Secretary of State.

According to Gorbachev's assessment, they make it possible to bring the positions closer on several items and inspire hope that the programme of preparations for the summit in Washington will be successfully implemented.

It became possible already during Baker's stay in Moscow to achieve greater certainty on several matters and even reach specific agreements on some points.

Special attention was given to President George Bush's latest proposal on reducing armed forces in Europe.

Gorbachev told the Secretary of State that the Soviet leadership does not insist on defining an overall level of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty armed forces within the framework of the entire

(Continued on page 52)

Soviet President's meeting with Helmut Kohl

The following is the full text of the official statement on the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Helmut Kohl:

MIKHAIL Gorbachev met Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, in the Kremlin on February 10.

Although this meeting was held in a substantially different situation, it was directly connected with the results of their previous meetings in Moscow and Bonn, was based on all principled provisions of the joint Soviet-West German statement signed last June and was held in an atmosphere of deep mutual understanding and confidence (which were achieved earlier) in the political and personal respects.

"We live at a time when we have to maintain

constant contacts. The Chancellor is right when saying that everything we have to do, should be done, proceeding from the spirit and letter of the joint statement," Gorbachev said.

That was a frank and substantive meeting with full understanding of the responsibility of the moment and importance of decisions which can be made as a result of this exchange of thoughts and appraisals of the current events.

The discussion was conducted along two courses in accordance with two inseparable objective processes.

The German question can be resolved at the present time only in the context of the European development, taking into account the security and interests of neighbours as well as other states of Europe and the world.

Gorbachev stated (and the Chancellor agreed with him) that there are no differences now between the USSR, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic that the question about the unity of the German nation should be settled by Germans.

Germans themselves should make their choice on what form of state, over what period of time, at what pace and under what conditions will they achieve their unity.

Gorbachev referred to his recent meeting with GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow. He stressed that all Germans, both in the East and the West, should know the Soviet Union's position.

But while resolving their national question, they should remember the realities of life: there was the war, and the war, as well as the post-war period, has left its legacy.

We are thinking about all this anew. We have departed from confrontation, and the European process is gaining momentum.

German rapprochement should not damage positive results achieved in this sphere, East-West relations as a whole and upset the European balance.

On the contrary, this rapprochement can and must proceed in a way to make a contribution to the constructive European development, Gorbachev said.

Therefore, only such a policy is acceptable, which takes into account all realities and all possible effects: domestic and foreign policy and economic consequences and, naturally, a psychological reaction of Germans and other countries, especially those which participated in the war.

The solution of the German question is inseparable from the success of the disarmament talks in Europe, from the changing role of the two military and political alliances and from questions concerning the stationing of foreign troops in European states.

Kohl confirmed the Germans' firm determina-

(Continued on page 51)

IN THIS ISSUE

Soviet-American joint statement..... p50

Soviet spokesman on Shevardnadze-Baker talks in Moscow p52

Platform of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR p53

Gorbachev meets local Party chiefs p59

Margaret Thatcher's meeting with Vadim Medvedev p60

Soviet-American joint statement

Here follows the full text of the Soviet-American joint statement, released in Moscow on February 10:

FOREIGN Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Secretary of State James Baker, met February 7-9 in Moscow as part of the preparations for the Soviet-US summit to be held in June in the United States. Proceeding from their common goal of building a more stable, constructive and co-operative relationship, they reviewed the broad range of issues on the Soviet-US agenda. The Secretary of State was also received by President Gorbachev for an open, wide-ranging exchange of views.

The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State discussed developments in Soviet-US relations since the Wyoming ministerial and the Malta meeting between President Gorbachev and President Bush. They examined the prospects for the summit, with the particular aim of advancing the objectives and priorities defined by the two leaders in Malta.

The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State noted with satisfaction the progress that is being made in Soviet-US relations. While certain significant differences remain between the sides, their relationship is increasingly marked by understanding, co-operation and the search for mutual advantage. The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State believe that candid dialogue and continuing efforts at finding practical and concrete solutions will further the significant progress that has been recorded to date.

In this context, the Moscow ministerial meeting was a useful and important step in preparing the ground for a productive summit. The high-level discussions were complemented by expert working groups on arms control, regional, human rights, transnational and bilateral issues, as well as an informal group on economic questions. Specific agreements were reached in several areas on the agenda.

I.

The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State held a thorough exchange of views on arms control and disarmament issues. With respect to the Treaty on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms (START), they reaffirmed their common objective of resolving all major issues by the June summit in order to allow signature of the treaty by the end of the year. To further this goal, the sides reached agreement or exchanged new proposals in a number of areas.

On air-launched cruise missiles, the sides made substantial progress on a package approach, agreeing on all remaining issues with the exception of the range threshold.

The sides also made good progress on sea-launched cruise missiles. The sides agreed that such missiles would be dealt with by parallel, politically binding declarations for the duration of the START Treaty. The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State agreed that the remaining issues involving SLCMs would be addressed at the negotiations in Geneva.

The sides agreed that there would be numerical limits on non-deployed ballistic missiles and the warheads attributable to them for all ICBMs of a type that has been flight-tested from a mobile launcher. Other non-deployed heavy bomber weapons will not be subject to numerical limits. The sides further agreed on a regime governing the location and movement of all non-deployed ballistic missiles.

The sides reached agreement on major elements of a regime to ensure the non-denial of telemetry data during flight tests of start-accountable ballistic missiles. These provisions

will be included in the START Treaty, but will be implemented early, at the time of treaty signature, through an exchange of letters.

The US side presented new proposals on verification of mobile ICBMs, duration of the treaty, phasing of reductions, and attribution of warheads to future types of ballistic missiles. The Soviet side presented new proposals dealing with non-circumvention. The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State instructed their negotiators to discuss these new proposals and to expedite efforts on resolving remaining differences in the text of the treaty and its associated documents.

The sides discussed the Vienna negotiations on conventional force reductions and reiterated their determination to conclude an agreement as soon as possible in 1990. The sides discussed President Bush's January 31 proposal on manpower which was presented by NATO in Vienna on February 8, as well as NATO's aircraft proposal presented on the same date. As a result of the discussions in Moscow, the differences on personnel were narrowed. The sides agreed to continue their discussions in the context of the negotiations in Vienna and at the ministers' meeting on 'open skies' in Ottawa.

The Foreign Minister and the Secretary had extensive discussions on how to proceed towards their common goal of achieving, through the negotiations in Geneva, a global ban on the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons and of their destruction. The Soviet and US delegations in Geneva were instructed to proceed with developing means of practical co-operation in the area of chemical weapons elimination. The sides issued a separate, more detailed statement on chemical weapons.

In discussions on nuclear testing, the side made progress on resolving the remaining issues. They believe that the task of completing the verification protocols to the 1974 and 1976 threshold limitation treaties for signing at the summit is realistic. The sides agreed on the right to simultaneous use of hydrodynamic and in-country seismic yield measurements. The sides also resolved several longstanding problems regarding the implementation of the hydrodynamic yield measurement method. The sides identified the three seismic stations in each country to be used for in-country seismic yield measurements. The sides reaffirmed their adherence to the agreement reached in September 1987 with regard to the negotiations on nuclear testing.

The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State expressed their hope that the Ottawa 'open skies' conference - which they will both attend - would be a success and lead to early agreement. They believe an 'open skies' regime can make a genuine contribution to openness, transparency and stability.

The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State noted the recent consultations between their experts on chemical weapons non-proliferation, missile technology control and nuclear non-proliferation. They agreed to prepare a document for consideration by their leaders covering both principles and concrete steps of co-operation in all areas of non-proliferation - chemical, missile and nuclear.

The sides conducted a discussion of the problem of non-proliferation of missiles and missile technology. They noted that they both adhere to the export guidelines of the existing regime relating to missiles, which applies to missiles capable of delivering at least 500 kilograms of payload to a range of at least 300 kilometers. They further agreed to continue joint discussions on this problem in the interim before the next ministerial.

II

The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State had a useful and detailed exchange of regional issues. The sides reaffirmed their support for comprehensive political settlements based on broad national reconciliation that could facilitate the peaceful solution of regional conflicts throughout the world. They acknowledged that differences still remained on some issues but undertook to continue to work on these matters with a view to narrowing areas of disagreement. The sides noted the positive role the UN is playing in the settlement of several international conflicts and pointed to the need for further intensification of its work in that area.

On Central America, the Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State reaffirmed the importance of implementing all aspects of the Esquipulas Treaty and its successor agreements. The sides agreed that resolution of the conflicts in the region under the Esquipulas framework would contribute to a lessening of tensions to the benefit of all states. They reiterated their opposition to the use of territory of any Central American state to support irregular forces and their support for the Central American presidents' appeal that all states outside the region end military assistance to such forces. The sides noted the importance of impartial and effective international observation of the electoral process in Nicaragua. They undertook to respect the results of free and fair elections in Nicaragua, and to support respect for democratic pluralism and human rights by the elected government.

The sides stressed their strong support for a negotiated political solution to the conflict in El Salvador as called for in the San Isidoro Declaration. They pledged support for the UN Secretary General's efforts to secure a permanent cease-fire and renewed negotiations in El Salvador and for the most vigorous and effective use of UN machinery to supervise compliance with existing and future agreements in Central America.

The sides had a constructive discussion on the conditions for a political settlement in Afghanistan, including the need for a transition period that provides for an intra-Afghan dialogue, a broad-based government which would ensure the peaceful, independent and non-aligned status of Afghanistan. They agreed to continue discussions on issues related to an Afghan settlement at the experts level in the near future.

The Secretary of State and the Foreign Minister discussed the Pacific and North-East Asia. They agreed to hold early Soviet-US consultations on these subjects. They expressed a desire to reduce tensions on the Korean Peninsula and to support a North-South dialogue. The Soviet side noted that the DPRK is close to concluding an agreement with the IAEA on nuclear safeguards. The US side expressed its desire that the agreement be concluded swiftly and observed faithfully.

The sides reiterated their willingness to facilitate the achievement of a comprehensive political settlement in Cambodia. They believe that the key to a solution of the problem lies in ensuring the self-determination of the Cambodian people through free and fair elections under United Nations supervision. The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State expressed support for an enhanced UN role in Cambodia. They agreed that representatives of the five UN Security Council permanent members should continue to consult on the UN role. They also underscored the need for intensified diplomatic efforts by all parties in an effort to shift the focus from the battlefield to the negotiating table and to prevent the return of the Khmer Rouge to power, including through support for a moratorium on outside military assistance to all Cambo-

dian factions as part of a comprehensive settlement. The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State expressed the hope that the forthcoming informal meeting in Jakarta will be successful in facilitating the search for a solution to the Cambodian conflict.

The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State reaffirmed the need for an active Middle East peace process, including efforts being made to launch a Palestinian-Israeli dialogue, leading to a comprehensive political settlement in which all relevant parties participate on the basis of UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338. They agreed to continue bilateral consultations on these issues.

The sides reaffirmed their conviction on the need for complete implementation of the Taif agreements and support the efforts of the tripartite committee of the Arab League. They reaffirmed their support for national unity and the legally elected authority in Lebanon.

The sides again urged a political solution to the Iran-Iraq conflict based on the full implementation of Security Council Resolution 598, and expressed their resolve to continue to support the UN Secretary General in the discharge of his peace-making mission.

The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State noted with satisfaction the course of developments in Namibia aimed at establishing its full independence under democratic conditions in peace and stability, and noted the important role played by the UN to that end. They expressed concern that the peace process in Angola continues to lag and urged the cessation of hostilities and negotiations between the parties with a view to achieving a lasting political settlement.

The sides also expressed their concern with the growing threat of famine in Ethiopia and urged that the international community again come together to address this tragic humanita-

(Continued from front page)

tion: a war will never be unleashed from German soil. He even reinforced this formula by asserting: "only peace should emanate from German soil."

The construction of German unity and a search by Germans for a new place in the European and world structures should constantly take into account the basic realities of our times.

"I said long ago that history would settle the German question. It has now begun to work at an unexpected pace. We should act in a balanced way, taking into account really historical criteria," Gorbachev noted.

"In the new situation we should co-operate without breaking the mutual understanding achieved at state level and without damaging the new character of relations between the German and Soviet peoples. We should co-operate to develop and enrich these relations," he added.

The two leaders agreed that the talks be continued. They should be conducted in contact with other interested parties, above all the United States, Britain and France. The current events imperatively demand this.

Completing the main part of the meeting, the Chancellor said: "we agreed in Bonn that we turn a new page in our relations. It is clear now that the need for co-operation in this spirit has increased rather than diminished."

Agreeing with this idea, Gorbachev noted that at the present, very significant stage, it is very important to raise the level of interaction, to increase confidence-building efforts, to abide firmly by understandings reached and to call on each other immediately, if need be.

Then the meeting continued with the participation of Eduard Shevardnadze and Hans-Dietrich Genscher who informed the leaders of a parallel discussion they had. The sides summed up the results and expressed the opinion that the visit was timely and useful.

It is important that the USSR and the FRG should have a clear understanding concerning German affairs, key issues of European and world politics. □

rian problem. At the same time, recognising that the internal conflicts in Ethiopia cannot be settled by military means, they reiterated their support for a political solution through negotiations.

The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State welcomed the new situation that has started to develop in South Africa. In particular President de Klerk's statement on releasing political prisoners and lifting the ban on the activities of several political organisations. 1990 Could be an important year to further the dismantling of apartheid and to move toward a democratic, non-racial nation. They encourage all parties to enter into negotiations, for it is only through negotiations that authentic and irreversible change will come to South Africa.

III

The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State had a wide-ranging discussion on developments in Europe. They reaffirmed the key role being played by the CSCE process in the emergence of a new Europe. They agreed in principle on holding a summit meeting of the 35 CSCE states in 1990. Such a meeting would be the occasion for signing a CFE agreement and would be preparatory to the previously agreed 1992 summit meeting in Helsinki.

IV

The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State and their experts held a thorough and very positive discussion on human rights and humanitarian issues. There was a full exchange of views on entry/exit policies and other legal practices. The Soviet side reiterated its intention to enact a new emigration law shortly.

The sides reviewed with approval programmes planned or underway which will promote a better understanding of each country's institutions, legislation and practices in the field of human rights and humanitarian affairs.

The sides underscored the need to make the international agreements and standards in human rights truly universal and to ensure that national laws and practices are in conformity with them. They agreed that bilateral co-operation in the field of human rights and humanitarian affairs can now be widened to co-operation in multilateral fora so as to advance the human rights cause worldwide. Looking to the forthcoming CSCE human dimension meeting in Copenhagen and beyond, the sides further agreed to exchange thoughts among themselves and with other participating states on steps to be taken to give practical application to the human dimension texts in the Helsinki Final Act and subsequent concluding documents. The sides also discussed policies to be adopted to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations system and other international bodies in the field of human rights and humanitarian affairs.

V

The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State noted with satisfaction the expanding Soviet-US dialogue on transnational issues. The sides underscored the importance of the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development to be held in 1992, which offers a real opportunity to consider a global programme of action in the field of environmental protection. The sides agreed on the importance of an international framework convention on global climate change and on examining concrete proposals for long-range ecological and pollution monitoring. They discussed new approaches to intensified and broadened bilateral co-operation in the environmental area, including high-level experts consultations. They also addressed increased co-operation in Arctic research and space; expressed their readiness to expand co-operation in natural hazards prediction and mitigation; and proposed early technical consultations on disaster management and relief efforts.

The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of

State agreed on the importance of concrete, practical measures in the struggle against terrorism. They further agreed that experts would next meet in March to continue the counterterrorism dialogue and consider, among other issues, mutual action in preventing and combatting terrorist acts involving air routes between the two countries.

The sides noted the mutual desirability of discouraging illegal production and trafficking in narcotics. They agreed to intensify their joint practical work in implementing the 1989 memorandum of understanding on combatting drug trafficking. They also examined areas for expanding co-operation such as in drug abuse treatment and prevention. The sides agreed on the utility of constructive co-operation in the UN on narcotics issues and intend to promote the success of the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to the problem of drugs to be held in late February.

The sides acknowledged the importance of efforts by permanent members of the UN Security Council to reach early agreement on mutually acceptable conditions regarding the jurisdiction of the UN International Court of Justice.

The sides expressed their support for a continuation, on a regular basis, of Soviet-US consultations on UN issues in the interest of seeking ways to enhance further the effectiveness of this universal international organisation.

VI

On bilateral relations, an extensive and business-like discussion was held on the questions of trade and economic co-operation. The sides reaffirmed their support for the development of mutually beneficial trade and economic relations. In this regard, they pointed out the need to implement the initiatives agreed to at the Malta meeting.

They reaffirmed their commitment to concluding a commercial trade agreement by the June Summit, pursuant to the agreement at Malta. The sides discussed plans to start in the near future negotiations for a bilateral investment treaty and a taxation treaty.

The sides also reviewed the status of negotiations on a maritime transportation agreement, and expanded civil aviation agreement and a grains agreement. They noted that, subject to continued progress, some of these may be concluded by the summit. They would encourage this work.

The sides reviewed the status of the technical co-operation projects that were proposed at the Malta meeting and the progress made so far.

The sides also discussed Soviet observer status in the GATT. The US side reaffirmed its position on this issue expressed at Malta. The sides discussed the prospects for Soviet co-operation with the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). They also noted the opportunities the Bonn economic conference might offer.

The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State conducted a detailed review of the Soviet-US bilateral agenda and analysed the qualitative changes which are taking place in the area of co-operation. They heard their experts' report on implementation of the work programme agreed upon at the Wyoming ministerial meeting, and on the status of ongoing negotiations and consultations on specific bilateral issues. The experts on both sides were instructed to intensify the negotiating process in order to complete new bilateral co-operation agreements by the time of the June summit.

The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State expressed satisfaction with progress in discussions on the establishment of cultural centres in each other's capital. The sides reaffirmed their intent to implement in the course of this year the decision taken at the highest levels to exchange consulates general in Kiev and New York.

The sides agreed to continue discussion of the

(Continued on next page)

Soviet spokesman on Shevardnadze – Baker talks in Moscow

THE Gorbachev-Bush talks off Malta highlighted practical possibilities for addressing major accords on nuclear, conventional and chemical weapons soon, Shevardnadze and Baker stressed during their meeting in Moscow.

They agreed that this year's high priority task is to complete preparations for, and sign the Soviet-US Treaty on a fifty per cent cut in strategic offensive weapons, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov told a briefing in Moscow on February 8.

The American delegation, led by US Secretary of State James Baker, brought to Moscow specific proposals on issues for which mutually acceptable solutions have not yet been identified. These are mainly technical proposals, the Soviet spokesman said, but it is necessary to seek coordination on all issues in time for the Soviet-American summit in June so as to devote more time to legally finalise the treaty afterwards.

As regards cutting conventional arms in Europe, the Soviet delegation headed by Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, voiced some proposals relating to cuts in troops and combat air forces in Europe.

"We proceed from the assumption that a successful conclusion of the Vienna talks would be facilitated by the US Administration's positive steps in addressing the issue of naval forces," Gerasimov stressed. "However, the US side is refusing outright even to discuss this issue."

Nevertheless, the Soviet side believes that "it is necessary to at least begin discussing the issue at expert level in order to make clear who really needs what naval forces in the present situation."

As regards curbing nuclear tests, the Soviet spokesman said, the sides agreed that it is quite feasible to prepare protocols to the so-called threshold treaties of 1974 and 1976 and have these treaties signed during the June summit.

Differences on this issue consist in the following: the Soviet Union insists on banning nuclear tests as soon as possible, while the United States are considering "a pause after the US Senate ratifies the threshold treaties". The participants favoured expediting work to conclude an international convention on a complete chemical weapons ban and elimination, Gerasimov noted.

Pointing to another forthcoming meeting between Baker and Shevardnadze at the international open skies conference in Ottawa, Canada, the Soviet spokesman noted that both the Soviet Union and the United States expressed their interest in making the conference's work productive.

Baker and Shevardnadze also discussed regional issues, Gerasimov went on to say. In reviewing the situation in Central America, "much was said about ensuring free elections in Nicaragua."

The US Secretary of State was told that no matter what arguments were brought in to defend the US intervention in Panama, that action cannot be justified and US troops must leave Panama immediately.

Despite differences on aspects of the Afghan problem, Gerasimov said, the two countries intend to promote the achievement of political solutions with the dialogue between the warring parties and national reconciliation as the basis.

The US side had its own plan for the settlement, which, in the view of the Soviet side, "did not take into account the situation in Kabul and the solidarity of the government of Najibullah."

"However, on the whole the sides agreed that they should look for components of new approaches" and that "practical settlement is possible in Afghanistan only through dialogue, national reconciliation and involvement of all Afghan parties in this dialogue, and only on the basis of intra-Afghan dialogue."

Gerasimov said that Baker and Shevardnadze discussed the problems of the Middle East and Cambodia, the situation on the Korean Peninsula and African issues.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the results of interaction relating to the settlement in the south of Africa where Namibia was cited as "a example of successful and fruitful co-operation of the two great powers."

In closing the Soviet spokesman said that the United States presently agree, "although with three reservations," to "the Soviet proposal for holding at the end of this year a summit meeting of the member countries of the Conference for Co-operation and Security in Europe, to be called Helsinki-2." □

(Continued from previous page)

initiatives presented at the Malta meeting on expanded university student exchanges.

* * *

The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State reaffirmed the utility of regular dialogue at all levels – including the ministerial level – for considering and resolving problems of Soviet-US co-operation. In the context of preparations for the June summit, they agreed to hold their next meeting in Washington. □

BOOKLETS FROM THE USSR

Nuclear Deterrence:	
Past and Future	50p
The Judicial System of the USSR	60p
Muslims in the USSR	40p
Socialism: An Appraisal of Prospects	60p
1938 Munich: Mistake or Cynical	
Calculation?	50p
The Problem of Compromise in Politics	40p
From the ABC's to Higher Mathematics	50p
Is a New Model of Soviet-American	
Relations Possible?	60p
The Soviet Economy:	
A Look into the Future	20p
Disarmament: Europe. An outline	
of Security	40p
The Costs of the Arms Race	50p
The Russian Orthodox Church Before and	
After its 1000th Anniversary	60p
Camp David Winners and Losers	60p
Humanism: Traditions and Paradoxes ..	80p

The above are obtainable at the prices indicated from:

Soviet Booklets (SN),
3 Rosary Gardens,
London SW7 NW4

GORBACHEV – BAKER DISCUSSION

(Continued from front page)

European region.

The USSR accepts the President's proposal to reduce the Soviet and American troops on foreign territories in Europe down to 195,000 – but not in Central Europe as suggested by Bush, but in the entire European zone outside the Soviet Union.

"If this proposal does not suit you, we suggest the figure of 225,000 for the entire European region," Gorbachev said.

Baker promised to reply to this option even before his departure from Moscow.

The participants in the talks came close to the solution of the issue of banning chemical weapons, an issue on which deliberations continue.

Raising the question about nuclear weapon tests, Gorbachev reiterated his recent statement at the Moscow ecological forum that the Soviet union is prepared, as before, to stop all tests at any moment if others do likewise.

The statement had been welcomed by the forum's participants with enthusiasm.

"It is good that we are moving towards the signing of protocols on the verification mechanism for the 1974 and 1976 treaties. But it is very important to reaffirm that we do not pass over the main objective, that of a total ban on nuclear weapons," Gorbachev said.

Baker confirmed that the US Administration holds this objective as its long-term goal as well.

In the second part of the conversation Gorbachev described in detail at Baker's request the domestic situation in the Soviet Union and expressed his judgements about future developments in connection with the results of the February plenum of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party.

Baker said he understood the complexity of the situation and pointed to the immense scale of changes in the Soviet Union and their signifi-

cance for the entire world.

He reaffirmed the President's and his own stance that they wish success to perestroika and are prepared to help it as much as they can, above all in the field of arms reduction.

The German issue featured prominently in the talks.

The two sides exchanged views on developments connected with the issue of German unification and informed each other about contacts with the leaders of European countries, above all the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, about various initiatives regarding foreign-policy mechanisms that would rule out destabilisation in Europe as a result of the rapprochement between the two German states.

Any Soviet-American arrangements on this matter were, naturally, out of the question. But the sides stated their mutual interest that the German issue be resolved within the all-European context and that all Europeans be confident that this will be a peaceable state capable of and striving to live in conditions of equitable co-operation with neighbours and all other countries and pose no threat to anyone.

The sides also touched upon issues of Afghan and Central American settlement.

Gorbachev drew attention to the fact that although COCOM hinders the normal development of economic ties, there are encouraging examples, including the talks on the use of the Baikal-Amur and Trans-Siberian railway mainlines for the transportation of cargo from Pacific countries to Europe, on an international optic-fibre line across Soviet territory, and other ideas.

Gorbachev asked Baker to convey his greetings and good wishes to President Bush and his consent to maintain regular contacts. □

Platform of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR

The following is the full text of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's platform Towards Humane, Democratic Socialism for the 28th Party Congress, approved by the February 1990 plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee:

THE period that has passed since the Party set the country on the course of restructuring has become a test and trial of the direction taken at that time. The main result of this transitional period is the spiritual and political emancipation of society. In an atmosphere of freedom, democratisation and glasnost, people have acquired civic and ethnic dignity and are taking the affairs of the state into their own hands.

We knew that this truly epoch-making turning-point in the life of a huge country, with a population of nearly 300 million, would not be simple or easy.

Indeed, perestroika is being accompanied by considerable complications. Problems in the sphere of the economy, social and inter-ethnic relations and in society's intellectual life have been exposed after accumulating for decades. The acuteness of the problems and the scope of required changes have proved to be far greater than initially imagined. In addition, there were errors and miscalculations made during the implementation of the reforms.

Such is the reality. The entire experience gained during these years — positive and negative — enables us to say with confidence that there is no sensible alternative to perestroika. This is a hard and dramatic — but correct — path towards securing people a worthy life and tapping the potential of our great country. It is necessary to follow this path with courage and consistency, countering the forces which would like to throw our society back or push it towards civil confrontation.

The vital issue now is the pace of reform and the acceleration of the solution of acute socio-economic and political problems. We have approached a point when the previous system of economic management and government is not operating to a considerable extent, while new mechanisms have not yet started to work at full capacity. This transitional state is being accompanied by manifestations of instability and weakened management and engenders confusion in minds. If protracted, this state may bring about serious negative consequences for the people.

The only way out is through acting more resolutely and vigorously implementing the planned reforms.

The suggested platform is intended to be, after approval by the Congress and until the elaboration of the Party's new programme, a principled basis for the work of communists and a system of political guidelines in the transitional period.

I

What is the essence of perestroika, what should be resolutely discarded and what should be preserved in the Party's ideological and political arsenal?

First of all, we are breaking with the authoritarian — bureaucratic system which is incompatible with socialist principles. Our ideal is a humane, democratic socialism.

Having embarked on the road of revolutionary changes, it is necessary to discard completely

the fetters of the past that hinder our movement towards this objective.

While reaffirming faithfulness to the creative spirit of the materialist world outlook and the dialectic methodology of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and being guided by it, we resolutely reject ideological blinkers, dogmatism and intolerance towards different views and ideas.

While adhering to the positions of the working class and all working people, we abandon the simplified class approach which opposes national and universal human values.

We denounce total state hegemony in public life and everything that engendered arbitrariness and lawlessness, unpunishable abuses of power and undeserved privileges.

We denounce a primitive view of socialist ownership, disregard for commodity-money relations and all forms and methods of administration and management that entail man's alienation, prevent him from making use of his abilities and endowments.

We renounce the treatment of nature as an object for ruthless exploitation, an attitude we have inherited from the beginnings of our industrialisation.

We condemn negligence of the people's cultural and historical values, and of the country's accumulated intellectual capital.

We reject negative dogmatic stereotypes in our relations with other parties of the working people, including social-democratic parties, which contribute to the progressive development of states and nations.

We proceed from the premise that the objectively growing interdependence of states and the emerging integrity of the world, in which various societies interact while retaining their freedom of option, are a basic feature of our epoch.

The Soviet Communist Party deems it fundamentally important to distinguish everything in our past that was engendered by Stalinism and by violations of socialist principles from what constitutes the Party's and the people's concrete contribution to their country and to all of mankind.

It is equally dangerous to idealise the past and to refuse to learn the complete and grim truth about tragic aspects of our history as to try to obliterate everything that is really great and valuable in our historical legacy. The continuity of the Soviet people's labour efforts and struggle must not be interrupted.

Socialist development is impossible without an ideal. And the latter, in turn, will lose all sense if people forget or neglect their history. Historic awareness, love of the homeland and patriotism, which is unacceptable in our conditions without internationalism, are symptoms of a nation's sound health and vitality.

The image of the future, even if it is only a few decades ahead, cannot be described exactly, in minute detail. But one thing is clear: it will be an absolutely different society that will develop in democratic conditions on the basis of powerful cultural and scientific-technological progress. It will be founded on the humanistic values of the peoples of our country and of all humankind. It will be a society that realises the value of civilisation and nature, in which man is history's end in itself. These features of the future social organisation reflect the initial essence of the socialist idea, which has found its embodiment

in the labour and efforts of peoples for social emancipation.

Immutable for us is our socialist option and our adherence to the October ideas: all power to the soviets, factories — to the workers, land — to the peasants, peace — to the peoples, free self-determination — to the nations. We have inherited spiritual power and courage from senior generations, their self-sacrifice for the sake of the country. We cherish the sacred memory of the sacrifices they have made during the years of sinister trials.

We adhere to the idea of social justice. It permitted millions of people to rise up from historical nonexistence and it inspired them to deeds that turned our state into a mighty world power. The Soviet State played a decisive role in saving mankind from fascist slavery and has become the mainstay of many peoples in their struggle for national liberation. It has made an indispensable, unique contribution to world science, technology and culture.

The right to work, to pensions, free education and medical care and other social benefits that first appeared on Soviet soil have now become privileges in any civilised society. To forget this means to disrespect the truth, disrespect those who have displayed lofty heroism and self-sacrifice in their passionate urge for the socialist ideal.

Such are points at issue in perestroika's thinking and morality.

II

Man in the focus of Party policy

The Party seeks to place man in the centre of social development, providing him with worthy living and working conditions, guaranteeing him social justice, political liberty and possibilities for comprehensive development and spiritual fulfilment, and regards this as its main goal. This is exactly what should determine social progress.

The Soviet Communist Party stands for the earliest formulation of legal acts guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of citizens. The recognition of personal liberty as the key and vital value and a volte-face to guarantee the entire complex of human rights is perestroika's most important accomplishment. Now it is necessary to consolidate these rights, to rest them on a solid material, legal and political foundation.

The Party will uphold:

— Reliable legislative protection of a citizen's personality and honour, the immunity of his home and property, the secrecy of correspondence and telephone conversations,

— Stronger guarantees to realise the right to work, including payment according to the quantity and quality of work done and its final results. The formation of a mechanism to maintain employment, training and re-training of personnel and adequate material support for those who are forced to change their trade, profession or place of work,

— The development and strengthening of the political rights of citizens: participation in running the affairs of society and the state, freedom of speech, the press, meetings and demonstrations and the formation of public organisations. Law and order and requirements of soviet laws should be strictly observed,

— Freedom for creative activities and attitude to talent as a national asset. Encouraging a multifaceted culture in every way, the Party will

uphold humanistic criteria, and at the same time, protect society from pseudo-culture. A commercial attitude to culture is unacceptable to socialism,

— Man's free self-determination in the spiritual sphere, the freedom of conscience and religion. Without abandoning its world outlook, the Party will step up the dialogue between atheists and believers and pursue a policy that offers all churches the opportunity to freely operate within the law, contributing to mutual understanding between people,

— A higher role of the court of law in protecting civil rights, the establishment of public-state commissions exercising law-enforcing activities,

— The CPSU prioritises the adoption of laws in the near future on the press and other mass media, freedom of conscience and religious associations, public associations, the order of emigration from the immigration to the USSR, Soviet citizenship, languages of Soviet peoples and other legislative acts that will guarantee the political and personal rights of citizens.

The Party will persistently seek to strengthen and develop the economic and social rights of Soviet people and to raise their wellbeing. It will concentrate its efforts in this area on the following tasks:

— The drafting and legislative adoption of a state-wide demographic policy providing for human reproduction and the regulation of migration,

— The implementation of the housing programme that was put forth by the 27th CPSU Congress and that aims to provide each Soviet family with a separate flat or an individual house by the year 2000. This aim necessitates an increase in the rate of construction and a substantial rise in the quality of housing construction, provided by state funds and the funds of enterprises, co-operatives, savings of population and easy credits. It also necessitates stiffer public control over the distribution of flats, comprehensive development and architectural plans that reflect the needs of the inhabitants,

— The right to protect health by improving medical services, involving a considerable increase in appropriations for public health and the utmost mobilisation of resources of enterprises, industries, republics and local soviets for these purposes,

— Stronger guarantees to preserve the natural habitat, rational use of natural resources, the adoption of a long-term state ecological programme for the country, union and autonomous republics as well as laws on environmental control. Improvement of the structure and operation of bodies engaged in environmental protection,

— The development of the sphere of education, enlightenment and culture and an increase in the investments for these aims. The radical improvement of the quality of teaching and the training of specialists. Increasing the prestige of teachers, the promotion of competitiveness among ideas and talents, overcoming the administrative approach in the intellectual sphere and the monopoly of group interests. The preservation of our cultural and spiritual heritage and historical monuments. Support for various social initiatives and donations in the interest of developing education and culture. Broad and free exchange of spiritual values with foreign countries.

The strategy of perestroika is based upon the profound understanding of the role of science and mastering its results in order to achieve a qualitatively new state for our society. The development and use of the country's creative potential should be based upon solid legislation. It is important to ensure the effective protection of intellectual property. The Party stands for the independence of higher education establishments and academic and branch scientific institutions, for their diversity.

The CPSU economic policy pays special attention to the protection of social layers and those groups in the population that need primary help

and support from society.

The CPSU stands for:

— Carrying out broad measures to improve the labour and housing conditions of women, including granting them a reduced workday, work according to a convenient schedule, an increase in maternity leave, in leave for mothers of large families and for single mothers, paid by enterprises. Setting additional subsidies for leaves and for health treatment. Prioritising the development of high quality goods production and services for women, their liberation from hard work that may harm their health. Within the framework of the political reform the Party will fight to promote the employment of women in the government.

— The resolute improvement of child care, the allocation of more funds for the construction of children's institutions and the improvement of their work, and for the extension of the production of children's goods, the immediate implementation of measures to reduce infant mortality rates,

— The development and implementation of an effective youth policy, the opening of wide possibilities for implementing the capabilities and meeting the requirements of the young generation, efforts to ensure its equal participation in the political, economic and cultural life of society, the renewal of the youth movement, the Young Communist League, student and other organisations, support for their initiatives and for their growing desire for independence,

— The improvement of the position of invalids and war and labour veterans, the adoption of a new law on pensions and the development of a special programme for the provision of all invalids, war and labour veterans and families of soldiers and officers killed in action with flats in the next five years, the implementation of resolutions on the improvement of medical services and the extension of the production of goods for veterans and invalids, the increase of pensions and allowances depending on inflation, the granting of the right to working pensioners to receive full wages irrespective of the amount of their pension.

Communists are convinced the citizens' rights and freedoms are inseparable from their civil duties. The Party will consistently work towards the establishment in society of respect for labour, law and order and of readiness to defend the socialist motherland, towards the creation of legal and moral guarantees of such common human values as honesty and decency, kindness and mercy, moral self-control and conscientiousness, human dignity and freedom of choice.

The CPSU opposes all illegitimate privileges and benefits and advocates full openness on this issue. Communist Party membership or a leading post do not, in themselves, provide any advantage. Abuses of office must be eradicated.

III

The effective plan-market economy

The Party prioritises the launching of effective work by legislative and executive bodies at all levels to improve the economic situation in the country.

The CPSU will help implement a series of measures, worked out by the Council of Ministers and approved by the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, to stabilise the consumer market, above all to eliminate the gap between the large amount of 'free' money and the degree to which it is matched by goods.

These measures should have an explicit social orientation and improve people's economic positions, above all those of low-income groups.

The availability of foodstuffs for the population remains the most acute problem. The CPSU advocates the priority development of the agrarian sector in order to accelerate an increase in the production of meat, milk, vegetables and other products of farming and livestock.

The solution of the food problem should rest on the development of all forms of economic

management in agriculture. State-run, co-operatives and individual farms and diverse forms of management, based on contract, leasing and other principles, should be given equal possibilities.

The strengthening of the material and technical basis of agricultural production, of the processing and storage of products and the lessening of their losses before they are sold remains a major area of work.

The creation of a social balance between the town and the country is a major task of perestroika. New possibilities will have to be created within a short period of time to provide villagers with comfortable dwellings, services and roads.

We continue to focus on efforts to increase the production of consumer goods. The CPSU will help implement measures to help satiate the market.

The Party advocates an effective finance recovery programme, including such measures as the encouragement of deposits in savings banks at increased interest rates, the development of the insurance business, the distribution of state loan bonds on advantageous terms, the selling of dwellings, advance payments by the population for durable goods they plan to buy in the future, and the selling of stocks and other securities.

More flexible economic instruments and quotas will be needed to prevent unfounded incomes and the issue of money in excess of the supply of goods.

The CPSU believes that the solution of current and future socio-economic problems is inseparably linked with the radical economic reform. The reform must replace the command-and-distributive system — characterised by monopoly, lack of initiative, wastefulness, mismanagement and disregard for consumers' interests — with a plan-market economy based on a diversity of property forms, competition between independent manufacturers, a developed financial system and on the powerful stimuli of personal and collective interest.

The economic reform has proven much more difficult than it was initially perceived. But we are fully determined not to allow a return to the forms of economic management that discredited themselves and that led the country into stagnation and threw it behind developed countries.

Economic reform is unthinkable without a deep restructuring of the relations of property. The CPSU advocates the diversity of its forms.

Their equal and sound competition is the economic basis of civil freedoms, of the freedom to choose the form and method in which a worker will work, and the guarantee of consumers' interests and rights.

Another important task is the transformation of state property into property that will be democratically controlled by workers themselves on the basis of leasing, full cost-accounting, contracts, joint-stock and other modern forms. All of the forms will take into account the scale of production, specific features of regions and the degree to which integrating ties are developed.

The Party stands for the all-round promotion of the co-operative movement, for the strengthening of production co-operatives, including collective farms, and for the broadening of the sphere of activity of various forms of labour collective property, including sharing and joint-stock property.

The CPSU believes that the existence of individual property, including ownership of the means of production, does not contradict the modern stage of the country's economic development.

The use of any form of property must rule out the worker's alienation from the means of production and the exploitation of man by man.

One of the most difficult aspects of the economic reform is finding an organic combination of plan and market methods to regulate economic activity.

Modern production is impossible without a centralised planned management. This essential-

ly socialist principle of economic management has been adopted by many countries.

However, it is crucially important to determine the precise degree and methods of such management. Unlike in the past, when the plan attempted to encompass the entire process of production and distribution, there is now a need for a procedure in which planned, centralised economic management will be exercised through prices, taxes, interest rates, credits, payments, and so on. Its sphere will be strictly defined by the nature of the strategic tasks.

These tasks include the implementation of major scientific, technical and structural programmes, the development of an infrastructure, comprehensive measures to protect the human environment and renew its resources, and a policy for taxation and credit, and a guarantee of a stable monetary circulation.

Matters pertaining to the people's social security require centralised regulation.

The Party proceeds from the assumption that the country needs a single all-union market – fully-fledged and regulated, which must become a permanently operating mechanism to achieve and maintain a balance between production possibilities and the requirements and a dynamic equilibrium between solvent demand and supply. This is also a condition for the incorporation of the Soviet economy into world economic relations and the transfer to a convertible rouble.

The creation of a fully-fledged market economy requires the formation of markets of consumer products, capital goods, securities, investment, currencies and research and development, and an early reform of the financial, monetary and credit systems.

The restructuring of the price formation is a sine qua non condition for the market to start regulating the economy. The artificial price levels and proportions, the burden of ineffective subsidies for some and ruinous deductions from others provide false reference-points for economic management. They confound the assessment of management's effect, perpetuate scientific and technological backwardness and prevent the efficient utilisation of the advantages of the international division of labour.

Competition between product manufacturers, including foreign firms, must become an important factor regulating and restraining the growth of prices. Making competition a reality calls for a legislative demonopolisation of production, trade, credit services and insurance businesses.

The Party advocates a structural change of the economy in favour of the consumer, measures to curtail ineffectual and capital-intensive production, and the revamping of the existing enterprises. There is a need to give more attention to implementing programmes that rationally utilise nature and save resources, stocks, raw materials and labour inputs, as well as combat mismanagement.

The conversion of defence industries must become an organic component of the structural change. Based on their high skills and scientific and technological potential, it is possible to sharply increase the output of modern capital goods and consumer products.

At the same time the necessary resources must be allocated for expanded reproduction, without which the economic development is bound to get caught in a dead end.

The Party will do its utmost to support efforts to speed up scientific and technological progress, which will be measured by its economic, ecological and social effectiveness and the prospects for its rapid introduction into all spheres of soviet life. The provision of necessities for the powerful development of basic and applied research is another major concern of the state. More scope must be given to a variety of research activities and the dissemination of knowledge.

The protection of nature is the protection of man. Towards the close of the 20th Century, the environmental protection has become a categorical imperative for preserving life on the Earth.

We must introduce world standards in this country and take an active part in international ecological co-operation.

The rapid industrial growth of the USSR, coupled with an attitude of neglect toward conservation measures, has led to grave pockets of ecological disaster. Urgent measures and large investments are required to rectify the situation.

When deploying new industrial capacities, the Party deems it necessary to institutionalise a procedure to make a strict scientific assessment and to consider public concerns.

At the same time one cannot panic, allowing unfounded demands to close down enterprises that are vital to the country and without which it is impossible to meet the most elementary needs of the people. It will be impossible to tackle ecological problems and save nature without the modern scientific, technological and industrial development.

The USSR's broader participation in the international division of labour and co-production is indispensable to its effective economic development. A reliable way to achieve this is to increase the competitiveness of Soviet goods and services, steadily enhance foreign-economic, including in terms of currency, independence of the enterprises, do away with the prevalence of raw materials in exports and revise the import structure.

Working to implement all of the listed measures, the Soviet Communist Party will carefully look after the interests of the working people and erect a reliable legal barrier against the shadow economy, corruption, speculation and people seeking to form monopolies.

IV

Toward broad socialist democracy and people's self-government

Democratisation is both the goal and the means of perestroika. The creation of a rule-of-law state and a self-governing socialist society is necessary for entire renewal process and a guarantee of the observance of human rights.

The Party's policy proceeds from the recognition of the sovereign will of the people as the only source of power. The rule-of-law state of the whole people has no room for dictatorship by any class, and even less so for the power of a management bureaucracy. It constitutes a republic of soviets that grants all citizens the ability to participate in affairs of the state and to hold any office.

We have already taken important steps away from an authoritarian system towards a democratic one. The supreme bodies of authority have been formed on the basis of new principles. The restructuring of all government bodies is now to be completed. Power will be transferred to the soviets, and the Soviet federation will be radically changed.

The electoral system. The electoral system should be brought in line with the principles of universal, equal, direct suffrage. We wish elections to become an honest competition between representatives of all the sections of society, of individuals and ideas submitted to the judgement of voters by the Party, public organisations and movements and individual candidates.

The Party will strive to ensure the adequate representation in the deputies' corps and in state bodies of workers, peasants, women, young people, veterans and sections and groups of society that are not involved in political life to a sufficient extent and whose interests should be protected.

Democracy and political pluralism. The democratisation of our society is accompanied by the emergence of new socio-political associations.

The development of society does not preclude the possibility of forming parties. The procedure for their formation will be established by law and reflected in the Constitution of the USSR.

The formation and activity of organisations

and movements that expound violence and inter-ethnic strife and that pursue extremist, unconstitutional aims should be prohibited by law.

The Soviet Communist Party does not claim a monopoly and is prepared for a political dialogue and co-operation with everyone who favours the renewal of socialist society.

We believe in principle that of the decisive importance is the level of democratisation, the democratic character of state and public institutions, the citizens' engagement in politics and the steady development of the perestroika process.

The Soviet Communist Party today is a real political force that promotes the democratisation of society to its utmost and is, at the same time, playing the stabilising role in a huge, diverse country.

The soviets of people's deputies. Soviets must become fully-fledged organs, consistently expressing the will of the people and exercising state control.

They should have corresponding rights and economic independence and should rely on a strong and competent deputies' corps.

With the deepening of political reform and the decentralisation of management, the Soviet Communist Party will promote the establishment and development of self-governing communities.

This will enable leading bodies to get rid of many of the present economic functions and to concentrate on deciding comprehensive tasks on the scale of union and autonomous republics, regions and the whole country.

State authority. The Soviet Communist Party holds that the separation of legislative, executive and judiciary powers is fundamentally important to the government's efficiency. In Lenin's words, we should combine the advantages of Soviet system with the advantages of parliamentarism.

The initial steps in this direction have been taken. But the experience of perestroika dictates the need for a more precise division of responsibility and jurisdiction among state bodies.

With the decisive role of the Congress of People's Deputies and of the USSR Supreme Soviet, there is a need for a reliable and effective mechanism to ensure the implementation of perestroika policies and compliance with adopted laws.

The experience of the work of new supreme bodies of authority shows that this mechanism is taking form.

The question of instituting the post of head of state – president – responsible to the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and having the necessary powers is posed by society ever more insistently.

A president is needed to maintain the country's stable development, to speed up perestroika, to guarantee its irreversibility, to ensure the normal and effective functioning of all state and public institutions in the process of democratisation, to ensure law and citizens' security, to protect the Soviet Union's interests and to represent our state on the international arena.

We must consolidate the positions and prerogatives of the USSR council of ministers.

Communists – members of the USSR Supreme Soviet and members of the government – should act more decisively and with a greater sense of responsibility, pressing for the implementation of necessary measures to stabilise the situation in the country and to overcome the economic crisis.

The state and managerial apparatus. Significant restructuring must take place in this area. We believe it should be based on the apparatus's accountability to representative bodies and the public, its reasonable sufficiency and professionalism, the glasnost of major procedures and limitations of secrecy. The apparatus should be renewed upon the election of new Soviet deputies.

Legality and protection of public order. There is a need for urgent measures to consolidate the

legal process and public order. Observance of the law should become the prerequisite for all activity by state bodies and public organisations and for the conduct of officials and citizens. The Party favours further strengthening of the independence of the court and public prosecutor's office as guarantors of law and order.

Vast work lies ahead in the implementation of legal reform, in the creation of highly effective justice. Above all, we must reverse the trend towards an increase in crime and ensure the punishment of criminals, thieves, murderers, bribe-takers, embezzlers, swindlers, dealers of the shadow economy, speculators, rapists and hooligans.

We believe it is important to improve professional training, and to enhance the prestige and increase material security of officials of law-enforcement agencies – the courts, the public procurator's office, the investigation apparatus, the militia.

Every means envisaged by law should be used to combat crime, while the presumption of innocence and the right to protection and juridical norms should be strictly observed.

The transition to new conditions of economic management, specifically the wide use of contractual relations, requires more efficient arbitration, the employment of jurists in the national economy and the upgrading of the entire system of juridical education.

Defence. The possibility of ensuring the country's security by political means was considerably expanded by new thinking. However, we need reliable defence capabilities as long as the world remains militarised and there is a danger of armed conflict.

The Party feels responsible for ensuring that our Army and Navy, which have performed great services for the motherland, are able to cope with the tasks they encounter in present conditions.

This requires military reform based on the new defence doctrine and the principle of reasonable sufficiency.

Since the military construction is oriented to quality, there is a need to enhance professionalism among the personnel and to ensure that the code of honour in the Army is worthy of its glorious traditions.

The Party will exert efforts to enhance the prestige of the military service and to strengthen the social protection and improve the living conditions of servicemen and their families.

A rule-of-law state presupposes effective political guidance of the defence, the accountability of the military department to the supreme, civil authorities, and maximum openness in the activity of the military department, taking into account the level of confidence among states.

The Soviet Communist Party supports the conversion of defence industries to civilian use. The industries should preserve and replenish their potential and must not permit the quality of equipment manufactured for the armed forces to slip.

Internal security. In view of the need to protect state frontiers, counteract foreign intelligence agencies, protect the Soviet constitutional system and the rights of citizens we should be attentive to the needs of frontier and internal troops, which fulfil complex and at times dangerous duties.

Remaining vital to the maintenance of public order, interior and state security bodies should operate strictly within the law and under control of elective government bodies.

Rule-of-law state and self-governing society. The Party proceeds from the premise that the formation of a rule-of-law state is a comparatively lengthy process, during which a corresponding structure of state bodies and an integral system of laws will take shape, and traditions will accumulate serving as a guarantee against encroachments on democracy and attempts to reinstate arbitrariness. The development of a political culture is very important when shaping a rule-of-law state.

The more all social processes are regulated by economic and legal means and the need to use state coercion gradually lessens, the more correctly and reliably the principles of socialism and democracy can be implemented. The shaping of a self-governing society will make it possible to tap the people's immense creative potential.

On the new Constitution of the USSR. The radical renewal of our society has put forward the issue of creating a new fundamental law for the Soviet State. We consider it proper to work actively towards adopting a new constitution.

V

Towards a new federation

The CPSU's nationalities policy at the current stage. The fate of perestroika and the future of the country depend to a great extent on the development of inter-ethnic relations.

We resolutely reject attempts to cross out the great and worthy achievements of our country due to the October Revolution – the consolidation and accession to statehood of many peoples from former colonial provinces of the Russian empire, the overcoming of their backwardness, new values of inter-ethnic relations and the sense of being equal members of a great world power.

At the same time distortions of Lenin's nationalities policy brought immense suffering and loss to the peoples of our multi-ethnic state. Serious problems accumulated during objective migrational and demographic processes as well.

The way out of these difficulties, as the Party sees it, lies in the consistent implementation of economic and political reforms, in the resolute rejection of the Stalinist, essentially unitary, model of state structure, and in the complete and invariable implementation of the principle of federalism.

Our approach to the development of nations and inter-ethnic relations was set out in the CPSU platform 'The Party's Nationalities Policy in Present-Day Conditions'.

It rests on the following key principles: the unconditional observance of the rights of citizens of any nationality all over the country's territory.

A real substantiation of the sovereignty of union republics and a new level of independence for all forms of national autonomy.

The preservation of the country's integrity as a federation of free and equal republics, voluntarily delegating part of their rights to the union in order to attain common goals.

Self-determination of nations. The principle of the self-determination of nations is a renewed Soviet federation presupposes the freedom of national-state entities to choose forms by which to structure life, institutions and symbols of statehood. Our ideal is not unification, but unity in diversity.

The Party reaffirms its commitment to Lenin's principle of the right of nations to self-determination, including secession, and favours the adoption of a law on a mechanism for the exercise of this right.

At the same time we are convinced that the weakening and disruption of reciprocally diverse and interrelated ties could lead to negative consequences for all peoples, to say nothing about individual destinies – consequences that are very difficult to foresee.

That is why we resolutely oppose separatist slogans and movements that would lead to the destruction of the great multi-ethnic democratic state.

The union and union republics. The transformation of the Soviet federation should be based on harmonising inter-ethnic relations and establishing optimal links between union republics and the union as their common entity.

The CPSU believes it is necessary to promote the agreement principle of the structure of the union. This would make it possible to reflect the considerable changes that have taken place and to execute new approaches to an entire range of problems involving nationalities and inter-ethnic

relations.

The voluntary delegation of clearly defined functions to the competence of the union will help strengthen the status of the union republics as sovereign states with constitutional guarantees.

The republics' real sovereignty is impossible without their economic independence. But the present-day economy cannot make do without the centre operating at the macro-level. The centre has no interests that differ from the vital interests of the republics and the peoples forming the federation.

A clear delineation of the competence of the union and the republics is required, including in planning, budget arrangement, taxation, crediting and price formation.

Direct contract ties between the enterprises of all republics and regions forming a union-wide market should become the economic foundation of integration processes, the renewal and consolidation of our federation.

The republics' relations with the centre and among themselves must take proper account of their specifics – geographical location, historical development, formation of statehood, role in the country's pattern of production forces, character and level of economies, psychological frame of mind and customs of the peoples inhabiting their territories.

The development of autonomous formations.

The perfection of the Soviet federative state presupposes that the sovereignty and rights of autonomous regions and autonomous districts will be strengthened and broadened, that they will be given more opportunities to make independent decisions on major problems of economic, social and cultural life. The Party will devote untiring attention to this.

The rights of nations and the rights of the person. Due to migrational processes and deformations that have occurred during the preceding development period there is the danger that some peoples will lose their distinctive national traits while residing in their historical homelands. Perfectly warranted therefore are measures to protect the native language, cultural and ethnic features, the national spiritual values, the original way of life and every republic's demographic structure.

At the same time, such measures must not be carried out at the expense of the interests and rights of citizens of other nationalities, inhabiting a republic. Racism, chauvinism and nationalism are incompatible with the principles of socialism, with our country's laws and with international standards. No nation, no matter how small it is, should forfeit its culture and language, its inimitable image and character which were formed over centuries. We favour granting compact national groups the possibility to set up their public, education, religious and other associations, to have cultural and information institutions, schools and places of worship.

Particular concern must be displayed at the state level for small nations, for their specific way of life and development.

The Soviet Communist Party upholds the unconditional right of all peoples to use their native language freely, to declare it an official language within the limits of their autonomous national-state formations. The Russian language serves all-national requirements, including the Soviet Union's foreign policy. It is an instrument for inter-ethnic communication. It is advisable to grant it the status of an official language throughout the country's territory.

Communists that are dedicated to internationalism equally value the interests of all the peoples of our country. The status of a Party, uniting people of all nationalities, allows and obliges us to use this political potential to settle inter-ethnic disputes and conflicts. And we intend to act in this manner.

VI

Towards mankind's peaceful development

New thinking, new foreign policy. By starting perestroika and thereby initiating profound

changes in the entire world situation, by determining what our country will be like as a result of our renovation, we have taken upon ourselves a huge responsibility to mankind. What the world will be like in the 21st Century depends on the success of perestroika in the USSR. In turn, the radical improvement of the international situation and the ushering in of a peaceful era in the world's development meet the vital interests of the Soviet people and contribute to perestroika's progress.

Foreign policy, based on new thinking, has already yielded positive results. The world is getting rid of the bonds of confrontation. The integrity of modern civilisation is more clearly discernable now, calling for a new world policy. The cold war has stopped. The danger of a world military conflict has receded. A positive turn towards new relations has been made in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. The first major steps were taken towards practical disarmament. Dialogue and talks are becoming the principal form of international relations. Political methods are assuming priority in settling regional conflicts.

The Soviet Union's new thinking and new foreign policy have placed it at the forefront of efforts to build a safe and civilised world order. We stand for free socio-political options. This principle, in addition to the principle of balanced interests, must become universal during the coming epoch, must rid it of the positions of strength policy and militarised thinking.

Our long-range foreign policy course comprises: a comprehensive range of mutually advantageous equitable relations and contacts with all the countries of the world, the renovation and development of co-operation with allied states and CMEA members, active participation in the European process, the construction of an 'all-European home', activity in the Asian-Pacific region in order to turn it into a zone of peace and co-operation, all-out support for United Nations' efforts to implement the opportunities that have opened up before it, 'good offices' in the political settlement of regional conflicts, solidarity with peoples and states defending their independence from any outside interference.

To demilitarise the world community, our course provides for: a complete ban on and the phased elimination of nuclear weapons, an end to nuclear tests everywhere, a ban on and liquidation of chemical weapons and their manufacture, a radical reduction in conventional arms and armed forces, moving towards eliminating the very possibility of offensive wars, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from territories of other states and the liquidation of military bases there, the prevention of the militarisation of space, the reorganisation of military alliances (pending their elimination) into defensive-political associations in the service of universal security and international stability, deep cuts in military budgets and the conversion of defence industry, gradual progress towards reciprocal openness on land, at sea, in the sky and in outer space, and the effective control of military activity and compliance with treaties.

The Party is convinced that only a policy leading towards a historically irreversible era of peace for mankind accords with the genuine interests of the Soviet State now and in the future.

Towards a new quality of international co-operation. The destinies of peoples, given the unqualified sovereignty of the states in which they live, are intertwined more closely today than every before. This places new demands on world politics. It is imperative to unite the efforts of the entire world community in order to solve mankind's global problems.

It is only through concerted efforts that states may overcome hunger, misery, mass epidemics, drug addiction and international terrorism and halt the profound disparities developing in different parts of the world.

Only concerted efforts can prevent an ecological disaster, the signs of which are already ma-

king themselves felt on all continents. Only the elimination of obstacles to scientific and technological exchanges and the creation of a genuinely world economy will provide the material basis for the peaceful development of civilisation.

Progress towards these objectives of the new epoch requires a drastically new level of international co-operation. Here the United Nations' role is irreplaceable. We also favour interaction with all progressive organisations on the local, continental, regional and international level.

The world community's viability lies in the variety of its modes of development and in its multi-faceted nature: ethnic, spiritual, social, political, geographical and cultural. It is within the mainstream of the overall, progressive movement of civilisation – and we are convinced of this – that the ideas of socialism will be reborn and begin to gain an ever-growing influence. Although they differ from country to country, the dramatic developments in Eastern Europe are painfully overcoming the negative experience that emerged during socialism's struggle in the extremely unfavourable setting of the cold war and without due account of the ethnic factor.

The changes that have occurred in East European countries have not changed our friendly attitude towards their peoples. The Party believes that the reforms begun there, like perestroika in the USSR, will create a more natural and firm basis for voluntary and mutually advantageous relations.

The Party is open to co-operation with the community and worker, socialist and social-democratic, liberal and national-democratic parties, with all organisations and movements espousing peace, democracy and social progress.

Perestroika allowed the historical split in the socialist movement to heal and permitted the movement's revival as a world movement on a modern basis. One can desecrate the prospect – and the Party welcomes it – of a consolidation of left forces in a search for a new world and social progress.

VII

Towards renewal of the Party

If the Party is drastically restructured itself, it can maintain its vanguard positions and continue, during this difficult period, the undertaking it began, which is supported by the people.

The authoritarian regime has had an extremely negative effect on the Party, its role in society and its methods of work. A Party-state power structure has emerged. In intra-Party life, the relations between the primary cells and the leading bodies were deformed, communists were prevented from shaping the Party's policy and exerted little influence on the activity of higher Party committees. Much harm has been done by overcentralisation, the suppression of free thought and the purges. The Party's prestige was greatly damaged because of ideological and moral degeneration.

However, the broad Party masses maintained their allegiance to Leninist ideals and their selfless commitment to serve the people. There have always been living active forces in the Party, and this permitted it to overcome the inertia of Stalinism and stagnation. It stands at the head of revolutionary change and once again proves the Party's capacity to discharge its vanguard role.

The scope and novelty of the new tasks have brought about the urgent need for the Party to change its status in society radically and to renounce its claims to impeccability and its political monopolism.

The dynamic of change in society dictates the rapid pace of the Party's transformation. If it does not change, it may be driven to the sidelines of political life.

Party masses are keenly aware of this situation and are raising the issue of reform in the Party and its profound restructuring more and more insistently.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a self-governing socio-political organisation, a voluntary union of communists holding the same views.

We perceived a renewed CPSU as a socialist party that expresses the interests of the working class and all working people and that builds its policy on the basis of the scientific analysis of new realities and the creative development of the legacy of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Vladimir Lenin in the context of the public thinking and historical experience of the 20th Century.

In its theoretical and practical activity, the CPSU relies on the democratic and humanistic traditions of all people of the Soviet Union.

Combining organically national and international principles, the Party is irreconcilable with chauvinism, nationalism racism and all other manifestations of reactionary ideology and obscurantism.

It rids itself from those who reject its ideological, political and organisational foundations and who participate in anti-socialist, nationalist and anti-Soviet organisations and actions.

The place and role of the CPSU in renewing society. The CPSU will conduct its policy and work to preserve its status as a ruling Party in the framework of a democratic process. It will seek to win electors' votes to receive the people's mandate to form leading bodies in the centre, republics and the provinces.

The CPSU, like other socio-political organisations and mass movements, participates in the management of state and public affairs and nominates its representatives to soviets of people's deputies and other state bodies.

The Party does not assume state powers. Its role is to be a democratically recognised political leader acting through communists and not seeking advantages nor establishing a privileged status for itself in the USSR Constitution.

The Party considers it necessary to submit a corresponding proposal on article six of the country's fundamental law to the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, by way of legislative initiative.

Relying on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU conducts ideological and political work among the masses, propagandising its policy and objectives, proliferating the humanistic values of socialism and campaigning for the implementation of the tasks of perestroika.

Relieving itself of duties not usual for it, the CPSU gains the possibility to focus on the development of theory and programmes of action, on organisational and educational work, on implementation of its personnel policy and on the accomplishments of its task to consolidate society through its revolutionary renewal.

This is the main meaning of its vanguard role, and its new relations with all socio-political organisations acting in the framework of the USSR Constitution – relations of dialogue, discussion, co-operation and partnership – will be subordinate to this meaning.

The Party regards trade unions as independent public organisations and supports their desire to act in the interests of working people and to defend their labour, social and economic rights.

The CPSU builds its relations with the Komsomol (Young Communist League) on the basis of ideological unity, friendly co-operation and interaction. The CPSU is interested in the Komsomol's direct participation in the development and implementation of Party policy.

The Party initiated the establishment of glasnost in the country. It will continue to make every effort to make glasnost a natural medium for the formation of public opinion, a powerful means of people's direct influence on policies and their participation in all state and societal affairs, and a factor in perestroika's irreversibility and dynamisation.

Taking into account the important role of the mass media in society's life, above all in the

implementation of glasnost, the Party will promote the media in every way and to exert its ideological influence on the media on a democratic basis.

The CPSU will oppose disinformation and the use of the mass media for personal and group interests, for kindling ethnic strife and propagandising ideas alien to humane, democratic socialism.

This is how we understand the Party's new role in society. This does not mean that everything is already clear. The development of reform will help us specify answers to many concrete questions.

Democratisation of the Party. What should be done? How the structure of the Soviet Communist Party and the character of Party work be altered in order to enable the Party effectively to fulfil its role, taking into account its changed situation in society?

There is a need for the profound democratisation of the Party, which should be based on the authority of the mass of Party members.

There is a need for rethinking the principle of democratic centralism. It should no longer be treated in such a way that it can be used to implement barrack-room, hierarchal discipline.

There is no other way to overcome communists' dissatisfaction with their role in the policy and activity of the Party. There is no other way to restore each of them a sense of dignity and inner freedom.

The Soviet Communist Party needs the genuine democratisation of intra-Party debates and decision-making, in an atmosphere of true comradeship.

The Party rules should guarantee collective nature of work of all Party bodies, pluralism of opinions, freedom of criticism, multifaceted approaches and platforms, the holding of referendums in special cases, the minority's right to hold its views and the fulfilment of decisions adopted by the majority.

The renewal of the principle of democratic centralism will ensure democratic unity of Party ranks and prevent the formation of factions with specific internal organisation and discipline.

The enhancement of the role of the communist masses presupposes widening the rights of the primary organisations that form the backbone of the Party.

They should have an opportunity to decide responsibly, taking into account present tasks and specific conditions, matters of Party structure, programmes and activities and the frequency and procedure of holding Party meetings and political actions.

They should act in accordance with rules and procedures that enable them to influence the work and decisions of higher party bodies, conferences and congresses.

Communists justifiably support enhancing the independence of primary Party organisations in vital matters of Party structure.

It is suggested that primary organisations be given the final say in enrolling people into the Party. It is also suggested that there should be no candidate membership prior to full membership.

These and other questions should be discussed by a broad spectrum of communists and taken into consideration when drafting the new rules of the Soviet Communist Party.

Confirming the territorial-production principle, that is the work of Party organisations in production and other collectives, the Party supports communists' effective work in public organisations and local government bodies.

The important role of district party organisations is seen as a means to strengthen the Party's foundation. District organisations help primary organisations in their work and are the closest to communists and non-party people.

Direct ties between communists and district Party organisations and congresses should be elected directly by all communists. There should be more than one candidate in such elections.

The proposal to elect the first secretaries of

Party committees at meetings, conferences and congresses on a multi-candidate basis should be supported, as such an election procedure will not place them above corresponding Party boards not above control and criticism.

During pre-congress discussions, we should discuss the extension of the role, rights and functions of all elected Party bodies.

It is necessary to renounce the system under which elected bodies included mostly people holding specific posts. This fully applies to the CPSU Central Committee, too. The only criterion must be the political and human qualities of a communist and his competence.

About the communist parties of constituent republics. During the transformation of the Soviet federation, the correct resolution of the issue of independence for the communist parties of constituent republics acquires particular political importance.

The former tutelage of the CPSU central bodies over them is no longer acceptable. The republican communist parties should have the possibility, under the CPSU's programme and rules, to work out their own policy documents, to independently resolve organisational, personnel and financial issues, to engage in publishing activities and to have the right to directly participate in the solution of fundamental problems of Party life.

This is why the leaders of the central committees of the republican communist parties should, in accordance with the rules, be members of the CPSU Central Committee's leading body.

The central committees of the republican communist parties could be given the right to demand the convocation of a CPSU Central Committee plenum, if they disagree with decisions of the Party's central bodies.

It is necessary to extend the rights of regional and territorial Party committees. Party bodies at all levels should work proceeding from the interests of primary Party organisations and communists.

The broad development of democratic principles in our internationalist Party will facilitate the consolidation of the voluntary ideological, political and organisational unity of the Soviet Communist Party. It will provide maximum opportunities for the CPSU to act as the consolidating political force in the multi-ethnic society.

About the CPSU Central Committee. The Soviet Communist Party's new role makes new demands on its Central Committee as a body of collective leadership that should concentrate the Party's theoretical and political potential.

It is expedient that not only comrades elected to the Central Committee's leading bodies, but also other members who represent workers, farmers and intellectuals, should work directly in the Central Committee and its commission for a fixed term on a permanent basis, receiving pay from the Party treasury.

It is proposed that Party congresses elect a Party chairman and his deputies. Central Committee plenary meetings would elect a presidium to handle political and organisational issues between sessions of the central committee.

In order to organise the work of the Central Committee on a permanent basis it is advisable to set up corresponding commissions of Central Committee members with the participation of other authoritative communists. These commissions would be headed by CPSU Central Committee plenums and work under the leadership of chairman and his deputies.

In between Party congresses, it is advisable to envisage the holding of regular all-Party conferences, which will have the right to re-elect the composition of the leading bodies.

The democratisation of the Party envisages a regular rotation of the composition of all leading bodies.

The CPSU Congress shall elect the Party's central control-and-auditing body.

Communists and the general public of the Russian Federation actively speak in favour of closer coordination of the republic's Party orga-

nisations and the establishment of a corresponding leading body.

Taking into account the important role of the Russian Federation's Party organisations in the preservation of the integrity and unity of the CPSU, it is advisable to submit these issues for discussion to primary Party organisations, city, district, area, regional and territorial party conferences in the Russian Federation. They should be examined thoroughly at a republican Party conference before the 28th CPSU Congress.

About the Party apparatus. The Party needs an apparatus, and it will perfect its structure, enhance competence and eradicate red tape. Conditions must be created that make it possible to attract trained, educated and qualified party members to work in the apparatus. The apparatus should have the optimum number of personnel and be strictly accountable before elected bodies.

About the Party's mass media bodies. The Soviet Communist Party looks at its own information media in the centre and in the periphery as an important means of exercising its policy and ideology and conducting its organisational, ideological and educational work. The Party directs their activity.

It is advisable that chief editors of Party publications be approved at plenary meetings of corresponding Party committees.

Chief editors and other top executives of central party mass media bodies should be approved by the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee.

The chief editor of the newspaper *Pravda*, the central publication of the Party, should be approved by a plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee.

About the Party budget. All activities of the Soviet Communist party, its organisations and party committees should continue to be secured by monetary and material resources formed exclusively from the Party's revenues.

The Party possesses and disposes of property. The accumulation and spending of monetary resources should be carried out openly. It is necessary to expand the independence of party organisations in matters concerning the use of Party resources. The communist parties of union republics and territorial and regional party organisations must themselves dispose of their budget augment revenues ensuring the transition to self-financing, handle structural, personnel and financial matters, and determine spending for the activities of primary organisations.

Efficient and open control of the Party budget resources at all levels – from primary organisations to the CPSU Central Committee – is required.

Such are the ideas that the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee is advancing towards the 28th Congress, mindful of the facts that those structures that will probably determine the face of society for years ahead are now being formed.

Views and assessments, set out here, have appeared in one form or another in newspapers, in speeches by communists, in resolutions of Party meetings and in letters to the party Central Committee.

The 19th National Party Conference, plenary meetings of the Party Central Committee, the First and Second Congresses of People's Deputies of the USSR, sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and meetings with workers and farmers, representatives of various sections of the intelligentsia, youth and veterans have all produced rich material for analyses and conclusions.

The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee believes that communists will define their stance on issues set out in the platform during the pre-congress discussion. The discus-

(Continued on back page)

Gorbachev meets local Party chiefs

"WE have undertaken a task which will determine the image of our society for ten, twenty, thirty or even a hundred years ahead," President Gorbachev told secretaries of primary Party organisations and first secretaries of district and city Party committees with whom he met in Moscow on February 8th. The February 12 edition of *Pravda* carries coverage of the meeting. It quotes Gorbachev's words that it is now important to "keep the ship steady and not to stray off course."

He stressed that perestroika was going on in a "very difficult society," that "things have accumulated which cannot be easily put straight." "If you fall into despair and panic," he noted, "we may decide to turn back or stop half-way. But if we look at everything we plan to

do from the viewpoint of what it means for the country and the entire world, then all these difficulties will appear temporary."

Gorbachev then stressed that "people are bound to grow weary if things do not improve shortly. It is also dangerous if processes in society grow more and more destructive."

Noting that Party functionaries "have to answer for everything, since we are the ruling party," the President noted at the same time: "nevertheless, I think the people do not believe that all the Party without exception bears the blame for everything. At all stages the bulk of the Party has devoted all its forces and knowledge to the causes of the people, has honestly discharged its tasks. So there can be no nihilism in this matter."

"We must show what happened with the Party as a result of deformations perpetrated during the implementation of the socialist idea, when the Party was turned into an instrument of the

deformed idea and of other distorted concepts. That's the trouble."

"The Party's activation, particularly of its primary and district links," said President Gorbachev, "will allow it to solve with the people's support all the urgent problems of reducing socio-economic tension." He added that "it is very important for us not to lose the credit of confidence."

The President noted that Party bodies have begun to sidestep the solution of concrete socio-economic problems, while the people's councils have not yet taken up the job. This is why there will be different methods of administration in the transition period.

"Even now we have still not formed managerial mechanisms that could solve problems affecting the day-to-day life of people," Gorbachev said, "secretaries of district Party's committees have no right to shun them. While avoiding purely economic matters, they must rally the people to the solution of different problems." □

Central Committee resolutions

SOVIET newspapers on February 8 publish the following resolutions of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, which ended in Moscow on February 7.

Resolution of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party of February 7, 1990 on the draft platform of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party for the 28th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party:

1. Approve, having taken into account the discussion and contributions by participants at the plenum, the draft platform of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party for the 28th Party Congress.

ALEXANDER YAKOVLEV

Development of Democracy is Imperative for the Renewal of Society

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

Expert Opinion

The Supreme Goal of the Soviet Armed Forces is to Prevent War

by
Dmitri Yazov

at 40p from:
Soviet Booklets (SN),
3 Rosary Gardens,
London SW7 4NW.

2. Publish the draft platform of the Central Committee for the 28th Congress for wide discussion in Party organisations and by communists and all people.

Resolution of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party regarding decisions of the 20th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party:

1. The plenum of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party regards the decisions adopted by the 20th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party as its organisational and political break with the Soviet Communist Party.

The plenum disapproves of such actions. They undermine the unity of the Soviet Communist Party and cause much damage to the processes of renewal of the Soviet federation, of the whole society.

2. The plenum supports those Lithuanian communists who formed the provisional central committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party (on the platform of the Soviet Communist Party), who remained loyal to the principles of internationalism and declare for revolutionary transformations in conditions of democratisation and renewal of the Soviet Communist Party, rallying all the peoples of our multi-ethnic federation.

The plenum instructs the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party to give the necessary assistance to the provisional central committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party (on the platform of the Soviet Communist Party) in its practical activity and to create appropriate material and financial conditions for the purpose.

3. The plenum makes another call to those Lithuanian comrades who entered the independent Lithuanian Communist Party to suspend till the 28th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party the decisions of the 20th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party regarding the programme and regulations of the Soviet Communist Party and on this basis, alongside the Lithuanian Communist Party, which is on the platform of the Soviet Communist Party, to elect delegates for the 28th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

The plenum urges Lithuanian communists to join in the debate on the draft platform of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party for the Congress, to realise their historic responsibility for the destiny of the Lithuanian people and our entire multi-ethnic state, and for the destiny of the revolutionary perestroika. □

Pravda Editor's news conference

"THE plenum of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, that ended on February 7, was of a dimension exceeding the bounds of such events in the Party's life," Ivan Frolov, a Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper *Pravda*, said on February 8.

He was addressing a traditional meeting with representatives of the foreign mass media, accredited to the Soviet Union.

"The plenum's significance stems above all from the fact that it adopted the CPSU Central Committee's platform for the Party's 28th Congress, formulating the Soviet communists' strategy and tactics for the next decade," Frolov said.

"The platform is a political and theoretical document which clearly designates the goal - to advance towards a humane and democratic socialism," he said.

As to the Party's tactics, the document outlines measures to accelerate the implementation of the political and economic reform. Among such measures, he said, are the proposed introduction of a presidential form of government in the country and the repeal of article 6 of the Constitution of the USSR on the Party's guiding role in the life of society. He also mentioned a possibility of a multi-party system, which is not ruled out by the platform.

"It is most important now to solve pressing problems, namely to stabilise the social sphere and inter-ethnic relations, and to ensure the saturation of the consumer market," Frolov said.

"The Party's renewal was the main problem discussed by the plenum. That issue was most heatedly discussed," he emphasised. "The opinions of the participants in the plenum on the Party's platform varied not too greatly to prevent the unanimous vote for its adoption," Frolov went on.

"The Central Committee will have its next plenum in three or four weeks' time to discuss organisational matters of preparation for the congress and specify its exact date," Frolov said.

The congress of Soviet communists has provisionally been scheduled for next June or July. □

Margaret Thatcher's meeting with Vadim Medvedev

VADIM MEDVEDEV, People's Deputy, Politburo member and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, who heads a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, was received by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on February 7.

Medvedev handed over to Prime Minister Thatcher a message from Mikhail Gorbachev.

Questions of the pattern of European development were given priority among international problems during the conversation.

In light of the Soviet proposal to hold in 1990 a summit of representatives of countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the sides declared for speeding up the processes which, in keeping with the Helsinki Accords, led to overcoming the division of Europe.

It was emphasised that the Soviet Union and Great Britain attach much importance to the successful conclusion of the Vienna talks in 1990.

The conversation showed that the parties have similar appraisals of the situation in Central Europe and regarding the two German states.

It was noted that the German people should implement their right to self-determination stage-by-stage, in keeping with the European process, with observance of the lawful interests of other European peoples and quadripartite responsibility.

Separate aspects of bilateral relations, above all in the areas of political dialogue, in the parliamentary relations and economy were discussed in a constructive spirit. Mutual interest in their development in various forms and at various levels was expressed.

Medvedev speaks in debate in London

On the day the Soviet delegation arrived in London they took part in a debate at a round-table about the role of new political thinking in East-West relations now and in future.

The debate was held at the Elizabeth II Conference Centre. The Soviet delegation was met by members of the British Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the British-Soviet Group of British Parliament.

Medvedev spoke in the debate. He said, specifically, that the Soviet Union arrived at the new philosophy of East-West relations through the realisation of the need for radical revision of the views on the Soviet Union's development, in other words, through perestroika.

This led to the understanding of priority importance of common human values for the destinies of this process. This is the essence of new political thinking.

Dwelling on changes in a number of East

European countries, Medvedev said that it would be wrong to view them, as in the past, through the prism of East-West confrontation, to believe that they play into the hands of one side and weaken the other, that they mean the 'fiasco' of socialism and the triumph of the capitalist system. Such a view would be a relic of past thinking.

The failure of some or other specific models of a social system should not be confused with the very idea of socialism. A correct and balanced approach to the events and changes in Eastern Europe is a fundamental importance for all countries participating in the Helsinki Process.

Hence the need that changes in Eastern Europe take place in conditions of international political and strategic stability. It would be dangerous if some persons decide that a favourable situation is arising, which can be used in their interests.

Regarding the future structure of international relations, Medvedev emphasised the role of openness.

He said that apparently this notion is the key to a new understanding of the need for East-West interaction.

The openness of policy, the openness of the economy, and being open to information and contacts is the necessary triad which is increasingly to determine the character of this interaction.

In the final count it is the policy of openness that is now the guarantee of success, Medvedev said. □

Soviet Government Statement on troop withdrawal

Here follows full text of a Soviet Government statement issued in Moscow on February 11:

EUROPE is witnessing positive dynamic processes of restructuring of domestic and inter-state relations.

The cold war period has ended, and a transition to a qualitatively new international order based on fundamentally different relationships between European states has begun.

For the first time in the post-war period, there has arisen a realistic possibility of the gradual dismantling of the outdated model of the European balance of forces that took shape over the cold war years and was based primarily on military confrontation.

Instead, a new system of relations is to be established to ensure stability and security on the European continent.

In this situation it is of importance not to miss the historic chance and to supplement political detente by relaxation of tension in the military field in good time.

This task becomes increasingly pressing, and there are good prerequisites for accomplishing

it. The successful headway at the Vienna talks on reductions in conventional armed forces on the territory stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals is the main prerequisite.

At the same time there are misgivings that the results of the Vienna talks may lag behind the pace of reforms in Europe. This should not be allowed to happen.

It is known that the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty member-states, without waiting for the conclusion of the Vienna accords, are already taking steps towards unilateral cuts in their armed forces and towards making them structurally incapable of attack.

The withdrawal of troops and the elimination of bases on other people's territories are also of basic importance for the relaxation of tension in the military field.

We reaffirm the Soviet Union's commitment to the earlier declared stand - to work to secure the withdrawal of all foreign troops from other people's territories in Europe by 1995-1996 and the elimination of all military bases on foreign territories by the year 2000.

Since only Soviet troops are stationed in Warsaw Treaty countries outside the Soviet Union's national territory, the USSR is prepared, by arrangement with the allied countries, to withdraw or reduce Soviet troops in Warsaw Treaty countries after discussing practicalities connected with this.

The Soviet Union has already begun talks with Czechoslovakia and Hungary for the withdrawal of its troops from these countries.

There is every ground to expect that the talks will end in agreement on all aspects of troop withdrawal, including technical and social ones, and that Soviet soldiers and officers will be able to return home as quickly as possible.

Apart from these two countries, Soviet troops

in Europe are now also stationed in Poland and the German Democratic Republic.

If the government of the Republic of Poland expresses an appropriate desire, we could discuss with its representatives the question of Soviet troops in that country.

As far as the Western group of Soviet troops, stationed on the territory of the German Democratic Republic, is concerned, the Soviet Union is already unilaterally reducing its troops stationed there.

Further steps in this respect will be possible within the framework of accords at the Vienna talks where all aspects of cuts in conventional armed forces in Europe are under consideration.

Besides, the stationing of foreign troops in both the GDR and the Federal Republic of Germany is a special issue connected with the four powers' obligations arising from the outcome of the Second World War, and it may be tackled only with due regard for the security interests of all the states concerned.

Of course, the above-mentioned activities should be carried out with due regard for the established post-war realities in Europe, taking account of the interests of all-European stability and within the broad context of further evolution of the political situation in Europe and in the world as a whole.

PLATFORM OF CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

(Continued from page 58)

sion itself will stimulate the renewal of Party work.

We invite non-party people - all who are not indifferent to the Party's role under perestroika - to the discussion. Along with suggestions and proposals, we are prepared to consider alternative drafts. The combined intellect of the Party and the people is the powerful engine of perestroika.

Central Committee of the communist Party of the Soviet Union. □

The Judicial System in the USSR

price 60p from:
Soviet Booklets (SN),
3 Rosary Gardens
London SW7 4NW