

## Mikhail Gorbachev receives Jacques Delors

SOVIET President Mikhail Gorbachev received in the Kremlin on July 19 Jacques Delors, President of the Commission of the European Communities, who is in Moscow to discuss matters connected with the implementation of the recent agreement between the EC and the Soviet Union.

Given the declared aims of the visit, the EC leadership has serious intentions. Proceeding from this, Mikhail Gorbachev gave a frank evaluation of the situation and emphasised the importance that the Soviet Union attaches to co-operation with the European Communities.

The country has reached a phase that will determine a constructive channel for the powerful social movement that sprang into the open, like a huge spring compressed by the command-and-administrative system.

"It would be hard to imagine that a turn to new forms of life in a country like ours would be easy, as if calculated on a computer," Gorbachev said.

However, the Soviet President noted that the prevailing feeling among people now is that the transition period should be transversed more rapidly. There are two central points here — economic reform and the transformation of the union.

"I reject panicky assessments of our economic possibilities. The potential is inexhaustible. The situation, in which we have found ourselves, is the result of man's interests being neglected. Therefore the key moment now is economic freedom, the free choice of ownership, economic forms and, consequently, the market. Hence the need for relevant regulation structures — social protection, taxes, banks, exchanges, and so on," the President said.

He then said that "we need experience, specifically that can yield major positive results, as happened in the Common Market.

"We began studying it on our own, but it is better done in co-operation with EC representatives."

The President said that there existed two points of view. "One is that the more reserved the West is in economic relations with the Soviet Union, the faster it will have to reform.

"The other is that if foreign economic co-operation permits the Soviet Union to handle its resources with greater freedom, it will be able to go over to a new economic system faster and more resolutely.

"In the first case it will have to resort to old administrative levers of regulation, delaying transformations and making them more painful.

"The present moment is crucial. And this is why we need to feel straight away the real fruit of understanding that perestroika is not only our own business: it is everybody's concern, because it is in the interests of the whole world. For our part, we will keep improving our foreign economic legislation and accelerate measures to facilitate the transition to the convertible rouble," the President said.

Jacques Delors spoke in detail about the purpose of his visit. In August, he would like to prepare his report to the Council of Europe, containing an analysis of the Soviet economic and specific proposals for wide-scale co-operation.

He spoke about the development of the common market, which is to reach a new level in 1992 — economic union with a single currency and a high level political integration.

For all the difficulties and vicissitudes that made it extremely hard to convince people of the necessity for bold steps forward, success was eventually achieved due to the common awareness of the interdependence of the European and world economies and an understanding of the need for solidarity among member-countries.

At the same time Delors drew attention to the plans of parliaments of several Soviet constituent republics to introduce their own currency and added that it simply frightened him. This move is definitely at odds with healthy trends in the modern economy.

Gorbachev said that representatives of the Commission of the European Communities would have every opportunity to hold the widest possible discussions and get the information necessary to outline the more productive areas

and forms of economic co-operation with the USSR at a given moment, in the short and long term.

The issue of German unification was raised in the context of general European process and arms cuts in Europe. The two men stressed the importance of doing everything possible to allow the unification of Germany to help build a new Europe, rather than complicate the favourable, positive trends of recent years.

Both sides emphasised the importance of organically integrating the United States and Canada into the European Process.

Gorbachev recalled the negative role of CO-COM, which has lost most of its military importance and serves only as a tool in the struggle against competitors, hampering work to form a European economic area.

"Reducing the level of weapons, transforming military alliances, and creating new security structures are decisive prerequisites for building a new Europe," he said. "But without relevant institutes of economic, cultural, ecological, and information interaction it is useless to think about a new Europe. This is a long road. But we have made our choice and are ready to jointly fill it with new contents."

Gorbachev said it was very important, while maintaining the forceful process of change which promises a tremendous turn in the entire world's development and preventing it from causing calamities, to turn this process into a great common cause for all of Europe, for the benefit of the world community.

"It is the political dialogue that has set off positive processes in the world, leading us to a level of trust which made it possible to give them dynamics and the required stability. But the policy will begin to exhaust itself if it does not rely on adequate changes in economic co-operation and, eventually, on new human relations. All this is interdependent." □

### TASS on Delors visit to USSR

EUROPEAN Commission President Jacques Delors' visit to Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet leadership has, more than symbolic importance, as is evidenced by the results of his meetings and conversations with President Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders.

The EC President has serious intentions with regard to the implementation of the agreement on trade, commercial and economic co-operation, signed by the European Communities and the Soviet Union in December 1989.

The first team of EC experts is expected in Moscow next week to check on the state of and prospects for economic reform in the Soviet Union. More experts are due in the Soviet Union in August to study the more productive forms and areas of co-operation between the EC and the Soviet Union. As Delors told a news conference in Moscow on July 20, he plans to present his recommendations on economic co-operation with the USSR to the European Council not later than October.

The EC President openly declares his desire

to promote the success of Soviet perestroika. Judging by Delors' statements, he believes that the Soviet Union will move towards the market economy more rapidly and easy if it is actively integrated into the global economy. He said this integration did not mean EC aid to the Soviet Union, but mutually beneficial co-operation.

Of course, any relationship between the EC and the USSR would be impossible without perestroika or the West's moves towards establishing co-operation with the USSR. There is no doubt that Delors' visit to Moscow, the first in the history of the EC, was prepared by a whole series of international meetings, including talks in the US between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush, the NATO summit in London, the G-7 meeting in Houston, contacts between representatives of the Soviet Union, United States, and West European countries on the German issue, and so on.

These meetings prompted the West to think its positions viz-a-viz the Soviet Union, which opened the way to developing economic ties between the EC and the USSR.

It is significant that Delors views the EC-USSR agreement as a good basis for promoting  
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## Council of Federation and Presidential Council hold session

A JOINT session of the Council of the Federation and the Presidential Council at its meeting on July 20 discussed organisational measures for implementing the economic reform and the transfer to a market-oriented system, as well as the drawing up of a union treaty. The session, held in the Kremlin, was chaired by Mikhail Gorbachev.

Prime Minister Ryzhkov set forth the main principles of the programme of measures, worked out by the government, for the transfer of the country to the system of regulated market-oriented economy starting in 1991. The programme envisages the freedom of economic activities and enterprise, the development of a system of social protection of the population in conditions of market price-fixing, the ensurance of employment, the transfer of property from the state to other owners, the decentralisation of property, anti-monopoly measures, the development of competition on the commodities market and other measures. Participants in the session discussed in detail various aspects of the transfer to a market-oriented system.

Rafik Nishanov, Chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, gave a report on the working out of the union treaty. He pointed out that the concept of a union of sovereign states provides a good basis for reaching mutually acceptable agreements aimed at the democratisation of relations between the centre and the republics. A useful exchange of views was held about the concept of the union treaty, the character and time limits of its preparation.

Summing up the results of the discussion, Gorbachev stressed that the transfer to a

regulated market economy and the drawing up of the new union treaty were two sides of the same coin. It is necessary to work out as soon as possible the outlines of the new union treaty which will guarantee the sovereignty of republics. It is necessary not to disrupt the single economic organism, but, on the contrary, to create and consolidate the all-union market by joint efforts.

The difficulties the country is living through call for the speeding up of the advance towards a single market-oriented system, in which all component parts will complement each other. Separatist trends and the intentions for separate development and narrow independence can only make even more complicated the situation both in the republics and the country in general.

It is necessary to develop and consolidate horizontal ties, whose role will grow in new conditions, and to delegate consciously and voluntarily some functions to the central authority acting in the common interests of all republics. □



### Independent commission analyses market

RESULTS of the first session of the independent commission on evaluating alternative plans for the transfer to a market-orientated system were the topic of a press conference, held in Moscow on July 20 by its chairman Academician Abel Aganbegyan. The commission, set up on the decision of the government, consists of 24 people representing scientific, industrial and

agricultural circles, as well as official institutions.

According to Aganbegyan, the commission was assigned to analyse existing proposals and work out recommendations on their basis, for the government to take them into account in its programme for the creation of a market mechanism, which is now being revised. The commission is to present its conclusions by August 15.

The members of the commission will have to work hard, because they need to analyse numerous proposals and versions. After the first review it was decided to divide them into 13 groups. They deal with urgent measures for the stabilisation of the economy, the normalisation of the consumer market and social development, the creation of an enterprise system, the regulation of the economy by the state, the reform of the price-fixing system, the formation of a commodities market, a crediting and finance system, a securities market, the changing of the structure of the investment complex and technical development, agricultural and food problems, foreign economic relations and the convertibility of the rouble.

The relationship between the union and the republics is a major problem, which is relevant to all the above mentioned problems. Aganbegyan continued. Members of the commission will also analyse social and economic consequences of the transfer to a market-orientated system and will propose time of implementing the economic reform.

The commission will submit its report to the government before it puts forward its programme to the USSR supreme Soviet. At the same time, the public will also be familiarised with the report. The USSR Supreme Soviet and the President will make a final assessment of the commission's work, Aganbegyan pointed out. □

## Ryzhkov gives luncheon for EC Commission President

"FOR a long time, the centralised and managed administratively economy that was established in the Soviet Union was considered unable to cooperate constructively with the Western economy based on market relations. But the time has come and the restructuring of the pattern has begun," Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov said on July 19.

He was speaking at the luncheon given by the Soviet Government in honour of visiting President of the European Communities Commission Jacques Delors.

The Soviet economy's transition to market relations makes broad and effective co-

(continued from previous page)

operation with West European countries possible and lays a solid material foundation to the all-European process, the Soviet Prime Minister said.

the speedy integration of the Soviet Union into the world economy and expresses readiness to expand the agreement if the integration process requires it. The EC President thereby confirms the community's desire to adhere to the letter and spirit of the agreement on mutual recognition, which was signed exactly two years ago by the EC and the CMEA, on one side, and the EC and CMEA member countries on the other.

The steps by the EC and the Soviet Union towards each other, evidenced by the promising results of Delors talks in Moscow, testifies to the powerful process of change that is leading to the building of a common European home. □

operation with West European countries possible and lays a solid material foundation to the all-European process, the Soviet Prime Minister said.

"It is very important that you in Western Europe and we in the Soviet Union, following different roads, are approaching one truth — the growing interdependence of states eliminates the use of force as a political means and makes it necessary to observe the balance of interests and approach the existing problems from the point of view of co-operation, rather than rivalry," Ryzhkov said.

He noted that the Soviet Union understands that it will take time for it to enter fully the system of trade and economic ties that make up the main body of West European integration, but it will be a historic mistake to wait idly for such a moment.

The Soviet Union welcomed the decision of the Dublin meeting of the EC heads of state and government to hold consultations with the Soviet Government to render practical assistance to perestroika. It was interpreted here as a manifestation of good will and readiness of the European Communities to promote economic restructuring in the Soviet Union, Ryzhkov said.

Ryzhkov said negotiations with Delors inspire optimism about great potential opportunities of co-operation between the Soviet Union and the European Communities. The realisation of these opportunities will benefit the Soviet people and all peoples of Europe and the world, he said. □

## Ryzhkov receives senior executives of timber industry

SOVIET Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov received in the Kremlin on July 21 general directors of territorial production amalgamations and enterprises of the timber industry. They discussed in detail the issues connected with its development.

The USSR, which has the world's largest timber resources, is experiencing tremendous difficulties with the supply of timber and pulp-and-paper products. The situation with the supply of the population with furniture, wallpaper, sawn timber, wooden building structures and wooden houses is extremely serious.

Participants in the meeting pointed out that a low level of the commercial use of forests and the poor technical equipment of the timber industry are among the main reasons for it.

They came to the unanimous conclusion that it is necessary to begin soon the construction of two or three plants for the production of pulp-and-paper goods and to speed up the implementation of the government programme of increasing the output of furniture and other goods. □

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# Shevardnadze on results of Paris talks

"BY the time of the Paris ministerial meeting, important events have occurred, giving us grounds to be confident that agreement on the final settlement of the external aspects of German unity will be reached and dovetailed with the German reunification process," said Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

He attended the third foreign ministers' meeting under the two-plus-four formula, held in Paris on July 17. At a joint news conference at the close of the meeting of foreign ministers from the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain, France, East and West Germany, Shevardnadze said that "under consideration at the six ministers' meeting have been mutual understandings, which manifested themselves during the large-scale political dialogue among the four powers and two German states and which became possible as a result of far-reaching changes that began in the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, in NATO, and at the all-European level."

"One can say without exaggeration that a qualitatively new military and political situation is taking shape in Europe," Shevardnadze said.

"The situation makes it possible to consider the possibility of synchronising the internal and external aspects of German unity and terminating the responsibility of the four powers in tackling German reunification and granting full sovereignty to a future reunited Germany.

"Hence it follows that a reunited Germany as a sovereign state will itself determine which al-

liance it wants to belong to," the Soviet minister emphasised.

"The choice in favour of NATO posed a serious problem to us at a time when NATO stuck to its old positions. The forthcoming transformation of the bloc enabled us to take a different view of the changing NATO's role and place in Europe.

"I think the political statements by the leadership of West and East Germany that a future reunited Germany will have no weapons of mass destruction and that the Bundeswehr's numerical strength will be considerably reduced and that NATO military structures will not apply to East German territory accord with the interests of all European states.

"Together with the accord on the stationing of Soviet troops on the territory of Germany for a number of years, the above mentioned restrictions will operate as material guarantees of stability in Europe.

"There is also firm understanding of the fact that the Soviet Union and a reunited Germany will conclude a treaty under which the sides will not regard each other as adversaries, will not use force against each other, and will closely cooperate in the political, economic and other fields," the minister added.

"The Soviet Union expects that new all-European security structures and, first of all, a centre for the prevention and resolution of crisis situations, will emerge soon.

"This day will go down in history as the date when the question of Polish-German border has been finally decided upon," Shevardnadze stated. □

## Pravda attacks anti-semitism

WITH Jewish emigration reaching 100,000 people last year and prospects that it could double or triple this year, and rumours of forthcoming pogroms rocking major cities, there is no denial that the Jewish question is a problem in Soviet society, says *Pravda* in its issue of July 22.

It is high time to muster courage and try to analyse where the problem lies and what shall be done to tackle it, the newspaper says.

The revival of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union goes hand in hand with the emergence of several extremist anti-semitic groups, it says.

Pamyat and its sister organisations are whipping up anti-semitic hysteria to fight perestroika.

"A law-governed state must protect people of any nationality," *Pravda* says, calling for legal actions against those who incite anti-semitic propaganda.

Several magazines and newspapers have been openly anti-semitic in the past few months. For the first time in the history of the country, judo-

phobia has become popular among some intellectuals. This unprecedented "respectability" of anti-semitism is especially alarming, it writes.

This is an attempt to block the consolidation of Soviet society around perestroika and set one section of society against the other. All this prompts Jews to emigrate. The fear of pogroms is turning into panic, it says.

"The problem cannot and should not be solved through mass emigration. The Jewish question should be solved democratically in the Soviet Union. However, this should not impede natural assimilation, threaten Jewish culture or prevent Jews from going to Israel or any other state. Most importantly, Jewish cultural institutions should develop freely and democratically to satisfy natural ethnic requirements of Soviet Jews," *Pravda* says. □

## Nato chief praises results of talks of Moscow

NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner stated that his visit to Moscow and talks were confirmed his idea of peace.

In talks with journalists in Calgary, Woerner said he and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev discussed cuts in weapons and the armed forces.

"Talks on cuts in conventional arms will continue. Following the talks in Moscow, I am confident that we shall have the first result this year," he said.

At the same time Woerner emphasised that the need to maintain NATO will persist despite arms cuts. "Regardless of what happens in the Soviet Union or in the East, they will always have a substantial might. We need a counterbalance to avert the use of force," he said.

Woerner was the first NATO chief to visit Moscow. After visiting Moscow he flew to Calgary to open a NATO conference on reservists. □

## Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman on consular service

WORK to facilitate entry to and exit from the Soviet Union is closely connected with the democratisation of the country, Soviet Foreign Ministry Consular Department first deputy head Igor Khalevinsky told a briefing in Moscow on July 19.

Speaking about changes in the Soviet Consular Service's activities, he noted that its main task is to "ensure rapid and civilised communication between people." In this respect, the procedure to receive permission to enter or exit from the Soviet Union is being facilitated. Negotiations are being conducted with several countries to establish relations without visas, he said.

Laws on entry and exit, Soviet citizenship and regulations on the passport for foreign travels are being worked out. The laws will radically change the rules governing Soviet citizens' exits from the country, Khalevinsky said.

The main problem is the lack of hard currency for exchange, but it can be resolved together with general economic problems, including the convertibility of the rouble, he said.

Khalevinsky said 198 consular departments are now functioning abroad, and the number is growing. The honorary consul status has been restored. The first Soviet honorary consul works in Santa Cruz, Bolivia.

He said the number of Soviet citizens who visited other countries exceeded the number of foreigners who visited the Soviet Union for the first time ever, eight million and 7.75 million respectively.

Khalevinsky said the Consular Department is aware of and worried about the situation at control posts on the Soviet-Polish border, where a people have to wait to pass through border and customs regulations. In order to resolve the problem, 40 more customs officers have been sent there and control posts have been equipped with the most up-to-date control equipment. □

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# New Soviet Communist Party leaders appear on television

FOUR new members of the Soviet Communist Party leadership answered numerous questions, including angry ones, from television viewers during a direct call-in session on July 23.

The four – Deputy General Secretary Vladimir Ivashko, Politburo members Alexander Dzasokhov and Galina Semyonova and Central Committee Secretary Valentine Kuptsov – appeared on a new Soviet television programme *Who Is Who. Political Dialogue*.

They called on the country's diverse public forces to discard confrontation for the sake of dialogue, co-operation and mutual tolerance.

Ivashko, who is in charge of the Central Committee Secretariat and the Party's social and political activity, described as a great achievement the adoption by the 28th Party Congress of documents encouraging progress towards democracy and new relations among people. The task now was to turn these achievements of the Congress into tools in the hands of each Party member, Ivashko stressed.

Galina Semyonova described graphically what caused political passions to flare up. Society which had long been in slumber, she said, eventually awoke to troubles and shortages. It started protesting. Now the time has come to act constructively. The feelings hurt in the past must not lead new politicians to wrath, she warned,

because anger can hinder constructive decision making.

However, while conducting dialogue, the Party must define precisely what it views as unacceptable for our society, Vladimir Kuptsov said. He is in charge of relations between the Party Central Committee the public, political organisations and movements.

For instance, communists are radically opposed to the chauvinist right-wing of the Pamyat Society. The Communist Party will co-operate with all those who favours the socialist option. It is now establishing such contacts.

Alexander Dzasokhov, who will be responsible for ideological activity, said he viewed as ill-timed discussions relating to renaming the Party in connection with theoretical debates concerning the plausibility of the communist perspective. It is not the name but the Party's policy that matters, he said.

A discussion of this question at a point when the Party is under fire, can be viewed by some as the revision of its basic principles.

Ivashko said that the Party's renunciation of economic management functions should not be regarded as the rejection of the Party's active involvement in pursuing its social and economic policy.

In order to create pre-conditions for the successful implementation of its policy, he said, it is necessary to focus on making the new Party rules effective. □

## New newspapers for Moscow

THE Presidium of Mossoviet (Moscow's city council) decided to launch two daily newspapers – *The Kuranty* (Chimes) and the *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (Independent Newspaper).

The venture was prompted by the fact that the existing structure of publications devoted to life in Moscow fails to meet new requirements.

"We need publications which are new in character and style," said Oleg Orlov, the Chairman of the Mossoviet Commission for the Freedom of Speech, Mass Media and Public Organisations.

The two newspapers are not "organs of the Mossoviet" in the traditional sense of these words. The Mossoviet founds them, but relations between the founder and the editorial board will be determined by the rules of these publications in accordance with the law of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the press and other mass information organisations.

Another innovation is the establishment of the Moscow Echo radio station. In addition to the Mossoviet, its founders include Radio Association, the weekly *Ogonyok* and Moscow University's Department of Journalism. □

## Nikolai Ryzhkov meets American Vietnam veterans

On July 23 Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov received members of a visiting American delegation from the National Vietnam Veterans Coalition led by its President Thomas Burch, member of the US Supreme Court.

The American visitors spoke with respect about the present Soviet peaceful foreign policy and welcomed new changes in Soviet-American relations: the end of the cold war and transition from confrontation to trust, mutual understanding and co-operation.

The sides discussed assistance in releasing prisoners of war, including the release of Soviet soldiers captured by Afghan rebels.

Ryzhkov praised the humane trend in the activities of the American veterans' organisation and wished it success. □

# Soviet Premier holds talks with Indian Premier

SOVIET Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov and visiting Indian Prime Minister Vishwanath Pratap Singh held talks in the Kremlin on July 23.

Welcoming Singh, Nikolai Ryzhkov said the visit signified continuity in maintaining and extending the intensive Soviet-Indian dialogue at summit level, which sets the tone and rhythm for the entire complex mechanism of co-operation and interaction between the two coun-

tries in bilateral and international affairs.

For his part, Singh said the current Indian leadership adhered to the course of all-round development of time-tested relations of traditional friendship and mutually advantageous co-operation with the USSR.

During the negotiations a substantive discussion was held on the entire range of trade, economic, scientific and technological co-operation between the Soviet Union and India. Both sides noted the importance of furthering trade between the countries, primarily in machines and equipment.

The sides reaffirmed the mutual desire for further strengthening and diversifying ties, favoured a wider introduction of new forms of co-operation, such as co-production, joint ventures and direct ties between organisations and enterprises of two countries.

Setting out its foreign policy priorities, the Indian side drew attention to the efforts of the Singh Government to bring a constructive dialogue with neighbouring countries in South Asia and settling existing bilateral problems in the spirit of good-neighbourliness.

Ryzhkov noted that the Soviet Union appreciates the goodwill and efforts of India, aimed at improving the situation in South Asia and relations with its neighbours. He declared that the Soviet Union is opposed to any foreign interference in the internal affairs of India. The Soviet side expressed solidarity with India in its efforts to resolve the Kashmir problem with Pakistan through political and peaceful means, in accordance with the Simla Agreement.

The two prime ministers noted the great significance of Soviet-Indian political dialogue and spoke out in favour of continuing close contacts at summit level. □

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# SOVIET-INDIAN STATEMENT

*Here follows full text of the Soviet-Indian statement signed in Moscow on July 23:*

INDIAN and the Soviet Union solemnly reaffirm their mutual commitment to building a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world, in accordance with the principles of the Delhi Declaration, which reflects the aspirations of states and peoples in all continents.

The belief that war can no longer be an instrument of politics, that reliance on military strengths has no future and that today's imperative is peace through reason, is gaining ground in the international community. Rivalry between states is giving way to dialogue and interaction. The world is entering a post-confrontational period.

One of the most remarkable achievements of the USSR-US dialogue has been the impressive progress made in the field of nuclear disarmament. The process must be expanded with the participation of other nuclear-weapon states and deepened to move decisively towards a phased, time-bound elimination of nuclear weapons. Conferment of any form of sanctity on nuclear weapons is inadmissible. The agreements between the USSR and USA in principle to reduce other weapons of mass destruction and the progress made towards conventional disarmament has set the pace towards mutual understanding and co-operation. It is important that all states whether nuclear or non-nuclear, join in these efforts.

The favourable political changes that are under way in the world are opening new vistas for settling regional conflicts and crisis situations as well as for solving many other problems facing mankind.

The need of the hour is the establishment of a new structure of international economic relations based on the principles of justice and equal rights, which should create practical con-

ditions for a dignified and prosperous life for all. The diversion of resources from armament to development should become a major means of achieving this goal. The 'peace dividend' should become the lever for financial and economic revitalisation. Its potential for promoting national and international action for development needs to be maximised.

Mankind's future well-being is closely linked to solving demographic and environmental problems which are getting ever more acute. A fundamentally new framework should be established for universal co-operation of status in protecting the environment and developing the principles of environmental ethics. In doing so the organic link between environment and development and the principle of equitable burden sharing should be duly observed.

No single state or group of states, however powerful, can cope with these problems acting alone. The search for a comprehensive structure of peace and security – political, military, economic, environmental and humanitarian is a pressing task. Such a structure can be put in place only through joint efforts by East and West, North and South, taking into account the interests of each and every member of the international community. It should be forward looking, capable of meeting the challenges of the 21st Century and beyond.

This system cannot but be multilateralism under the United Nations which is the basis for conduction inter-state relations in a truly democratic manner and ensuring peace, security and co-operation with the full participation of all nations.

In our interdependent world, there are no separate destinies. Building of a common European home will obviously have its implications for the rest of the world. As the politics of balance of power is outmoded, there is no rationale for military blocs in Europe. Nor can they be maintained to deal with imagined threats.

Europe can be secure only when all other regions of our planet are also secure.

Positive trends are emerging on the continent of Asia as well. Inspired by their ancient heritage and learning from their political experience, the nations of Asia are seeking to attain qualitatively new levels in their relations with a view to achieving progress and prosperity.

Democratic temper is gaining ground in the world today. On the international plane, it is acknowledged that the key problems of our times can be solved only through multilateral co-operation. At the national level, people everywhere are asserting their human rights and fundamental freedoms. Democracy demands primacy of the rule of law and respect for the rights of individuals and ethnic, religious, and other minorities. It demands urgent attention to meeting the basic human needs. Democracy is, however, being threatened by the growth of racial and religious extremism, violence and terrorism and other forms of hatred. Non-violence, tolerance of social diversities, and a just internal economic and political order are integral to a stable and civilised international order.

More than at any other previous moment in recent history, mankind has the prospect of building a new structure of co-operation and brotherhood among nations and peoples. India and the Soviet Union are determined to contribute constructively and vigorously to the attainment of this goal. Towards this end they will utilise fully the proven potential of their multifaceted interaction in international and bilateral affairs, as a powerful factor in promoting peace and stability in Asia and the world.

V.P. Singh  
Prime Minister of  
the Republic of  
India

M. Gorbachev  
President of the  
Union of  
Soviet Socialist  
Republics

## TASS comments on President Bush's speech

*By Vladimir Chernyshev, TASS military affairs analyst:*

PRESIDENT George Bush told the American military at the launching ceremony of the new aircraft-carrier *George Washington* what they wanted to hear (in the opinion of the CBS TV company) most of all: aircraft-carriers are an indispensable weapon in US arsenals.

Statements by the President during his three-day trip across the western states which was devoted to the forthcoming elections, contained elements which can satisfy not only the American military but also those in the Soviet Union who criticised, at the 28th Communist Party Congress, the Soviet foreign and military policy based on new thinking.

At the same time his speech at the launching ceremony disappoints those in the USSR who insist on deeper cuts in the armed forces and armaments and who advocate the further reduction in military production on mutual conditions.

During his trip, Bush returned to the traditional theme of "peace from the position of strength" which had been absent in his speeches for a long time. Such a relapse is quite surprising.

It does not tally with ideas about the end of the cold war and about considerable improvement in Soviet-American relations and East-West relations as a whole.

Bush's statement that the United States should continue "the policy of confrontation" also evokes concern.

The following question comes to one's mind involuntarily: were statements by the United States and NATO that they do not see an enemy in the Soviet Union any more and extend it a hand of friendship and co-operation sincere?

Facts show that the United States continue to give priority to the production of military means in order to gain dominance over the Soviet Union. The US key thesis says that US security necessitates military supremacy by the improvement of nuclear and conventional technologies.

Top priority is given to the production of the

third generation of nuclear weapons, space-based ABM systems under the SDI programme and new ultra-precise systems of conventional weapons.

Far from cutting its military presence in the world, Washington seeks to consolidate the grip on bases situated on foreign territories (Greece, the Philippines, and so on).

The United States tries to conclude new agreements to use foreign territories to support operations of its navy (talks with Singapore).

The above shows that there is a gap between the West's declarations and real deeds.

The US Administration and NATO leaders have not yet understood that security needs deep cuts and not modernisation of weapons and that it is necessary to make radical changes in strategy to strengthen stability and not to achieve superiority. □

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## 28th CONGRESS:

# It was a Congress of working delegates

*THE recent, 28th, Congress of the Soviet Communist Party elected an entirely new Politburo. Out of its 24 members only two served before: General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and his deputy Vladimir Ivashko. Central Committee Secretary Yegor Stroyev is a new man to this leading body. At Novosti's request, he describes the Congress results and speaks his mind on Party democratisation.*

To begin with, I would like to stress that the 28th Communist Party Congress was a congress where progressive forces triumphed. By these forces I mean social and political currents of different colouring that, in spite of certain differences in their views, approaches and tactics, are at one in the main thing: Soviet society and the Party are in need of restructuring.

I would call this a unifying idea which ran through the entire Congress from beginning to end.

On the other hand, the Party Congress was a kind of university offering a course of instruction both for delegates in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses and for communists and non-party people outside it. The forum gave a lesson in self-education and helped to assess correctly the actual state of affairs in the Party and country.

The high water mark of the forum was the speech made by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev summing up the discussion of the Central Committee's Political Report.

In it Gorbachev openly stated his personal vision and understanding of current processes. He clearly distanced himself from those sticking to the old ways, to dogmatic views including those on the nature and importance of the Congress, those attacking at perestroika.

His main idea was that if perestroika is to be blamed, it is only for it not being carried out resolutely and consistently enough. That, incidentally, hinges on leading personnel both at the centre and in the localities.

The personnel issue was, in my view, central to what took place at the Congress, the key to understanding it.

For the first time a large number of Party and other functionaries took part in its proceedings. This initially suggested the idea of a congress of

partocracy, leading to conclusions that it was a forum of conservative hardliners.

Moreover, it was even argued that if a delegate was a Party official he was bound to be a conservative. But the discussions which often assumed uncivilised forms made many think and change their positions.

A distinctive feature of the Congress was that it met not only in full sessions. The main efforts were made in working groups, commissions, and document-drafting panels.

This suggests that the 28th Party Congress was not a forum of sitting and voting delegates, but of working and thinking ones.

Following the mandate from the rank-and-file communists delegates worked hard to find ways of achieving the ultimate goal – that of preserving the Party, renovating it, increasing its prestige and including it its rules provisions making it possible to transform the Party.

What was remarkable was that this work was done under the slogan of ensuring the primacy of the Party rank and file, of primary branches. I think this was achieved with the adoption of the new rules.

Party organisations now enjoy extensive powers not only in admitting new members and expelling some old ones, but also in determining the political situation locally, in drawing up – on their own, without any diktat from above – approaches and decisions.

At the same time, Party branches have been made more responsible for the political climate in a work collective or within their precincts.

And for the first time, I think, conditions have been created for independent policies to be pursued by communist parties of the union republics. In the general spirit of Party policy, but taking local features into account, they can now adopt their own key and statutory documents. They also have more scope for independent work than regional committees.

I think it was the first congress of the Party's radical democratisation, a congress of its restructuring, a congress wishing to consolidate forces, but on a new basis – through dialogue, alliance and contacts with all social movements – up to and including establishment of coalitions of democratic forces.

What is to come next? I believe democratisation of the Party and its restructuring ought to begin with an overhaul of its personnel policy.

The Congress spelled it out for the first time

that leading cadres would no longer be appointed from above, but elected by Party members themselves. And that means it is necessary to win the confidence of people among whom you work, among communists. It is necessary to prove by deeds one's loyalty to the people's interests.

The Congress stressed that gifted and talented people have come to the political stage in the course of perestroika. They differ greatly from old cadres in their logic, their keen perception of social processes, and their novel approaches.

New people have come from the midst of workers and farmers, from intellectuals.

At the first plenum of the new Central Committee it was said that Party top echelons must not break ties with the working class. If the Party keeps in close touch with the workers, farmers and progressive intellectuals, it will live for ever and be needed.

Meanwhile, such a break has become evident of late and given rise to workers' and farmers' movements.

It was not accidental that the General Secretary, after the Central Committee plenum, said that communists now, like populists of the 1870s, should mix with the people, helping them specifically to resolve burning issues. People must feel that their pain finds a ready response in communist hearts, including those of communist functionaries. If we sense this pain and start acting, we will no longer look conservative.

As for the notion 'conservative' itself, I think it is becoming common following the 28th Communist Party Congress. No one who attended the Congress includes himself or herself among such, however.

This is a sign that Soviet society and the Party have shifted much to the left, especially following the Party Congress, although there are also forces bent on the old methods, wishing to command, to return to the former administrative system, to clamp down, and allocate things.

Their presence is natural. It takes time. Perhaps a whole generation will be required before we learn to work in the new way, all the more so since daily difficulties encountered by people create the illusion that if a strong arm is resorted to, all problems can be resolved at once.

We have been using this strong arm for 70 years, but have not solved many problems. It means we should ponder, abandon our old habits, and formulate a new political approach. Only this way can be advance perestroika. □

## Soviet Parliament appeals to Baltic nations

FIFTY years ago the supreme representative bodies of state power, elected by the working people, declared Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia Soviet Socialist Republics and decided to join the USSR, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet said in an address to the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, which was distributed in Moscow on July 20.

The peoples, who were neighbours for centuries, tied themselves with bonds of co-operation and union.

"The entry by the Baltic peoples into the So-

viet Union," the document points out, "occurred at a dramatic time when the Second World War had already been raging for one year and most of Europe had been conquered by fascism. The working people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia went through the horrors of occupation, the cruelty of Nazism and its predecessors. Victory in the great Patriotic War was won at the cost of great sacrifice and due to the joint effort of all peoples of the country."

The address points out that perestroika, started five years ago, was achieved through much suffering by the entire country and every nation.

"For the first time we have the chance to build our joint co-existence, in a democratic and

good-neighbourly way, so that every nation can take full advantage of the benefits of co-operation, integration, and stable security." These goals are quite feasible. There are no insoluble problems on the road to them as long as we remember that perestroika is not only a frontier, from which one can look backwards, but also a height giving a better view of the future.

Responsibility and common sense are called upon to help us make the right choice by coupling the free national development with the advantages of equal participation in the union of sovereign socialist states, the road to which is opened by the forthcoming signing of a new treaty of the union, the address says. □



# Politburo of Soviet Communist Party Central Committee: new faces

By Vyacheslav Kostikov, *Novosti* political analyst

THE political storm at the 28th Communist Party Congress has swept the old team from the captain's bridge of the Soviet Communist Party. Out of 24 former Politburo members only two have joined the new cohort: General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and his deputy Vladimir Ivashko, number two in the Party hierarchy.

The abrupt political fall of Yegor Ligachev, all the more impressive because nothing presaged it in the course of the Congress, remains a sensation. Sometimes the impression was that on the conservative tide of the first phase of the Congress he might rise not only to high position but even claim the post of General Secretary for himself.

The downfall of Ligachev (he was not even included in the Central Committee and is in fact out of a job now) is notable not only for its own sake, as the end of an era in the life of the Soviet Communist Party, an era of dogmatic conservatism. Precisely the scale on which conservatives were defeated at the Congress enabled the General Secretary to form an entirely new team.

The fundamentally new approach to forming that higher body of Party power is notable. There is not a single minister in its composition. The absence of three once indispensable figures is particularly striking. Neither Premier Nikolai Ryzhkov, Defence Secretary Dmitri Yazov, nor KGB chief Vladimir Kryuchkov were included into the Politburo.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that these top men of Soviet politics have been eclipsed or fallen into disgrace. Their dropping from the Politburo was prompted not by the General Secretary's sympathies or antipathies, but by major changes made in Soviet domestic policy. It is the first significant proof of actual separation of Party and government power in

the country. Democratic public opinion has long been pressing for such a separation.

Moreover, the absence of Yazov and Kryuchkov suggest an additional motive. Gorbachev could not but respond, especially in the light of the latest events in Eastern Europe, to the growing demands by political reformers to curb the influence of the Army and the KGB in shaping the country's domestic and foreign policy. The manifest pro-conservative stance of Army delegates to the 28th Congress, I think, played a role in the adoption of that decision. Television viewers who watched the proceedings could not fail to notice that the "military" benches at the Congress most loudly applauded Ligachev and heckled and jeered Alexander Yakovlev, seen as a Party reformer.

Photographers had no need for retouching pictures of new Politburo leaders when preparing them for the press. The general of "Party elders" has departed. Gorbachev's new Party team is composed of a generation of 50-year-olds, which will, of course, make the Party's policy more dynamic.

All of them are people with higher education, which distinguishes them favourably from, for example, Leonid Brezhnev's team.

The new Politburo contains a number of figures who are unlikely to catch and repeat every word of the leader. Many of them, in their ascent to the higher Party pedestal, may be credited with winning the right to their personal views and I think will be able to uphold them if need be.

Not claiming to give an exhaustive list of such figures, I would call among them Yuri Prokofiev, the leader of the influential Moscow Party organisation, Ivan Frolov, one of the leading ideologists of perestroika, former editor of the journal *Voprosy Filosofii* (Problems of Philosophy) and now editor-in-chief of *Pravda*, or Pyotr Luchinsky, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Moldavia.

Gennadi Yanayev, leader of Soviet trade unions, acquired a substantial and sufficiently independent influence recently. And although some analysts believe that he owes his rise to the populist tide amidst the working people, his voice in defence of their social guarantees became one of the new phenomena in Soviet political life.

Mention must also be made of the controversial figure of Ivan Polozkov. An almost unknown Party functionary from Krasnodar territory, he gained weight in certain Party circles thanks to his sharp criticism of Gorbachev from conservative positions. At the recent Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of Russia, Polozkov was voted its leader.

It is not difficult to see that his position in the Politburo will be very ambiguous. However, the latest speeches by Polozkov have shown that he is capable of correcting his line and is very flexible as a politician.

And the last and perhaps the most important brush stroke in the portrait of the new Politburo. It now comprises first secretaries of all the 15 union republics. It is easy to see that leaders of republican parties will have to concentrate first on ethnic issues, which are highly explosive. Also, all of them are new to the corridors of Moscow politics and lack well-established ties and connections in the Central Committee's Secretariat.

To sum up, Gorbachev, triumphantly elected General Secretary at the Congress and getting a deputy of his own choice, is the unchallenged master-mind in the Politburo. Over the more than five years of perestroika he had to manoeuvre amidst different political trends, agree to compromises, and make concessions, above all, to former conservative members of the Politburo. Gorbachev's policy is only now becoming his own. □

## Why are the military worried?

By Pavel Antonov,  
*Novosti* commentator

"HOW have the delegates to the 28th Congress evaluated the foreign-policy performance of the Party leadership over the past period?" I addressed this question to the chief of the CPSU Central Committee's International Department, People's Deputy of the USSR Valentin Falin.

According to Falin, if one is to take the main, dominant views rather than particulars, an overwhelming majority of the Congress delegates have evaluated the performance of the Central Committee in the field of foreign policy as correct and productive, based on the principles of new political thinking.

"This policy must be continued more vigorously than before" — such is the conclusion in Falin's opinion that should be drawn from the discussion at the Congress. He thinks, however, that the statement of this fact does not close the subject. Both during the debates and in the work of the sections delegates criticised the way foreign policy is implemented and emphasised the dangers lying in wait on this path. Thereby, the representatives of different regions conveyed to the Congress the fairly wide-spread and, according to Falin, well-justified concern over the fact that the West does not always reckon with the

interests of the Soviet Union.

"It is understandable," said Falin, "that the primary reason for this concern is the problems associated with the re-unification of Germany. There are also problems with the drafting of decisions on disarmament. The main question here is whether we can be assured or not that the re-unification of Germany will not detract from the security of the Soviet Union. Will it be as reliable as it has been before the changes in the Warsaw Treaty.

Valentin Falin believes that to answer these questions it is necessary to decide first whether the reciprocal concessions of the USSR and the US in the drafting of fundamental arms control agreements are commensurate or not. In his opinion, these concessions are balanced enough, although one can also understand the apprehensions of the Congress delegates, and of the communists and broad popular masses standing behind them.

This is because all too often the conclusions on the lack of balance are drawn on the basis of figures alone. For example, under the INF Treaty the USSR will scrap more weapons systems than the Americans. This, said Falin, is due to the insufficiency of information both in society at large and among communists in particular on the material aspects of the disarmament process and negotiations. The important thing is not the number which is being destroyed but the number that remains on each side.

In the past, insists Falin, things were said here

which did not really exist. There was a vacuum of honest, objective information which must be filled now.

I told Falin that I had just returned from Czechoslovakia from where I had followed the proceedings of the Congress. Looking from there, one gets the impression that to a large extent the fear is being built up by the military who are well informed and know the real state of affairs but, being conservative, are juggling with figures and creating the impression that someone is planning to attack the USSR.

"May I ask you a reciprocal question," said Falin, "who threatens the United States? Why is it keeping up to 60,000 targets in the Soviet Union and in East European countries in its sights under the latest comprehensive operations plan?"

"One can understand our generals," said Falin. "After all, they are dealing with a concrete matter: weapons. So, if the other side who has been hanging onto these weapons for decades and experiences difficulties when the situation leads to the release of at least some of them, the Soviet generals quite understandably develop certain complexes associated with the disinclination to stop the development of military technology.

Besides, says Falin, in today's world the military are concerned in general over their future. The power factor in politics and power politics itself have been strongly devalued recently. The

(continued on next page)



# Prompted by life

*GENERAL of the Army Mikhail Moiseyev, Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, gave the following interview to a Novosti special correspondent:*

**NOVOSTI: As Chief of the General Staff you are responsible for the training of the Soviet Armed Forces. Are you not worried by a possible decline in standards when the number of large-scale Army exercises is being reduced due to international accords?**

**MOISEYEV:** Combat training is a key ingredient of Army readiness, a factor directly making for the ability of the Armed Forces to discharge its mission. Until recently the main criterion here has been the number and scale of large Army and Navy exercises. To a certain extent this was explained by the fact that large exercises sort of summed up the operational and combat training of troops, crowning the efforts put by officers and generals into raising the military preparedness of their units.

However, developments today put new tasks before us and are making us review long-held views on the operational and combat training of troops and staff.

In line with our defensive doctrine, we have cut by 30 per cent large-scale operational and combat training exercises. A lot of attention is being paid to the quality of mission fulfilment in

## Norwegian delegation received at USSR Foreign Ministry

SOVIET Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovsky received on July 20 a Norwegian delegation led by K. Eide, State Secretary of the Prime Minister's Office.

They discussed ways for the improvement of the ecological situation in northern Europe and in the Baltic region. The sides stressed the need the multilateral subregional co-operation in the protection of the environment, and for maintaining a continuous dialogue on this problem.

They also discussed prospects of the intensification of the ecological component in the process started by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), as well as the preparation for a UN conference on environment and development scheduled for 1992. □

*(continued from previous page)*

military profession is losing its future and even its present. Ordinary people are coming to wonder what is the need for all those armies and weapons if there is to be no "shooting", implying nuclear weapons above all?

They can't and don't want to understand that nuclear weapons have played a very significant role in the universal realisation of the fact that mankind is not immortal but very mortal indeed if it behaves stupidly. In the past, war was a continuation of politics, but these days politics has often been a hostage of war. They have kind of swapped places. One of the sad truths of our time is: "politics is made in the labs where weapons are forged". This must never be allowed to happen.

Yes, there should be no future for the military, Valentin Falin said in conclusion. This does not mean, however, that they already have no present either. Such is the reality both in life and at the Congress of the CPSU.

*(Novosti July 11. In full).*

defensive battle. This approach fits in with the present-day requirements and meets international security standards.

Another point I want to make is that operational and combat training of the Soviet Armed Forces has always been rich in the variety of forms and methods used. Today we are able to maintain the efficiency of training. At the operational level more attention is being paid to command and staff military games and exercises, and to staff practices involving the use of computers.

All these forms of training are today at a qualitatively new level. Commanders in the operational echelons have more leeway in training their troops and staffs and have been made more responsible for the quality of combat training.

At lower levels – in companies, batteries, battalions and regiments – where combat training is translated into life the focus of attention is one individual training of soldiers and combat interaction between units, on full utilisation of time devoted to training, and on more intensive study as a whole.

To be sure, training in the Armed Forces is not all plain sailing, it has its difficulties and problems. This is due, above all, to the withdrawal of our forces from Eastern Europe and Mongolia. For units being pulled out, training is made difficult because a lot of time and energy is taken up by redeployment of forces.

But that is a temporary development and we hope that in 1991 regular training in these units will be resumed in full.

**The principle of undivided authority in the Armed Forces forms the foundation of organisation, discipline and quick execution of orders at all Army levels. Will not this principle suffer when the Armed Forces of the USSR are democratised?**

The process of democratisation in the Army and Navy is coming much to the fore as perestroika proceeds. New democratic structures are now rapidly springing up: permanent certifying commissions, officers' assemblies, Komsomol councils and others. Servicemen have grown markedly more politically active in recent years.

Democratisation presupposes sensible social attitudes guaranteed by fulfilment by the serviceman – be he a soldier or a general – of his duties. The principle of undivided authority ensures the personal responsibility of both leaders and their subordinates.

Unity of command in the Armed Forces is the paramount principle of military leadership. Democratisation of the Army and Navy, and the legal status gained by existing democratic structures will help to fill this principle with a new content, raising the prestige of the commander and his authority.

It is common knowledge that discipline and order are the supreme guarantors of democracy. They are also central to organisation, discipline and subordination at all levels of Army life.

It is difficult to imagine the functioning of any Army body without observing these requirements, which, anyway, are typical of armed forces in all countries.

For this reason today's Army practice relies more and more on the ability of a military leader to combine democratisation in the Army and Navy with unity of command. I see no contradiction in this because democratisation and undivided authority do not contradict each other. They are closely interconnected dialectically.

**What do you think of the non-commissioned officers (sergeants, petty and warrant officers) in the Soviet Armed Forces? Do they meet the present-day requirements?**

The importance of highly trained non-commissioned officers is hard to overestimate.

They are first instructors of soldiers and help officers in training and education. They are the main force in maintaining statutory order and military discipline in units and on ships.

This is why most attention has been and is being paid to the training of such officers. They are those professionals who make a real soldier out of a conscript.

Unfortunately, it ought to be said bluntly that they do not yet enjoy proper prestige. This is due to shortcomings in their professional training, their low role, their use at jobs outside their sphere, and not always high moral qualities.

Today's level of weapons technology, high responsibility for mission fulfilment, and complexities involved set rigid professional requirements to non-commissioned officers.

It would, therefore, be wrong to think that all problems are now solved, and sergeants and petty and warrant officers have professional and moral standards fully in keeping with the requirements of the day. We still have a lot to do here.

To give non-commissioned officers a new quality we have worked out a package of measures to raise the professional standards of such officers, enhance their prestige and improve their living standards.

Psychological selection and testing of would-be non-commissioned officers are now widespread and greater requests are set to their individual training.

Some units of the Navy and air borne troops will try out by way of experiment a new form of service – service by contract.

We are doing everything to raise the role of training units in the overall preparation of troops, to improve the quality of their manning and provide them with material and technical supplies.

**Will the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces be restructured in view of the Army reductions and adoption of the defensive doctrine?**

Changes in the Army and Navy that are part of a profound military reform to create a new look for the armed forces are all linked with changes and improvements in the structure of the general staff.

It is not ruled out that with new tasks appearing some departments of the General Staff will have their functions redefined, and their structures updated. What is more, it has been decided, after the Vienna talks on European troops reductions, to substantially cut back the personnel in central control bodies, including the General Staff.

We may well set up new structural units. But the main thing is that all these changes are not an end in itself but realities prompted by life and aimed first of all at making the General Staff more effective and improving the entire command system of the Armed Forces.

*(Transcribed by Major-General Yuri Lebedev, Novosti political analyst).*

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