

## Mikhail Gorbachev addresses Lenin anniversary meeting

PRESIDENT Mikhail Gorbachev addressed a meeting in Moscow on April 20 dedicated to the 120th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilych Lenin, leader of the October Revolution and founder of the Soviet State.

Noting that the 120th anniversary of Lenin's birth coincided with a crucial period of perestroika, when Lenin and Leninism often come under criticism, he stressed that "defence of Lenin is not god worshipping. By defending Lenin, we pay tribute to everything created by generations of Soviet people; uphold our present quests and our socialist future."

Recalling that the "revolution and socialism, according to Lenin, are the living offspring of people's endeavour," Gorbachev pointed out that we now realise with particular clarity and are endeavouring to implement this fundamental Leninist concept in conditions when perestroika has awakened Soviet society.

"If we review soberly everything Lenin did during the last years of his life, everything he wrote, criticised, opposed and insisted upon, if we get to the bottom of all this, we shall probably arrive at the conclusion that he was trying to find a new concept of socialism," Gorbachev stressed.

"It was actually a revolution within a revolution, and this revolution was probably not less thorough than the October Revolution. Particularly important is the fact that it was a peaceful revolution, paving the way to gradual self-reformation of society on socialist lines."

This idea of Lenin's is a directive to us, because the tasks he sought to resolve during his last years and our perestroika are similar as regards scope, character and frame of thought. "This is exactly why we turned to Lenin's latest works when we planned and launched perestroika."

"A renovated and reformed Communist Party must operate in the new society, towards which

we are advancing through perestroika," Gorbachev said. But today "it is not enough to merely restore Lenin's norms for intra-Party life. The restructuring of all our country's life is a much more multi-faceted task. Society needs a vanguard socialist party, which will use only democratic methods in conditions of glasnost, in conditions of a law-governed state and political pluralism."

Relying on Lenin's spiritual legacy and assimilating the latest achievements of science on man and society, this renovated Communist Party will seek its own answers to various problems and to the challenges of our epoch.

"Our society has no sound alternative to socialist perestroika. The latter is a difficult, but inevitable road out of the existing difficulties and onto the road of real progress. We will not be able to traverse this road without Lenin's legacy, enriched by the experience and lessons of our contemporary history and the history of the entire world," Gorbachev said. □

## Presidential spokesman on Lithuania

PRESIDENTIAL spokesman Arkadi Maslennikov said that the Lithuanian leaders should "substitute political realism for political daring." They should "return to the path of law," he said, "how it can be done – by repealing unlawful decisions or by freezing them – is their own business."

Maslennikov was commenting on the situation in Lithuania at a regular briefing for journalists in Moscow on April 23. He said that talks between Moscow and Vilnius "are possible only on the basis of the USSR Constitution."

"To proclaim political independence and to become independent in the economic field are different things," he stressed. Lithuania fully depends on centralised supplies of cotton, oil, gas, metal and fodder for its live-stock breeding and 50 per cent of grain and other commodities are supplied from the same stocks, the presidential spokesman said.

He said that allegations of "an economic war,

a blockade of Lithuania" were not consistent with facts.

Asked if the Soviet Union will agree to Lithuania's independent imports of oil from other countries, Maslennikov said: "Lithuania remains an integral part of the Soviet Union, and matters relating to imports into the Soviet Union are decided in the centre. This is not a question of payment but a question of sovereignty."

The spokesman told the journalists about last week's joint session of the Presidential Council and the Council of the Federation. The session stressed the need to accelerate economic reform in the country, to make it more radical.

The session voiced dissatisfaction, Maslennikov said, with the way the four-month-old government programme to stabilise the market and deepen economic reform was being implemented. The session decided it was advisable to move up the reform deadline by 12 to 18 months.

The joint session did not discuss a new government programme but only its concept, Maslennikov stressed. He said "the President would be happy if the government produced the draft programme in May."

The government is expected to submit a package of 15 to 18 economic projects for consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Maslennikov rejected press allegations that the Soviet Union "intends to take a leap into the unknown by resorting to a shock therapy." Any transformations, including price reform, will be provided with in-built mechanisms to guarantee social protection of low- and medium income sections of the population, he said.

"Nineteen-ninety is due to become the year of stabilisation of the market, and 1991 – the year of the beginning of reform," Maslennikov said.

"The stabilisation is meant to withdraw excessive money by issuing stock shares, selling immovables, construction materials and bonds with fairly high interest rate. It is planned to

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## Soviet President's new appointments

PRESIDENT Mikhail Gorbachev appointed Boris Panyukov to be the USSR Minister of Civil Aviation and Igor Denisov to be the USSR Health Minister.

Panyukov is 60 years old. Upon graduating from Yegoryevsk Air School, he worked as an aircraft technician, then continued his studies and graduated from Leningrad Academy of Civil Aviation in 1959.

From 1962 to 1968 Panyukov worked at first as deputy head of airport and then director of the airport and deputy commander of the Mineralnye Vody Joint Air Transportation Organisation in the Northern Caucasus.

In 1968 he became the Aeroflot representative in Budapest. Later on he was the director of airport, deputy commander and commander of the Vnukovo Joint Air Transportation Organisation near Moscow.

From 1972 to 1979 Panyukov was a member of the Collegium and head of the Traffic Organising Department of the Ministry of Civil Aviation and then Deputy Minister of Civil Aviation. Recently he was the First Deputy Minister of Civil Aviation.

Igor Denisov is 49 years old. In 1964 he graduated from the Kuibyshev Medical Institute. He completed a surgical training and post-graduate course at the same institute. Later on he became the Pro-Rector of this educational centre and from 1983 – Rector of the Ryazan Medical Institute.

Denisov is a surgeon and has been engaged in clinical practice for almost a quarter of a century.

He is the author of more than 100 scientific works. Since 1987 he has been working at the USSR Health Ministry – at first as head of the main department for educational establishments and then deputy and first deputy minister. He was in charge of medical science, the training of personnel, health planning and economics, and foreign relations in this field. □

(Moscow, April 18)

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# Gorbachev speaks at Presidential Council session

*The following is a report by the Presidential Press Service issued on April 19:*

A JOINT session of the Federation Council and the Presidential Council of the USSR, chaired by President Mikhail Gorbachev today in the Kremlin, continued discussing ways to switch over to a regulated market economy.

Summarising the discussion, President Gorbachev said:

The discussion has left us satisfied. I believe it allowed us to realistically assess the situation in the country and ways to reform the economy, and to form a clear idea of the prospects for work.

I fully agree with those who said in their addresses that we were discussing the crucial question of our development. The thing in question is the greatest turn since the October Revolution.

This is why the transition to the regulated market must be planned more thoroughly and result in drawing up a specific programme. This transition is not easy, it will affect the situation of various sectors of the population. This should be seriously thought over, care must be taken of dependable social guarantees comprehensible to the people.

But let us ask ourselves: can we leave the present economic situation as it is? We all agree that it is impossible to remain where we are and not advance along the road of radicalising economic reform.

Our concept of transition to the regulated market economy is fully consistent with the choice made, and with the advancement towards a humane, democratic socialism. It is important to realise that in putting forth this concept we are not changing the direction of our development. But we do seek to develop and deepen the understanding of socialism and dramatically change many of our ideas about socialist society.

We must not procrastinate and hesitate. But we must be fully aware of the following. On the path towards a market economy we shall have to pass through several stages, having thoroughly considered all the consequences of the steps we are taking in this direction and having worked out a reliable mechanism of social protection of the population, especially its low-income sectors.

Planning the acceleration of economic reform, we must take into account the actual state of our society. The reform programme can hope for success only if it is supported by millions of Soviet people and meets their interest.

In this connection, it is necessary to take into account moral and psychological factors. For decades, Soviet people were told that the solution of all problems depends on their superiors,

above all the supreme authorities. Responsibility was invested in the country's leadership for everything – from lack of sufficient housing to the lack of nails in a local shop. Other phenomena closely linked to this, are the striving for universal levelling, lack of initiative and parasitism, which are reflected in our people's mentality.

It is necessary to take into account the federative structure of our state, deep regional differences in the economy and the social sphere. The standard of living and interests of the population do not always coincide.

It would be wrong, however, to pay attention only to factors which hamper planned reform. Our country possesses immense economic potential, a wealth of natural resources, able and educated people, and well-developed science. All this creates a basis for success.

In working out the programme for deepening economic reform, we must seriously think over the mechanism of its realisation, work out a clear-cut system of managing the whole programme and its separate components.

For this, due conclusions should be drawn from the government's failure to execute measures approved by the Second Congress of People's Deputies, and care should be taken to ensure a deeper theoretical substantiation of measures planned. We must hold counsel with scientists, economic managers, representatives of republics and local authorities. In short, we need serious preparatory work, and a clear understanding of stages of the forthcoming

transition to a market economy.

It is necessary to advance along the entire front: we must be persistent in implementing land reform, decide the problem of training and re-training personnel and take into account changes in society's psychological climate.

We must fulfil all that is planned for this year to stabilise the economy, especially the consumer market, including anti-inflationary measures, and cut the state budget deficit.

Parallel with this it is necessary to take care of legal provisions – including the working out of legislation and other documents to create a favourable legal environment for the implementation of measures planned.

And last, but not least – we cannot solve the problems facing us without consolidating all forces interested in perestroika. It is not a formal unification. Through consultations with work collectives, representatives of various sectors of our society, trade unions and other public organisations and with scientists we must obtain additional fresh ideas which will help to finalise this crucial programme.

There is much to be done: government measures to stabilise the economy are to be implemented, the programme of transition to a market economy is to be finalised, a package of regulatory enactments, presidential decrees and government ordinances is to be drawn up and adopted and their implementation is to begin. We must concentrate all intellectual and political forces on, and draw attention of all working people to this main direction. □

## Moscow urges constitutional settlement in Lithuania

“THE first stage of the 21st Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party, which ended on Saturday, is of special importance both for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and for the Lithuanian Communist Party,” Andrei Girenko, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, told a news conference in Vilnius on April 22.

“This stage,” he said, “marked the conclusion of the period of self-determination of communists in the republic after the split.”

Girenko is in Vilnius in connection with the forum of republican pro-union communists. They decided to continue as part of the Soviet Communist Party after the split in December 1989, in which the other part led by Algirdas Brazauskas favoured the immediate secession from the Soviet Union.

The question of secession became the central issue of contention between the two parties. Unlike Brazauskas's party, Mikolas Burakiavicius, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, told the news conference, we consider that a comprehensive development of the Lithuanian Socialist Republic is possible within the framework of the renewed Soviet federation.

He spoke about the results of the first stage of the congress which elected the Secretariat and the 17-strong Bureau of the Central Committee. Burakiavicius was elected First Secretary of the Central Committee, Vladislav Shved was elected Second Secretary.

The Congress decided to change the party's name to CPL-CPSU (Communist Party of Lithuania-Communist Party of the Soviet

Union). “As we continue to share the CPSU's positions, as we did before the split, we have decided to retain the appellation the Communist Party of Lithuania,” Burakiavicius said. “Let the reorganised party of Brazauskas look for a new name for itself.”

As regards the division of property between the two communist parties, Girenko noted that it was a matter for the two parties to decide between themselves. As far as their relations with the Soviet Communist Party are concerned, he went on to say, “we shall treat these parties in accordance with the nature of their activities.”

Girenko said it had not yet been decided whether the party led by Brazauskas should be invited to the 28th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party as it was not yet clear if any delegations would be invited to the Congress.

He described the situation in the republic as complex and noted that it resulted from ill-considered actions by the new Lithuanian leadership. He rejected claims that Moscow's recent measures to revise its economic relations with Lithuania were an economic blockade. “Cuts in supplies of oil and gas cover only a small part of the production that was supplied and continues to be supplied to Lithuania,” he stressed.

Asked if the introduction of direct presidential rule was possible in Lithuania, Girenko noted that the Soviet leadership and the country's President were showing restraint in their actions counting that “there are forces in the republic that understand the situation realistically and are leading the process towards a constitutional settlement.”

Girenko stressed that the conflict between Moscow and Vilnius could end in deadlock only if the republican government refused to reconsider its positions. □

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## Lithuanian Parliament's response to Gorbachev

By Tass correspondent Kazis Uscila:

THE Lithuanian Parliament on April 18 passed a resolution 'On the Development of Relations Between the Lithuanian Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics' and adopted a response to President Gorbachev's and Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov's April 13 message.

The resolution reiterated the Lithuanian Parliament's adherence to the legislative acts, adopted on March 11, and its "desire to consistently seek the establishment of the independence of the Lithuanian Republic."

The resolution emphasised that "solutions, acceptable to both the Soviet Union and Lithuania, can be found only through dialogue."

The Parliament decided "not to pass new political legislative acts during preliminary parliamentary consultations between Lithuania and the USSR, should they be started, until May 1."

It urged the Soviet Union to "renounce the use of violence, including economic, against the

Lithuanian Republic and its citizens and to start consultations on negotiations with an authorised delegation of the Lithuanian Republic."

The resolution called on "the economic organisations of Lithuania and its citizens to be ready for the strict economy of all resources and for spiritual tenacity."

The response to the Soviet leaders' message said: "We received specific information about future sanctions yesterday, but we cannot add much to the April 16, 1990 statement of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian Republic.

"We can only regret the positions and methods of the USSR. For our part, we are ready, as before, to discuss any issues, taking into account all legitimate strategic interests of the USSR and its citizens."

The message also reiterated the Parliament's readiness "not to pass new political legislative acts during preliminary parliamentary consultations, should they be started, until May 1."

Deputies heard information about the drafting of a bill 'On Employment of the Lithuanian Population' and replies by government members to their questions. They also considered some other issues. □

## Izvestia on economic consequences of secession moves

"IF Latvia secedes from the Soviet Union, many ties will be broken off and accordingly many Latvian businesses will come to a standstill independently of the will of the sides, by virtue of inevitable objective circumstances," Otto Lacis, a prominent Soviet economist, maintains.

In an article published in the April 18 edition of *Izvestia*, he points out that the trade pattern of Latvia's exchanges with the Russian Federation and with other republics is such that a switchover in mutual settlements from Soviet wholesale prices to world ones and from roubles to dollars would result in great losses for the Baltic region for a long period ahead.

It is raw materials, for the most part, that are now supplied from the east to the Baltic region while processed products are delivered from the Baltic region to the east. In the event of Latvia's withdrawal from the Soviet Union, 90 dollars will have to be paid for one tonne of oil instead of the present 30 roubles.

## Soviet-Cuban trade will continue to grow, says Leonid Abalkin

SOVIET-CUBAN trade this year will grow by eight per cent to top nine billion roubles, with Soviet aid to Cuba remaining at last year's level, Soviet Deputy Premier Leonid Abalkin told a news conference in Havana on April 19.

He led the Soviet delegation to the 20th meeting of the Bilateral Intergovernmental Commission on Co-operation in Economic, Scientific and Technological Fields, which was held in Havana.

Abalkin identified international tourism, joint ventures, joint capital investments, and medical projects among basically new and promising areas of co-operation.

"The quality of oil depends little on the efforts of those who extract it," the article says. "The quality of Soviet (including Baltic-made) machines and instruments so far rarely attain current world market requirements.

"Siberia will easily get more money for its oil at prices higher than the current domestic ones. If Latvia asks full world price in dollars for its electronic equipment, a Russian factory's reply will be: at such prices we can purchase Japanese goods. Either you lower the price or we do not buy your goods."

"If Latvia withdraws from the Soviet Union, Latvian residents would restructure their economy," Lacis writes. "But what will be the cost of it and will it be easier to do outside the union than together with the union? A transition is said to take probably three to five years and even ten. And what if the process would take 20 years? How many thousands of unemployed would there be in those years?"

Lacis believes that advocates of Latvia's secession from the Soviet Union do not provide an answer, backed up by convincing calculations, to these vitally important questions. □

"If both sides show sufficiently serious and balanced approaches as well as statesmanship in their traditionally friendly relationship, it will be possible, in my opinion, to broaden our business contacts substantially in the coming five years," the Deputy Premier stressed.

Commenting on the commission's work, he said: "We were very critical and self-critical when analysing the results of the past five years. We noted a number of actions that complicated our relationship and prevented, for example, the fulfilment of our mutual obligations last year.

"But we agreed not to repeat the mistakes of the past," Abalkin added. □

## Pravda: New socialism – new ideology

RENEWED socialism needs a genuine ideology of renewal, *Pravda* said in an editorial on April 20.

The draft platform of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party for the 28th Party Congress presents the Party view on socialism, a law-governed state and civil society.

The Central Committee has reaffirmed its faithfulness to the creative spirit of the materialistic outlook and dialectics of Marx, Engels and Lenin, it said.

Socialist renewal is unthinkable without relying on the Soviet and world history and common human values.

The ideology of renewal is unthinkable without a bold comparison of varying viewpoints and careful consideration of every constructive idea, it said.

This will enable the consolidation of healthy forces in the Party that want to see a united and strong organisation at the forthcoming Party Congress, it said.

"The very logic of political fighting, and not apparatchiks' fantasy, as many imagine, has put before us the need to dissociate ourselves from those who oppose the socialist way of our society's development, reject the fundamental ideological, theoretical and organisational foundations of the Party and undermine the unity of the Soviet Communist Party," *Pravda* stressed.

This has been clearly and bluntly stated in the Central Committee's open letter 'For Consolidation on a Principled Basis'.

Unfortunately, attempts are being made to distort its meaning and content and publicised the idea that the Central Committee is calling on the Party to get rid of independent-minded people.

This is additional evidence of the fact that certain forces in the Party are pursuing their own, mercenary aims. Dissociation from these forces is imminent and in the interests of the future of the Party, it said.

The Central Committee letter manifesting the ideology of renewal by no means impedes a broad, free and constructive discussion. On the contrary, it gives a new impulse to a business-like and frank exchange of opinions in the Party, the editorial concluded. □

## Soviet Government cuts off oil to Lithuania

Here follows official TASS information distributed in Moscow on April 19:

In light of the situation in Lithuania, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov felt it necessary to make a statement to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers on April 13 on the inevitability of changes in the character of economic relations with the republic in the current situation. Unfortunately, Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene in her telegram of April 16 gave no constructive answers to any proposals, contained in the statement.

Taking into account that the Lithuanian leadership has taken no measures to rescind its illegal acts concerning the introduction of discriminatory Lithuanian citizens' certificates, the property of the USSR and the USSR law on general military service, instructions were made to cut oil supplies and also to scale down gas supplies to the republic to the amount necessary to guarantee communal and domestic use.

The Soviet Government is waiting for specific answers to questions posed in the message of the Soviet President and Prime Minister as they are directly connected with Soviet citizens' rights and interests. □

# Soviet-Chinese talks

## FIRST ROUND

VISITING Chinese Premier Li Peng began talks with Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov in the Kremlin on April 23. They discussed the entire range of Soviet-Chinese relations.

Ryzhkov described Li's visit as a "landmark in the development of relations between the two countries after Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with Chinese leaders in Beijing last May."

The Chinese Premier said China considers the Soviet-Chinese summit as an "historic event which gave a dynamic boost to bilateral relations in the political, economic, scientific, cultural and other fields."

During the talks, the sides noted considerable progress in the economic, scientific and technical co-operation which, they said, helped strengthen the traditional friendship between

the peoples of the two countries and fulfil their economic plans.

Ryzhkov and Li Peng paid special attention to prospects for the development of trade, economic, scientific and technical relations, outlined in a long-term co-operation programme, planned to be signed during this visit.

The heads of government discussed ways to increase the efficiency of Soviet-Chinese economic co-operation. They said a new level of economic relations could be achieved not only by increasing the traditional trade exchanges but also by diversifying economic ties and invigorating direct, including frontier, ties.

Ryzhkov and Li Peng pointed to the importance of linking more closely achievements of the economic reforms in both countries with efforts to improve bilateral co-operation.

They said there were considerable reserves for developing Soviet-Chinese cultural and humanitarian relations and expressed interest in

increasing the number of specialists, trainees and students exchanged by the two countries.

The heads of government expressed satisfaction with the course of bilateral talks on mutual reductions in the two countries' armed forces and on confidence-building measures in the military sphere along the Soviet-Chinese border, which began last year.

The sides said the consolidation of the arrangements achieved and subsequent practical steps to implement them "will have a beneficial effect on efforts to strengthen good-neighbourly relations between the two countries and will promote stronger peace in the Asia-Pacific region and throughout the world."

The sides pointed to the large amount of work carried out by the two countries' governmental delegations to settle border issues. They agreed to continue the discussion of this problem.

The talks, held in a constructive and friendly atmosphere, will continue. □

## Time for closer Soviet-Chinese links, Premier Ryzhkov says

SOVIET-CHINESE relations are based on mutual respect for each other's interests, complete equality and non-interference in each other's domestic affairs, Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov said at a Kremlin dinner for visiting Chinese counterpart Li Peng and his wife on April 23.

The co-operation of the two great nations is by no means directed against third parties, he added.

Ryzhkov noted a nascent new atmosphere of goodwill and trust in relations between the Soviet Union and China, which, he said, keep broadening. The political dialogue is deepening and become stable, he said, pointing, among other things, to resumed contacts between the Soviet and Chinese communists parties.

Ryzhkov agreed with Li Peng's recent statement that the time has come for faster progress in Soviet-Chinese relations, saying that Li Peng's statement was received in the USSR with much interest.

The long-term programme for economic, scientific and technological co-operation between the two countries, which is to be signed in Moscow during Li Peng's visit, will, in Ryzhkov's words, help advance in this direction.

Turning to international politics, the Prime Minister said that the USSR and China hold similar positions on the issue of no first use of nuclear weapons and support abolishing nuclear arms altogether, not using force in international affairs, removing troops from foreign territories, dismantling bases outside national borders, and settling regional conflicts by political means.

Among steps to the credit of the Soviet Union

and China, Ryzhkov noted unilateral cuts by both countries in their armed forces and armaments.

Ryzhkov noted the mutual interest of the two nations in fostering an atmosphere of trust and gradually creating a system of relationships that would make it pointless to use force against one another.

He pointed to the understanding between the Soviet Union and China to reduce armed forces and build trust along the Soviet-China border as a specific example of such moves.

Ryzhkov stressed the growing responsibility of all states for maintaining international peace, adding, however, that a special responsibility is borne by the larger powers, including the USSR and China.

He expressed confidence that the Chinese premier's visit will greatly contribute to strengthening good-neighbourly relations and co-operation between the two countries in the interest of their people, peace and progress in Asia and throughout the world. □

## Novosti organise business seminar with British firms

NOVOSTI Press Agency in co-operation with the British firms Charles Barker International Connections, Coopers and Lybrand have organised the Third East European Investment Seminar. The event will take place at the Hotel Pribaltiskaya, Leningrad on June 6-9.

The seminar follows the success of the First and Second East European Investment Seminars which were held in Hungary. The seminar will provide detailed information concerning joint ventures and business in the USSR. The lectures are tailored for businessmen searching for practical, in-depth information on doing business with the USSR.

The key topics will be: Economic reform and new opportunities for foreign investors in the USSR; The convertibility of the rouble; Free economic zones in the Soviet Union; Crediting and financing; Licencing, legal and customs regulations and control, today and tomorrow; The role of the consultant in joint venture mediation; Bookkeeping, accounting and administration in the Soviet Union. In addition, West European businessmen will speak about their experience in opening joint ventures in the USSR. □

## Soviet Union and Hungary switch to hard currency in trade

By Akyzbek Saliev, TASS correspondent in Budapest

AFTER some tough bargaining, the Soviet Union and Hungary have agreed to trade in hard currency at world prices starting from next year.

Under a new protocol on trade turnover and payments for 1990, signed recently in Moscow, and previous agreements, trade turnover will reach 7.6 billion roubles. Hungarian exports will amount to 3.7 billion roubles and imports to 3.9 billion roubles.

The new move will end a period of relative calm for Hungarian producers and rob them of guaranteed orders provided through inter-governmental agreements. It is expected to trigger new closures and unemployment, the Hungarian press say.

Raw materials and fuel will continue to form the lion's share of Soviet exports to Hungary.

The Soviet decision to maintain its oil and energy exports at last year's level met with a positive response in the country.

Recently, Hungary bought 200,000 tonnes of Iranian oil for hard currency at a price higher than what the Soviet Union normally charges.

Y. Betlen, one of the developers of the Democratic Forum's economic programme, said that any economic integration is good for Hungary. □

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## Eduard Shevardnadze meets Afghan Foreign Minister

ON APRIL 19 Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze received Afghan Foreign Minister Abdol Wakil, who had made a stop over in Moscow on his way to New York.

The conversation, marked by a frank, friendly atmosphere, involved a substantial exchange of views on a political settlement in Afghanistan, as well as several aspects of bilateral Soviet-Afghan relations.

The ministers stressed, in particular, that the Afghan settlement process is entering a very responsible and decisive stage. As consensus grows worldwide in favour of political means of settling Afghan problems, priority importance is attached to achieving agreements on starting an intra-Afghan dialogue between all sides. This would be followed by general democratic and free elections in Afghanistan, under international supervision, in order to form a broad-based government. In this context, the importance of a range of Soviet-Afghan initiatives that laid the groundwork for the transition from war to peace was noted.

Shevardnadze specially pointed to the importance of the role the United Nations and its Secretary General are destined to play in accordance with the resolution of the 44th session of the UN General Assembly and because of this world body's participation in settling other regional conflicts, including Namibia.

Wakil dwelt on the Afghan leadership's measures aimed at normalising the political situation in the country in the context of the national reconciliation policy. The Afghan Foreign Minister also noted that in the complex conditions of continuing war the Afghan Government led by President Najibullah consistently gave priority to peaceful means in the settlement of intra-Afghan differences.

When discussing ways of developing multi-lateral Soviet-Afghan co-operation, the ministers noted that it is fully geared to facilitating the process of political settlement, to developing political and economic pluralism in Afghanistan. On behalf of the Afghan leadership, Wakil expressed profound gratitude for the Soviet Union's political, moral and other aid at a crucial stage of its historical development. □

## Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman on German unification

"THE Soviet Union is ready to develop co-operation with the German Democratic Republic on the basis of mutual confidence, equality and respect for each others' interest," Vadim Perfilyev, Soviet Foreign Ministry

spokesman said at a briefing on April 19.

"An important role is being assigned to the current friendly dialogue with that country's leadership on a broad range of issues, part of which was the Soviet Ambassador's talk in Berlin on April 17 with the Prime Minister of the GDR Lothar de Maiziere," Perfilyev said. German unification was discussed.

"The Soviet Union raises no obstacles to the solution of the practical issues of unification of the two German states and creation of conditions for their economic, social and cultural unity. But in solving the German problem it is necessary to find optimal decisions that would lend a new quality to the situation both in Germany and in Europe as a whole. One cannot but see the interrelationship between internal and external factors of the unification process which in its development should not impair the interests and legitimate rights of other countries.

The German problem has not only "an internal dimension. It is also inseparable linked with a whole number of external aspects that affect the interests of a broad circle of states," Perfilyev said.

Speaking of the Soviet stand concerning a united Germany's membership of NATO, Perfilyev said that "it was unacceptable to us and nothing can be changed here by reservations on the GDR territory's temporary or permanent exclusion from the NATO sphere."

Germany's foreign policy status and the future of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty concern all parties to these organisations," he said. The establishment of an all-European security system is now the main task, the USSR believes. "A transition from the present-day system of two alliances, to collective security structures is the way which presents broad possibilities for a search," Perfilyev added.

"The Soviet Union's stand is, as before, that the Second World War should be finally terminated with the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and that it should be elaborated within the framework of the 'two plus four' negotiations, with the two German states' most active participation in the wording of its provisions." □

## Rogachev on Soviet policy in Asian-Pacific region

"THE Soviet Union has improved, restored or established relations with the overwhelming majority of states in the Asian-Pacific region since President Gorbachev outlined in Vladivostok four years ago Soviet policy in the region," Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev said in an interview with the newspaper *Rabochaya Tribuna* which was published on April 20.

The process of military detente is continuing in the region. The Soviet Union has withdrawn all its troops from Afghanistan and is reducing its armed forces in the Far East. Measures are being taken to reduce the Soviet military presence in Vietnam. But, according to Rogachev, the Soviet side is troubled that no mechanism to discuss security problems in the Asian-Pacific region has so far been established, as has been done in Europe.

Rogachev believes Soviet-Japanese relations are improving too. Political dialogue between the two countries has become permanent and inter-parliamentary relations are more active. The sides have agreed to start negotiations on a peace treaty, the absence of which is a political anomaly of the post-war years. "The Soviet side regards the irrational view of Japanese official circles that politics and economics are indivisible as an obstacle to the further improvement of Soviet-Japanese relations," Rogachev said. "This makes impossible full-scale bilateral co-operation if 'territorial problems' are not settled," he noted.

Rogachev regards the normalisation of Sino-Soviet relations as a most important achievement in Asian-Pacific politics. This year's most important event for both countries is the forthcoming visit to the USSR of Prime Minister Li Peng. Rogachev expressed hope that talks on the reduction of armed forces and the strengthening of confidence-building measures on the Soviet-Chinese border will herald multilateral talks on the reduction of military confrontation in the entire region.

Rogachev noted the growing tendency towards better Soviet relations with members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). He also stressed the need to promote commercial and economic relations with South Korea for the purpose of integrating the Soviet Union into the international division of labour in the Far East. □

(Continued from page 133)

curtail the uncontrolled growth of individual incomes, which increased by 14 per cent over the first three months of 1990, while the national income remained where it was or even decreased."

As regards the possibility of using the reform experience amassed in East European countries, including Poland, Maslennikov noted it was useful to study foreign experience, but it is useless to try and "copy it mechanically." Political and social realities in this country must be taken into account, including such a product of the administrative system as social dependence. "It is necessary to get rid of it, but it is not good sense and even dangerous to ignore it," the presidential spokesman said.

Commenting on the Presidential decree concerning the regulation of meetings and rallies in the centre of Moscow, the spokesman noted that restrictions of this kind exist in many countries, for instance in Britain. □

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# Confidence-building measures in Europe and naval activities

By Y. Fedorov, Candidate of History

THE rapid and substantial changes in Europe are making more and more urgent the search for new Europe-wide security structures. The indispensable condition here is, among other things, successful conclusion of the current Vienna talks designed to devise a system of confidence- and security-building measures. That would greatly add to the openness, and predictability of military activities, reduce the risk of a surprise attack and diminish suspicion and confrontation. In other words, such measures must provide one of the supporting structures for the entire future security system on the continent.

What is worrying, however, is that the talks are making very slow progress. One of the main reasons is differences on whether the measures considered should embrace the activities of naval forces or not. The Soviet Union is insisting that they should, while NATO countries categorically reject it. The natural question arises: isn't the Soviet position too rigid, a kind of relapse to old political thinking, not aimed at constructive solutions to disputed issues? To find the answer it is necessary to look at both the legal and military aspects of the matter.

In international law the Soviet line is quite justified. The basis for talks on confidence- and

security-building measures in Europe was laid down by a document adopted in Vienna in January 1989. It stresses that these talks "will be conducted in accordance with the Madrid mandate." The latter in turn openly says: "confidence- and security-building measures shall embrace the whole of Europe, and also the adjoining maritime area and air space ... As for the adjoining maritime area and air space, measures shall be applied to the military activities of all participating countries taking place there every time when these activities affect the security of Europe and constitute part of such activities taking place within the boundaries of the whole of Europe." Consequently, the formula adopted in Madrid by all CSCE countries raises the question: do naval activities affect the security of Europe or not?

Military and political circles in NATO and countries belonging to it adhere to the opinion that the main threat to security in Europe is connected with ground armed forces. It is they that can defeat enemy forces, seize and hold enemy territory, that is, win a military victory in the classical sense of that notion. Naval forces are designed to protect communications and for some other operations which cannot play the decisive role in the outcome of a possible conflict on the European continent. These statements are true, but only partly. They fail to take into account several fundamentally important circumstances.

To begin with, the West's military political thinking, in our view, is now tending to adopt the generally correct idea that victory in a mo-

dern war can also be achieved if the communications and control system of one of the sides is knocked out, if its transport centres, airfields, and major political and administrative and military centres are put out of action. Indeed, in this case the state really loses its ability to conduct effective military operations. But such targets, if not fully then at least to a considerable extent, can be hit by carrier aircraft and sea-based cruise missiles able to carry both nuclear and non-nuclear warheads. I'd like to stress that American *Tomahawk* SLCMs in nuclear configuration, being in neutral waters, can cover Soviet territory up to the Urals. It will be recalled that the US alone has some 1,300 aircraft based on aircraft-carriers, and is planning to deploy up to 4,000 nuclear- and conventional-tipped SLCMs. We cannot but be worried that these 'forward-based' weapons can replace the medium-range missiles being destroyed under the INF Treaty.

It is obvious that the naval forces can also protect communications. But it is equally obvious that modern naval fleets can be relatively rapidly massed in some or other parts of the world oceans, including, of course, off the European coasts. Lastly, amphibious forces and marines can solve major independent missions in the course of operations on the land.

All these circumstances are a convincing proof that naval activities in maritime areas adjoining Europe affect security on the continent most directly, and consequently, must be included in confidence-building measures. Indeed, how could the Soviet Union assess a possible concentration of US warships in some or other zone not far from its coasts to carry out large-scale exercises, preparations for which are known to be practically indistinguishable from preparations for and conduct of combat operations? But this is only one side of the coin.

It is important to stress the other side too. Creation of all-European security structures vitally needed by states of this continent is impossible without mutual trust. The Soviet Union has taken quite a number of steps aimed at removing the anxiety of the Western countries and is working towards eliminating its advantages in ground armaments. But Moscow has the right to expect that NATO countries too will eliminate from their military policy and military planning those elements that are giving rise to concern in the Soviet Union, including those connected with the preponderance of naval forces in the Western countries. The West's agreement to extend confidence-building measures to naval activities would show its readiness to implement the idea that genuine security in a mutually dependent world can only be achieved through a balance of interests of all sides. □

## German unification: NATO should seek compromise

By Vladimir Markov, *Novosti diplomatic correspondent*

THE Soviet Union is against a unified Germany being a member of NATO. The Soviet Union again says that Germany's full membership in the North Atlantic Alliance is unacceptable to the Soviet side. This was said by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at a regular news briefing for Soviet journalists.

The Soviet minister spoke of NATO's reaction to his recent suggestion that in the interim period, with a new European security system not yet created, a united Germany should retain 'dual membership' in the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and in NATO. Although NATO officials reject such 'membership', Eduard Shevardnadze believes that "the idea has the right to exist." He links it to the rate of unification of East and West Germany.

"If the process is relatively slow, the dual membership idea is quite feasible," said the minister.

This brought him to comment on the present and future of the Warsaw Treaty. Contrary to widespread views that the Warsaw Treaty had 'collapsed', none of its member-countries had backed out of its obligations. What is more, all foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty countries at their latest meeting agreed that the Treaty should be updated, by instituting the post of Warsaw Treaty Secretary-General, a permanent secretariat, new expert groups, and so on. Full

equality exists between the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries.

"The Warsaw Treaty does exist and operate," stressed Shevardnadze. "If NATO continues to exist, so will the Warsaw Treaty. But they will have to change."

The Soviet Foreign Minister then spoke of a coming NATO meeting on German unification. In his view, it reflects the natural desire of NATO countries to exchange opinions on one of the central issues of current world history, especially since there are different approaches to the problem. Since the Soviet Union rejects all Germany's full NATO membership, Eduard Shevardnadze does not preclude that participants "will have to seek a compromise solution."

To be sure, continued the minister, no meetings, even those within both alliances, can replace the 'two plus four' mechanism.

"All external aspects of German unity will be decided by the six," noted Shevardnadze. He expressed regret that slow progress is being made in drafting the agenda for such talks and arranging the meeting of the six foreign ministers. The Soviet side expects that with the new East German Government formed, the 'two plus four' mechanism will be activated.

As Shevardnadze said, the Soviet Union attaches much importance to using its close economic and other ties with East Germany to develop positive and extensive links with a future unified Germany. Fruitful mutually advantageous co-operation with all Germany would be in the USSR's national interests, stressed the minister. □

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# Lenin: a multi-party system in the Soviet state

By Andrei Sorokin (Institute of Marxism-Leninism at the CPSU Central Committee)

THE question of the role and place of the Communist Party in a pluralist society holds a central place in current discussions in the USSR. Interest in the relevant ideas of Lenin, founder of Soviet statehood, is, therefore, understandable.

It is suggested, among other things, that Lenin was not in principle opposed to a multi-party system. Indeed, immediately after the revolution, a number of political parties had their representatives in the highest bodies of state authority – both at the centre (the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasant Deputies) and locally. Among the members of the Soviet Government (Council of People's Commissars in 1917-1918) were representatives of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries and other parties. But the basis for a compromise offered by the Bolsheviks to the other parties when the latter entered the ruling bodies was recognition by them of Soviet power and that social transformations, which were being carried out in that period and very quickly outgrew the general democratic stage, entering the period of accelerated essentially socialist (as they were then visualised) reforms. In my view, such a policy did not provide a solid and long-term base for a compromise with the other parties, even if Socialist-oriented ones, which viewed socialist transformations in the conditions of Russia as premature.

Under these circumstances, those parties were supposed to give up their programmatic objectives and actually lose their own 'face'. If one does not forget the Marxist provision that the economic interests of different social strata find an expression and materialisation in the political sphere, then renunciation by the then existing

parties in Russia of their own programme principles would, in fact, mean giving up the desire to express the interests of the major social groups. This would thus mean subordinating the interests of some sections of society to those of others, not coordinating, through a political compromise, the interests of different strata of society.

Was such a road possible and realistic? On a long-term basis, it was not. It was not by chance that even the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries soon broke off their allied relations with the Bolsheviks. It must be admitted that the Bolsheviks overestimated the possibilities of any one party (in this instance, the party of the working class) to express and to reproduce in their own political line the real interests of a majority of the country's total population.

The changeover to the New Economic Policy (NEP) actually recognised the existence of contradictory interests within society. Recognition of the constructive role of commodity-money relations and the market in the Soviet economy after 1921 was bound to lead to the activation and revival of non-communist parties. At the Tenth Party Congress, which marked the beginning of NEP, Lenin said that "Every emergence of the Kulaks and the development of petty-bourgeois relations evidently give rise to corresponding political parties ... The choice before us is not whether or not to allow these parties to grow – they are inevitably engendered by petty-bourgeois economic relations. The only choice before us, and a limited one at that, is between the forms of concentration and co-ordination of these parties' activities." (Vol.32, P.230 *Lenin's Collective Works*).

It seems that Lenin is about to take yet another step and recognise the objective need of a multi-party system as a form of the political forces' "concentration". He emphasises then

and there, however, that the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries (the Russian socialist parties of less radical orientation than the Bolshevik Party) should be allowed to tackle a real job only in economic matters, in the co-operatives, provided there is "systematic influence and control" over them by the communists.

One should bear in mind the preceding long-standing experience of the acute political struggle between the left socialist parties themselves. There were more irreconcilability and bitterness than a desire for compromises. Moreover, the concept for the dictatorship of the proletariat as a state of the transition period from capitalism to socialism, which Lenin adhered to, also included the idea that the proletarian party is bound to be domineering in that period.

In the concluding years of his political activity, however, Lenin kept on persistently thinking of changing the political system of the Soviet State. In this connection, it is worth mentioning the draft plans for an article *A Publicist's Notes* (early 1922/1923), where Lenin more than once turns to the point: "The Mensheviks and their legalisation". It seems to me that an inevitable step by Lenin as a political leader was eventually supposed to be recognition of the legitimacy of expressing the real interests of different sections of society in the political sphere, too, that is. Recognition of other political parties. Unfortunately, Lenin's time was running out, and his intense theoretical search, which found an expression in his concluding works of the end of 1922 and the beginning of 1923 remained unfinished on a number of points.

The absence of representation in the political sphere of the interests of the different social strata (in the first place, the peasants), and lack of their political and, as a result, legal protection eventually predetermined in many respects the short duration of the New Economic Policy and the relative ease with which it was phased out. □

## Third session of USSR Supreme Soviet

THE Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities, the two chambers of the Soviet Parliament, adopted a law on aids preventive measures which provide for legal protection to patients and virus carriers.

The bill says that compulsory examination for aids virus is possible only with a procurator's permission. It also defines the responsibility of medical workers and other officials for divulging information about aids patients, as well as responsibility, including criminal responsibility, for infection of patients with the aids virus as a result of disregard for hygienic rules by medical personnel.

Recent reports about mass infection of children with aids virus by medical personnel who did not sterilise instruments properly, was a real shock for the entire country.

The Council of the Union and Council of Nationalities also passed a decision to set up a government anti-aids commission led by a deputy prime minister.

The two houses of the USSR Supreme Soviet also approved a new tax bill.

As distinct from the law in force, which is actually based on egalitarian principles of taxation, the submitted bill envisages progressive taxes.

They will grow sharply when earnings exceed 1,500 roubles. This will mainly affect businessmen. The tax on incomes exceeding 3,000 roubles a month may reach 60 per cent (the average salary in the Soviet Union is 200 roubles).

The bill was presented by a member of the Budget-Planning Commission Viktor Gubarev who emphasised that the bill was designed to limit incomes gained not by intensive work but as a result of shortages on the consumer market.

At the same time, the law improves the position of low-income families. The minimum sum exempt from taxes will grow from 70 to 100 roubles a month. Taxes will be smaller for earnings up to 150 roubles and will remain practically unchanged for earnings up to 700 roubles.

Taxation privileges will be granted to families with many children, war veterans, students and other groups of the population.

Both chambers also approved a bill abolishing the tax on unmarried and single people, as well as childless families. It was formerly paid by men aged from 20 to 50 who had no children and by married women aged from 20 to 45. This law, adopted during the Second World War, brought many complaints from taxpayers. The bill provides for its stage-by-stage abolition up to January 1st, 1993.

The two chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet will consider the second hearing of a bill of taxation of enterprises, and a bill on the languages of the peoples of the USSR at their separate meetings on April 24. □

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# Spellbound by spectacular advances

V. Postyshev, Candidate of Science (Law), member of the International Institute of Space Law

WHAT is happening to Soviet space research programmes? Why have we become the hostage of our own advantages in this field for the umpteenth time?

The first thing that strikes one is the catastrophic imbalance of the social interests concentrated in space research. According to UN data, over 75 per cent of the USSR's space budget is spent for military purposes. Isn't this the reason why we don't see very often the favourable results of space research for our daily needs?

The idea of service sales in the field of launching space objects in order to obtain hard currency, which is almost 20 years old, was rejected for the reasons of protecting state secrets. In 1985, the Soviet Union did emerge on the international space market, offering for sale an array of rockets. But it was too late and the market situation had changed by that time. In the early 70s we could have had a monopoly in this sphere. At present, the US, France, China and India have highly efficient carrier rockets of their own, and it is very difficult to compete with them.

The idea of a commercial global system of satellite communications, INTELSAT, is even older. The USSR decided to create an alternative system, Intersputnik. In the final count, INTELSAT united more than 120 countries and Intersputnik only 14. The American company COMSAT derives huge profits by playing the key role in INTELSAT. The financial side of Intersputnik's activities is never made public. It is safe to assume that economic interests were sacrificed for foreign policy interests, which, by the way, are being cardinally revised.

Since the mid-70s the Soviet Union has been actively co-operating with other CMEA countries in space-based Earth studies. Corresponding programmes are in the competence of the State Committee for Science and Technology. They are mostly of a scientific character. The tendency towards making this department of cosmonautics a commercial enterprise, which is gaining momentum, is beyond the field of vision. As a consequence of this, last year Hungary granted the right to sell pictures taken with the help of satellites on its market to the French firm Spotimage. Other East European countries also increasingly orient themselves to Western sources of space information. What is even worse, a convention on long-distance sounding of the Earth, which was concluded in 1978 on the initiative of the USSR, set limits to the use of satellite information. This convention can now be used to lay serious claims against the Soviet Union.

In 1987, the Soviet Foreign Ministry proposed creating a world space organisation. The main idea behind that initiative was to create an alternative to the US SDI project. With a view to winning international support, the proposed draft of the document on the creation of this organisation lays emphasis on the needs of developing countries in the field of space research. But the creation of new inter-state structures and aid to developing countries require a great deal of money. Has anyone estimated the cost of such diplomacy, should it be translated into a practical policy?

Unfortunately, many similar examples can be given. What is more, a closer analysis shows that the goals of Soviet space research programmes are set without a comprehensive and, more important yet, objective substantiation. This becomes all the more clear when Soviet programmes are compared with similar programmes of other countries. No country in the

world attaches so much importance to launching manned space vehicles. A manned space flight is ten times costlier than an unmanned flight per 1 kilogram of useful weight. What is more, over 90 per cent of scientific and practically all the economic tasks are solved by automatic apparatuses in space research.

Other countries invest the lion's share of their space budget in the development of the on-land infrastructure. Japan, for instance, has started the manufacture of cars equipped with satellite navigation and communication instruments. Nothing of the kind is done in the Soviet Union. The potential users – industrial and agricultural enterprises, fishing ships, geology and transport – has no immediate access to the information obtained by space technology. Cosmonautics is distanced from the economic mechanism and, in a majority of cases, it does not produce a direct economic advantage.

The extensive use of space technology for the solution of earthly tasks, including consumer goods production, is an important part of space research in other countries. In the US this is achieved thanks to a rather complex organisational and legal mechanism preventing the monopoly use of space research by such powerful bodies as the Pentagon. We are only taking the very first, but not the most prudent, steps in this direction. In the USSR conversion is sometimes interpreted in a rather vulgar manner as re-channelling of existing enterprises to consumer goods production. In practical terms this results in the reduction of allocations to defence industries. In the conditions of insufficient market possibilities for high-tech output the latter find themselves in dire straits financially, thereby losing highly skilled personnel, which puts them on the brink of an uncontrollable process of degradation.

And lastly, foreign space programmes are exceptionally pragmatic, with every detail being taken into account. We build a morally obsolete analogue of the US Shuttle, which will be hardly of practical use in the next decades. Even more surprising is the fact that only one space project – a flight to Mars – is among the 13 priorities projects of the Soviet state programme in the field of science and technology, which was endorsed in 1989.

The US-sponsored international co-operation in space research wholly rests on economic estimates. Seventy and more per cent of the costs involved in NASA's projects are financed by their foreign participants. It is just the other way round in case of the Soviet projects. The Intercosmos programme proceeds from the absence of mutual accounts, with the USSR providing the rocket technology and the other participants certain instruments whose cost is incomparably lower. In the absence of an adequate organisational mechanism, the necessary legal provisions and skilled personnel, the decision to join the international space market may lead to the loss of high technology which is the major factor of any state's might in the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution.

The impression is that the USSR has no comprehensive concept of space exploration to provide the guideline for all departments and agencies of the Soviet space complex. Usually, nobody knows who is responsible for the implementation or failure of a specific project. Nobody cares what it costs. There is no feedback or result-evaluation. The numerous coordinating agencies are effectively shop windows in between departments and thus lack in authority. Even the Glavkosmos USSR Civil Space Administration is not plenipotentiary, for it is but a part of the Ministry of General

Machine Building.

This set up is not a system, for it combines departmental isolationism with the monopoly of each particular agency to a tiny field of space exploration. The monstrous combination of the two components is the main reason for the economic, political and moral losses that have turned the legitimate pride of the Soviet people into a shared kitchen.

Hence the idea of concentrating all space exploration activities in the hands of one specialised agency, voiced by Cosmonaut Vladimir Shatalov in an *Izvestia* article. But the idea contradicts the current Soviet efforts to decentralise the management of the Soviet R&D complex. So the task is to find a balance between centralism of the agency and decentralisation of management, and to build flexible and upright managerial instruments.

We must delineate the authority of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers in this sphere. The Supreme Soviet should be charged with the task of charting the Soviet space policy and mapping objectives, as well as budgeting the Soviet effort in space, which will necessitate the establishment of an expert group. The Cabinet, being the highest executive and managerial body, should bear responsibility for the implementation of the space policy by its organisational, material, technological and financial instruments.

We should establish a state space concern to unite, on a strictly voluntary basis, all interested R&D agencies and production enterprises, whatever their departmental subordination. The concern should not interfere with the specific interests of specific space agencies. Its task: coordination, establishment and execution of financial reserves, expertise, and legal defence in the international space market. The concern should be built along the lines of *khozraschot*, or a combination of cost-accounting and subsequent self-financing.

Another urgent task is to draw up the space legislation. All the above measures should have legal backing. Today, there is not a single open legal act to regulate space activities, if one is to overlook the Decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 1961-2 on the introduction of the Cosmonautics Day, the title of the USSR Pilot Cosmonaut and the relevant badge. The USA has adopted the first space law in 1958. Today, the American space legislative acts tot thousands of pages. The US President issues weighty directives for the national space policy. To regulate Soviet space activities and defend Soviet interests in the international space markets, the USSR should urgently adopt a Law on the Soviet Space Policy and a Law on the Soviet Commercial Activities in Space.

The recently introduced Soviet Presidency may be instrumental. The time is ripe for a new Soviet space policy which should be comprehensible for the broad masses of the people, on the one hand, and be up to the highest mark scientifically, on the other. The waste of the hard-earned achievements in the vanguard directions of scientific progress is a mortal sin.

(*Izvestia*, April 4. Abridged).

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