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Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on Gulf war

In a televised appearance on January 17, President Mikhail Gorbachev made the following statement on the Gulf War:

Comrades,

A war broke out in the Gulf last night. American armed forces, acting together with military units from Britain, Saudi Arabia and a number of other countries, dealt a blow at military and some industrial targets in Iraq and at its troop positions.

The tragic turn of events was provoked by the Iraq leadership's refusal to comply with demands made by the world community and pull out its forces from Kuwait.

From the very start of the Iraqi aggression, the USSR has been doing everything in its power to resolve the acute international conflict by peaceful means. Until the very last minutes, we made vigorous efforts to avert war and restore independence to Kuwait by political means.

independence to Kuwait by political means.

After being advised by US Secretary of State
James Baker of the decision about an hour before the start of hostilities, I immediately contacted President George Bush to propose extra
steps - through a direct contact with Saddam
Hussein - to secure that the latter announce
without delay a troop withdrawal from Kuwait.

Simultaneously I instructed our Ambassador in Baghdad to contact the Iraqi President and tell him of my address to George Bush, and stressed the need in the interest of the Iraqi people themselves and the interest of peace in the region to declare readiness to withdraw from Kuwait. This would make it possible to stop war and save Iraq from heavy losses and destruction.

I expressed hope that guided by the supreme interests of his people and the world community, Saddam Hussein would agree to this only rescue.

That same night we appealed to the leaders of a number of influential countries, including France, China, Britain, Germany, Italy and India, and most Arab states to take joint and parallel steps to localise the conflict and prevent its dangerous spread.

Being aware of the grave consequences to

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Gulf crisis: "Conflict will not

end quickly" says Marshal

Arab peoples, the American people and the entire international situation that a war involving enormous masses of troops and modern combat hardware is fraught with, we express most profound regret that it has not proved possible to avoid a military clash.

But let me stress once again: we have done every conceivable thing to settle the conflict by non-military means.

I would like to inform you that there are no casualties among Soviet nationals currently in

The Soviet people can rest assured that the national leadership will adopt every measure towards an early end to the war and the restoration of peace, in co-operation with other countries and the United Nations.

Soviet President's message to Saddam Hussein

THE Soviet Ambasador to Baghdad, Viktor Posuvalyuk, met Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz in the Foreign Minister 'bunker' on the night of January 16 to hand him a message from President Gorbachev to President Saddam Hussein, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing in Moscow on January 17.

Vitali Churkin described the message as a 'firm and unambiguous' call for declaring readiness to withdraw Iraqi forces from Kuwait. He also said that 123 Soviet nationals returned

He also said that 123 Soviet nationals returned to Moscow from Baghdad the previous night, with 112 more remaining in Iraq.

The latter include 32 people with the Embassy, two at the Consulate-General in Basra, 44 in the trade mission, at the offices of foreign trade organisations and the polyclinic, and 34 specialists helping to mothball various equipment at economic co-operation projects, Churkin said.

The specialists are staying in Baghdad, Sulaimaniya (a city 250 kilometres north of the capital) and Divaniya (160 kilometres south of Baghdad), he said.

Soviet and US presidents discuss Gulf situation

ON January 18 the Soviet and US presidents held a long telephone conversation.

The discussion primarily focused on the Gulf war and prospects that can open up after it ends.

Gorbachev reaffirmed the Soviet Union's unwavering adherence to international unity, which was reflected in the UN Security Council resolutions, and resolved to promote those resolutions.

The most important aspects of the Gulf situation were also discussed.

An attitude was expressed towards the events in the USSR, around which there are currently a lot of conjectures and untenable conclusions.

The US President said that every effort was

being made to ensure that the preparation of the START Treaty was completed in time and also hoped that problems of realisation of the conventional forces treaty would be solved. Gorbachev reaffirmed his readiness to do the same.

The two presidnets agreed to continue contacts on a regular basis.

GORBACHEV - MITTERRAND

Also on January 18 and on the initiative of Francois Mitterrand, the Soviet and French leaders discussed the situation since the outbreak of hostilities in the Gulf. This conversation was conducted by telephone.

It was noted that Saddam Hussein's refusal to fulfil UN Security Council resolutions made necessary to put an end to the aggression and the defiant flouting of international law.

Confirming that their assessments of the situation remained unchanged, Mikhail Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand expressed the hope that the Iraqi leadership would understand the justice of the world community's cause and adopt a decision in the interests of the Iraqi people and the Arab world, which will make it possible to avoid still greater losses of life.

GORBACHEV - KOHL

President Gorbachev also spoke by phone to Helmut Kohl, congratulated him on being reelected Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany and wished him success in putting into practice the potentialities that had opened up since the reunification of Germany — a historymaking event in the life of the German nation, of Europe and the world in general.

The President and the Chancellor reiterated their invariable resolve to stick to the agreements on Soviet-German relations already reached by them, despite inevitable difficulties in internal affairs, which do not at all mean the changing of the general course.

Gorbachev and Kohl discussed the Gulf situation, the results of the first days of combat operations and the possibility of attaining the goals, set by resolutions of the UN Security Council, reducing to the minimum the loss of life, which has already been inflicted because of Saddam Hussein's stand.



Gorbachev orders evacuation of Soviet citizens from Iraq

PRESIDENT Gorbachev has instructed the corresponding authorities to do all they can to evacuate all Soviet citizens from Iraq as soon as possible. This was reported on January 19 by Vice President Gennadi Yanaev, who took part in the live TV programme Who is Who.

Yanaev recalled that there are about 100 Soviet citizens in Iraq now, who remain there voluntarily, wishing to meet their contractual commitments. None of them had been hurt during combat operations in the region, the Vice President said.

Akhromeyev..... p24

Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at session of Supreme Soviet

The President of the USSR received a note signed by upwards of 40 parliamentary deputies asking his reaction to what Boris Yeltsin, Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, had reportedly said on January 14 about the need to create a Russian army. "Such a statement is, in our opinion, a gross violation of the Soviet Constitution and a challenge to the supreme bodies of power in the USSR. We request that on January 15 in the Supreme Soviet you should express your opinion on Yeltsin's statement," the deputies said.

This is what Gorbachev had to say in reply: I am wholly with the deputies who have signed this note: this is a gross violation of the Constitution of the USSR. This statement is not only a challenge to the supreme bodies of power in the USSR. It adds more new elements of confrontation to the tense situation obtaining in the country. I condemn it as a provocation with strongly pronounced political aims. Far from contributing to the consolidation of society, it provokes confrontation. As such, it should be flatly rejected and condemned. Comrade Yeltsin himself should be self-critical and give up such calls.

Hopefully, he hasn't lost sense completely yet.

This is the first observation. It so happened that several statements made before I took the floor were very similar to the accusations made by Comrade Yeltsin. I absolutely refuse to understand a spokesman for Latvia.

Comrades Peters and Neiland visited me yesterday, and the day before yesterday I talked with Gorbunov, Latvian Supreme Soviet Chairman, and Godmanis, the head of government. We discussed the development of the situation and exchanged opinions and observations. The speed at which the events grew so acute and entered such a phase in Lithuania was rather unexpected for me, I told them. I also told them that I kept receiving a flow of cables from Latvia whose authors strongly protest against developments there. Such cables are sent by Letts, Russians and other ethnics. There are already boxfuls of such cables and letters.

I advised them to take note of the fact that something very serious was hatching. There must be something wrong with such politics and it should be corrected and changed. Comrade Peters spoke on this problem today. The Latvian Supreme Soviet passed a very important decision on an extremely acute issue. It admitted

VISIT
of
Mikhail
GORBACHEV

to Italy

November 18, 1990 DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS

price 40p from: Soviet Booklets (SN), 3 Rosary Gardens, London SW7 4NW that one of its earlier decisions escalated tension in the republic.

How come that in such a short period of time you have quarrelled with workers, the military and now even the peasants? I asked them. This happened because illicit decisions that were adopted affected the interests of all these sections of the population. Having adopted a law on citizenship, you have turned some of the people living in your republic into social outcasts and second-rate citizens. You have passed a decision which does not allow servicemen to get jobs, permanent residence permits and food rationing coupons. They have to prove that they are human beings like everybody else. After all this, do you expect to enjoy respect and a normal reaction? Where are you looking for the causes of the obtaining situation? You have taken a decision which makes it possible for former owners to regain the lands which were in their possession in the past. They are already looking for their former homes and lands. Comrade Gorbunov claims that there are certain reservations which will not allow the owner to re-possess his

Wait a minute, I told him, people read that you are re-instituting the owner in his rights. This affects the interests of a collective or state farm or the owner of a personal plot of land, the new farmer – i.e., all that has been built. Do you expect to have a normal reaction to all this?

Concern was expressed yesterday that in a heated situation army units should not make any awkward moves. The President said that he shared this anxiety, though the army cannot exist without movement. He rejected the accusation that the President obscured this issue by looking for a way to circumvent corresponding decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet. Such provocative allegations should be rejected most emphatically, Gorbchev said.

It is alleged in numerous letters, cables and appeals which have come in from Lithuania and Latvia that the President of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet had turned their backs on the people whom the local authorities treat with contempt. That is why they have nothing left but to solve their problems themselves in a radical way, Gorbachev said. We should not allow this to happen. The centre and the republics alike cannot but realise that should such a situation arise, its consequences would be hard to predict. This means that the centre and the republics should act in strict conformity with the law, protecting, first and foremost, the safety of people.

Protesting against the accusations, proclaimed from the rostrum of the session, and against the practice of reading out texts prepared in advance, the President said: "this won't do. You read such memorandums out and sit back, smiling." He also described this practice as political intrigues

Touching upon the second aspect of the emerging situation, Mikhail Gorbachev said that a complicated political process was underway, in which there was struggle and confrontation, and not merely a clash of opinions. I welcome the search for the truth and for alternative variants, the President said, and we must promote this search, for this is democracy in action. However, attempts are being made to cast a shadow on our entire course, he said, and defeat our great cause. Some are in a frenzy of activity to find an enemy image. Instead of looking at the causes of disturbances and of the aggravation of the situation in different republics and regions, some plunge themselves in the search for those who instigate them and issue orders.

We need a dialogue, said Mikhail Gorbachev.

But how can a dialogue be established if every time I try to speak to the Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, Landsbergis, he protests, saying that I'm interfering in the affairs of an independent state?

And yet, we must look for ways of normalizing and pacifying the situation.

We are open for contact. And we must seek ways of drawing our positions closer together and, finally, come to terms. Comrade Pupkevich is quite right, saying that in such a situation one should find a possibility to deal with it. It turned out, however, that we have condemned one diktat, one monopoly and everything that was in the past, and started moving towards a worse variant of monopoly which has entirely discredited itself.

And then, why do we keep silent in some cases and are so eloquent in others? Indeed, why do the left-wing radical press and our outstanding fighters for democracy keep silent when laws violate the rights of citizens in this or that republic – I'll not talk about the Baltic republics, already alarmed, so not to re-open this burning issue. What's the matter? Why do newspapers express only one viewpoint?

It has turned out that we have lost rather than gained there, the President said. I read newspapers and I can say that all of these attempts to set the public against the President, as well as the calls to destroy everything – incidentally, this choir has been joined by representatives of the Russian Federation's corps of deputies – will neither allow us to solve our problems, nor normalize the situation, nor ensure stability. We all shall find ourselves in deadlock.

All of us need one approach — the Constitution and the law. Otherwise democracy will suffer a defeat. Democracy must be backed by solid laws and by authority guaranteeing their implementation. Otherwise we shall suffer a bad defeat at the turning point of social renewal.

And, finally, about the Decree of Disarming Illegal Formations. This decree must be fulfilled. Let us make an agreement: the Soviets shall give the President powers to use all the means available to disarm them. As long as arms are running all over the republics and regions, there will be no peace. There will always be a pretext to exploit the forces which think about utterly different goals.

There is no divergence of opinion on this score, and the President and the republics must co-operate this way. We must work for disarmament

In conclusion, the President backed the Supreme Soviet's statement made on behalf of the group of deputies from among workers.

(Pravda, January 16. In full.)

Mikhail Gorbachev

Address at the meeting of the leaders of states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Paris, November 19, 1990

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

EVENTS IN THE GULF

Soviet statement on Iraqi missile attacks on Israel

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Belonogov addressed a briefing in Moscow on January 18. He read a Soviet Foreign Ministry statement, which said:

On the night of January 17 Iraq staged missile attacks on the suburbs of Tel Aviv, Haifa and some other populated localities of Israel.

Obviously, the purpose of that action was to transform the Kuwaiti problem into a regional conflict and to kindle military conflagration throughout the Middle East.

The Soviet Union has firmly opposed this development of events and expressed this view during contacts with the Iraqi leadership. We believe that it is not desirable to resolve one problem by creating another. If one conflict developed into another, even more extensive and complicated, this would be dangerous, primarily for the peoples of that region.

In this crucial moment we again urge the Iraqi leadership to display a sense of realism and to understand that its actions, starting with the invasion of Kuwait, bring about nothing but more casualties and destruction to the Iraqi people and more suffering to the whole of the region. Arab leaders, who are responsible for the well-being of their nations, cannot fail to understand it. We hope that Arabs will not yield to emotions and will not permit themselves to be drawn into promoting another outbreak of military confrontation with Israel.

The Soviet Union hopes that the Israeli Government will also display the needed restraint and will not take the path leading to further heightening of tension in the Middle East.

The Soviet Union again firmly supports the settlement of the Kuwait crisis on the basis of the well-known resolutions of the UN Security Council, as well as the early settlement of other

conflict situations in the Middle East. The peoples of the region should finally be given peace and a tranquil life. $\hfill\Box$



Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman on developments

ACCORDING to the latest information, supplied by the Soviet Foreign Ministry, the safety of Soviet citizens remaining in the Gulf zone is ensured quite reliably, and there are no casualties among them. This was stressed by Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitali Churkin at a briefing in Moscow on January 19. The topic of the briefing was the developments in the theatre of operations, specifically, the second Iraqi missile attack on Israel.

"Taking into account a complicated and dramatic military-political situation in the Gulf zone, the Soviet leadership, a working group created in accordance with the presidential decree of August 8, last year, and the Soviet Foreign Ministry continue to follow most closely the conditions of the Soviet citizens remaining in countries of that region. Not only Soviet specialists and staff members of the Soviet Embassy and Trade Mission in Iraq, but also Soviet citizens in the countries neighbouring on Iraq Jordan, Syria, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Israel – are within the sphere of special attention of the Soviet leadership. Communication is being continually

maintained with Soviet diplomatic and consular missions in those countries.

"According to reports coming from them, including those received just recently, the safety of our people is ensured quite reliably, and there are no casualties among them. This goes both for Iraq and Tel Aviv, where staff members of the Soviet Consulate-General are," Churkin said.

Speaking about the second missile attack on Israel and "all matters dealing with it," Churkin stated: "Provisions formulated in the Friday (January 18) statement of the Soviet Foreign Ministry remain in force." The statement by the Soviet Foreign Ministry described the first missile attack on Tel Aviv and Haifa as an "attempt to transform the Kuwaiti problem into a regional confrontation, to kindle a military conflagration in the whole of the Middle East."

The document, that was read at the Friday briefing by Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Belonogov urged the Iraqi leadership "to realise that its actions result only in the loss of life and destruction for the Iraqi nation, in more suffering for the region in general." At the same time, the USSR urged the Israeli Government to show "necessary restraint" and "not to take the path leading to further heightening of tension in the Middle East."

Churkin added that on Friday the Soviet side had sent an appeal to the Israeli leadership, along with appeals to a number of Arab countries on this subject (responding to questions, he said that the Palestinian leadership also received the appeal). "We were told that the Israeli leadership would be immediately informed of the appeal, and the ideas expressed in it would be taken into consideration during the making of corresponding decisions by the Israeli Government," the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

TASS comment:

The war in the Gulf

WHAT everyone feared has begun. A Gulf war has now become a reality. The first data reaching here say that the main targets in Iraq — rocket launchers, command posts, military airfields, plants for the production of chemical and bacteriological weapons and a number of facilities such as the buildings of key ministries, the Ba'ath Party, and places of residence where Iraqi President Saddam Hussein could stay – have been destroyed.

It must be emphasised that, according to a number of reports, Iraqi aircraft were almost entirely put out of action. The start of military operations shook up the kaleidoscope of the region overnight. We shall not try to guess how events will develop. It is more important to touch upon the key elements of the current situtaion, or, to be more exact, on what it can bring in the future.

The determination to solve the Gulf crisis by force cannot but give rise to regret. Eighteen thousand tonnes of bombs were released over the Iraqi capital during the first wave of bombardment alone.

Notwithstanding the "surgically clean" way of using most up-to-date types of weapons, some of

them never used anywhere before, in bombing large cities, casualties among the vivilian population are inevitable.

The Iraqi leadership, which has been adhering to a confrontational policy throughout the past five months, could not fail to know that. By sowing the wind, Saddam Hussein is now literally reaping a "desert storm" as the allied military action is code-named.

Not only the fate of the regime but also the destiny of the Iraqi people are at stake now. It is gratifying that the White House, it seems, takes this into account.

Thomas Pickering, US Permanent Representative at the United Nations, stated that military operations would be discontinued provided Iraq withdraws from Kuwait unconditionally, fully and completely. It is now up to Saddam to make the choice.

Unfortunately, reports from Baghdad do not inspire optimism. The Iraqi leader stated that the "attempt to crush Iraq would end in failure" and that Baghdad would not give up its "rights" to Kuwait.

It is not known what Baghdad actually counts upon in the current situation. Such an attitude can only prolong the agony of the regime and is fraught with tremendous and senseless casualties.

The development of events in the region dur-

ing the very first hours following the start of military operations leads to the conviction that in future potential aggressors would think thrice before resorting to such ventures.

The world order based on new political thinking rests on a peaceful settlement of conflicts arising in the world. Resorting to force is an enforced and extremely undesirable step which proved inevitable in Gulf conflict conditions.

One would like to urge the Iraqi leadership once again to listen to the voice of reason. It will be better for Iraq and for the entire world community.

(TASS, January 12)

The 28th CPSU Congress:

A TRIUMPH FOR GORBACHEV?

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Democratic Russia holds rally in Moscow

CPSU Politburo's statement

THOUSANDS of people converged on Manezh Square in central Moscow on January 20 to take part in a rally under the slogan 'Lithuania today, Russia tomorrow'. The rally was organised by the co-ordination committee of the Democratic Russia Movement. An estimated 300,000 people attended the rally after marching down the ring road and Kalinin Prospect.

Members of the Soviet and Russian Parliament and the Moscow City Council spoke at the meeting. It was opened by Soviet People's Deputy Yuri Afanasyev.

Speakers called for Russian sovereignty, the

resignation of the President, the Defence Minister, the KGB chief and the Interior Minister. New names appeared on the list of "enemies" of democracy, including Leonid Kravchenko, Chairman of the State Committee for Radio and Television and Leningrad television reporter Alexander Nevzorov.

Soviet People's Deputy Gennadi Burbulis read out an address by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to the citizens of Russia. The address said that the situation in the country has exacerbated sharply over the past few days, and

the situation in Lithuania threatens to spill out beyond the boundaries of the Baltic republics. Russia is facing the danger of dictatorship. "Economic reform has been blocked, democracy betrayed, glasnost trampled upon, arbitrariness and lawlessness are being restored in the Soviet Union" the address says.

Participants adopted a resolution which notes that the Democratic Russia Movement is becoming a political opposition, which supports the policy of the Russian Parliament and Boris Yeltsin aimed at reviving Russia and taking it back on the road of world civilisation.

The resolution contains a call for "an immediate withdrawal of punitive forces from the Baltic republics, the trial of all those guilty of an attempted coup in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, including the leaders of the National Salvation Committee.

The resolution demands the resignation of the Congress of Soviet People's Deputies and the Soviet Parliament. It calls on the Russian people to ignore the referendum on the union treaty, scheduled for March 17.

Participants observed a minute of silence to commemorate people who were killed in Vilnius, Baku, Tbilisi and other cities of the

No incidents were reported. The Moscow Militia maintained the order.

on Lithuania sure the effectiveness of the constitutions of the Soviet Union and the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist

THE Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party expressed "profound grief" in connection with the deaths in Vilnius on January 13 and has sent condolences to the relatives of the

The Politburo said in a statement released on Wednesday, January 16, that "the tragic events in Lithuania were preceded by the adoption by the Supreme Soviet and other bodies of state authority in the republic of numerous regulatory enactments and resolutions, grossly infringing on the rights and freedoms of citizens on the grounds of their nationality, duration of residence in the republic, profession, party membership and so on, and virtually banning all dissent.

The Politburo recalled that President Gorbachev on January 10 urged the Lithuanian Parliament to restore without delay and in full mea-

CONSTITUTION (FUNDAMENTAL LAW) OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

(This edition includes amendments to the Constitution made in December 1988, December 1989 and March 1990)

price £1.00p from: Soviet Booklets (SN), 3 Rosary Gardens, London SW7 4NW.

Republic and repeal earlier adopted unconstitutional enactments.

"However, the Lithuanian leadership failed to pay heed to the Soviet President's constructive proposals. Instead of impartially assessing the situation and searching for ways to reconcile antagonistic forces, the Lithuanian leadership embarked on the road of disinformation about the intentions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and government and law enforcement bodies and sought to evade a political settlement.'

According to the Politburo, "the Lithuanian leadership is clearly seeking to evade responsibility and blame the country's supreme bodies of power and communists for what happened."

The statement contains a call to true patriots to embark on the road of law and order, restore the Constitution of the Soviet Union and the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic on the republic's territory and work towards the fulfilment of the decisions made by congresses of people's deputies to stabilise the situation in the country.

The Politburo evaluated the joint appeal to the UN Secretary General by the chairmen of the parliaments of Latvian, Lithuania, Estonia and Russia as "open defiance with regard to the country's supreme bodies of state authority, the Soviet Union's sovereign rights, as an open call on foreign countries to intervene in our internal affairs, which is fraught with serious complications both inside the country and the world as a

The Politburo called on the peoples of the country to "retain a well-balanced approach in assessing events in the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, preserve self-control, support efforts to restore constitutional law and order, overcome the crisis and suppress violations of human rights.'

Situation in Latvia four dead

ACCORDING to the Latvian Parliament's press centre, four people were killed and nine injured during the seizure of the republican Interior Ministry building by a special-purpose squad of the USSR Interior Ministry, Latvian television reported last night, says TASS correspondent Valeri Zaitsev from Riga on January 21.

In connection with the tragic events in Riga on Sunday, the non-government radio station Sodruzhestovo broadcast the following urgent report today:

'Unidentified people abducted the wife of an officer of the all-union Interior Ministry's special task force. She was treated outrageously. Unidentified people thréatened over the telephone that everyone would be treated the same way until all suspects detained as accomplices in the arson attack on the press building are released."

Ammunition, knives and various documents had been seized from the suspects.

The report by the Sodruzhestvo radio station says that a detail from the all-union militia special task force, which drove to reinforce the protection of the Latvian Procurator's Office, was fired on by unidentified persons from the Republican Interior Ministry. The detail was forced to return fire and capture the building.

Latvian television reported that there was a telephone conversation between Latvian Prime Minister Ivar Godmanis and the commander of the militia special task force. It was agreed that the special task force's group would leave the republican Interior Ministry and return to base.

Gorbachev visits Lenin Mausoleum

PRESIDENT Gorbachev on January 21 visited the Lenin Mausoleum to pay homage to the founder of the Soviet state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He was taking part in a ceremony to mark the anniversary of Lenin's

Members of the Cabinet, leaders of the CPSU and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, the Moscow City Committee and the Moscow Regional Committee of the CPSU and other public organisations also paid homage to Lenin and laid wreaths.

LESSONS **OF ANDREI** SAKHAROV

The true scope and significance of an individual can be seen only from a distance in time. However, Andrei Sakharov is an exception to the rule. People involved in many, even the most incompatible sphere of human activity, consider him one of their own - as a model of the highest magnitude. He was a great physicist and he devoted his efforts to containing the nuclear arms race and to disarmament, the problems of world politics and social relations, to practical public and political activities. But Andrei Sakharov's most important dimension was his generous human heart, his pure and rapturous soul which made him the conscience of his people

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

Soviet Procurator's Office on situation in the republics

The following statement by the Soviet Procurator's Office was distributed in Moscow on January 21:

Events are acquiring more dramatic character and provoke serious concern. The blood of innocent people is being shed in the Baltics and Transcaucasia. The process of democratic restructuring in the country is in danger.

Conflicts and open clashes result from rude violations of the Soviet Constitution, disregard for the legal foundations of society and illegal antagonism between political forces.

It is evident that in spite of decisions by the Soviet Congress of People's Deputies and the Soviet Parliament, some republics continue adopting legislative acts violating the rights of citizens and groups of the population and contradicting the norms of the international law, recognised by all the civilised world.

Armed units are being formed, not envisaged by the Soviet Constitution. Weapons are often seized by irresponsible people. Such actions lead to aggravating inter-ethnic tension.

Attempts by some organisations to use armed forces in their own interests are inadmissible.

In this connection, the Soviet Procurator's Office considers it expedient to call on republican authorities to suspend all legislative acts contradicting the Soviet Constitution and violating

human rights, and immediately disband illegal armed units.

The Soviet Procurator's Office states that resolute measures will be taken to suppress the activities of any associations and citizens, including political parties, public organisations and social and mass movement, calling to overthrow forcibly the state and social order, stirring up ethnic and racial hatred and violating territorial integrity of the Soviet Union, republics and autonomous formations, sealed in the Soviet Constitution.

Any inter-ethnic conflicts and changes in the state system should be resolved strictly on a legal basis.

The situation demands that the amass media give unbiased and well-considered information about current processes. Abuse of the freedom of speech and distribution of information distorting events is dangerous today like never before.

The Soviet Procurator's Office will comprehensively investigate the use of military force and weapons, which resulted in the death of people. It will evaluate its lawfulness, and in case of violation of laws by any side, the office will make answerable perpetrators of crimes, irrespective of their positions or posts.

We believe that all Soviet citizens and power and managing bodies will help us, and we welcome any assistance in ascertaining the truth.

Gorbachev meets Estonian leader Arnold Ruutel

PRESIDENT Gorbachev met Arnold Ruutel, Chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet on Monday (January 21).

Their all-embracing the constructive conversation focused on the situation in the Baltic region and on problems linked with preparations to sign the Federal Treaty. It was noted that in light of this it would be useful to set up working teams, representing both the Estonian Republic and the centre.

"The major result of today's one and a half hour talk with Mikhail Gorbachev was our mutual recognition of the need to begin 'highlevel talks' between the Soviet Union and Estonia and decide Estonia's future," Estonian President told reporters on January 21, reports TASS correspondent Alexander Golovanov.

Occasional meetings between Baltic prime ministers and Soviet leaders did not enable serious analysis of the "deadlock in the Baltic," he said.

Estonia bases its policy on republican opinion polls which show that 95 per cent of Estonians believe that the republic should become an independent state with close economic ties to the Soviet Union, he said.

However, only a fourth of Russian speakers oppose Estonian independence, Ruutel said.

"I expressed this demand to the USSR President, who seemed to understand it," Ruutel said.

Gorbachev did not set a concrete date for talks between Estonia and the Soviet Union and offered to discuss the political situation in Estonia, he said.

"At the same time, the President did not dodge our demand to become an independent state," he said.

Gorbachev pledged not to use military force in the future, Ruutel went on.

According to the Estonian President Gorbachev told Ruutel to inform him about any excesses immediately.

Yeltsin denounces Soviet moves in Baltic

ADDRESSING the Russian Parliament in Moscow on January 21, republican President Boris Yeltsin urged it to be a "guarantor of democracy". He focused on the situation in the Baltic republics where, he said, "constitutional bodies were actually being toppled under the guise of rectifying some mistakes made by the young democracies."

Yeltsin believes the federal leadership supports unconstitutional structures. Developments show, Yeltsin said, "that the federal leadership's

The Mass Media

by Alexander Akopov

The Soviet Union runs one of the world's greatest information networks. Like elsewhere in the civilised world, there are vast audiences in the USSR greedily absorbing information through such media as newspaper, magazines, radio and television. The aim of this booklet is to make a general survey of the structure of the Soviet mass media, and to give brief descriptions of selected mass media types.

price 60p from: Soviet Booklets (SN), 3 Rosary Gardens, London SW7 4NW political course is changing. The Baltic events are only one manifestation of this change." At the same time, Yeltsin noted that "the reactionary changeover, occurring today, has not become irreversible yet."

Yeltsin called for "urgent and extraordinary measures to stabilise the situation in the country." He said they should be based on "new approaches" and that the Russian leadership favoured the solution of problems "on the basis of mutual trust and honest dialogue, resting on a solid legal foundation."

Condemning attempts to "renovate the totalitarian system," the Russian President said the republics denounced such a policy. "If the republics find a common and agreed political line, they will be able to thwart such attempts," he said.

Yeltsin went on record for strengthening inter-republican relations. He believes Russia's treaties with other republics create conditions for this.

Yeltsin said the "main problem" was to stabilise the internal situation in the republic, primarily in the economic domain.

Turning to the tasks facing the Russian Parliament, Yeltsin said that the dialogue with the federal government "has not petered out." He said he was ready "to immediately start talks to bring the federal and republican laws into line." In his opinion, "Russian and the other republics should not be denied control over the Army, otherwise it will become a tool in the hands of some top leaders."

The third session of the Russian Supreme Soviet, which opened on January 21, was called a week ahead of schedule in a very tense domestic situation. Its agenda includes amendments and supplements to the Russian Constitution, providing for a reorganisation of the administrative system in the republic and institution of the post of executive president of the Russian Federa-

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Marshal Akhroneyev on Soviet foreign policy

"PEOPLE, in the Soviet Union have started to call into question some important directions in our foreign policy more frequently lately," says Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergei Akhromeyev, in the newspaper *Pravda* on January 21.

"The question of how German unification will affect our security continues to be the topic of debate. Another and possibly a more pressing issue is raised — what policy does the United States pursue vis-a-vis the Soviet Union today? Can we hope for a full normalisation of relations with it? What stance towards the Gulf crisis should the Soviet Union adopt?"

Answering these questions, Akhromeyev writes: "Direct confrontation between the USSR and the United States is a thing of the past. The arms race is being terminated, ways for interaction and even co-operation are being charted. But alongside this, disagreements do exist between the USSR and the United States." In Akhromeyev's view, the United States has

In Akhromeyev's view, the United States has not completely abandoned its efforts to achieve military supremacy over the USSR and is unlikely to abandon this policy in the foreseeable future.

"Despite everything, however, in pursuing the new course, we should build relations with the

USSR Council of Ministers issues resolution on food

THE USSR Council of Ministers has endorsed a resolution on measures to implement the economic agreement between the USSR and the Union republics on the supply of food and agricultural raw materials in 1991.

The resolution says, in part, that to ease tension in the supply of the population with food already in the first three months of this year and to normalise these supplies in the subsequent months, the USSR Council of Ministers' state commissions on food and purchases, the governments of the union republics, the central council of consumers' co-operatives — Centrosoyuz, the USSR ministries of trade, fishery and foreign economic relations need to carry out a range of measures to ensure the production of at least 156 billion roubles' worth of food in 1991 (in current retail prices of 1990).

It was established that the USSR State Planning Committee, the Committee for Supplies, the State Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers on Food and Purchases and the USSR Trade Ministry should define, jointly with the governments of the union republics, specific suppliers and recipients of products, agricultural raw materials and fodder, ensure the conclusion of economic contracts for 1991 and set the terms for and the range of products supplied to state reserves.

The resolution envisages the organisation of the import of food and agricultural raw materials for its production, packaging and other materials to the tune of 9,500 million roubles, including 2,100 million roubles – in the first three months. Priority should be attached to the purchase of soya oil-seed meal, meat and meat products, sugar, animal and vegetable oil.

United States in a calm and considerate manner, mindful of all of their complexity and contradictoriness and consistently defending our country's interests," Akhromeyev writes.

Emphasising the importance of the development and improvement of Soviet-US relations, Akhromeyev stated the intention "to preserve effective armed forces, sufficient to guarantee security."

Commenting on the events in the Gulf, Akhromeyev noted that "the failure to use all opportunities for a peaceful settlement of the conflict and the breakout of war in this dangerous region cause deep regret." Akhromeyev stressed that the Soviet Union and the United States jointly denounced Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

On the unification of Germany, its role and place in a future Europe and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Central European countries, Akhromeyev points out: "Changes in Europe occurred largely thanks to the new foreign policy of the USSR and this should not be used to the detriment of the Soviet Union."

"The danger for us today lies in attempts that are sometimes made to approach us from the position-of-strength policy that is at odds with our interests. Therefore, we should have sufficient armed forces to pursue the policy of peace and defence of our country's lawful state interests," Akhromeyev stressed.

Hungary and USSR strengthen economic co-operation

THE transition to hard currency in accountsettling between former socialist countries has turned out to be a difficult undertaking, the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations has said, commenting on the state of trade and economic relations with neighbouring countries, specifically, with the Soviet Union.

It was pointed out that, in accordance with a Soviet-Hungarian agreement, oil, gas and electricity are being continually supplied to Hungary, making up for last year's shortages of raw materials and fuel, experienced by Hungarian enterprises.

Despite temporary difficulties, that emerged because of the transition to a new type of account-settling, Soviet and Hungarian specialists, who attended an economic co-operation conference in the city of Zahony, pointed to favourable aspects of the transition and the use of the dollar in trade deals.

Istvan Tamas, head of the main department of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and E. Kosobuko, assistant to the commercial representative of the Soviet Union to Hungary, who spoke at the conference, pointed out that good prospects were opening up before enterprises and co-operatives in border areas of the two countries for developing and strengthening co-operation.

★ Japan will not deny aid to Soviet Union

"JAPAN does not intend to deny aid to the Soviet Union, despite some Western calls not to render the USSR assistance after the Baltic events," General Secretary of the Japanese Cabinet of Ministers Misoji Sakamoto stated in Tokyo on January 22, the Kyodo Tsushin news service reports.

Soviet-American consultations on START Treaty

SOVIET Deputy Foreign Minister Alexei Obukhov said in Washington on Monday (January 21) that, in the opinion of the Soviet side, a treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons can be ready for signing at the Moscow summit on February 11-13, reports TASS correspondent Andrei Fedyashin from Washington on January 22:

Obukhov arrived in the American capital for consultations on a START Treaty with Reginald Bartholomew, US Under-Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology.

The heads of the Soviet and US delegations at these talks also participate in the consultations which began at the US State Department on Monday.

Obukhov told reporters before the meeting that he is sure it was possible to settle outstanding issues before the summit and prepare this important Soviet-American agreement for signing by the the Soviet and American presidents.

"We have no basic differences," Obukhov said. "There are only some technical issues. We are very close to their solution."

According to Obukhov, the final text of the treaty can be drafted within ten days after all outstanding issues are settled.

Both sides have some claims. These are the monitoring by the American side of production at Soviet plants assembling missiles and manufacturing solid fuel booster rockets and a demand by the Soviet side to inspect American plants producing strategic bombers with the use of Stealth technology, as well as the problem of quantitative restrictions on the exchange of telemetering data on test launchings of missiles.

Informing Japanese journalists about the government's reaction to the proposals of several "common market" countries to suspend aid to the Soviet Union, he said there were "no changes in the cabinet's stand on this score."

changes in the cabinet's stand on this score."

Thereby, Kyodo Tsushin says, Sakamoto has confirmed the immutability of the Japanese policy of granting "humanitarian aid" to the Soviet Union in the form of food and medicines, as well as "intellectual assistance" in carrying out economic reforms with the help of Japanese experience and know-how.

A LOOK at the SOVIET UNION

by Mike Musisi-Musoke

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Lessons of Vilnius

By Vladimir Reznichenko

AS emotions escalate over the clashes in Lithuania, as is often the case in such instances, people gradually forget and push to the background the actual causes of the conflict dividing the two opposing sides. Yet in order to have a correct perspective, it would not be amiss to go back to the origins. These were as follows: last March the newly elected leadership of Lithuania, one of the fifteen union republics of the USSR, hurriedly and unilaterally announced that it was seceding from the union. This action was not recognised by the central authorities.

It is noteworthy that the union centre did not deny the right of Lithuania to assume full independence in principle: such a possibility is provided for each of the republics in the current Soviet Constitution.

The Kremlin, however, insisted that the process should be not spontaneous, but in keeping with a legally stipulated procedure, with guarantees for both the interests of all citizens living on the territory concerned, and the interests of the union as a whole.

The attitude adopted by Vilnius in response to these demands was not very flexible. The Lithuanian authorities, under all sorts of pretexts, continued to evade holding a referendum in the republic to find out the population's views on secession from the Soviet union, and attached strings 10 talks with Moscow. At the same time, discriminatory moves were undertaken against Soviet servicemen stationed in Lithuania and their families. This, naturally, caused resentment in the Army.

One can speculate about the reasons for this behaviour of the Lithuanian leaders. Was it the euphoria of non-professionals placed at summits

of power, political naivety, or lack of foresight?

The Lithuanian leadership either underestimated the likely response from unitarist forces, or deliberately set out to aggravate the

situation, thereby hoping to win the interest and sympathies of the international public.

The destabilisation in Lithuania, meanwhile, was having an adverse effect on the entire union. On the one hand, the Vilnius separatists acquired disciples and followers in other regions of the country, the centrifugal tendencies threatening to break up one of the largest world powers were imparted a powerful and dangerous impulse. On the other hand, forces hostile to preestroika, having gained favourable propaganda arguments, stepped up their influence, demanding the restoration of the Stalin-Brezhnev-type order in the country.

The developments conclusively demonstrated the unanimity of ultra-radicals belonging to diametrically opposite camps. Following the "the worse the better" principle, both groups have been shaking loose the social and state structures, expecting in the emerging chaos and anarchy to force their ideological concepts on the people.

Confrontation-type thinking shared by both sides, their intolerance and implacability step by step are winning over public consciousness, postponing the creation of a pluralistic lawbased state — a goal proclaimed by perestroika.

Political polarisation and ethnic delimitation weaken and split the liberal-democratic wing, with its ideals losing their appeal. Among wide and not-politically-versed sections of the population the idea of democratisation finds itself discredited, increasingly being associated with "collapse", "disorder", and "shortages of everything". Democratic forces, which have just enough power to be charged with responsibility for all troubles experienced by the country, find themselves under fire.

Reasons for such criticism are afforded by the

themocrats themselves. They have demonstrated a clear inability – or unwillingness – to condemn human rights violations – in particular in the Baltic republics, where local nationalist authorities are openly keeping down the Russian-speaking minorities.

Paradoxically enough, groupings that have never been known for their commitment to civil freedoms now assumed the role of defenders of those despairing people. There is, however, nothing to be surprised about: a political vacuum left by one side is generally filled by the other immediately.

The deplorable result of all these descrepancies and disharmony is well known. One may or may not sympathise with the idea of Lithuania's independence, but practice clearly shows that the Lithuanian leadership has chosen a ruinous

path.

Failure to recognise one of the basic laws of political mechanics—"action is equal to an opposite to reaction"—has already been mentioned, but even economically the design was likely to have been doomed.

The attempt to "build capitalism in a single and separate republic" could hardly be constructive. The hasty rupturing of all ties with the single economic organism of the Soviet Union, effected by Vilnius before free market relations came to the country, naturally led to an economic collapse.

It is not by accident that the main impetus for the clashes in the Lithuanian capital was an official decision to jack up prices for basic necessities.

Bitter lessons taught by the current events in Vilnius should be carefully studied by all who hold preestroika aims dear. No matter what sceptics say, not yet everything has been lost. However, it will take a lot of wisdom, self-control and common sense for the tragedy that happened in little Lithuania not to be repeated on the scale of the huge union.

USSR: is democracy threatened by leftist forces?

By Dmitri Belsky, Novosti staff

AN OFFICIALLY sanctioned public rally organised by the coordinating committee of the Movement of Democratic Forces of Russia was held in Moscow last Sunday (January 20). It was attended by representatives from Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Azerbaijan and Georgia.

Yuri Afanasyev, who opened the rally, said that the aim was to support the course of Russia's Parliament and its chairman, Boris Yeltsin, toward sovereignty and greater independence of the policies pursued by Mikhail Gorbachev. He demanded the resignation of the Soviet President. In his words, the reasons which led to that demand included the obstruction of economic reforms in the country, the alleged reintroduction of censorship on the scale of the entire union, and the appointment of Gennadi Yanayev as Vice-President, Viktor Pugo as Interior Minister and Leonid Kravchenko as head of the state radio and television agency.

The remarks made by speakers at the rally were loaded with passions reflecting the current political rivalry that was largely motivated by personal ambitions.

Addressing the rally, Gennadi Burbulis, who spoke on behalf of Boris Yeltsin, Chairman of

the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, alleged that the federal leadership had actually renounced its former political course and was openly backing reactionary forces. He added that the events in the Baltic republics might well spread beyond the boundaries of the Baltic region and stressed that Russia intended to implement the treaties concluded with other republics. He called for strict observance of laws in the current conditions and stressed that violence might breed violence. Burbulis described the recently-established National Salvation Committees as self-appointed ones.

Sergei Stankevich, Vice-Chairman of the Moscow City Council, said that the situation in the country was a critical moment in Russia's history and urged the public to muster moral and ethical forces to avert what he called a loss of freedom.

All speakers were highly critical of the events in Vilnius and stressed that it was impermissible to use armed force to defuse the extremely tense atmosphere.

Alfredas Smailis, a representative of Lithuania, said that fourteen people were killed and about 300 wounded during the events in Vilnius.

Other speakers pointed to the need to normalise relations between nationalities by political means.

The subject of new union treaty evoked con-

tradictory statements at the rally. On the one hand, speakers called for greater unity in support of Russia and Boris Yeltsin. On the other, they demanded that the draft treaty, prepared on the instructions of the Soviet President, should be denounced.

According to some estimates, 500,000-600,000 people attended the rally. Unlike other rallies and marches, it was not a spontaneous one. The mass media in Russia took an active part in organising it. Such a policy is perfectly justified. But at the same time, certain statements in the press and radio of Russia broadcasts heightened tensions in society, expressing animosity toward the President of the USSR and speaking of possible dictatorship.

It should be said that the approach to the choice of speakers at yesterday's rally was selective. Usually the same speakers address such rallies. By contrast, Vladimir Zhirinovsky, Chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party, was not allowed to speak out, as on several previous occasions.

One gets the impression that the democrats and their leftist slogans are directed toward removing the federal leadership from power and securing the resignation of the USSR President. Who will come to power in that case? Can the threat that it might be a leftist dictatorship be ignored?

GULF CRISIS:

"Conflict will not end quickly" says Marshal Akhromeyev

MARSHAL of the Soviet Union Sergei Akhromeyev, an adviser to the Soviet President, in a Novosti interview comments on the beginning of Gulf hostilities.

NOVOSTI: How do you assess the military and strategic situation in the region after two days of hostilities?

AKHROMEYEV: I want to say first of all that I was wrong when a few days before the conflict I said that no war would be unleashed, and both sides would have enough common sense to see that the problem cannot be resolved by military means. But the war has been launched.

It did not bring any special surprises as far as the way it began and the results of the first two days are concerned.

It was well known that the US and its allies in the anti-Iraq coalition have an overwhelming superiority in air and naval forces. They took advantage of that factor by dealing heavy strikes at air bases, anti-aircraft defences, the nuclear centre, and the important state and military control system. They also sought to destroy Iraq's missile forces. It must be admitted that Iraq has suffered heavy losses, and anti-Iraq has suffered heavy losses, and anti-Iraq coalition forces have accomplished some of the tasks facing them.

But as the situation is analysed, it becomes increasingly clear that although the higher echelons of command are disrupted, they are not paralysed.

Soviet Foreign Minister on Soviet-Japanese relations

SOVIET Foreign Minister Alexander Bessmertnykh on January 22 called Soviet-Japanese relations "one of the key components of the world order, in which they have a unique independent role to play."

He was speaking at a luncheon in honour of visiting Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama.

"Not only are our two countries interested in the steady growth of full-blooded relations between the Soviet Union and Japan," the Soviet Foreign Minister said. The entire international community wants these relations to "consolidate positive changes in world affairs."

Bessmertnykh pointed out that in recent years "a certain lag" was noticeable between the Soviet Union and Japan, and although the bilateral dialogue had not been "frozen", its pace was clearly at variance with "the common dynamics of dismantling cold war structures and stereotypes."

types."

"This lag cannot be considered normal," he said, "and both sides share a clear understanding on this score," he went on.

The USSR and Japan, he said, are now on the threshold of a new chapter in their relations. "The agreement on the Soviet President's visit to Japan," he stressed, "is a powerful stimulus and a clear landmark. The forthcoming summit opens practical prospects for attaching a new quality to relations between the Soviet Union and Japan."

The Soviet Minister said preparations for President Gorbachev's visit to Japan were a high priority and stressed the significant role of the two foreign ministries in the preparations.

The Iraq Revolutionary Command Council is active, running the country and the armed forces. Iraq's anti-aircraft system has been badly mauled, but it continues to operate, inflicting certain damage on attacking planes. Iraq's missile groupings, in spite of losses, have struck at Israel and Saudi Arabia. And most important of all, ground forces – the main fist of Iraq – have not yet been committed. So in summing up, I can say that there have not been any great surprises at the very start of the war. The war is, unfortunately, under way and is accompanied by losses that the sides were expected to sustain at the beginning.

Won't the war escalate into a regional Middle East war if Israel joins in? Will the USSR enter it?

I do not think Israel will get involved in the conflict, although a missile attack has been made on its territory. Israel's entry into the war would in fact mean that the war will spread throughout the Middle East. Neither the United States not Israel will benifit from such a development. Even technically, for Israel to deal an air strike at Iraq, it will have to use the airspace of Jordan or Syria. It is understandable that in neither case will Israel do so. This act is fraught with great complications, not to mention the possibility of the use of ground forces. In that case Israel would have to invade Jordan or Syria. Apparently, in view of these and other political considerations, Israel will not enter the conflict.

It is now difficult to say anything definite about the duration of the war. First, one cannot totally preclude the possibility of stopping the conflict through UN mediation and its Secretary General, although the likelihood is small. If the war goes on, I do not think it will end quickly. In view of the opposing sides' strength, the war may extend for weeks and assume a fierce character.

The forces of the anti-Iraq coalition, to solve their main mission, need to advance on the ground. That requires piercing Iraq's defences. I do not think that an army with nine years' combat experience would be paralysed by air strikes alone. I think the conflict will be long enough.

Military circles on the USSR's southern borders have taken certain steps to enhance the capability of the anti-aircraft systems and step up observations of the skies. The combat preparedness should be raised to a level which is necessary with military operations started near our borders.

This does not mean that the Soviet Union is going to enter the conflict. I think the USSR's position on the non-participation of its armed forces in the conflict has further strengthened.

What initiatives do you think could be underto

What initiatives do you think could be undertaken by the world community for the conflict to end and for justice to prevail?

A war is easy to start and difficult to end. The Security Council may find some terms acceptable for both sides in order to end hostilities. But these measures need time to elaborate.

Saddam Hussein is not yet smashed and not defeated. It seems he is not going to surrender, as coalition members demand of him. So now some certain conditions acceptable to him should be worked out. What kind of conditions these will be is to be seen as the situation develops.

New Soviet Bill on rights of servicemen

A BILL on the staus of servicemen has been drawn up in the Soviet Union in order to guarantee them legal and social protection. The lack of rights of servicemen was particularly borne out by events in Lithuania.

"This law is expected to be adopted by the next session of the Soviet Parliament, scheduled for February," Deputy Chief of Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces Colonel-General Grigori Krivosheyev told TASS on January 22.

According to Krivosheyev, the Bill's most important stipulation is that servicemen on duty "are representatives of state power and enjoy all corresponding legal powers and guarantees."

corresponding legal powers and guarantees."
"In light of the prevailing situation," Krivosheyev noted, "the Bill is expected to contain articles, obliging state bodies, public organisations and officials to ensure the rights of servicemen, respect their personality, observe their dignity and honour."

Krivosheyev described some provisions of the Bill. "Servicemen," he said, "will have the right to be members of political parties, organisations, mass movements and other public associations, whose rules and activities do not contradict the USSR Constitution and the legislation in force." He noted that the minimum pay of junior officers, petty officers and extended service men will be not less than average wages in the USSR. Legal norms will be enacted to ensure

them housing facilities."

"At the same time," Krivosheyev stressed,
"several rights of servicemen will be restricted.

They include the choice of domicile and professions, as well as freedom of movement. These and other limitations," Krivosheyev believes, "are explained by service requirements and will be compensated by definite privileges."

THE SOVIET MILITARY DOCTRINE IN THE PRE-WAR PERIOD Yuri Kirshin

Major-General Yuri Kirshin, deputy head of the institute of Military History, a graduate of the V.I. Lenin Military-Political Academy and the Higher Academic Courses of the Military Academy of the General Staff where he later taught for a number of years. He is a Doctor of Philosophy, Professor, and member of the editorial board of the literary magazine Druzhba Narodov (International Friendship).

Yuri Kirshin is the author of several monographs and scores of articles on questions of philosophy, military history and international relations.

Currently, Yuri Kirshin is working on a book about the military activity of Lev Trotsky, the first Soviet People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs.

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