



## Mikhail Gorbachyov's speech in Khabarovsk

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*Speech by Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at a meeting of Khabarovsk Territory Party activists on July 31, 1986:*

Dear Comrades,

I'd like to extend to you, the activists of the Khabarovsk Territory Party Organisation, heartfelt greetings on behalf of the Party Central Committee.

Our meeting today completes my tour of the Far East. It was short; seven days are by no means enough for a tour of such a vast region, even for two territories. And yet it was useful and meaningful with its numerous meetings, conversations, and opinions exchanged. From this angle I can say that I'm satisfied with my visit to the Far East. I spent these days here with much interest, and, I believe, with much benefit for the cause. I had many meetings and conversations in Vladivostok, Nakhodka, Komsomolsk-on-Amur, and Khabarovsk. New ideas and opinions are being expressed on the way our plans are going, both in the country as a whole and in its specific regions.

First of all I'd like to say that everything which we have seen and heard these days confirms once again that the Soviet people have met the Party-advanced measures with profound satisfaction, taking them close to heart, and have enthusiastically responded to the decisions adopted. I haven't heard a single negative opinion on what the Party did since the April Plenum of its Central Committee or on what it has been doing since its 27th Congress. This is, comrades, the main political conclusion which I make on the results of my stay in the Far East.

Our people link their hopes and plans with the decisions of the 27th Congress, with the policy which the Party formulated at it. They hope that the work for the course elaborated by the Party Congress will exert a tremendous influence on the destiny of the country, and, hence, on our entire society, on work collectives, on each family and each person. This means that we managed to set forth, on the basis of a thorough, serious and responsible scientific analysis of the realities of our society, a policy which the people have perceived as their own. This is, comrades, a great deal, a major earnest of success in our further efforts to ensure higher activity of all public forces, of the entire political and intellectual potential of our society.

Neither the working class, nor the peasants, nor technical or creative intelligentsia want to live in the old way, to accept what is out of date, what impedes our advance and casts gloom on our reality, our life, our socialist system. We won't be able to live in the old way any longer.

This is self-evident, and in this sense we can say that a certain step in acceleration has been made.

However, there is a risk that this first step may be interpreted as success, as evidence of our control of the entire situation. I said this in Vladivostok, and I'd like to say it again in Khabarovsk. Such a conclusion would be a big mistake, a delusion. We cannot be satisfied in any way with what has been achieved. In general, we should not allow our heads to be turned by success. We should know this well. This is a lesson of the past, at least of the last two decades. And now intoxication with success is especially dangerous.

Profound changes in quality, which would have consolidated the trend towards accelerated growth, have not taken place so far. Generally speaking, comrades, we have a big and intensified work lying ahead. Let's be frank about it—the most important is yet to be done. This is something that the Party activists of our country, all Party members should understand well. I think the activists of the Khabarovsk Territory Party Organisation do understand this well.

The growth of the economic potential should be necessarily accompanied by a large-scale improvement of planning, administration and the style of management, by a search for new ways and methods of developing production. Neither anyone in Khabarovsk, nor in Moscow, the ministries, the State Planning Committee, the Government or Political Bureau, has any ready-made recipes for achieving acceleration.

We should learn on the move, tackling new tasks. And we should not be afraid of a bold advance, of risk and responsibility. We should overhaul everything on the go, so to speak, actively aiming at economic and social targets.

In recent times I have often had occasion to speak about remodelling. I touched on it almost in every conversation here, in Vladivostok and Komsomolsk-on-Amur. Some people may ask: aren't we repeating ourselves, aren't we becoming tiresome on that score?

The answer is a resolute "no", comrades. We are doing this with good reason. Such an approach is prompted by the very logic of our development, by the vital need. After all, we are talking of exceptionally serious and important processes for our country. Too much depends on success in the remodelling to allow our attention to it to slacken even by one iota.

Let's recall what energy and zeal our Party displayed when carrying out transformations at the crucial stages in our socialist history. How many speeches and articles Vladimir Lenin wrote to explain to the people the new approaches to the building of socialism, the new economic policy when the need to introduce it was put on the agenda, the restructuring of government work at a new stage. The same applies to the Party's approach to decision-making in the first five-year plans, and in the postwar years of economic recovery and development.

The scale of transformation which we are planning today is no smaller. The current restructuring covers not only the economy, but all aspects of public life—social relations, the political system, the cultural and ideological

sphere, the style and methods of Party work, and all our cadres. Overhaul is a very meaningful word. I'd put an equation mark between the words overhaul and revolution. Our transformation, and the reforms mapped out in the decisions of the April Plenum of the Party Central Committee and its 27th Congress are a real revolution in the entire system of societal relations, in the minds and hearts of people, in the psychology and interpretation of the modern period, and, above all, the tasks engendered by rapid scientific and technical progress.

The CPSU, and the nation as a whole, unanimously believe that the answers to the questions set by life should be sought not outside socialism, but within the framework of our system, by revealing the potential of the planned economy, socialist democracy, culture and the human factor, by relying on the initiative of the masses.

Some people in the West do not like that. They keep waiting for something which would mean a departure from socialism. They want us to go and pay our respects to capitalism, to borrow its methods. We receive a good deal of "advice" from abroad on how we should move and where. Different provocative broadcasts are being made and articles published to cast aspersions on the ongoing changes in our country, to set the nation and the leaders of the Party at loggerheads. Such unseemly attempts are doomed to failure. The interests of the Party and the people are inseparable; our choice and political course are firm and unshakeable. The people and Party are unanimous on that main point.

But we should not allow the old dogmas to blind us, to prevent us from moving forward, creatively developing and acting on theory at this specific stage in the history of our society. We cannot allow that to happen, either.

I speak about this also because there are, of course, people in this country for whom the word overhaul is difficult to understand, and even to pronounce at times. They often fail to see what this process of renovation is all about, and perceive it as all but a shake-up of the foundations, a disavowal of our principles. Our political line is aimed at fully revealing the potentialities and advantages of the socialist system, at removing all the obstacles to our onward movement, at giving full play to the factors of social progress.

And here's one more point I'd like to make. The more we advance on the road of restructuring, the more its complexity becomes obvious, and the fuller the tremendous scale of the work lying ahead is revealed. We are coming to see more and more clearly the extent to which many views of the economy, management, and social issues, statehood and democracy, education and moral standards are lagging behind the requirements and tasks of our development today, not to mention tomorrow's.

We shall have to overcome, step by step, the problems that have built up in every area of public life, to get rid of whatever has outlived itself, boldly adopting creative solutions.

The Central Committee understands that this will take a great effort and quite a long time to do. But there can be no excuse for being too slow, let

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alone inactive in this situation. That is why we are coming back over and over again to the need for an all-round readjustment, and we will go on doing that until we assure a breakthrough, above all in the thinking of our executive personnel, in the thinking and in the mentality of all working people, of the community as a whole.

By the way, and I've seen this here, on Far Eastern soil once more, our Soviet people are for the readjustment heart and soul. What preoccupies them most, as I've seen from the letters I've been getting and from my contact with people right now, is that we should not ease off all of a sudden somewhere. That is what worries them. That means working people are for the readjustment. Well, that is the best possible situation for the Party and for our personnel, comrades.

The experience already to hand—I've seen it here again—shows that the process of readjustment must go on both from above and from the grass roots. It is expected to embrace every echelon of management, every department of political and government leadership, and link up with the readjustment in production groups.

Some have been asking from time to time what this readjustment is about, how we should understand it and "what kind of dish" it is. Well, we are all "for it", but we do not know what we must do. That is exactly what many are saying.

We, in the Central Committee and in the Political Bureau, think that everyone must set about the readjustment and do the whole work of readjustment by readjusting himself, first and foremost, by making clear where he stands as a citizen, by stepping up his political activity and efficiency in his area of employment, developing a greater sense of responsibility for the job he is entrusted to do and for overall performance. That must be perfectly clear, I think. Plain common sense indicates that we must not start looking around, up or down, or sideways. We must, first of all, commit ourselves to doing everything honestly, with a great sense of responsibility to ourselves and to the people. Once that is all done, the readjustment will succeed. No one can and no one must stay out of the process of acceleration of the social and economic development of our society.

But the readjustment means more than that. It implies creating such an atmosphere in society as would induce people to overcome the inertia and indifference that have built up and to get rid, in their work and in their lives, of everything that does not square with the principles of socialism, with our world outlook and our way of life. Frankly speaking, there is something here to work on. But in this case, too, everyone must first look at his own self, comrades, whether in the Political Bureau or in the primary Party organisations, everyone must do something concrete to get his house in order. We have got used to certain things in the years gone by, due to insufficient criticism, too little public information and a lack of responsibility, to things that do not respond to the principles of socialism at all. I mean both rank-and-file workers and officials. The ones and the others have to shake off the "cockle-shells", clean themselves, as it were. And the Party committees must do all they can to help this process.

We are carrying through this readjustment in an involved and strained international situation. Imperialism keeps on escalating the arms race, so we must build up our defence, and that requires a good deal of resources and efforts. So from this point of view, acceleration is vital.

From every point of view, there is one answer: we must carry on with this readjustment persistently. That is why, above all, comrades, there had to be the June Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee which enabled us to move on to an important stage of post-Congress work, and made it more dynamic, more aggressive, more business-like and more down-to-earth.

In this country, with its planned economy and a

particular system of economic management, a land where the Communist Party is the ruling party, much, and indeed in decisive measure, depends on how this Party acts, how its forces, and above all the hard core, work. They, our forces, and our hard core must keep everything within their field of vision and generate new ideas and devise new modes of approach, they have to be at the head of the nation-wide effort to implement the decisions of the Party Congress. I would use a good word from the history of our Party, applying it to the present situation, to the place and role of our forces and of the hard core. Today, they are the commissars of the present stage in the advancement of socialism.

Everyone must work harder. I emphasise, everyone, comrades: those engaged in production and those engaged in science, administration, organisational and political work. We must look and see now, in relation to every sector and every enterprise, what must be done in plain terms to promote the progress of high technology, to ensure the qualitative aspect of acceleration, for after all it is advancing the economy that is the key task. Switching it over to a new track, to that of acceleration, with qualitatively new modes of approach, will have tremendous political, social and other consequences.

The Party has done quite a few good things over the years. We have to take that into account. But, comrades, the present time and priorities are quite different. There will be no advance if we should seek the answers to new questions in economy and technology by looking back on the experience of the 30s, 40s, 50s and even 60s and 70s. The times are different now, and so are the demands, the requirements, and also the opportunities. We must all grasp that well.

I am drawing your attention today to the progress of high technology, the application of up-to-date processes, and the new machinery of economic management. They yield the best economic effect compared with other activities. Investment in process modernisation takes, as a rule, between a year and eighteen months to pay off. But a simple expansion of production, with the technical facilities unchanged and with technology of the same standard, takes between five and seven years to pay off. That is why there is so much struggle on the technology front all over the world. Technology is effectively speeding up the pace of advance of any society, enhancing the productivity of labour and yielding a quick and immense return.

We, comrades, (I spoke about it at the June Plenary Meeting and I hope you remember it) made a serious mistake when the guidepost we went by in many areas of our science and technology policy was an average technical standard and repetition of the same solutions, and so we based our new industrial projects on the old types of machinery. Now, that machinery, while the projects were still in our long-lasting process of construction, was morally falling out of date altogether. That is to say we were building up a backward tendency. That was a serious mistake. We must radically correct it now. I have said it already openly and straightforwardly in front of the Party and the people, and I do not want to repeat myself.

Ministries, departments and enterprises are putting the finishing touches to their modernisation scheme under the Twelfth Five-Year Plan. We have had all the ministries reconsider all their technical projects—both for new enterprises and those to be modernised in particular—and stop actual implementation of whatever falls short of the present standards. For if we were now to carry through the projects with inferiority planned in advance, and go on building them as we did, you may well imagine what that would mean: we would condemn ourselves to lagging behind for 15-20-25 years. There will be no breakthrough. We have to bide our time for a year or two, complete the major

engineering projects, that is those we have set out towards with emphasis on new types of machinery and new technology, before launching the new ones. But the work of the ministries on top must be backed up with that of our staff and Party organisations at local level. Some are counting on half-and-half solutions, proceeding from their own particular problems and from their own particular view of their respective enterprise. We must put an end to that delusion, comrades.

If, for example, in the light industry, we install the machinery we are turning out today (not all of it, of course, is bad, but much of it is), garment production and other sectors of the light industry will be putting up their productivity and quality by 3, 4, 5 and up to 10 per cent. But if we change over to new types of machinery, to be produced by the capacities we are now creating at our factories, the same enterprises, without any extension and with the same workforce, can achieve a rise of at least 30-40-50 per cent. That is what choosing the right tack in technical policy means. Please note that. We must be bold enough to undertake fundamental modernisation and to see which projects are outdated, have to be revised or halted altogether.

We have told our ministers: you have to get down to the full-scale intensification of production. We must effectively correct those who stick to old technology and old methods, and if it doesn't work, if anybody proves to be so stubborn and die-hard that you just can't budge him from his moorings and pull him out of that trench of bygone concepts, we have to part company and let him backlash while the nation will be moving ahead.

Let me say frankly that our opinion, the opinion of the Political Bureau, is this: those who are prone to sponging and complaining all the time that they have too little of this and too little of that, that they want this, that and the other thing, and that it is the builders and everybody else who are to blame, and there are some causes beyond their control that prevent them from working better must give way to new forces who understand the call of the times and are ready to shoulder the tremendous responsibility.

The next five years we will make dramatic headway in machine-building. The results, however, will be felt in some cases in two to three and in others in even three to four years. We can't make it overnight, so to speak. We must improve our production performance on the basis of thoroughly thought-out organisational and technical decisions and the use of near-lying reserves and opportunities. I have visited your enterprises here, and as in the industry of other parts of the country, one can clearly see vast idle opportunities. I have come to see more clearly that you have quite a lot of difficulties, too. So you need help.

The government and the State Planning Committee are drafting a resolution now on measure to ensure comprehensive development of the productive forces of the Far Eastern economic region.

There are provisions for fuller and more comprehensive use of the raw-material base in non-ferrous metallurgy and the timber and fishing industries of the Far East by developing complementary processing facilities. Measures are planned to strengthen the heat- and power-supply industries and to develop the transportation system, including railways and highways, ports, inland water and air transport. There are also plans to enhance the production potential of construction organisations. I would say that this will to a large extent decide the pace of general changes in the Far East.

The draft resolution pays primary attention to the social sphere. It provides for higher rates and a broader scope in the construction of housing, child-care centres, hospitals, out-patient clinics, polyclinics and schools. Great funds are being allocated to these measures.

It must be noted right here, however, that



without proper organisational work for the resolution, it will have the same fate as the previous ones which, incidentally, were adopted at your requests. The unsatisfactory situation in many areas is associated precisely with poor implementation of the projected measures and unsatisfactory use of the available reserves and opportunities. You must attend more closely to economic problems and analyse all developments and facts in depth and in line with modern requirements.

Your territory is a very important industrial region of the Far East and has a considerable material and technical potential. You have a high standard of personnel training, with nearly 40 per cent of the people engaged in your economy having a higher or specialised secondary education. More than 50 per cent of your certified specialists have engineering and technical training. The territory is rich in natural resources. So much more annoying is the fact that a large share of these benefits do not duly serve economic and social progress.

Your territory is packed with enterprises representing various branches of machine-building. Development is particularly fast in such priority directions as machine-tool engineering, the electrotechnical industry and heavy electrical engineering. The country receives from you high-productive automatic turret lathes, technological equipment for foundry shops, diesel engines and generators and various cranes which are all in great demand. The power transformers and various cable products manufactured in your territory practically fully meet the demand of all regions of the Far East for such products.

However, the attainment of the high projected targets and the course of intensification call for more and, specifically, for acceleration. And this means that there can be no complacency in the face of shortcomings.

It is abnormal that the greater part of the new transfer lines and machine-tools are used to stock up new plants and production facilities and less to replace operational stock. At the end of the previous five-year plan the rate of equipment replacement decreased, while the rate of old equipment withdrawal has dropped from 3.7 to 3.5.

All this could not but affect the five-year results. Production growth is behind the rates of growth in the fixed production assets. With the 40 per cent growth of fixed assets in the 11th five-year plan, the capital productivity has decreased by 14 per cent. Now, count the effect for the nation of such use of the great potential which is at the disposal of the workers in Khabarovsk Territory.

There has also been a decline in the share of top-quality products in the general industrial output of the territory over the 11th five-year plan. The economic executives have grown used to a situation where consumers accept everything for lack of something better. But what about conscience in this case and about the country's need for more cost-effective, reliable and higher-quality products? There are many enterprises which have been putting out the same products manufactured by the same old methods for 10 or even 15 years on end, and not really caring. I will put it straight for you: the managers in this case should not be paid anything, since everything is done by the workers. After all, the primary responsibility of the director and of the whole managerial staff of the country is satisfying the demand for ever new economical and reliable products meeting the highest requirements. That's where their responsibility lies.

There are unpardonable delays in introducing new production facilities and the utilisation rate is often too low. This refers to 70 per cent of the industrial works commissioned or modernised over the past ten years. This means that all the new assets, and here I provisionally refer to the assets which have been in service for up to 10 years, are just badly used, while the old assets do

not secure the desired efficiency and consequently quality, for the simple reason that they are worn out and involve repeated repairs, manpower and cost overruns and downtime. Are these the approaches on which to make progress and to secure acceleration?

For example, yesterday we visited an exhibition and I asked about the rate of utilisation of transfer lines. It proved to be 50 per cent. Transfer lines, or the things which boost labour productivity, are used to only half capacity! So where is the Party attention and control supposed to prick awake the conscience of certain of our executive workers?

In 1975, or more than ten years ago, the Bikinskaya knitwear factory was put into operation. However, even ten years later it is running at only 40 per cent of its capacity. This means that our money there lies idle. With the design personnel number of 1,240, the factory employs only 520 workers or only 40 per cent of the required work force. The principal explanation for the factory's poor performance is the shortage of manpower and specialists. But has this transpired only now? This must have been known all along. This means that the initial design should have provided both for the construction of production facilities and for the establishment of an adequate social groundwork. What kind of a saving policy is this? It is the reverse of a saving policy and an insult to that notion. They have made the project cheaper by cutting off all the expenses on the development of non-productive spheres. But without this non-productive sphere the productive sphere is dead. So this means killing the whole thing. Were the local authorities and the Ministry of Textile Industry of the Russian Federation not aware of this situation from the very beginning?

In the Khabarovsk clothing association *Vostok*, the rate of equipment utilisation is just above 50 per cent. This is all very wrong, comrades. At this time and with such poignant tasks facing us such misuse of the available potential is inadmissible! Why, it needs only to be put into operation and it will secure the desired acceleration.

There are many unresolved problems in capital construction, too. In the 11th five-year plan the lag from the plan in terms of introduction of fixed assets added up to nearly one and a half billion roubles or 21 per cent. All the yearly plans for utilisation of capital investments in construction and assembly work failed. Or take the frittering away of funds and resources. At the moment there are thousands of unfinished construction projects in the territory. As a result, the volume of unfinished construction exceeds 1,100 million roubles. The construction agencies of the territory are working with a remarkable lack of rhythm. Many projects are commissioned in the second half of the year. By the results for the first six months of 1986, for example, only 16 per cent of the new fixed assets planned for the year have been commissioned. This decidedly wrong practice has long been condemned. The economic and social consequences of this kind of "management" are known only too well. This is perfectly clear to all of you.

Take the problems for development of agriculture. The Central Committee is worried that you are increasing the load on state resources with every passing year. You place demands on the centre and others, but you do not fulfil your plans and state orders although these orders are ensured by big investments and material-technical means received by the Khabarovsk Territory. Over the past five years state subsidies have increased.

Yesterday we visited the Krasnorechensky State Farm. This farm makes a good showing—it has ensured high productivity, harvests and profits. But the heads of nearby state farms were present there, and the picture at their farms is quite different—great losses, low yields of milk and poor harvests. If at all state farms milk yields were the same as at the Krasnorechensky State

Farm, there would be twice as much milk produced in the Khabarovsk Territory.

Why cannot such a powerful and vast industry and economy of your territory help small-scale farming which possesses just 275,000 hectares of ploughland? The whole farm output is consumed within the Khabarovsk Territory. What hinders your progress? Parasitic attitudes, a belief that everything you need will be given and sent to you. But if all argue and act in this vein, we shall not achieve success. Of course, you will not be fully self-sufficient, but it is impermissible to justify mismanagement in the agrarian sector which is directly linked with satisfaction of the needs of the working people.

You, comrades, should more vigorously restructure the management of enterprises and the guidance of Party organisations in the agro-industrial complex. At present good conditions have been created for developing that complex. These conditions are perhaps the most favourable as compared with other branches of the economy.

I would like to specially touch on the service sector and the output of consumer goods. This is directly linked with the Party's social policy and with invigorating the human factor, that is, with what the Party Congress has regarded as being of paramount importance. As you know, of late serious measures have been taken for stimulating the output of consumer goods not just at specialised enterprises but at practically all factories, including defence works. But the situation remains tense. Serious efforts are needed to dispel the tension and ensure a normal commodity-money turnover.

Frankly speaking, what we have heard in Komsomolsk-on-Amur is distressing or even arouses indignation. Many problems can be solved through the forces of the territory or even the city. These questions, comrades, are of no minor importance. The living conditions of the working class tell on the productivity of labour and public sentiments. Incidentally, the people of the city themselves are offering their services. They are ready to participate if the city's authorities start enabling the city and the recreation zone and solving other questions. They are also ready to take part in housing construction.

Today a certain investment volume has been earmarked for each region and republic. At the June Plenary Meeting we have said: ensure the fulfilment of the five-year plan with lower investment and use the funds thus released for developing the social sphere, housing stock, and so on. The people of Chelyabinsk have considered the task. It has turned out that about 10 per cent of investment can be channelled from industrial construction to housing and construction of childcare centres. Now they are solving these problems. This is one approach.

However, in Komsomolsk-on-Amur we have seen a different approach. Powerful ministries, numerous work collectives, a high concentration of the working class, but one has to wait for a flat for ten to fifteen years. Perhaps the managers of that city are present here. I feel that in general they are good and competent people. But when I think of their attitude to social problems my respect for them is diminishing. If economic executives and managers neglect the social sphere, leave it to the end, I can state point-blank that our plans will be doomed, the up-to-date production facilities—flexible and robotised production, numerically controlled machining centres, and so on—will be dead. Proper conclusions must be drawn from this, and the situation must be immediately put right.

Yesterday we saw at your exhibition how the territory will develop under the 12th five-year plan. It has turned out that under the 11th five-year plan your housing construction was at the level of the 10th five-year plan. There was no increment. It is strange that everything was growing while the rates of housing construction



remained at the same level. Childcare centres and medical establishments were built even in lower volumes. Such a policy, comrades, cannot be tolerated.

On the whole, the social sphere must occupy a worthy place in the work of the territorial Party organisation, of all economic executives and managers. We shall be unable to assure further development of the Far East without this. What is available today is not used to the full. There is no use setting up new capacities if the development of the social infrastructure of the region lags behind. We shall give some assistance to Komsomolsk-on-Amur. It is necessary to reconsider some questions, to support the city. But the main task, comrades, is in your hands.

I would like also to speak about the service sphere.

It is improper, comrades, that the people of Khabarovsk Territory receive a half or a third of the services in repair and construction of dwellings, repair of footwear, manufacture of furniture, and so on, that is the average for the Russian Federation as a whole. The Soviets of People's Deputies and economic managers should regard these issues as a vital task of theirs. Many managers act quite rightly when they develop the service sphere at their enterprises. This ends labour turnover, workers are optimistic and dedicated. One does not have to be a great politician to understand this.

There is much room for displaying initiative in making household chores easier, in developing tourism, in establishing a basis for sport, recreation and in promoting the cultural sphere. The Maritime and Khabarovsk Territories have unique vast opportunities for this. You, comrades, should give proper attention to these matters. The attitude to the service sphere as to something of secondary importance must be resolutely done away with. The 27th Congress of the CPSU urged a strong social policy. Through such a policy we must invigorate the human factor and put into action the enormous potential possessed by our country, by our society. This will enable us to go ahead, to achieve acceleration. Such is the demand of the Party Congress. Such is the condition for restructuring the economy, and all of life. This is the prime and sacred task for Party, municipal and economic leaders of all ranks.

And one more point. You have not drawn the attention of a large number of industrial enterprises to the production of consumer goods. Those who avoid producing such goods must change their attitudes radically. How are you thinking, comrades, of satisfying the market? Earnings in Komsomolsk-on-Amur are high. But the reasonable requirements of the people cannot be satisfied because there is not enough to spend the money on. One does not need to be a great expert on political economy to see and understand the situation. However, I feel I have to remind you of this.

Initiative, persistence and a search for new forms of helping the population in individual working activity are required in tackling the problems of eliminating the scarcity of goods and services. Specifically, in their letters to central bodies, many working people call for wide development of different co-operative associations and producers' co-operatives which seem to have been prematurely eliminated in the 1950s and 1960s.

More and more people stand for the use of auxiliary branches at enterprises of the state and co-operative sectors for providing the population with services and consumer goods. It is rightly pointed out that these branches can involve such types of raw materials and labour resources in economic turnover which today simply cannot be tapped by large enterprises. Enterprises themselves must help people. Providing workers with services by enterprises themselves must be encouraged in every way. Managers who are engaged in this deserve most vigorous support.

Let us be blunt, comrades. The old tradition of demanding plan output persists: get on with building and producing growth. And how working people are living is a secondary consideration for some economic executives. This must be condemned proceeding from the demands of the Congress. Social problems are particularly topical here in the Far East where economic development faces a shortage of personnel. This shortage of personnel takes place because large-scale migration of the population is going on due to the absence of a real developed social sphere. Generally speaking, comrades, we must solve these problems not after the development of production but along with the development of production. Now that production capacities have been deployed to a considerable extent, priority should be given to social problems. There can be no other way out. We must act the way Vladimir Ilyich Lenin taught us: less high-sounding phrases, twaddle, conceit, and empty theorisation and more day-to-day concern for real deeds and meeting people's needs and requirements.

We want to step up the human factor, switching over to new forms of economic management. The Congress declared for a radical reform in management. On the instruction of the Central Committee and the government, leading scientists and experts with the participation of practical workers are drawing up an integrated concept for perfecting the system of management. Integration of leadership in branches and sub-branches will go on. Economic subunits and management bodies oriented to the final product needed by society will be set up. The function and status of central economic agencies will shortly be specified. I mean the State Planning Committee, the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, the State Committee for Science and Technology, and others.

Our country and its economy are vast. Our people live and work in varied conditions. Here in the Far East, one perhaps not only perfectly understands but just feels that it is simply impossible to manage all this vast economy only from the centre, and that much of the responsibility for the solution of numerous problems has to be shifted onto local bodies. This means they should be provided with appropriate rights.

One week ago the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on measures to continue raising the role and responsibility of the Soviets. You have, probably, familiarised yourselves with the summary of the resolution. If you carefully study it, you will see that the Soviets are provided with many rights. We will continue following this path. The Soviets should display their potential. But I would single out two points in this connection. Formerly we also took good decisions though they were, maybe, a little weaker and less specific. But those resolutions did not always work. Why?

The thing is that local Party bodies took excessive care of the Soviets and assumed the solution of many problems for which the Soviets must be responsible. This is in the first place. Furthermore, economic executives did not have due respect for the Soviets. They did not care if a Soviet demanded developing municipal transport, extending purification installations, providing amenities for the city, building houses and community facilities, and so on. Many simply turned their back on the persistent and righteous demands of the Soviets. We must get rid of this. In their activities the Soviets carry into life the very social policy which enables the people to judge about our policy in general, about its aims and priorities, and about how it serves man's needs. It is vital, comrades, to back this resolution and enable the Soviets to launch their work and be exacting to them.

As for the operation of enterprises under the new conditions, we are now developing a new economic mechanism, switching over on a large

scale to the principles of cost accounting, self-funding, and team contract and thus adapting our enterprises to actually new conditions of work. The operating resolution on the socialist enterprise (association) has become obsolete to a considerable degree. Elaboration is nearing completion of a new law on the socialist enterprise (association). It is called upon to juridically record the line towards restructuring management methods and shielding work collectives from unnecessary tutelage and sheer administration.

Prerequisites will thus be created for effective operation of the main economic link on the basis of full cost accounting, self-funding, and socialist self-government, including the establishment of enterprise councils in the same way as team councils are set up.

I would like to know your opinion. Should the draft of this law be promulgated? (*Voices: Yes, right, it would be fine.*)

I will report on your opinion to the Political Bureau. I think we should take such a step. It is very important.

One more point, comrades. The development of people's creative activity, raising of responsibility for the job entrusted to one, and the strengthening of discipline and order in the country are closely linked with two such serious things as the development of democracy in the country and continued implementation of the principles of social justice. The people have responded to the Party's calls and are joining in the real process not only in work collectives but within the framework of the social process in general. This should be welcomed.

I say straight out. Our Party, government and economic personnel must learn to work under the conditions of extending democracy, stepping up the human factor, and developing people's initiative. To tell the truth, some of our personnel have resented people's oversensitive reaction to the processes taking place in society. Some of the unquiet but interested people believing in our system and ideology and worrying about the success of the cause have often been labelled as demagogues. Various mechanisms were invented to get rid of such people but in such a way as to get around accusations that criticism had been suppressed.

It is now vital to ensure everywhere people's real participation in running production affairs and solving the problems facing the cities, regions, territories, and society in general. Of course, demagogues may avail themselves of the democratisation. But there are very few of them. Most people want a healthy social atmosphere. They want the leaders to be closer to the working people, to ask their advice, to report back to them and to tell them what is happening. They want the leaders to be looking to make all things clear and to enable each citizen to say what he feels deep down.

Lenin used to say that an illiterate person stands outside politics. Now we have made our country the most literate in the world. People's desire to participate in the management of public and state affairs is natural. Everybody must realise this and rebuild their thinking and approaches. The methods in work of the leaders of Party bodies must be such as to rely on this people's activeness, political as well as labour. There may be useful proposals. There may be proposals to act on which the conditions are not ripe; then stand up and say that.

Generally, comrades, the style of work has to be changed. It must be imbued with respect for the people, their opinion and with a real, not sham closeness to them. Actually reaching out—listening to, meeting with and informing citizens is what we need. And the harder the job in hand, the more often we must meet with them, be with them when a task is being solved. Our citizens are responsive; they're a remarkable people, without any parallel anywhere. The greatest staying  
(Continued on next page)



# Mikhail Gorbachyov's conversation with Jambyn Batmunnh

MOSCOW, August 12, TASS:

A MEETING took place today between Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Jambyn Batmunnh, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic.

They spoke highly of broad and multifaceted Soviet-Mongolian co-operation but noted that the reserves available in this field were still used

far from fully. The task of further increasing the effectiveness of bilateral economic relations remained on the agenda.

Mikhail Gorbachyov and Jambyn Batmunnh expressed concern about international tensions persisting through the fault of bellicose US quarters. In these conditions it was of prime significance to further strengthen the unity and cohesion of socialist countries and ensure their ever more vigorous interaction in working out and executing a concerted policy to fend off the threat of a nuclear war and consolidate universal peace.

Stress was laid on the role of processes taking place in the Asian-Pacific region, which determined in many ways the destiny of peace in general. Confidence was expressed that it was

necessary to foster relations of peace, co-operation and good-neighbourliness there.

Jambyn Batmunnh put a high value on the new Soviet initiatives meeting the interests of stronger security for the Asian and Pacific countries and of the limitation and reduction of arms, first of all nuclear arms. Consonant with these ideas was Mongolia's proposal, reiterated by the 19th Congress of the MPRP, for building a mechanism to rule out use of force in relations among states in that region as well as the known peace initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

The meeting, which passed in a cordial atmosphere, bore out the full identity of views held by the two fraternal parties and countries on all issues discussed. □

(Continued from previous page)

power marks them, and they show the biggest political activeness. And it is now on the rise. This must be welcomed and encouraged in every way. Let us hold that we have agreed about this in the Khabarovsk Party branch.

Mention of publicity is in order here. You hear sometimes: But do we really need all this wide criticism, self-criticism and publicity launched by the Central Committee? I shall tell you that we have only gained so far, losing nothing. The people have felt a surge of energy, they are bolder, more active at work and in public life. And, you know, all who tried to evade our laws now sing small. For there is nothing stronger than the force of public opinion when it can be realised. And it is only realised when there's criticism, self-criticism and broad publicity. We need publicity to accomplish the tasks set by the Congress, to get the people really involved in all the matters of state administration, a dream of Lenin's.

By the way, many city and regional newspapers are conspicuously silent. National newspapers speak loud and clear supporting everything positive and criticising the blunders and flaws, but not so the local newspapers. When a group of their editors was gathered in the Central Committee, they said plainly: "Well, you tell that to our city and district Party committee secretaries." Indeed, why should the public not know about what is happening in the district or city? And judge that, speak out if need be. This is what socialism is all about, comrades. Are newspaper editors present here? (A voice: Yes, there are.)

I hope that city and district Party committee secretaries will take this into account. They are in charge. They are their newspapers. You shouldn't fear publicity, comrades. We are strong, the public is for socialism, for the policy of the Party, for change, for readjustment. In general, the build-up of publicity by patchwork is intolerable. Publicity isn't a short-term campaign, but a norm of contemporary Soviet life, a constant, unbroken process in which some tasks are solved and new—usually, more difficult—arise.

The same applies to criticism and self-criticism. If we do not subject ourselves to criticism and analysis, what will happen then? We have a direct need of this, a vital need if the Party and society are to function normally.

We, comrades, understand that very much now depends on our cadres, on the Party activists. Today most of these people hold the position they have won by their work, by their personal contribution to the country's cause. Enormous is their role as the organisers of people, as economic organisers, as the promoters

## Mikhail Gorbachyov's greetings to Russian language teachers' congress

MOSCOW, August 11, TASS:

MIKHAIL GORBACHYOV, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has sent a cordial message of greetings to the 6th International Congress of Russian Language and Literature Teachers in Budapest, saying:

The present-day trends of development of the world community urgently demand constructive interaction of states and peoples on a global scale. A special role in forming such relations belongs to language studies.

The Russian language is a good example. Together with other languages it is used widely in the interests of mutual understanding and co-operation among most different countries and assists mutually beneficial international economic contacts.

of Party policy at this stage in Soviet society's development. Ambitious, highly interesting work has been undertaken in the nation.

I want to inform you that we have decided to devote the next Central Committee plenum to cadre policy. Our line is as follows, comrades: everything must develop according to the Leninist principles. We should have a match of experienced and young cadres, through constant growth and promotion of personnel based on their political and professional qualities.

All our cadres, of course, need support. And this support will be forthcoming from the Central Committee and local Party committees. But it will combine with exactingness. I think this is a correct approach because trust presupposes, rather than excludes, high exactingness. Only in such an atmosphere will all the cadres act confidently and handle matters successfully. When there is such an atmosphere, it protects the people from errors, from possible blunders in their work. This is what we need. Therefore we propose to discuss this question at the Central Committee plenum in the light of the new tasks set by the Congress.

You, comrades, have everything to conduct cadre policy more successfully, drawing on the experience amassed. Don't wait for the Plenum and its decisions, but, on the contrary, even in the run-up to the Plenum, do much to raise the level of cadre work.

Translations of a large number of scientific papers, books of fiction and research, technological and political information from many languages of the world into Russian are published all the time. It acts thereby also as one of the more informative languages of the times.

Your congress is taking place in the Year of Peace. The Soviet people, who give their active backing to the aspirations and actions for peace by all people of goodwill, are proud that the Russian language is seen as a language of peace and friendship, and that it is in Russian that a call has been made from the podium of the 27th Congress of the CPSU for creating a comprehensive system of international security.

The present-day world needs efforts by all people to strengthen trust among nations and promote all-round cultural co-operation. Your association, which unites experts in Russian philology from nearly 70 countries, has great opportunities for fulfilling this noble and truly historic mission. □

In conclusion, I want to say: I have benefited greatly from my communication with the working people, leaders and the Party activists in the Far East. I have had a frank Party-spirited talk with many here, discussing the current situation and long-term goals, the real problems in the life of our society and the activity of the Party.

The Maritime and Khabarovsk territorial Party branches are big Party branches working in very important regions of our country. They are working for big targets right now, and still more significant will be tackled tomorrow.

Allow me, comrades, to wish you great success in your undertakings, undertakings our people and society need, and to express the confidence that you will contribute what the Party expects from you.

(Pravda, August 2. In full.) □

**STATEMENT**  
by Mikhail Gorbachyov,  
General Secretary of CPSU  
Central Committee  
January 15, 1986.

Available from Soviet Booklets, 3 Rosary  
Gardens,  
LONDON, SW7 4NW. Free.



# Mikhail Gorbachyov's meeting with Truong Chinh

MOSCOW, August 12, TASS:

A MEETING has been held between Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Truong Chinh, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and Chairman of Vietnam's State Council.

Mikhail Gorbachyov cordially congratulated Truong Chinh on his election as General Secretary of the CPV Central Committee and wished him great success in his work at this high post.

The leaders of the two parties exchanged views on various aspects of the present-day international situation, and discussed the present state of and prospects for the further development of Soviet-Vietnamese relations.

Mikhail Gorbachyov described the course of implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, which marked a qualitatively new stage in the development of the Soviet State.

He stressed that at present, every communist, every Soviet person was striving to apply maximum effort to translate into life the tasks advanced by the Congress, to display creative initiative and persistence, and concentrate attention on overcoming difficulties and shortcomings.

"The Party regards this as an earnest of the success of the newly-started restructuring of the entire life of the country. The familiarisation with local conditions, including the trip to the far eastern regions, confirms the reality of the programme planned at the Congress for accelerating the social and economic development of the Soviet State," Mikhail Gorbachyov observed.

"The Soviet people know that by their conscientious work they are contributing to the consolidation of the economic and political might of the Soviet Union, of the entire socialist community."

Truong Chinh briefed Mikhail Gorbachyov on the state of affairs in Vietnam and the course of preparations for the 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam. "Under the guidance of the Communist Party the working people of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have achieved substantial success in building the material and technological basis of socialism, developing socialist culture and ensuring their homeland's reliable protection. At the same time the country is experiencing certain difficulties. The Viet-

namese people are fully resolved to overcome them," the General Secretary of the CPV Central Committee said. "The Communist Party of Vietnam, rallying its ranks still closer together around the Central Committee, mobilises the working people's energies and leads them confidently along the chosen path."

Mikhail Gorbachyov confirmed once again that the Soviet Union would continue to support the Vietnamese people and to give them the necessary assistance in performing the tasks facing them in the future, too.

Mikhail Gorbachyov and Truong Chinh spoke with satisfaction about the steady strengthening and development of Soviet-Vietnamese friendship and co-operation based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. They discussed additional measures to increase the efficiency of trade, economic, scientific and technological relations between the USSR and the SRV.

They declared the readiness of both countries to continue taking an active part in developing international socialist production co-operation and in accelerating scientific and technological progress.

Mikhail Gorbachyov and Truong Chinh stressed the identity of the Soviet and Vietnamese views on the international situation. The prime issue, that of war and peace, required a continued mobilisation of all peace-minded and progressive forces to decisive efforts to prevent a nuclear war.

Both leaders expressed concern over the dangerous development of the situation in the Asian-Pacific region. It was pointed out that the militarisation and the aggravation of the military threat in that part of the world were beginning to gain a dangerous momentum.

The Soviet Union and Vietnam oppose this development of events. They believe that the pooling of the efforts of all countries, as well as co-operation, along with full respect for the right of each nation to live as it chooses and to independently resolve its problems in conditions of peace, are in line with their interests.

Truong Chinh fully supported the new Soviet initiatives put forward in the important Vladivostok speech of Mikhail Gorbachyov, initiatives aimed at normalising the situation in the Asian-Pacific region and including it in the overall process of the creation of an all-embracing system of international security.

He pointed out that the holding of an Asian-Pacific conference with the participation of all the parties concerned in the region would make a

substantial contribution to the solution of this problem.

The Soviet Union and Vietnam, together with fraternal Laos and Kampuchea, actively come out for the turning of South-East Asia into a zone of peace, good-neighbourly relations and co-operation. The Soviet Union and Vietnam reiterate their readiness for the normalisation of relations with the People's Republic of China, which would be of much importance for the improvement of the situation in the Asian-Pacific region and for the consolidation of universal peace.

Mikhail Gorbachyov and Truong Chinh emphasised the resolve of the CPSU and the Communist Party of Vietnam to further closely coordinate their actions in the international arena in the interests of peace and socialism.

Truong Chinh invited Mikhail Gorbachyov to pay an official friendly visit to Vietnam. The invitation was accepted with gratitude. The date of the visit will be agreed upon through diplomatic channels.

The meeting was held in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding, fraternity and cordiality. □

## Statement by the USSR Foreign Ministry

MOSCOW, August 12, TASS:

THE following statement has been made today to the US Chargé d'Affaires to the USSR:

"In connection with the anniversary of the defence measures taken by the GDR on the border with West Berlin on August 13, 1961, some actions have taken place and have been planned in that city with the support or direct participation of the authorities of the FRG and West Berlin, whose aim is, to all appearances, a deliberate kindling of hatred for the USSR and the GDR and, in the final analysis, a sharpening of the situation around West Berlin as a whole.

"In an atmosphere of hysteria whipped up by some mass media and through the statements of officials, including some representatives of the three Western powers, a number of dangerous provocations and acts of terrorism have already been staged on the border between West Berlin and the GDR. A number of other measures, including in the building of the former Reichstag with the participation of the FRG officials, have been planned in the city. Openly revanchist organisations are taking direct part in preparations for and in staging some acts.

"It is absolutely obvious that the hostile campaign started in West Berlin poisons the atmosphere in the city and around it, and is incompatible with the interests of maintaining a tranquil and normal atmosphere there.

"As is known, in accordance with the quadripartite agreement of September 3, 1971, the USA, Britain and France are to contribute to preventing complications and tensions in the area where the agreement is in effect. The US side cannot but realise all the consequences with which the attempts of certain circles at acting contrary to the spirit and letter of the quadripartite agreement are fraught.

"The Soviet side expects the US authorities to take measures to put an end to above said provocative actions in West Berlin, which are hostile to the cause of peace."

On the same day, similar statements were made at the USSR Foreign Ministry to the British and French Chargés d'Affaires to the USSR. □

## On Soviet-American consultations

MOSCOW, August 12, TASS:

"THE current consultations between Soviet and American experts on questions of space and nuclear armaments have been prompted by the need to lend additional impetus to the discussion of the questions being considered in the course of Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva," said the head of the Information Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, Gennadi Gerasimov.

"The consultations which began on August 11 are being held within the framework of preparations for a meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and US Secretary of State George Shultz," he continued, at a

briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists today.

"The Soviet delegation is led by Viktor Karpov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's department on problems of limitation of armaments and disarmament. The delegation includes Ambassador Alexei Obukhov, Nikolai Chervov, Chief of the General Staff Administration of the Armed Forces of the USSR, and Mr Detinov, an official of the apparatus of the USSR Foreign Ministry. The American delegation is led by Paul Nitze.

"The meeting is taking place in a mansion belonging to the USSR Foreign Ministry in Meshcherino, near Moscow.

"The work continued this morning, and it is planned to complete the meeting today," said the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman.

Gennadi Gerasimov noted that other meetings between Soviet and American experts  
(Continued on Page 367)



# Nikolai Ryzhkov meets Prime Minister of Sudan

MOSCOW, August 11, TASS:

"THE Sudanese people may rest assured that the profound respect and sincere sympathy entertained towards them by the Soviet Union will remain invariable," said Nikolai Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

He was making a speech in the Grand Kremlin Palace today at a dinner given on behalf of the USSR Government in honour of Prime Minister Saadiq el-Mahdi of the Republic of Sudan, who is staying in the USSR on an official visit.

Nikolai Ryzhkov pointed out that the pause in the development of the Soviet-Sudanese relations had not been connected with any changes in Soviet policy, but had been a result of the policy that was pursued by the Nimeiri regime. The Sudanese people had rejected that policy and today conditions had again emerged for Soviet-Sudanese co-operation.

"We hold", Nikolai Ryzhkov went on, "that the relations between the Soviet Union and the newly-independent countries are based on common interests.

"The Soviet Union wholly supports the striving of those countries to develop their economies in such a way that the potential wealth and creative effort of the peoples of those countries serve their own benefit, that international economic relations be based on equality and profound consideration for their interests.

"We think highly of the statement of the new Sudanese Government that it would like to develop contacts of friendship with the Soviet Union in different fields and for our part are prepared to meet these aspirations half-way," Nikolai Ryzhkov stressed. "Today's exchange of opinions on questions of bilateral relations will provide the starting point for the resumption and expansion of friendly co-operation between the Soviet Union and Sudan. The Sudanese Government will find in us an energetic champion of the further expansion and deepening of contacts and ties."

Nikolai Ryzhkov and Saadiq el-Mahdi also held talks in the Kremlin on August 11.

The state of Soviet-Sudanese relations and prospects for their development were examined in the spirit of mutual understanding. Interest was expressed in a broadening of bilateral relations in various fields on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. There is an understanding that measures will be taken for developing mutually beneficial trade-economic co-operation, and broadening ties in the field of culture, education, health protection and sports. The wish was expressed for intensifying mutual exchanges both along government and public lines.

Nikolai Ryzhkov and Saadiq el-Mahdi pointed out with satisfaction the identity of their stands on many international issues, and the usefulness of the talks held. They expressed the confidence that they would give fresh impetus to the strengthening of relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Sudan in various fields. □

## Nikolai Ryzhkov meets Ioan Totu

NIKOLAI RYZHKOV, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, received on August 5 in the Kremlin Ioan Totu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

They exchanged views on a number of questions relating to Soviet-Romanian relations, the implementation of the Long-Term Programme for Economic, Scientific and Technological Co-operation between the USSR and the SRR for the Period Ending in the Year 2000, signed earlier this year, and to the participation of the two countries in fulfilling the Comprehensive Programme for Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA member-states.

They stressed the importance of foreign economic contacts in accelerating the social and economic development of both countries in accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 13th RCP Congress. Special attention was paid to Soviet-Romanian co-operation in implementing joint economic projects to satisfy more fully the requirements of the two sides in the products they need.

The conversation passed in a friendly, business-like atmosphere. It was attended by Alexei Antonov, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and permanent representative of the USSR at the CMEA, Vasile Pungan, Minister of Foreign Trade and International Economic Co-operation of the SRR, and Traian Dudas, the Ambassador of the SRR to the Soviet Union.

(Pravda, August 6. In full.) □

## Nikolai Ryzhkov and Viktor Chebrikov visit Chernobyl area

KIEV, August 8, TASS:

NIKOLAI RYZHKOV, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Viktor Chebrikov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR State Security Committee, arrived in the Kiev Region today to familiarise themselves with the progress of work on eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident.

Ryzhkov and Chebrikov flew by helicopter over the damaged reactor and visited the nuclear power plant industrial site where complex engineering work, involving modern machinery, is currently under way to lay up the stricken power-generating unit, and decontaminate buildings, equipment and the area adjoining the power plant.

They familiarised themselves with the work of burying the stricken reactor, with the preparations to put into operation the first and second power-generating units, now in reserve, and with measures to ensure the reliable protection of the environment and water resources.

These questions were examined at a conference in Chernobyl. It was noted that the implementation of the large-scale and vigorous measures had made it possible to improve considerably and within a brief period the situation at the atomic power plant and in the adjoining area.

The work is being carried out in an organised way, on a broad front. It was underlined that it was necessary to use more effectively the extensive forces and resources directed at eliminating the consequences of the accident and at restoration work. □

## Eduard Shevardnadze meets Polish Foreign Minister

MOSCOW, August 6, TASS:

A MEETING was held here today between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Foreign Minister, and Marian Orzechowski, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and Foreign Minister of the Polish People's Republic. Marian Orzechowski is in the Soviet Union on holiday.

During the exchange of opinions on topical foreign policy problems it was noted, specifically,

that the course at safeguarding peace, at curbing the arms race and achieving disarmament, at the prevention of nuclear war—a course conducted consistently by countries of the socialist community—was meeting with ever growing support from peace and progressive forces of the whole world.

The importance of the new constructive Soviet initiatives advanced in Mikhail Gorbachyov's speech in Vladivostok, initiatives aimed at including the Asian-Pacific region in the overall process of creating an all-embracing system of international security, was emphasised in this connection.

Special attention was paid to the task of lowering the level of military confrontation, of consolidating peace and good-neighbourliness in Europe in the light of the proposals of the Budapest Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries. The meeting confirmed the complete identity of views and actions of the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic in international affairs. □

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# For the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security

## LETTER TO THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL

**NEW YORK, August 12, TASS:**  
*THE acting permanent representative of the Hungarian People's Republic to the UN addressed a letter on Monday to the UN Secretary-General from the foreign ministers of the Byelorussian SSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR and Czechoslovakia proposing for the inclusion in the agenda of the forty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly the item entitled 'The Establishment of a Comprehensive System of International Security'.*

*Follows the text of the letter:*

Esteemed Mr Secretary-General,

The Governments of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic propose for the inclusion in the agenda of the forty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly the item entitled 'The Establishment of a Comprehensive System of International Security'.

The introduction of this proposal is prompted by our grave concern for the destiny of peace and our preoccupation about the future of the peoples of the world. At present humanity is going through a new and extremely responsible and complex stage in its development. It is facing an historic choice: either to allow the further sliding down the path of confrontation and the arms race towards the abyss of nuclear self-destruction, or to bring its way of thinking and acting in conformity with the realities of the nuclear and space age and restructure international relations on the basis of co-operation and interaction for the preservation of peace.

The new thinking which demands that statesmen be guided in their behaviour by the interests of all of mankind and its survival is dictating the need for a new approach to the problems of ensuring security in the world. In the conditions of today no state, however powerful, can rely on defending itself solely by military or technological means. The maintenance of security becomes ever more a political task; its accomplishment requires a realisation that reliable security of all countries and peoples, peaceful conditions for their development and progress can be achieved only by political means and through joint efforts of all states, big and small, developed and developing, regardless of their political or social system. This implies renunciation of the use or threat of force and peaceful settlement between states. In our complex, contradictory but interdependent and generally integral world of today security is indivisible, it can be universal and equal for all.

Today it is more than ever necessary to comply strictly with the principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-use or threat of force, inviolability of frontiers and territorial integrity, peaceful settlement and other generally recognised norms of international relations.

We are convinced that the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security embracing military, political as well as economic and humanitarian fields would be in the vital interests of all states and peoples without exception.

In the military field it is more imperative than ever before to take resolute and specific measures aimed at ending the arms race, beginning real disarmament, and removing the military threat. It is vitally important to eliminate nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons completely and everywhere before the end of this century, keep outer space free of weapons, reduce military arsenals of states to the levels sufficient for the need of defence.

Practical steps for the reduction of arms and disarmament, accompanied by a corresponding reduction in military expenditures of states, will release enormous material, financial and human resources for peaceful creative purposes including the overcoming of economic backwardness in many regions of the world.

In the political field in order to ensure universal security all members of the international community should work for a strict observance of the right of every people to decide independently its own destiny for the elimination of hotbeds of tension in the Middle and Near East, in South East Asia, in Central America, in southern Africa, and in other regions of the world, should contribute to just settlement of conflict situations and disputes between states by peaceful means, and should ensure the prevention of international terrorism.

The economic plight of developing countries and the neo-colonialist exploitation to which they are subjected are fraught with serious consequences for peace and the entire system of international relations. The interests of security in the world and in some of its regions require that efforts be made with a view to restructuring the entire system of international economic relations on a democratic basis, establishing a new international economic order which would give equal economic security to all states, overcoming underdevelopment, and solving on a global and just basis the problem of external indebtedness.

The establishment of a comprehensive system of international security also implies broad co-operation in the humanitarian field. The security of states is inseparable from the struggle for the full implementation—together with respect for the sovereignty of states—of human rights in all fields and in particular of the right to life in the conditions of peace and freedom.

The United Nations has made an important contribution to the formation of both thinking and acting in a manner consistent with the nuclear and space age, to the overcoming of the extremely dangerous notion that wars and armed conflicts are admissible. The declaration on the strengthening of international security and other General Assembly declarations and resolutions, the decisions taken at its first and second special sessions devoted to disarmament, the studies prepared by the UN on various aspects of international security along with the constructive proposals of the non-aligned states, the New Delhi Declaration and other proposals of the six states of four continents as well as of the Palme Commission have played a positive part in the struggle for reducing tensions and for the improvement of international relations. At the same time the present-day international situation is calling for further vigorous efforts by states and peoples, for concrete measures in all spheres of international relations for building a truly positive peace based on a reliable comprehensive system of international security rather than on the mere absence of wars.

The United Nations, true to the purposes and principles of its Charter, must, in our view, take this challenge of our times and work out a fundamental document which would spell out the

basic principles of the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security and would serve as guidelines in its practical activities in providing material, political, legal, moral and psychological guarantees for that system. That would be consistent with the need for a stronger UN role in the maintenance of peace and security, in furthering co-operation among all states, and in promoting principles and norms of international law.

All appropriate considerations and proposals of representatives of states and peoples must be taken into account in the process.

The consideration by the General Assembly at its forty-first session of the question of the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security and the adoption of an appropriate decision would be a concrete step in this direction and would be fully in line with the task of marking 1986—the International Year of Peace—with a turn to a better and safer world. At the same time it would add a new perspective to the efforts by all states to ensure peace and international security, to competely eradicate wars from the life of mankind, to establish a new international economic order and to overcome underdevelopment, and to promote the economic and social development of all peoples.

Please regard, Mr. Secretary-General, this letter as an explanatory note envisaged by the rules of procedure of the UN General Assembly and circulate it, as well as the draft resolution attached, as an official document of the UN General Assembly.

**Supplement**

**Draft Resolution**

### ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMPREHENSIVE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

The General Assembly,

**deeply concerned** over the tense and dangerous situation in the world, the danger of sliding down the path of confrontation and the arms race towards the abyss of nuclear self-destruction of humanity,

**conscious** of the urgent need for strengthening the foundations of universal security, on the basis of the UN Charter and compliance with the generally recognised norms and principles of international law,

**conscious** of the growing interdependence of countries and the fact that today's world has no reasonable alternative to the policy of co-operation and interaction among states, pursued on the basis of equality with unconditional respect for the right of each people to make its sovereign choice of the ways and forms of its development,

**reaffirming** the important role of the United Nations as an irreplaceable forum for holding talks and achieving agreements on measures to strengthen international peace, security and co-operation and to democratise international relations,

**having discussed** the question of the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security,

**calls** upon states to focus their efforts on ensuring equal security for all and in all spheres of international relations and for these purposes to make their contribution to the elaboration of the document containing basic principles of a comprehensive system of international security,

**decides** to continue the discussion of this question at its forty-second session. □



# Press conference at USSR Foreign Ministry

## MIKHAIL KAPITSA ABOUT THE SOVIET MORATORIUM

MOSCOW, August 6, TASS:

"MANY statesmen and political figures of foreign countries have addressed and are addressing the Soviet Government in connection with the question of an extension of the unilateral moratorium on all nuclear tests.

"This question will be considered with due regard for these addresses and for how much, in our evaluation, the United States is seriously prepared to negotiate an end to nuclear tests," stated Mikhail Kapitsa, a Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR. He was speaking today at a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists at the press centre of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In answer to a question as to when a decision on this matter would be announced, Kapitsa stated that it would be "within the next few days".

Speaking about the situation in Asia, the Deputy Foreign Minister said that today it was essential first of all to strengthen relations between states there in order to strengthen security and co-operation in the region.

"We are prepared to broaden co-operation with the United States, a Pacific country," he went on to say, "but it should be clear that the Pacific is not an 'American lake' and we shall never recognise it as such."

He rebuffed assertions by some US ranking administration officials that 'US western borders pass five thousand miles from San Francisco' as obvious claims to domination in the Pacific.

"The Soviet Union would like to have a serious discussion with the United States on the issues of military detente in the Pacific, an end to the arms build-up, restraints on naval activities, and confidence-building measures there," Kapitsa said.

He spoke positively of relations with ASEAN countries. "We are prepared to co-operate with this group, maintain dialogue with it and

encourage links between the CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) and the ASEAN countries in every way," he said.

The Deputy Foreign Minister added that it was planned to have a whole number of reciprocal visits and also to raise the level of contacts and consultations with ASEAN countries.

He said that the Soviet Union was prepared to consider reducing troops in Asia and that this could be started with the Far East.

Kapitsa also expressed the Soviet Union's readiness to discuss with the Chinese People's Republic commensurate cuts in Soviet and Chinese troops stationed along the border.

Kapitsa also said that "the Soviet Union is prepared to take part in collective measures to increase trade in the region, including participation, first as an observer and then as a member of appropriate forums, in the Pacific economic community."

What the Soviet Union was suggesting, he said, was a wide-ranging peace programme aiming at gradually setting the stage, by moving step by step and conducting dialogue at different levels, for an Asian-Pacific conference like the Helsinki forum.

He voiced the hope that in time Asia would hold such a conference and work out a pan-Asian code of conduct and co-operation.

Referring to the USSR's relations with Japan, the Deputy Foreign Minister stated that the Soviet Union "attaches much significance" to them and that they had noticeably improved over recent years.

He described as "very successful" this year's reciprocal visits by the Soviet and Japanese foreign ministers and also added that "we would like to impart more diversity to our relationship with Japan and find new ways of developing it."

After saying that an exchange of top-level visits was now also being considered, the Deputy Foreign Minister said "the Soviet side is preparing for the Soviet leader's visit and thinking of the content to be given to this visit and talks."

Answering a question from a Japanese correspondent about the so-called territorial

issue in relations between the two countries, Kapitsa said: "The existence of differences on some issues should not prevent contacts between states or keep their relations from developing."

He expressed the conviction that interest would be growing in Japan in closer contacts with the Soviet Union in science and technology, as there was a special development programme being drawn up in the USSR for Siberia and the Far East.

Mikhail Kapitsa drew the journalists' attention to the section of Mikhail Gorbachyov's Vladivostok speech which expressed interest in the restoration of a comradely dialogue between China and Vietnam.

"The situation in South-East Asia is not simple, although it is now less acute than several years ago," he said. "The countries of Indochina have repeatedly made statements expressing their desire to end military clashes and confrontation in the region and to look for a political settlement.

"They are prepared to conduct talks on national reconciliation with various political forces on condition of the total exclusion of the Pol Pot men. The socialist system is being consolidated in Vietnam and Laos, and the people's democratic system is being consolidated in Kampuchea. The developments there are irreversible."

Kapitsa described as positive the fact that the ASEAN countries, if not all of them then some, were maintaining contacts and conducting a dialogue, in one form or another, with the countries of Indochina.

"The Iran-Iraq war is both deplorable and senseless," the USSR's Deputy Foreign Minister declared to the journalists.

"It has been the Soviet Union's stance from the very beginning that the war should be ended as soon as possible. It will only bring more calamities to the belligerents," he said.

"We have been constantly urging both sides to agree to end the hostilities, pull back their troops and start talks." □

### Shevardnadze meets Dost

MOSCOW, August 9, TASS:

EDUARD SHEVARDNADZE, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Foreign Minister of the USSR, today met Shah Mohammad Dost, member of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and Foreign Minister of Afghanistan, who is returning from Geneva following the second stage of the seventh round of the Afghan-Pakistani talks on a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

During the friendly conversation, the ministers exchanged views on issues related to this settlement, and stressed that the quickest settlement would meet the interests of ensuring peace in the vast region of Asia and would make a substantial contribution to improving the overall international situation.

It was observed that the decision to return to the Soviet Union a part of the Soviet military contingent from Afghanistan, announced by Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his speech in Vladivostok, was creating a good basis for that.

The sides stated that the July 29, 1986 address by Najib, General Secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, to the Afghan people had found broad support in Afghanistan and beyond. □

### Meeting at CPSU Central Committee

MOSCOW, August 8, TASS:

A MEETING took place at the CPSU Central Committee today, at which matters aimed at raising the technical level of equipment manufactured in the USSR were discussed.

It was emphasised at the meeting that a special role was assigned to machine-building, in implementing the course worked out by the 27th Congress of the CPSU towards accelerating the socio-economic development of the country.

Without a qualitative upturn in machine-building, the country would not be able to ensure the implementation of the projected plans.

It was pointed out that the state of affairs in machine-building work had improved. But so far, unfortunately, it was not everywhere that the realisation of the entire programme corresponded to the requirements of the acceleration policy.

Lev Zaikov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, emphasised in his speech at the meeting that Soviet engineering workers were faced with the

task of attaining the world's highest level in the output of the main products within a space of only six to seven years.

"Present-day electronics and computing engineering are the core of technical renewal," he said. "An immense economic effect can be produced by the application of electronic computers in such branches as the petrochemical, pulp-and-paper, and metallurgical industries."

Lev Zaikov touched upon matters of scientific and technological progress and on the role of scientists. He said, in particular, that scientific workers, designers and technologists should play a greater role in the implementation of the Comprehensive Programme for the Scientific and Technological Progress of CMEA Member-Countries, a programme intended for the period ending in the year 2000.

"The experience in the establishment of joint enterprises with socialist countries is yielding good results," the speaker pointed out.

"As far as possibilities for mutually beneficial co-operation with capitalist countries are concerned, new forms should be energetically sought in this field as well," Lev Zaikov said. □



# Foreign Ministry briefing on Non-Aligned Movement

MOSCOW, August 7, TASS:

"THE Non-Aligned Movement has turned into a powerful factor over the past twenty-five years and moved into the foreground of world politics," Sergei Sinitsyn, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's department on questions of non-alignment, has declared.

He was speaking at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists on relations between the Soviet Union and the Non-Aligned Movement, held at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Press Centre today.

"The Soviet Union has backed the movement since its very inception. Different as the non-aligned nations are, the Soviet side maintains good relations with the overwhelming majority of them," he said.

"We fully respect these countries' policy of non-alignment, and we have never been biased in our approach to this movement."

"The socialist community and the Non-Aligned Movement have many things in common in the approach to such problems as a compre-

hensive nuclear test ban, non-militarisation of outer space, establishment of nuclear-free and peace zones in Africa, the Indian Ocean and the Asian and Pacific region, and the transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of lasting peace, security and co-operation," Sinitsyn said.

Together with the Non-Aligned nations, the Soviet Union favoured the establishment of a new world economic order and the convocation of an international conference to consider the interrelationship between disarmament and development.

On questions of settling the situation around Afghanistan and Kampuchea, the Soviet Foreign Ministry official stressed the need to avoid the kindling of heightening tension, even within the framework of the Non-Aligned Movement, since such a policy served the interests only of those forces which were seeking to generate tension worldwide.

"The positions of the Soviet Union and the Non-Aligned Movement might not be identical on some questions," he observed. "But this circumstance should in no way hinder the further consolidation of their co-operation in the world arena, since it is only through concerted effort by all peace-loving forces that it is possible to put a

roadblock in the path of imperialism's hegemonistic aspirations."

"It has become especially significant to developing countries nowadays to maintain efforts to ensure their economic independence," said Alexander Krasnov, Chief Editor of the Middle and Near East and Africa Desk of Novosti Press Agency.

He was speaking at a briefing for Soviet and foreign correspondents at the Press Centre of the Foreign Ministry of the USSR today, which dealt with the Soviet Union's co-operation with developing nations.

"The USSR", Krasnov said, "now has economic and technological co-operation agreements with 70 African, Asian and Latin American countries. It has helped build some 2,000 industrial and other projects there and is currently giving assistance with the construction of another 1,400 such facilities.

"The Soviet Union", Krasnov went on, "has signed trade agreements with virtually all non-aligned countries, which makes for stable sales of their commodities and regular supplies of Soviet products.

"In 1965 the USSR removed customs duties on the import of goods from developing countries and since then has furnished the most favourable conditions for increasing trade."

"There are now some 80,000 students from 113 developing countries studying at Soviet educational establishments," Krasnov pointed out. "The USSR has also helped build more than 50 institutes and technical schools and over 300 vocational training centres in these countries," he added. □

## Fidel Castro awarded Order of Lenin

MOSCOW, August 12, TASS:

THE CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have cordially congratulated Fidel Castro Ruz, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and Chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

The message said, in particular:

*On embarking upon the revolutionary path since youth, you have fully dedicated your life to the struggle for the liberation of your native land from the fetters of tyranny and imperialist domination, for the dignity, genuine sovereignty*

*and progress of the Cuban people.*

*Pages of your life are closely interwoven with the chapters of Cuba's modern history: the heroic storming of Moncada and the legendary landing from the Granma, the epic of armed struggle in the Sierra Maestra and the victory over US mercenaries at Playa Giron.*

*The Western hemisphere's first beacon of freedom and independence, lit on the Freedom Island, illuminated for the entire world to see the courage and enthusiasm of Cuba's working people building a new life under the Communist Party's guidance and prepared to defend their gains from any imperialist encroachments.*

*The remarkable accomplishments of the Cuban Revolution, the high prestige of the Republic of Cuba and its international recognition are linked with your tireless work at the head of the Party and the state.*

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet awarded Fidel Castro the Soviet Union's top decoration, the Order of Lenin, in connection with his 60th birthday. □

## Statement by Soviet representative at UN special Committee

NEW YORK, August 11, TASS:

"THE plans to militarise Micronesia, to stockpile nuclear weapons there and use its territory for missile tests create a threat not only to the Micronesian people, but also to other countries of the region," said E Kutovoi, USSR deputy permanent representative to the UN, addressing the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation. "These militaristic designs", he stressed, "are in conflict with the wish of the Pacific states to create a nuclear-free zone in the southern Pacific. □

## TASS STATEMENT

MOSCOW, August 12, TASS:

Here follows the full text of a TASS statement:

The Defence Ministry of the People's Republic of Angola reported another act of aggression by the South African military against that independent African country.

On the night of August 9 to August 10 1986, units of Angola's People's Liberation Army deployed in the area of the town of Cuito-Cuanavale were attacked by large forces of the UNITA puppet bandit group supported by tanks, armoured carriers and artillery of the South African forces. The attack has been repulsed.

One's attention is called not only to the fact of another intrusion of the racists' forces deep into Angola's territory, this time to a distance of some 300 kilometres from the Angolan-Namibian border, but also to the timing of the aggression: the Eighth Non-Aligned Summit Conference is convened in the capital of the Republic of Zimbabwe late in August. By their piratic sally the racists definitely hoped to aggravate still more the tension in southern Africa now that the conference is drawing nearer, to intimidate African and other countries that will take part in it.

This South African aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, friendly to us, evoked profound indignation in the Soviet Union. The aggression will, undoubtedly, be resolutely condemned by the overwhelming majority of countries. The Pretoria regime and those who back it should have understood long ago where such playing with fire can lead. This will not intimidate the freedom-loving peoples, and the racists will have to pay for their bloody crimes sooner or later. □

### Economy and Society in the USSR

The following booklets are available at the prices shown:

- N. Ryzhkov: **Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000** .....40p
- The Bread-Winners: the Soviet Food Programme** .....40p
- People's Well-Being in Socialist Society —work, education, health, housing, pensions and social justice** .....50p
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# Tel Aviv's speculations

By G. Savin, *Novosti* news analyst

THE recent USSR Foreign Ministry decision to hold contacts with Israel concerning Soviet immovable property in Israel and consular assistance to Soviet citizens in that country has given rise to much speculation about possible resumption of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel.

In Israel the possibility is being widely discussed by leaders of the political parties forming the ruling coalition, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the media, who tend to attribute to the decision an extraneous political meaning and give it an inadmissibly broad interpretation. In so doing they engage in wishful thinking, seeking to convince the world public, and perhaps themselves, that the Soviet Union is prepared to let bygones be bygones.

It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union and a number of socialist countries broke off diplomatic relations with Israel in protest at its June 1967 attack on several Arab countries. Since then, the Israeli rulers have said and done nothing suggesting the intention to renounce their policy of aggression and expansionism. Consequently, there is no reason for the Soviet

Union to revise its stand.

A few days ago, a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman announced at a briefing in Moscow that the forthcoming Soviet-Israeli consular contacts were totally unpolitical and it was absurd to regard them as a first step to the restoration of diplomatic relations. Nevertheless, speculation on the matter in Tel Aviv continues. Moreover, it has been taken up by the media in some Arab countries, which ignore or are unwilling to understand the fact that thereby they are joining Israel's anti-Arab campaign whose aim is to distort the Middle East policy of the Soviet Union, a loyal and reliable friend of the Arabs.

What is the purpose behind this anti-Soviet and anti-Arab campaign? First, its architects are seeking to mislead and demoralise the Arabs and make them compromise and submit. The implication is that if even the Soviet Union wants better relations with Israel, then it is all the more incumbent on the Arabs to accept separate deals and display 'flexibility and compliance', that is, to capitulate to Israel. Second, the Tel Aviv rulers are out to convince world public opinion and their own people that the attitude to Israel in the world is beginning to improve and its international isolation is diminishing. Third, thereby Israel is probing the Soviet view concerning the

resumption of Soviet-Israeli diplomatic relations broken off in 1967.

The campaign comes in the wake of the Peres visit to Morocco and the Bush visit to the Middle East, both of which sought to deepen the rifts in the Arab world, to find a weak link and to exploit it to obtain more separate deals of the Camp David type.

The Soviet Union has always been in favour of normal relations between all countries. Israel is no exception in this sense. But a normalisation in relations between the Soviet Union and Israel is contingent on a serious change in Israeli foreign policy. Better relations between them are possible only in the context of a dramatic turn in the Middle East situation, a turn towards peace and security. This has been stated repeatedly by the Soviet leaders.

This is what the Israeli leaders ought to think about, rather than waste time and effort on propaganda campaigns promoting neither peace and settlement in the Middle East, nor Israeli interests. □

## Soviet-American consultations

WASHINGTON, August 6, TASS:  
TASS correspondent Oleg Polyakovsky reports:

SOVIET-US consultations have taken place here. They dealt with matters pertaining to the implementation of the general agreement between the Government of the USSR and the Government of the USA on contacts, exchanges and co-operation in the fields of science, technology, education, culture and in other areas, as well as of the programme for co-operation and exchanges between the USSR and the USA for 1986-1988, signed in Geneva on November 21, 1985, by Eduard Shevardnadze, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, and US Secretary of State George Shultz.

During the consultations the sides pointed out that there had been more active exchanges in the above-mentioned fields since the summit meeting in Geneva between Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Ronald Reagan of the United States.

Thirteen working agreements were signed, among them ones on exchanges of exhibitions of paintings from Soviet and American museums, on wider exchanges of faculty members and students, on co-operation in the study of Russian and English and the introduction of computer technology into secondary schools.

It was agreed to resume, following a long interval, the activities of the Soviet-American Joint Committee for Health Co-operation. Provision was made for the resumption of co-operation in combatting cancerous diseases.

The Soviet side suggested an extensive plan to give greater scope to sports exchanges. The holding of the first-ever Goodwill Games in Moscow has been a great contribution to the development of these contacts.

At the close of the talks Yuri Kashlev, the leader of the Soviet delegation and head of the department of humanitarian and cultural relations of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Stephen Rhinesmith, coordinator of the President's US-Soviet exchange initiative, signed a working protocol. The protocol emphasises that the consultations are a practical contribution to the implementation of the respective provisions of the joint Soviet-US statement which was adopted by Mikhail Gorbachyov and President Ronald Reagan. This statement envisaged the expansion of exchanges and contacts between the Soviet Union and the United States. □

## The United States and the SALT-2 Treaty

MOSCOW, August 7, TASS:

TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachyov writes:

IT has now become perfectly evident that, upon having announced its decision in May 1982 not to take actions which would undermine the unratified Soviet-US SALT-2 Treaty, the Reagan Administration never intended to observe the obligation.

The meaning of that step by Washington was to try to convince the world public opinion of the US Administration's 'peaceful intentions' and at the same time, without firmly committing itself, to get an opportunity to realise claims to military superiority.

Fred Ikle, US Undersecretary of Defense, once stated in a moment of frankness that arms control treaties suited the United States only as regards the part which concerned limitations on the other side, and that they should be im-

mediately discarded as soon as they began to hinder the United States from building up its own military arsenals.

In 1986 the United States was confronted with the alternative of either stopping the deployment of cruise missiles on strategic bombers above the 'ceiling' established under the SALT-2 Treaty or abandoning the treaty.

In such conditions Washington without hesitation declared the SALT-2 Treaty to be defunct.

The US Administration's assurances about its commitment to the idea of reducing arms through international accords proved mendacious from beginning to end at the very first practical check-up.

Finalising the course started in 1981 towards undermining the accords aimed at reducing the risk of nuclear war, the US Administration is now trying to present the process of reducing arms through talks as a propaganda competition. Not more than that.

Official spokesmen of Washington try to prove that by violating the existing treaties the United States ostensibly wants to create a new arms control pattern which would be based on 'maximum restraint' without any formal agreements.

Edward Djerejian, Deputy Press Secretary of the White House, stated recently that the United States would not deploy more strategic weapons' delivery systems or strategic missile warheads than the Soviet Union.

Several days later the US *Nuclear Times* magazine reported the US Administration's decision to deploy additionally 13,000 nuclear warheads in the coming ten years.

No one can guarantee that the Pentagon will not demand soon that the number of nuclear munitions in US arsenals be trebled.

The 'concept of restraint' which Washington is now suggesting in place of the arms limitation treaties being violated by it inspires still less confidence than Reagan's 1982 declaration about his determination not to undercut the SALT-2 Treaty. □

(Continued from Page 362)

were to be held within the framework of preparations for the meeting of the foreign ministers. "Meetings will be held, for instance, to discuss regional problems, and on questions of bilateral relations. The group to discuss bilateral relations left for Washington by air today," he noted.

Speaking of the "confidentiality" being advocated in Washington, Gennadi Gerasimov said that "confidentiality is no problem to us". "However," he went on, "confidentiality is a problem for the American side." He cited a representative of the White House, Patrick Buchanan, as saying that the US delegation did not intend to make concessions and give up the SDI. "Such statements undermine the American thesis about confidentiality of the negotiations," stressed Gennadi Gerasimov.

"The Soviet Union does not have a 'Strategic Defense Initiative'; we do not have SDI, but SPI—the Strategic Peace Initiative, aimed at nuclear disarmament by the year 2000." □



# Viktor Israelyan speaks at Conference on Disarmament

GENEVA, August 7, TASS:

"IT IS necessary to put emphasis on the lessons which mankind should draw from the tragedy of Hiroshima," Viktor Israelyan, the leader of the Soviet delegation at the Conference on Disarmament, said at the conference today. "It is absurd and simply criminal to follow old, long-dead, patterns in face of the nuclear threat.

"The time has come to consider the realities of the nuclear age and not to make policy on the basis of illusions and delusions or by the yardsticks of the age that existed before August 9, 1945."

As an example of outdated political thinking, the speaker mentioned the policy of the United States which is designed to raise artificial obstacles in the path of the efforts to curb the

arms race and achieve disarmament, specifically in the matter of preventing an arms race in outer space. Contrary to obvious facts the United States is trying to persuade the world that the so-called 'Strategic Defense Initiative' is allegedly the only way to save mankind.

In contrast to the policy of 'Star Wars', the Soviet Union puts forward an alternative policy of 'Star Peace', that is, the exploration of outer space by the joint efforts of all states for peaceful purposes. In this connection the Soviet delegate presented an action programme set forth in the letter of June 12 addressed by Nikolai Ryzhkov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, to UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Most of the other participants in the Geneva conference set before themselves the aim of preventing an arms race in space. Lying on the table, next to the Soviet proposals, are concrete proposals from Sweden, Argentina, Sri Lanka, China and Australia. The recent meetings

dealing with the need to take effective steps were addressed by representatives of Indonesia, Poland, Romania, Venezuela, Czechoslovakia and other countries.

But progress on these matters, like other problems of curbing the arms race and removing the nuclear threat, is being hampered by the policy pursued by the delegations of the USA and some of its allies.

Donald Lowitz, the leader of the American delegation, speaking at the last meeting, tried again to present the Washington Administration as something like the only advocate of peace and disarmament. Equally strange was his assertion that the bomb dropped on Hiroshima gave rise to thousands of hopes, 'revolutionised' man's thinking, brought nearer the end of war and facilitated the establishment of the United Nations. Such an obvious reluctance not to reckon with historic facts and the sentiments of the world public caused confusion even in the circles of Western delegations. □

## APPEAL BY 'DELHI SIX'

IXTAPA (Mexico), August 8, TASS:  
TASS correspondent Valeri Fesenko reports:

THE leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden have urged the USSR to extend the Soviet moratorium, and urged the USA to give up nuclear testing before the forthcoming Soviet-American summit meeting.

Addressing newsmen, the heads of state and government of the 'Delhi Six' said that they had sent messages containing these proposals to Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and US President Ronald Reagan.

As is pointed out in the 'Mexican Declaration' adopted by them, an immediate termination of nuclear blasts is the necessary step towards reaching an agreement to ban all nuclear weapons tests. It is necessary, the declaration says, that, first, at least the United States should join in the nuclear moratorium announced by one of the nuclear powers.

Nuclear disarmament and, in the long run, the total elimination of the nuclear arsenals, is mankind's top priority objective, the declaration says. The leaders of the six have warned against the danger of the militarisation of outer space. Creation of space weapons, they emphasise, would lead to an irreversible escalation of the arms race and destroy every opportunity to reach an agreement. The declaration stresses the pressing need for putting an end to the perfection of anti-satellite weapons in order to facilitate the conclusion of an international treaty on their prohibition.

The participants in the meeting also offer their countries' assistance in verifying a nuclear test ban. These measures could help towards building up confidence between the USSR and the USA and mark a step forward towards creating a control system to ensure abidance by the nuclear test ban treaty.

The leaders of the 'Delhi Six' have welcomed the USSR's constructive stand on the issue of ending nuclear testing. "This stand is praiseworthy and we are deeply grateful for it to the USSR Government," Rajiv Gandhi told newsmen.

"Regrettably," Andreas Papandreou pointed out, "only one of the sides—the USSR—has so far given a positive response to the appeal by the 'Delhi Six' for an end to nuclear testing." For his part Julius Nyerere expressed regret over the fact that the US Administration, on whose actions progress in the field of nuclear disarmament depended to a considerable extent, was passing over the Soviet peace initiatives in silence. "Therefore," he said, "it is important that the American people should wake up to the realisation of the true scope of the threat hanging over the whole of mankind."

The leaders of the six countries, who repeatedly emphasised that their efforts were centred in the first place on assisting towards resolution of the most important task, ensuring peace and disarmament, pointed out the disastrous consequences of the arms race for the developing nations. "An end to the arms race, above all in nuclear arms", President de la Madrid of Mexico said, among other things, "would make it possible to release enormous funds in order to be able to resolve the foreign debt problem of many countries." □

## Visit to the USSR Embassy in Bonn

BONN, August 8, TASS:

ANTI-WAR organisations in West Germany have held various events in more than 30 cities there within the framework of the 'End Nuclear Tests' action, timed to mark the 41st anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.

The action was sponsored on the initiative of the West German coordination group of the international organisation 'Four Continents Disarmament Initiative'. Exactly at the hour when the US atomic bomb exploded over Hiroshima 41 years ago, the 'peace bell', which was presented as a gift to the West German city last year by its Japanese twin city of Hiroshima, began tolling for the first time. From now on it will toll at the same hour every year to remind of the tragedy and call for peace.

The main event of the action has been the peace vigil outside the US Embassy in Bonn. The US Ambassador to the FRG has refused to meet representatives of the coordination group, or

take delivery of a letter addressed to US President Reagan urging him to join in the unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing which has already been repeatedly extended by the Soviet Union. The group has addressed a similar call to the leaders of the other nuclear powers.

Representatives of the coordination group were received at the USSR Embassy and delivered a letter addressed to Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. They welcomed and approved of the moratorium on nuclear testing which has been unilaterally observed by the Soviet Union for a year now. They stressed that that moratorium has led to a breakthrough in the effort to stop the spiralling nuclear weapons race and proposed that the moratorium should stay.

Representatives of West Germany's anti-war organisations said that in the course of mass actions they would press ahead for the FRG Government to influence Washington and

convince it to join in the Soviet moratorium.

At a press conference in Bonn representatives of the coordination committee strongly condemned the reluctance of the USA to end nuclear testing, and pointed out that the main cause of this was the US 'Star Wars' programme. According to the US experts themselves, the implementation of the projects envisaged by that programme will require hundreds of nuclear blasts. □

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