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## Mikhail Gorbachyov's address to Polish Party Congress

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WARSAW, June 30, TASS: The following is the text of the address of Mikhail Gorbachyov, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the 10th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party:

Esteemed Comrade Chairman,  
Dear comrade delegates and guests of the Congress,

I cordially greet the Tenth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In my address, I would like, first of all, to express the sincere respect and friendly feelings that the Soviet Communists have for their Polish associates and comrades.

From this rostrum, I'm conveying heartfelt regards to the entire fraternal Polish people. Soviet-Polish friendship, our brotherhood are the great gain of our peoples, sealed by the joint struggle and work of many generations of Poles and Soviet people.

We are profoundly moved by the expressions of comradeship, trust and sympathy with regard to our Party and people, by the good words about the Soviet Union that are heard in this hall. We extend our cordial thanks.

Comrades,

Poland's friends and foes alike realise that your Congress is being held at a crucial stage of the country's history. It is summing up the period of keen ideological and political confrontation, of hard struggle for normalising the situation that required immense effort, and is defining prospects for onward movement.

The class content of the events which took place was far from always obvious, nor obvious to everybody. But this does not alter their essence. It was, in the final analysis, a struggle for the very existence of socialism in Poland. Socialist Poland did hold out, and defended the revolutionary gains—this is the principal result with which you have come to your Congress, and we are justified in congratulating you upon this today.

History will undoubtedly do justice to the PUWP leadership, to thousands upon thousands of Polish Communists, to all patriots of the country—Party members and non-Party people—who, relying on the solidarity of friends and allies and using their own resources, took the country out of the dramatic situation and repulsed the onslaught of the enemies of socialism.

I think it will be appropriate to say at this point that socialist Poland is largely obliged to its

outstanding leader Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, to his energy and political insight, breadth of approach and ability to find solutions to very complex problems and uphold firmly the interests of his people, the cause of socialism. I say this, comrades, not out of politeness, but out of conviction.

We all heard with great attention the political report of the PUWP Central Committee presented yesterday by Comrade Jaruzelski. We have familiarised ourselves with the draft Party Programme, the first one in the PUWP's history. These documents contain an assessment of the road travelled and an in-depth analysis of the present-day Polish realities, and formulate the tasks of the next stage of socialist construction.

The Soviet Communists regard with understanding and support your plans for the future, and wish in a brotherly way that you will fulfil what has been assigned.

Your Congress shows again that the Polish United Workers' Party is the vanguard force capable of uniting Polish society and taking the country along the road of economic, social and cultural progress.

We are interested as comrades in the success of your projects and undertakings, in Poland being a strong independent socialist state, an active member of our community, its firm link. This meets the vital interest of the Polish people, our common cause.

Close co-operation and alliance between Poland and the USSR—the two biggest European socialist nations—constitute the indispensable condition for the successful development of our countries, for stability and peace in Europe.

That is precisely why during all the post-war years, including the period of the acute crisis, when the imperialist circles were pouring torrents of lies on Poland and hitting it with economic "sanctions", the Soviet people were at your side, supported your country, helped it in every way they could.

I want to assure the Congress and all Polish people that we shall remain your friends in the future, in any weather.

Comrades,

For obvious reasons the Tenth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party attracts special attention of all communists, of broad political circles throughout the world. The crisis of the late '70s-early '80s that shook your country reflected its contradictions. But it also comprised the entire complexity of the present-day confrontation between the two systems, laid bare the problems which socialism encounters at the current complex, crucial stage of its development. This is why the lessons of the Polish crisis are important not only for the Polish Communists.

The first and perhaps most important one is, in our view, that those events, despite all their complexity and diversity, showed clearly that socialism has struck deep roots, that the working people of our countries cannot imagine themselves outside socialism. This means that the socialist gains are irreversible. As Comrade

Jaruzelski aptly put it in his report, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism have entered the "national blood circulation", and the socialist values and standards have become inalienable integral parts of social consciousness.

It was also confirmed in full measure that socialism now manifests itself as an international reality, as an alliance of states closely linked by political, economic, cultural and defence interests. To threaten the socialist system, to try to undermine it from the outside and wrench a country away from the socialist community means to encroach not only on the will of the people, but also on the entire postwar arrangement, and, in the last analysis, on peace.

Another important conclusion refers, one might say, to a sensitive nerve of socialist society—the place and role of the working class, its Party, the importance of a strong organic bond between them.

The fundamentals of the theory of this question are known. History has proved many times that it is only the working class that can be the initiator, inspirer, and the main force of socialist construction, that it is only its Party that can organise and direct the energy of the people toward the construction of the new society.

The working class of your country, your Party have every reason to be proud of the achievements of people's power. Over a relatively short period of time, the four postwar decades, deep-running social transformations have been effected and something for which Polish patriots have been striving for ages—guaranteed independence of the country, lasting and just borders—has been achieved. Under the leadership of the PUWP the workers, peasants and people's intelligentsia have revived Poland from ashes, created an up-to-date industrial base, restored historic monuments, preserved national culture and enriched it with new values. The allied parties are making their constructive contribution to this creative endeavour.

The Polish crisis, as was said here at the Congress, was not a protest of workers against socialism. It was, above all, a manifestation of disagreement with the distortions of socialism in practice that pained the working class. The adversaries of socialist Poland inside the country and outside managed to take advantage of this disagreement. It is known what was sought by those in the West who hypocritically describe themselves as friends of the Polish people. They are not in the least concerned about the destinies of the Polish nation. Their intention is to dismantle socialism, to liquidate socialist gains. Really, the worse it is in Poland, the better it is for them.

And this is also a lesson, reminding us that socialism is an historically new and difficult undertaking linked with the necessity of overcoming the resistance of imperialist forces, and of countering economic, political, propaganda and military pressure on the part of imperialism.

And, finally, the experience of the past period clearly showed again the danger of errors and subjectivist deviations from the principles that are at the basis of the political system of

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socialism, the danger of the violation of the standards of Party and state life, of miscalculations in the social and economic policy.

The most reliable guarantee against these deviations is the creative development and application of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, the close ties of the Party with the working class, with broad masses of the working people—ties that become a live and invincible reality if the Party clearly realises the needs of the people, realistically assesses the country's potentialities at every given stage and boldly blazes the trail into the future—and on the other hand, if every conscious factory worker, every working person links with the policy of the Party the things he expects from life, if he feels that he is not simply fulfilling the will of the Party, but is actively participating in working out and implementing the Party's decisions.

And one more conclusion which, as we believe, is of universal, international importance. The socialist revolution gives free scope to all-round progress of society. But this does not imply that from then on such progress is ensured automatically, and that relations of production have been brought into line with the productive forces once and for all. A momentous growth in production, science, technology and culture, the very development of the human personality make new demands on the organisation of society. The question of constant renewal of socialism on its own basis becomes the order of the day. Otherwise, clots, manifestations of stagnation appear in social life. And economic and social problems may aggravate to dangerous proportions.

Our Party stated that clearly at its 27th Congress. The ability for a self-critical analysis, for a sober assessment of one's own activity, and the drawing of the necessary conclusions from the errors and miscalculations of the past is also one of the important forms of the struggle for socialism. It is the root principle of the successful activity of the Party of the working class bequeathed to us by the great Lenin.

We have resolutely taken the course towards accelerating social and economic development, towards renovating our life, ridding it of everything that prevents the socialist system from bringing into full play its vast political, economic and spiritual potential.

In essence all of us have the same aim: to learn, and as soon as possible, how to use in full measure the huge potentialities of our system, to find an optimum correlation between the centre and localities, between the state and social spheres, between management and self-government, and to stimulate better man's work, his labour and political activity, his civic consciousness.

The need for a deep-running and comprehensive improvement of the managerial mechanism now comes to the fore. It is clear to us what is the main direction of this effort. The case in point is to accomplish a dual task: to improve the efficiency of the planning and organising principle in charting ways for national economic development, and to give full scope to the initiative of the work collectives.

As is known, the essence of socialism is expressed by the formula: from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work. And we are making efforts so that the reality of this formula should be confirmed by everyday life, so that there should be no room for the levelling of pay, so that conscientious and highly productive work should be encouraged in every way and so that the demands of social justice should be strictly observed. We are using economic levers, and the force of persuasion, and the force of law for this purpose.

As you see, the restructuring which we have started vigorously ties up in one tight knot a whole complex of matters, from the functioning of the system of administration, state and public institutions to the living and working conditions

of people and to the moral atmosphere in society.

The June plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee which discussed topical questions of the implementation of the home and foreign policies of the Party worked out by the 27th CPSU Congress has become an important milestone on this road. The main meaning of the plenary meeting's decisions can be formulated in the following way: not a day is to be wasted in getting into stride, in accelerating the pace of onward movement, in casting away more boldly everything that still hampers creative and imaginative work. Today when the course towards a profound re-structuring of all spheres of society's life has been adopted, the value of cadres and their authority is determined, above all, by a keen sense of the new, by competence and efficiency, the ability really to take close to heart the interests of the people.

We proceed from Lenin's approach: "What we need is more factual knowledge and fewer debates on ostensible communist principles . . . this calls for modesty and respect for the efficient 'specialists in science and technology' and a business-like and careful analysis of our numerous practical mistakes, and their gradual but steady correction."

Our parties are faced with a task of historic importance: to combine the social justice inherent in socialism with top-notch economic efficiency. We are obliged to, we simply must ensure that socialism should become stronger, that it should develop dynamically and compete successfully with capitalist society in all parameters. And this, above all, requires full and effective use of the truly inexhaustible possibilities that are opened by the scientific and technological revolution.

It stands to reason that here we must act jointly, unite our efforts. This is demanded both by the economic interests of our countries and the political situation in the international arena and, not least, by considerations of economic security.

There is no denying it, we were late in realising what pitfalls were positioned on the trade routes leading to the West. It was said here about the major losses suffered by Poland as a result. But not Poland alone. Damage was done already by the very idea according to which to buy on the capitalist market is simpler than to create something ourselves. We are now resolutely overcoming such attitudes at home. The point, of course, is not to scale down economic ties with the West. The point is to make rational use of them, to prevent matters being carried to extremes and to avoid dependence.

And, of course, unconditional priority should be given to co-production ties with the fraternal countries, to accelerating the process of socialist economic integration. The fulfilment of the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress, adopted within the framework of the CMEA, will be of paramount importance in this respect.

Soviet-Polish ties are on the ascent and fit well into this common strategy. The scale of commodity exchange between our countries will grow substantially during the current five-year-plan period. At the same time, life demands a more vigorous introduction of the most promising new forms of co-operation: to set up joint enterprises, combined teams of scientists and specialists, to develop direct ties between industrial enterprises and research organisations.

I shall tell you frankly that our delegation was pleased to learn from the reports made at the Congress that the first steps in this direction are already bringing good results. Let us do this boldly and in a big way, let us not stint our efforts. They will be repaid a hundredfold.

Comrades, three weeks ago at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Treaty member-countries in Budapest we discussed jointly the development of the international situation and agreed on how to act further.

As is known, the United Nations Organisation has declared 1986 a Year of Peace. The socialist countries took this very seriously.

In January we came out with a programme of stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear arms by the end of the century. In February, at the 27th CPSU Congress, the idea of creating an all-embracing system of international security was announced. This was followed by concrete proposals making it easier to reach agreement on the removal of medium-range missiles from Europe. Neither was the possibility of searching for special agreements with Britain and France, the West European nuclear powers, overlooked. Measures to eliminate the chemical threat were proposed.

In May the Soviet Union extended for the third time the moratorium on nuclear tests and it spanned thereby a whole year. Lastly, in June our countries suggested a detailed plan for reducing armed forces and conventional armaments throughout the European continent from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Ample enough, one would think. But alas the cause of disarmament did not budge by even a single millimetre because of the American Administration's open obstruction. Still worse, Washington is destroying the remaining brakes that have been still containing the arms race—the SALT-2 Treaty and other Soviet-American agreements.

This stand runs counter to the pressing interests of the world community and is totally out of line with the spirit of the accords that were reached in Geneva last year.

American officials are not short on eloquent statements about their desire for peace and disarmament, but they are doing just the opposite. As to their sabotage of this sacred cause, they try to justify it by references to our mythical violations of various provisions of treaties concluded with the United States. They also insist that supposedly the final word has not yet been said and that a change in their position is possible if the Soviet Union behaves properly.

One could respond with humour to these claims by the American Administration to play the role of a schoolteacher and give sovereign states marks for their behaviour. But this is no laughing matter. For at stake, no more or less, is the survival of mankind and we hold that it is the duty of all politicians to treat this problem with utmost seriousness.

This applies, of course, not only to Washington. One cannot but express regret that the governments of the other NATO countries, including those which in word distance themselves from the American policy's dangerous extremes, are ultimately giving in to pressure from across the ocean and thereby assuming their share of responsibility for the intensification of the arms race.

In ancient Greek mythology there is the legend about the abduction of Europa. This fictional plot has suddenly acquired a modern content. Of course, as a geographical concept Europe remains in place. But the impression is created that the independent policy of some West European countries has been abducted and is being taken across the ocean, that the national interests of peoples and the destinies of our continent's 700-million strong population, the old civilisation that has formed here are being abandoned under the pretext of safeguarding security.

Let no one interpret us wrongly: we have no intention of driving wedges between the United States and its NATO allies. When conducting talks we proceed from the political and military realities existing on the continent.

In their time the socialist countries positively responded to the participation of the United States in the all-European process. The point at issue then was the contribution by all the participants in this process to the cause of security

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# Mikhail Gorbachyov's talks with Wojciech Jaruzelski

WARSAW, July 1, TASS:

A most crucial and responsible point is about to be reached in European and world politics. The proposals of the USSR, Poland and the other socialist Warsaw Treaty countries on the entire complex of nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons are creating a realistic opportunity for checking the build-up of the arms arsenals and radically turning developments towards peace, security and international co-operation.

This was stressed in a conversation today

between Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the PUPW Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of State of Poland.

The two leaders stated the resolve of the CPSU and the PUPW to co-operate energetically with all the other fraternal parties, political organisations and mass movements opposed to the escalation of international tension and championing real steps towards disarmament.

Mikhail Gorbachyov and Wojciech Jaruzelski noted that now that the fraternal countries were trying in every way to bring out to the fullest possible extent the creative potentialities of the socialist system, special importance was attached to regular exchanges of experience in economic,

social and political development. It was important to broaden in every way Party and state contacts and co-operation in ideology, exchanges of cultural values and direct human contacts, and to provide conditions for the mass media to familiarise the fraternal nations better with each other's undertakings and problems.

As the sides reviewed bilateral economic co-operation, they noted that the task today was first and foremost to make the transition to more advanced forms of socialist economic integration—namely direct mutually beneficial contacts between enterprises and amalgamations, and the establishment of joint companies and of research, experimental and design teams. □

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and co-operation in Europe. But now it appears that the American Administration intends to act in pursuance of totally different aims—the aims of whipping up the arms race and confrontation. Who stands to gain from this? Are the European peoples interested in such a development of events?

It is only natural that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries draw their conclusions from Washington's defiant militaristic actions.

We shall most resolutely repulse the adventurist, destructive actions of the United States. American imperialism must not be permitted to shape the destiny of the world as it sees fit.

In the future, too, ours will be a responsible policy, a policy of patiently laying the foundations for rightening Soviet-American relations.

We stand for dialogue. But this should be a dialogue in which both sides wish to achieve real results. One should not allow the talks to turn into a smokescreen covering up the arms race. In this deception of the world public, we are no partners for Washington.

Peace can be preserved only by the concerted efforts of all nations and peoples. It is necessary for every person in the West to realise that any launching of a nuclear-tipped missile is in effect an act not only of murder but also of suicide.

The Chernobyl accident reminded one once again of the immense force concentrated in the atom. Comrades, I want to thank you for solidarity displayed in connection with this misfortune of ours. We know that this misfortune of ours didn't bypass you either. Still more valuable is your support to us.

Speaking of Chernobyl, one should bear in mind that what went out of control there was the minutest fraction of the destructive might possessed by the world's nuclear stockpiles. We resolutely stand for their elimination. We sincerely hope that the concerted voice—ours and also that of their own public—will finally reach the responsible political circles in the West European countries.

As long as there exists the real threat of imperialist aggression, the socialist countries are forced to see to their security. It is exactly this aim that is served by the Warsaw Treaty, within the framework of which our troops together with their comrades-in-arms stand guard over peace, including on the territory of a number of allied states.

The socialist countries will not allow anyone to view them as living space for alien appetites and

revanchist desires. But we say to the West: take seriously our proposal for the elimination of medium-range nuclear-missile weapons, take seriously the proposal for the reduction of conventional armaments, and the possibility will arise of easing substantially the tension on the continent. Our troops in other countries are not on dead anchor. But the anchors should be raised simultaneously, and by all.

The socialist countries consider it to be their duty to promote the beneficial, mutually advantageous co-operation of the continent's peoples, to build bridges of interaction wherever possible—in sport, cultural exchanges, trade, scientific-technical co-operation, industrial co-production, and in human contacts. It is thus and only thus that we will be able to strengthen everything that unites Europe irrespective of the existing differences in the social set-up.

Comrades,

Human civilisation has approached the crossroads of history not only in what concerns questions of war or peace. We have entered an age when the unbreakable connection between the right to life and the right to development is making itself felt ever more forcefully.

Can one put up with the fact that huge financial means are being converted into armaments at a time when hundreds of millions of people in the world are hungry and millions annually die of starvation? It is mostly the peoples of developing countries that live in poverty. But the problem of poverty has not bypassed the developed imperialist countries either, including the United States. A country that allocates more than 300 billion dollars a year for armaments cannot or, even worse, does not want to feed those of its own people who do not have enough to eat, to educate those who are illiterate, and to give shelter to those who are homeless.

The growing gap between the economically developed and the developing countries is a most acute problem. The only way one can describe the actions of the imperialists in this field is international usury, and speaking frankly—simple plunder. Imperialism is steadily tightening the fetters of financial and technological dependence on tens of countries. Neither is it giving up its old methods—the use of crude force.

Our stand on this question is known. Each people has the right to decide its destiny in a sovereign manner. This is the principle without which there can be no normal international relations. We have pressed and will press for a restructuring of international political and

economic relations on a reasonable and just basis and we will support all anti-imperialist movements and organisations, irrespective of their social orientation.

We live in an unusually complex epoch when contradictory tendencies have intertwined and clashed on a global scale: social revolutions and the fierce resistance of forces withdrawing from the arena of history. The great surge of scientific and technological progress and its reverse side threatening the very life on Earth. Remarkable accomplishments in all spheres of science and art, and degradation finding its expression in the 'mass culture' generated by imperialism. Luxury against a background of poverty and hunger in the midst of abundance. The mighty advance towards interdependence and greater closeness, and at the same time the alienation, the hostility of countries and groups of countries in the present-day world. All this gives rise in quite a lot of people a vacillation of the mind and fear of the future.

Searching thought and its verification by socio-political practice—this has become the motto of our parties at the present important stretch of historical development. We support everything that serves the true interests of peoples, the cause of peace and social justice, mankind's progress. Everything that contradicts these aims we resolutely cast away.

Our revolutionary teaching is a mighty instrument of cognition. It enables us to assess the contradictions of the epoch in their complex, to reveal their causes and to find correct answers to the vital problems. But it, too, is in need of continuous development. We can say today that communists have firmly learned the most important lesson: we must boldly develop our theory and constantly move forward.

Dear comrades, Soviet Communists know that the cause of socialism in fraternal Poland is in reliable hands. Permit me from the bottom of my heart to wish success to the 10th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party. We express the confidence that Soviet-Polish friendship and co-operation will develop and grow stronger for the good of our peoples and of the entire socialist community.

Long live socialist Poland!

Long live peace and socialism!

Mikhail Gorbachyov's address was listened to with great attention and was repeatedly punctuated with prolonged applause. □



# Mikhail Gorbachyov's speech to Polish workers

WARSAW, July 1, TASS: Here follows the text of the speech made by Mikhail Gorbachyov, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the Karol Swierczewski plant today:

Dear Comrades,

Thank you very much for your cordial reception.

In this friendly atmosphere it is especially pleasant for me to convey warm greetings to you, to all Warsaw residents, the working class and the working people of Poland from the working people of my country, from the Soviet people.

It was interesting and useful for our delegation to see with our own eyes how things are going at the plant here and to feel what are the vital concerns of the Polish working class. We also wanted to learn how the problems of the country are reflected in the life of a work collective.

Acquaintance with you was, regrettably, short and conversations took place in passing, so to speak. But speaking of our general impression I must say that it is undoubtedly most favourable. It is clear to us that this is a front-ranking plant, and that the people working here are thinking and skilled workers who know well what technological progress is and do their work conscientiously.

That is about your merits. As to your shortcomings, you know them better than anyone else and are surely trying to get rid of them. We sincerely wish you to fulfil your plans and raise higher your plant's trade mark. True, it is high as it is. Yet one must not mark time, rest on laurels, so to speak. He who stops in his progress is bound sooner or later to fall down.

When attending the Tenth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party we could see for ourselves that the Polish Communists are confidently looking into the future. The report of the PUWP Central Committee, presented by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, and the draft Party Programme outline ways of effectively using the big production and scientific-technical potential created during the years of people's power. Of course you still have many problems, and sufficiently complicated ones. And they are discussed openly and honestly at the Congress. As you listen to this discussion, you have a feeling of profound satisfaction: only people confident of their strength can discuss unresolved problems in this way. We are confident, just as you are, that the difficult period will be overcome and the Polish working class, the Polish people will take their homeland to new heights of economic and social progress. And we sincerely wish you this, dear comrades!

Our countries have one aim and a common strategy of development, despite different conditions and scale. Its essence is social and economic acceleration, application of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution and maximum revelation of the potentialities of the socialist system, which is the sovereign choice of our peoples. We set such a task for ourselves at the 27th Congress of the CPSU. It can be said that such are the strivings of all the fraternal parties.

Not much time, in fact counted months, have passed since our Congress. But even this brief period shows that the course chosen at our Congress is the only correct one. It has stirred up the entire country and given the people fresh confidence in their strength.

At the June plenary meeting of the Central Committee we discussed how work had been

started to carry out the Congress decisions, and what concretely should be done to overcome more quickly the difficulties of the initial period and to bring all our reserves fully into play. Our conclusion was that it was necessary to work still more persistently to ensure a thorough reorganisation and to keep up the pace taken.

The plenum demanded that the communists should more energetically combat conservatism, routine, and the habit of working in the old way. The finest words about the destinies of the homeland, about patriotism are worth nothing unless they are supported by deeds, dedicated work and an active civic position. It is important not to repeat the mistakes of the past but to do away with the bureaucratic methods of management. We shall develop in every way democratic principles in our life, to assert more consistently social justice, resolutely fight those who would like to live at the expense of the work of others.

The aim of the five-year plan we adopted is to ensure that the Soviet economy acquires new dynamism by speeding up scientific and technological progress. Reconstruction of the national economy will help improve considerably the working and living conditions of the Soviet people.

We expressed once more our firm will to march hand-in-hand with the countries of the socialist community. Our Polish comrades can count firmly on mutually beneficial co-operation with the USSR.

I would like to speak about this in greater detail. Soviet-Polish friendship has millions of ardent supporters in our countries. It has become a law of our life. And this is the most accurate indicator of the correctness and fruitfulness of the policy of our parties.

Let us be frank: we have received a no simple legacy. Relations between Russia and Poland had been complicated for centuries by the struggle of the ruling exploiter classes of the two countries. Kings and tsars sent Poles to fight Russians and Russians to fight Poles. Wars, violence and seizures of territory poisoned the minds of the peoples and aroused mutual hostility in them.

But the finest sons of Russia and Poland always considered it a matter of honour and conscience to fight together against tsarism and saw the meaning of their lives in the struggle against both the Russian and the Polish exploiters. The October Revolution of 1917 which freed the Russian working people became a prologue also to Poland's independence.

The Soviet and the Polish peoples accomplished together a great feat in the anti-fascist war. We deeply respect the contribution made by the Poles to the defeat of Hitler Germany. The return to Poland of its western and northern lands became an act of historical justice. The Soviet-Polish military alliance is by right one of the main guarantees for the defence of the independence of our socialist states, for preserving peace in Europe.

The strength of our friendship manifested itself graphically during the period—a trying one for Poland—when the imperialists tried, by their economic "sanctions" and blockade, to undermine the mainstays of socialism and to hurt the Polish people as much as possible.

So Soviet-Polish friendship rests on a solid foundation. And the most important conclusion to be made from a shared past consists in a clear understanding of the fact that we, neighbouring

peoples, sister nations, should treat each other's interests with care and respect and co-operate more solidly. I would describe our friendship as a tree which has put down deep roots. Though it is already generously bearing fruit, it should be taken care of so that it should give even more fruit to both our peoples.

Soviet-Polish friendship permeates today the very fabric of our relations. I have in view not only the sphere of sentiments and spiritual life. It is very important, of course, that people in Poland know and love Pushkin and Tchaikovsky and that Mickiewicz and Chopin are loved in our country. It is good that in Zelenagora young Poles hold Soviet song festivals every year and that people in our country speak highly of Polish performers. All this enables our peoples to understand each other better. There is no real friendship without cultural intercourse.

No less important, however, is the material side of the matter, economic interaction. And here impressive results have been achieved.

Thus construction projects and plants built in Poland with Soviet assistance now produce ten times as much pig iron and seven times as much steel as was produced in pre-war Poland. Trade with the Soviet Union helps supply 95 per cent of your country's need for oil, 100 per cent of your need for natural gas and 75 per cent of your needs for cotton. New branches of Polish industry—ship-building, aircraft and machine-tool building—have been created in Poland on the basis of Soviet technical specifications.

Ties with your country are very important for us too. Suffice it to say that 40 per cent of road-building machinery imported by the Soviet Union and practically 100 per cent of machinery for sulphuric acid plants comes from Poland. In the post-war period we bought from Poland a whole fleet consisting of over 800 sea-going ships of various types.

There are great opportunities for further expanding co-operation for the mutual benefit of our two countries and for wider co-operation in production and in the fields of science and technology. Appropriate conditions are, of course, required for this. Of great importance is comradesly mutual understanding at the top level. The central committees of our parties are doing much to ensure that state institutions and public organisations of the two countries create the most favourable conditions for the development of relations between them.

However, in the final analysis, the success of all plans and undertakings is determined right here at enterprises, construction sites, in work collectives. It is here and nowhere else that, if I may say so, the materialised result of our co-operation comes into being.

This is why it was gratifying to learn that the team contract system, born of the initiative of Soviet workers, is being applied at your factory. It is one of the socialist methods of the organisation of work, which gives workers a sense of being masters of their plant. We heard with satisfaction that this had made it possible to improve labour productivity impressively, to increase wages. Workers from Moscow's Kalibr factory in their turn learnt no few useful things from your experience of improving the quality of output.

At the present time the first Soviet-Polish research and production amalgamation is being set up on the basis of the Swierczewski factory and Kalibr. This is a matter of utmost importance. We hope that you and your Moscow colleagues will deal with it in such a manner that others will follow suit.

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# Mikhail Gorbachyov receives Johannes Rau

MOSCOW, June 25, TASS:

TODAY Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received in the Kremlin Johannes Rau, Deputy Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and Prime Minister of the North Rhine-Westphalia state (FRG).

The talk was held in a frank atmosphere of goodwill on issues in which Johannes Rau displayed a special interest: restructuring of the Soviet economy, the state of affairs regarding the termination of the arms race, and the nuclear power industry.

Mikhail Gorbachyov set out the principles underlying the deep-going economic reform in the USSR. He pointed out that the essence of the changes was to use to the maximum the possibilities of the planned economy, the

combination of centralism and independence and the initiative of work collectives, and to impart new dynamism to the economic, social, democratic and moral potential of socialism. Following its own path, within the framework of our system and our values, tackling its tasks and overcoming difficulties in its own way, Soviet society was confidently accelerating socialist development for the good of people and peaceful mutually advantageous co-operation with other nations.

He said that, regrettably, today certain quarters saw in this a 'Soviet threat' and were seeking in every way to interfere with our plans, above all by accelerating the arms race and by actions undermining positive trends in international relations which were in the making.

Mikhail Gorbachyov informed Johannes Rau of the efforts of the Soviet leadership aimed at reaching concrete and just understandings on the main issues of ensuring European and international security. He said that the way to this aim

was being blocked by the lack of responsibility and new political thinking on the threshold of an extremely dangerous and unpredictable round of the arms race. Worse than that, there were influential quarters in Washington deliberately striving for this.

Both sides agreed that the contacts between the CPSU and the SDPG, despite ideological differences, were fruitful for the two nations, the European process and the cause of peace and mutual understanding between the East and the West. They noted the great opportunities for expanding economic relations between the USSR and the FRG and for creating new forms of such relations at the present stage of development of Soviet society.

An exchange of opinions took place on prospects for the nuclear power industry. The sides dealt with very pressing issues of international and possibly bilateral co-operation with a view to ensuring the safe operation of nuclear power plants. □

(Continued from previous page)

It is common knowledge that the more forces and means are pooled together in a common undertaking, the greater the benefit from it. Together with Comrade Jaruzelski and the leaders of other fraternal states we signed the Comprehensive Programme for Scientific and Technological Progress up to the Year 2000. In order to make it a reality we should seek and develop more vigorously advanced forms of contacts, including the establishment of direct production contacts, between enterprises and scientific institutions. Bolder and broader efforts should be made in this direction. I said so yesterday at the Congress. I'm saying so here, too, because no common undertaking of our countries is more important now.

Let me put it straight, capitalist countries have managed to go farther in certain matters related to integration. We were not and we are not averse to learning. But we will not slide into copying, into simple adoption. Not infrequently integration in the West encroaches on the sovereignty and national independence of less developed states, and its economic efficiency is largely achieved through the intensified exploitation of the working man.

Accelerating integration processes we must follow our own socialist path, we must see our own socialist goals. Gathered in Budapest, the leaders of the fraternal countries discussed the state of multilateral co-operation and agreed to keep this matter of paramount importance in the field of unflagging attention. We are sure that our common interest will make it possible to find such solutions that will impart a new rhythm and tempo to the entire process of socialist economic integration.

Comrades, all our plans, undertakings and hopes will have worth only on condition that peace is safeguarded. But it is equally correct that the faster and the better they are fulfilled, the stronger the revolutionary gains of our peoples and the more reliable the barrier in the way of the nuclear threat.

From the very first day of its existence Soviet Russia declared for a world without wars and weapons. However, back then many people regarded that revolutionary idea as a utopia. Political thinking was fettered completely by the primitive laws of brute strength, by the worship of military might.

Neither the stern signal of history sounded by the devastating First World War, nor the Second World War, which brought countless sufferings to the peoples, served as a lesson for the ruling circles of the West. They continued to bank on the arms race, first of all the nuclear arms race.

And nothing remained for the socialist countries, whose arguments in favour of disarmament were rejected by the West, but to press for a strategic balance of forces.

The shadow of the nuclear danger is now clearly visible on the political horizons. It is important that all people in the world should realise that more arms today mean less, not more security. A global nuclear war now can no longer be a continuation of a reasonable policy because it brings an end to all life and, hence, to all policy.

The old political mentality is baleful for the destiny of Europe. It prevents many governments in its Western part from giving up support for the policy of confrontation. But can we turn our eyes away from the end to which this policy leads in our nuclear age? Who does not realise that the use even of conventional arms, not to speak of chemical ones, on the European continent would bring about consequences that would be as grave as those caused by nuclear war?

Therefore we suggest so insistently that we start mutual disarmament. This idea has ceased to be a utopia today. It now only remains for the governments of Western countries, who call themselves Christian, to make the commandment "Thou shalt not kill" the real leitmotif of their policy. We urge them to stop at the fatal line beyond which the arms race may get completely out of control.

Militarism is dangerous not only as such. It inflicts terrible harm on human morality by multiplying hatred and violence in the world. It is not the fire and the sword that will save mankind from death but peace, co-operation and mutual respect for each other's interests.

The voice of the socialist member-countries of the Warsaw Treaty sounded loudly again recently. Following the set of measures concerning the ending of nuclear explosions, and the reduction and liquidation of weapons of mass annihilation, we proposed a concrete plan for reducing conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe.

US President Ronald Reagan, speaking recently in Glassboro, admitted—though not without reservations—the seriousness of our new proposals for reducing nuclear armaments. He stated that a turning point might now come in the efforts to strengthen security and peace throughout the world. And in this connection he raised again the question of a Soviet-American summit meeting.

We shall only welcome it if Washington takes a more serious and responsible approach to the problems of disarmament. Mr Reagan remarked correctly that talk alone is not enough today. This

is exactly what we have never tired of repeating almost all the time since Geneva while confirming our striving for disarmament with constructive moves.

A few days ago I sent a letter to the President with concrete proposals on how to take the matter out of the deadlock and to begin, at last, removing the mountains of arms. We hope that the American Administration will join in our initiatives, and make possible the holding of a meeting and the drafting of agreements which the peoples of Europe and the whole world are hopefully waiting for.

Peaceful coexistence between states of the socialist and the capitalist worlds is possible. Moreover, it is necessary. There is no other reasonable alternative in existence. We shall tirelessly look for ways to establish its norms and principles firmly in world affairs.

Socialism was born for construction, for fair relations between peoples. It is not for nothing that in Marx's works communism is equivalent to a kingdom of freedom. In a socialist society there is no place for forces that need discord, confrontation and war.

Dear comrades, in memory of the stay of the CPSU delegation in Poland we want to present you with a portrait of Karol Swierczewski painted by an artist from the Grekov Art Studio, which is well-known in our country.

Looking at us from this canvas is a man who proved by his life's example the great power of internationalism. He was a worker at your plant—I was told that his father, too, had been a worker—and fought for the victory of Soviet power in our country. He, General Walter, was in the front ranks of those who upheld the freedom of Spain. And he gave his life for his homeland. People's Poland has every right to be proud of such sons.

Comrades, I am to return to Moscow today: there is some pressing business there that cannot be put off. We agreed upon this with Comrade Jaruzelski beforehand.

Our delegation remains here and I would like to wish the Tenth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party a successful conclusion to its work so important for Poland, for the cause of socialism.

Taking leave of hospitable Warsaw, which looks so beautiful these summer days, I wish you all and your families well-being and happiness. I address the same sincere wishes to the entire fraternal Polish people.

Long live the working class of socialist Poland!  
May Soviet-Polish friendship live throughout the centuries! □



# Mikhail Gorbachyov's message to Japanese Prime Minister

TOKYO, July 1, TASS:

"THE Soviet Union stands for the development and strengthening of all-round ties with Japan—in the political, commercial, economic, scientific, technological and cultural fields, and will use every possibility for that purpose. This is the Soviet Union's firm policy which takes account of the vital interests of the Soviet and Japanese peoples," said a reply message from Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone of Japan.

During a meeting here today the Soviet Ambassador to Japan, Nikolai Solovyov, handed over the message addressed to the head of the Japanese Government to Shintaro Abe, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan.

In his message the Soviet leader pointed out that the results of the recent visit by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan to the USSR had been positively appraised in the Soviet Union, and

noted that they were a graphic demonstration of how important it was for Soviet and Japanese statesmen to meet more often, to conduct a frank and honest discussion of problems of concern to both countries, and to the entire world.

Mikhail Gorbachyov highly assessed the two rounds of talks held by the ministers of foreign affairs of the USSR and Japan this year, and emphasised that the meetings had reaffirmed the indisputable truth that "if both sides think realistically, come to realise their tremendous responsibility before the living and succeeding generations, and demonstrate the striving to understand each other, concrete practical results will be fast in coming."

These talks "give grounds for arriving at the conclusion that the road towards the establishment of political dialogue on which we are now embarking is the correct and promising direction in every respect," the message said.

"Solving questions of bilateral relations, we cannot, however, disregard their international aspect," the message went on. "We understand full well your concern over the lack of progress in the sphere of disarmament, above all, nuclear disarmament. It is correct that much depends on the Soviet Union and the US, but it is likewise

correct that now it is insufficient to watch the course of Soviet-American negotiations: efforts should be made to promote their progress. Actions are needed, and vigorous actions at that, in order to rid humankind of the constant fear of destruction."

"The termination of nuclear explosions", the message emphasised, "could become the first step in this direction. Japan knows what a nuclear explosion is and what its consequences for the people are."

Mikhail Gorbachyov expressed the confidence that Japan could say its influential word and that many would heed its voice.

The message said that the Soviet Union and Japan could accomplish much together in order to make the current year, which the United Nations had proclaimed the International Year of Peace, a year of an all-out offensive on nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

Having thanked the Prime Minister for reiterating the invitation to visit Japan, Mikhail Gorbachyov replied that "in the near future such a possibility may present itself." He also said that a visit by the head of the Japanese Government would be welcomed in the USSR. □

## Andrei Gromyko receives Lebanese MPs

MOSCOW, June 25, TASS:

"THE USSR believes, as before, that the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all sides concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation, is the only efficient means for attaining a comprehensive and fair settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

"It is exactly such a policy that indicates the way to the solution of the complicated Middle Eastern problem. This has been repeatedly noted by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachyov, in his speeches," said Andrei Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He was speaking today in the Kremlin, where he received a delegation of Lebanon's Parliament, led by its president Hussein al-Husseini.

The Lebanese parliamentarians are visiting the USSR at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The sides were unanimous in assessing the causes underlying the persistent tension in the Middle East and the Mediterranean. The main cause is the aggressive course conducted by the United States and Israel.

Israel's policy of expansion, the attempts to draw Arabs into separate deals, the blocking up of a fair and comprehensive Middle East settlement are the main causes of the explosive situation in the Middle East. The attack on Libya, Washington's and Tel Aviv's threats to Syria, both sides believe, are a concrete manifestation of such an approach to international affairs.

Andrei Gromyko said that it was possible to bring peace to the Middle East only through the joint efforts of all parties concerned, on the basis of the complete withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all Arab lands occupied since 1967. It was necessary to respect the inalienable national

rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination and to have an independent state of their own.

Andrei Gromyko said that the USSR supported the Lebanese Government's efforts aimed at ensuring a full and undelayed withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the south of Lebanon in accordance with the UN Security Council resolutions.

Hussein al-Husseini welcomed the USSR's constructive proposals whose realisation would lead to nuclear disarmament and equal security for all. He declared his support for the USSR's proposals that the Mediterranean area should become a stable zone of peace. □

## MEETING OF POLITICAL BUREAU OF CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

MOSCOW, June 26, TASS:

AT today's meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachyov reported on his meeting with India's Minister of External Affairs and Trade, P Shiv Shankar.

The Political Bureau expressed profound satisfaction with the dynamically developing traditional relations of friendship and co-operation between the USSR and India, and stressed that Soviet-Indian interaction was becoming an ever more constructive factor in international relations. The role of the Non-Aligned Movement in world affairs and the efforts of the 'Delhi six' in the struggle against the nuclear threat and for disarmament were highly assessed.

A report was heard from Oleg Grinevsky, head of the Soviet delegation at the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. The delegation was instructed to press actively, on the basis of reciprocity, for a fruitful conclusion to this important international forum.

The meeting considered ways of improving the Party political education of executive personnel in the light of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress. It approved the government's proposals on additional privileges for metallurgical production workers under the ministries of engineering and metalworking.

The Political Bureau also considered some other questions of economic and cultural development and foreign policy activities for stronger peace and security for the peoples. □

## Mikhail Gorbachyov's greeting to Yugoslav Communists

MOSCOW, June 29, TASS:

THE General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachyov, has sent a message of greetings to Milanko Renovica, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY). The message says:

"Esteemed Comrade Renovica!

"On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and on my own behalf I cordially congratulate you on being elected to the high post of President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

"I wish you, the members of the newly-elected Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav Communists and all working people of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia successes in implementing the decisions of the 13th LCY Congress.

"I express confidence that multi-faceted co-operation between the CPSU and the LCY and between the USSR and SFRY will continue steadily developing for the good of the peoples of our countries, in the interests of the cause of peace and socialism." □



# Andrei Gromyko's talks with Australian MPs

MOSCOW, June 27, TASS:

"IN the past, too, the Soviet Union made proposals to ban nuclear arms, but now it is sounding the tocsin." This was how the Soviet Union's struggle for nuclear disarmament at the present stage was characterised by Andrei Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, when speaking with a delegation of the Australian Parliament.

He received the guests from Australia in the Kremlin today. The delegation is headed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives of that country's parliament, Joan Child.

"Elimination of the threat of nuclear war is the paramount issue today," Andrei Gromyko stressed. "What turn the further development of the international situation takes, whether mankind comes still closer to a new world nuclear conflagration or whether it prevents it—nobody can be indifferent about this."

In this connection the attention of the Australian MPs was drawn to the historic Soviet foreign policy initiatives—first of all the January 15, 1986 statement by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachyov, which outlines a concrete programme for

completely eliminating nuclear arms on Earth by the end of the present century. The policy of nuclear disarmament and strengthening peace, approved by the Party's 27th Congress, has become the cause of the Soviet Government and the entire Soviet people. This policy should become the vital cause of all people on Earth.

The importance of averting an arms race in outer space was emphasised. The sending of strike weapons to outer space would undermine the mainstays of the existing strategic stability, drastically complicate the already tense international situation and increase the danger of nuclear catastrophe. The United States is using the false cloak of the 'Strategic Defense Initiative' as a cover for its 'Star Wars' programme.

"Even if this militaristic programme is given the name 'angel' the Soviet Union will be emphatically against it in view of its true designation," Andrei Gromyko said.

Both sides agreed that, despite differences in

social systems, the USSR and Australia could develop business relations and create a good atmosphere of co-operation in the most diverse fields.

Joan Child expressed her agreement with the assessment of the present international situation as tense and requiring the efforts of all states to normalise it. She said that the Government of Australia wanted progress at the ongoing disarmament talks, and expressed the wish that the 'spirit of Geneva', which had manifested itself at the Soviet-American summit in November last year, would triumph.

Australian Members of Parliament Stanley Collard, Peter Drummond, Gordon McIntosh, Norm Sanders, Robert Tickner and Keith Wright spoke about their country's foreign policy initiatives, in particular its efforts to create a nuclear-free zone in the Pacific. They also asked a number of questions about the USSR's foreign and home policy which were exhaustively answered by Andrei Gromyko.

On behalf of the delegation Joan Child expressed thanks for the conversation and for the warm reception accorded the Australian MPs in the Soviet Union.

The conversation passed in a frank and well-wishing atmosphere. □

## TASS STATEMENT

MOSCOW, June 29, TASS:

HERE follows the full text of a TASS statement:

The US House of Representatives has endorsed the White House's request for the allocation of 100 million dollars to finance the US hirelings—the Somocista counter-revolutionary bands which terrorise the civilian population and undermine Nicaragua's economy. That action constitutes the most flagrant breach of international law, of the UN Charter and of the norms of civilised conduct of states. The UN International Court has declared unlawful the US interference in the affairs of Nicaragua and the use of hirelings by the USA.

A new and extremely dangerous step has been taken to sharpen tension in Central America and to escalate the undeclared war which the United States has been conducting against the peoples of the region for a number of years now. Washington cynically uses those bands, which are in the pay of the United States and are US-controlled, to prevent normalisation of relations between Central American countries, to provoke and stir up conflicts between them.

In actual fact, a policy of state terrorism is being pursued under the cover of hypocritical talk about "freedom", "democracy" and "humaneness". Thousands of civilians of Nicaragua, El Salvador and other countries of Central America have already fallen victim to that policy. The US imperial policy results in bloodshed, suffering and ruin for Central American countries.

The actions of the Reagan Administration expose it as a rabid opponent of a political settlement in Central America. The administration seeks to prevent by any means a development of events precisely in such a direction. It is no coincidence that Washington

counts on the 'contras' precisely at a time when there have appeared hopes for success in the Contadora process and when a mutually acceptable solution to the problem has begun to come into view. In many respects this proved possible as a result of the fact that the Government of Nicaragua has put forward a number of constructive new proposals which open up the way for untangling the unresolved matters pertaining to a political settlement.

The United States impudently defies not only the Contadora Group which enjoys broad international support. The USA defies the whole of Latin America which strives to resolve conflict situations in that part of the world through negotiations, on its own, without interference from the outside.

This is a US challenge to the entire international community. This is an attack on the very foundations of international law and order and on the peoples' sacred rights to sovereignty, independence and freedom, and on their right to choose their way of life and to decide their future themselves.

Washington broadens the material basis for unleashing a large-scale armed conflict in Central America, in which many countries may get involved. Such a development of events is fraught with ruinous consequences not only for Central America. It will inevitably affect the general situation in the world and will not fail to tell on Soviet-US relations.

The stepping up of US aggressive actions against Nicaragua and the heightening of tension in Central America by the USA give rise to deep indignation and concern throughout the world. He who believes that he is free to place before the world an accomplished fact of international piracy and who aspires to all-permissiveness is under a misapprehension. The international community cannot and will not put up with encroachments upon the rights of the peoples and with actions that undermine international security.

The USSR proceeds from the assumption that the crisis situation in Central America can be resolved only along the lines of a peaceful,

political settlement, on the just basis of the generally recognised norms of international law.

The Soviet Union resolutely condemns the USA's new and extremely dangerous step aimed at escalating aggressive actions in Central America, and demands that an end be put to them. The Soviet people's solidarity and firm support have been and will be on the side of the just cause of the people of Nicaragua who struggle for their independence and freedom, for peace in Central America and for the dignity of all sovereign countries. □

## Vitali Vorotnikov meets Johannes Rau

MOSCOW, June 25, TASS:

VITALI VOROTNIKOV, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation (RSFSR), had a meeting today with Johannes Rau, Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia state (FRG), who is staying in Moscow at the invitation of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR on the occasion of the opening of the state's trade and industrial fair.

During the meeting, held in a business-like and frank atmosphere, Johannes Rau was informed of how the Soviet Union was tackling the ambitious tasks of renovating social life put forth by the 27th CPSU Congress, and of the progress in implementing plans for economic and social development. The sides touched on some pressing international problems and discussed the need for striving consistently for a removal of the threat of a world war, reduction in the arms race, including in nuclear weapons, and prevention of space militarisation.

The two sides noted that relations between the USSR and the FRG could steadily develop on the basis of the Moscow Treaty, for their mutual advantage and in the interests of Europe's peaceful future. They expressed satisfaction with the level of co-operation attained between the RSFR and the state of North Rhine-Westphalia and confirmed their readiness to expand it further in various spheres. □



## Anatoli Dobrynin's article in *Kommunist*

MOSCOW, June 26, TASS:

"THE arms build-up represents a reckless race after a 'wonder weapon', a race which is futile and fraught with a nuclear catastrophe, the more so because the hopes pinned on that 'wonder' may encourage some leaders to adventurism, to attempts to gain strategic superiority," says an article by Anatoli Dobrynin, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, published in the June issue of the journal *Kommunist*.

Dobrynin observes that the historic significance of the latest Soviet initiatives is obvious. "These proposals are realistic. They are not aimed at gaining unilateral advantages for the Soviet Union.

"They meet the vital interests not only of our country, our allies and friends, but also of the population of the United States, other NATO countries and the peoples of the entire world."

"Except for madmen, no one in the present-day situation would doubt the devastating consequences of a nuclear disaster," the article says. "This, surprisingly as it might seem, generates care-free attitudes: people are not suicidal, it is claimed, they will not allow a nuclear war."

"Thinking in that way", Dobrynin observes, "is a great mistake. The current arms race is creating a totally new situation—it is inexorably reducing the time necessary for decision-making, assigning it to machines, to technology, thus

gradually depriving statesmen of the right to judgement, debate and analysis."

"Technology, however tested—examples being the space shuttle *Challenger* disaster, the explosions of the Titan and Delta rockets, the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant and many other similar incidents—fails time and again. Under certain circumstances, this 'time and again' may mean 'once and for all'. Is it admissible to take the risk?"

"It is also asserted that the threat of universal nuclear destruction is the chief stabilising factor in the present-day system of international relations, deterring political figures, compelling them to weigh every step and avoid thoughtless actions.

"Therefore, argue those who take this view, nuclear disarmament would inevitably result in the heightening of international tension and an increased number of conflicts involving the use of conventional weapons.

"Hence the conclusion that 'historical logic' and 'common sense' purportedly call for the preservation of the existing nuclear armouries.

"This reasoning does not stand up to the lessons of history. Armaments in themselves have never played the 'appeasing role'. No new weapon ever put an end to wars. It only imparted to them ever more destructive dimensions. Scientists know that as well as politicians," Dobrynin says.

"One should also remember that throughout the nuclear age, the Western countries have not shown political wariness or restraint. The US on several occasions sought to use nuclear weapons as a means of military-political blackmail, which at times placed the world on the brink of nuclear

war," Dobrynin points out.

"That there has not been a nuclear war over the four post-war decades has not been due to the 'deterrent' force of nuclear weapons. The reason of politicians and, to a greater extent, the efforts of the Soviet Union and other peace-loving nations and the upsurge of the mass anti-war movement have played this role.

"The development of new armaments by one side compels the other to adopt counter-measures that provide for the worst variant of developments. That, in turn, exerts a counter-effect on the side which initiated the round of the arms race. This closes the vicious circle.

"The arms race is acquiring its own force of inertia, its own distorted logic of development, leading us all closer to the line beyond which it may become uncontrollable and irreversible.

"With each spiral, military confrontation rises to a new, far more dangerous level, and the military-strategic balance is undermined," Dobrynin observes.

"The nuclear arms race, in our deep conviction, does not ensure international stability. On the contrary, it adds to the mounting threat of nuclear conflict. This is becoming specially obvious if one takes into account the qualitative side of the arms race.

"Rapid changes in military technology are objectively leading to the emergence of such types and systems of weaponry which may make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to verify the limitation and reduction of arms.

"This threatens to enhance fears, suspicion, hostility and mistrust in the present-day world," Dobrynin concludes. □

## Statement by Soviet delegation at Geneva talks

GENEVA, June 26, TASS:

*THE Soviet delegation at the talks on nuclear and space armaments has made the following statement:*

On June 26, 1986, Max M Kampelman, head of the US delegation to the Soviet-US negotiations on nuclear and space arms, made a statement for the press summing up the results of the deliberations at the fifth round which has just ended. His assessments do not reflect the actual state of the negotiations and present it in a distorted light.

It is a fact that throughout the fifth round there have been no changes in the position of the US delegation that would contribute to mutually acceptable agreements on preventing an arms race in space and terminating it on Earth. To date, the US side has failed to table any positive proposals to this effect. It has continued to block progress at the negotiations, holding on to its earlier unconstructive positions which cannot serve as a basis for agreement, and has evaded a business-like consideration of the Soviet side's proposals. This is particularly true as regards the problem of medium-range nuclear systems, the area where the United States continues to hold on to its five-year old position that has long since become outdated.

By contrast, the USSR delegation has taken serious new steps in the three negotiations groups to achieve early progress. In all three groups—on space arms, on strategic offensive arms, and on medium-range nuclear arms—the Soviet delegation has put forward detailed and balanced proposals that take account of the interests of both sides and that can provide a good basis for solving, even in the near future, the problem of terminating the arms race in all areas and achieving radical reductions in nuclear arms.

Thus, with respect to strategic offensive arms, the Soviet side is keeping its entire proposal on 50 per cent reductions in the relevant nuclear arms of the Soviet Union and the United States on the negotiating table. We prefer such a radical solution and we are prepared to negotiate it immediately, now.

As for the US side, it has continued at this round as well to hold firmly to its old proposals of November 1 last, which only declare an objective of a 50 per cent reduction while in fact providing for a drastic build-up, by several thousand weapons, beyond the current US nuclear weapons level.

Taking this into account and seeking to break the deadlock that had developed through the actions of the United States, the Soviet side, in the course of the round that has just ended, proposed an interim option for strategic offensive arms reductions that provides for reduction in the two sides' nuclear arsenals, reductions which are somewhat less than those envisaged under the 50 per cent formula, but which are nevertheless deep. Such reductions could be implemented, given an agreement on non-withdrawal from the ABM Treaty for at least 15 years. We regard this option as a step toward implementing 50 per cent reductions in the relevant Soviet and US nuclear arms.

The Soviet side is also tabling major proposals on verification. We are in favour of strict and adequate verification of compliance with the obligations assumed up to and including, if necessary, on-site inspection. By contrast, it has become clear that the US side is only talking about verification. In practice it has evaded, in all possible ways, a substantive consideration of this issue as well.

Regrettably, we have to note that all efforts by the Soviet delegation to lead the negotiations

out of the stalemate have thus far not been supported by the US delegation, and the responsibility for the lack of progress at the negotiations on nuclear and space arms rests entirely with the US side. □

### 1986—International Year of Peace

The following booklets are available at the prices shown:

- Speech by Mikhail Gorbachev on Soviet Television, March 29, 1986 (on the Soviet nuclear test moratorium) . . .20p □
- M. Gorbachev: Speech at the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, April 18, 1986 . . . . .20p □
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# Second Soviet-African Conference

MOSCOW, June 24, TASS:

"NEVER before has the problem of human survival, the interdependence, the unbreakable unity of the destinies of all nations and peoples been so acute as today," Academician Pyotr Fedoseyev, Vice President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, has pointed out.

He was addressing the opening of the second Soviet-African Scientific-Political Conference in the Soviet capital today.

"The Soviet Union and the Countries of Africa in the Struggle for Peace, Co-operation and Social Progress" is the chief subject of the meeting. It is being attended by scientists, state and public figures from nearly thirty African countries, leading Soviet experts on Africa and representatives of several socialist countries.

"The conference has been convened at a very dangerous and disturbing period in history when imperialism's aggressive circles have brought mankind to the last mark that was deciding its future," said Academician Fedoseyev.

"The cause of this situation is imperialism's aspiration to take social revenge on a global scale, above all in the developing countries, including Africa, to undermine the sovereignty gained by the peoples, and to preserve and increase control over the developing world."

The Soviet scholar came out in favour of elaborating effective, comprehensive and long-term measures directed at eradicating the underlying causes of Africa's economic crisis.

This was closely linked with ridding international economic relations as a whole of discrimination and arbitrariness on the part of imperialist powers and transnational corporations, introducing a system of economic security and implementing the slogan 'Disarmament for Development'.

Fedoseyev observed that the recent special session of the UN General Assembly which considered the economic crisis in Africa had failed to bring about proper results. Delegations from Western countries, first of all the United States, by speculating on the hardships of the African countries, had succeeded in making the session adopt a one-sided final document.

Fedoseyev pointed out that the Soviet Union was extending substantial assistance to the African countries in overcoming their difficulties.

Academician Fedoseyev emphasised that it was only by implementing the major foreign policy initiatives advanced by Mikhail Gorba-

chyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on January 15, 1986, and the programme for establishing a comprehensive system of international security, set forth at the 27th CPSU Congress, that considerable resources could be released to eliminate the economic backwardness of the African nations.

The Soviet scientist highly assessed the efforts applied by the Organisation of African Unity in the struggle against imperialist expansion, for a total eradication of colonialism, racism and apartheid, for strengthening the political and economic independence of the African countries, for peace and disarmament, for turning Africa into a zone free from nuclear weapons and foreign military bases, and for ending the arms race on the continent.

"The basic principles of the USSR's relations with the newly-free countries", Fedoseyev said, "remain unchanged. These are strict respect for their independence and sovereignty, support for the struggle against neo-colonialism, racism, Zionism and apartheid, for economic independence and social progress."

"The past decades show that, despite some differences which sometimes emerge between the Soviet Union and individual African countries in the assessment of certain issues, our countries have been and remain natural partners in the anti-imperialist struggle for peace and social progress, against the imperialist policy of *diktat* and expansion."

\* \* \*

MOSCOW, June 26, TASS:

"Opposition to imperialist aggression, to racism and interference in the internal affairs of sovereign nations, and a vital interest in preventing nuclear war, in preserving and strengthening peace, in ensuring the liberty, independence and equality of all peoples make up the basis of co-operation between the Soviet Union and Africa," Anatoli Gromyko, director of the Africa Institute at the Soviet Academy of Sciences, has pointed out.

"Vigorous co-operation between African countries and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries constitutes an important factor in the stabilisation of the international situation, in the struggle for peace and security of peoples," the Soviet scholar observed.

He was addressing the second Soviet-African scientific-political conference which closed here today.

The conference highly assessed the efforts of progressive forces aimed at preventing the militarisation of outer space, ending all nuclear tests, carrying out nuclear disarmament and switching arms expenditures to development purposes.

The participants in the Moscow forum pointed to the importance of the New Delhi declaration of the six heads of state and government. They observed with anxiety that Africa had recently become a target of the imperial policy of 'neoglobalism' and acts of state terrorism.

This course, directed at destabilising the situation in the 'frontline' and other African states and at imposing *diktat* on them, poses a serious threat to universal peace and security.

The participants in the conference denounced the policy of terror and aggression pursued by the racist regime of South Africa and came out in favour of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against Pretoria.

Confidence was expressed at this second Soviet-African meeting that the forthcoming 8th non-aligned conference in Harare would give fresh impetus to the struggle of the non-aligned nations for stronger independence and social and economic progress, and lend more vigour to the fighters against apartheid and for the earliest liberation of the Namibian people.

The conference heard the readiness of the USSR and the African countries to promote trade and economic, scientific and technical co-operation, and heard expressions of support for the Soviet Union's peaceful foreign policy, for its concept of establishing a comprehensive system of international security and for its programme for eliminating weapons of mass annihilation, first of all nuclear weapons, by the turn of the century.

The results of the Moscow meeting showed the profound interest of its participants in the further consolidation of Soviet-African friendship and in the development of all-round co-operation, and confirmed the need for unity of action by the forces of social progress in the face of the threat posed by imperialism.

The second Soviet-African conference reaffirmed the usefulness of such meetings and exchanges of views on a broad range of problems and issues of Soviet-African relations, with a view to finding additional reserves for their further development.

The experience of the two conferences has shown the expediency of holding them on a regular basis. □

## Address to writers of the world

MOSCOW, June 28, TASS:

THE delegates of the 8th Congress of Writers of the USSR today unanimously passed an address to the writers of the world, calling upon them for co-operation to promote the ideals of good and justice, for vigorous actions for peace.

"The more active are these humanistic activities," the address says, "the more difficult it will be for militarist forces to back up hatred, to wreck the spiritual affinity of people, the peaceful dialogue of nations, to prepare psychological and 'star' wars.

"The writer", the address says, "cannot stop the flight of a missile which is armed with a nuclear warhead. But his talent and imagination are now needed more than ever before. The great impact of his words can help create such an atmosphere in the world, such a unity of

individual and joint efforts which will be able to bar the way to militarism and imperialist aggression, to prevent a fatal development of events."

"The USSR threatens nobody, we want to live in peace with all. We are proving that by means of our life, our peaceful construction, peaceful plans and our literature ... we rejoice at the same successes and are worried by the same cares as all Soviet people. And the most important care is peace. There may be differences in our and your viewpoints. But no sober-minded writer wants the world to be blown up by war. It should be saved through the efforts of the whole of mankind."

"Our world is complicated, contradictory, sometimes cruel. But life itself is wonderful. It can and must be improved, but the main task now is to save it, to save our children, our future and the past. It is worthwhile pooling efforts, raising high the voice and devoting all our energies and talent for this cause." □

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# Soviet economy: the problems of acceleration

By Gennadi Pisarevsky, *Novosti* political commentator

HISTORY has again challenged the abilities of socialism for creative quest. The answer to this challenge is the acceleration of economic and social development of the USSR, the perfection and deep readjustment of our way of life and its further humanisation.

Difficult, complex, extraordinary and sometimes unfamiliar problems will have to be solved on the road of acceleration. Not easy and historically responsible, essentially innovative work awaits every Soviet citizen—from worker to minister, from farmer to academician. But the challenge has been accepted: there is no backing out of it. . . .

A good beginning is half the journey. In this sense the twelfth five-year plan (1986-1990) has an exceptional significance for the country's future and the refinement of socialism. The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee has considered (June 13) its draft basic targets, noting that they aim at faster and more effective growth of the economy, a further rise in the people's welfare and the maintenance of national defence capability on a proper level. To this end there must be an absolute shift to the intensive path of development based on science and technology.

It will be recalled that for quite a long time the Soviet economy developed mostly extensively: new enterprises were built, resource production grew dynamically and full employment was provided. That was an objectively needed phase. But, unfortunately, it became protracted: the changed situation had failed to be assessed in time, nor was the acuteness and urgency of switching the economy to the lines of intensification fully realised. The levelling tendencies when remuneration for the work of good and bad performers is inadmissibly averaged out and a tilt in favour of technocratic decisions—pro-

duction is what matters most, not man—led to a weakening of discipline and order. From all this, serious lessons of truth were drawn at the 27th Congress of the CPSU held from February 25 to March 6 this year. The Congress pointed out that the primary task now was determinedly to overcome the unfavourable trends in the economy, give it proper dynamism and open scope for working people's initiative and creativity, for truly revolutionary change. This conclusion formed the basis of the work on the draft plan for 1986-1990, within which span of time the economy must complete its shift to intensification.

That's a complex task: the Soviet economy is multi-branch in structure and vast in scale. Suffice to say that the USSR accounts for 20 per cent of world industrial production. The inertia of extensiveness is great, it's extremely difficult to eliminate it. Readjustment takes time, which is not available, having been used up in the past. The process will have to be handled on the march, considering the fact that the most inert category of being is our psyche, our way of thinking. Moulding a new style of economic thinking, renouncing the obsolete yet customary stereotypes, de-bureaucratising management and combating sluggishness and conservatism—all this can't come overnight. But the old methods are no answer to the new problems.

Better, quicker, more, cheaper, is the essence of intensification. Everything's important, but quality is the major aim. Qualitatively new, effective products with high consumer appeal, needed by the population and the economy, must stand behind each per cent of economic growth and each rouble of the national income. The principle of the priority of quality over quantity (we really can't complain about quantity) is a feature of the present stage of economic development of the country, both in the current period 1986-1990 and till the year 2000. New machinery, equipment, instruments, methods and consumer goods should match or surpass the

best world standards.

Of all the many economic problems of the twelfth five-year plan period, I think the following three are the hardest: increasing the average yearly agricultural output by an ambitious 15 per cent, a dynamic reconstruction of machine-building, and resource-saving. Let me briefly dwell on them.

Grain production is everywhere an uphill battle, and especially so in our country where the biopotential of farmlands is 2 to 3 times lower than in the USA or Western Europe and droughts are each year's unwelcome guest in the farmer's calendar. Improving the national diet is a priority and hence the supply priority for the country's agro-industrial sector throughout the coming years. The most important thing now is substantially to raise the returns on the huge investments in agriculture. And it is no accident that the most drastic managerial reform has been launched precisely here, a reform focussed on enhancing the cash incentives for farmers and promoting their enterprise, initiative and autonomy. The first results, though no cause for smugness, are evident: livestock output has been steadily growing, fodder production proceeds more successfully than before and more thorough preparations for crop harvesting are under way. But shortcomings are many, and the Soviet press writes much about them.

Essentially revolutionary changes are envisaged in machine-building: to cut by 3-4 times the development and mastering time for new equipment, which in efficiency and reliability must exceed current similar products by not less than 1.5-2 times. The automation of production will double, chiefly through the mass computerisation of enterprises. The use of progressive technologies will increase 1.5-2 times, and the application of electron beam, plasma, biological, membrane and other fundamentally new technologies will be started. We are still using our intellectual potential extensively (the USSR turns out a third of world scientific products). It is necessary to intensify this process and replace the engine of the economy, which can now only be all-embracing scientific and technological progress.

Plus resource-saving. In the current period this is the chief and most accessible reserve of acceleration. The Soviet economy annually produces and consumes about 6,000 million tons of fuel, all kinds of ores, construction materials and other resources. Building up their future production, with a rare exception, is unprofitable and at times simply harmful. Therefore resource-saving must become the principal extracting branch of the economy, figuratively speaking. Just 1 per cent of resource savings in the USSR ensures an addition to the national income worth 7,000 million roubles (1 rouble is approximately equivalent to 1.4 US dollars according to the official exchange rate for June, 1986), or over 25 roubles per head of the population. This, for example, amounts to almost half a year's transport expenditures for a Muscovite or a 10-month telephone subscription charge.

There will be still greater focus in the twelfth five-year plan on the social aspect of the growth of the Soviet economy. This is natural: socialism has made man the goal of social production, and the development of his creative abilities the content of social progress. Therefore the targets for increasing the welfare of the people have become the starting point and groundwork for all current and long-range plans.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee has stressed that the current five-year period's high economic growth targets will require the utmost mobilisation of the efforts of

## Vladimir Petrovsky's speech in Italian Parliament

ROME, June 27, TASS:

THE Foreign Affairs Commission of the Chamber of Deputies of the Italian Parliament has held a session at which, at the commission's invitation, Vladimir Petrovsky, a Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, made a speech.

He acquainted the Italian parliamentarians with the Soviet peace initiatives aimed at laying reliable foundations for a safe world and at limiting arms and achieving disarmament, and informed the deputies of the Soviet Union's approach to the problems of the current talks on disarmament.

"In the current complex international situation," the Soviet representative said, "we attach special importance to a dialogue between various countries and to the efforts of one and all in the name of overcoming the existing tension and strengthening universal security. A continuation of the arms race is fraught with disastrous consequences for the whole of mankind. Attempts are being made to transfer the arms race to outer space. Hence the need to take urgent measures to prevent the orbiting of weapons and to reach agreements leading to the elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction."

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR drew the parliamentarians' attention to the urgent nature of the problem of banning nuclear weapon testing and to the negative attitude of the US in this matter. At a time when the USSR has been abiding by the moratorium on nuclear weapon testing since August 6, 1985, the United States has carried out 13 nuclear explosions.

He singled out the political importance of the new Soviet proposals whose aim is to expedite progress at the Soviet-US talks on nuclear and space arms in Geneva.

Vladimir Petrovsky spoke in detail on the programme for a reduction of the armed forces and conventional arms in Europe, the programme which was put forward at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries in Budapest, and emphasised that the implementation of this programme would lead to a considerable cut in the number of troops and arms in the European continent in the shortest possible time.

The Soviet representative answered numerous questions asked by members of the Italian Parliament who showed a lively interest in the USSR's stand on key security issues.

On the same day Vladimir Petrovsky had a meeting with Leonilde Jotti, President of the Chamber of Deputies. □

(Continued on Page 312)



# Stop the drift to nuclear catastrophe

By Professor Genrikh Trofimenko, head of the US Foreign Policy Problems Department at the Institute of US and Canadian Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

JUGGLING with falsified data on Soviet military power, the US and some of its allies unceremoniously chop off the last anchors of strategic stability and engage in an arms build-up and modernisation.

Two parallel processes strike the eye: the active dismantling by Washington of the SALT regime and the heightened talk by NATO's leadership about "flexible response" in an aggressive, offensive spirit.

For all the real and imaginary shortcomings of SALT-1 and SALT-2, the limitations imposed by them on US and Soviet strategic arms have appreciably constrained the nuclear arms race. So the "hawks" in the US establishment first struck at the agreed principles of the limitation of strategic arms by preventing ratification of the SALT-2 Treaty in Congress, the selfsame body which is now seriously worried by SALT's collapse. However the limitations set by the treaty were preserved *de facto*.

Now the Reagan Administration, declaring that in the future the USA will not follow the SALT criteria, has also struck at the very principle of arms control, at the regime of mutual restraint. Many experts in the world see this move as preceding the United States' withdrawal from the ABM Treaty. The Reagan Administration's actual disavowal of its own "zero option" for medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe rounds off the picture of Washington's break with the existing international regime of nuclear arms limitation.

Washington ever more actively formulates NATO's strategy in an offensive spirit, trying to bolster it up with an arms build-up and modernisation. Whatever our assessment of

NATO's past military doctrines, it is obvious that such new concepts as 'Airland Battle' and 'Follow-on Force Attack' signify the bloc's first shift to avowedly offensive formulations of its strategy. The 'Rogers plan' for NATO with its stress on emerging technologies in the conventional arms field aims to gain a substantial superiority in this field over the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and to realise it, if not militarily, then at least politically and diplomatically.

Of course, the Warsaw Treaty countries can and will respond appropriately to US and NATO military preparations. But their leaders, as the recent Budapest Political Consultative Committee meeting has shown, nevertheless think that the situation is not hopeless, that the tendency towards worsening confrontation can and must be halted through a political dialogue between the states belonging to the opposed blocs.

Along with the programme to eliminate nuclear weapons and other types of weapons of mass destruction till the end of this century, aimed at fundamental disarmament, the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty states have put forward a whole series of concrete proposals on partial measures. Their implementation would bring a substantial improvement in the European and world climate, lesser confrontation and create favourable conditions for more radical disarmament steps.

One of them is the proposal for a drastic cut in the land forces and tactical strike aircraft of the European states, and also in the relevant forces of the USA and Canada deployed in Europe in the zone from the Atlantic to the Urals. This proposal envisages a reduction by the start of the nineties of half a million men on each side, with the most diverse forms of strict international

control over the implementation of the appropriate measures. An important addition to the project is the readiness expressed by the Warsaw Treaty states' leaders to study thoroughly the anxieties of the sides concerning each other's military doctrines and to remove the suspicion and distrust that have accumulated over the years.

Stressing that the Warsaw Treaty member-states will never, under any circumstances, begin military actions against any other state unless they themselves become a target of aggression, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation's political and military leaders have in fact treated positively the idea of non-provocative defence. They have expressed themselves for the realisation of steps which can reinforce the confidence of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries that no surprise offensive operations will be undertaken against them. The Warsaw Treaty leaders believe that all matters of this kind could be discussed through direct contacts between the two blocs.

In a parallel development, the Soviet parliamentarians have invited members of the foreign affairs commissions of the US Congress to hold a working meeting with their Soviet counterparts to discuss the problems arising in connection with the SALT agreements and, moreover, make such meetings regular.

Thus, two different lines in modern international relations clearly stand out: Washington's policy of increasing confrontation and trying again to replace diplomacy with demonstrations and threats of military force; and that of Moscow and its allies, aimed—through a civilised dialogue—at lessening military confrontation, strengthening and expanding the regime of arms limitation and reduction, and stopping the drift to nuclear catastrophe. □

(Novosti Press Agency, June 30, 1986)

## NUCLEAR TESTING—PRAVDA ANALYSIS

MOSCOW, June 27, TASS:

THE explosion of a British nuclear device beneath the Nevada desert, *Pravda's* Nikolai Kurdyumov observed today, "has become yet another confirmation of the US Administration's demonstrative unwillingness to realise the entire measure of the danger to mankind, and take real steps towards ridding the world of the threat of catastrophe.

"Besides this, the latest test also showed the stubborn aspiration of Washington and several other NATO member-countries to prevent the slowing down of the nuclear arms race, to hinder the lessening of tension and to try and gain military superiority over the socialist world."

"This dangerous course", said the *Pravda* news analyst, "exposes its followers as the chief culprits in the nuclear arms build-up and the deterioration of the international situation.

"The US and its satellites have again challenged world public opinion which is urging the West to follow the Soviet example."

"This has been done at a time", Kurdyumov said, "when, thanks to the constructive peace policy of the USSR and other fraternal socialist countries, there have emerged conditions for ridding mankind of the threat of war, and a concrete path for this has been laid out."

"Addressing the American Government with an urgent call to give up its negative attitude to the issue of a comprehensive nuclear test ban, the

Socialist International Congress, held the other day, pointed out in its Lima manifesto that the ending and then the final prohibition of all nuclear tests should become evidence of governments' seriousness about arms control."

"The continuation of nuclear blasts in Nevada, along with the US Administration's stated intention to stop observing the SALT-2 Treaty, make it clear that the White House's declarations about a commitment to nuclear arms cuts are nothing but a smokescreen and another attempt to camouflage the administration's course towards arms build-up," the *Pravda* analyst concluded.

*Pravda on June 27 also carried the following chronology in an article entitled 'Blowing up the Road to Peace':*

On July 30, 1985, the Soviet Union announced its decision to suspend all nuclear blasts from August 6, 1985 until January 1, 1986.

The moratorium was extended first till March 31, 1986, and then till the first nuclear explosion by the United States.

On May 15, 1985, the Soviet Government decided to extend its unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing till August 6, 1986.

The US has conducted over this period a series of twelve underground nuclear explosions at its Nevada test site. Here are some of them:

December 5, 1985: the testing of a nuclear device code-named 'Hawk's Nest', with a yield of up to 150 kilotons, jointly prepared by the US and Great Britain.

December 28, 1985: a test code-named 'Gold Stone', with a yield of 150 kilotons, conducted within the framework of developing nuclear-pumped lasers for use in 'Star Wars'.

March 22, 1986: the 'Glencoe' test with a yield of up to 150 kilotons, conducted within the framework of devising a new warhead.

April 10, 1986: the 'Mighty Oak' explosion, intended for testing the effect of radiation on military equipment. Serious complications followed the test as radio-activity was released.

April 22, 1986: the 'Jefferson' test, linked with work on so-called 'third-generation' weapons, including x-ray and optical lasers, microwave guns, and so on.

June 5, 1986: an underground nuclear weapon test code-named Tajo, yielding between 20 and 150 kilotons. This explosion brought to 651 the number of reported US nuclear tests since 1951.

The US Administration is planning to conduct about 1,000 underground nuclear explosions within the next ten years with a view to developing 'Star Wars' technology. □

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# At the Press Centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry

MOSCOW, July 1, TASS:

SPEAKING today at the Press Centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry, Vladimir Petrovsky, a USSR Deputy Foreign Minister, said that, striving for the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons by the end of this century, the USSR and its allies deemed it necessary to buttress this with a considerable cut in armed forces and conventional weapons.

The essence of the programme, set forth by the Warsaw Treaty member-states, for cutting armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe is to reduce by a quarter—that is, by one million men on both sides—ground forces and tactical aviation, as well as relevant operational-tactical nuclear arms.

“The most important aim of the programme”, Vladimir Petrovsky pointed out, “is to lessen the danger of a surprise attack and to strengthen military and strategic stability in Europe.”

“A well thought-out system of confidence and control measures, including international procedures down to on-the-spot verification, is an inseparable part of the programme. Along with measures on verifying reductions, observation would be exercised over the military activities of remaining troops. Provision is made for an exchange of numerical data, both of a general nature and in individual parameters.

“Our programme for cutting armed forces and conventional weapons is aimed at Europe not only due to the fact that the two major military groupings oppose each other here, but also due to the fact that the continent has every opportunity of playing the role of a builder of detente and showing a good example to other parts of the world, due to experience accumulated in the political solution of problems of pan-European co-operation.

“We cannot help being concerned over the official response of those to whom the new proposals of the socialist countries are addressed,” emphasised the USSR Deputy Foreign Minister. “They have been talking for three weeks on the need for studying them, but to all appearances there are not even the faintest signs of such study.

“Along with this, the war machine of the USA and the NATO bloc is getting up steam. It is indicative that the Western ruling quarters do not put into doubt the implementation of their military programmes. The gap between the lack of progress toward agreements at the negotiations on reducing armaments and the feverish military preparations of the USA and its closest allies is growing wider. Moreover, existing agreements are abandoned if, as is the case with the SALT-2 Treaty, they are an obstacle to implementing programmes for arms build-up.”

Speaking about the Vienna talks, Petrovsky said that the Soviet Union declared in no uncertain terms for reaching agreement at these without delay, “the more so because even at the beginning of this year, for the first time in all the 13 years of debates, the contours of possible agreements had taken shape.”

“Thanks to the constructive stand of the socialist countries, the sides in Vienna managed to draw their positions closer on such important matters of substance as the volume and procedure of the reduction of Soviet and American troops, an agreement on the subsequent non-increase in the level of armed forces and armaments of the sides in Central Europe and also an agreement on certain verification measures.

“In this situation, the proposal of socialist countries on starting joint work to formulate the text of an agreement was natural and logical.

“However, this improvement which made itself felt at the talks has not been consolidated so far.”

“The reason why it is so is the negative and

unconstructive position of the Western parties to the talks on certain verification measures that have been bloated to deliberately unacceptable proportions. For example, NATO countries are trying to apply certain obligations to the western military districts of the Soviet Union—an attempt that contradicts the mandate of the Vienna talks,” Vladimir Petrovsky emphasised.

“The reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe would affect in a most positive way the situation in other regions,” Colonel-General Nikolai Chervov, head of a department of the USSR General Staff, said when answering a question from a correspondent of the newspaper *Al-Ittihad* of the United Arab Emirates.

“In the present-day world security is a universal category,” he said. “It would be imprudent to reduce armaments in one region and at the same time build up armaments in another. This is why all the countries of the world should take part in ensuring security and reducing armaments.

“The stands of the Soviet Union and the United States on the problems of arms deliveries to other countries are diametrically opposed. The Soviet Union delivers armaments to the national liberation movements and to the non-aligned countries that are upholding their independence.

“As for the US, it delivers armaments in enormous quantities to the most reactionary regimes of the world, specifically South Africa, Israel and Chile, as well as to the bandit units of UNITA in Angola and to Afghan counter-revolutionaries.

“This policy creates and aggravates tension in various parts of the world. The USSR and the US had talks in 1977-1978 on the reduction and limitation of arms deliveries to other regions and actually drew up an agreement to this effect,” General Chervov said. “However the American side slammed the door, and the talks were stopped”.

Pravda:

## On smear campaign against USSR

MOSCOW, June 27, TASS:

AT present some people in the US capital, writes *Pravda* Washington correspondent Vitali Gan today, voice absurd allegations that “the Soviet people have actually no influence on their government” and that “it is very important to draw the line from the very outset between the Soviet people and the government ruling them”.

At the same time Americans are, naturally, being convinced that they should be grateful to their present administration which allegedly reflects their will in its policy, taking into account their vital interests, and so on.

It is always dangerous, of course, to under-

(Continued from Page 310)

all working people and the fullest promotion of their initiative. Eternally living creativity of the people is the main reliance of the Communist Party in its innovative work on the all-round refinement of socialism. Only by relying on this creativity can we face the new historical challenge with flying colours.

estimate and belittle the intellectual level of an opponent. But in this case the “arguments” of official Washington hold no water. The more so since the present smear campaign against the Soviet Union probably shows more clearly than ever the ill intentions of those who would like to deprive their own people of the right to think independently, those who dream of the mass fooling of the entire country. Incidentally, they are the people whom their countrymen aptly named in the past “the government of millionaires, for millionaires and in the interests of millionaires”.

It is self-evident that this hardly favourable description, the correspondent writes, shows the unequivocal opinion of Americans as to whether the Republican Administration is the “popular government” that it is seeking to pass itself as. It would take too much time to describe in brief the biographies and “service records” of the present Washington office holders who came to the ruling elite along roads covered with “greenbacks” from strong-boxes of the industrial, agricultural and finance monopolies. The fact that in the past six years the country has become a witness to and a victim at the same time of record-breaking levels of unemployment, poverty and a hunger epidemic, shows that the hypocritical “fathers of

the nation” from Washington are evidently not caring for the interests of ordinary people.

Trying to find out what the concrete cause is for the present dirty wave of anti-Soviet concoctions, insinuations and wild fantasies and why now the mechanism of misinformation is working full blast, the *Pravda* correspondent writes: “Replies to these questions can partly be found in the irrefutable fact that the latest Soviet peace initiatives on arms control have put the US Administration into an extremely difficult position. Washington has lost all its peace-making verbiage, and it turns out that it has nothing with which to respond to the concrete and balanced Soviet proposals. Hence the venomous malice and lame excuses.”

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

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