

Mikhail Gorbachev's message to Congress of International Physicians

Here follows the full text of the message of greetings by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to participants in the 7th World Congress of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War:

I WHOLEHEARTEDLY greet the 7th World Congress of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War which has gathered in Moscow.

I regard the emergence and remarkable development of your movement and its universal prestige as yet another good and impressive sign that peace has staunch and convinced supporters and their number is multiplying.

Mankind has no right to lull itself with illusions. It should know the truth about the ruinous consequences of nuclear war for all living things. The truth is bitter but it is also a potent medicine for indifference, apathy and passivity when it is a matter of saving life on Earth.

The bell of your movement is now heard throughout the world. It impels one to act. You honestly say that medicine would be powerless to help people in the chaos of nuclear conflagration. This is really so.

You justly regard as immoral the banking on "nuclear deterrence" which is permanently fraught with a tremendous danger of irremediable malfunction. Besides, the arms race swallows resources the utilisation of which for the needs of health care and science will make it possible to stamp out many grave diseases and to improve the health of individuals and mankind as

a whole, and, I will add, to get rid of many social ills which are known not only to the developing countries but to the developed ones as well.

Your thoughts and ideas of how to preserve civilisation and to cure "nuclear madness" are understandable to us. We share them. They aroused a broad response at the Moscow Forum For a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World, for the Survival of Humanity.

Our country comes out in favour of eliminating nuclear arms. At any moment the Soviet Union is ready to resume the moratorium on nuclear tests and to ban them altogether if the United States and other nuclear powers follow suit.

Peace built on nuclear deterrence is fragile and dangerous. To try to reliably strengthen it through ever new build-ups of arms, ground- or space-based ones, means to go in the direction opposite to the interests of peace.

The present-day situation is an historical challenge to political leaders and to every person. It reminds one of one's responsibility. We consider it necessary to move on from competition in stockpiling the arsenals of destruction to co-operation in radically reducing them. The Soviet Union is prepared to go its part of the road in good faith. Even though our state has nuclear arms, it will never be the first to use them.

The USSR solemnly states that it is prepared to give them up completely by the year 2000 or earlier, on the basis of reciprocity of course, and under the most stringent international control.

We are convinced that the first steps towards nuclear disarmament can and should be made without delay. They will serve well the interests of universal security and will add so urgently needed elements of trust to our troubled and interdependent world.

Ideological differences, and political ones, too, should not obstruct our view of the common destinies of mankind and of the priority of life and universal human values. The current period requires bold and urgent actions by all people concerned for the future of civilisation.

I am confident that at this turning point of mankind's history the voice of physicians will continue to sound loudly and authoritatively. Your goals are lofty and humane. I wish you success. I wish the Moscow Congress success in its work for the good of universal peace.

Mikhail Gorbachev

Gorbachev meets Honecker

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV met Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the GDR Council of State, in Berlin on May 28.

The conversation covered a broad range of issues on which the two fraternal parties are working now.

Questions pertaining to bilateral co-operation in the political, economic and other fields were examined from the viewpoint of implementation of the agreements which were reached in the course of the summit meetings in Berlin in April and in Moscow in October 1986. Certain progress has been made in a number of areas, including in the development of direct ties between industrial plants, amalgamations and integrated works of the USSR and the GDR.

At the same time it has been found necessary to lend dynamism to the introduction of new forms of co-operation, which will open broad possibilities for the development of co-operation in the field of production, science and technology, and help resolve major tasks of economic, social and cultural construction in both countries. It has been agreed that this package of issues will be examined in detail soon.

In the course of the meeting, tasks were discussed for co-operation between the USSR and the GDR in the international arena. Satisfaction has been expressed with the high degree of coordination of actions in carrying out the agreed foreign policy line of the Warsaw Treaty member countries in the effort to ensure peace and security in Europe. The importance has been stressed of regular consultations at various levels on questions concerning the interests of both countries.

The meeting proceeded in a spirit of mutual understanding and cordiality. □

Andrei Gromyko receives Socialist International delegation

ANDREI GROMYKO, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, had a meeting in the Kremlin on June 1 with a delegation from the Socialist International's Consultative Council on Disarmament.

The delegation was led by Kalevi Sorsa, Council Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Socialist International, who is Chairman of the Social Democratic Party and Foreign Minister of Finland.

The delegation includes representatives of the leadership of the parties making up the Socialist International from Austria, Denmark, Ireland, Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, Senegal, Finland,

the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Switzerland and Japan.

During the meeting Sorsa said the delegation has already visited the United States, where they met Vice-President George Bush and Secretary of State George Shultz, to find out the present approaches of the US Administration to the disarmament problem. He then dwelt on those approaches.

Gromyko said the Soviet Union is open to talks but regrettably there is still no response from the United States to Soviet disarmament proposals. "It is to be hoped that reason and the sense of responsibility to all nations will prevail and the impediments to agreement be removed," he said.

International relations are now at a watershed and the question, a most acute one, is obviously whether mankind will finally take the path of eliminating whole classes of nuclear weapons and achieve drastic improvements in the international climate or whether the momentum of heightening world tension and extending the arms race into space would gain the upper hand, he added.

"Efforts to strengthen peace by all political forces, all parties and organisations opposed to war are now more important than ever. We believe that social democracy too has a large potential for positively influencing the course of world development," Gromyko went on to say.

"It is not fortuitous that now, with mountains

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WARSAW TREATY POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

Communique

Follows the full text of the Communiqué of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states:

A meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance was held in Berlin on May 28-29, 1987.

From the People's Republic of Bulgaria the meeting was attended by Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria (PRB), head of the delegation; Georgy Atanasov, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the BCP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRB; Dobri Dzurov, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the BCP and Minister of National Defence of the PRB; Milko Balev, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the BCP; Pyotr Mladenov, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the BCP and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the PRB.

From the Hungarian People's Republic the meeting was attended by Janos Kadar, General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP), head of the delegation; György Lazar, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the HSWP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic (HPR); Matyas Szueroes, Secretary of the Central Committee of the HSWP; Peter Varkonyi, Member of the Central Committee of the HSWP and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the HPR; Ferenc Karpati, Member of the Central Committee of the HSWP and Minister of Defence of the HPR.

From the German Democratic Republic the meeting was attended by Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG) and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), head of the delegation; Willi Stoph, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the SUPG and Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Hermann Axen, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the SUPG; Egon Krenz, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the SUPG and Vice-Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR; Heinz Kessler, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the SUPG and Minister of National Defence of the GDR; Guenter Mittag, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the SUPG and Vice-Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR; Oskar Fischer, Member of the Central Committee of the SUPG and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the GDR.

From the Polish People's Republic the meeting was attended by Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) and President of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic (PPR), head of the delegation; Zbigniew Messner, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PUWP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PPR; Josef Czyrek, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the PUWP; Marian Orzechowski, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PUWP and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the PPR; Florian Siwicki, Member of the Political

Bureau of the Central Committee of the PUWP and Minister of National Defence of the PPR.

From the Socialist Republic of Romania the meeting was attended by Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP), and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania (SRR), head of the delegation; Constantin Dascalescu, Member of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the RCP and Prime Minister of the Government of the SRR; Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee and Secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP; Vasile Milea, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the RCP and Minister of National Defence of the SRR; Ioan Totu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the RCP and Foreign Minister of the SRR; Gheorghe Caranfil, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the SRR to the GDR.

From the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the meeting was attended by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), head of the delegation; Andrei Gromyko, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Nikolai Ryzhkov, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Eduard Shevardnadze, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Foreign Minister; Sergei Sokolov, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Defence Minister; Vadim Medvedev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

From the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic the meeting was attended by Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC) and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (CSR), head of the delegation; Lubomir Strougal, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPC and Chairman of the Government of the CSR; Vasil Bil'ak, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPC and Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPC; Milos Jakes, Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPC; Bohuslav Choupek, Member of the Central Committee of the CPC and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the CSR; Milan Vacavik, Member of the Central Committee of the CPC and Minister of National Defence of the CSR.

Taking part in the work of the meeting were also the Commander-in-Chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states, Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov; and the General Secretary of the Political Consultative Committee, First Deputy Foreign Minister of the German Democratic Republic Herbert Krolikowski.

1. The participants in the meeting studied in detail the situation in Europe and in the world as a whole. They believe that the development of world events, the changes in international relations, the growing interdependence of states, scientific and technological progress, and the creation of weapons of unprecedented destructive power require a new thinking, a new

approach to questions of war and peace, disarmament and other complex global and regional problems, a renunciation of the concept of "nuclear deterrence" according to which nuclear arms are a guarantee of the security of states. There can be no victors in a nuclear war.

They confirmed their conviction that the cardinal task is to avert war, rule it out for ever from the life of mankind, preserve peace on Earth, stop the arms race and move on to concrete measures of disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament, directed at general and complete disarmament.

This requires the pooling of the efforts of all states and all peaceloving forces, the strengthening of trust in relations between states, especially those belonging to different social systems, and their military-political alliances, a correct understanding of each other's concerns, aims and intentions in the military field.

The Warsaw Treaty member states again declare that their military doctrine is of a defensive nature, and proceeds from the need of maintaining a balance of military forces at the lowest possible level and the expediency of reducing military potentials to the limits of sufficiency necessary for defence. A document was adopted on this question at the meeting and will be published.

2. The participants in the meeting believe that a possibility has now appeared for taking the following practical steps in the field of nuclear disarmament in order to stop mankind from sliding towards nuclear catastrophe:

— To conclude without delay an agreement on eliminating all American and Soviet medium-range missiles in Europe on the basis of the principled accord reached in Reykjavik. Upon its signing and on agreement with the governments of the GDR and Czechoslovakia Soviet missiles deployed in those countries as reply measures to the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Western Europe will be withdrawn.

— To eliminate simultaneously Soviet and American theatre missiles in Europe and to hold talks on such missiles in the east of the Soviet Union and on the territory of the United States.

— To solve the question of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, including tactical missiles, at multilateral talks in the spirit of the Budapest initiative of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

— To reach agreement on a radical reduction of strategic offensive arms in conditions of a simultaneous strengthening of the regime of the ABM Treaty. The allied socialist states come out for a 50 per cent reduction of the strategic offensive arms of the USSR and the United States in the course of five years and for talks on their subsequent reductions.

— To press for the full prohibition of nuclear tests as a priority measure in stopping the development, production and perfection of nuclear weapons, their reduction and elimination. The Warsaw Treaty member states propose the undelayed opening of full-scale talks for the attainment of appropriate accords in this field.

The meeting's participants come out resolutely in favour of keeping weapons from outer space, complying strictly with the ABM Treaty, reaching accords on banning anti-satellite systems and "space-to-surface" weapons, preventing an arms race in outer space and

using space exclusively for peaceful purposes on a rational basis, for the benefit of all of mankind.

The leaders of the allied socialist states advocated the elaboration of "key provisions" for agreements between the USSR and the United States with regard to strategic offensive weapons, the strengthening of the regime of the ABM Treaty and nuclear testing, which, along with the conclusion of a treaty on medium-range missiles, could be the subject of a Soviet-American accord at the highest level and a basis for drafting legally binding Soviet-American agreements.

They deem it necessary that all European states, above all members of both alliances, actively facilitate the process of nuclear disarmament and ensure the success of the relevant negotiations.

The Warsaw Treaty member states will do everything in their power to achieve specific accords on a bilateral and multilateral basis with a view to eliminating nuclear and other weapons of mass annihilation before the turn of the century.

3. The states represented at the meeting favour the earliest elimination of chemical weapons. They reaffirm their readiness to complete already this year the elaboration of an international convention on banning chemical weapons, destroying their existing stockpiles and the industrial facilities for their production. They recall their statement to this effect, adopted in Moscow on March 25, 1987.

4. Ways of implementing the programme for reducing the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe by 25 per cent in the early 1990s, advanced by the Warsaw Treaty states in June 1986, were discussed.

Such reductions would be carried out simultaneously and together with tactical nuclear systems. Along with the implementation of the proposed reductions, the meeting's participants deem it necessary to work out new measures making it possible subsequently to turn to even more substantial cuts in the armed forces, armaments and military spending by the year 2000.

The Warsaw Treaty member states view the process of reducing military confrontation in Europe as being continuous and ensuring equilibrium at the lowest possible level at each stage.

Taking into account the asymmetry in the armed forces of the two sides in Europe, determined by historical, geographic and other factors, they express readiness to rectify in the course of reductions the disbalance that has emerged in some elements by way of corresponding cuts on the side that is ahead. The process of reducing troops and armaments would be accompanied by a corresponding reduction in the states' military spending.

The states represented at the meeting call on all states participating in the Conference on European Security and Co-operation to hold a meeting of foreign ministers, which would adopt a decision on starting large-scale talks with a view to reducing drastically the armed forces and conventional armaments and tactical nuclear weapons in Europe given a corresponding reduction in military spending.

It would be advisable that these talks also discuss a number of top-priority measures connected with the lowering of military confrontation and the prevention of the threat of sudden attack, reciprocal withdrawal of the most dangerous, offensive types of weapons from the zone of direct contact of the two military alliances, and the reduction of the concentration of the armed forces and armaments in the zone down to the lowest agreed upon level.

The second stage of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe would be the best

forum for discussing these issues. At the same time there are other options for discussing disarmament issues, above all within the framework of the all-European process, including the convocation of a special forum.

The allied socialist states attach great importance to the informal consultations in Vienna between the representatives of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries, called upon to facilitate the elaboration of a mandate for the future negotiations.

In confirmation of their goodwill and in the interests of ensuring the best conditions for the future talks, the Warsaw Treaty member states express the readiness to display maximum restraint with regard to the development of their military potentials, not to build up armed forces and conventional armaments, and to proclaim a one or two-year moratorium on the growth of military spending on the basis of reciprocity. They call on all NATO countries to display a similar approach.

5. The Warsaw Treaty member states attach great importance to steps for reducing military confrontation and strengthening security in individual parts of Europe and establishing zones free from nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans, in the centre and in the north of the continent. They reaffirm their determination to press for the implementation of the proposals on this score advanced by the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, and by Romania and Bulgaria.

As to the proposals of the GDR and Czechoslovakia for establishing a nuclear free corridor along the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO 300 kilometres wide (150 km each side), all nuclear weapons could be withdrawn from it on a reciprocal basis: nuclear munitions, including nuclear mines, shorter-range and tactical missiles, atomic artillery, nuclear-capable strike tactical aviation planes and nuclear-capable anti-air missile complexes.

The Warsaw Treaty member states favour the continuation and deepening of the multilateral dialogue on establishing in the Balkans a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons.

The states represented at the meeting fully back Poland's plan for arms reduction and confidence-building in Central Europe. Its implementation would be an important factor for strengthening peace and stability in the continent.

6. The implementation of disarmament measures would be guaranteed by an effective system of verification that would accord with the content of disarmament measures and include on-site inspection. Proceeding from the premise that, in the event of transition to real disarmament, verification becomes one of the most important means of ensuring security, the Warsaw Treaty member states come out for working out a set of the strictest verification measures at all stages of arms reduction.

Verification of the reduction of nuclear-missile armaments should be ensured everywhere — at the place of the dismantling of missiles and their elimination, at proving ranges and military bases, including in third countries, and at training centres, storages and manufacturing plants, both state and private.

In the field of conventional armaments measures of verifying the very process of reduction would be accompanied by observation of the military activity of troops remaining after the reduction.

7. Having studied the course of the Vienna meeting of representatives of states participating in the Conference on European Security and Co-operation (CESC) which has entered the responsible stage of working out generally acceptable accords, the states represented at the meeting stated their resolve to facilitate in every way its successful conclusion, and the adoption at the meeting of substantive and balanced decisions facilitating real progress in the cause

of disarmament, the strengthening of trust and development of relations between participating states in the political, economic and humanitarian fields on the firm and reliable basis of all the principles of the Helsinki Final Act. They come out against the continent's division into opposing military blocs, for their simultaneous dissolution, and for good-neighbourliness and co-operation in the common European home.

The states represented at the meeting express the conviction that the proposed meeting of ministers of foreign affairs of states taking part in the CESC could facilitate not only the commencement of talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe but also the solution of other questions of European security and co-operation.

The participants in the meeting were at one that lasting peace and good-neighbourly co-operation in Europe could be ensured only on condition of respect for the existing territorial-political realities in the continent. The activity of revanchist forces, first of all in the Federal Republic of Germany, and the encouragement of revanchism anywhere else run counter to the interests of detente and security, and to the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. In the future, too, such activity will be most resolutely repulsed.

The interests of peace and of creating a climate of trust, mutual respect and friendship among peoples demand an end to the policy of hatred among them and to any attempts to implant anti-communism, preach racism, use any forms of discrimination whatsoever, and to disseminate chauvinistic and nationalistic theses.

8. The Warsaw Treaty member states are prepared to search for ways leading to the further development of mutually advantageous economic and scientific-technical co-operation with all countries, and come out for the removal of barriers in the field of trade and economic exchanges and for a deepening of economic ties among CESC participant states because this would facilitate the strengthening of detente, security and peace in Europe.

The Warsaw Treaty member states come out for extensive interaction in the humanitarian field. They are convinced that everything should be done to ensure the rights of man to life and work in conditions of peace and freedom, and the full implementation of political, civic, economic, social and cultural rights in their sum total and interdependence in conditions of respect for the sovereignty of states.

9. The states represented at the meeting confirm their resolve to press for the formation of an all-embracing system of international peace and security that would encompass both the military and political and the economic and humanitarian fields. Interaction in the field of ecology would be a component part of it. Such a security system would lead to the creation of a nuclear-free world in which the use of force or the threat of force would be ruled out and relations between peoples would be conducted in the spirit of mutual respect, friendship and co-operation.

The socialist countries' initiative is directed at overcoming confrontational approaches, and at asserting civilised standards and an atmosphere of openness and trust in international relations.

The participants in the meeting welcomed the extensive exchange of views on these matters that has begun in the United Nations Organisation. They come out for continuing and developing an effective dialogue along all directions and at all levels in order to move on to concrete measures of forming material, political, legal, moral and psychological guarantees of peace, to a practical creation of security for all. They express hope that the 42nd session of the United Nations General Assembly will make its important contribution to this. The United Nations Organisation could become an effective guarantor of an all-embracing system of international peace and security.

The states represented at the meeting stressed the need for strict respect by all states for the principles of national independence and sovereignty, non-use of force or threat of force, inviolability of borders and territorial integrity, peaceful resolution of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and other principles and goals of the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act and other universally recognised rules of international relations.

10. The leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member states exchanged views on areas of tension and conflicts in the world and reaffirmed their resolve to facilitate actively their fair political settlement by way of talks.

In the Middle East, holding an international conference under UN auspices with the equitable participation of all sides concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, would be of great importance for attaining a comprehensive settlement and ensuring lasting peace in that region.

Establishing a preparatory committee with the participation of five permanent members of the UN Security Council and all sides concerned could be a practical step towards convening such a conference.

The earliest cessation of the Iraq-Iran conflict and the resolution of outstanding problems by way of talks, taking due account of the legitimate interests of both states on the basis of generally recognised rules of international law and order, would meet the interests of international peace.

The participants in the meeting welcomed the creation of a nuclear-weapons-free zone in the Southern Pacific, and expressed the conviction that the interests of international security would be promoted by the consolidation of peace in the Korean peninsula, the resolution by political means, through talks, of all conflicts and problems existing in South-East Asia on the basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of every country, and by the development of relations of good-neighbourliness and co-operation in the area. The participants in the meeting supported the course at achieving

national reconciliation in Afghanistan and an early political settlement of the situation around it, on the basis of ending all interference in the internal affairs of that country and of respect for its independence and sovereignty. Interest was expressed in an early implementation of the Soviet-Afghan arrangement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in the framework of a political settlement.

The states represented at the conference confirmed their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa against imperialism, colonialism and the racist apartheid policies, and with the struggle of the Namibian people under SWAPO leadership for liberation and complete independence. They condemned resolutely the aggressive actions of the Republic of South Africa against the peoples of Angola and Mozambique, and of other neighbouring independent states.

The participants in the conference proclaimed complete support for the efforts aimed at a fair political settlement in Central America, and declared for an end to aggressive actions against Nicaragua, for the recognition of the right of each people to determine the roads of its political and economic development freely and without outside interference.

The participants in the meeting discussed some aspects of the economic situation in the world, including questions connected with overcoming underdevelopment and with the establishment of a new international economic order. A document was adopted on these questions and will be published.

11. A thorough exchange of opinions on the development of co-operation among the allied socialist countries was held at the meeting. The work of the Committee of Foreign Ministers and the Committee of Defence Ministers over the period that had passed since the Budapest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee was positively assessed. Their further tasks were outlined.

When questions of interaction in the framework of the Warsaw Treaty were discussed, the participants in the meeting declared for

imparting greater dynamism to co-operation in the foreign policy sphere, for upgrading its mechanism and for the steady observance of the principles of equality and mutual responsibility in the system of political relations among the allied states. They attach importance to enhancing the activity and initiative of every allied state in international affairs in the interests of conducting a concerted foreign policy course.

In this context it was decided to set up a multilateral current mutual information group consisting of representatives of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

It has been decided to create a special commission of Warsaw Treaty member states on questions of disarmament, consisting of representatives of the ministries of foreign affairs and ministries of defence, to exchange views and information on questions of arms limitation and disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, including the discussion of initiatives of allied states and the working out of joint proposals in this field. The creation of the commission is called upon to facilitate the still more active participation of all Warsaw Treaty member states in joint efforts in the field of arms limitation and disarmament.

The Political Consultative Committee heard a report by the Commander-in-Chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states on the practical work done by the command and adopted a decision on this.

The meeting passed in an atmosphere of friendship and comradely co-operation. It demonstrated a unity of views on all questions under discussion.

The German Democratic Republic as the host country of the meeting will ensure the distribution of its documents among other states and international organisations.

The next meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Treaty member states will be held in Warsaw. A representative of the Polish People's Republic, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Henryk Jaroszek, was appointed Secretary-General of the Political Consultative Committee for the next term. □

News conference by Soviet delegate at Geneva talks

ALEXEI OBUKHOV, a deputy leader of the delegation from the USSR to Soviet-US talks on nuclear and space arms, held a news conference in Geneva.

He called attention to the results of the May 28-29 Berlin meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member countries. After pointing out that it has given special attention to the issues of nuclear disarmament, he said the Soviet delegation to the Geneva talks on nuclear and space arms has been consistently working towards the attainment of the goals mentioned at the meeting.

The problem of medium-range missiles is now indisputably commanding priority attention. It is the issue where the greatest headway has been made.

As a result of the work done at the current round the sides have drawn up the first joint draft treaty on medium-range missiles reflecting the sides' positions as they now stand.

An important step has thus been made at the talks, which forms the basis for further progress in hammering out the final draft.

Of course, much work still remains to be done. A number of aspects in the present American position constitute hurdles to progress. These include, for example, the possibility envisaged by the US approach of converting US medium-

range missiles into other kinds of weaponry and the US unwillingness to start scrapping its medium-range missiles at the same time as the Soviet side will start destroying its.

The goal of lowering the level of military confrontation is not served by US claims to the right to install its remaining medium-range missiles in Alaska, from where they will be able to reach Soviet territory.

But if these and other negative elements are removed from the US position, there is every possibility for a fully agreed joint draft treaty on medium-range missiles to be worked out by next autumn. The draft could be examined and signed at the next Soviet-US summit meeting.

The Soviet side attaches much significance also to two other areas of the talks on nuclear and space arms, namely strategic offensive weapons and space arms. The Soviet delegation, its deputy leader said, has tabled draft "key provisions of a treaty" on these problems. Along with the document on medium-range missiles, the "key provisions" document could be endorsed at the possible summit meeting.

The American side's position in these areas, alas, is not constructive. Its tabled draft treaty on strategic offensive weapons contains a whole number of patently lop-sided provisions geared to securing military advantages for the United States.

On outer space, the US position is directed not

at strengthening but at actually destroying the ABM Treaty. It should be clear, in the meantime, that extending the arms race to outer space would provide a catalyst for the arms race on Earth. There would then be no question of talking about drastic cuts in strategic offensive arms.

The Soviet side, the deputy leader of the Soviet delegation said, is determined to continue pressing for effective solutions to all issues covered by the talks on nuclear and space arms in the interests of enhancing peace and general security. □

From Madrid to Vienna

Follow-up Report
of the Soviet Committee
for European Security and Co-operation
on the Helsinki Final Act

This booklet from Progress Publishers Moscow is available from Soviet Booklets, 3 Rosary Gardens, London, SW7 4NW (01-373 7350).

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WARSAW TREATY POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

Military Doctrine

THE importance of correctly defining the aims and intentions of states and military-political alliances in the military sphere incorporated in their military doctrines increases in the present-day situation. Being aware of this and proceeding from the need to rid humanity of wars, end the arms race, preclude the use of military force, consolidate peace and security and implement general and complete disarmament, the Warsaw Treaty member states decided to set out the fundamental provisions of their military doctrine which is at the basis of the activity of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, and reflects the community of the defensive military-political aims of its member countries and their national military doctrines.

The military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty, just as of each of its member countries, is subjugated to the task of preventing war, both nuclear and conventional. Out of the very nature of the socialist social system these states have never linked and do not link their future to the military solution of international problems. They declare for the solution of all disputable international problems peacefully, by political means.

In the nuclear-space age, the world has become too fragile for war and power politics. Humanity is faced with the problem of survival in conditions when huge volumes of the deadliest armaments have been stockpiled. A world war, the more so nuclear war, would have catastrophic consequences not only for the countries directly involved in the conflict, but also for the very life on Earth.

The military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty member states is strictly a defensive one. It proceeds from the view that the use of the military road for resolving any disputed question is intolerable in the present conditions. Its essence is that:

The Warsaw Treaty member states will never, under any circumstances, start hostilities against any country or an alliance of countries, unless they become the target of a military attack themselves.

They will never be the first to use nuclear weapons.

They have no territorial claims to any state either in Europe or outside it.

They do not view any state, any people as their enemy. Quite the contrary, they are prepared to build relations with all countries without exception on the basis of mutually taking into account the interests of security and peaceful coexistence.

The Warsaw Treaty member states declare that they firmly base their international relations on the respect for the principles of independence and national sovereignty, non-use of force or threat of force, inviolability of frontiers and territorial integrity, resolution of conflicts in a peaceful way, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and other principles and goals envisaged by the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Final Act and generally recognised standards of international relations.

While favouring the implementation of disarmament measures, the Warsaw Treaty member states are compelled to maintain their armed forces in a composition and at a level that

would enable them to repulse any attack from outside against any Treaty member state.

The combat readiness of the armed forces of the allied states is maintained at a sufficient level so as not to be caught unawares. In the event of an attack, they will give a devastating rebuff to the aggressor.

The Warsaw Treaty member states never had nor have an aspiration to possess armed forces and armaments in excess of what is necessary for these purposes. Thus, they strictly comply with the limits of sufficiency for defence and for repelling possible aggression.

The Warsaw Treaty member states regard ensuring the reliable security of their peoples as their prime duty to them. The allied socialist states do not claim greater security than other countries, but they will not agree to lesser security either.

The existing military-strategic parity remains the decisive factor of preventing war. Further raising the level of parity does not yield, as experience shows, greater security. That is why they will continue applying efforts to maintain the balance of military force at an ever lower level.

Under these conditions, ending the arms race and carrying out measures of real disarmament are acquiring truly historic significance. The states nowadays have no other path but reaching accords on the drastic lowering of the level of military confrontation.

The Warsaw Treaty member states come out resolutely from these positions. In full compliance with the defensive essence of their military doctrine, they are consistently pressing for the following principal goals:

First. The earliest comprehensive ban on nuclear testing as a top-priority measure to end the development, production and perfection of nuclear arms, their stage-by-stage reduction and total elimination, and prevention of the spread of the arms race into outer space.

Second. Prohibition and elimination of chemical and other types of weapons of mass annihilation.

Third. Reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe down to the level at which neither side, in ensuring its defence, would have means for a sudden attack on the other side or for starting offensive operations in general.

Fourth. Strict verification of all disarmament measures, based on the combination of national technical means and international procedures, including the establishment of corresponding international bodies, exchange of military information and holding on-site inspections.

Fifth. The creation in various regions of Europe and in other parts of the world of zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons and also zones of reduced concentration of armaments and increased trust, the implementation of military confidence-building measures in Europe on a mutual basis and the attainment of accords on such measures in other areas of the world and also on seas and oceans. The mutual renunciation by Warsaw Treaty member states and North Atlantic Treaty member states of the use of armed force and the adoption of commitments to maintain relations of peace, the liquidation of military bases on the territory of other states; the withdrawal of troops within the confines of national borders, the mutual withdrawal of the most dangerous offensive types of armaments from the zone of direct contact of the two military alliances and also the lowering of the concentration in that zone of armed forces and

armaments to the minimum agreed-upon level.

Sixth. Regarding Europe's continuing split into opposing military blocs as abnormal, the Warsaw Treaty member states come out for the simultaneous dissolution of the North Atlantic alliance and the Warsaw Treaty and, as the first step, for the liquidation of their military organisations and ultimately for an all-embracing system of international security.

The Warsaw Treaty member states propose to the North Atlantic alliance member states to hold consultations with the aim of comparing the military doctrines of both alliances, analysing their character and jointly studying the directions of their further evolution with a view to removing the mutual suspiciousness and mistrust that have accumulated for years, attaining a better understanding of each other's intentions and ensuring that the military concepts and doctrines of the military blocs and their members be based on defensive principles.

The existing imbalances and asymmetries in separate types of armaments and services of armed forces and the search for ways of removing them on the basis of reductions by the side that is ahead, on the understanding that such reductions will lead to the establishment of ever lower levels, could also be a subject of consultations.

The socialist member states of the Treaty propose to hold such consultations at an authoritative expert level with the participation of military specialists of countries of both sides. They are prepared for holding such consultations already in 1987. The consultations could be held in Warsaw or Brussels, or in each of these cities alternately.

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria:
Todor Zhivkov
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party,
Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

For the Hungarian People's Republic:
Janos Kadar
General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

For the German Democratic Republic:
Erich Honecker
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany,
Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic.

For the Polish People's Republic:
Wojciech Jaruzelski
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party,
Chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic.

For the Socialist Republic of Romania:
Nicolae Ceaucescu
General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party,
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:
Mikhail Gorbachev
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic:
Gustav Husak
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,
President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.
Berlin, May 29, 1987.

At the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee

AT its meeting on May 30, the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee discussed a report of the USSR Defence Ministry about the circumstances connected with the violation of the Soviet Union's airspace by a plane piloted by FRG citizen M. Rust.

When this question was discussed it was established that the plane belonging to a Hamburg flying club was detected by radars of the anti-aircraft defences when it was approaching the state border of the USSR. Soviet fighter planes twice flew round the West German plane.

At the same time the Political Bureau pointed out that the Anti-Aircraft Defence Forces

Command had shown intolerable unconcern and indecision about cutting short the flight of the violator plane without resorting to combat means. This fact attests to serious shortcomings in organising alert for the protection of the airspace of the country, a lack of due vigilance and discipline, and a major dereliction of duty in the guidance of forces by the USSR Defence Ministry.

For negligence and lack of organisation in cutting short the aforementioned violation and lack of due control over the actions of the anti-aircraft forces, the Political Bureau deemed it necessary to relieve Alexander Koldunov of his duties as Commander-in-Chief of the Anti-Aircraft Forces. The decision has been adopted to strengthen the leadership of the USSR

Defence Ministry.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee emphasised again the fundamental importance of the task of resolutely enhancing the level of combat preparedness and discipline of the armed forces, the efficient command of troops, and the ensurance of their constant capability to cut short any encroachments on the sovereignty of the Soviet State.

It was taken into consideration that the USSR Office of the Public Prosecutor is conducting the investigation into all the circumstances connected with the violation of the airspace of the USSR and the actions of officials in that situation, as well as the responsibility of the citizen of the Federal Republic of Germany. □

Foreign Ministry briefing on violation of Soviet airspace

THE circumstances of the violation of Soviet airspace by a plane piloted by a West German national are continuing to be studied, a spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Minister said on June 1.

Answering journalists' questions at a briefing, he said the pilot had been detained and was under investigation.

"Article 84 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation says that flying into the USSR without permission — and there was no permission — is punishable by a term of imprisonment of between one and ten years or a fine of up to 1,000 roubles, with or without the confiscation of the intruding aircraft," he said.

He said that the pilot had violated Soviet law by entering Soviet airspace without permission and was under investigation, and that representatives of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany had been allowed to meet him.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman said there were many questions in the case which had yet to be answered.

"It has been reported from Hamburg, for example, that the pilot of the plane had discussed

with other pilots the best options for crossing the Soviet border undetected.

"According to the West German press, he pored over a map and a mock-up of the route, and studied the peculiarities of flying at low altitudes. Among other things the plane was specially adapted, lightened and fitted with extra fuel tanks.

"There is a mass of details which have to be pieced together to form a general picture.

"Whether he acted alone or it was something else, whether it was an act of hooliganism or there were some more serious intentions — it is too early yet to make the final judgement," the spokesman said. □

A LIGHT sports plane, piloted by Mathias Rust, a citizen of the Federal Republic of Germany, violated Soviet airspace in the area of the city of Kohtla-Jarve on Thursday, May 28.

The flight of the plane over Soviet territory was not cut short, and it landed in Moscow.

Competent bodies are conducting an inquiry into the incident. □

USSR Defence Minister appointed

THE Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has appointed General of the Army Dmitri Yazov USSR Minister of Defence.

Dmitri Yazov was born in 1923. He is Russian, and has been a member of the CPSU since 1944. He has been with the Soviet Army since 1941. He graduated from the Frunze Military Academy in 1956 and from the Military Academy of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces in 1967.

During the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945) he held a number of commanding posts, and took part in the fighting on the Volkhov and Leningrad Fronts with the army in the field. In postwar years he held various commanding and staff posts. Later he commanded an army and group of forces. For seven years he was commander of the troops of the Central Asian Military District, and later of the Far-Eastern Military District. He has worked of late as USSR Deputy Defence Minister for personnel. Dmitri Yazov is an alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee and a Deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergei Sokolov has been relieved of his duties as USSR Defence Minister in connection with his retirement. □

Andrei Gromyko receives Walter Scheel

ANDREI GROMYKO received in the Kremlin prominent West German public figure Walter Scheel, Honorary Chairman of the Free Democratic Party and former federal president of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The meeting passed in an atmosphere of goodwill and frankness, and covered some issues of bilateral relations between the USSR and the FRG as well as the present-day international situation.

Gromyko said there is no task more important

today than ensuring lasting peace and attaining practical results in the field of disarmament.

In this context the exceptional significance was noted during the meeting of the Soviet proposals for eliminating medium-range missiles. Ending nuclear confrontation in the continent meets directly the security interests of all European countries, including the FRG. Their high economic potential and extensive historical and political experience make it possible to take practical action to enhance European security.

Scheel spoke of the high significance of Soviet initiatives for solving the problem of reducing nuclear arms in Europe. He also called for broader, mutually advantageous co-operation between the USSR and the FRG, saying there is every objective prerequisite for this and the FRG Government is fully aware of it.

Both sides pointed to the key significance of the Moscow Treaty of August 12, 1970, which started the process of normalising relations between the USSR and the FRG and has made a

big contribution to strengthening security in Europe in general. It is important, relying on the accumulated positive experience, to continue working for relations between the USSR and the FRG to broaden. The interlocutors pointed out the fact that the Moscow Treaty these days is proving its vitality and necessity with ever greater vigour.

Gromyko stressed the significance of the decisions of the recent Berlin meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member countries.

During the meeting he told Scheel of the principles of the home policy of the USSR, the perestroika reform drive and the prospects being opened by this deep-going political, social and economic process. Stress was put on the organic connection between the constructive goals of the home policy of the USSR and the perestroika effort on the one hand, and the objectives of the Soviet Union's foreign policy of peace on the other. □

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Soviet-Romanian Communiqué

THE Bucharest talks focused on major issues of bilateral relations and the use of all available resources and possibilities for their further consolidation, says a joint Soviet-Romanian communiqué on the results of Mikhail Gorbachev's official friendly visit to Romania.

Satisfaction was expressed with the present state of relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Romanian Communist Party, between the Soviet Union and Romania.

Both sides were determined to do everything possible to develop these relations in a continuous and all-round way for the benefit of the Soviet and Romanian peoples.

The communiqué underlined the need for abandoning, once and for all, the inhuman concept according to which weapons, especially nuclear ones, strengthened security and upheld peace.

War should not be regarded as a means of settling conflicts between states. The realities

of the nuclear and space age, the threat of destruction to the very conditions for life on Earth demands that all governments, political and public figures adopt new political thinking and a responsible attitude to questions of war and peace.

Gorbachev and Ceausescu attach importance to the Soviet Programme for eliminating nuclear weapons by the turn of the century and to the large-scale initiatives relying on the Reykjavik platform, and stress the need for the earliest conclusion of an agreement on eliminating medium-range missiles and shorter-range missiles of the USSR and the United States in Europe.

Having expressed concern over the immense threat posed to universal peace by tensions remaining in many parts of the world, the leaders of the Soviet Union and Romania favour their earliest political settlement by way of talks on the basis of respect for the sovereignty and independence of the states, and the right of each people to determine its destiny.

A fair, comprehensive and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem is urgently needed.

Convening an international peace conference on the Middle East under UN auspices with the participation of all sides concerned, including the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, will make a great contribution to that.

Everything should be done to end the Iran-Iraq war and achieve the withdrawal of troops of the two states within the borders that had existed before the conflict and the immediate transition to peace talks.

The important role was stressed of the Non-aligned Movement and the contribution it is making to the constructive solution of international problems, maintenance and consolidation of peace throughout the world.

The leaders of the two parties came out in favour of turning to resolute measures and actions with a view to finding a global solution to problems of underdevelopment, including the question of developing countries' foreign debt, and establishing a new international economic order which will facilitate faster progress of all countries, first of all developing, and the stability of the world economy. □

ANDREI GROMYKO RECEIVES SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION

(from front page)

of weapons piled up in the world, even people of different ideologies and ways of life seek instinctively to join hands and work together to build an insurmountable barrier blocking the way to the nuclear precipice.

"Everything that is progressive in the world, the full power of human genius and common sense and the awareness of nations' common responsibility for the future is making political parties and mass organisations pool efforts and use their influence to secure a turn for peace and a peaceful future for mankind.

"These goals are served also by the Soviet Union's proposals made on behalf of our state by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the US Administration," Gromyko said.

Opinions were also exchanged on the problem

of conventional arms.

"We welcome progress in developing contacts and dialogue between the parties and organisations of the Socialist International, which your delegation represents, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," he continued.

"The Soviet people, adults and children alike, are committed to the cause of peace and friendship with all nations and remain faithful to their promise to do everything possible for peace to reign supreme in the world," he added.

The meeting discussed several specific aspects of monitoring arrangements to verify disarmament. Gromyko said in this connection that "it is impossible to find another state in the world that stands as strongly for effective verification in practice, not words, as the USSR".

Soviet foreign policy, he said, is a direct continuation of home policy. The visit by the Socialist International's delegation, he added, is taking place at a time when the perestroika process of renovating all aspects of life in Soviet society has been sharply and forcefully intensified.

Speaking of the perestroika drive, Gromyko said there is a dialectical connection between the radical restructuring of the economy and the extension of socialist democracy. He stressed the key importance now of fashioning an integral system for running the national economy.

Touching on the international aspect of the perestroika drive, he said: "This policy reflects the Soviet State's commitment to peace. By having proclaimed it, socialism has in effect invited the other social system to peaceful, and only peaceful, competition. Such competition will benefit all mankind."

The perestroika course bears out the reliability of the USSR as a partner in international relations, and one building its policy on a long-term footing and proving its peaceful nature in practice, Gromyko continued.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries, he said, are making still further initiatives whose realisation will help lift the danger of war hanging over mankind.

"The destruction of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, as proposed by the USSR, will be the best and dearest present for mankind in the next century," he stressed.

The attention of the Socialist International's representatives was called to the Berlin meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty members and the ideas and initiatives formulated there, in particular the military doctrine of these countries, which is of a defensive nature.

Gromyko then answered questions from the delegation's members.

Sorsa said in conclusion that the Socialist International's Consultative Council will continue its activities for peace and that, just like the Socialist International itself, it supports the peaceful thrust of the Soviet proposals.

Gromyko wished all the visiting Council members success in their work meeting the interests of international security. □

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Mikhail Gorbachev meets IPPNW representatives

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV has met a group of leading delegates to the Seventh Congress of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

Welcoming them, he described the Congress as another major step in the development of that influential movement. You appear not only as physicians.

"You have already accumulated much experience in introducing your ideas to big politics. Over a short period the initiative of several persons has turned into a movement with the participation of more than 150 thousand competent people from tens of countries. Your voice is heeded and reckoned with, because you do not dissipate your energies in conflicting directions, but concentrate on the decisive direction. This has enabled you to warn humanity about the main danger. Hence the prestige of the movement to which — as this Congress has witnessed — trade unions, representatives of other professions and prominent public figures are being drawn and who wish to make their own contribution. It is noteworthy that it was attended by representatives of the developing world."

Task of survival

On behalf of the Soviet Government, Mikhail Gorbachev welcomed those present and in their person the whole movement, and wished it every success. "We share the aims of the movement and take them into consideration in our policy. We have a common responsibility to bear to mankind."

Mikhail Gorbachev shared the ideas and plans underlying the Soviet Union's present-day foreign policy.

"The task of survival," he said, "is rising over all the differences, disputes and disagreements between states, social movements and the interests of various groups of people. This conclusion underlies the new mode of political thinking."

"The world has fundamentally changed over the recent decades. It is confronted with unprecedented problems: the nuclear threat, an ecological crisis, the revolution of science and technology and its social aftermaths, and the new role of the mass communication and information media. They concern all. And this is a source of the growth of concern and public activeness all over the world.

"This tendency of participation in deciding the destiny of their countries and the world as a whole will powerfully increase, since the world is interrelated in all of its parts. And the fact that various states have different social systems does not cancel that interrelation.

"The USSR and the USA, the socialist states of Europe and Asia, Britain and the FRG, India and Australia, Pakistan and Tanzania, Argentina and Mexico, the Arab states, every nation has its own interests. And it is necessary to understand this reality. It is necessary to learn to live in a real world. There is no other way about it. Refusing to recognise that is denying the peoples the right of a free choice. Even if a people is in error, it must itself find a way out. And no one, no 'superpower' has the right to interfere in that. It does not come easily now to build the policy on *diktat*, and it should disappear altogether in the course of years.

"The realisation of that is making headway with difficulty. But this process has already started and involved even the military circles.

"The Soviet Union builds its policy on the basis of a new mode of thinking."

Mikhail Gorbachev reminded those present about the major initiatives and actions undertaken by the Soviet leadership over the past two years for lessening international tensions and building up an atmosphere of trust, lessening the nuclear danger, eliminating the chemical weapons, ensuring a cut in conventional weapons and armed forces, and giving the military doctrines a solely defensive character.

"Is the West's reaction adequate? No, it is not. They are speculating there whether this is a sign of the USSR's weakness. Maybe the thing is that it cannot keep up with the race and it is worthwhile to step it up? So they reason. We do not meet with the impulses of real policy in response to our impulses, or are simply faced with politicking."

"The present moment is very important. It is hard to say when another such chance might appear. A dangerous tendency created by the 'war party' can be altered and the spread of the arms race to space can be prevented. It is true that outer space must become another area of rapprochement and mutual assistance, and not a source of new menace for people.

"The ideology of 'nuclear deterrence' on which NATO policy is based should be overcome. We have seriously analysed all aspects of this 'theory'. Its advocates, apparently, have learnt nothing either from Hiroshima or from Chernobyl, whose lessons are now being forgotten. This, apparently, suits certain persons. But we know what it is like.

"Nuclear weapons are being upheld, and everything is being done to upgrade them. The programmes for their use that are being drawn up specify the stage of war at which the particular kinds of weapons should be used against specific targets, the scope of their use and so on and so forth. It is sought to condition people to the idea that this is a natural thing, necessary for security. In reality the concept of 'nuclear deterrence' is a false, dangerous and deeply amoral position."

Answering numerous questions from interlocutors about nuclear weapon tests, Mikhail Gorbachev said that the USSR is prepared to announce a moratorium together with the United States even tomorrow. He agreed with Professor Lown that it is sought to entangle the problem of tests with talk about control.

"The United States has not taken a single step to meet us halfway on the question of tests. Being realists, we agreed to advance bit-by-bit and proposed in Geneva a draft of stage-by-stage advance towards full-scale talks on a test ban. But the announcement of a bilateral moratorium right away could be an initial step. Why shouldn't the Congress of the United States and the USSR Supreme Soviet adopt a law restricting the size of tests to one kiloton and reducing their number to the minimum?"

"But we have a feeling that the US Administration is creating a vicious circle: it is blocking strategic nuclear arms reduction, and links an end to testing with progress in strategic nuclear arms reduction. We again come up against the wish to preserve nuclear arms, cost what it may, even though this contradicts what we agreed upon with the President in Geneva and Reykjavik."

Mikhail Gorbachev described those forces which are capable of compelling the governments to advance towards a world without nuclear arms, and expressed the confidence that this aim is realistic. He assured the interlocutors that the Soviet Union will continue acting vigorously, that it will not let slip a single chance and, moreover, will be acting in such a way that other chances should appear. But this will, naturally, be done

on the basis of equal security.

"We have vast stocks of goodwill. This is shown also by our proposals on medium-range missiles. Nothing has been done over decades to reduce nuclear arms. This would be a real step toward starting the process of nuclear disarmament and would have vast practical, political and psychological importance."

Mikhail Gorbachev supported one of the important trends on which the physicians' movement works. "It is explanation of the relationship of disarmament with development, of the arms race with crying economic needs — and not only in developing countries but also in industrialised states — with problems of poverty, health services and education — wherever the moloch of militarism takes away huge funds from millions of people. Those who make money on the arms race, presenting this as 'concern' for national security, should be exposed."

Professor Lown spoke during the conversation more than once. So did most of the participants in the meeting. They shared impressions about the Congress which has just ended. They noted its specific features: it was the most representative, had the greatest number of delegates so far and was marked by high intellectual intensity, depth of analysis of problems, unprecedented enthusiasm, breadth of contacts, substantive and business-like character of debates, and an atmosphere of high responsibility, openness, honesty and clarity of positions. The participants in the meeting linked all this with the atmosphere of greater openness and of the reorganisation in the country which was the venue of the congress.

Gratitude

Mikhail Gorbachev strongly supported the idea expressed by Professor Lown that if the whole world debated the problems of survival as honestly, openly and deeply as was done at the Moscow Congress of Physicians, these problems could be resolved promptly.

The final document of the Seventh Congress was presented to Mikhail Gorbachev. Expressing gratitude for the interesting ideas advanced at the Congress and in the conversation, which will be taken into consideration in Soviet policy, and for the confidence and wishes of successes to the Soviet people taking the road of profound change, Mikhail Gorbachev spoke highly of the activity of physicians at this crucial time.

Taking part in the meeting were Professor Bernard Lown, American Co-Chairman of the movement, and Louisa Lown; Academician Yevgeni Chazov, USSR Health Minister, one of the founders of the international physicians' movement; Academician of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Mikhail Kuzin, the Soviet Co-Chairman of the movement and Director of the Vishnevsky Institute of Surgery; Professor Lars Engstedt (Sweden), Ian Maddocks (Australia), Dr. Donald Bates (Canada), Academician Susan Hollan (Hungary) and Dr. Rene Bresquet (Argentina), Vice-Presidents of the movement; Dr. John Pastore (USA), Secretary of the Executive Committee of the movement; Conn Nugent (USA), Executive Director of the movement; Victor Sidel, President of the American organisation Physicians for Social Responsibility; Professor Ulrich Gottstein (FRG); Academicians of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Leonid Ilyin, Director of the Institute of Biophysics, and Nikolai Bochkov, Director of the Institute of Genetics.

Alexander Yakovlev and Anatoli Dobrynin took part in the meeting. □

(N.B. The cross-heads in this bulletin were inserted by Soviet News—Ed.)