

## Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with leaders of International Fund for the Survival and Development of Humanity

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had a meeting in the Kremlin on January 15 with the members of the leadership of the International Fund for the Survival and Development of Humanity who gathered in Moscow for their constituent session.

The Fund, the idea of establishing which was put forward in Moscow in February last year at the International Forum for a Nuclear-free World, for the Survival of Humanity, will render assistance, including financial, in the realisation of various research projects in the field of disarmament, ecology and cultural issues, and will contribute to strengthening mutual understanding and cooperation between the public of various countries.

Addressing those present the prominent scientists, cultural personalities and representatives of the business community and the general public of various countries, Mikhail Gorbachev said —

“I am glad to see you and to welcome your mission which is yet another illustration of positive changes taking place in the world. Each step in the advance along the road of peace and improvement of the international situation is a no easy one. The process, however, goes on.”

“I would not like to appear either as a pessimist or as a kind of optimist viewing the world through rose-coloured spectacles. One should be a realist. This is the most important thing particularly in politics. Therefore we in the Soviet Union, while making an estimate of the direction in which the international situation develops, think that a fundamental change for the better has not yet taken place, although positive tendencies have originated in all directions — both in the sphere of disarmament and the economy and in the sphere of scientific and cultural cooperation.”

I should like to specially point out that intellectuals — scientists, writers and

cultural personalities — have become more active of late the world over. It is of great importance if one takes into consideration their real prestige in society. The world is tired of tension. It has come up to a point in its development where it has become clear to all, even those who are no specialists in politics, that it is time to stop and think what should be done next.

I assure you that we in the Soviet Union have realised it. We shall do our utmost for the improvement of the international situation, for peace.

Several days ago I met representatives of our press and heads of creative workers' unions. We spoke at the meeting about our history, its accomplishments and its various periods, including tragic ones. We tried again to compare our assessments, our approaches to various periods of our history, for the purpose of deepening it and for understanding the complexity of the dialectics. Each period witnessed enormous efforts of the people who worked for the benefit of the country and moved it along the path of progress and socialism. There were major gains that turned this enormous, multinational but formerly backward country into a modern state. However, they inflicted tremendous damage on the process of the development of socialism. This is also a fact.

We are drawing lessons from all this today, when we are going on with perestroika and when we want to rejuvenate our society on the principles of democratisation. It will take much effort. Perestroika in the way of thinking is needed today. We all have a certain experience of life. It prepared us for realising the need for perestroika. We have the intellectual forces capable of leading society along the path of democratisation for the sake of revealing to the full the potential of our social system. However, if it was only the desire of intellectuals or politicians, it would be important but not decisive. It is the fact that this policy and the new ideas of perestroika are met with understanding by the whole of society — the working class, farmers, intellectuals, all the working people — that is really decisive. All this inspires us with hope that we shall move forward — although not without a struggle, not without difficulties.

At the meeting that I am telling you about the idea was put forward that not all that is taking place in this country depends entirely on us, on our society. It depends as well on the world in which we live. We, you and me, feel that it is really so. The developments in the present-day world where everything is interconnected and interdependent are undoubtedly making a strong impact on each country, on the processes there and, finally, on world politics as a whole. It is only by taking into consideration this interconnection and interdependence that one can plan one's future, can draw up plans relying not only on the forces inside one's own society but also on cooperation with other nations. This is especially important if one takes into account that many problems have been accumulated that are of an international character. We usually call them all-human problems because they are facing

the whole of civilisation.

All this made us start the quest along the lines of new thinking, the understanding of new realities and approaches to a better society. We seem to be going only through a primary school in this field. Much remains to be done by our people before we start moving rapidly and confidently along the chosen path. This refers to our perestroika. In the same way, much remains to be realised by the world and to be done by joint efforts before we change the situation for the better.

The emergence of the new organisation which you represent here should be regarded as well in the context of the changing world. These changes are characterised in the first place by growing mutual understanding and the realisation of the need for cooperation, the desire to live in peace along with remaining committed to one's choice — social, ideological and religious. The former is no obstacle for the latter.

This is natural in the world community rallying so many various nations. Each of them has a destiny of its own and traditions of its own. Even the biggest countries, notwithstanding all their might, cannot disregard it, cannot treat smaller nations with imperial haughtiness. I spoke about it recently with President Reagan. I believe that the bigger the country — the greater its responsibility before its own people and before other peoples.

If that big country, a government of that country lacked a feeling of responsibility before its people, before peoples of other countries, this would be fraught with most serious consequences.

I am sure that today's policy can be effective only if it is enriched by science and literature. A process of bringing nations closer together is difficult to imagine if it goes without moral foundation, humaneness in world politics and humanisation of international relations. Politicians cannot do without the original and indispensable contribution of scientists and the public and intellectual forces of mankind. Realising all this, I welcome all of you at the beginning of your path, at the beginning of your work and I wish you success.

Later Jerome Wiesner (USA), Fund Vice-President, spoke on behalf of the board of directors. He said, *inter alia*, that he pinned great hopes on the Fund's activities, the idea of establishing which emerged at the International Forum in Moscow. Visiting many countries and talking with many people, especially with scientists, he saw their great desire for talent and human potential to be used in the interests of society rather than for the arms race.

Ideas about processes now under way in the world, about tasks facing scientists, cultural workers, artists and the business community in this context and about the aims of the Fund were shared by Armand Hammer (USA), Dmitri Likhachev (USSR), Andrei Sakharov (USSR), Susan Eisenhower (USA), Jose Goldenberg (Brazil), Rolf Bjornerstedt (Sweden), Jeremy Stone (USA), David McTaggard (Canada), Blavest Sendov (Bulgaria), Federico Mayor (Spain), Metropolitan Pitirim (USSR), Roald

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Sagdeyev (USSR), Hans Stiller (GDR), Mario Guttierrez (Italy), Michael Sela (Israel), Frank von Hippel (USA), Hans-Peter Duerr (FRG), Horst Richter (FRG), Wade Green (USA), A. Schneier (USA) and Yevgeni Velikhov (USSR).

They said, among other things, that the Fund's activities can be an important contribution to promoting and elaborating ideas of the new thinking, called upon to ensure the survival of humanity in the face of the nuclear threat and the removal of barriers of mistrust which interfere with strengthening mutual understanding between nations.

Cooperation between scientists, people working in culture and members of the business community in implementing the Fund's programme will help establish a closer link between real policy and public opinion and call the attention of politicians and scientists to the appraisal of a broad range of major problems of our times.

The meeting's participants assessed the recent signing of the INF Treaty — which will make it possible to eliminate a whole class of nuclear weapons for the first time in history — as a concrete manifestation of new approaches to international politics.

Meeting participants pointed out that in the nuclear age it is especially important to humanise international relations, to lend them a moral dimension and to ensure observance of generally accepted human moral standards in politics.

Regarding disarmament problems as a priority direction in the Fund's activities, speakers also pointed to the great importance of pooling the efforts of the public of various countries in tackling problems of development.

The foreign guests displayed a vivid and sincere interest in processes of perestroika and democratisation of public life in the USSR and spoke of the great international importance of changes taking place in the country.

Mikhail Gorbachev spoke in conclusion. He noted that he listened with great interest to the opinions of the meeting's participants and that much thought should be given to what they said. All these were very serious things. He expressed the belief that it is important for the Fund that the drive for survival is linked with cooperation.

If the world does not progress in the area of restructuring international relations, it will be difficult for the Fund to realise its plans.

This is why I would put it in this way — on the one hand, the Fund will supply the sphere of thinking and politics with necessary and important ideas, developments, proposals and, finally, projects. On the other hand, it will maintain broad ties with the whole of the world community. In my opinion, without these ties the Fund will be deprived of its roots. The roots are in society, in its very diversity. By rallying major intellectual forces, the Fund will be able to single out on the basis of those live connections the imperatives of the present-day world and pass them over to politicians in the form of scientifically substantiated conclusions. This is the most important of all.

I feel that you have not ended your discussion yet. You will have to think over how you plan to organise the work of the Fund. It is not an easy thing to do, especially if one takes into account your ambitious and responsible plans.

I got the impression at this meeting that two spheres of work of the Fund are taking shape. In my opinion, the Fund will play its part if it influences politics into promoting the formation of new thinking and uses for this purpose scientific arguments and the understandings of trends in world development. I know from my own experience that politicians are in need of scientific arguments and conclusions for making decisions both on internal and international problems. The Fund can do a great deal in this sphere. There is strong demand

on it and its recommendations. Of course, this does not mean that all will respond to your ideas and proposals in the same way. And still, they will be an important element in the working out of a more substantiated policy and the building of international relations. This is the first.

Second. The Fund will undoubtedly be able to do much if it does not find itself in an ivory tower, if it is not isolated from the vigorous developments in the present-day world with all its concerns and aspirations.

If the work of the Fund is not keynoted by the concern for the survival and development of humanity, if it is not connected with projects really stimulating progressive changes, it will not live up to the tasks set before it. This is why I believe that your idea about the need for broad contacts between the Fund and public movements which are making already tremendous impact on politics is very much correct.

As for the projects, they can be various. I agree with the view expressed here about the importance of the participation of scientists, including with the assistance of the Fund, in stimulating the disarmament process. This is the priority task. Naturally, I am far from underestimating ecological problems which are acute today. We need real cooperation in the solution of ecological problems. We need a systematic and comprehensive approach to problems of environmental protection. In my opinion, public organisations like the Fund can be instrumental in putting forward interesting proposals on the internationalisation of work in the sphere of ecology.

This also concerns issues pertaining to the scientific and technical revolution and its social consequences. These issues substantially affect the interests of people not only in countries which fell behind in their development and are seeking to get into the mainstream of scientific and technical progress. They are no less acute in developed countries also. Of great importance for humanisation of international relations is, naturally, preservation of culture.

I think that the Fund should look realistically at the world and comprehend it as it is. Only realism can help you reveal vitally important problems and draw correct conclusions and recommendations.

One cannot but agree with you also in the fact that not a single government or group of governments must manipulate the Fund's activities and divert it from resolving world-wide problems.

We shall acclaim exactly such activities and promote them, both morally and practically.

In the coming period all efforts of the Soviet leadership in foreign policy will be aimed at strengthening and developing the newly generated positive trends in international relations.

This means that you can expect from us new constructive efforts above all in the sphere of disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament.

We also regard as realistic the issue of a 50-per-cent cut in strategic offensive weapons. However, we are resolute opponents of a situation under which now some people start pushing the arms race in other directions in a roundabout way when the disarmament process is assuming real forms.

When we put forth the question of removing intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear weapons from Europe, some got a feeling that Europe found itself in a 'difficult' situation. 'Ideas' popped up at once how to bypass the agreement through rearmament of navies, air forces, etc. Isn't it silly?

If we cut now strategic offensive weapons by 50 per cent and continue moving towards cutting them further, the following question arises — what is the need for attempts to bypass this process by deploying sea-based Cruise missiles?

We categorically oppose it.

At the Washington meeting we stated it pointblank. It is impossible to put an end to the arms race and to really pass over to the disarmament process if one of the partners at the talks has a feeling that the other side is trying to outwit him, that he is being outflanked. International relations cannot be built in this way.

If the arms race spreads to outer space, it would mean destabilisation, and this is why it is impossible to agree to it in principle. It took us tremendous effort (scientists know well about it) to work out criteria of comparison, to find approaches to control on the basis of which the disarmament process on Earth is being started at last. If the arms race extends to space, the whole situation will be changed. Those are serious things. For this reason we are of the opinion — and we believe that it is shared by the public and especially scientists and representatives of intellectual circles who have a more profound understanding of the situation — that it is impossible to go on with disarmament in some spheres and to step up the arms race in others. In this situation, first, the threat to humanity would be preserved and, second, the squandering of resources would be continued. This is our approach.

We are staunch supporters of moving forward without reducing the pace of disarmament. We are ready to go far on this path. I think that during negotiations on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles we showed how far the constructive attitude of the Soviet side can go. And we shall not go back on it. Even more flexibility and constructive approach will be needed when we get down to the problem of strategic offensive armaments. Everything will become more complicated. This is why a constructive approach will be essential. It is important that the confidence that began to emerge in relations between partners during the talks should not be destroyed by the attempts of the opposite side to outwit the partner.

This is why we need moral criteria which are evident at this meeting as well. We respect each other's views, we want to understand each other and, moreover, to pool efforts in the tackling of complicated problems.

We are sure that the problem of the elimination of chemical weapons can be resolved in the near future. We are ready to regard with understanding concern connected with conventional armaments, especially in Europe. There is asymmetry on both sides. So let us move jointly along the path of lessening military confrontation.

Thank you for displaying interest in and expressing kind feelings for our people who are fulfilling now far-reaching plans connected with perestroika and the rejuvenation of our society.

Gorbachev spoke further about the process of perestroika in this country, about the problems it brings to light and the prospects opening up before it.

Jerome Wiesner said — "I admire what you have done and I would like to admire your further actions."

Mikhail Gorbachev answered — "We shall try not to disappoint you. I am glad we had this frank conversation. I think that meetings and work at the Fund should go on in the same atmosphere. We, the Soviet leadership, are open to a direct conversation with you. We wish you success on the path on which you have made the first step. It is symbolic that it coincided in time with the first step in nuclear disarmament. Let us work in both spheres. Thank you. I wish you good health and courage."

The meeting was attended by Anatoli Dobrynin, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

# Mikhail Gorbachev's reply to Italian peace organisation

*A MASS Soviet-Italian friendship rally was held in Bassano del Grappa (Italian region of Veneto) on Monday. It was attended by prominent Italian political and social figures, parliamentarians, leaders of the Veneto Regional Council, representatives of the municipal authorities, activists of local public organisations and the USSR Ambassador to Italy. In a solemn atmosphere Don Erasmo de Poli, President of the pacifist organisation Pagiss, was presented with Mikhail Gorbachev's reply to the message from city residents containing a call for proclaiming Bassano del Grappa a nuclear-free zone.*

*The reply reads as follows —*

I received the message from residents of the city of Bassano del Grappa, signed by 35,000 residents of the city. They were guided, as I understand, by the feeling which is embracing growing numbers of people on our planet — the feeling of their own personal responsibility for their fate, the fate of their children and the fate of all citizens of the world.

The world in which we live is still very fragile.

The race of lethal weapons is going on. Blood is being shed in many areas, equality and justice have not become a reality for millions of people in dozens of states.

But the world is changing before our very eyes. It is changing above all due to the fact that millions of people in various countries, like 35,000 residents of Bassano del Grappa, have started actively intervening in big politics, understanding that the time has come to act. To act for the sake of eliminating the fear of a nuclear disaster, for the sake of arresting and then reversing the nuclear race.

## Mikhail Gorbachev meets Armand Hammer

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV had a meeting in the Kremlin in Moscow on Friday with Dr Armand Hammer, prominent U.S. industrialist and public figure who is chairman of the board of Occidental Petroleum Corporation.

Gorbachev pointed out Hammer's big personal contribution to maintaining and consolidating the Soviet-U.S. relationship and his efforts for many years to promote cooperation and improve mutual understanding between the Soviet and American peoples.

Hammer spoke highly of the INF (intermediate-range nuclear force) Treaty signed in Washington last December, calling it a right step in the right direction. He pointed to the Soviet leadership's big contribution to resolving

this issue and wished success to the Soviet-U.S. talks on strategic offensive arms reduction.

Gorbachev stressed that the Soviet Union is and will continue doing everything in its power to secure cuts in nuclear armories and an end to the arms race also in other areas. "Naturally enough, we expect reciprocal efforts from the U.S. Government as well," he said.

Hammer raised the issue of a settlement regarding Afghanistan. Referring to certain circles in the U.S. administration, he asserted that they were waiting for more proof of the Soviet Union's good will in the issue.

Gorbachev recalled that at the Washington meeting the Soviet delegation made serious and constructive proposals but "we haven't yet received an adequate response from the administration, and that's a pity since such a settlement could set an example of a new

approach to resolving other regional problems."

"Our problems on this score remains clearcut. We are for the earliest possible resolution of the problem. Of course, the issues of troop withdrawal should be linked with the end of outside interference in Afghan affairs," Gorbachev said.

Hammer told him of plans to launch a joint venture in the Soviet Union with the involvement of U.S. and other firms.

Gorbachev said that developing broad and mutually beneficial cooperation meets the interests of both countries and the Soviet Union welcomes it.

Anatoli Dobrynin, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, also took part in the conversation, which passed in a warm atmosphere.

## At the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee

THE Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee at its meeting on Thursday reviewed the fulfilment of earlier Party and government decisions to develop the agri-industrial sector in the non-black-earth zone in the Russian Federation.

It was noted in the course of the discussion, which involved the first secretaries of regional Party committees, that the implementation of planned measures has been having a favourable effect on the development of that important economic area.

Sizeable funds have been allocated to building up and improving material supplies, technical facilities, machinery and social amenities there. As a result, it has proved possible to check the falling-off of agricultural production in the non-black-earth zone which continued for several previous years.

At the same time the Politburo takes the view that a breakthrough in developing the agri-industrial sector there has not yet been achieved. The agriculture of many regions and autonomous republics in the zone does not promise sustained growth and the large investments made by the government and collective farms have not been paying off as they should.

It was stressed that it is a task of high political and nationwide significance to increase the role of the agri-industrial sector in the non-black-earth zone in steadily building up the country's food production.

Close attention was called to the need for the area to become self-sufficient in staple foodstuffs

before long. It is provided to quicken the pace of social advancement in the countryside so as by 1995 to provide every rural family with a separate cottage with outhouses and to have enough schools, child care centres, health institutions, cultural facilities, shops and service establishments in the rural populated localities.

It was found expedient, starting from this year, to embark on a large-scale road-building programme, step up the rate of supplying gas services to villages and broaden the use of electric power to meet production and domestic needs there.

It is planned to draw up a comprehensive programme for social and economic development in the non-black-earth zone in 1988-95 and set aside funds and resources for it as a matter of priority.

Measures were outlined to further streamline the system of running the agri-industrial sector in the non-black-earth zone.

The Politburo also reviewed the fulfilment of the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee of 14 July 1986 on the results of the inquiry into the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station and the measures to cope with its aftermath and ensure safety in the nuclear power industry, and of other Party and government decisions on the issue.

It was noted that a package of major measures has been carried out since the accident. A unique covering has been built over the destroyed reactor building. All the three remaining generating units at the station have been put on stream.

Construction work is drawing to a close on

the first phase of Slavutich, a town for the station's personnel.

Important issues have been resolved, which are connected with improvements in organisation and technological standards in the nuclear power industry. A number of far-reaching government decisions have been taken on these matters.

Decontamination of cities and villages has been carried out in the areas which were exposed to radioactive contamination. Large-scale measures are being carried out for the health protection of the population of those areas and provision of the necessary medical aid. The All-Union Radiation Medicine Centre has placed its work on a broad footing. As a result of carrying out a large volume of decontamination work, the radiation levels in the territory of the power plant and inside its buildings have been lowered down to the rate which presents no health hazards to the personnel servicing it. Detailed examination of people has shown that there are no indications of radiation effects on their health.

The population evacuated to new places has been ensured jobs and housing there. To this end more than 21,000 detached houses and nearly 800 every-day service and cultural facilities have been built for the evacuees, and 15,000 apartments provided. All sorts of compensations and benefits worth more than 900 million roubles have been paid. Direct expenditures on eliminating the consequences of the accident have totalled nearly 4,000 million roubles, and taking into account losses involved in decline in the volume of output in those areas and other expenditures they have totalled nearly 8,000 million roubles. Work of unprecedented volume

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# Mikhail Gorbachev's reply to Yasser Arafat

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV has replied to the message from Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, in connection with the situation on the occupied Arab territories and Israel's continued reprisals against the Palestinians.

The Soviet leader notes in his reply message that there cannot be stable peace on Earth while there are regional conflicts, seats of tension, while stake on force and disregard for basic rules of international law is the prime policy of some countries towards other peoples and states.

The Soviet Union denounces illegal actions by Tel Aviv which continues a campaign of terror and reprisals against the Palestinian population. Measures of violence employed by Israeli authorities against the Palestinians who come out in defence of their rights evoke wrath and

indignation among the Soviet people as among all people of goodwill.

Mikhail Gorbachev's message expresses solidarity with the Palestinians and points out that each people is free to choose its own way of development and to be the master of its own destiny. It is impossible to ensure one's own rights and security by trampling underfoot rights of others. Arbitrary actions perpetrated by Israel on the occupied Arab lands aggravate even more feelings of mistrust and hatred.

The resistance of the population of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to the Israeli occupation confirms the dire necessity for the earliest settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The current events are further evidence of the indisputable fact that it is impossible to hope for establishment of lasting peace and stability in the Middle East without the just settlement of the Palestinian problem and ensuring the inalienable national rights of the Palestinians.

Mikhail Gorbachev expresses the conviction that a plenipotentiary international conference on the Middle East with the participation of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and all interested parties including the Palestine Liberation Organisation — the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people — is the main way for achieving these goals. He points out that the Soviet Union intends in the future as well to work vigorously and constructively in favour of immediately holding such a conference.

Accepting the message, Yasser Arafat expressed deep gratitude to Mikhail Gorbachev for the solidarity displayed by the Soviet Union with the population of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and gave a high appraisal of the principled line of the Soviet Union in firmly standing out for achieving the earliest all-embracing Mid-East settlement and in support of the just cause of the Palestinian people.

## USSR Supreme Soviet Deputies' Statement

WE, Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, have followed with great concern and anxiety the developments of the last few weeks in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories, the scene of unequal confrontation between the Israeli military-police machine and Palestinian civilians.

That machinery is protecting the Israeli-established order of things, which has existed for more than 20 years now. That order is at variance with all the relevant international legal standards, including the provisions of the 1949 Geneva Convention, and actually means flagrant violation of elementary human rights, infringement upon the national dignity of Palestinians, the trampling underfoot of their religious feelings, arbitrary rule and discrimination.

Not a single people would reconcile itself to such situation, even less so the Palestinians many of whom have been evicted from their native lands and lived in refugee camps for many years. It is symbolic that most of the protesters are young people and adolescents, that is children born under the occupation regime, who have since their early days experienced all the cruelty and inhumanity of the regime. Their protest is legitimate and just and understandable to any upright person in modern civilised society.

Tel Aviv has brought the whole of its powerful suppression machine down upon the unarmed population; dozens of civilians, including women, have been killed, hundreds injured, thousands arrested and put behind

prison bars or the barbed wire of camps. A decision has been taken on the deportation of a number of Palestinian citizens and frame-up trials of protesters are being staged.

The world has been outraged by such actions. The U.N. General Assembly has qualified them as war crimes and an insult to mankind. The U.N. Security Council has censured the policy of Israel, describing it as a violation of human rights.

In the Soviet Union, at numerous meetings and rallies, through the mass media, in letters and calling on deputies of Soviets of People's Deputies and other organisations, Soviet citizens condemn the acts of brigandage in the occupied Arab territories and express solidarity with its victims. People from the republics, the cities and villages, from every corner of the Soviet Union have asked us to find possibilities and ways of influencing those responsible for the organised acts of outrage with a view to ending them.

We, deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, want to inform our colleagues abroad, MPs in various countries of our constituents' sentiments and demands. We urge them to use their influence, social status and prestige for putting pressure on the Israeli leadership. All those who hold dear the humanitarian ideals, who really respect the peoples' aspirations for freedom and the rights of individuals cannot remain indifferent now that these noble principles are being trampled underfoot.

The developments in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories have reminded the world again of the imperative need of a search without

delay for the settlement of the Middle East problem. The way to this passes through the convocation of a peace conference on the Middle East. Larger and larger numbers of states, peoples, national and international organisations, public figures and politicians are becoming inclined to favour it. MPs in all countries are called upon to make their concrete contribution to reaching this important goal.

Members of the Soviet-Arab section of the Parliamentary Group of the USSR—

Shanlik Muslim Ogly Aliyev, Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Chairman of the People's Control Committee of the Azerbaijan SSR, Baku;

Tamaz Gamkrelidze, Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR, Tbilisi;

Pavel Zagrebny, Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and writer, Kiev;

Vladimir Lomonosov, Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Vice-Chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), Moscow;

Olzhas Suleimenov, Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, writer and First Secretary of the Board of the Union of Writers of the Kazakh SSR, Alma-Ata;

Olga Chetverikova, Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and livestock expert at a collective farm in Kostroma Region, Russian Federation;

Larisa Sharova, Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and worker at a production amalgamation, Moscow.

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and technical complexity has been carried out within a short time to eliminate the consequences of the accident. This was possible due to the high patriotism and selflessness of the workers, scientists, engineers, technicians, office workers and Soviet Army men. Nearly 540 million roubles have been donated by Soviet people to the Chernobyl Fund, striking evidence of the cohesion and spirit of collectivism of the Soviet people.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee outlined further tasks in the elimination of the consequences of the accident, and instructed the ministries and departments to

centre their efforts on ensuring the hundred per cent safety of nuclear power plants. It has been specially stressed that the development of nuclear power engineering in the USSR should be based on qualitatively new technology, an absolutely reliable design and a high level of technology discipline among the personnel of the nuclear power plants. Special emphasis has been laid on the need for improving work with the personnel.

The Politburo approved the proposals prepared in conformity with the USSR Law of the State Enterprise (Amalgamation) on the procedure for elections of the Councils of the Work Collectives and the election of managers of

plants.

The Politburo approved of the results of Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with Milos Jakes, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee. It pointed out with special gratification the common approach of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to the fundamental problems of building socialism and their unanimity of views on fundamental foreign policy issues. New broad opportunities are opening for the development of all-round Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation due to the policy of restructuring, ensuring more democracy and accelerating scientific-technical and social progress in both fraternal countries.

# Nikolai Ryzhkov's visit to Norway

"HERE in Norway we are feeling an atmosphere which is conducive to mutual understanding and favourably acting on the sprouts of trust between our countries," Nikolai Ryzhkov, Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, said in Oslo last Thursday.

Speaking at a reception given in his honour, the Soviet Head of Government first pointed out the traditions of the more than 1,000-year history of relations between the two nations and then turned to international affairs, especially stressing the prospects opening as a result of the signing of the Treaty on eliminating two classes of nuclear missiles.

He said the Treaty means "a strong fillip also to the resolution of such a problem as the drastic scaling down of military confrontation in the North, in the Arctic."

"From our standpoint, the strategic programme put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Murmansk for strengthening security and co-operation in the region offers a good basis for movement in this direction.

"The Murmansk programme is a call on all our neighbours, those in the Arctic and near the Arctic, to think and act together."

Ryzhkov emphasised a number of new proposals associated with the Murmansk programme.

Partially mentioned during his visit to Stockholm, these include an invitation to nordic countries to send observers to attend one of the exercises the Soviet Navy will hold in 1988 and a proposal for stepping up work to solve the problem of radically lowering the level of military confrontation in the region, and for making the issue of limiting and reducing military activity in the North a subject of discussion at the second phase of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

Taking account of wishes expressed by North Europeans, the USSR is also prepared to include the Barents Sea in the zone of confidence-building measures in Soviet territorial waters.

"To achieve progress in the issue of consultations between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO on confidence-building measures in the naval field, we suggest a meeting of military experts from both military-political alliances as part of the preparations for these consultations," Ryzhkov said.

He added that the Soviet Union is prepared to come to terms on —

— Limiting the frequency of major naval and air force exercises held in the above-mentioned sea areas to one exercise in two years

— Designating agreed areas in the north and west Atlantic respectively for the USSR and the United States, in which a ban will be imposed on the activities of the military-political alliances' anti-submarine warfare forces and systems

— Renouncing on a reciprocal basis naval manoeuvres in the areas of main ocean and sea shipping lanes in the north Atlantic and in areas of intense seasonal fishing

— Preventing naval force concentrations in international straits and on approaches to them and setting limits on such naval groups, which will include constraints on the number of ships, their classes and other parameters

— Including the Baltic Straits (the Great Belt, the Little Belt, Oeresund and Skagerrak), the Denmark Strait, the English Channel and the area Iceland-the Faeroes-Scandinavia in the zones covered by the restrictions.

"In the light of the nascent positive trends in the international situation," Ryzhkov continued, "prerequisites now appear more favourable also for resolving the issue of a nuclear-free zone in the north of Europe."

"Confirming its readiness to be a guarantor of a nuclear-free North, the Soviet Union calls for a constructive exchange of opinions on all aspects of the zone problem with representatives of nordic countries," the Soviet Head of

Government said.

He pointed to the importance of solving such a problem as demarcating marine expanses and the continental shelf in the Barents Sea and said the USSR is prepared to discuss the issue of making this region "a special zone of trust and equal partnership, whose configuration would not harm our countries' positions of principle on the issue of delimiting marine expanses."

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Nikolai Ryzhkov paid a visit to Norway's Storting (Parliament) on Friday and conferred with its President, Josef Benkow.

He met members of the Storting's foreign policy and constitutional committees and the leaders of the major political parties of Norway. The MP's asked the Soviet Head of Government about the progress of the restructuring drive in the Soviet Union and its impact on the world situation.

A wide range of issues related to international affairs and bilateral relations was discussed. Note was taken of the sides' interest in further developing and consolidating contacts between the two countries, including contacts between their parliaments.

Nikolai Ryzhkov and Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland signed on Friday bilateral intergovernmental agreements on prompt notification of nuclear accidents and exchanges of information about nuclear installations, on cooperation in environmental protection and on cooperation in searching for those missing and rescuing those in distress in the Barents Sea.

An agreement was signed between the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and the Norwegian Research Council for Natural Sciences on scientific and technological co-operation in the Arctic and the North.

Another cooperation agreement was signed between the Foreign Economic Bank of the USSR and Norway's Institute for Export Credits.

## Nikolai Ryzhkov's press conference in Oslo

"SOVIET-Norwegian relations have reached a turning point," Nikolai Ryzhkov told a press conference in Oslo on Friday. He was in Norway on an official visit.

He said that a new stage in Soviet-Norwegian relations began in December 1986 when the Norwegian Prime Minister visited the Soviet Union and had talks with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Soviet officials.

"During our talks both sides demonstrated readiness to start a new period of good-neighbourly relations, mutual respect and better mutual understanding, taking into account each other's interests and searching for ways and means of balancing them in the political, economic and all other spheres," Ryzhkov said.

Touching upon the division of the Barents Sea, Ryzhkov said that the Soviet Union, just like Norway, is in favour of marking clear-cut borders. "But the reality is that such a mutually-acceptable border cannot be established now either on the shelf or in the deep waters of the Barents Sea. The talks on this issue are in a deadlock," he pointed out.

"The only way to move this issue forward is to

overcome the current deficit of trust with regard to this region. We have tried to reflect the general line towards resolving this issue in the Murmansk proposals — joint and common deeds in the field of security and peaceful cooperation."

"Having discussed this issue from all angles, the Soviet leadership decided to transfer this attitude to the sphere of our bilateral relations, that is to turn the Barents Sea division from the point at issue to an area of cooperation and confidence."

"We think that the possibility for this is lying in the sphere of mutual interest, that is in developing the Barents Sea's resources and economic cooperation, including the region which is the topic of our talks. That is why during our talks in Oslo we thought it possible to put forward a proposal on a political level, that is the setting up of a special zone of Soviet-Norwegian partnership," Ryzhkov said.

"From our point of view partnership in this field can include joint activities, let's say in the form of a joint venture for searching, prospecting, extracting, refining and selling off oil and gas. The realisation of such a project, fundamentally new in its forms and in the scope of inter-state cooperation, can bring our trade and

economic relations to the level of neighbour countries."

"As for our countries' approach to topical international issues, we paid much attention to urgent matters of security and cooperation in the Arctic and in the North in the context of the programme that Mikhail Gorbachev put forward in Murmansk and that was specified on behalf of the Soviet leadership during the talks in Stockholm and Oslo," Ryzhkov pointed out.

"Our initiatives are addressed not only to all nordic nations, and military and political alliances, but also to each of these countries separately. As for Norway, apart from military, political and economic aspects we also see good potential for cooperation in drawing up a comprehensive energy programme for the North and protecting the fragile Arctic nature. Mrs Harlem Brundtland and I fruitfully discussed this issue and outlined the ways for our joint work."

"We did not reach broad understandings that we would like to on all issues of Soviet-Norwegian relations," Nikolai Ryzhkov said in conclusion. "But the main thing is the positive dynamics of our relations and the fact that the two sides are striving for rapprochement in their positions and constructive cooperation."

# Eduard Shevardnadze meets FRG President von Weizsäcker

EDUARD SHEVARDNADZE, Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Foreign Minister, had a meeting with President Richard von Weizsäcker of the Federal Republic of Germany in Bonn on Monday.

It was pointed out during the conversation that the conclusion of the INF Treaty lays the groundwork for positive changes in Europe and the world at large.

Shevardnadze expressed the hope that, with the FRG's active cooperation, it will be possible to achieve a breakthrough in other areas as well — above all in the field of reducing conventional arms and reaching a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons.

The sides were unanimous that military confrontation, tension, political and economic pressure should be excluded from inter-state relations.

It is necessary that states with different socio-political systems interact in the interests of resolving problems of all-European and universal significance — disarmament and

major economic projects, environmental protection.

It was observed that relations between the USSR and the FRG are beginning to acquire new dynamics. There are considerable opportunities for their further development on the basis of the 1970 Moscow Treaty.

The sides discussed some practical aspects of bilateral relations, giving special attention to economic cooperation and exchanges.

Issues of cooperation in the field of science and culture were also considered. The sides maintained that its meaning is in the consolidation of mutual trust.

## Eduard Shevardnadze's meeting with Helmut Kohl

EDUARD SHEVARDNADZE had a meeting yesterday with Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany and handed him a personal message from Mikhail Gorbachev.

The Chancellor described the message as extremely important. In Kohl's opinion, it marks a new point of departure in Soviet-West German dialogue and makes it possible to speak of the sides' desire to further the cooperation and interaction of the two countries in the interests of peace and stability in Europe and the world as a whole.

Kohl asked Shevardnadze to tell Mikhail Gorbachev that he read the considerations put forward by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee with great interest and

considers them valuable and constructive. He will study the message carefully and give a thorough response to it.

The Chancellor shares Gorbachev's opinion that there is a need for an early Soviet-West German summit. Kohl expressed confidence that there will be no big problems as regards the timeframe and other matters of organising the meeting.

Shevardnadze and Kohl conducted a lengthy exchange of opinions, focusing on the world situation, the outlook for its development and the existing or emerging possibilities for advancing the interaction of the two states.

The Soviet Foreign Minister said that the active position of the FRG Government in support of the early ratification of the INF

Treaty by the U.S. Senate and the calls of that Government for decisive headway in disarmament issues and in other areas are given their due in the USSR.

In this connection Kohl reaffirmed that his Government regards the Treaty on eliminating intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles as being of historic significance to East-West relations and the opening of favourable prospects for the future.

The sides agreed that the INF Treaty should provide a starting point for a sweeping and dynamic process of disarmament. They agreed about the priority nature of such tasks as the reduction of strategic offensive arms by 50% in the context of compliance with the ABM Treaty, the reduction of conventional weapons and an early ban on chemical warfare agents.

## Eduard Shevardnadze's talks with Hans-Dietrich Genscher

EDUARD SHEVARDNADZE, on an official visit to the Federal Republic of Germany, had talks in Bonn with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Deputy Federal Chancellor and FRG Foreign Minister, on Monday and Tuesday.

During their meeting yesterday Eduard Shevardnadze and Hans Dietrich-Genscher expressed satisfaction with the work done. It revealed the interest of the two countries in continuing dialogue on a wide range of pressing international and bilateral issues.

It was pointed out that the visit and the accords reached during it have marked another important step forward in furthering political dialogue between the two countries and making it substantive.

The Soviet side stressed that it will do everything for the USSR and the FRG to be able to live in peace and security and build their relations like good neighbours to their mutual benefit.

"Today we are witnessing how the new page in Soviet-West German relations that Mikhail Gorbachev spoke about during Hans-Dietrich

Genscher's visit to the USSR in 1987 is gaining content," Shevardnadze said.

The two foreign ministers heard reports on the results of meetings by the working groups on bilateral relations, security and disarmament and on legal and humanitarian matters.

The work done by the groups was rated useful. Note was taken, in particular, of the importance of proposals helping to give bilateral contacts a greater variety of forms, as well as of the concurrence of the two sides' positions on the issue of banning chemical weapons.

Agreement was reached to conduct consultations on legal and humanitarian matters. The next such consultations are to be held in late 1988 in Moscow.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the new forms of expert-level discussions on problems of interest to the USSR and the FRG. It was agreed to carry on consultations between Soviet and West German Foreign Ministry officials on the whole range of these problems.

Bilateral documents prepared in time for the visit were signed, including a protocol on consultations and a protocol on talks on issues connected with the opening of consulates-general of the USSR in Munich and of the FRG in Kiev.

Notes were exchanged on renewing the May 6, 1978 agreement on developing and deepening

long-term cooperation between the USSR and the FRG in economic and industrial fields for another five years, starting from 26 December 1988.

The two foreign ministers voiced the hope that the signed documents, which have substantially broadened the legal base of bilateral relations, will help to make them more dynamic and contribute to promoting good neighbourliness, mutually advantageous cooperation and trust between the people of the two countries.

Eduard Shevardnadze had a meeting on Monday with Martin Bangemann, Chairman of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) and Economics Minister of the FRG, to discuss bilateral relations most notably economic contacts.

The Soviet Foreign Minister pointed to the positive role of the FDP in shaping the relationship between the two countries and its contribution to the signing of the Moscow Treaty and the implementation of Ostpolitik. He said that the Soviet Union appreciates this.

Shevardnadze added that changes and a turn for the better in Soviet-West German relations are ripe, that both countries will only benefit from good cooperation in political, economic and other fields and that history bears this out graphically.

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# Eduard Shevardnadze's speech in Bonn

"WHILE coming out in favour of greater solidity of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union which will be of truly historic importance, we do not call for revision of our roles and places in our systems and alliances," Eduard Shevardnadze said in his speech at a reception given in his honour by Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Bonn on Monday.

"Everything may and should remain as it is, with the exception of the components of efforts being made to strengthen the stability of relations between our countries, stability which, as Mikhail Gorbachev put it, means stability in Europe and meets the interests of the two countries, Europe and the international community of states," he continued.

"If something should be reconsidered, it is the sum total of possibilities which we could use with greater success in this respect."

"The conclusion of history's first nuclear disarmament treaty which was actively and timely promoted, among other countries, by the

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The Soviet Foreign Minister stressed the importance of increasing the effectiveness of bilateral business ties, updating their forms and giving them greater diversity and dynamism.

This is only possible, however, having respect for the principles of equality and mutual benefit and the awareness that any discrimination and restrictions in trade are inadmissible. Shevardnadze pointed out.

Martin Bangemann reiterated his party's readiness to pursue cooperation with the Soviet Union in different fields and develop new and progressive forms of bilateral economic relations.

He pointed to the interest in the FRG in perestroika in the Soviet Union, including the changes in the economy, and expected it to furnish extra opportunities for West German businesses to trade with the USSR.

## Eduard Shevardnadze's talks with Green Party leaders

EDUARD SHEVARDNADZE had a meeting yesterday with Jutta Ditfurth and Petra Kelly, representatives of the Green Party leadership.

The Green Party leaders hailed the signing of the Treaty on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles as the start of practical movement towards a nuclear-free and non-violent world. The Green Party regards the Treaty as a success of new thinking and stands for its earliest ratification.

The party leaders were told that Soviet people are well aware of the role played by the Greens in the campaign for ending the arms race, protecting the environment and moulding public opinion on pressing issues of our times both inside and outside the FRG.

The sides expressed the unanimous opinion that the Washington Treaty should be followed by new major actions aimed at a drastic cut in strategic offensive weapons (with non-proliferation of the arms race to space) and conventional arms, and elimination of chemical weapons. They said that they will exert vigorous efforts to prevent damage to the swing to demilitarisation of international relations. In this context they pointed to the danger of plans for so-called 'compensation' for nuclear missile systems to be eliminated.

Federal Republic of Germany signifies that we have adopted a new political system of chronology."

"The new chronology," the Soviet Foreign Minister pointed out, "will have meaning if it will be based not only on new intentions but will also be reflected in new deeds."

"Only such cooperation is promising which is based on mutual recognition of and respect for the existing realities and takes into account each other's interests to the maximum. This is what the experience of concluding the Moscow Treaty teaches us. We should fully draw on the immense possibilities inherent in this document and go forward, creating new quality in our relationships."

"Take, for instance, tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. Whether they are Soviet or American, the weapons will be used first of all and, one can say, exclusively against European countries which are at the line of contact between the two military-political alliances."

"We are in favour of complete elimination of tactical nuclear systems, which will meet the vital interests of all Europeans."

"Of course, such a solution to the issue is possible only with the participation of the other nuclear states. And it is not our fault that they are not ripe for this so far. Therefore it will be possible to begin if only by considering the issue of dual-purpose delivery vehicles at future talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe. The nuclear component itself can be made the subject of appropriate future talks, without postponing them for too long, however."

"The issue of the ban on chemical weapons is high on the agenda. It does not require a great mind to determine which countries may become targets of a chemical attack. One cannot but think of why obstacles to the conclusion of a convention banning chemical weapons are being put by the country which knows, is confident and has guarantees that the weapons would not be used on its territory.

"Everything I have mentioned has only one aim — to show that in present-day conditions foreign-policy reality can and must be analysed by means of common sense and that one should approach it guided by the norms of ordinary worldly decency."

"The same, incidentally, is also evidenced

by the recent Washington prologue to the process of deep and consistent disarmament. Having revealed the possibility of practical East-West dialogue oriented towards high political results, it shows that when politicians want, they can.

"What should be done next?"

"A cardinal reduction in strategic nuclear potentials.

"The establishment of reliable guarantees for keeping outer space weapon-free.

"A complete ban on chemical weapons everywhere and their global elimination.

"A radical lowering of the levels of confrontation in conventional arms and armed forces.

"An accord on complete cessation of nuclear tests.

"You and we may adhere to different systems of values but we have got one system of coordinates as regards all these issues — security and survival.

"I shall single out conventional arms. Who said that the Soviet Union is unwilling to consider the issue in earnest? Such assertions remind me of the story of the arms control issue. Whole years were spent in verbiage on that score. Opponents tried to frighten the world and one another, as if by medieval chimeras, by the Soviet Union's ostensible unwillingness to take large-scale and really comprehensive verification measures. Now mutual inspections are becoming an everyday reality.

"We are prepared for talks on the conventional arms issue, and we wonder whether we can count on a reciprocal constructive readiness of our West European partners.

"Very much depends on the stand of the FRG.

"Our two countries can give more to each other than before." Eduard Shevardnadze pointed out. "Despite the existing basic divergences of views and provided there is goodwill and flexibility, mutually acceptable solutions can always be found. And let history solve what cannot be the subject of practical politics now. History is known not to have taken vows of allegiance to anyone's constitution. On the contrary, constitutions and laws changed and will change under the impact of historical development and the logic of realities. None of us had or has any other choice but to believe in progress and human reason."

## Eduard Shevardnadze's meeting with Hans-Jochen Vogel

EDUARD SHEVARDNADZE met yesterday Hans-Jochen Vogel, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), for a substantive exchange of opinions on pressing international issues.

Shevardnadze pointed to the SPD's contribution to the attainment of the INF Treaty and expressed gratitude to that party's leadership for its expressed high opinion of the results of the Soviet-American summit and the role of the Soviet Union and the leadership of the CPSU in working out the Treaty.

It was noted that the CPSU and the SPD share the view that it is essential to take advantage of the favourable opportunities opened by the Washington meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan for energetically carrying further the process of reducing strategic and conventional arms and destroying chemical weapons.

Serious attention was called to the danger

of plans to build up arms to compensate for the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons. If these plans are not blocked, they can lead to another spiral in the arms race and buck the growing positive process. Both parties will resolutely counter these attempts.

The signs of a warm-up in the relationship between the USSR and the U.S., in the opinion of the sides, cannot but have a positive effect on relations between East and West, including between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Relying on the experience gained, the CPSU and the SPD will make every effort to facilitate further improvements in Soviet-West German relations and elevate them to a drastically higher level, meeting the wish of the peoples of the USSR and the FRG.

It was pointed out also that the existing ideological differences between the CPSU and the SPD cannot be a barrier to parallel or joint actions to remove the threat of another world war and solve other major problems of universal significance.

# Mikhail Gorbachev's Statement of 15 January 1986

## Vladimir Petrovsky's press conference

"MIKHAIL GORBACHEV's Statement of 15 January 1986 manifested a new way of political thinking in application to practical deeds, has become a guide for action for the Soviet Union and radically renews international relations, their content, methods and style," Vladimir Petrovsky, USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated on Saturday.

He spoke at a press conference in Moscow on the subject "For a Nuclear-free and Secure World, from Balance of Forces to the Balance of Interests".

"The reaching of the Soviet-U.S. accord on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, which signifies the implementation — ahead of time — of two points mentioned in the Statement of 15 January 1986, means that international relations have reached a new stage — that of a resultative dialogue — and sets the beginning of practical implementation of the Programme for ridding mankind of nuclear weapons by the year 2000," he continued.

"We are in favour of headway without pauses and stops along the road of nuclear disarmament," Vladimir Petrovsky emphasised. "We regard it as a priority to reach agreement with the United States as early as the first half of this year on a 50% cut in strategic offensive arms with the observance of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972."

"Our conviction is that there exist all

the necessary prerequisites for finalising work as soon as possible on a convention banning chemical weapons, and for setting about a substantial reduction in armed forces and conventional arms in Europe — the region where their concentration is most dangerous."

"At the same time we are for really tangible steps in all other directions leading to a nuclear-free and more secure world. We are for the Soviet-U.S. full-scale talks leading to the complete ban of tests of nuclear weapons everywhere to develop at an accelerated pace, and for the implementation of the proposals to establish in Central Europe a corridor free from nuclear and chemical weapons, to declare the Balkans and northern Europe to be nuclear-free zones and to introduce additional confidence-building measures at the line where the two blocs confront each other. In general, there is no field of disarmament where the Soviet Union is not ready to reach accord on the basis of the balance of interests."

"To us, disarmament is both the main line to security and the way to release funds for development purposes," Petrovsky stressed.

"We are convinced that every direction of the arms race has the realistic and beneficial-to-everyone alternative of peaceful utilisation of material and intellectual resources, including those for rendering assistance to the developing countries."

He recalled that the Soviet Union has taken a political decision on withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

"The Afghan side mentioned a period for

the withdrawal — not more than 12 months. The period may be shorter if the cause of national reconciliation makes successful headway," Petrovsky said.

"For the productive dialogue in international relations to develop successfully, it is essential to ensure the maximum efficiency of all the existing bilateral and multilateral mechanisms and to create new forums where necessary. We are, in particular, for the effectiveness of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament which resumes its work in February, for the continuation of the process started by the International Conference on Disarmament and Development and for the U.N. General Assembly's Special Session on Disarmament — opening in May — to be crowned with tangible results."

"Of course, taking a sober view of the situation we see that the building of the world in which there will be no nuclear weapons or violence is only now beginning. Many obstacles are yet to be overcome for the formation of the system of the more secure and nuclear-free world to get into high gear. The main obstacle is the archaic categories of military superiority, power and domination that have been taking shape for centuries, and the related syndrome of rearmament as a compensation for any disarmament measures and in general as a response to the political problems of our times."

"We are convinced," Vladimir Petrovsky stated, "that practical deeds are capable of opening the way to trust and trust can pave the way to the partnership of all countries and peoples on the basis of the balance of their interests."

## Articles in the Soviet press 15 January 1988

PRAVDA notes that the achievements in the field of disarmament in 1986-87 were crowned with the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington and the signing of the Treaty on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The newspaper specially points out that over the two years a good deal of headway has been made along the road of disarmament.

"The first stage of nuclear disarmament, envisaging reduction in the strategic offensive arms of the Soviet Union and the United States by half, elimination of intermediate-range missiles and termination of nuclear tests is intended for a period of five to eight years. If the Soviet-U.S. talks which are being resumed in Geneva are held in a realistic constructive spirit, a real opportunity will arise to secure the accomplishment of these tasks within the contemplated time-limits, if not earlier," the newspaper emphasises.

"What is the vital power of the 15 January Statement?" is the question answered by *Sovetskaya Rossiya* in its article headlined "The embodiment of mankind's common goal". To begin with, Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals are not a sum total of good but casual or distant-from-real-life ideas, but rather are the expression

of the vital needs of the whole of humankind.

The power of the Statement is that it places the problem of survival within a broad context and shows the close interrelationships between preventing nuclear catastrophe and solving other global issues, and orients one precisely to this. The Statement immediately found its continuation in the form of the Soviet Union's specific proposals on all issues without exception touched upon in the document, *Sovetskaya Rossiya* emphasises.

"Two years ago the Soviet Union came forward with an historic programme for ridding the world of nuclear weapons before the year 2000. The goal of the programme is to speak in the twenty-first century about war in the past tense" — such is the keynote of articles in *Komsomolskaya Pravda*.

Its articles, however, deal not only with what has been achieved and not only with those in the West who have come to realise the importance of common struggle for the survival of humanity and come out in support of the Soviet initiatives.

In a dispatch from New York, for example, the newspaper points out that the opponents of any accords with the Soviet Union — opponents who are unwilling to make any reasonable compromises — have not downed arms in the United States.

It is precisely readiness for compromises and

honesty in the conduct of dialogue that makes the Soviet Programme of eliminating nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction attractive to the peoples, points out *Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya*. It is based on readiness to look for ways towards mutually acceptable accords and not to infringe the security interests of other peoples and countries.

The Soviet programme for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free and secure world put forward two years ago is at work and exerts substantial influence on international life. The new political thinking which underlies the Soviet Union's proposal to enter the third millennium without nuclear weapons is winning its way, *Krasnaya Zvezda* points out.

The Soviet leadership persistently steers matters to securing tangible results in the field of deep cuts in strategic offensive arms in conditions of strict compliance with the ABM Treaty which is of basic importance for the maintenance of strategic stability.

The principal idea and the principal meaning of Soviet foreign policy is to go ahead with the process of nuclear disarmament.

Guided by the new political thinking, the Soviet Union is doing everything to continue moving out of the nuclear deadlock to universal and complete disarmament.