



## Mikhail Gorbachyov's speech at ceremony in Vladivostok

VLADIVOSTOK, July 28, TASS: Here follows the full text of the speech delivered by Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in presenting the Order of Lenin to Vladivostok:

I HAVE long wanted to visit the Far East. The reason has been not only that one is drawn to places one has not yet been to and is prompted by a desire to see what one has not yet seen. It is also that one cannot have a complete idea of our homeland, its history, its present day and its future without acquainting oneself with your vast, stern and yet beautiful country.

The Far East always prompts one to think of the sublime immensity of the Land of Soviets, stretching from the Baltic and the Black Sea to the Pacific, as well as of the courage, industry and fortitude of the people who have settled and defended this country, and of the novelty and imposing scope of today's work. It is with special warmth that Vladimir Ilyich Lenin spoke of the city of Vladivostok, calling it "one of ours".

The feat of valour accomplished by our compatriots, the pioneers who have blazed the trail to the Pacific, will forever remain in the people's memory. The storming of Spassk and Volochayevka, the energetic development of the territory during the first five-year plans, and the soldierly exploits of the border-guards on these sacred frontiers will never be forgotten. The gallantry of the Far Eastern divisions and Pacific seamen who fought at Moscow and Stalingrad and in the closing battles of the Second World War in the east is imprinted forever on the nation's memory.

History is made by people. The history of the Far East brings to mind the names of the intrepid pioneers Dezhnev, Khabarov and Nevelskoy. It is also associated with the glorious names of Lazo, Postyshev, Sukhanov, the Sibirsev brothers, Bonivur, Chasovitin, Blyukher and Ubovich. I would like to mention among those leading the others by example today Party member and civil war veteran Ivan Andreyevich Chuprynin, Hero of Socialist Labour Yuri Petrovich Volkov, captain of a fishing ship, Hero of Socialist Labour Anatoli Andreyevich Belov, who leads a hull-building team, Galina Vladimirovna Merkulova, a finishing team leader who is an alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee, and Nikolai Nikolayevich Dubinin, a man holding the honourable title of People's Teacher of the USSR.

The Far Eastern country, celebrated by Arsenyev and Fadeyev, has always been and will always remain dear to every Soviet person. I am

glad of this opportunity to visit the Maritime Territory, to see how you live and work, and know what is being done here today and what will be done here tomorrow, the more so as the Far East, as well as Siberia, has been assigned a special place in the plans set by the 27th Party Congress.

I have had quite a few business-like and interesting meetings, both planned and impromptu, at factories, on ships, in institutes and, finally, simply in streets and squares. I should say these have been useful, frank and friendly meetings. The talking there has been blunt, as it should always be when discussing the business at hand, especially the current job of rebuilding.

This meeting of ours today is on a very special occasion: Vladivostok is being presented the Order of Lenin. The city has been awarded this top distinction for the achievements of its working people in economic and cultural advancement and for its big contribution to Far Eastern economic development.

Let me congratulate from the bottom of my heart you and all the people of Vladivostok on the second order conferred on your city. The Order of Lenin on its banner is a well-deserved award, earned for this beautiful city by its remarkable people—sailors, ship-builders, fishermen, workers in mechanical engineering and the power industry, construction and transport personnel, scientists, physicians and teachers, veterans and the young alike—through their dedicated and strenuous work. This honour is shared by right by the border-guards, the troops of the Far Eastern Military District and the seamen of the Red-Banner Pacific Fleet. It crowns the fine accomplishments of the many generations who have done much to settle, protect and develop the country's Pacific coast.

Vladivostok today is a modern industrial, cultural and scientific centre, a major port, the heart and soul of the Soviet Maritime Territory and one of the finest cities in the country as a whole. Let the homeland's award give you fresh inspiration.

Please accept congratulations from the Party's Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government, and wishes of success in your work and of further notable accomplishments in the life of the city, its worker collectives and every family.

Comrades,

It is now a little over a year since the April plenum of the Central Committee, and close on five months since the 27th Party Congress. This time has been marked by a vigorous search for new approaches to solving the problems that have arisen in Soviet society, and by principled assessments of both our achievements and our failures.

We now have a wide-ranging long-term programme of action to expedite the country's social and economic progress, which takes into account both our own aspirations and the more important trends in world development. We also have more detailed guidelines for a shorter term—the State Plan for the 12th five-year planning period, which has been drawn up after

an in-depth analysis of the state of affairs and a review of reserves, ways and methods for ensuring dynamic development of Soviet society.

The time has come to ask ourselves to account for how the plans are being fulfilled—and do that strictly, without making any allowances for anybody. The results of the national economic performance in the first half of the year have already been summed up. They show that the started positive change in the economy is gaining momentum, even if it isn't equally strong everywhere. We have been able to lend greater dynamism to economic processes and to raise production growth rates and labour productivity. Measures to improve the situation in mechanical engineering, the fuel and power sector, agriculture and allied industries, ferrous metallurgy, the chemical and petrochemical industries, and some other sectors have begun to tell.

Social tasks have also been tackled better. More housing has been built, along with more community facilities and amenities. Where the local authorities work resourcefully and energetically, the provision of the population with foodstuffs, manufactured goods and consumer services has improved. This kind of change can only be welcomed.

But let us be frank, comrades: the gladdening and encouraging change has been mostly achieved as a result of measures to tighten labour, state and plan discipline. We have imposed higher standards on how the plans are made up and met, demanded better order in production, begun to work better and driven drunkenness back—and positive results have been quick to show.

Though the results of the six-month period are generally good, growth rates in some sectors dropped last May and June and a number of ministries failed to cope with their plans. An irregular pace of production is still much of a problem, as is the not very efficient use of what we have. There has occurred no visible change for the better in product quality, which is, and you know this, a common problem.

All this prompts this definite conclusion: a qualitative change which would really consolidate the trend for accelerated growth has not yet taken place. I think you understand and will agree that it could not have taken place either, considering the fact that the highly important economic, social, organisational, ideological and other measures are only just beginning to be put into practice and are, of course, unable to have an immediate effect. Consequently, the higher rates of national economic growth are not yet stable, and perhaps they cannot yet, as I have already said, be stable.

This means that it is inadmissible now to run to either of the two extremes. It is naive, and harmful, to assume that, since economic indicators have improved, the effort to restyle our work has already been started in real earnest and is proceeding at full tilt everywhere. This is far from true yet. In a number of regions and economic sectors, they are only talking about the work of rebuilding but not buckling down to it.

It is equally inadmissible, however, to give in to the difficulties and to the resistance or indifference of those accustomed to drifting by

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their own momentum and working in the old manner. It has been stressed rightly at the 27th Party Congress: we are embarking on a difficult job and setting ourselves realistic but challenging goals which can only be attained if we learn from life constantly, and ponder its experience, lessons and new development all the time.

We are in effect only beginning this work, successfully in some areas and not so successfully in others. The further we go, the clearer it becomes how complex our task is and how great is the workload to be handled. But we may not, and shall not, back out as we simply have no alternative to the speed-up strategy. I have already said this on many occasions and I want to reiterate these words here in Vladivostok again.

This does not, of course, mean that we should, by either prodding or persuading people, impel them to act against the laws of social development or to try somehow to bypass and 'outwit' these laws and objective conditions. By pursuing a policy of rebuilding, the Party and its Central Committee proceed from a different premise—the necessity of getting to know these laws more quickly and thoroughly and taking them fully into account in our activities, and the pressing need to remove all impediments and obstructions artificially created on this road.

The palpable, objective results of the first six months of the five-year plan period testify to the Soviet people's support for the speed-up policy, and the most valuable kind of support—that of practical action—at that. Here in Vladivostok, just as elsewhere, I have been doing also what may be called my new duties and asking people the same question: is everything clear to them about the policy worked out by the Party and offered to the nation or are there any doubts about it? It has been gratifying to hear folk also here, on Far Eastern soil, speak out emphatically in support of the Party's people-oriented policy, a policy followed in the interests of every Soviet family and every Soviet person, in the interests of the country's future. It is important to use this backing, this popular mood to grapple with the difficulties and eliminate them, to full effect and with the maximum return in order to fulfil the tasks set by the 27th Congress of the CPSU. It is in this light, comrades, that I would like to touch upon some of the issues of Far Eastern development and consult you, in continuation of the discussions I have been holding for the third day with you Far Eastern people, on how we can transform this region faster, put its riches at the service of the Soviet people and supply the needs of those living here more fully.

The Far East is by tradition called the country's outpost in the Pacific. This is certainly so. But this view of the region is no longer broad enough. The Maritime Territory and the Far East should be made into a highly-developed economic complex.

Real prerequisite conditions for this have been furnished by all that has been done in previous years. There have gone on stream modern factories representing all industries, and there have been built mines, electric power stations, new railways, ferry crossings and ports. Thousands of hectares of land have been ameliorated. There has been set up a Far Eastern Scientific Centre of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, with its network of institutes. There has also been trained a pool of modern, qualified factory workers and specialists.

As a result, gross industrial output here has nearly trebled over the past two decades, with agricultural production going up more than 50 per cent. The Far East today accounts for 40 per cent of the country's fish catches. Over the past four five-year plan periods, 62 million square metres of housing have been built, which has been tantamount to putting up about seven such cities as Vladivostok. Although the accretion of manpower resources is still insufficient, the population has nevertheless grown 40 per cent over the past 20 years. In short, the country's economy now has an extensive base on the Pacific

coast.

Guided by the decisions of the 27th Congress and the speed-up strategy, we should, however, ask ourselves square on the pace of economic and social development and the standard of work by scientific institutions. And the scope of research work in the Far East really correspond to its growing role and the new tasks put forward by the Party? Is the potential amassed here really being used efficiently enough?

The strategy of accelerating social and economic advancement also demands a new regional policy. The Party has assigned a prominent place in it to the priority development of eastern regions. This is why we should take a careful look also at economic prospects for the Far East. This should be done promptly, considering the region's special significance.

This should be done without delay also because the Far Eastern economy has begun to show a slower growth than the national economy as a whole, though it would seem that it should be the other way round. As a result, the region's share in countrywide production, far from increasing, is, on the contrary, diminishing. The lag in solving social problems, especially in housing construction, has become more pronounced. In the streets, I have heard quite a few remarks and suggestions on this score to the Party's Central Committee and the Soviet Government. And the remarks have been justified.

It cannot be said that no attention has been paid to Far Eastern development, that it has received no attention. Over the past several years the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have adopted decisions specifying measures to be taken to advance the power industry, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy and coal mining, further develop fisheries, forestry, the wood-working industry, transport and other economic sectors, increase the production of rice and soya, update the way things are in the countryside, and improve the state of affairs in the cultural field. Much of what has been planned has so far, alas, been executed badly.

This has reflected a failure to understand the role and significance of the Far Eastern economy and, in the final analysis, political short-sightedness on the part of some highly-placed officials at the State Planning Committee and the State Committee for the Supply of Materials and Equipment of the USSR, the ministries of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy, Coal Mining, Power Development and Electrification, and a number of other departments. Russian Federation and local government agencies also bear a large part of the blame.

It is needed to mend the situation in a fundamental way, make certain that growth quickens rather than slows down, and change over from extensive development factors to all-out intensification through scientific and technological progress. It is essential to slash the time it takes to solve problems and sharply increase the Far Eastern contribution to the country's economic potential. This will require above all a priority growth of the Far Eastern people's living standards, substantial improvements in their working conditions and provision with housing, foodstuffs and manufactured goods, as well as the advancement of the entire social sphere. The latter is clearly lagging, though it is of key importance to having people settle down in the Far East and has, in the final analysis, a bearing also on the pace of its development.

The task now is to work out a concept for long-term Far Eastern development under a uniform state regional policy. This concept should apparently be embodied in a comprehensive programme. Its aim will be to create a high-efficiency economic complex in the Far East, which will have a solid resource, science and production base of its own, optimum economic make-up and well-developed social infrastructure and will become an organic part of the system of countrywide and international

division of labour. Much has been done in this respect in the process of drafting the five-year plan. It is strenuous and will require quite an effort to fulfil.

This, however, is just the beginning of the work to speed up the development of the entire region. Without telling in advance what should be analysed in detail by specialists with the participation of the broad public, I shall dwell only on some of the most important trends of this work.

First. The very geographic position of the Far East determines the course at setting up in the area a highly developed complex of the branches connected with the use of resources of the ocean. For many reasons the country's fisheries will be shifting increasingly to the Far East. Large funds have been invested in the creation of a large capacity fishing fleet in the area. Meanwhile, the equipment of on-shore services lags behind considerably. Mechanisation of strenuous work is at a low level. As a result, a considerable number of expensive vessels are idle, are not used effectively. The capacities of the repair base, storages, fishing ports and processing enterprises are chronically lacking. In a word, serious comprehensive measures are needed for the development of the Far Eastern fishing industry. Special attention must be paid to the production of biologically active substances from sea products. This trend is developing in other countries and has proved its high effectiveness.

Second. This is the question of a comprehensive use of the richest natural resources of the region. The attention of the Ministry of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy must be called to the potentialities of the Far East. Geologists have established that the region abounds in numerous large deposits of non-ferrous metals, gold and silver, many other valuable elements and minerals. Their mining and processing can be widened substantially, if the matter is approached in a thrifty master's way. We must get down in earnest to the development of large non-ferrous metallurgy in the Far East. Complete production cycles for manufacturing various finished products must be created here. The Far East should no longer be regarded only as a raw materials base. I think that you should not put up with this. This should be well realised in the centre: I mean all-union and republican bodies. It is necessary to use the territory's huge raw material reserves for building here complete-cycle enterprises and producing at least semi-finished products, or better, finished products. What I said about non-ferrous metallurgy applies in even greater measure to the Ministry of the Timber, Pulp-and-Paper Industry, which must decisively embark on intensive processing of timber. Tasks of large-scale economic development of the zone of the Baikal-Amur Mainline are posed in this connection. A special decision of the Central Committee and the government on this matter is being drafted now. You face major undertakings in this area, too.

Third. A chronic lagging behind of the fuel and energy complex of the Far East, which restrains the development of other branches, must be overcome within a short period of time. There is no way of living without looking to the future, and expecting that assistance with fuel and energy will come from the centre anyway. You have huge resources of fuel and hydrocarbon raw material. However, there has been talk for more than a decade, for instance, about the use of North Sakhalin gas, while practical work has just started. The solution of the problems of the development of the oil and gas deposits of the Sakhalin shelf has been delayed, too. Meanwhile, hundreds of trainloads of oil go to the Far East from West Siberia. We have to bring in to the Far East millions of tons of oil from other parts of the country.

Measures for the development of the fuel and energy base in Transbaikal and Far Eastern areas, set out in the past, are being implemented

much behind the schedules.

The Far East can and must meet fully its energy needs through its own resources. People in the Far East have the task of exerting effort to create a reliable base of energy construction, to speed up the construction of a complex of thermal and hydropower stations, and form a large single power grid. It is necessary to proceed from the view that the Far East, in perspective, must not only supply nearby areas with fuel and energy but must also become a large exporter of these items.

Fourth. The line at the development of the production infrastructure at a higher pace. This is, certainly, a problem not only for the Far East, but is perhaps particularly acute here. It is necessary to speed up the development of the modern building industry in your region. I would say that this is the basis of the plans which we are laying here, in the Far East. Large teams of railway builders, who laid out the Baikal-Amur Mainline within a short period of time, have now arrived in the Far East. They can and must be employed, for instance, in the reconstruction of old railway lines that have a low carrying capacity now, or in the construction of highways and ports, or other necessary facilities.

Sea transport must also be used more effectively. Its infrastructure must be strengthened. Progressive forms of carriage should be developed. You have experience in this respect. Only today I familiarised myself with the operation of Nakhodka's Vostochny port. This is an excellent modern port. It can serve as an example for many. The ferry to Sakhalin, for instance, is operating well. Quicker measures should be taken also for enhancing the economic effect of the through navigation along the Arctic route.

Fifth. The solution of questions of the regional scientific and technological policy, those of installing the latest equipment at enterprises, taking into account the conditions of their maintenance in the area, has a specific character. It would seem there are many machine-building enterprises here, and many of them have highly-skilled personnel and a good reputation.

But because of disconnection between departments a considerable part of the machinery manufactured in the Far East goes to the European part of the country, whence comes a stream of equipment for the needs of the Far East. These questions should be analysed promptly. Specialisation of machine-building plants should be decided with the emphasis being laid on the creation here of large capacity, well-equipped facilities to turn out machinery for the needs of the region and for export.

Sixth. Possibilities for the export trend of the development of the Far East economy should be utilised in full measure. The region's share in the country's exports is now very low, far below its potentialities. Cardinal changes are needed in this sphere, new approaches, so as to invigorate both coastal and border trade, to use progressive forms of economic ties with foreign countries, including co-operation in production, and joint enterprises. It is necessary to create a specialised export base.

Seventh. The principle of allocating for the development of the social sphere whatever funds are left came under sharp criticism at the Party Congress. This is an old ailment. This practice has also become widespread in a number of eastern areas of the country, including the Maritime Territory. Some 7.7 million people inhabit the vast territory of the region. Nearly half of all food products is brought here. The per capita output of milk, potatoes and vegetables dropped in the Far East in the past 20 years. Many leaders of territories, regions, districts and economies resigned themselves to low harvests, small yields of milk and slow weight gain of cattle and the supply of fodder from other areas. Even the proposals for the plans for 15-20 years ahead envisage the widening of the food supply to the Far East through deliveries from other regions of the country.

I think this is a shortsighted line. There is one way out: to create a highly developed agricultural base and food industry in the area. For these purposes it is necessary to develop vigorously on the basis of intensive technologies all the branches of the agro-industrial complex, specifically the fertiliser industry, and to co-operate in the solution of agricultural tasks with neighbour countries.

A tense situation took shape in the region with housing construction and the construction of social and cultural amenities, which is a hindrance to settlement of those who arrive here for permanent residence. I think that the responsibility for such a state of affairs must be shared with the local bodies by appropriate ministries and departments, both all-union and republican.

I reproved the authorities of the territory mainly for the fact that what they are doing today for the development of the social sphere is insufficient. At any rate it falls short of the really existing necessity. But I think that a substantial part of this reproof should be addressed to Moscow-based departments. Many of them are very lavish when it comes to the development of production facilities in very different spheres, but allocate funds for the development of the social sphere very sparingly. As a result the manufacturing capacities are set up, but there is no one to use the production potential in a really efficient way. This is one of those 'tricks' that cost the state dearly. Such is the political appraisal of that phenomenon.

You have a wonderful land, beautiful sea, unique nature, rich mineral springs. As I was flying to Nakhodka today the fog faded, the clouds vanished and the sun appeared and I saw the picturesque country from the air. The hills, the golden valley, and the ocean close by. This produces a great impression. It is really a wonderful land.

The Far East must become one of the leading health resorts of the USSR, a major centre of domestic and international tourism, including oceanic and high latitude tourism. By the way, this would also replenish resources for speeding up the construction in cities and villages.

Yesterday on my way to a Young Pioneer camp I met a group of holiday-makers. It turned out the group included people from different parts of the country. And what is interesting is that for many of them it was not the first visit to this place. They came to love that land and its nature. Their unanimous advice was to promote the development of holiday facilities here.

The reason for the present situation is clear. Unsatisfactory construction of housing and social and cultural amenities is explained by the lack of the necessary basis, a lag in building equipment, the weakness of collectives of builders. This cannot be tolerated any longer. If facing social matters is vitally needed for the whole country, this is twice and thrice so for the Far East.

What should be done to overcome the difficulties which have accumulated over years? Both central and local bodies are to blame for this. So, action is to be taken from above and from below simultaneously in order to remedy the situation. I can assure you that the CPSU Central Committee and the government will be urging the all-union and republican ministries to tackle the problems of the eastern areas of the country, including your territory.

The Soviet Far East has an unforgettable past and, I am sure, a glorious future. This is a territory of vast natural wealth, huge social and economic possibilities, great international prospects. It depends on you, and of course on the attention of the centre, how we will run the affairs of that very important region of the country and what results we will achieve.

I understand that the remarks made and the acute way the problems were formulated did not fit today's occasion too well. But such is the constructive Leninist tradition: to look into the

future while assessing what has been done. The most important thing now is not to lose the sense of perspective, to lay down the foundation for scaling new heights. The main thing now is to concentrate on your future tasks arising from the decisions of the 27th Congress. And I believe that even such a festive occasion as the presentation of a high award is suitable for such an approach, including a critical analysis.

Such are our common plans and concerns, comrades. They show the Soviet Union's true intentions better than any verbal subterfuges. However much the ruling forces of imperialism may try to present them in a distorted light, we have said openly and honestly and will continue telling all peoples and governments: yes, we need peace, we again and again are issuing the call for putting an end to the arms race, stopping nuclear madness and eliminating nuclear weapons, for persistently searching for a political settlement of the regional conflicts.

We witness a phenomenon of paramount importance. The realisation of the need for peace for all is forcefully grasping the minds of the peoples, even in the countries where the governments continue to believe that weapons and war are tools of politics. It is precisely for all, since a nuclear war would be not a clash of only two blocs, two confronting forces. It will lead to a global disaster, in which human civilisation will be threatened with destruction.

Our initiatives on nuclear disarmament, considerable cuts in the conventional weapons and armed forces, control, and creation of a healthier international atmosphere were met in different ways.

The friendly countries have expressed support for them. The countries of the socialist community view them with good reason as a component part of the general policy of socialism in the world arena. And not only because these initiatives have been coordinated with them, not only for principled internationalist considerations, but also because both us and them are engaged in a purely peaceful effort—refinement of our societies. The salutary process of drawing closer is intensified on that basis, economic integration is filled with new content, concrete steps are made to create joint plants and amalgamations, active human contacts are broadened.

In a word, a progressive, mutually beneficial process deepening co-operation and fraternity among the peoples of the community is under way.

The developing world shows much interest in our plans and intentions—both internal and international ones. We note that many developing countries wish to expand and deepen further economic, scientific and cultural co-operation with the Soviet Union. We are prepared for that.

It would be just to say that the public at large and those representatives of the Western business world who have a realistic view of things, who do not suffer from anti-communist paranoia and do not associate themselves with profits from the arms race, regard our plans seriously, with interest. They also stand for peace and co-operation, for the development of healthy economic, scientific and cultural ties with the Soviet Union. We welcome such an approach.

Yet, in many capitalist countries the fashion is, as before, set by forces whose past and future are blinded by animosity towards socialism, by imperial ambitions or are geared fast to the war business. But the latter is known to be extremely voracious and ruthless. Yesterday it needed millions, today it needs billions, and tomorrow it will need trillions. It will never start manufacturing, of its own free will, toys for children instead of missiles. Since this is in its nature.

The ruling circles of the USA and some countries allied to it are trying either to picture our peace initiatives as sheer propaganda, or allege that only the Soviet Union stands to gain from them. Yes, we stand to gain from disarm-

ament, even if this term is used, just as all peoples and governments who now spend billions on the arms race stand to gain from disarmament. Yet it is only a part of the truth.

I will even say, a smaller part of the truth. The main truth is that our initiatives stem from profound concern for mankind's destiny.

It is absurd and criminal to act in the face of a nuclear threat according to that old, already dead scheme—what is good for the socialist countries should be rejected. Clearly visible in that is the class narrow-mindedness, the primitive ideological mechanical approach, the growing political influence of militarism. Yet I am not inclined to believe that the military-industrial complex is all-powerful. We see that the world public ever more clearly realises the danger of militarism. We see that, despite permanent chauvinistic engrafting, realistic sentiments are growing in the United States, the realisation is deepening that the source of the military threat to the USA is not the Soviet people, not the socialist countries, not the peasants of Nicaragua, not the far away Vietnamese or Libyans, but its own arms manufacturers and irresponsible politicians serving them, the adventurist militarists.

We, certainly, understand that the arms race, which is gaining momentum, serves not only the aim of superprofit and preparation for war, but, not least, other immoral aims, whose essence is to exhaust the Soviet Union economically, to frustrate the Party's course for a further rise in the living standards of the people, hamper the implementation of the social programme. We also know precisely who continues cherishing the hope for a planned, methodical destruction of the USSR and of the socialist countries, using to that end economic, moral-psychological, propaganda, political and military methods.

We can say that this task was always doomed to failure. So it is today. The time has come to reckon with the realities rather than make policy on the basis of illusions and misconceptions.

If there are no treaties, this will not bring relief to the world, no tranquillity will set in. Fear will not disappear until some rulers in the West give up the dangerous attempts, which are perhaps consoling for them but fruitless, at bringing the Soviet Union to its knees, splitting the socialist community, and hampering our forward march.

The time persistently demands a new understanding of the present stage in the development of civilisation, of international relations, of the world. This is a controversial and complex world, but it is objectively united by the bonds of interdependence. International relations under which, with all the differences and clashes of interest, one can no longer live under the millennia-old traditions of 'fist law'. A civilisation demonstrating an unprecedented strength of human mind and labour, and simultaneously—its fragility, vulnerability on the part of the forces released by human genius, but placed at the service of destruction.

All that dictates the need for and makes urgent a radical breaking of many customary attitudes to foreign policy, and breaking of the traditions of political thinking, of views on problems of war and peace, on defence, security of individual states and international security. In that connection it is clear that our radical, global (in the full sense of the word) proposals, such as the programme for the elimination already in this century of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons, a total ban on nuclear weapons testing, a ban on chemical weapons, programmes for co-operation in peaceful uses of outer space and a whole number of others, concern the whole world, all countries.

The main problem confronting humankind today—that of survival—is equally acute and

urgent for Europe, Africa, America and Asia. Yet in each part of the world it looks different. Therefore, while staying here, in Vladivostok, it is natural to look at international policy issues from the Asian-Pacific viewpoint.

Such an approach is justified for many reasons. In the first place, because east of the Urals, in Asia—in Siberia, in the Far East—lies the greater part of our country's territory. It is here that many national tasks put forward by the Party Congress will be resolved. Hence the situation in the Far East as a whole, in Asia and the ocean expanses washing it, where we are permanent inhabitants and seafarers of long standing, is to us of a national, state interest.

Many major states of the world, including the USSR, the United States, India, China, Japan, Vietnam, Mexico and Indonesia are situated on the enormous expanses of this territory spreading over almost half of the Earth. Here lie states which are considered to be medium ones, but which are rather big by European standards—Canada, and the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand, and along with them there are tens of comparatively smaller and tiny countries. Some of them have a history of millennia or many centuries, others have formed in modern times, and still others have formed quite recently.

Asia, which woke up to a new life in the 20th century, has enriched world progress with its diversified and unique experience of the fight for freedom and independence. This is not only history. This is a living legacy making one of the important fundamentals of the current political realities in this part of the world.

Every country has its own social and political system with all the thinkable tinges, its traditions, achievements and difficulties, its mode of life and its beliefs, convictions and prejudices, its own understanding of spiritual and material values. Each of them has something to be proud of and something to uphold in the treasure house of human civilisation.

This impressive diversity, this colossal human and socio-political massif calls for apt attention, study and respect. We know well from our own, Soviet, experience what an immense creative force the revived sense of national dignity becomes, what a constructive role is played by the national identity of a people in its organic interrelationship with other equal and free peoples. This process is on the rise in Asia and the Pacific now: everything is in motion here, far from everything has settled. The new is mixing with the old, the way of life which seemed unshakable only yesterday is giving way to the whirlwind of changes—social, scientific and technical, and ideological. This is, I would say, yet another period of renaissance in world history, a period harbouring a huge potential of progress. And this is true not only with regard to Asia and Oceania.

Which path will socio-economic and political development take? What processes will prevail in inter-state relations? These issues will largely determine the destinies of the entire world.

Socialism is an inalienable factor in the large-scale and complex changes in this region. It gained firm positions in Asia as a result of the Great October Revolution and the victory over fascism and Japanese militarism, as a result of the great Chinese Revolution, after the new social system consolidated in Mongolia, and on Korean land whose people displayed outstanding steadfastness in the struggle for the socialist future of their country, and then in Vietnam and Laos. But it is also in Asia where it was confronted with the most brutal and cynical counteraction. Vietnam is the most graphic example. Its heroic experience, the lessons of its victory over imperialism highlighted again the irresistible strength of the ideas of freedom and socialism.

This region, Asia, saw the formation of the concept of non-alignment, the movement which now includes more than a hundred nations. It is seeking to come up with its own response to the

challenge of the time, is actively working for overcoming the world's division into military blocs and is looking for ways to diminish the nuclear threat. In rejecting and condemning exploitation, the policy of aggression and neo-colonialism, the Non-Aligned Movement is urging mankind for unity, for co-operation in combatting hunger and the glaring poverty of hundreds of millions of people.

The great India, with its moral authority and traditional wisdom, with its specific political experience and huge economic potentialities, is the recognised leader of this movement. We highly assess its contribution to asserting standards of equitable co-existence and justice in the international community. Friendly relations between the USSR and India became a stabilising factor on a world-wide scale.

Japan has turned into a power of front-rank importance. The country which became the first victim of American nuclear weapons has covered a great path within a brief period, demonstrated striking accomplishments in industry, trade, education, science and technology. These successes are due not only to the self-control, discipline and energy of the Japanese people, but also due to the 'three non-nuclear principles' which officially underlie its international policy, although lately—and this must be emphasised—they, as well as the peaceful provisions of Japan's constitution, are being circumvented ever more openly.

But we also see many other things in Asia and Oceania. The people's dignity insulted by colonialism, the legacy of poverty, illiteracy and backwardness, along with profound prejudices, preserve conditions for mistrust and hostility between peoples, including those living within one state. Imperialism speculates on the difficulties and prejudices, which brings about local conflicts, ethnic and religious strife, and political instability.

Wherever independence becomes a tangible international value and there emerges a threat to the exploiter interests of imperialism, it resorts to its favourite methods: economic blackmail, intrigues and plots against the leadership of the country in question, interference in internal problems, it maintains separatists, finances and even directly arms counter-revolution and terrorists. Punjab, the Tamil problem (with attempts being made to turn this one against India too), the undeclared wars on Kampuchea and Afghanistan, the annexation of Micronesia, interference in the Philippines, and pressure on New Zealand offer enough examples to see how the contemporary mechanism of imperialist intervention and *diktat* operates.

The experience of history, the laws of growing interdependence and the integration requirements of the economy call one to look for ways of unity, for establishment of open ties between nations within the region and beyond it. These nations have tens, hundreds of arduous problems—ones inherited from the colonial past and ones emerging out of the contradictions of present-day development. And they are being dragged into blocs, the freedom to handle their own resources is being curtailed. They are being forced to inflate military budgets, being swept into the arms race and the militarisation of the economy and the entire social life.

All this deforms the processes of internal development, generates tension and, naturally, stands in the way of normalising relations between nationalities and states.

The Soviet Union is also an Asian and Pacific country. It realises the complex problems of this vast region. It is directly contiguous to them. This is what determines the balanced and overall view of this giant part of the world with its mass of diverse nations and peoples. Our approach to it is based on the recognition and understanding of the existing realities.

At the same time our interest is not a claim to privileges and special position, not egoistic

attempts to strengthen our security at someone else's expense, not a search for benefit to the detriment of others. Our interest is in the pooling of efforts and in co-operation, with full respect for each people's right to live as they choose and resolve their problems on their own in conditions of peace.

We are in favour of building together new, fair relations in Asia and the Pacific.

Recently, I had many meetings with leaders of European nations, with various political figures of European countries. Involuntarily, I compare the situation in Asia with that in Europe.

The Pacific region has not as yet been militarised to the extent that has taken place in Europe. But the potentialities for its militarisation are truly immense, and the consequences are extremely dangerous. A glance at the map will convince one of that. Major nuclear powers are situated here. Powerful land armies, mighty navies and airforces have been established. The scientific, technological and industrial potential of many countries—from the western to the eastern fringes of the ocean—makes it possible to boost any arms race. The situation is being exacerbated by the preservation of conflict situations. Let us not forget: it is in Asia that American imperialism waged its two biggest wars since 1945—in Korea and Indochina. One can hardly count even several years during the past four decades without the flames of war blazing in one or another part of the Asian and Pacific region.

In Europe, there operates—well or not well—the Helsinki process of dialogue, talks and agreements. This brings a certain stability and reduces the probability of armed conflicts. In the region in question, this is absent, or nearly absent. If something has been changing lately, it has not been for the better. Since the second half of the seventies, the US has undertaken large-scale measures to build up armed forces in the Pacific Ocean. The militarised 'triangle' of Washington, Tokyo and Seoul is being set up under its pressure. And although two out of three nuclear powers in the region—the People's Republic of China and the USSR—pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, the United States has deployed nuclear weapon-delivery vehicles and nuclear warheads in one of the zones of crisis—in the Korean peninsula, and nuclear weapon-delivery vehicles on Japanese territory.

One has to state that militarisation and the escalation of the threat of war in this part of the world are picking up a dangerous speed. The Pacific Ocean is turning into an arena of military political confrontation. This is what gives rise to growing concern among the peoples living here. It is alarming also for us from all viewpoints, including for considerations of security in the Asian part of our country.

The Asian and Pacific direction in the Soviet Union's foreign policy is an integral part of the overall platform of the CPSU's international activity, worked out by the April plenary meeting and the 27th Party Congress. But a platform is not a chart that can be applied to any situation. It is, rather, a set of principles and a method relying on experience.

Proceeding from that, how will it be possible to perceive the process of shaping international security and peaceful co-operation in this vast region?

First of all, in keeping with its principled policy, the Soviet Union will seek to lend dynamism to its bilateral relations with all countries situated here without exception. We shall strengthen friendship in all ways and invigorate multiform relations with the Mongolian People's Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the People's Democratic Republic of Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea. We regard relations with our friends, built on the principles of equality and solidarity, as an integral part of overall Asian and

Pacific security. At present, for instance, the question of withdrawing a substantial part of Soviet troops from Mongolia is being examined jointly with the Mongolian leadership.

We are prepared to expand ties with Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Burma, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Brunei, the Republic of Maldives, and the youngest independent participants in the region's political life. With some of the latter—Papua New Guinea, Western Samoa, the Kingdom of Tonga, Fiji, the Republic of Kiribati, the Republic of Nauru, Tuvalu and the Republic of Vanuatu—we already maintain diplomatic relations.

Speaking in the city which is but a step from the People's Republic of China, I would like to dwell on the most important issues in our relations. These relations are extremely important for several reasons, starting from the fact that we are neighbours, that we share the world's longest land border and that we, our children and grandchildren are destined to live near each other for ever and ever.

But the question is not, of course, reduced to that. History entrusted the Soviet and the Chinese peoples with an extremely responsible mission. Much in international development depends on these two major socialist nations.

A noticeable improvement occurred in our relations in recent years. I would like to reaffirm: the Soviet Union is prepared—at any time, and at any level—to discuss with China questions of additional measures for creating an atmosphere of good-neighbourliness. We hope that the border dividing (I would prefer to say linking) us will become a line of peace and friendship in the near future.

The Soviet people's attitude to the objective advanced by the Communist Party of China—to modernise the country and build in the future a socialist society worthy of the great people—is one of understanding and respect.

As far as it is possible to judge, we have similar priorities as China—those of accelerating social and economic development. Why not support each other, why not co-operate in implementing our plans wherever this will clearly benefit both sides? The better the relations, the more we shall be able to exchange our experience.

We note with satisfaction that a positive shift has become visible in economic ties. We are convinced that the historically established complementarity between the Soviet and the Chinese economies gives great opportunities for expanding these ties, including in the border regions. Some of the major problems of co-operation are literally knocking at the door. For instance, we do not want the border river of Amur to be viewed as a 'water obstacle'. Let the basin of this mighty river unite the efforts of the Chinese and the Soviet peoples in using for mutual benefit the rich resources available there, and for building water-management projects. An inter-governmental agreement on this account is being jointly worked out. And the official border might pass along the main ship channel.

The Soviet Government is preparing a positive reply with respect to the issue of assistance in building a railway to connect the Xinjiang Uigur Autonomous Region with Kazakhstan.

We suggested co-operation with the PRC in space exploration, which could include training of Chinese cosmonauts. There are great opportunities for mutually beneficial exchanges in the sphere of culture and education. We are prepared, and sincerely wish all that.

On relations with Japan. There are emerging signs of a turn for the better here as well. It would be good if the turn did take place. The objective position of our two countries in the world demands profound co-operation on a sound realistic basis, in a calm atmosphere free from problems of the past. A beginning was made this year. Foreign ministers exchanged visits. On the agenda is an exchange of top-level visits.

Economic co-operation is of mutual interest. The point at issue is, first of all, our coastal regions which already practise business contacts with Japanese firms. It is possible to discuss the question of establishing joint enterprises in adjacent and near-by regions of the USSR and Japan. Why not establish long-term co-operation in the investigation and all-round use of the ocean resources, why not link up the programmes for the peaceful study and use of outer space? The Japanese, it seems, have a method of making relations more dynamic called 'economic diplomacy'. Let it serve this time Soviet-Japanese co-operation.

In the Pacific region, the Soviet Union also shares a border with the United States. It is our next-door neighbour in the literal meaning of the word, with only seven kilometres dividing us—the exact distance between the Soviet island of Big Diomedede and the American island of Little Diomedede.

We clearly realise that the US is a great Pacific power, primarily because a considerable part of the country's population lives on the shores of this ocean. And the western part of America, gravitating towards this area, is playing a growing part in the country's life, and features dynamism. Besides, the United States undoubtedly has important economic and political interests in the region.

No doubt, without the US, without its participation, it is impossible to resolve the problem of security and co-operation in the Pacific Ocean in a way that would satisfy all. So far, regrettably Washington has not shown interest in this, it is not even thinking of a serious talk on the Pacific subject. If this subject comes up, it is led to the well-trodden path of the 'Soviet threat' and to sabre-rattling to corroborate the myth.

Our approach to relations with the US is well-known. We stand for peaceful, good-neighbourly relations and for mutually beneficial co-operation which has, incidentally, considerable opportunities also in the Far East, in the Pacific.

Talking about the US, here are a few words about the most important thing in our relations for the present—about termination of the arms race. Since the Geneva meeting the Soviet Union has put forward many large-scale proposals on the entire range of problems of reducing and eliminating arms and of verifying the process. We did not see any movement to meet us half-way. We were treated in point of fact to the same stuff as prior to the Geneva summit.

With a view to overcoming the marking of time, we went farther along the road towards the USA: new large-scale compromise proposals were put forward in my June letter to the President of the United States. When visiting here, I received a reply from President Reagan. The reply sets one thinking. We have begun to study it. We shall treat it with responsibility and attention. To us the most important thing is first of all the extent to which the proposals contained in the letter meet the principle of equal security, and whether they make it possible to reach effective joint solutions in the field of ending the arms race and preventing its spreading over to outer space. We shall determine our further steps accordingly. As far as a new Soviet-US summit meeting is concerned, I can repeat: we favour such a meeting. But we resolutely oppose the interpretation of the accords reached at the previous meeting in Geneva as reduced to the promise to have more meetings. No. The main thing on which we agreed last time with President Reagan and what we signed is the consent to strive for the normalisation of relations between the USSR and the USA and for the improvement of the international situation, and to speed up the course of talks on the reduction of armaments. A new summit meeting, too, is called upon to promote that.

We frequently hear from abroad all kinds of inventions to the effect that the Soviet Union is building up its military power in the east of the

country. Let me state with all responsibility: we are not doing anything and shall not do anything over and above the level that corresponds to the minimal requirements of our defence, the defence of our friends and allies, especially in the light of the American military activity not far from our and their frontiers.

This applies in full measure to the medium-range missiles. Those who do not want to see world tensions lessening continue to argue that we will allegedly be able to move our SS-20 missiles from the west to the east and from the east to the west. That is why I emphasise one more time—we suggest that both American and Soviet medium-range missiles in Europe be eliminated. Precisely eliminated, and not moved somewhere. It is quite clear that this promotes the interests of Asian countries as well.

I would also like to state that the Soviet Union is a convinced advocate of disbanding the military groupings, renouncing the possession of military bases in Asia and the Pacific Ocean and withdrawing troops from the territories of other countries. The USSR is a member of the Warsaw Treaty, but it is a European defensive alliance and it operates strictly within the geographical framework determined by the treaty. In our turn we are strongly opposed to US attempts at extending NATO's 'competence' to the entire world, including Asia and the Pacific Ocean.

Our views on security in the Asian-Pacific region have not come out of thin air. They take account of the experience of the past and of modern times. The principles of 'Pancha Shila' and of Bandung have not sunk into oblivion. The positive examples of the truce in Korea, the 1954 Geneva meeting on Indochina, the Indo-Pakistani agreement in Tashkent live on in the diplomatic experience. Nowadays, too, we see the efforts of a number of states to solve in practice the common economic problems, and attempts at settling conflicts in one way or another. There is a no small amount that is positive in the activities of ASEAN and in bilateral ties. After the plan for a 'Pacific community' had been rejected, the discussion of the idea of a 'Pacific economic co-operation' began. We approached it without bias and we are ready to join in deliberations on the possible foundations of such co-operation, if of course it is conceived not as following a bloc-oriented, anti-socialist pattern imposed by someone, but as being a result of a free discussion without any discrimination whatsoever. A sufficiently vast arsenal of scientific and political ideas on the issue of establishing a new world economic order and the experience of integration in the West and the East could become a solid foundation for such discussions.

By way of an objective, no matter if it is a rather remote one, we would propose a conference, in the mould of the Helsinki Conference, to be attended by all the countries gravitating toward the ocean. When an agreement is reached on its convocation (if at all, of course) it will be possible to come to terms on the venue for it. One of the options is Hiroshima. Why should not that city, the first victim of nuclear evil, become the 'Helsinki' of sorts for Asia and the Pacific Ocean?

Summing up, I would like to emphasise that we stand for integrating the Asian-Pacific region into the general process of establishing a comprehensive system of international security proposed at the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

How do we see it concretely?

First of all, the issues of regional settlement prompt themselves. I'll speak of Afghanistan separately. Now let me speak of South-East Asia and Kampuchea. The Kampuchean people sustained terrible losses. That country, its cities and villages came under American bombing raids more than once. With its suffering it has gained the right to choose its friends and allies for itself. It is impermissible to try and draw it back into the tragic past, to decide the future of that state in distant capitals or even in the United Nations.

Here, as in other problems of South-East Asia, much depends on the normalisation of Sino-Vietnamese relations. It is a sovereign matter for the governments and the leadership of both countries. We can only express our interest in seeing the border between these socialist states again becoming a border of peace and good-neighbourly relations, in seeing comradesly dialogue resumed and the unnecessary suspicion and mistrust removed. It seems that the moment is good, and the whole of Asia needs that.

In our opinion, there are no insurmountable obstacles in the way of establishing mutually acceptable relations between the countries of Indochina and ASEAN. Given goodwill and on the condition of non-intervention from outside they could solve their problems, which would benefit the cause of security in Asia.

There is a possibility not only of lessening dangerous tensions in the Korean peninsula but also of starting to move along the road of solving the national problem of the entire Korean people. As far as the really Korean interests are concerned, there are no sensible reasons for evading a serious dialogue proposed by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Second. We stand for putting up a barrier in the way of the proliferation and build-up of nuclear weapons in Asia and the Pacific Ocean.

As is known, the USSR pledged itself not to increase the number of medium-range nuclear missiles in the Asian part of the country.

The USSR supports proclaiming the southern part of the Pacific a nuclear-free zone and urges all nuclear powers to guarantee its status in a unilateral or multilateral way.

The implementation of the proposal of the DPRK for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Korean peninsula would be a serious contribution. Well-deserved attention was aroused by the idea of creating such a zone in South-East Asia.

Third. We propose to start talks on a reduction in the activity of fleets in the Pacific, above all of nuclear-armed ships. Restriction of rivalry in the sphere of anti-submarine weapons, specifically the arrangement to keep from anti-submarine activity in certain zones of the Pacific, would help strengthen stability. This could become a substantial confidence-building measure. In general, I would like to say that if the United States gave up its military presence, say, in the Philippines, we would not leave this step unanswered.

We remain strongly in favour of resuming the talks on turning the Indian Ocean into a peace zone.

Fourth. The Soviet Union attaches much importance to radical reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Asia to the limits of reasonable sufficiency. We realise that this problem should be tackled gradually, stage-by-stage, by starting from some one district, say the Far East. In this context the USSR is prepared to discuss with the PRC concrete steps aimed at proportionate lowering of the level of land forces.

Fifth. The Soviet Union holds that the time has long come to switch to a practical plane the discussion of confidence-building measures and non-use of force in the region. A start could be made on the simpler measures, for instance measures for security of sea lanes in the Pacific, and for the prevention of international terrorism.

A conference to discuss and work out such measures could be held in one of the Soviet maritime cities. By the way, the question could be solved, with time, of opening Vladivostok to visits by foreigners. If a change for the better in the situation in the Pacific is really achieved, Vladivostok could become one of the major international centres, a commercial and cultural centre, a city for festivals, sports events, congresses, scientific symposiums. We would like it to be our widely opened window on the East. And the words of our great Pushkin "the ships of

every flag and nation will hail our shores" will then apply also to Vladivostok.

And in conclusion, about Afghanistan. It was declared from the rostrum of the 27th Congress of the CPSU that we are ready to return home the Soviet troops stationed in Afghanistan at the request of its government. As you know, the Party firmly adheres to the principle that words should be confirmed by deeds.

Having thoroughly assessed the situation that is taking shape and having held consultations with the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the Soviet leadership has adopted the decision which I officially announce today: six regiments will be returned home from Afghanistan before the end of 1986—one armoured regiment, two motorised rifle regiments, and three anti-aircraft artillery regiments—with their organic equipment and armaments. These units will be returned to the areas of their permanent deployment in the Soviet Union and in such a way that all those who take an interest in this could easily ascertain this.

Taking so serious a step, of which we informed in advance the states concerned, including Pakistan, the Soviet Union is striving to speed up a political settlement, to give it another impetus. The Soviet Union also proceeds from the view that those who organise and implement the armed intervention against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, will correctly understand and duly appreciate this unilateral step of ours. It must be answered by the curtailment of outside interference in the affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Certain progress has been achieved of late at the Afghan-Pakistani talks held through the mediation of a representative of the United Nations Secretary-General. As soon as a political settlement is finally worked out, the return of all Soviet troops from Afghanistan can be speeded up. Schedules for their stage-by-stage return have been agreed upon with the Afghan leadership.

But all who encourage and finance the undeclared war against Afghanistan, and from whose territory it was waged, should know that if the intervention against the DRA continues, the Soviet Union will stand up for its neighbour. This stems from our internationalist solidarity with the Afghan people and from the interests of the Soviet Union's security.

We support the line of the present Afghan leadership at national reconciliation and at widening of the social base of the April national-democratic revolution, including the creation of a government with the participation in it of those political forces that found themselves beyond the country's boundaries but are prepared to participate sincerely in the nationwide process of the construction of new Afghanistan.

Comrades,

The present generations inherited many difficult, painful problems. In order to advance to their solution, it is necessary to get rid of the burden of the past, to seek new approaches, guiding oneself by the responsibility for the present and future.

The Soviet State calls on all Asian and Pacific nations to co-operate for the sake of peace and security. Everyone who is striving for these goals, who hopes for a better future for their peoples, will find us to be benevolent interlocutors and honest partners.

Mankind is living through a difficult, dramatic time. But it has a reserve of strength, which allows it not simply to survive but also to learn to live in a new, civilised world, in other words to live without the threat of war, in conditions of freedom, when the benefit of man and the maximum development of the possibilities of a personality will be the highest criterion. But this requires a persistent struggle against the common enemy—the threat of universal destruction.

Mobilisation of the potential of common sense  
(Continued on next page)

## Mikhail Gorbachyov in Vladivostok

VLADIVOSTOK, July 26, TASS:

MIKHAIL GORBACHYOV, now visiting Vladivostok, placed flowers at the Lenin Monument today. The first meetings between the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the people of Vladivostok, the centre of the Soviet Maritime Territory, were held here, in the main square.

"Thank you for your welcome," Mikhail Gorbachyov said, "it is the first time that I have visited the Far East. I wish to see everything and then to say something. And not only to you." The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said that "the Far East should no longer be viewed only as a source of raw materials. One cannot say that attention was not paid to the Far East, or that it was forgotten. Cities and ports have grown. The fishing industry, machine-building and the raw material base are developing. Science has struck deep roots. But all this is the beginning of wide development."

In familiarising himself with Vladivostok, Mikhail Gorbachyov stopped several times for conversations with people of the city. He emphasised that it was time to get down to substantial development of the Far East.

At the exhibition of economic achievements, 'Our City', the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee showed interest in the prospects for economic and social development of the centre of the Maritime Territory.

In the afternoon, Mikhail Gorbachyov visited the Far Eastern scientific centre of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Familiarising himself with the work of the institutes of the centre he emphasised that science had now accumulated much information about the region. "We have accumulated a sufficient base for broad, comprehensive and planned development of the Far East," he said. □

(Continued from previous page)

existing in the world, the partnership of reason, are now more important than ever to arrest the sliding to catastrophe. Our resolve to do our utmost for this remains unchanged. Peoples of all countries and states can be sure of this.

Such is, in brief, the state of our affairs now, such is the general outline of the international situation in whose development the role of the Asian-Pacific part of the world will be ever growing. We must draw practical conclusions from all this so as to act with still greater energy, rebuilding our life for the better.

There is no direct analogies in history, but similar situations arise. Therefore, the fruitful experience of the past is so valuable and instructive for us. In the article 'Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution' VI Lenin wrote: "We have already started the necessary changes in our economic policy and already have some successes to our credit; true, they are small and partial, but nonetheless they are successes. In this new field of 'tuition' we are already finishing our preparatory class. By persistent and assiduous study, by making practical experience the test of every step we take, by not fearing to alter over and over again what we have already begun, by correcting our mistakes and most carefully analysing their significance, we shall pass to the higher classes. We shall go through the whole 'course'..." (VI Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, Page 59. Progress Publishers, Moscow 1966.)

Here we have, comrades, Lenin's advice, Lenin's analysis with the depth, sobriety and self-criticism inherent in him. This is the advice as to how we should act in the present situation, how to make the restructuring so as to complete it successfully and take the country to a qualitatively new level. Our duty is to follow this wise and effective advice by Lenin in full measure. □

## Speech by USSR representative at disarmament conference

GENEVA, July 22, TASS:

TASS correspondent Vladislav Shishlo reports:

"The Soviet Union declares for the strictest control over non-holding of nuclear tests, including on-site inspections and use of all achievements of seismology," head of the USSR delegation Viktor Israelyan said today at a regular meeting of the Conference on Disarmament.

As an example of such control he cited the agreement between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the US Natural Resources Defense Council, under which American and Soviet scientists had installed seismic equipment on USSR territory in the area of Semipalatinsk. "That fact confirmed again the possibility of joint control over complete ending of nuclear tests," the head of the Soviet delegation said.

"The Conference on Disarmament, too, must naturally play an important role in solving this problem, the more so since a special group of expert seismologists is now working in its framework," the speaker said. "The importance of the activity of this group is determined by the fact that there now exists every opportunity for detecting any nuclear test with the use of seismic means of verification. It is well-known that normal seismic stations are now capable of registering explosions even of the yield of 20-30 tons at a distance of 2,000-3,000 kilometres. The information on the registration of such explosions is systematically published in bulletins of the international seismological centre. A special group of expert seismologists have conducted a number of international technical experiments, the latest of them being in 1984. They involved 72 stations in 32 countries. These experiments confirmed the effectiveness of the established procedures.

"But the task facing the group of expert seismologists cannot be regarded as completed," Viktor Israelyan said. "In view of the intensive development of digital registration systems, systems for relaying and processing information by high capacity computing centres, as well as the possibility of broader use of the very recordings of the signals or second level data, as they are called, it is necessary to pass on to more profound research in order to use this data in international seismological exchange."

The USSR representative stressed that for these purposes the Soviet Union suggested that a group of expert seismologists start working out a system for prompt transmission of second level seismic data, which would serve as the basis for an international seismic verification of the ban on nuclear weapons tests. This data would be promptly transmitted from seismic stations included in a global network, with the use of channels of satellite communication and processing of this information in international computing centres. An automated exchange of data between these centres along specially allocated communications channels would be envisaged.

The USSR delegation also suggested an international experiment for the exchange of second level data with the use of both channels of the global system of telecommunications of the World Meteorological Organisation and other communications channels. The preparations for such an experiment should be entrusted to a group of expert seismologists and the year 1988 might be chosen as the time for the experiment.

The words of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachyov, that "we assist and shall be assisting Soviet and American scientists so that they should implement their initiative with the use of special equipment for verification of non-holding of nuclear explosions" equally apply to all constructive proposals in the sphere, no matter where they come from. □

## Briefing on new Soviet initiatives

MOSCOW, July 29, TASS:

"THE Soviet Union stands strongly for involving the Asian-Pacific region in the general process of creating a comprehensive system of international security," Gennadi Gerasimov, head of the Information Department of the Foreign Ministry of the USSR, said at a briefing at the Ministry's press centre today.

"This would help strengthen good-neighbourly relations and friendship between the countries of the region, and not only have a favourable effect on the situation in the region but also help preserve and consolidate international peace," he said.

Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had advanced concrete initiatives, ideas and proposals in his speech in Vladivostok, the spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry said. He described the issue of a regional settlement, the idea of a barrier in the way of the proliferation and build-up of nuclear arms in Asia and the Pacific, the proposal for the start of talks on reducing naval activities in the Pacific, and the problem of a radical reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Asia to a level of reasonable sufficiency as important proposals whose implementation was decisive to the destiny of the nations inhabiting the region.

Gerasimov stressed the special significance of the Soviet Union's decision to return home from Afghanistan by the end of 1986 six regiments with their equipment and arms. "This decision is

providing another impulse for a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan," he said.

Answering questions from newsmen about Soviet-Chinese relations, the spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry said there had emerged the signs of a positive shift in economic relations. "The mutually supplementary natures of the Soviet and Chinese economies offer appreciable opportunities for broadening these relations, including in frontier areas," Gerasimov said. □

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## Nikolai Ryzhkov's speech at reception for Turgut Ozal

MOSCOW, July 28, TASS:

"WE see your visit to the USSR as a major event in Soviet-Turkish relations and as a good opportunity for stepping up the quest for ways of broadening mutually beneficial co-operation between our countries," Nikolai Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, said today in his speech at a dinner given for Prime Minister Turgut Ozal of Turkey and his wife on behalf of the Soviet Government.

"We are neighbours and whatever the differences between us, we shall always also have common interests," Nikolai Ryzhkov added.

"The examination of Soviet-Turkish relations during the talks today", he said, "has shown that both sides have not only a desire to expand co-operation but also have concrete ideas of how to act further to meet the demands of the times.

"Trade and economic co-operation are only part of the large package of Soviet-Turkish relations," Nikolai Ryzhkov went on to say. "While helping to strengthen mutual trust, they themselves also need a healthy political atmosphere. Belonging to different military-political alliances, our countries should approach the resolution of any issue affecting their foreign policy interests, most notably security interests, with special responsibility and discretion."

"The border we share with Turkey passes in

the direct proximity of areas gripped by dangerous tensions," Nikolai Ryzhkov said. "The task of defusing these tensions ranks among the problems of improving the international situation that brook no delay. The approach by the USSR to tackling this important task has been reflected in our proposals for making the Mediterranean a zone of peace and co-operation, and in the principles we have suggested for achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem. It is by the interests of international security that we are guided in supporting efforts by neighbouring nations to establish zones free from nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans.

"We believe there are objective prerequisites for broadening the areas of mutual understanding and accord with Turkey on other international issues. To realise them is above all a task for the leadership of both countries. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we have both the necessary will for this and the Soviet people's earnest desire to live in peace and friendship with the people of neighbouring Turkey," Nikolai Ryzhkov said.

\* \* \*

Talks started in the Kremlin today between Nikolai Ryzhkov and Turgut Ozal, Prime Minister of Turkey.

The sides had a thorough exchange of views on topical international problems. Agreement was reached on broadening contacts in the political, parliamentary and public spheres. It was observed that maintaining a Soviet-Turkish dialogue was an indispensable instrument of confidence and mutual understanding in resolving issues of bilateral ties, and that this dialogue

could and should facilitate the settlement of outstanding international and regional problems.

A thorough exchange of views was held on questions of trade, economic, scientific and technical co-operation between the USSR and Turkey. It was found expedient to study the possibility of building industrial enterprises in Turkey with Soviet technical assistance on a compensatory basis, and inviting Turkish contractors to build social and cultural projects in the USSR.

What was implied was that settlement under this co-operation be made through Soviet natural gas deliveries to Turkey.

The heads of government of the USSR and Turkey noted that Soviet-Turkish relations were in the process of positive and stable development, and stated the existence of the yet untapped reserves for expanding and increasing the efficiency of bilateral co-operation in the political, trade, economic and other spheres.

The sides shared the opinion that the inter-relationship and interdependence of all nations, especially neighbours, was growing, which was persistently calling for new, non-standard approaches to problems of world politics.

Turgut Ozal invited Nikolai Ryzhkov to come to Turkey for an official visit. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

An agreement on co-operation between the State Planning Committee of the USSR and the State Planning Organisation at the Turkish Prime Minister's Office, and an agreement between the Government of the USSR and the Government of Turkey in the field of tourism were signed. □

### Eduard Shevardnadze meets Shah Mohammad Dost

MOSCOW, July 28, TASS:

EDUARD SHEVARDNADZE, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, today had a meeting with Shah Mohammad Dost, member of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, who was staying in Moscow en route to Geneva.

During the conversation that passed in a cordial atmosphere, the ministers exchanged views on a complex of questions related to the development of the situation around Afghanistan and to ways for its early normalisation.

The sides also discussed certain aspects of Soviet-Afghan relations, and general political problems linked with the efforts to safeguard international peace and rid mankind of the threat of a thermonuclear holocaust.

Shah Mohammad Dost highly praised the decision of the Soviet leadership to return a part of the Soviet military contingent to the Soviet Union—the decision announced by Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his speech at the ceremony of the presentation of the Order of Lenin to the city of Vladivostok.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan emphasised the importance of that step for the cause of political settlement around Afghanistan.

Eduard Shevardnadze said in his turn that the move, taken after consultations with the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, fully corresponded with the line towards settling the existing situation, and reaffirmed that the Soviet Union would always firmly support the efforts of the Government of the DRA in defending its sovereignty reliably. □

## Meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee

MOSCOW, July 24, TASS:

THE Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee has approved at its meeting today the results of the talks between the Soviet leadership and President Moussa Traore of the Republic of Mali, and pointed out that the documents signed in the course of the talks are a concrete manifestation of the principles of equality and mutual respect, on which the Soviet Union builds its relations with African and other non-aligned countries.

The Political Bureau heard reports by Mikhail Gorbachyov and Eduard Shevardnadze on the results of the talks with Hans-Dietrich Genscher,

### AVERELL HARRIMAN CONDOLENCES

MOSCOW, July 28, TASS:

Yesterday, Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, sent a telegram of condolences on the death of Averell Harriman, the prominent American diplomat, public figure and former US Ambassador to the USSR, to his widow Mrs Harriman.

The telegram points out Averell Harriman's great personal contribution to the development of fruitful Soviet-American co-operation in the joint struggle against the common enemy during the years of the Great Patriotic War, and his commitment to the last days of his life to the cause of strengthening mutual understanding between the Soviet and American peoples and improving Soviet-American relations. □

FRG Deputy Federal Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Political Bureau pointed out the positive significance of the exchange of views, which revealed the possibility of a political dialogue and business-like co-operation between the USSR and the FRG in various fields. Being a big West European state, the FRG bears its share of responsibility for the situation in Europe and could play an important role in improving the international situation, resolving the question of the limitation and reduction of weapons and strengthening security on the continent.

It has been stressed that the USSR is prepared to co-operate with it in these areas without detriment to the commitments of both sides to their allies. It is important to ensure an enhancement of Europe's role in international relations, without which it is impossible to take serious steps forward, to pave the road into a safer future. At the same time it was pointed out that the policy of the FRG Government, deplorably, continues to bear in a large measure the imprint of the past, which does not meet the need for a new political mentality in the nuclear space epoch. Pronouncements for a responsible view of the present-day world should be substantiated with real practical deeds to ensure the reliable security of the peoples living in our common European home. That would meet both the interests of the FRG and the aim of bettering relations between the USSR and the FRG, between the East and West of Europe.

The Political Bureau heard a report by Sergei Sokolov on the results of his visit to Finland.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee also examined at its meeting the question of the work of the journal *Kommunist*, and some other home and foreign policy issues. □



# Soviet-West German talks

MOSCOW, July 22, TASS:

EDUARD SHEVARDNADZE, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, had talks on July 21 and 22 with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Deputy Federal Chancellor and Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, who was on an official visit to the USSR at the Soviet Government's invitation.

The main attention at the talks was given to discussing questions of war and peace, the course of the East-West political dialogue, a number of pressing international problems and also the state of and prospects for relations between the USSR and the FRG.

Note was made of the fundamental importance of the conversation between the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachyov, and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, during which an evaluation of the present situation in the world was made and the views of the Soviet leadership on ways of improving the international situation outlined.

Eduard Shevardnadze explained in concrete terms the Soviet Union's position on a wide range of questions, first of all those related to the field of security. A detailed analysis was made of the state of affairs at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms and Hans-Dietrich Genscher's attention was drawn to the concrete steps taken there by the Soviet Union along all directions of the talks and making easier the finding of mutually acceptable agreements. Their attainment would accord not only with the interests of the USSR and the United States, but also of the European countries and countries of the entire world.

The negative attitude to the FRG's par-

icipation in the SDI programme was confirmed in this connection.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher agreed with the pressing necessity of substantial disarmament steps and said that the new Soviet proposals were received with interest in the West. He spoke of the FRG Government's adherence to the policy of peace, its striving to facilitate within the framework of NATO a constructive dialogue with the East and progress at the ongoing talks on arms limitation and reduction.

It was stressed from the Soviet side that the FRG Government had the possibility of making a contribution to the cause of limiting and reducing arms. It could, in particular, say its weighty word in favour of stopping nuclear arms tests, especially in conditions of the operative Soviet moratorium.

The question of medium-range weapons was raised. The situation was such that ridding Europe of this category of arms was not a matter solely for the powers that possessed them but was also a matter for countries on whose territory they were deployed. In the event of a withdrawal of American missiles from the FRG or any other West European country the Soviet Union, naturally, would respond with adequate reductions in its nuclear systems.

Both sides said it was desirable to conclude possibly even this year the work on the convention on banning chemical weapons. It was noted by the Soviet side that the FRG Government, which came out against these weapons, could help prevent the solution of this important question from being placed in jeopardy by the fulfilment of plans to create a dangerous variety of these weapons—binary charges.

When views were exchanged on questions of conventional armaments, Eduard Shevardnadze drew the attention of Hans-Dietrich Genscher to the recent proposals of Warsaw Treaty countries. The hope was expressed that the call that sounded from Budapest would not be left without a constructive answer by the Western side,

including the FRG.

Attaching much importance to the development and intensification of the European process, both sides declared for an effective conclusion of the Stockholm Conference and for a dynamic holding of the Vienna meeting of states participating in the Helsinki conference, and for its being started at the level of foreign ministers.

The ministers set out the approaches of their governments to the Middle East situation, to the situation in southern Africa, to matters of political settlement around Afghanistan, and exchanged opinions on ways of normalising the situation in those areas.

Eduard Shevardnadze emphasised that the Soviet Union's line at stable development of co-operation with the FRG with strict observance of the interests of security of both sides remained unchanged. The FRG's readiness to promote the solution of pressing questions of disarmament and the development of constructive co-operation all over Europe would open new horizons for political dialogue between the USSR and the FRG.

The sides declared for a quest for new promising areas of co-operation in the sphere of the economy, and noted that there were possibilities for interaction between the two countries in creating an international regime of the safety of nuclear energetics, in the sphere of controlled thermonuclear fusion, and in environmental protection.

The sides have signed an intergovernmental agreement on scientific and technological co-operation between the USSR and the FRG and a joint protocol on the establishment of general consulates: by the USSR in Munich and by the FRG in Kiev.

The talks were held in a business-like, constructive atmosphere. Hans-Dietrich Genscher invited Eduard Shevardnadze to make an official visit to the FRG. The invitation was accepted with gratitude. □

## Yevgeni Velikhov's statement on meeting of scientists

MOSCOW, July 24, TASS:

ACADEMICIAN Yevgeni Velikhov, responding to questions put to him by a *Pravda* correspondent, has highly assessed the significance of the Moscow meeting of Scientists to Stop Nuclear Tests.

"Mankind has been nurturing the germ of its own destruction—nuclear weapons—for more than forty years, and talks on ending nuclear explosions and nuclear weapon tests have been going on for more than three decades now," he said. "Concluding a treaty on that problem would be an important step towards survival, but, regrettably, the present American Administration terminated the talks."

"A partial test ban treaty was concluded in 1963, and there were also the threshold test ban and the peaceful nuclear explosions treaties. Although the latter were never ratified by the United States, those measures produced positive results."

"Several important agreements have been concluded over the past 23 years, including the 1972 treaty limiting anti-ballistic missile defences, which is the foundation for the entire further process of restricting nuclear armaments.

"The fact that no agreement was achieved on ending all nuclear tests resulted in several negative consequences. Multiple warheads were designed, the number of the nuclear charges increased ten-fold.

"There emerged tactical nuclear weapons which now threaten mankind in the same way as strategic weapons, and so on.

"Finally, there appeared in the US a so-called ideology of protracted nuclear war. This is, of course, a dubious and dangerous delusion," the Soviet scientist pointed out.

"In view of the present-day international situation, the latest statements made by the American Administration and the developments linked with space arms, it is difficult to forecast which of the treaties signed in the 1970s will continue into the 1990s," Academician Yevgeni Velikhov went on to say. "The scrapping of SALT-2 and the continued nuclear testing may well lead to an unlimited breeding of nuclear warheads. Analysing the US-published plan for the development of its strategic weapons in the next five years we see that their number will grow by approximately 40 to 50 per cent. However, it is not only the quantitative increase that is dangerous (although the build-up of nuclear weapons is dangerous in and of itself). The same goes for the qualitative 'improvement' of nuclear weapons. The main results (of these efforts) is the development of highly accurate weapons, nuclear missiles of the MX type, submarine-launched missiles, and others."

"Thus, if the relevant measures are not taken, the stability of the existing strategic balance will be thoroughly undermined in the next five years."

Academician Velikhov is of the opinion that a treaty on the termination of nuclear testing—a treaty blocking off all roads of the arms race both

on Earth and in space—would become the first step towards preventing the development of events in a direction of what would mean the destruction of mankind.

"This treaty could be accompanied by a series of agreements, the drafts of which have been submitted by the USSR and are currently on the negotiating table in Geneva. This would mark the beginning of the implementation of the January 15, 1986 programme proposed by Mikhail Gorbachyov and leading to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons." □

### New Soviet Booklets

The following are available at the prices indicated:

- Zionism Through the Statements of its Leaders ..... 35p □
- History Condemns Genocide Conducted Under Pol Pot ..... 40p □

Please tick the appropriate box(es) and send cheque/PO to: Soviet Booklets (SN), 3 Rosary Gardens, London, SW7 4NW.

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# Andrei Gromyko receives Uruguayan Foreign Minister

MOSCOW, July 25, TASS:

TODAY Andrei Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received in the Kremlin Enrique Iglesias, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay.

Andrei Gromyko touched upon problems which mankind is encountering approaching the third millennium.

He said that the programme of the Soviet Union's struggle against the danger of war was contained in the decisions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU and in the statements and speeches of Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Setting out the programme, Andrei Gromyko emphasised:

"At a time when the peoples stand for peace and relaxation of tensions, politicians who keep hold of the helm of the policy of confrontation inspire the arms race. It would seem that the need to change one's attitude and to begin to pursue a policy of peace is a truism. However, the inspirers of the arms race press for newer and newer appropriations, as a result of which the

flywheel of the arms race rotates uninterruptedly and at an increasing speed."

Enrique Iglesias stated that the Government of Uruguay supported the Soviet peace initiatives aimed at strengthening peace. He also expressed the determination of the Uruguayan Government to pursue an active foreign policy of developing and strengthening relations with all countries and to support efforts oriented towards limiting the arms race and keeping peace.

On behalf of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Andrei Gromyko conveyed an invitation to President Julio Maria Sanguinetti of Uruguay to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Uruguay said he would tell the President about this invitation with pleasure.

## SOVIET-URUGUAYAN COMMUNIQUE

MOSCOW, July 26, TASS:

THE Soviet Union and the Eastern Republic of Uruguay are convinced that a complete ban on nuclear testing would be a way of restraining the arms race, and therefore they stand for a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty between the nuclear powers.

This was stressed in a joint Soviet-Uruguayan communique issued here today. It has been signed at the end of an official visit to the USSR by Uruguayan Foreign Minister Enrique Iglesias. The visit was at the invitation of the Soviet Government and lasted from July 24 to 27, 1986.

During the visit, Soviet-Uruguayan relations and prospects for their development as well as pressing international problems of mutual interest were discussed.

The Soviet Foreign Minister stressed the significance of the Soviet Union's declaration of a unilateral moratorium on nuclear blasts and its extension till August 6, 1986, as an important step in the interests of peace.

The sides agreed that nuclear testing was a serious obstacle to holding back the arms race and contradicts the ultimate goal of achieving general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

The sides expressed themselves for an early international agreement to ban and destroy chemical weapons.

The sides believe that every effort should be made to step up the discussion of the key problems of disarmament at Soviet-US talks on nuclear and space arms in Geneva, in the United Nations, at the Conference on Disarmament and at other international forums. □

## Eduard Shevardnadze's speech at reception for Enrique Iglesias

MOSCOW, July 25, TASS:

"PEACE and tranquillity in Central America should be ensured by the states of the region themselves with the support of Latin American countries. This can be done best of all within the framework of the Contadora process.

"Legitimate governments should fully exercise their legitimate rights, without the risk of intervention on the part of countries which assume an immoral monopoly on interference in other people's affairs throughout the world." Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, stated today at a luncheon in honour of Enrique Iglesias, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay.

"The talks which have been held", Eduard Shevardnadze pointed out, "have shown that the USSR and Uruguay act from close or similar positions on key issues of war and peace, prevention of a nuclear catastrophe, settlement of regional conflicts exclusively by political means, and in the assertion of the principles of a just economic order. Our two countries' mutual striving to broaden the political dialogue and to promote an improvement of the international situation was reaffirmed as well."

"During the conversations we touched upon a wide range of problems and, naturally, the state of Soviet-US relations, the central element in which is now the question of a new summit meeting."

"We would like a new summit meeting to be a thorough one and to yield long-awaited concrete results," the minister said. "This is practicable if the US side shows reciprocal readiness. And I emphasise: as Mikhail Gorbachyov said, we shall not go to an empty meeting."

### Soviet-Uruguayan talks

Eduard Shevardnadze also held talks today with Enrique Iglesias, who is currently in the USSR on an official visit.

Enrique Iglesias handed over to Eduard Shevardnadze a message addressed to Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, from President Julio Maria Sanguinetti of Uruguay.

The two ministers spoke in favour of co-operation between the USSR and Uruguay with a view to improving the situation in the world, to bringing about an end to the nuclear arms race and achieving real disarmament.

Eduard Shevardnadze explained the essence of the foreign policy initiatives proposed by the USSR. Drawing attention to Mikhail Gorbachyov's January 15 statement, he emphasised that the realisation of the programme for complete elimination of nuclear weapons and of other weapons of mass destruction throughout the world, with the prevention of an arms race in outer space, the establishment of an all-embracing system of international security, as well as the implementation of other measures to limit and reduce arms would signify a fundamental turn for the better in the international situation on a long-term and stable basis.

The Soviet side condemned the actions of the US Administration, which virtually conducts an undeclared war against Nicaragua and interferes in the affairs of the countries of the region.

The two sides declared in support of the Latin American countries' constructive efforts directed towards a just political settlement in Central America on the basis of unconditional ensurance of the right of the peoples of Central America to choose themselves ways for their political and social development.

The unity of views on the need for a restructuring of international economic relations on a fair democratic basis was pointed out.

At the close of the talks Eduard Shevardnadze and Enrique Iglesias signed a Soviet-Uruguayan protocol on consultations, an agreement on cultural and scientific co-operation, and a protocol on the publication of a joint book of documents on relations between the USSR and Uruguay. □

### 27th CPSU CONGRESS

The following booklets are available at the prices shown:

- The 27th CPSU Congress: Discussions and Decisions. A review of documents adopted by the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union .....60p □
- The Soviet course: peace and renovation. The 27th CPSU Congress on the Foreign and Domestic Policy of the USSR .....50p □
- USSR: the Concept of Acceleration in Terms of Plan Targets (on the USSR's further economic and social development) .....40p □

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## Andrei Gromyko meets representatives of the women's movement

MOSCOW, July 23, TASS:

ANDREI GROMYKO, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received prominent figures of the women's anti-war movement in the Kremlin today. They are currently in Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Women's Committee.

In response to the wish expressed by the participants in the conversation, Andrei Gromyko related how the Soviet Union visualises the implementation of the programme, put forward in the January 15 statement of Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, for a stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons by the turn of the century.

"In order to start the process," he said, "it is essential to make the first step, that is, to enter into negotiations with the United States of America. Unfortunately, Washington has not given a positive reply to the Soviet proposals so far."

"Moreover," Andrei Gromyko pointed out, "the US Administration has stated that it intends to abandon further adherence to the major Soviet-US accords: the 1972 ABM Treaty, the 1972

interim agreement (SALT-1) and the 1979 treaty (SALT-2).

"In these conditions", Andrei Gromyko said, "anti-war movements, the women's movement, in particular, could make a substantial contribution to the struggle for peace if they intensify their action in support of the demands for the observance of these important accords."

"Much depends on the vigour of action by those public organisations which hold anti-militarist positions and engage in anti-war

activities, opening people's eyes to who the culprit really is for the dangerous situation which has developed in the world."

Miriam Vire-Tuominen, Laureate of the Lenin International Prize 'For the Strengthening of Peace Among Nations', General Secretary of the Women's International Democratic Federation, pointed out that the women's democratic movement highly appreciated the Soviet Union's policy of peace and supported its peace initiatives everywhere. □

## A new township for Chernobyl

MOSCOW, July 23, TASS:

A NEW township for Chernobyl atomic power plant workers will be built on the bank of the Kiev water reservoir, the newspaper *Pravda* reported today. Zelyony Mys (Green Cape), as the settlement will be known, will have a population of ten thousand.

The plant's operational personnel and construction workers will live at Zelyony Mys, the newspaper's correspondent was told by Alexander Gamanyuk, First Secretary of the Pripyat Town Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. The settlement will be complete with shops, restaurants and medical

institutions. It will also have a cinema, a community centre and a stadium.

By October this year, 7,250 individual houses and 200 consumer service and cultural projects are to be built in several populated localities in the Kiev and the Zhitomir regions.

Six thousand privately-owned houses will be repaired to accommodate families from the Chernobyl district. More than fifty thousand construction workers from all regions of the republic are to build not only houses, community centres and clinics and hospitals, but also electric transmission and communications lines, water pipelines, roads and pavements. □

## CPSU delegation visits People's Yemen

ADEN, July 21, TASS:

TALKS are currently under way between a CPSU delegation led by Ivan Kapitonov, Chairman of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU which is on a visit to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and a delegation of the Yemen Socialist Party led by Ali Salem al-Beidh, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party.

Taking part in the talks are:

From the Soviet side: Yuli Vorontsov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and First Deputy Foreign Minister; Karen Brutents, alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee; Albert Rachkov, USSR Ambassador to the PDRY;

From the South Yemen side: Salim Saleh Muhammad, Deputy General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party; Muhammed Said Abdullah, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party; Abdul Aziz Abdo al-Dali, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party and Foreign Minister; Muhammad Haydar Masdous, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party and First Secretary of the Yemen Socialist Party Committee of Abyan Province; S A Bin Husainun, member of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources;

Abdel Jala Taher Badr, Chairman of the Finance and Auditing Commission of the Yemen Socialist Party, and other officials.

The talks, which are proceeding in a friendly atmosphere, cover questions pertaining to bilateral relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Yemen Socialist Party, the USSR and the PDRY, the international situation and the situation in the Arab world.

The Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party gave a dinner in honour of the CPSU delegation, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere. The delegation laid wreaths at the tombs of those who fell during the events which took place in that country in January this year.

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ADEN, July 23, TASS:

Talks were completed here between a CPSU delegation led by Ivan Kapitonov, Chairman of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU, and a delegation of the Yemen Socialist Party (YSP) led by Ali Salem al-Beidh, General Secretary of the YSP Central Committee.

During the conversations that passed in an atmosphere of comradeship and mutual understanding, the representatives of the CPSU and the YSP exchanged information about the domestic and foreign policies of both parties and discussed ways for developing friendly relations between the CPSU and the YSP, the Soviet Union and Democratic Yemen.

The sides noted with satisfaction the fruitful character of those relations and expressed the striving for the further development of Soviet-South Yemeni co-operation in various fields.

The sides discussed the present international situation, putting special emphasis on the situation in the Middle East, and touched upon some other issues of mutual interest.

The talks reaffirmed the identity of positions of the CPSU and the YSP on most important international problems and the unity of their views on matters related to the struggle for international peace and security.

The South Yemeni leaders stated full support for the peaceful policy of the CPSU and for the Soviet peace initiatives which are in line with the vital interests of nations.

The Soviet side took note of the great importance of the work carried out by the Yemen Socialist Party and its leadership with a view to strengthening the progressive regime in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, enhancing the leading role of the party in the country, dealing with the consequences of the January events and normalising the situation in the country.

The importance of a consistent and unswerving implementation of the law on amnesty and of other measures taken by the leadership of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen with a view to consolidating the ranks of the party and rallying the people on the basis of its programme documents was emphasised.

South Yemeni leaders stated that the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen will unswervingly pursue a peaceful anti-imperialist foreign policy and will consistently strive for preserving and developing good relations with all countries of the region, including the neighbouring states, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and non-intervention in the internal affairs of each other.

The Soviet side expressed support for such a policy.

The CPSU delegation reiterated the earlier invitation for a party and government delegation of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen led by Ali Salem al-Beidh, General Secretary of the YSP Central Committee, to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union. □

# Developing Siberia's energy resources

By Academician Andrei Trofimuk, Director of the Institute of Geology and Geophysics, Vice-President of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences

SIBERIA is boosting national oil, gas and coal production. Of the increment in oil and gas output it accounts for 100 and 90 per cent respectively. By the end of the current five-year plan period (1986-1990) Western Siberia is expected to raise its oil output to two-thirds of the national.

Meanwhile, the national economy in general and the mining industry in particular are oriented today towards energy-saving technologies. There is a special programme developed for the West Siberian energy industry which aims at improving the quality of the industry's products. To this end we have been intensifying prospecting for geological formations which cut brighter profile.

The problems we face in this work are considerable. While continuing to tap the deposits of the Cretaceous period, in which the recovery is nearing its peak level, we also have to start probing the Jurassic system of rocks, which is a much costlier job.

In our work we rely heavily on theoretical calculations and practical geological and geophysical information obtained by remote sensing from outer space. The multi-wave seismic prospecting method we use now sums up information produced by reflected, refracted and longitudinal waves, giving us for the first time ever an opportunity to specify not only the geometry, but also the nature of geological structures, and to establish the pattern of hydrocarbon-water distribution in them. In other words, the new method guarantees a qualitative and quantitative assessment of a reservoir. After a series of successful trials the new method has been accepted for application in Western and Eastern Siberia.

We have already determined the prospecting

directions which show the highest promise. However, only an insignificant share of our forecast has been verified so far.

We expected unusually rich deposits inside the Khanty-Mansi block in Western Siberia. One of the deposits established in that region was exactly what we expected it to be. This has encouraged us to look harder for similar deposits.

In Western Siberia geologists discovered ancient grooves which, in theory, should be rich in hydrocarbons. Using new exploratory techniques they hit extensive sandstone fields bearing rich deposits.

Unfortunately, wells have to be drilled to a depth of up to 5,000 metres, and this considerably increases the production costs. But all these expenses are justified if a well yields invaluable primaries at double the rate.

The most important task in Eastern Siberia is to prepare a sound oil base. Theoretical research suggested the existence of commercial reserves of oil and natural gas in these parts.

It has been rumoured in the West for some time now that in a short while the Soviet Union will have to import oil. I am convinced that, scientifically, these statements hold no water. There is geological information which says that Western Siberia has sufficient hydrocarbon reserves to last throughout this century and beyond.

The production of natural gas will be growing much faster than that of oil. Within this five-year period (1986-1990) the share of gas in the national fuel-and-energy pattern will increase by 38 per cent.

The most important coal industry projects are Kuzbass and the Kansk-Achinsk fuel-and-energy complex (KATEK). Kuzbass has estimated coal reserves in excess of 700 billion tons. It is the supplier of the USSR's cheapest top-quality energy- and technological-grade coal. A large

number of local coal beds are available for open-cast mining technology which, being several times cheaper than the conventional mining method, is a principal means of intensifying coal production and reducing production costs.

The method of hydraulic mining, which demonstrated its efficiency during the pilot exploitation period in Kuzbass and at KATEK, has been recommended for broad-scale application. It is two to three times cheaper than conventional mining technology. We are planning to transport all the mined coal by pipelines instead of rail. The first coal pipeline is now being laid from Kuzbass to Novosibirsk. We are also thinking of using the same method for long-haul transportation.

The Institute of Coal set up in Kuzbass has been actively involved in the problem of underground gassification. There are coal beds in the region which cannot be worked by the open-cast or conventional method for economic reasons. Under the method of underground coal gassification two wells are drilled into a bed. One of them delivers air to the bed which is set afire. The other well delivers the products of combustion to the surface. The only thing required is to connect both wells by an air duct. This was an unattainable task until we developed a hydroburst technique. Liquid is pumped down the well, building up pressure until cracks appear in the bed connecting both wells. Using this technique it will be possible to create a network of connecting wells throughout the field to ensure control over the gassification process.

Kuzbass will be turning out gas for the needs of thermal, power and chemical industries.

For the Kansk-Achinsk coal basin we are planning to develop a wasteless technology capable of processing the entire 600 billions of estimated reserves of brown coal. It will include new processing technologies for coal and new methods of its utilisation for the needs of the power industry. This technology capable of handling a million tons of coal a day will convert a considerable part of that raw material into liquid hydrocarbons, such as petrol, kerosene, diesel fuel and so on. Our policy here is to make the maximum use of all available resources, wasting not a single gram of the primaries.

(Novosti Press Agency, July 2, 1986) □

## SOVIET-CHINESE TALKS

PEKING, July 25, TASS:

Soviet-Chinese consultations have been held here on the problem of the prevention of the arms race in space and on other disarmament problems, in the course of which the sides set forth their stands. The exchange of views was held in a business-like and frank atmosphere and promoted a better understanding of the positions and views of each other.

From the Soviet side the consultations were attended by Viktor Karpov, head of the Arms Limitation and Disarmament Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and from the Chinese side—by Li Daoyu, head of the Department of International Organisations and Conferences of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China.

The Soviet representative was received by Zhou Nan, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of China.

MOSCOW, July 29, TASS:

Boris Aristov, Minister of Foreign Trade of the USSR, received Jia Shi, President of the Chinese Council for the Promotion of International Commerce, who has been visiting the Soviet capital in connection with a trade and economic exhibition of the Chinese People's Republic, inaugurated in Moscow a few days ago.

During the meeting Boris Aristov and Jia Shi noted with satisfaction the positive results achieved in mutual trade in recent times.

They also discussed ways for expanding commercial and economic ties between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic, and emphasised the importance of the exhibitions of both countries held in Moscow and Peking this year.

Li Zewang, Ambassador of the Chinese People's Republic to the USSR, attended the meeting. □

## Soviet-Canadian conversation

OTTAWA, July 25, TASS:

By Artyom Melikyan, TASS correspondent:

CANADA'S Deputy Prime Minister Donald Mazankowski on July 24 received Alexander Bessmertnykh, Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR.

During the conversation the sides discussed the Soviet Union's latest disarmament initiatives and the situation at various international forums which are discussing questions of limiting and restricting armaments and promoting confidence-building measures.

Soviet-Canadian consultations on questions of disarmament and arms control were held at the Canadian Foreign Ministry on the same day. They were attended by Alan Sullivan, Deputy Foreign Minister, and officials from the Canadian Foreign and Defence Ministries.

A conversation was also held between Alexander Bessmertnykh and James Taylor, First Deputy Foreign Minister of Canada, on topical aspects of the further development of Soviet-Canadian relations. □

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