

## Mikhail Gorbachev's interview with Indonesian newspaper

*On July 21, Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received in the Kremlin Burhanuddin Mohammad Diah, publisher and editor-in-chief of the Indonesian newspaper Merdeka, and handed to him the replies to this newspaper's questions. Mikhail Gorbachev and Burhanuddin Mohammad Diah had a lively conversation. Its contents follow below.*

**Gorbachev:** I am glad to meet you, Mr. Diah. I have heard a lot about your activity. You have been engaged in journalism for already more than one decade.

**Diah:** I am happy to meet you, Mr. General Secretary. It is a great honour for me. Indeed, I have been working in the world of journalism for 50 years now.

**Gorbachev:** This is a vast experience. And experience is not an excessive weight, especially if it is used correctly. In our country, we are now accomplishing new tasks. And at this stage of development, we constantly enrich ourselves with experience, the lessons of history.

**Diah:** We pay much attention to your speeches, those processes which are under way in the Soviet Union.

**Gorbachev:** Thank you. Did our words 'perestroika' and 'glasnost' reach you? Can they be translated into the Indonesian language?

**Diah:** These words are well known in our country and they do not need translation.

**Gorbachev:** Handing to you the written replies to the questions, I would like to attend them with small, but to my view, essential remarks. I am grateful to you and the editorial board of your newspaper that you paid attention to the coming anniversary of my speech in Vladivostok. The Soviet leadership attaches great significance to what was said in Vladivostok. We tried then to formulate our policy towards the vast region, the region where hundreds of millions of people live. In so doing, we hoped for an appropriate understanding of our policy.

I regard the questions which you put as evidence of the fact that Indonesian society shows interest in our policy, our evaluations of the state of affairs in the Asian-Pacific region, in our reflections on the future of this region in the context of world politics.

My remarks in view of this amount to the following.

We tried to take a look at the modern world from strictly scientific, realistic positions. The analysis made led us to a new vision of the world, to the new policy which we proclaimed at our Party Congress.

The analysis helped us to see also the realities that characterise the present-day world. And this world differs significantly from the one it was 30 to 40 years ago.

First and foremost, the enormous stockpiles of nuclear weapons amassed in the world put in peril human civilisation. This is a reality with which one cannot fail to reckon. More, a correct evaluation of this reality prompts one to conclude that the problems of world politics cannot be solved in a military way today. This path would be fraught with unpredictable consequences. It means that corrections should be made in perceptions of the world, in the policy of states.

The problems existing in the world call for the pooling of the efforts of all states. And, in general, if we look at progress in science and technology. It brings us increasingly closer, binds us firmer than ever before.

We depend more and more on each other, become needed by each other.

**Diah:** As I remember, you expressed the same idea in your speech in Vladivostok.

**Gorbachev:** I just want to say that we made our views of the modern world the basis of the Vladivostok speech.

I deliberately did not mention it at the beginning of our talk so as to throw a bridge to the next part of my reflections. I mean that the emergence on the international scene of scores of states which embarked on the path of independent development is one of the realities of this world. This is an enormous world with its vast interests and great accumulated problems.

**Diah:** I am happy to hear directly from you what you were talking about during the official visit to India, at the Moscow forum "For a Non-Nuclear World, for Mankind's Survival", and also in your speech in Vladivostok.

**Gorbachev:** I think that these matters should be talked about until they catch up with politicians and, moreover, are reflected in the real policies of states. The point at issue is that international relations cannot currently be built without regard for the interests of all states. There should be a balance of interests. This balance and it alone leads to sensible policy. This is exactly what I wanted to say in the Vladivostok speech.

**Diah:** It seems to me that in Vladivostok you gave one more lesson to the world. You emphasised that the Soviet Union alone is unable to tackle all these problems. The contribution by other Asian states, among them China, India and Indonesia, is necessary. I believe that this is a very subtle remark and is up to the point.

**Gorbachev:** I welcome this evaluation of yours of this speech. We do not claim anything more than to build in co-operation with all states of the Asia-Pacific region new international relations which would be consistent with the realities of the modern world.

Moreover, in listing the states of the region, you failed to mention the United States. And we

hope for co-operation with this country as well. Although, on the part of the United States we hear time and again allegations to the effect that the USSR undertakes actions which pose a threat to the states in this region. But this is absurd. We invite all states, and this was said in Vladivostok, to co-operate in the Asia-Pacific region in the interests of peace and mutual understanding.

In my replies to your questions I tried to dispel any suspicions towards the Soviet Union's policy in this direction. We aspire for co-operation with the countries of this region and to substantiate our words, our political statements, I made new concrete proposals in my replies. A statement has been made, in part, about such a major step as abolishing all our medium-range missiles in the Asian part of the USSR. Certainly, on the basis of the "global zero" with the United States.

I feel that my intentions to restrict myself to several succinct remarks are outgrowing into a second interview.

**Diah:** We are sincerely glad to have this meeting, Mr. General Secretary. For me personally, it crowns all the 50 years of my activity as a journalist.

**Gorbachev:** Thank you. I am happy to take part in this coronation.

**Diah:** There is one more question which I would like to put to you. Within the framework of the ideas which you aired in Vladivostok, is there an opportunity for you to arrive in Indonesia some time?

**Gorbachev:** We have long-standing relations with Indonesia. And traditions of these relations have formed. Certainly, there were ups and downs. But we value ties with Indonesia. We hope that progress which became manifest in our relations lately will be growing. And this will call for contacts, among them, certainly, at the political level. Probably, they will be both possible and necessary. For the present, however, we are awaiting the visit by the President of Indonesia.

**Diah:** I am sincerely grateful to you for this meeting, for your replies.

**Gorbachev:** Thank you for co-operation. I wish you a fruitful and interesting stay in our country. I hope to meet you again.

*Here follows the full text of answers given by Mikhail Gorbachev to the questions of the Indonesian newspaper Merdeka:*

**Merdeka:** It will soon be one year since you made your Vladivostok speech in which you put forward wide-ranging proposals on the strengthening of peace and security in Asia and the Pacific. Since then many developments have taken place in that vast region. Do you see any positive trends in those developments?

**Gorbachev:** I could give you my answer right away — yes, I do.

The year that has passed, its main events, including our talks with India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, have strengthened our belief that

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raising the questions pertaining to security in Asia and the Pacific was timely and correct. Our approach to the search for their solution, which is open for democratic discussion of any ideas or proposals, has also been justified.

What do we see now, after one year? Despite all the complexity and motley design of the Asian and Pacific tableau and the uneven distribution of bright and dark colours in it, the essentially anti-nuclear make-up of the general picture is obvious.

Here are some of its elements: the South Pacific Forum put together the Rarotonga Treaty, Indonesia is actively promoting a concept of making South-East Asia a nuclear-free zone, Australia and New Zealand, with the broad support of the world public, strongly oppose French nuclear testing in the Pacific. The voices demanding the removal of nuclear weapons from the Korean peninsula are becoming stronger. In many countries entire communities, cities, declare themselves nuclear-free zones. We have instances when whole countries have taken this position. The Philippines and some other states incorporated anti-nuclear provisions into their basic laws. The People's Republic of China is becoming more active in making known its position on disarmament problems.

In connection with the negotiations between the USSR and the United States, the countries of Asia expressed their interest in seeing medium-range missiles completely eliminated not only in Europe, but in Asia as well. They view this issue in the context of their own national security.

The Soviet leadership has considered these wishes with all seriousness and responsibility.

I can now tell you that in an effort to accommodate the Asian countries and take into account their concerns, the Soviet Union is prepared to agree to eliminate all of its medium-range missiles in the Asian part of the country as well, that is it is prepared to remove the question of retaining those 100 warheads on medium-range missiles which are being discussed with the Americans at the negotiations in Geneva, provided, of course, that the United States does the same. Shorter-range missiles will also be eliminated.

In other words, we will proceed from the concept of a "global double zero".

We do not link this initiative in this case with the US nuclear presence in Korea, the Philippines, on Diego Garcia. We would like to hope, though, that it, at least, will not grow.

**Merdeka:** We are aware that negative trends have also been developing in Asia and the Pacific. What could you say on this subject?

**Gorbachev:** I have already mentioned some of them. Complexities and contradictions have not become fewer, confrontational trends grow, indication of the settlement of regional conflicts is still very weak. And in the Persian Gulf the conflict is becoming even more acute.

In my Vladivostok speech I named the reasons for this and enumerated specific painful points that create constant threat.

Now there are additional points: refusal by the United States, Great Britain and France to become parties to the Rarotonga Treaty and American "warnings" to the states that do not want to tolerate nuclear weapons either on their territory or off their shores.

**Merdeka:** Which measures aimed at reducing tension in Asia and the Pacific do you see as the most timely and realistic?

**Gorbachev:** First of all, one has to point over and over again to nuclear weapons.

Eighteen months ago we put forward a programme for a phased and complete elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere by the year 2000. The programme made possible a conceptual breakthrough at the Soviet-American summit meeting in Reykjavik, when for the first time ever people saw the prospect of a nuclear-free world.

Attempts were made to close that prospect. We did not agree to that. We put forward additional initiatives that made it possible to put on a practical plane preparatory work for an agreement on medium-range missiles and shorter-range missiles.

I have just made known our new step directly related to the region of Asia and the Pacific.

I will refer now to several other possible measures.

First. The Soviet Union is prepared to assume an obligation not to increase the number of its nuclear-capable aircraft in the Asian part of the country, provided the United States does not deploy in that region, additionally, nuclear systems capable of reaching the territory of the Soviet Union.

Second. I reiterate our readiness for reducing the activities of the naval fleets of the USSR and the United States in the Pacific. I spoke of it in Vladivostok. But the United States has given no response. Yet, it is obvious that the confrontation line there goes through contact areas between the fleets. Hence, the risk of conflicts.

We could agree to restrict the areas where naval vessels carrying nuclear weapons move so that they would not be able to approach the coastline of the other side within range of their on-board nuclear systems.

We could agree to curb the rivalry in anti-submarine warfare systems, ban ASW activities, including air ASW activities, in specified zones.

Confidence would be enhanced by limitation of the scale of naval exercises or manoeuvres in the Pacific and the Indian Ocean and in the adjoining seas: no more than one to two major naval (including naval aviation) exercises or manoeuvres annually, prior notification of their conduct, mutual renunciation of naval exercises or manoeuvres in international straits and adjoining areas, and of the use of combat weapons in the course of exercises in the areas of traditional navigation.

This "model" could first be tested in the northern Pacific where there are few "actors", and then this practice could be extended to cover the southern part of the Pacific Ocean, other countries of the region.

Third. The United Nations adopted the declaration on making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace more than 15 years ago. For a number of years, preparatory work has been going on to convene, under the aegis of the United Nations, an international conference on the Indian Ocean. It is now scheduled for 1988. However, we still cannot be sure that it will take place, for experience shows that as soon as the talks begin to make progress Washington foils them.

It is time that we lay down international guarantees for safe navigation in the Indian Ocean and in its seas, straits and gulfs. Another pending question concerns the safety of air traffic, which, we are convinced, can also be resolved, given political will. There is also the vital question of taking collective measures against terrorism regarding sea lanes and air traffic in the Indian Ocean.

In short, there are many useful things that could be done to strengthen security in the Indian Ocean.

Fourth. The question of nuclear tests is a special one. Mankind has not forgotten that the first tests of US atomic weapons were conducted after World War II in the Pacific. Those tests took away the health and even lives of many inhabitants of the area. And we understand the reason for the strong feelings of indignation caused here by the refusal of the United States, Britain and France to cease their nuclear tests.

We appreciate the support given by the countries of Asia and the Pacific to the Soviet moratorium. We have not given up our effort to ban nuclear testing and will persistently seek a full-scale agreement.

We highly value our interaction with the countries of Asia and the Pacific which participate in the Geneva conference on disarmament. Today, the conference is going through a crucial stage in discussing the subject of prohibiting and eliminating chemical weapons. We hope that through joint efforts we shall be able to elaborate and adopt an historic convention which, I am confident, will generate momentum towards nuclear disarmament as well.

It would seem that other measures to reduce military tensions in Asia and the Pacific, which could come from the countries located in the region, are also possible. Their distinctive philosophic, political and cultural peculiarities may prompt unusual ideas in this regard which would be understandable and acceptable to all.

**Merdeka:** In your Vladivostok speech you outlined an objective, however remote, of convening a Pacific conference, patterned after the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Co-operation, to be attended by all countries gravitating towards the ocean. The reaction to the idea in the countries of Asia and the Pacific has been mixed. What is your approach to this question today?

**Gorbachev:** In Vladivostok I suggested a sort of a working hypothesis or, better to say, an invitation to discussion. And the only reason I referred to Helsinki is that so far the world community has had no other experience of the kind. This does not mean, of course, that the European experience can be automatically transplanted to Asia and the Pacific.

However, at present any international experiment contains global features that are common to all mankind. This is only natural, as we live in an interdependent and largely integral world.

Take, for instance, the Delhi Declaration on principles of a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world. It represents an entirely new example of political and philosophic approaches to the fundamental problems of interstate relationship. This document transcends bilateral or regional frameworks, since it embodies the aspirations of all humanity, although it is the result of the development of relations between the two countries.

Relations between the USSR and India can be called exemplary in many respects: in the substantive diversity of their political, economic, scientific, technological, and cultural content, in the profound mutual respect and sympathy between the peoples of the two countries, and in the tone reflecting mutual trust combined with the profound reciprocal need for friendship.

Why have such top quality relations become possible between India and the Soviet Union, i.e. states with different social and political systems? It is because both countries build their policies — and not in words but in deeds — on the principles of sovereignty, equality, non-interference in internal affairs, co-operation, and recognition for every nation of its freedom to choose its own political system and forms of social development.

That is why we proudly say that the Soviet Union and India are setting an example of interstate relations of such value that they can become an appealing example for others.

The Indian Festival, now under way in the USSR, which is unique in its scope and is permeated with the ideals of peace and the good, as well as the forthcoming Soviet Festival in India, embody the present and the future of precisely such relations between our states and our peoples.

**Merdeka:** To pass on to regional conflicts, could you elaborate on the subject?

**Gorbachev:** This question is a big and complicated one. Every regional conflict has its own roots, its own, so to say, "medical record", and its own specific remedy.

I shall try to demonstrate this, taking as

an example Afghanistan where the policy of national reconciliation consistently pursued by the Afghan leadership is gradually changing the situation in that country. Entire groups of rebels give up fighting, refugees return to their abandoned homes. The number of those who may have come back would have been much greater but for the obstacles created by the authorities of Pakistan and Iran to refugees. The idea has been put forward of forming a coalition government with a division of power among all the forces which stand for, or are prepared to stand for, internal peace, for stopping bloodshed. The law has been enacted allowing the activities of political parties. A new draft constitution of the country is to be proposed for a nationwide discussion.

All this creates conditions for peace in Afghanistan. Ignoring this means unwillingness to solve the Afghan problem.

National reconciliation in Afghanistan is, certainly, a matter for the Afghans themselves, including those who found themselves outside Afghan borders. What is required here is dialogue, negotiations, greater trust between the parties to the conflict.

In principle, Soviet troops withdrawal from Afghanistan has been decided upon. We favour a short timeframe for the withdrawal. However, interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan must be stopped and its non-resumption must be guaranteed.

Now, the Kampuchean problem. There seem to be some promising indications of a possible settlement. It is now understood that this problem can be solved only by political means. A specific date for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops has been announced and we are confident it will be respected. And, in our opinion, the most important thing is that the idea of national reconciliation slowly but surely is making headway. Here as well, dialogue must prevail over confrontation, and here, too, a coalition of national forces is possible.

In saying this, I have in mind that the ASEAN countries, too, can greatly contribute to the unfolding process. We are aware of the initiatives taken by Indonesia and some other countries, and we welcome them.

We support the policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at peaceful reunification of the country, and at the elimination of military tension. We also understand the desire of the people of South Korea to rid themselves of foreign troops and military bases along with nuclear weapons.

As to the Iran-Iraq war. It has long ceased to be a bilateral matter. The escalation of the bloody carnage has come to constitute a challenge to the world community and its ability to check developments which are particularly dangerous for the entire world. The UN Security Council adopted a resolution demanding a cease-fire and an end to all military actions, as well as a withdrawal of the troops of Iran and Iraq to the internationally recognised borders. We voted for this resolution.

We have, of late, formally stated our assessment of the situation in the Persian Gulf and the reasons for its aggravation.

I would only say that with regard to this problem as well, measures to defuse the situation could be taken, provided there is a desire to do so. We do have such a desire.

While trying to extinguish all the raging fires, it is necessary to prevent new fires from breaking out or flaring up. I have in mind the aggravation of the situation in connection with the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. It is good that the countries concerned exercise the necessary restraint, which cannot be said, unfortunately, about some whose considerable geographical distance from the hotbed of the conflict is in inverse proportion to their clearly instigative activities.

**Merdeka:** Everybody understands only too well how important for international peace and

security, especially in Asia, Soviet-Chinese relations are. How are they developing now?

**Gorbachev:** Our relations with the People's Republic of China are becoming characterised by progressively broader contacts. A noticeable shift has taken shape in the development of trade, economic, scientific, technological, and cultural ties, and all those fields harbour great potential. Political dialogue is also under way. It is not our intention to constrain it. Consultations take place, negotiations on border issues have resumed.

Both nuclear powers in Asia — the USSR and the People's Republic of China — have undertaken never to be the first to use nuclear weapons. The question of whether or not a similar undertaking will finally be assumed by other nuclear powers cannot leave the countries of Asia and the Pacific indifferent.

**Merdeka:** How do you assess the development of relations between the Soviet Union and Japan?

**Gorbachev:** The state of these relations is not quite certain as of now. In recent years efforts have been made to impart an impetus to them, to establish a normal climate in those relations. For that, in our view, both sides have incentives, and not just of an economic nature. The Soviet Union and Japan could develop a serious and solid partnership which, I am convinced, would also become a significant factor of stability for the overall situation in Asia and the Pacific.

Not so long ago a gleam of hope appeared in our relations, the question of my visit to Japan even came under discussion. And I have the inner disposition to visit this remarkable country that plays a great role in world economy and an increasingly noticeable role in international relations. However, certain forces in Japan managed again to bring clouds which obscured the horizon.

**Merdeka:** How do you see the role of the USSR in the development of regional economic co-operation?

**Gorbachev:** Normal economic contacts must and can develop on the basis of healthy, civilised relations of any and every kind, whether political, diplomatic or simply human. Unfortunately, more than once we ran into a situation where our desire to establish good relations, or even nothing more than diplomatic and trade relations with a particular country in the region, was immediately qualified as insidious political intrigues. Sometimes, heavy artillery of political pressure is employed in attempts to intimidate the governments and the public of small states that are still learning to stand firmly on their feet.

Try to imagine that the Soviet Union were to protest against the United States or Britain establishing normal relations with the island states of the Pacific or some other states.

But that is absurd: we have never done and will never do this. We do not build our relations with anyone at the expense of the interests of third countries. The best and the only solid basis for international relations is equality, mutual respect, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual benefit. These very objectives will be served by the Soviet Committee for Asian and Pacific Economic Co-operation which is being set up in this country.

I would also like to state the following. In accordance with the concept of the accelerated socio-economic development of our country, and particularly after the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee last June, we are paying increased attention to our territories beyond the Urals, whose economic potential is several times greater than the assets of the European part of the Soviet Union.

Joint firms and enterprises set up in co-operation with business circles of the countries of Asia and the Pacific could participate in tapping the rich resources of these areas.

We view international economic security as

being an organic part of the concept of universal security. An analysis of the existing possibilities has convinced us that this goal can best be achieved through implementation of the "disarmament for development" principle.

What we can do now is to implement a programme of immediate action to ease the debt burden of the developing world. Its elements may include resumption of the net inflow of financial resources to the developing countries and the fullest possible protection of the international credit system from abuse by private banks. We feel this can be accomplished by increasing the volume of intergovernmental aid to these countries on easy terms.

**Merdeka:** In conclusion, I would like to know what you think about Soviet-Indonesian relations and Indonesia's role in contemporary international affairs.

**Gorbachev:** Although we are separated by vast distances, Soviet people have a good memory and a sharp historical vision. We remember the years of Soviet-Indonesian co-operation in the initial stages of your post-colonial history. At that time, having won independence your people made a lot of friends in the Soviet Union. The word "merdeka" or "freedom" which is the name of your newspaper, is a word we most dearly and highly cherish.

The progress now discernible in relations between our two countries, high-level contacts we have had, a planned visit to this country by Mr Suharto, President of Indonesia, and the coming meetings with Dr Kusumaatmadja, Minister of Foreign Affairs — all this leads us to believe that Soviet-Indonesian co-operation will enter a qualitatively new stage.

The role played by Indonesia, a dynamically developing state, a Non-Aligned Movement and ASEAN member actively promoting the solution of many world and regional problems, will, we are sure, continue to grow. We believe that Indonesia's voice as one of the world's biggest nations having the fifth largest population will continue to sound loudly in international affairs.

Both you and us realise the need to curb the arms race and to ensure international security, in particular in Asia and the Pacific. Likewise, we believe that extension of the arms race to space is inadmissible. We have given the Indonesian leadership an extensive and detailed information about the dire consequences that the erosion of the ABM Treaty would have for the cause of peace.

On most key aspects the positions of the Soviet Union and Indonesia are identical. All this constitutes a solid basis for all-round mutually advantageous contacts both on a bilateral basis and within ASEAN. There exists a vast potential for that. Is this not evident from the prospects for Soviet-Indonesian co-operation in peaceful space exploration?

I would like to take this opportunity to express on behalf of the Soviet leadership and the Soviet people our sincere respect for the Republic of Indonesia and the Indonesian people and to convey to them our cordial greetings and best wishes. □

## Mikhail Gorbachev

### Speech in Vladivostok

July 1986

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# Mikhail Gorbachev opens conference at Central Committee

THE processes of the restructuring deeply affect all facets of our social life, they have been dynamic also in the economy, Mikhail Gorbachev said opening a conference at the CPSU Central Committee on July 24. The conference examined progress in the implementation of the programme to modernise Soviet engineering in the light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the June 1987 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

The June plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and its decisions have actually finalised the work to build a model of socialism's economy corresponding to the present-day stage of the country's development, Mikhail Gorbachev said.

The accomplishment of everything that has been planned will be determined by the solution of two pivotal issues — by introducing on a wide scale new economic mechanism and by expediting scientific and technical progress.

Certainly, the use of these key levers for advancing the economy should be coupled with the efforts to enhance the role of the human factor. Then the success of the undertaking will be assured.

Sweeping qualitative transformations will be required in all branches of the national economy, Mikhail Gorbachev went on. For all that, however, fully realising this, we give priority to mechanical engineering. Its development at a priority rate is the basis for swiftly renewing the country's production apparatus, for materialising scientific ideas, attaining high stable economic and national income growth rates, and coming to grips with social problems.

An in-depth analysis was made of the state of affairs in mechanical engineering and a detailed programme for its modernisation was worked out ahead of the June plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The plenum of the Central Committee endorsed this programme.

## Mikhail Gorbachev's message to cosmonauts

ON July 24 Mikhail Gorbachev warmly congratulated cosmonauts Yuri Romanenko, Alexander Laveikin, Alexander Vikorenko, Alexander Alexandrov and Mohammed Faris on the successful beginning of joint work aboard the orbital research and experimentation complex Mir-Soyuz.

"Your mission," said a telegram from the Soviet leader, "is a reflection of the developing ties in the scientific field — a qualitatively new step in multi-faceted and fruitful co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Syrian Arab Republic. It vividly demonstrates the peaceful purposes of our co-operation in the exploration of space and will become an illustrious episode in the history of the development and consolidation of Soviet-Syrian friendship."

Mikhail Gorbachev expressed the conviction that the cosmonauts will live up "to the lofty trust put in them by their nations" and fulfil "an honorary and responsible task in carrying out the programme of joint research and experiments which are of major scientific and economic importance."

Mikhail Gorbachev wished the cosmonauts successful work and a safe journey back to Earth. □

Its essence is in taking the industry by the parameters of critical machines, equipment and instruments to the highest world standards in the next six to seven years, in creating in the sectors a highly effective and mobile scientific and production potential capable of satisfying the requirements of the national economy in modern machinery. The goals and tasks are, plainly speaking, unprecedented in the history of Soviet industry, Mikhail Gorbachev noted.

Mikhail Gorbachev noted that things were looking up with machine builders. There is an accretion both in work and in efficiency. And still concern does not abandon the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and the Government that the realisation of the mechanical engineering modernisation programme is proceeding not the way and not everywhere as it is called for by the course of acceleration.

Take renovation of output. This year's plan for this key indicator is 7.6 per cent but the industry fulfilled it only by 4.3 per cent in the first half of the year. Machine-building ministries do not fulfil the state plan for advancing science and technology.

The assignments for mastering the key types of new-generation machines and equipment were met only by 80 per cent and for applying advanced technologies — by 93 per cent in January-June. The targets included in scientific and technical programmes were met only by 84 per cent.

In view of this, it is apt to talk about branch science. Its potential in mechanical engineering is enormous — some 700 institutes and design bureaus employing more than 400,000 people. A creative atmosphere is being vigorously asserted in a number of collectives, orientation to the medium level of development projects and imitation of the West are becoming a matter of the past. But for all this, the situation in the

branch science on the whole remains unfavourable as yet. This is one of the acute issues of revamping mechanical engineering today.

Mikhail Gorbachev then dwelt on the issue of renovating the fixed assets in machine-building and, first and foremost, their active part. He drew attention to the need to effect special measures to boost the output and raise the technical standard of equipment for the light and food branches of the industry. Falling behind even slightly here is inadmissible, since all this is most directly linked with raising the people's welfare, preserving farm produce, increasing national income and trade in the country.

Challenging tasks face primary mechanical engineering and especially machine-tool building. The expected turn is absent here for the present. But if there is no progress in machine-tool building, if it fails to produce in the necessary amounts modern equipment which raises many times worker productivity, then progress in all other branches can be slowed down.

One conclusion can be drawn: machine-building should be taken out of the period of malfunctions and lags as soon as possible. No drawing back from the devised programme for its advancement is admissible. There will be no turning back. The point at issue is, primarily, steadily building up the output of modern generations of machines, whole systems of machines to ensure technological breakthroughs in production and its re-equipment on the latest footing.

Summing up the results of the conference, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed one more time that the task of attaining the highest world standard in the production of machines, equipment and instruments is the pivotal task of mechanical engineering. This is the task of the whole state, of the whole Party. And we should and must accomplish it, he said. □

## Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with Heng Samrin

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV on July 28 had a meeting with Heng Samrin, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party (PRP) of Kampuchea and President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. He is staying in the Soviet Union on holiday.

During the meeting the sides reaffirmed the mutual striving for expanding and deepening relations between the CPSU and the PRP and considered ways for the further development of Soviet-Kampuchean relations in the political, economic and cultural fields.

Heng Samrin informed Mikhail Gorbachev of the situation in Kampuchea and around it. The country has achieved tangible results in overcoming the consequences of Pol Pot's genocide and in building a new life. The threat of famine no longer exists, agriculture and industry are developing. Much has been done for the revival of the cultural and intellectual life of the people.

For several decades the Kampuchean people was living under trying conditions, Heng Samrin said. This is why peace is its cherished wish. Motivated by the feeling of goodwill and responsibility for the future of the country, the People's Revolutionary Party and the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea have decided to embark on a course

toward a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem through national reconciliation. For that purpose they are ready to open a dialogue with all opposing groupings and their leaders, excluding Pol Pot and his closest henchmen who are guilty of grave crimes against their own people.

On behalf of the Kampuchean leadership Heng Samrin expressed deep gratitude to the CPSU and the Soviet Union for the assistance in the cause of national rehabilitation and the construction of a new society in the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

Mikhail Gorbachev noted with satisfaction the identity of views and appraisals of the USSR and the PRK as regards the development of the situation related to Kampuchea.

The Soviet Union solidarises with the PRK Government's course toward national reconciliation which is in line with the aspirations of the Kampuchean people.

In our opinion favourable conditions have emerged for advancing the cause of Kampuchean settlement. This is promoted, among other things, by the gradually growing awareness in the region that the problem can be solved only by political means. The right of the Kampuchean people to independence and sovereignty, the right to deal with its own affairs without interference from outside is broadly recognised. The conviction of the world public is becoming

(continued on page 279)

# USSR Foreign Ministry Statement

*Here follows the full text of a statement by the USSR Foreign Ministry:*

THE Soviet Union's national technical means of verification have registered the putting on operational standby of a new major US "Pave Paws" phased-array radar station, made operational at Thule, Greenland, which, as the US side admits, is a missile-attack warning radar station.

The Soviet Union views these actions of the US Administration as a direct violation of the termless Soviet-US treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems (ABM) of 1972 which is the basis for maintaining strategic balance, and the foundation for strategic offensive arms limitation and reduction.

The ABM treaty strictly limits the deployment of new missile attack warning radar stations to the periphery of the national territory of either side. The "argument" put forward by Washington that it is allegedly only an updated version of the station that already existed there, is groundless.

The radar station in Thule is a new phased-array radar station of the type which did not exist at the time when the treaty was signed, built anew instead of the old radar station which did not have such an array.

Article Six of the ABM Treaty was formulated exactly in order to ban this new construction. Thus by deploying the afore-mentioned radar station outside its national territory, the United States has clearly violated the ABM Treaty.

In 1985, when the national technical verification means of the USSR established US activities in a violation of the provisions of the ABM Treaty — the construction of a radar at Thule — the Soviet side warned on more than one

occasion about the incompatibility of the work under way with that treaty and demanded that measures be taken to remedy the situation. However, the USA continued building the radar in the area of Thule and has completed deployment. Moreover, it started another similar radar, which violates the treaty, at Fylingdales Moor, Britain.

The Soviet side is seriously concerned over the fact that the radar in Greenland, and the planned one in Britain, are stations of the "Pave Paws" type, and have characteristics allowing them to cope both with the tasks of missile-attack warning and of anti-ballistic missile defence.

To cover up its illegal actions in the sphere of ABM defence, the United States refers to the radar under construction at Krasnoyarsk, USSR, ascribing to it functions which it will not have.

The Soviet side has thoroughly explained that that radar will be a space-tracking station and that the limitation under the ABM Treaty thus does not apply to it. The United States will be able to verify through the use of its national technical means when the radar in the Krasnoyarsk area starts operating in the emission mode.

Despite all this, the USA is striving at all costs to preserve the issue of the Soviet radar clearly to distract attention from its violation of the ABM Treaty.

Guided by the interests of consolidating the ABM Treaty, the Soviet Union has been doing everything to find a mutually acceptable solution to the radar stations' issue. We were ready to agree even to mothballing our radar station at Krasnoyarsk as it is used as a pretext for questioning observance by the Soviet Union of the ABM Treaty. But this calls for US reciprocity

as regards the mentioned US radar stations. However, all our proposals were rejected by the US. This shows that the United States deliberately violated its commitments under the ABM Treaty.

Noteworthy is the fact that the "issue" of the radar station under construction at Krasnoyarsk was raised by the US Administration right after announcing the Strategic Defense Initiative aimed to create a large-scale ABM system with space-based elements, which is fundamentally at odds with the letter and spirit, the very essence of the ABM Treaty.

A line to undermine the ABM Treaty, to destroy limitations imposed by it, is evident in the US actions to implement the SDI programme and in other activities in the ABM field. The same line is clearly underlined in the US stands at the Geneva talks: rather than strengthen the ABM Treaty, it aims to legalise actually and work, including work in space, in the ABM field (behind the screen of the specially conceived "broad" interpretation of the treaty's provisions) and after 1994 to abrogate this termless treaty altogether, thus opening a new, space channel of the strategic arms race.

This US course is clearly in conflict with the task of preventing the arms race in space and arresting it on Earth, as was agreed upon at top level.

The Soviet Union insists that the United States take urgent measures to rectify the violation of the ABM Treaty, the key agreement in the strategic arms limitation field, as a result of its unlawful deployment of the radar station in Greenland. The responsibility for the negative consequences of the violation rests squarely with the United States. □

(Pravda, July 25)

## Soviet Defence Minister on Warsaw Treaty military doctrine

"THE main feature of the Warsaw Treaty military doctrine, like that of each of its members, is subordinated to solving the cardinal task facing mankind — the task of preventing war, both nuclear and conventional," Dmitri Yazov, Soviet Minister of Defence, writes in *Pravda* on July 27.

"The allied socialist countries, owing to the nature of their social system and peace-loving policies, have never connected nor are connecting their future with the military solution of international issues. Now, in the situation of nuclear confrontation, the solution of problems in the world through military means is simply inadmissible.

"An important feature of the Warsaw Treaty military doctrine is its defensive nature," the author stresses. "Allied socialist countries stated before all mankind that they will never, under any circumstances, be the first to start combat actions against any state or an alliance of states, provided they do not become the target of an armed offensive themselves, and renounced the first use of nuclear weapons.

"Following their defensive doctrine, the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty countries persistently work to put an end to the arms race, to reach concrete results in the field of disarmament and to eliminate the nuclear threat. They prove this by practical deeds," General Dmitri Yazov writes.

"The Soviet Union did not conduct nuclear tests for eighteen months, while the USA built up its explosions in Nevada. We are ready today as well to suspend nuclear tests at any day or month provided there is reciprocity. The USA, as is known, does not want to stop nuclear testing.

"The Soviet Union did everything in its power to create real possibilities for concluding an agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles. It made serious compromises by agreeing to count out British and French nuclear missiles and postponing the solution of the question on medium-range aviation.

"Taking account of the security interests of Asian states, the USSR expressed its readiness to eliminate all medium- and shorter-range missiles not only in Europe but in the Asian part of the country as well," the author reminds, "on condition that the USA will do the same.

Incidentally, the Soviet Union leaves aside the question of other US nuclear weapons in the Asia-Pacific region. At the same time we hope that the USA will refrain from building up its nuclear potential in this region."

"Owing to this far-reaching initiative of ours, nothing can today hamper the first step on the way to significant reduction of nuclear weapons which could possibly pave the way for other larger agreements. The matter depends only on the USA and NATO." □

### Warsaw Treaty New Initiatives

Documents of Meeting of Political Consultative Committee of Member States of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, Budapest, June 10-11, 1986 (includes Address to NATO Member States, All European Countries with Programme of Reducing Armed Forces and Conventional Armaments in Europe)

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# TASS announcement on Crimean Tatars

APPEALS by Crimean Tatars to Party and Soviet bodies with a request to reconsider legislative acts related to the abolition of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic have become more frequent lately. They request the re-creation of the autonomous republic and a righting, as it is said in the appeals, of the "violated historic justice". For this purpose gatherings and meetings are organised, letters and appeals are mailed and calls are addressed to the foreign public. The attention of Soviet cultural figures to this question is also being drawn. Thus, the writers S A Baruzdin, Y A Yevtushenko, B Sh Okudzhava and A I Pristavkin have called on the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to "restore the rights of the Crimean Tatars".

As is known, in accordance with a decree of the State Committee for Defence of May 11, 1944 Crimean Tatars were re-settled from the Crimea in parts of Central Asia. (At the time they comprised 19.4 per cent of the total population of the Crimean ASSR). This decision was explained by the collaboration of a part of the Tatar population with the German-fascist occupiers.

Indeed, after the occupation of the Crimea a Moslem congress was convened in Simferopol with the assistance of the Germans and it formed a Crimean Government headed by Khan Belyal Asanov.

On the territory of the Crimea Crimean Tatar nationalists formed self-defence detachments. According to existing data, there were ten

Crimean Tatar volunteer battalions of 200-300 men each and 14 companies of the same designation. With the active participation of these formations partisan bases were routed, settlements near forests burned down and their residents slaughtered. A "dead zone" was created around partisan detachments. In the process of punitive operations with the participation of Crimean Tatar nationalists 86,000 peaceful residents of the Crimea and 47,000 prisoners of war were killed and 85,000 people were deported to Germany. Most of those killed were Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, Greeks and Gypsies. At the "Krasny" State Farm, for instance, criminals from the 147th and 152nd Crimean Tatar battalions built furnaces in which people were burned alive twenty-four hours a day.

One cannot escape from these facts. But unfortunately the decision of the State Committee for Defence on the eviction of the Tatar population from the Crimea was applied not only to traitors but to the entire Crimean Tatar population. This decision, as it now appears, reflected the grim conditions of war, the concrete situation in the Crimea and the sentiments of those times. But in any case the act of the wholesale eviction of the Crimean Tatar population was not just, the more so that thousands of Crimean Tatars actively participated in combat operations against the fascist invaders and were decorated with high state awards of the Soviet Union.

Proceeding from this on September 5, 1967 the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR cancelled the decision of state bodies in the part containing charges against all citizens of Tatar nationality residing in the Crimea and fully restored their constitutional rights.

Since then more than ten thousand Crimean Tatars have settled in the Crimea and some

20,000 of them live there today. This process continues at present as well. One should have in mind that the situation in the Crimea now is totally different from the one before the war. Living there now are about 2.5 million people of various nationalities, or twice as many as before the war. So this question should be considered in the actually obtaining situation in the interests of all the peoples of the country as it follows from the Constitution of the USSR. Moreover, it should be studied calmly, with a sense of responsibility and balance. All attempts to fan up passions, a desire to create conflict situation can only impede the matter at hand.

It should be stressed that this question is of a purely internal matter and involves dramatic pages connected with the fascist invasion of our country. In these conditions appeals to foreign public opinion do not appear constructive as well since such pressure is out of place and only burdens the study of this question.

During the past several months representatives of Crimean Tatars have been repeatedly received at State and Party bodies.

With due consideration for the continuing appeals to the CPSU Central Committee and the Government, a commission headed by the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Andrei Gromyko has been set up to study the entire set of problems raised in the statements made by citizens from among Crimean Tatars. Representatives of the Crimean Tatars were informed of this. The announcement about the establishment of the commission was met with satisfaction by most Crimean Tatars at the place of their permanent residence.

The commission will need a certain amount of time for its work and its conclusions will be published. □

(Moscow, July 23, TASS)

## Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman on situation in the Persian Gulf

ON JULY 20 the United Nations Security Council unanimously passed an important decision aimed at terminating the Iranian-Iraqi war, said Gennadi Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, at a briefing in Moscow on July 28.

The council demanded that the parties to the conflict, as a first step towards a negotiated settlement, observe an immediate cease-fire and discontinue all military actions on land, at sea and in the air, and withdraw their forces to the internationally recognised boundaries without delay.

The Security Council instructed the United Nations Secretary-General to ensure, in co-operation with all parties, the implementation of the resolution of the Council and undertake mediation efforts in order to achieve a comprehensive, just and honourable settlement acceptable to both sides, the spokesman said.

Thus, a necessary basis was created for an early practical advance towards a political settlement of this bloody conflict that has been going on for many years.

Meanwhile, the spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry pointed out that reports from the Persian Gulf area show that tension does not subside there. Washington voices its intention to consolidate its military presence in the Persian

Gulf on a permanent basis, regarding this area as a sphere of "US vital interests". It follows that the US is concerned not so much over the safety of sea navigation in the Persian Gulf as over the putting into practice of its plans to put under its control this strategically important part of the world, plans that they have been hatching for a long time.

These US actions cannot but cause concern because they are being undertaken despite a UN Security Council resolution on the Iran-Iraq conflict. US representatives were among those members of the Security Council who had drafted this major political document. However, the current show of strength, undertaken by the American Administration in the Gulf, is clearly at variance with the call by the Security Council to all states "to exercise the utmost restraint and to refrain from any act which may lead to further escalation and widening of the conflict".

Strict observance of the Security Council's demands is a must for all United Nations member states, and the more so of the permanent members of the Council, Gerasimov said. This is an imperative condition for ensuring the success of the UN Secretary-General's important peacemaking mission, for realising the world community's resolve to put an end to the senseless and tragic conflict, to ensure security and stability in the Middle East.

The Soviet Government recently outlined its attitude to the Iran-Iraq war, to the situation in the Persian Gulf, declared for cardinal measures for the speediest ending of the war and lowering

military tension in the gulf by withdrawing from there the naval ships of the non-littoral states. The Soviet Union will give the necessary assistance to efforts directed at implementing the United Nations Security Council's resolution on the Iran-Iraq conflict.

In this connection the spokesman said that the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Yuli Vorontsov intends shortly to visit Baghdad and Teheran with the aim of continuing the conversations and discussing the possibility of the speediest fulfilment of the Security Council's resolution no. 598. □

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## Message to participants in OAU session

THE Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR has sent a message of greetings to the participants in the 23rd session of the assembly of heads of state and government of member states of the Organisation of African Unity.

The attitude of Soviet people, says the message, to the striving of African countries to unite their efforts directed at overcoming the acute social and economic problems inherited from the colonial past and protect their peoples from ruthless neocolonialist exploitation is one of understanding and sympathy.

Like you, we hold that overcoming of underdevelopedness, improving radically the economic situation, and solving many other acute and complex problems of developing countries, including external debt, is really attainable on the roads of creating a new international economic order and ensuring the economic security of every state within the framework of an

all-embracing system of international security.

In this connection the Soviet Union intends to press consistently for the forthcoming international conference on the interconnection between disarmament and development to make a constructive contribution to solving these two acute problems of our time and to facilitate the cause of disarmament, for abolishing the danger of nuclear war and for the development of all countries.

The Soviet Union, the message goes on, invariably comes out for all the peoples and countries of Africa to have the full possibility to solve questions of their development, their internal and external affairs in conditions of peace and stability, without outside interference. We are convinced that the OAU is called upon to play an important role in a just political settlement of regional conflicts that are being used by imperialist forces to assert their military-political presence on the continent, to preserve neocolonialist rule and divert the resources of African countries from the tasks of development.

Together with African countries the Soviet

Union resolutely demands the immediate granting of independence to Namibia on the basis of the corresponding decisions of the United Nations Organisation and the Organisation of African Unity, the unconditional ending of aggressive actions by Pretoria against the "frontline" states, the speediest liquidation of the inhuman system of apartheid and the creation of a free, non-racial democratic state in the south of the continent.

Soviet people confirm their invariable solidarity with the courageous liberation struggle by the patriots of South Africa and Namibia headed by the ANC and SWAPO and express confidence in the triumph of their just cause.

The Soviet Union, the message stresses, is prepared further to actively co-operate with African countries in the search for the solution of vitally important problems now facing the whole of mankind, in the struggle for a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world, for the establishment of a new international economic order, against imperialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid. □

### UN medal conferred on Soviet Peace Committee

THE director of the sector for Political Affairs of the United Nations Department of Political and Security Council Affairs presented in Moscow on July 27 the UN Memorial Medal to the Soviet Peace Committee for its active participation in the campaign to hold the International Year of Peace and its contribution to peoples' struggle for universal peace.

Pedro San-Juan, who addressed the presentation ceremony at the committee in Russian, said that under the present-day conditions the campaign for peace was a matter of not only states but above all of peoples threatened with nuclear annihilation.

Genrikh Borovik, Chairman of the Soviet Committee, said when accepting the UN award that public opinion and non-governmental organisations were now playing an ever more significant role in international affairs.

The Soviet Peace Committee, which has existed for about 40 years now, has become the first Soviet public organisation to win the recognition of the United Nations, together with which it has held numerous peace-making actions. □

(continued from page 276)

ever stronger that there is no room in the process of national reconciliation for those who are guilty of genocide.

The solution of the Kampuchean problem with account of the interests of the Kampuchean people and the political realities existing in the region, Mikhail Gorbachev emphasised, would not only lead to the restoration of peace in the ancient land of Angkor, but also promote a substantial improvement of the situation in South-East Asia, in the Asian and Pacific region as a whole. The international community has the right to hope that common sense and political will shall prevail over confrontation.

Mikhail Gorbachev spoke of the progress of reorganisation and renewal of all aspects of life of Soviet society, the work of the CPSU at the current new phase and the implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and of subsequent plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee.

During the discussion of international problems the sides reaffirmed the determination

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

AT ITS meeting on July 23 the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee discussed the results of Mikhail Gorbachev's and Nikolai Ryzhkov's talks with Karoly Grosz, Member of the Political Bureau of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee and Chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. It was pointed out that now that the two countries have to resolve difficult economic tasks, the significance of the maximum application of the potentialities of their co-operation grows. The Soviet Union and Hungary can give each other much through deepening economic, scientific-technical co-operation, setting up joint ventures and sharing the know-how. The bodies concerned have been given instructions on specific issues raised in the course of the visit.

The Political Bureau has approved the results of Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with Najib, General Secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee, in whose course resolute support was expressed for the policy of national reconciliation pursued by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and additional steps were discussed in the interests of the speediest normalisation of the situation around Afghanistan. It was stressed

of the CPSU and the PRP, the USSR and the PRK to work consistently, at one with the socialist countries and all peaceful forces, for averting the threat of nuclear war and establishing a comprehensive system of international security.

Heng Samrin highly praised the new Soviet initiatives set forth by Mikhail Gorbachev in his interview to the Indonesian newspaper *Merdeka*.

Being a country located in the Asian and Pacific region, Heng Samrin said, Kampuchea wholeheartedly approves the Soviet initiatives which are a further extension of the Vladivostok

that the Soviet Union firmly advocates that Afghanistan be an independent, sovereign and non-aligned state.

The results of the visits of Viktor Nikonov to Poland and Alexandra Biryukova to Bulgaria have been approved of.

The question has been discussed for urgent measures to meet the demands of the June plenary meeting for a fuller resolution of the tasks of the Food Programme. The need was stressed in that connection for enhancing interest and developing the initiative of collective and state farms and the population in increasing the output and sale of farm produce.

The long-term state programme for the comprehensive development of the productive forces of the Far Eastern economic area, the Buryat Autonomous SSR and the Chita region for the period of up to the year 2000, drawn up in conformity with the decisions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, has been approved.

The programme provides for higher than average rates of growth of the construction of housing, cultural and every-day service facilities, industrial output, the build-up of the export potentialities of the Soviet Far East and the area beyond the Baikal and for strengthening the region's food base. It provides for measures for a rational utilisation of the natural resources and environmental protection. It is planned to build in the Far East a highly effective national economic complex, which will become a component part of the system of national and international division of labour.

The Political Bureau has also discussed some other questions of home and foreign policy. □

programme of the campaign for peace and security of nations on the basis of joint efforts of the states situated there. The realisation of the new Soviet proposals would create a solid foundation for maintaining peace and co-operation among nations in the Asian and Pacific region.

We regard the policy of national reconciliation proclaimed by the People's Republic of Kampuchea as our contribution to the realisation of that programme, Heng Samrin said.

The meeting passed in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding. □

# Euromissiles: what is Washington after?

By Dmitri Ardamatsky

JUDGING by all, the influential opponents of arms reduction agreements with Moscow in the Reagan Administration are now trying in real earnest to prevent agreement on Euromissile elimination. It is not ruled out that they are blackmailing the President in connection with the Irangate scandal. It is increasingly rumoured in Washington that for Reagan a summit is not worth having to make compromises on the remaining differences at Geneva.

Meanwhile, Moscow is interested, as before, in signing an agreement with the US on the liquidation of medium- and short-range missiles in Europe as soon as possible. For one thing the Soviet side is wise enough to consider the vicissitudes of American political life—if agreement is not concluded this year, it may fall victim to internal political struggle in the US.

But more important is the fact that the proposed agreement may exert a very strong positive influence on the entire atmosphere of arms control talks. It would also be a powerful impetus for progress in other spheres of arms limitation and reduction, including conventional weapons.

Therefore, throughout the eighth round the Geneva talks were influenced by a new, dynamic Soviet approach, and readiness to compromise. During three months the Soviet side tabled seven concrete proposals, each of which took into account the US position. Its proposals on a draft treaty and protocol on the dismantling and physical destruction of missiles, a memorandum on the initial data on medium-range missiles, and proposals on the most rigid reciprocal control over the elimination of missiles brought the sides very close to agreement. More evidence of this is the fact that the sides have also agreed in principle on the need for a working meeting between Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz.

## Reliable verification

This was when the opponents of agreement in the US Administration became very active. The United States began to speak about the prospects of talks in an extremely pessimistic tone, trying at the same time to include into the proposed treaty the commitments giving it unilateral military advantages in advance.

The Soviet side has no other explanation for the American manoeuvring which is aimed at reserving for the US the right not to destroy its missiles, but simply to move them into other

categories: land-based cruise missiles into sea-based ones, and Pershing-IIs into Pershing-IBs.

The US side, which is always stressing the need for reliable verification of agreements, is refusing to discuss this question as regards American military bases in third countries connected with American medium-range missiles. But reliable verification is impossible without relevant inspections in the countries which host the missiles, or through the territory of which they are or can be transported.

Washington's desire to circumvent a possible agreement on medium-range missile elimination and ensure unilateral advantages is borne out by its attempts to preserve its 72 nuclear warheads for West German Pershing IA missiles. If this happens, either one more European country would gain nuclear weapons, or the USSR would agree to US superiority in medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. The first would contradict West German commitments under the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and would undoubtedly create a new and very dangerous situation. The second is, of course, impossible. So, Moscow can only assess the American manoeuvring in Geneva as a deliberate attempt to deadlock the talks.

If the very opportunity for agreement on Euromissile elimination is jeopardised, a new round of the arms race is very likely. □

# Soviet economy in first six months of 1987

By Leonid Korenev, *Novosti economic analyst*

A REPORT issued by the USSR Central Statistical Board on the country's economic performance during the first six months of 1987 makes mixed reading. Many plan targets have not been met. But a careful and thoughtful reader will not take this for a worsening of the economic situation. Simply the mirror of statistics, in conditions of openness, reflects more fully the state of the Soviet economy, without glossing over or embellishing the figures reported.

For example, the report not only states that plans for retail sales have been unfulfilled (with

wages continuing to grow), but also makes a point of saying that difficulties in supplying the population with meat and butter persists. A rank-and-file citizen need not be told about this—he experiences it daily. But information that market prices, taking advantage of the situation, have exceeded those of the state by 150-300 per cent points to the seriousness of the situation. It puts a better case for restructuring than any theoretical arguments.

And what about restructuring the economic mechanism itself? The ultimate purpose of which is to improve the standard of living. Here no miracle has happened yet. The advantages of self-financing are slow in manifesting themselves. Only one ministry among those converted to the new conditions—that of the auto industry—has fulfilled its plan for profits. It may be recalled that the economic reform of the 60s largely failed because it had no time to produce potent arguments in its favour. Today, however, it is understood that the transition period will not be a path strewn with roses alone, and that results will have to be waited for. At the same time, statistics tell us that the restructuring is making slow progress, encountering serious opposition on the part of bureaucracy. One of the most tested methods used by bureaucrats is not to take open exception to the reform, but to formally "spread" it to more areas, which in the early stages discredits it more effectively than ever. A selective sampling has shown that in the first quarter of the year numerous changes in the approved quotas and economic standards have affected as many as three-quarters of all enterprises, no more and no less. In other words, the administrative system of economic management is not yielding its positions, and still commands a far-flung braking mechanism.

And yet the progress—though difficult and occasionally painful (as follows from rigid state quality control set up and extended at thousands

of plants, an essentially administrative move)—is being made. It is backed up by the political will for change and is based on democratisation of the economy. A necessary requirement, however, is to shed as soon as possible the illusions bred by runaway optimism, because such illusions are apt to give way to disappointment. One has to set one's mind on an uphill struggle. A fair and accurate analysis of the existing situation helps in putting a shoulder to the wheel. □

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