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Worldwide Report ARMS CONTROL

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16 April 1986

WORLDWIDE REPORT

ARMS CONTROL

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SDI AND SPACE ARMS

JAPAN: ITINERARY SET FOR SDI MISSION TO U.S.

Watanabe Heads Delegation

OW180813 Tokyo KYODO in English 0803 GMT 18 Mar 86

[Text] Tokyo, March 18 KYODO--Japan said Tuesday it will dispatch a group of 55 government officials and private sector engineers to the United States March 31-April 9 to study possible participation in the research phase of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

Foreign Ministry officials said the mission, led by Makoto Watanabe, deputy director general of the ministry's North American Affairs Bureau, will include visits to the Lincoln laboratory of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Los Alamos national laboratory, the U.S. Army's Strategic Defense Command, the University of Texas, Hughes Aircraft Corp., Lockheed Missiles and Space Corp.

Most of the party of nine government officials from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and Industry, and Defense and Science and Technology Agencies and 46 representatives of 21 leading private concerns will leave Tokyo March 29, the officials said.

The delegation is the third SDI mission from Japan since last September and "sharply guides our country toward" making a decision on its participation in research for the U.S. space-based anti-missile defense system, a Foreign Ministry official explained.

He said Japan will send an additional SDI mission to the United States, if necessary, before reaching a conclusion.

Japan sent the first SDI mission September 30-October 1 and the second on January 15-22. The third mission includes engineers and other experts from the private sector for the first time.

The 21 participating companies are Daikin Industries, Fuji Heavy Industries, Fujitsu, Hitachi, Ishikawajima-Harima Heavy Industries, Japan Aviation Electronics Industry, Kawasaki Heavy Industries, Kobe Steel, Mitsubishi Electric, Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Mitsui Engineering and Shipbuilding, NEC, Nissan Motor, NTT Electronics Technology, Oki Electric Industries, Sony, Sumitomo Electric Industries, Sumitomo Heavy Industries, Japan Steel Works, Toray Industries and Toshiba.

A Foreign Ministry official said these firms have suitable technology and expertise to contribute to the program and had all applied to join in the mission.

The mission will be divided into three groups to travel to the U.S. research facilities and companies after being briefed at the Pentagon [by] officials, the officials said.

The three groups will be formed according to fields of their concern-- directed energy weapons (DEW), kinetic energy weapons (KEW) and surveillance acquisition tracking kill-assessment (SATKA), the officials added.

Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone told President Ronald Reagan in Los Angeles in January 1984 that his government "understands" the SDI, popularly known as "star wars."

Britain and West Germany have formally endorsed the SDI and announced plans to participate in its research phase.

Nakasone has hinted at Japanese readiness to join in the research phase but his foreign minister, Shintaro Abe, has repeatedly cautioned against a hasty decision on the issue in what has become a political tug-of-war.

U.S. Government leaders have interpreted Nakasone's January 1984 statement as an implicit Japanese way of supporting the SDI, according to Foreign Ministry sources.

Some government officials speculated that the premier may tell Reagan of Japan's intention to participate in the SDI research during his U.S. trip next month or when Reagan is in Tokyo in May to attend the economic summit.

U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger will visit Tokyo in early April to press Japan to join in the program.

With Japan and America bound by a defense pact, the government sources feel Japan has no option but to participate in the SDI and Japanese private firms are determined to cash in on the U.S. program with its huge potential of spin-offs and to keep up with U.S. and European firms in the high tech race.

/6091
CSO: 2560/060

Mission to Report to Nakasone

OW181143 Tokyo KYODO in English 1135 GMT 18 Mar 86

[Text] Tokyo, March 18 KYODO--A high-powered Japanese mission to the United States to study that country's Strategic Defense Initiative will make a preliminary report to Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone as soon as it returns from the trip on April 10, a top Foreign Ministry official said Tuesday.

The official said that it would take considerable time before the mission, made up of 55 government officials and representatives of major private businesses, can make a formal report on the trip that will get underway March 31.

But Makoto Watanabe, deputy director general of the Foreign Ministry's North American Affairs Bureau, will collect the opinions of the government and private mission members after the trip and report them to the prime minister and Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe before the formal report, the official said.

Nakasone is scheduled to leave Japan on a U.S. visit April 12 for talks with President Ronald Reagan April 13 and 14.

What the prime minister hears from Watanabe on the mission will thus likely affect his talks with Reagan on the SDI program, the official said.

The purpose of the forthcoming mission is to find ways toward the proposed participation of Japan in research for the SDI, the anti-missile defense system commonly called "star wars."

/6091

CSO: 5260/061

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

PRAVDA PUBLISHES GORBACHEV'S ALGERIAN JOURNAL INTERVIEW

PM021627 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Apr 86 First Edition pp 1, 2

["M.S. Gorbachev's Answers to the Algerian Journal REVOLUTION AFRICAINE"--
PRAVDA headline; first two grafs are unattributed introduction.]

[Excerpts] The Algerian journal REVOLUTION AFRICAINE has asked M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to answer a number of questions and also to receive and talk with Zoubir M. Souissi, chief editor of REVOLUTION AFRICAINE, the Algerian weekly organ of the National Liberation Front Party. The conversation took place on 31 March 1986. A.N. Yakovlev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in it.

Question: Military competition with the West and in particular the "star wars" project are, no doubt, the major obstacle for your economic and social plans. But the Geneva summit meeting and your 15 January 1986 statement sought to offer prospects for the more peaceful and favorable development of all mankind. What is to be expected from your forthcoming meeting with the head of the White House?

Answer: Very well, let us revert to the Geneva meeting. We approached it seriously. On the eve of the meeting we came out with constructive proposals. Let me recall them.

The Soviet Union introduced a 6-month unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions as of 6 August last year. We proposed that Washington follow our example in order to make the moratorium permanent, eternal. The answer was an invitation to attend the next nuclear test in Nevada.

On the eve of the New Year, 1986 -- which has been proclaimed to be Peace Year by the United Nations -- we declared an extension to the moratorium on nuclear explosions for a further 3 months. The answer was given by U.S. nuclear explosions.

Finally, quite recently, in connection with the appeal from the leaders of six states, we made the decision to adhere to the moratorium until the first nuclear explosion by the American side. But the Pentagon immediately speeds up the holding of new nuclear tests. We shall have to draw conclusions from this. I have no doubt that other peace-loving countries and the international public will also draw conclusions. It is particularly clear today who is who in world politics. Militarism, the ideology of which holds sway in the leading imperialist countries, has utterly exposed itself.

Now to turn to our proposals of 15 January this year. I shall not recall their content. It is common knowledge. This is something more than an invitation to serious dialogue. We expounded an integral and honest program of how to make the world safer, deliver it from nuclear weapons, to prevent an arms race in space, and to substantially cut back conventional arms.

The United States reflected for a long time, for more than a month. I have already had occasion to speak about the American response. We have heard neither a clear "yes" nor constructive ideas from the administration regarding overcoming the evil logic of the arms race.

Moreover, let us consider the initiative on the elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe which in a certain respect has something in common with former U.S. opinions on this problem -- that too is being ignored. We discover -- and this is happening not only at the Geneva talks, but others as well -- that as soon as we take a step in the direction of the U.S. stance, the United States takes a step back from that stance.

Is an improvement of Soviet-American relations really possible outside of practical decisions on curtailing the arms race? Is it really possible to proceed toward trust while at the same time replenishing arsenals with increasingly sophisticated instruments of war? We are convinced that another road leads to peace, the road away from the arms race toward disarmament.

For this, it is necessary to renounce the old way of thinking whereby even today the leaders of imperialism regard the postulate to the ancient Roman legionaires -- "If you want peace, prepare for war" -- as applicable to international relations.

The summit meeting opened slightly the door leading to a world of hope. But how the people connected with the U.S. military-industrial complex took fright at this ray of light! How forcefully they leaned on that "door" in order to slam it!

Both I and my comrades in the party leadership are trying to fathom what the U.S. Administration is in fact striving after. Is it war? But I think that Washington has a good idea as to what nuclear war is. So what is the meaning of all these attempts to perpetuate confrontation and still more, to kindle it, and what is the meaning of the latest outburst of bellicose rhetoric? The actions of the United States in Nicaragua and against Libya and Afghanistan, the violation of the USSR's territorial waters by warships, the support for the troglodytic regime of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, and much else that today characterizes the international behavior of the United States -- where is all this leading and what specific interests does it serve?

We also are familiar with the calculations on exhausting the Soviet Union in the arms race. They are extremely long-standing and, I shall say bluntly, foolish. Nothing will come of this and so the Americans are expending to no purpose both their money and their strength on the implementation of a doctrine that failed long ago.

But these calculations do not just concern the Soviet Union. They also strike at the interests of the developing states and affect the United States' own allies. And the United States itself is being plunged increasingly deeply into a maelstrom of problems, both domestic and foreign that have been engendered by their imperial, militarist policy.

Washington's actions contradict accords that have been reached. An anti-Geneva syndrome is intensifying there which, of course, is creating no small difficulties in the development of Soviet-American relations.

M.S. Gorbachev: If you still want to ask something in addition to the questions that you put in written form, I am at your service.

Zoubir M. Souissi: Yes, I would indeed like to ask you two questions prompted by your speech on Soviet television on Saturday.

The first question is: After the United States rejected the unilateral moratorium proposed by the Soviet Union, the Americans are now also rejecting your proposal for a meeting in a European capital, justifying this by your alleged refusal to come to the United States in accordance with your promise. How do matters stand in reality and will this meeting take place in the United States or elsewhere?

M.S. Gorbachev: In my speech 2 days ago I did indeed appeal to President Reagan not to delay but to meet in the very near future in a European capital for one purpose -- discussing urgently the sole question of halting nuclear tests. That is not in place of our meeting in the United States, which we discussed in Geneva and which in this case I did not touch on.

The whole world, not only the Soviet Union, but all peoples including the U.S. people, are worried that in such a fundamental issue of war and peace as the arms race and the reduction of nuclear arms there are virtually no positive advances. The talks are under way. Yes, they are under way. But so far they have produced no results.

The Soviet leadership believes that some major step is needed to lead the nuclear arms reduction talks out of their deadlock and thus initiate movement toward the goal on which it seemed to us we and the Americans were agreed: to wit, gradually moving to the reduction of nuclear weapons in order to eventually destroy them completely.

When on 15 January, in the statement with which you are familiar, we proclaimed our specific program for the elimination of nuclear weapons, the U.S. President said he welcomed our further step in this process and recalled his similar statements in 1983 and since. Indeed, in Geneva we also agreed that nuclear war is impermissible and that there can be no winners in it.

That means that the result is that we are saying one and the same thing fundamentally. But we are quite incapable of moving from a standstill at the Geneva talks in order to begin real headway toward the goal that the Soviet and U.S. sides proclaimed.

We believe that halting of nuclear explosions and beginning talks on an agreement to ban them in all spheres could be the first step in this direction.

Our idea is simple: We are constantly seeking ways and means to initiate headway with the Americans and other nuclear powers along the path of reducing nuclear armaments, but first of all with the U.S. Administration.

The conclusion of an agreement on halting nuclear tests between the Soviet Union and the United States would be of enormous real importance because it would erect an obstacle to the improvement of nuclear weapons and the creation of new types of these weapons. But this step would also have tremendous political and indeed moral importance as an example of joint actions by the two great powers which have a special responsibility.

Although we did not immediately hear a negative statement in response to this new appeal of mine to the President -- actually, the U.S. Administration repeated what it had said earlier -- we nonetheless hope that the President and his immediate entourage and Congress will give this proposal of ours further consideration.

As for my visit to the United States, this question is kept in sight by the Soviet and U.S. sides.

That perhaps answers your first question.

Zoubir M. Souissi: Allow me to turn to the second question. Is dialogue still possible between the Soviet Union, which advocates peace, and the U.S. Administration, which is of a revanchist and unyielding frame of mind?

M.S. Gorbachev: You are asking a complex question. But we have now made it a rule and a principle -- in our domestic and foreign policy -- not to avoid difficult questions or any problems. Proceeding from that premise, I will also answer your question.

I would emphasize the fact that dialogue between the leadership of the Soviet Union and the U.S. Administration is essential. Without the normalization of Soviet-U.S. relations, without joint efforts by the Soviet Union and the United States to end the arms race with a view to eliminating nuclear weapons and normalizing international relations -- political, economic, trade, and cultural relations -- it is difficult to count on normalizing the international situation. We have always emphasized that. And this is evidence of the seriousness of our intentions.

For all the importance of the Soviet Union and the United States and the part they play, we must also take into account the fact that hundreds of states and peoples live in the world and want to live better lives and are building their plans for the future. The Soviet leadership and the U.S. Administration must take that into account.

I believe that what we said at the 27th party congress about our attitude toward international affairs and international cooperation is a persuasive argument for a respectful attitude toward all peoples and is evidence of our understanding of our responsibility for preserving and strengthening peace and normalizing international relations not only to our people but also to other people. So for all the importance of Soviet-U.S. relations, we cannot fail to take that into account.

Nonetheless, by virtue of objective reasons, the role and therefore the responsibility of the Soviet Union and the United States for the state of affairs in the world are great. I repeat that we are seeking to be equal to this responsibility. But matters in the world will proceed more rapidly and confidently along the path of normalization if the same understanding and the same responsibility attend the U.S. Administration as well. We invite the President, the U.S. Government, and Congress to display the practical will and seek ways to normalize and develop Soviet-U.S. relations, ways to improve the situation as a whole.

Our assessment is that there is now a difficult period in these relations. But we do not look at these relations without hope and, for our part, we are trying to do what depends on us, proceeding from definite real, practical steps to create an appropriate atmosphere for improving relations and political dialogue.

/12858

CSO: 5200/1319

USSR ARMY GENERAL SHABANOV OUTLINES VERIFICATION POLICY

PM270936 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Mar 86 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by Army General V. Shabanov, USSR deputy defense minister: "A Most Important Element in the Disarmament Process" -- uppercase passages published in boldface]

[Text] The solution of the problem of verification [kontrol] is of fundamental importance in the program for the elimination of nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons put forward in the statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on 15 January this year.

Comprehensive and most stringent monitoring [proverka] of the fulfillment of possible future agreements is a most important element in the disarmament process proposed by the Soviet Union.

Quite often Western propaganda has vociferously spread the myth of the impossibility of agreeing with the USSR on effective verification [kontrol] measures and attempted to distort the Soviet position on this question. Whatever sphere of arms limitation and reduction you take -- be it nuclear or conventional arms, nuclear tests, or preventing the spread of the arms race to space -- everywhere the Americans have hidden behind the "problem of verification [kontrol]" that they themselves have invented: The Russians do not agree to verification [kontrol], they say, so there is nothing to talk about. These actions are based by no means on a sincere U.S. interest in successfully resolving the questions of limiting the arms race but on other, frankly unsavory aims -- torpedoing agreements that are under preparation or have already been signed.

This stalling tactic was used by Washington when, for instance, discussing the question of the ratification of the treaties limiting underground nuclear weapons tests (1974) and on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes (1976). It has been used by the United States to wreck ratification of the SALT II Treaty, to hamper talks on banning chemical weapons, to avoid the moratorium proposed by the USSR on all nuclear explosions, and to block any Soviet peace initiatives in limiting the arms race.

The Soviet Union's statements on questions of verification [kontrol] exposing Washington's long-standing political speculation on this problem and calling for a new boost to be given to arms limitation talks seem all the more important to the entire world. Now certain circles in the West are trying to hush up the Soviet initiative and pretend that nothing has happened. And that is no accident because, as the saying goes, they have had the ground cut from under their feet and their possible objections to the Soviet Union's peace initiatives have been removed in advance.

In what respects are the Soviet proposals in this sphere new and constructive? Why is any unbiased observer today saying that the USSR's bold steps have put a stop to the use of the verification [kontrol] problem to hinder Soviet-U.S. talks?

The essence is that the USSR has clearly stated that it is prepared to embark on any sensible verification [kontrol] measures if they really promote the limitation of the arms race. Verification [kontrol], as an element in interstate relations, objectively serves the sides' security interests. But verification [kontrol] is not an end in itself. Its main task is to ensure the solution of the problem of ending the arms race. As the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th Congress stressed, "disarmament without verification [kontrol] is impossible, but verification [kontrol] without disarmament is senseless." Hence the need for the amount and methods of verification [kontrol] to accord with the nature and scope of specific accords.

The experience of monitoring [proverka] the execution of existing strategic arms accords and other previously concluded treaties and agreements in the arms limitation sphere confirms the indisputable priority of national technical means of verification [kontrol]. The potential of these means is constantly increasing. At the same time the Soviet Union is flexible on this question. If necessary it is prepared for additional measures to be drawn up and adopted to promote the effectiveness of verification [kontrol] using national technical means. This refers first and foremost to various types of notification and exchanges of quantitative information on arms. Other additional verification [kontrol] measures may be adopted up to and including on-site inspection [inspektsiya]. The only important thing is that these measures should not serve as a tool for interfering in states' internal affairs and should not damage either side.

The USSR's position on verification [kontrol] is a realistic embodiment of the Soviet concept of creating a comprehensive international security system envisaging a strictly verifiable [kontroliruyemy] reduction in the levels of states' military potentials to limits of sensible sufficiency. Specifically, it is a question of all avenues of arms limitation and reduction. Our ideal is a world with no weapons and no wars.

IN THE SPHERE OF IMPLEMENTING THE PROGRAM FOR THE ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS it is planned to develop special procedures for destroying nuclear munitions and for dismantling, reequipping, or destroying nuclear weapons delivery vehicles. Both the numbers of weapons to be eliminated would be agreed; verification [kontrol] of the arms being destroyed and restricted would be carried out by national technical means and through on-site inspections [inspektsiya]. Any other additional measures are possible.

Taking into account the fact that the USSR and the United States are experienced in developing procedures and practical actions for destroying nuclear means, the USSR sees no insuperable obstacle in the way of solving the problem of verifying [kontrol] the destruction of nuclear weapons and is prepared to agree to the most radical solutions of this problem on, of course, a mutual and equal basis.

IN THE SPHERE OF ENDING NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS the USSR has proposed a solution to the question of verification [kontrol] which satisfies the most carping U.S. skeptics. It is well known that for many years Washington has ignored the fact that the sides' existing national technical means make it possible to verify [kontrolirovat] nuclear explosions with high accuracy and reliability. And in this respect the United States is geographically more favorably situated than the USSR. However, without checking it in practice, the U.S. side rejected the verification [kontrol] system envisaged by the 1974 treaty on underground nuclear explosions, the geology of test sites, and other measures.

For a long time Washington, hiding behind a "verification [kontrol] problem" which it had artificially created, refused to join the Soviet moratorium on all nuclear explosions. Now the USSR has stripped away that mask of hypocrisy. It has been directly stated in this regard: "Verification [kontrol] is no problem for us. If the United States ends all nuclear explosions on a reciprocal basis, the proper verification [kontrol] will be entirely ensured by national technical means, with the help of international procedures, and, if necessary, with on-site inspection [inspektsiya]." The Soviet Union has expressed readiness to make use of the well-known proposal from the leaders of the six states -- if acceptable to the other side too -- to provide assistance in monitoring [proverka] the end of the nuclear tests, including on-site inspection [inspektsiya]. Even the conservative British newspaper THE TIMES was forced to admit that, "The USSR's readiness to ensure on-site inspection [inspektsiya] has placed the United States and Britain in an extremely complicated position."

Needless to say, in order to fully solve the problem of nuclear tests a treaty is necessary which would prohibit nuclear weapons tests universally and forever. The USSR proposes drawing up such a treaty and resuming or starting relevant talks. From the very outset the resolution of these questions could be handled in parallel in order to reach a comprehensive agreement as quickly as possible.

IN THE SPHERE OF BANNING SPACE STRIKE ARMS the Soviet Union's principled position is well known. It consists in the renunciation by two sides -- the USSR and the United States -- of the creation, [sozdaniye] (including scientific research work), testing, and deployment of space strike arms.

Naturally, given Washington's consent, this decision would have to be verified [kontrolirovatsya] in a guaranteed way. The USSR favors the strictest verification [kontrol], including opening up the relevant laboratories to inspections [inspektsiya] on a reciprocal basis.

This step by the USSR demolishes the arguments of the supporters of the U.S. "star wars" program about the impossibility of verifying [prokontrolirovat] the ban on the creation [sozdaniye] of space strike means. The question can now be put this way: Either nuclear weapons are scrapped, strike arms in space are prevented, and the threat of war in general is eased -- with all these measures carried out under strict national and international verification [kontrol] -- or space strike means are deployed and there is an unchecked arms race in all avenues, an exacerbation of international tension as a consequence, and a growth in the threat to peace.

IN THE SPHERE OF BANNING AND TOTALLY ELIMINATING THE ACCUMULATION OF STOCKPILES OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS the USSR advocates the strictest and most reliable verification [kontrol] both of the elimination of chemical weapons and of the industrial base for their manufacture. Specifically we propose announcing in good time the location of enterprises producing chemical weapons and ending their production, starting to work out procedures for destroying the corresponding production base, and embarking on eliminating chemical weapons stockpiles soon after a convention comes into force.

At sites where the destruction of chemical weapons stockpiles is to take place it is planned to ensure stringent verification [kontrol] from the start of the destruction process to its completion by having international inspectors [inspektsiya] constantly in attendance or by combining systematic international inspections [proverka] with the use of measuring devices at these sites.

Similar verification [kontrol] is also planned at the site where permitted quantities of the banned chemicals will be produced for scientific, agricultural, medicinal, and other nonmilitary needs. International inspectors are planned to be in virtually constant attendance there.

An extensive choice of verification [kontrol] measures -- from the use of national technical means and the exchange of data to systematic and constant international inspections [inspektsiya], including monitoring [proverka] upon request -- is planned for all other types of activity under a future convention.

Thus, the USSR is prepared in practice for any verification [kontrol] measures that guarantee the security of the states participating in the destruction of chemical arsenals. Even the most carping opponent of the destruction of chemical weapons has been deprived of "arguments" aimed against the Soviet proposal.

THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ARE PROPOSING EFFECTIVE VERIFICATION [KONTROL] MEASURES LINKED WITH REDUCING AND FREEZING TROOPS AND ARMS IN CENTRAL EUROPE. These measures include an exchange of lists (rosters) of the Soviet and U.S. military units subject to reduction and withdrawal from the central European region indicating their actual designation, size, location, and the number of main types of arms held; reciprocal notification of the start and completion of practical measures to reduce Soviet and U.S. troops; and exchange on a reciprocal basis of figures on armed forces in the reduction region in terms of the parameters previously applied at the talks; reciprocal notification about all ground forces movements, the calling up of reservists, and military exercises by ground forces involving over 20,000 men; the holding of on-site inspections [proverka] following a justifiable request; the creation of an advisory committee; and the holding of bilateral or multilateral consultations between the interested parties.

In addition to the above measures the USSR also advocates the establishment of permanent centers for monitoring [kontrol] entry and exit to and from the reduction region of military contingents. In our opinion this would make it possible to reliably verify [kontrolirovat] the numbers of armed forces in the zone covered by the agreement on freezing troop numbers.

Thus, the initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union on verification [kontrol] measures are aimed at promoting the intensification of the talks that are under way and the removal of the artificial obstacles put in the way of the talks by the United States. Our proposals in this sphere graphically demonstrate the USSR's readiness for far-reaching verification [kontrol] measures aimed at getting the existing system of talks moving and ensuring the optimum effectiveness of the disarmament machinery. In submitting these proposals our country proceeds on the basis that each arms limitation and reduction measure and each step along the road of reducing the threat of war must bring the peoples greater security and confidence in the future, yet not to the detriment or at the expense of other states but by strengthening mutual security.

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CSO: 5200/1319

USSR'S COL PONOMAREV ON SDI, TEST VERIFICATION

PM250930 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Mar 86 Second Edition p 3

[Colonel M. Ponomarev "Military-Political Review": "Impudent Challenge to the Peoples; No Goal More Important Than Saving Life on Earth; Washington's Nuclear Response; 'Strategic Defense Initiative' Is Greatest Deception of the Century"]

[Text] In our time it is worth devoting one's life to saving life itself on earth. There is no more important goal. After all, the arms race has already brought mankind to a crisis point.

Curbing this race, destroying mass destruction weapons, and averting the military danger is a truly historic task in terms of its scale and importance posed by the entire course of social development. The road to its resolution is long and extremely complex. But any road starts with a first step.

The Soviet Union has proposed making that step. And making it immediately, without postponing it for the morrow, for the future. And this step on the path of ridding mankind of the nuclear arms race with all its baneful consequences can and must be the ending of nuclear tests.

Why are nuclear weapons tested? Primarily to modernize them, to increase their combat and destructive qualities, and to create new types of weapons, including for use in space. This means that those who insist on continuing these tests are gambling on further building up the potential of mass destruction weapons. Yet even the weapons that have already been accumulated could wipe all life from the face of the world. On the contrary: The ending of test explosions would lead to an improvement in the international atmosphere, the limitation of nuclear arsenals, and, ultimately, the elimination of nuclear arms in general.

The Soviet Union has already taken its first step along this road. For more than 7 months -- since 6 August 1985 -- it has unilaterally adhered to a moratorium on all nuclear explosions, calling at the same time on the United States to follow this example. Not meeting with reciprocity, the Soviet Union considered it possible to extend its moratorium to 31 March 1986. And then in response to the appeal addressed to the USSR and the United States by the leaders of six countries -- Argentina, India, Mexico, Tanzania, Sweden, and Greece -- not to hold any nuclear tests until the next Soviet-U.S. summit, the Soviet Union stated that it would hold no nuclear explosions until the first nuclear explosion in the United States.

The USSR made that decision despite the fact that -- not having held any nuclear explosion, either as tests or for peaceful purposes, for 8 months -- it had already incurred certain costs both military and in terms of the national economy. But the decision showed our country's constructive approach to the ending of nuclear tests. The decision must be seen as the practical implementation of the provisions formulated in the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th party congress: "It is necessary to seek, find, and utilize even the slightest chance of breaking the trend of the military danger to grow before it is too late."

Well, how did Washington react to the call from the leaders of the six countries? The United States responded to it not by ending nuclear tests but by expediting them. The latest nuclear explosion previously planned for April was carried out yesterday evening.

This act cannot be assessed as anything but an impudent challenge to the peoples of the entire planet and as an undisguised provocation. Washington continues to gamble on force and force alone. And this is openly proclaimed by the leaders of the U.S. Administration. Many statements have been made on this score recently, although clearly for the sake of decorum they have sometimes been spiced with a certain amount of peace-loving rhetoric, so to speak. Here is a typical example: "Western security and world peace depend absolutely on U.S. military might." These are the words of U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger. "Absolutely," he stresses so as to leave nobody in any doubt. "Absolutely" -- and the earth continues to shudder under the nuclear explosions at the Nevada test site.

That is how official Washington is acting. That is how it is reacting to the Soviet peace initiatives. It is trying either to entirely ignore them or to distort and besmirch them. Yet Washington itself continues in the same old vein: A letter sent to the Senate by President Reagan 10 days ago sets out the U.S. position: It will neither introduce a moratorium on nuclear explosions nor ratify the 1974 Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests and the 1976 Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes. But why? Because "today and in the foreseeable future the security of the United States and its friends and allies must rely on a reliable and effective nuclear deterrent."

Moreover, this phrase from Reagan's letter has by no means been highlighted. On the contrary, it is almost lost among the numerous "arguments" adduced by the White House incumbent to justify his position. But it does not lose its sinister purpose for all that. As for the so-called "arguments," we will dwell on just one of them -- the statement about "concern" at the problem of verifying [kontrol] the conducting of explosions and the USSR's lack of readiness to accede to such verification [kontrol] on Soviet territory.

What can be said on that score? A KRASNAYA ZVEZDA representative put that question at a press conference held in Moscow the other day. And he received an authoritative reply whose essence, in short, is this: Our country is interested in verification [kontrol] and its reliability and stringency no less than anyone else. Provided solely that it is verification [kontrol] of the observance of specific accords -- verification [kontrol] using national or international technical means -- the USSR is open to verification [kontrol].

It was stressed that the entire territory of the Soviet Union is surrounded by approximately 200 stations set up either by the United States or under its leadership. We have approximately 20 such stations. But even under these conditions the USSR agrees to maintain mutual verification [kontrol]. We believe that our stations are adequate to monitor nuclear tests carried out abroad and have so far not missed any of these tests. So the only thing that could hamper the organization of verification [kontrol] is the clear reluctance on the U.S. side.

Yes, this reluctance is obvious. Is the President proposing anything for his part? He proposes... inviting observers from the USSR to the next nuclear tests in the United States. That is, not ending tests nor banning nuclear explosions but legalizing them with Soviet participation. Is it necessary to talk about the total unacceptability of that approach?

In 1985 the United States carried out 18 nuclear explosions. Yesterday yet another one was carried out. Many of them -- such as the explosion at the end of last year, for instance -- are carried out under conditions close to those existing in space. And the data obtained is used to develop and create "star wars" weapons.

Here we have reached the moment of truth. Why does the Reagan administration reject the Soviet proposal to end nuclear tests? "It is doing this," Senator E. Kennedy, the well known U.S. politician, replied, "because it needs nuclear tests to improve nuclear arms and to carry out the 'star wars' program, which is opening up a new stage in the arms race."

What can you say, he has hit the nail on the head. It is those goals that Washington is pursuing.

We recall that exactly 3 years ago, 23 March 1983, President Reagan made a speech setting out the administration's intention to spread the arms race to space and to create a wide-ranging antimissile defense with space-based elements. In America itself these plans started to be called the program for preparing for "star wars," even though the administration stubbornly calls them the "Strategic Defense Initiative." But this falsehood has long since been exposed. In the 3 years since the proclamation of SDI the program has not become any more attractive in the eyes of the public. And its extremely dangerous essence has been made obvious to all who take the trouble to think about the future. In essence SDI boils down to a desire to ensure that a nuclear first strike can be carried out with impunity. Even the most rabid advocates of the "star wars" program in the Pentagon have now been forced to admit that it is built on the expectation of such a strike. The discussions now heard in the Pentagon go like this: The number of missiles and warheads penetrating the U.S. ABM system must be radically reduced and U.S. losses can then only be reduced by a preliminary first (disabling) strike against the other side's nuclear missile bases.

Thus, the "Strategic Defense Initiative" is not defensive but offensive, and another unchecked buildup in nuclear arms.

People in the United States sometimes try to claim that the work within the SDI framework does not go beyond the bounds of research. But, first, this "research" is itself aimed at transferring the arms race to space and creating space strike weapons. It is no accident that the Pentagon is strengthening its scientific and technical potential in every possible way in order to expedite the work to implement the "star wars" program. For instance, according to an AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY report, Lieutenant General Abrahamson, leader of the organization to implement the program, has just recommended that the U.S. defense secretary create an institute to work out the scientific and technical (that is, entirely specific) problems associated with SDI.

Second, one hears increasingly frequently about practical steps in this sphere. The same Abrahamson, pressing for increased appropriations for space weapons at Congressional hearings, directly stressed that, on obtaining the relevant funds, the organization he heads "intends to move from technological development to carrying out important practical experiments" in the new fiscal 1987. And nuclear explosions aimed at testing elements of space strike arms are among those experiments.

The circle is thus closed. All the more so as the Soviet Union's position is well known and was fully reaffirmed at the 27th CPSU Congress. The USSR is a most convinced opponent of nuclear war in any scenario. Our country favors withdrawing mass destruction weapons from circulation and limiting military potential to the bounds of sensible sufficiency. But in order to do this it is necessary to seek before it is too late a real solution which would act as a guarantee against the arms race being transferred to space.

This is the position not only of the Soviet Union. The communique of the recent session of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee in Warsaw wholly supported the program for the complete elimination of all arsenals of nuclear and chemical weapons by the end of this century and the prohibition of space strike arms put forward in the 15 January 1986 statement by the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

In response to the U.S. concept of absolute security for itself and absolute danger for everyone else, the USSR has put forward the concept of creating a comprehensive international security system. This is one of the main components of Soviet peace strategy.

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CSO: 5200/1319

TASS: WEINBERGER STATEMENTS 'PRIMITIVE, FALSE'

LD271553 Moscow TASS in English 1531 GMT 27 Mar 86

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS -- TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev writes:

Willingness deliberately to distort the truth in pursuit of one's goals is an aspect of the politics of most presidents, a NEW YORK TIMES analyst observed recently. He also noted with regret that current administration leaders were not criticised in the United States when they told lies.

This lenience towards deliberate misrepresentation of facts in the USA obviously encourages White House officials, who have lately been butchering facts without even going to the trouble of inventing something at least remotely resembling the truth.

For instance, Defense Secretary Weinberger decided again at a recent press conference on the occasion of the publication of the fifth propaganda booklet "Soviet Military Power" to try to justify the need for increasing the Pentagon's budget by the growing military threat posed by the USSR.

But this time he did that exercise especially clumsily, without straining his mental capacities in any way. Weinberger merely listed the more glaring actions committed by Washington against peace and imputed them -- to the Soviet Union.

A Colin Gray said in the U.S. journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS that the USA could win a nuclear war. The Reagan administration exulted over a "public substantiation" of its own MAD concept and appointed Gray an adviser on disarmament (sic) to the U.S. President. Now Weinberger claims that it is the Soviet Union rather than the United States that thinks it possible to fight a nuclear war and win it.

The Reagan administration has long announced the SALT II treaty, to be "fatally flawed" and more than once violated its stipulations. The Pentagon makes no secret, for instance, that the United States is now developing two new inter-continental ballistic missiles, the MX and the Midgetman, which is an outright violation of the 1979 Soviet-American treaty, which has not been ratified by Washington. Weinberger, who recently called the SALT II accord a pseudo arms control agreement, blamed the Soviet Union at the press conference for the selfsame violations which the United States is committing openly.

According to Weinberger, it is not the United States but the Soviet Union that is working to deploy new, binary chemical weapons and to introduce thousands of strike weapons in outer space. It appears that the Pentagon chief himself advocates an accord on arms

reduction with the Soviet Union. There is a snag, however: he believes that the only dependable path to that goal is the continuation of the U.S. nuclear arms program.

The Pentagon chief ought to be credited, however, with refraining at the press conference from holding the Soviet Union responsible for a nuclear weapon test at the American testing site in Nevada. As regards all the other matters, the statements of the U.S. defense secretary were as primitive and false as the Pentagon's booklet "Soviet Military Power," which he launched at that press conference.

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U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

USSR EXAMINES EUROPEAN SDI, INF POLICY

LD222248 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 22 Mar 86

[Discussion program "Which Way For Europe?" with unidentified presenter; staff members Nikolay Borin and Nikolay Gorshkov]

[Text] We present "Which Way For Europe?" A series of discussion programs, with Nikolay Borin in the chair.

[Unidentified presenter] Three years ago President Reagan made his "Star Wars" speech outlining his notion of attack space weapons. The "Star Wars" program has been the subject of heated debates ever since in Western Europe among America's closest allies. What are the results of these debates to date? A question of Nikolay Borin and Nikolay Gorshkov of our staff.

[Borin] It is too early to come to any final conclusions yet since so far Britain alone has agreed at cabinet level to become involved in the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative. Talks with the Governments of West Germany and Italy are still underway. It is clear, however, how Washington wants the West Europeans to approach the project. The West German SPIEGEL magazine accurately summed the situation up, having said that there can be no question of a fair partnership. The Americans will not even hear of any reciprocal contribution to West Germany's research projects, nor are they going to accept any degree of control over the whole project by the West German government. Nikolay Gorshkov, my colleague here, has closely followed the visit to Washington of the West German economics minister, Mr Bangemann. Go ahead.

[Gorshkov] Yes the visit has confirmed the view expressed by SPIEGEL. The Americans flatly refused to allocate independent areas of research to West German companies under the "Star Wars" program and it looks as though the hopes for new avenues of economic advancement are unlikely to materialize.

[Presenter] What are the prospects for the transfer of technology between the military and civilian sectors under the SDI program?

[Borin] Foreign contributors to "Star Wars" have been denied the right to use research results commercially. The hopes for using these results for peaceful purposes are therefore running very low indeed in Europe. The group of experts in (?Atterburn) who explored the issue at the request of the West German scientific research minister came to the conclusion that such a transfer is unlikely.

[Gorshkov] It is interesting that small and medium size Europe companies could not resist the temptation to become involved in space weapons business and they too approach Washington, but to no avail. It transpired that the Americans are interested in getting high technology in areas where the Europeans are ahead of the United States, rather than establishing a two-way exchange on a footing of equality. West Germany is ahead of the United States in 5 of the 11 crucial avenues of research in electronics and Britain is ahead of the United States in some areas of research into lasers and optics.

[Presenter] It looks as though the debates about the technological and commercial aspects of the "Star Wars" program have prevailed over the discussion of the political implications of the program.

[Gorshkov] Well, the conditions for Western Europe's participation in "Star Wars" are a hot political issue of course. We must not forget that most of America's allies in NATO are opposed to space militarization to this day and that is their political assessment of the project.

[Presenter] Had there been any changes in the Soviet stand on the "Star Wars" issue?

[Borin] The Soviet Union continues to believe that the militarization of space must be reliably prevented and this was confirmed at the 27th congress of the Soviet Communist Party. A pivotal aspect of the system of international security proposed by the Congress is preventing an arms race in space. The Soviet Union has taken into account the fact that some nations have not yet defined their stand on the issue and it has proposed interim measures to strengthen international trust in the exploration of space. This country has proposed that an international agreement be signed to ensure the immunity of space facilities. By the way that proposal was recently advanced in Geneva by the chief Soviet delegate to the disarmament conference.

[Gorshkov] As far as Europe is concerned, it was of great importance to it that the Soviet Union decided to try and reach agreement on the issue of medium-range weapons in Europe independently of the issue of strategic and space weapons.

[Presenter] Another question I would like to put to you in this connection is this. Having proposed that Soviet and American missiles in Europe be eliminated, the Soviet Union stipulated that Britain and France should not continue to build up their nuclear forces. The recent statements by

Mrs Thatcher and Sir Geoffrey Howe show that London does not want to accept that condition and the indications are that it will go ahead with building up its nuclear forces. Judging by the foreign secretary's statement, London will continue nuclear tests in spite of the unilateral nuclear test moratorium introduced and extended by the Soviet Union. How would you describe London's stand?

[Gorshkov] London's refusal to abandon the modernization of nuclear forces blocks progress in reaching a Soviet-American agreement on medium range missiles in Europe. It also runs counter to the line of reasoning of those who'd like Britain to become a more prominent member of the nuclear club. After all, according to the program for nuclear disarmament outlined by Moscow on 15 January, the role of British and French nuclear forces should grow rather than decline. The elimination of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and 50 percent cuts in the nuclear arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union would increase the role of the nuclear forces of the two nations once they have abandoned plans for building their nuclear arsenals up. A nuclear test ban would not freeze Britain's lag in nuclear weapons. By the beginning of the eighties Britain had completed the modernization of the Polaris submarine-based nuclear weapons system, having outfitted it with new Javelin warheads. It also carried out several tests of the Trident system. The latest test of a British nuclear device in Nevada took place just under 4 months ago, the Soviet Union as you may know imposed a moratorium on nuclear tests on 6 August.

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CSO: 5200/1319

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

TASS WRITER CRITICIZES UK, FRG REJECTION OF ARMS OFFER

LD191549 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT 19 Mar 86

[Text] Moscow March 19 TASS--By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev writes:

The 27th CPSU Congress has proclaimed the foundations of building a comprehensive system of world security. The entire world knows of a concrete plan for preventing an arms race in outer space and ridding the world of weapons of mass annihilation by the turn of the century, set forth in Mikhail Gorbachev's January 15 statement.

All this creates real opportunities for renovating the essence of international relations and waking up a new mode of political thinking that would reject force and deterrence as a means of resolving international problems.

Today, as never before, the governments of all countries should display lofty responsibility and make a practical contribution to the struggle against the nuclear menace and the arms race. The continuation of the race on earth, and the more so, its spread to outer space will accelerate the rate of accumulating and perfecting nuclear weapons, high as it is already.

Certain quarters in the West, however, are continuing their resistance to the imperative of the time. The "cold winds" blow not only from Washington. They also are generated in some Western European capitals as well, primarily London and Bonn. They seem to have "forgotten" their responsibility for the state of affairs in the world, "got used" to nuclear weapons, and "grew accustomed" to talks being conducted on the limitation of armaments simultaneously with the buildup of armaments. How else can one assess the fact that the governments of Great Britain and West Germany refused to give a positive response to the Soviet peace initiatives, directed at curbing the arms race and achieving a stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear armaments?

Official London, for instance, rejects the Soviet proposal for the elimination of Soviet and American medium-range missiles in Europe, while claiming hypocritically that the British Government is prepared to use any

opportunity to give peace a chance. Its representatives proclaim the Soviet proposal to be "propaganda" that gives a chance to war, rather than to peace. Following the logic of the British leadership, the road to peace lies through the accumulation of nuclear arsenals, including British ones.

According to London's plans, the British Navy alone will increase the number of nuclear warheads of missiles from 64 to 512, while Britain's overall nuclear potential will be increased up to 1,088 warheads. Is it not direct complicity in the sabotage of the hopes for nuclear disarmament?

The West German leadership is no less "frank". Its representatives declare that "there will be no strategy in the foreseeable future without nuclear armaments, both on a global and European scale." West German Defense Minister Manfred Woerner went as far as to say that "a total elimination of nuclear weapons may result under certain circumstances in a risk of war." Bonn's policy graphically shows that it as well as London obediently execute Washington's will and are prepared to block any steps on the path towards ridding mankind of the war threat.

London's and Bonn's attitude to the "star wars" program is vivid evidence of their irresponsibility and the danger of their policy for Europe and the entire world.

While realizing quite well that the "Strategic Defense Initiative" is one of the chief obstacles in the way of curbing the arms race and diminishing the threat of nuclear war, the British Government has already involved the country in its implementation.

The West German Government is applying maximum effort to involve its country in the adventure, too. In addition to the SDI, Bonn officials are urging the establishment of a "European trap"--the development of the so-called European Defense Initiative. Woerner does not miss a single opportunity to call for the construction of "anti-missile defense blocks in Europe."

Surely, London and Bonn "unanimously" backed the obstructionist American position on the question of nuclear testing. They are doing their utmost to "justify" America's refusal to join the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions. The British and West German step was aptly described in Western European countries as subservience to Washington.

In whipping up the "cold winds" in Europe, the British and West German governments do not think that the peoples of their countries, as well as of other states will ultimately ask: What contribution did they make to strengthening peace, to the cause of disarmament? The time when they will have to give an answer to that question is not too far away.

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CSO: 5200/1319

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

FRG PAPER PREDICTS LITTLE PROGRESS IN SUPERPOWER RELATIONS

Hamburg DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT in German 9 March 86 p 1

[Editorial by Fritz Pleitgen: "Repeat Offenders" / Superpowers: The Spirit of Geneva is Finished]

[Text] There is no cause for optimism. Relations between Washington and Moscow are as utterly muddled as they appear. The Geneva summit with its final declaration of good intentions is revealed as a beautiful hoax.

The next summit meeting will take place in good time, but at the end of it there will be another verbosely packaged zero solution of the problems-- applauded by the respective allies in customary servility, since a meeting is of value per se.

The summit meeting in Geneva was not a cunning fraud, but it soon became clear that the personnel in the White House and in the Kremlin cannot cope with the enormous problems. Ronald Reagan was abandoned by his good minds. James Baker, Michael Deaver, Robert McFarlane left the innermost circle of the President's advisers; the departure of Richard Burt also makes itself felt. The new security adviser, John Poindexter, is a solid manager, but not exactly the inventor of gunpowder, which also does not qualify him as a disarmament strategist. How weak the team is was shown by the fact that weeks passed before Washington had forced itself to produce a not very convincing answer to Gorbachev's proposal.

The other side does not look any better. Although many old comrades were retired, it did not happen in the foreign policy sector. Arbatov, Kornienko, Dobrynin are still around, and Gromyko in his capacity as a member of the Politburo will continue to have a strong influence on foreign policy. No revolutionary innovations can be expected of these people. In view of this situation of problems and personnel, it is not surprising that Washington and Moscow belabor each other as before with disarmament proposals which sound fine but do not advance matters.

In November it still looked in Geneva as if decisive negotiating progress could be made by summer, at least in the case of nuclear medium-range weapons. The fact that Moscow no longer made this issue dependent on a waiver of SDI nourished the hope for a breakthrough to an agreement. But

since Reagan's answer the status quo ante is back. The concern of the allies--that U.S. missiles might be removed too quickly--did not make Washington more capable of compromise, rather the opposite. The greatest hurdle, however, is the existence of the British and French medium-range systems which Washington cannot and will not have frozen at the present quota, as demanded by Moscow. So a counter-proposal came about which does as little to advance matters as the large-caliber offer by Gorbachev to abolish all nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

It is not as plausible to explain Washington's refusal to join the Soviet nuclear weapons test moratorium. U.S. reasoning that the Soviet lead in this field must be made up, is flimsy. In reality, the Reagan administration needs the nuclear underground explosions for SDI, the strategic defense in space which carries the bogus label non-nuclear. For next year alone, \$ 250 million have been requested for these tests.

In order to get the desired funds for defense, which in the Pentagon view is to cost an additional \$ 1.7 trillion (!) over the next 5 years, Ronald Reagan saw himself forced to operate with doubtful figures. According to the President, since 1970 the Soviets had spent \$ 500 billion more for the military than the United States. There was a prompt counter-calculation by Harvard University according to which, in the same time period, the West had outdone the East by \$ 740 billion in armament expenditures.

Reagan and Gorbachev again talk as if they had never sat together at a fireplace. Different from what it may have seemed in Geneva, they are not strong enough to change course. At home they again became prisoners of their conditions and prejudices. And so they cannot cope with the relatively simple problem of medium-range weapons, although these missiles are superfluous for the security of either side, and the U.S. President and the Soviet party chief are even less capable of overcoming their disagreement on SDI. Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative is unstoppable. Even the President himself could no longer stop it. While at the conclusion of the Manhattan Project 200,000 Americans were busy building the atomic bomb, even more people are occupied already today with SDI. The genie cannot be put back in the bottle.

Is Gorbachev coming? Not in June; the preparation time is too short for that! July is a possibility, but by then little will have happened in the arms control negotiations. For this reason, the United States does not want to make materialization of the meeting dependent on progress in Geneva. There are plenty of other subjects to be discussed. Yet it is not very attractive for Gorbachev to talk only about human rights and regional conflicts. Still, he cannot permit himself to back down if he does not want to be seen as a loser by world public opinion. Whatever: so far, there is little reason to expect more from a U.S.-Soviet summit this year than from the one in Geneva in 1985.

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CSO: 5200/2661

BRIEFS

TASS: FURTHER DEFENSE BUILDUP--Washington, March 28 TASS--"Peace through strength is a fact of life", said President Reagan in his overtly militaristic statement. The President's speech in New Orleans, Louisiana, on Thursday, show how in practice the United States is trying to materialize this very dangerous concept. The President in actual fact advocated further build-up of the military muscles of America, asserting that this is allegedly the "leverage" for negotiations on control over armaments. Without such a "leverage", one cannot conduct serious negotiations, said the head of the White House. Reagan's pronouncements reaffirmed that the United States intends to speed up the development and establishment of a large-scale anti-missile defense system with space-based elements, the star wars system which Reagan tried to depict as an anti-missile defense shield, contrary to the well-known facts and admissions of his own advisers. [Text]
[Moscow TASS in English 0745 GMT 28 Mar 86 LD] /12858

CSO: 5200/1319

EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

CHANCES FOR PROGRESS AT CSCE SEEN TO BE MINIMAL

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 20 March 86 p 12

[Article by Horst Bacia: "At a Snail's Pace" / Hardly Any Progress at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE)]

[Text] In its third and so far last year, an image applies to the Stockholm CDE which came into being soon after its opening: that of a conference of snails. Negotiations proceed slowly and infinitely laboriously. So slowly that some of the representatives of the 35 participating states seriously doubt whether there will even be agreement on a final closing document by fall. When the "Conference on Confidence-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe" meets again on 15 April, there remain three negotiation rounds of 17 weeks in total. On 19 September, shortly before the start of the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna, CDE will adjourn on the basis of its own resolution. This does not leave much time, especially if one compares that which has been achieved since January 1984 with the mountain of differences of opinion yet to be overcome.

Although the Soviet Union, together with the other Warsaw Pact states, has backed off from some of its demands, the actual points of contention between East and West remain unsettled. And even where there exists some half-way agreement, agreement on individual provisions is still far off. Yet the value of an agreement on confidence-building measures lies precisely in regulating details as exactly as possible. During the ninth negotiation round just ended, for the first time individual sentences were written down which are acceptable to all participating countries as part of the text of a final agreement.

For more than a year now, five working groups have been negotiating and fighting. During the ninth round, these groups have been managed by neutral coordinators, namely, by representatives of Austria, Sweden, Finland, and (twice) by Switzerland. Group "A,1" deals with so-called "political" agreements--this concerns in particular the agreement on renunciation of force desired by the Soviet Union; group "A,2" is concerned with questions of exchange of information and verification; "A,3" discusses the proposed announcement of military activities during a calendar year, and measures of numerical limitation of maneuvers; "B,1" deals with the announcement of

maneuvers and troop movements of a certain size, while "B,2" concerns itself with observation of such military activities.

The text which was agreed upon in the first three working groups, after laborious attempts at mediation by the coordinators, consists of a total of 18 lines. And, as one delegate aptly said, even this is only a matter of "transplantations" of formulations agreed upon earlier, especially during the CSCE follow-up meeting in Madrid when the mandate for CDE was negotiated. The only thing new is the agreement that in the future, all member states intend to exchange annual calendar schedules of "military activities to be announced." The agreed-upon text does not state, however, which activities are to be announced. With regard to observation of maneuvers and troop movements, it says that "up to two" observers "from all member states" are to be invited. But the demand by NATO countries and neutral and non-aligned states that observers should be invited to all military activities that are to be announced, has been undercut by the Warsaw Pact with the proposal that only five invitations per year are to be binding, all others to be voluntary. It is primarily Moscow's doing that the dispute over which military activities are to be announced has not yet been decided. This also blocks possible progress in other working groups; one cannot discuss meaningfully verification, the yearly calendar and observers' activities as long as the cornerstone is missing: an agreement on which military activities are to be announced, and how high the threshold should be beyond which the announcement procedure comes into force.

Agreement on this point is not yet possible because the Soviet Union continues an argument in Stockholm which already burdened the CSCE meeting in Madrid where it was finally decided, with Soviet approval, but actually against it. At that time Moscow agreed that confidence-building measures on Soviet territory should be valid as far as the Ural. However, the counter-demand to extend the zone to an imaginary line in the Atlantic, or even as far as the U.S. coast, did not gain acceptance. The mandate for the Stockholm conference stipulated that all activities of ground troops in Europe be included, as well as all activities of air forces over Europe and the activities of naval forces if they touch upon security in Europe and (simultaneously) are a part of air or ground activities in Europe. With this formulation, the United States wanted to ensure that its navy in the Atlantic Ocean will not be touched by the announcement and observation measures to be agreed upon. However, the Soviet Union wants to negotiate in Stockholm also about independent maneuvers and movements at sea that are not held in conjunction with land forces.

Now Gorbachev proposed on 15 January in his extensive statement on armament control to "postpone the issue of naval activities until the next phase of the conference." The diplomatic guile of this suggestion, however, became totally clear only when Ambassador Grinevski explained to the CDE delegates that naturally it concerned "all activities at sea;" and the future treatment of these questions would have to be decided by the Stockholm conference in a "written agreement." In other words: the CDE itself

is to renounce the text of its mandate and guarantee in writing that the Madrid dispute on the extent of operation of the zone will be resumed at the "next phase" of the negotiations. This is rejected by NATO, both for formal and material reasons: the CDE is only one part of the so-called CSCE process, and if at all, only the follow-up meeting in Vienna can decide on an alteration or expansion of the mandate. The Soviet thrust is also seen as an attempt, even now, to extend into the future the security policy consultations within the framework of CSCE as an independent complex, if possible. The West, however, insists on "balance." It wants to continue with this partial area only if progress is made also in the other agreements of Helsinki, particularly in the area of human rights.

The 35 CDE delegations themselves probably do not have the strength to remove the main obstacle to a successful conclusion of their work. An ambassador of one of the Warsaw Pact countries says he is pessimistic if Washington and Moscow do not come to an agreement during the present recess in negotiations. Grinevski's visit to Washington at the beginning of April is probably the last chance to settle the dispute over activities at sea. It is difficult to evaluate whether the Soviets, as many times before, are only setting up demands in order to trade them off later on for Western concessions in other areas. So far at any rate, NATO countries have not seen any cause to abandon their negotiation proposals. They trust that the Soviet Union is interested in continuing CDE after Vienna and that they demand for it the highest possible price in the form of "military transparency."

Evidently the U.S. negotiating delegation does not see any special usefulness in an agreement in Stockholm for the development of mutual relations in the sense that at the next summit meeting, about the timing of which there still exist differences, it could be presented as a pioneering success. As Ambassador Barry reiterated, for the United States appropriate verification is the "sine qua non" of an agreement, and that means: a right to inspection on location. It appears that Washington would rather have no final document at all than a bad final document. Similar views can also be heard from some other NATO delegations. Such statements may also be influenced by negotiation tactics. Representatives of neutral states fear, however, that East and West could block each other through tactical maneuvers until there is not enough time left for the time-consuming negotiations of individual provisions.

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CSO: 5200/2661

NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

GORBACHEV PROPOSES TEST BAN SUMMIT IN EUROPE

29 March Speech

PM301145 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Mar 86 First Edition p 1

[Text] Good evening, dear comrades.

At tonight's meeting I would like to share my views with you on the situation that has formed around the Soviet Union's moratorium on nuclear tests.

Several days ago the United States staged yet another nuclear explosion. It is clear to all of us that its timing was by no means accidental. The blast was staged on the eve of the ending of the Soviet Union's unilaterally declared moratorium. It was learned yesterday that in the next few days -- in the near future -- the United States intends to set off yet another nuclear device.

Soviet people, just as people of good will in all countries, are incensed by these actions of the United States. They write about this in their letters to the party's Central Committee and request that an assessment be made of the existing situation. They ask how should all this be understood? What conclusions should be drawn from this? Why did the United States take such a step? How does our country's leadership intend to act in these conditions?

We consider it our duty to respond to these messages. And this, in effect, is the reason for our meeting tonight.

I must tell you frankly that we regard the present actions of the American Administration, which is continuing nuclear tests despite pressing demands of the peoples, as a pointed challenge to the Soviet Union, and not only to it but also to the whole world, to all peoples, including to its own people as well.

The question of stopping nuclear tests has acquired tremendous importance in conditions when whole mountains of inflammable nuclear material have been stockpiled in the world. And this is understandable.

First, the ending of nuclear tests is the most realistic way of achieving an end to the arms race. Without such tests it is impossible either to perfect or to develop [sozdarat] new types of nuclear arms. In short, it together with the United States and other nuclear powers we were to reach an accord on ending nuclear explosions this would make it possible to get the entire process of nuclear disarmament out of deadlock.

Furthermore, the continued testing inflicts a tremendous and, perhaps, not yet fully studied harm to nature, to that natural environment in which we all live. Do we not feel obliged to show concern for our own home? And not only for ourselves but also for our children and grandchildren.

And finally, in this difficult endeavor there is no need to start so speak from scratch. A definite road has already been traversed and joint experience acquired: What I mean is that tests in the atmosphere, in the water, and on land have not been conducted for many years. Nor have there been explosions in outer space.

It is after duly considering exactly these circumstances and on thoroughly weighing all the pros and cons that 8 months ago, on the 40th anniversary of the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Soviet Union came up with an initiative of extraordinary importance -- an end to all nuclear explosions both for military and peaceful purposes, and a call on the United States of America and other nuclear states to follow its example -- to start to move along the road of nuclear disarmament.

I have already had opportunity to say that in conditions of the unabating tension in the international situation this was not a simple decision for us to make. If you like, this step required both an awareness of the responsibility resting on the governments of nuclear powers and the necessary political will. In acting as it did the Soviet leadership had the mandate of its people, who know the price of peace and sincerely strive for its preservation and consolidation, for cooperation with all peoples.

Acting in this way, we proceeded from the deep conviction that the world in its development has entered such a stage which calls for new approaches to international security matters. Nowadays, in the nuclear and space era, one cannot think in the categories of the past. Everyone should ultimately come to realize that everything has radically changed. The question now concerns not only the preservation of peace but mankind's survival as well.

These are the motives for our decision to announce the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests.

The good initiatives of the Soviet Union -- I am immensely pleased to say this -- has been regarded with understanding and widely endorsed in the world. Our action has been highly appreciated by the working people of all countries: Communists and Social Democrats, liberals and conservatives, Christians and Moslems, a multitude of public organizations, prominent political figures, scientists and cultural figures, and millions of ordinary people.

How did the other side conduct itself? I mean the U.S. Administration.

In words, it stands for the elimination of nuclear weapons. A good deal of statements on that score have been made. But in fact, a gap between words and practical policy exists. The U.S. Government continued to conduct nuclear tests despite the Soviet Union's call and example, despite persistent demands by the American people and by the peoples of the whole world.

We set certain hopes on the Geneva meeting with the President of the United States of America and expected to reach agreement with him on this matter as well. As you remember, reassuring statements were made there from both sides and jointly: that nuclear war is unacceptable, that such a war cannot be won, that the sides would not seek nuclear superiority.

The results of the Geneva meeting prompted us to take yet another good-will step: to extend the moratorium until 31 March of this year. We confirmed thereby in actual fact the responsible attitude toward the dialogue between the leaders of the two powers and hoped, of course, for steps in reply by the U.S. Administration.

I think you will agree that our statement of 15 January this year which set out a concrete and realistic program for the elimination of nuclear arms--is yet another illustration of our real intentions--to put an end to nuclear confrontation. When taking this step, our least thought was how to gain extra propaganda "points," as journalists say in such cases, to outsmart or outperform the other side. We consider such an approach to the burning problem of contemporary politics unacceptable. Our actions were motivated by our responsibility both to the Soviet people and to the other peoples, the responsibility for the removal of the nuclear threat and for the preservation and strengthening of peace.

In February the leaders of six nonaligned states, expressing the dominant sentiments in world public opinion, urged the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States to refrain from nuclear explosions until a new Soviet-American meeting. We consented to this.

It seemed natural on the part of the U.S. Administration to support the Soviet Union's initiative with practical actions and to respond to the expectations of the peoples, to take precise actions to confirm its own statements made in Geneva. But that did not happen.

Everything shows that the U.S. ruling group has placed the narrow selfish interests of the military-industrial circles above the interests of the whole of mankind and its own people. The manner in which this is done is also quite important: pointedly, arrogantly, and with disregard for the opinion of the world community. There is neither a sense of realism nor of responsibility.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that the U.S. ruling circles are continuing to emphasize pursuing a militaristic line and are banking on force so as to dictate their will to other countries and peoples: In process, statements are made for everybody to hear that it is precisely this way that they will also influence the Soviet Union's policy.

What can be said about that? These are attempts using unsuitable [negodnyy] means. Nobody has ever succeeded in using power politics methods against our state, while now they are simply ridiculous. The peoples of other countries are also ever more vigorously rejecting the policy of diktat in international relations, which is already out of date.

The Soviet political leadership is now faced with the far from simple question of how to react to such behavior by the United States.

Our stand is clear. We believe that the world has now entered a period of crucial decisions. Yes, precisely a period of responsible decisions. We will not deviate from the policy of preserving and strengthening peace, which was most definitely confirmed by the 27th Congress of the CPSU. Fulfilling the wish of the Soviet people, the Soviet state will further build up efforts to ensure universal security. We will do that in interaction with all countries and their peoples.

As to our unilateral moratorium, I can say that it is, as before, in effect until 31 March 1986. But even after that date, as it was announced, we will not conduct nuclear explosions, if the United States acts likewise. We are again giving the U.S. Administration a chance to make a responsible decision -- to end nuclear explosions.

Failing that, the Soviet Union will resume testing. This must be absolutely clear. We regret it, but we will be forced to do so, since we cannot forego our own security and that of our allies. I am saying all this, so that there should be no reticence on that issue.

At the same time I stress again and again that our main intention is to stop the nuclear weapons race. The simplest, most explicit, and effective step in that direction would be to end nuclear explosions.

We have proposed that talks be started without delay on a total ban on nuclear weapons testing, including verification [kontrol] issues. All variants are acceptable to the Soviet Union -- bilateral Soviet-American talks, tripartite talks with the participation of Britain, and multilateral ones within the framework of the Geneva disarmament conference.

Now we have drawn the conclusion that the situation requires immediate action. It is not yet too late to halt the nuclear arms race. The first major stride in that direction is needed. An end to nuclear testing by all, first of all by the Soviet Union and the United States as well as by the other nuclear powers, could be such a step. We attach tremendous significance to carrying out this task which concerns the destiny of all peoples.

I am ready to meet President Reagan in the nearest future in London or Rome, or in any other European capital that will agree to receive us, in order to reach agreement on this question. And I do not see any insurmountable obstacles to this -- political, technical, or any other. What is needed is the necessary political will and understanding of our mutual responsibility. We propose to meet, exchange views on this crucial problem, and issue instructions to draft an appropriate agreement.

We hope that this proposal of the Soviet Union will be duly appraised and correctly understood by the President of the United States of America, by the governments of the countries of Europe and Asia, Africa and Latin America, of the whole world.

Time is not waiting. On behalf of the Soviet people we call on the American people and their government, on the peoples and governments of all countries to vigorously take practical actions to enable the ban on nuclear explosions to become a fact, an immutable norm of inter-state relations.

Mankind is standing on a line that requires the maximum of responsibility. The aftermath of the nuclear arms race can become dangerously unpredictable. We must act in concert. This applies to each and all. This is what I wanted to tell you, dear comrades, at our meeting tonight.

Good-bye.

U.S. To Study Proposals

LD292023 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2005 GMT 29 Mar 86

[Text] Washington, 29 Mar (TASS)--Petroski, official spokesman for the White House, stated in Santa Barbara (California), where President Reagan is resting, that the administration will refrain from any reaction to the speech by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, for the time being.

In the words of the White House spokesman, an official statement will be made after the Soviet Union's proposals have been studied by the administration.

U.S. To Continue Tests

LD300322 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0255 GMT 30 Mar 86

[Text] Washington, 30 Mar (TASS) -- Throwing down a challenge to world public opinion, the Reagan administration has announced its intention to continue testing. A special statement, read out in Santa Barbara on behalf of the President by a White House spokesman, stresses that the U.S. stance regarding a moratorium on nuclear tests "has not changed." As the document asserts, halting nuclear explosions is not in the interests of the United States.

The overwhelming majority of the U.S. population and the peoples of other countries demand a halt to nuclear testing as the first real step on the path to nuclear disarmament.

Adelman Confirms Response

LD290625 Moscow TASS in English 0617 GMT 29 Mar 86

[Text] Washington, March 29 TASS--Kenneth Adelman, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, has said that the United States will go on testing nuclear weapons.

Speaking in an ASSOCIATED PRESS interview, he claimed that the tests were needed "to make sure that the safety and reliability of nuclear weapons is as high as we can make them".

The contention that nuclear testing is needed to maintain the "reliability" of the U.S. nuclear potential is among Washington's familiar propaganda ploys meant to cover up its unwillingness to discontinue nuclear blasts.

U.S. Attitude 'Unconstructive'

LD300930 Moscow TASS in English 0924 GMT 30 Mar 86

[Text] Washington March 30 TASS -- The speech by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on Soviet television has become the major news in the programmes of U.S. television networks. In their newscasts the ABC, NBC, CNN and other leading television networks amply cited the text of the speech and stressed its immense importance.

As for the U.S. Administration, it took up an unconstructive stand towards the Soviet initiatives again. A White House spokesman made a statement in which he reiterated that the U.S. stance towards the moratorium on nuclear tests had not changed. He alleged that this measure was not in the interests of the security of the United States and its allies.

This approach came under fire from Paul Warnke, a well-known U.S. public figure, former head of the U.S. delegation at the Strategic Armaments Limitation Talks. Warnke said that he believed the administration was committing a very grave error. In his opinion, the moves to further build up nuclear arms led to undermining U.S. security.

Response to Gorbachev Reviewed

LD301349 Moscow TASS in English 1342 GMT 30 Mar 86

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS -- The Soviet Union has once again appealed to the American people and their government, to the peoples and governments of all countries to apply vigorous, practical actions so that the ban on nuclear explosions become a fact, an immutable norm of interstate relations. Such is the principal message of press, radio television and wire-service comments around the world on Mikhail Gorbachev's televised speech.

The USSR reaffirms its determination to follow the course towards preserving peace, confirmed with full certainty by the 27th CPSU Congress. In exercising the will of the Soviet people, the Soviet state will continue building up efforts with a view to ensuring universal security. The Soviet Union will do that jointly with all countries and their peoples.

The mass media in socialist countries give the full text of the Soviet leader's statement. "Stopping the nuclear arms race is the Soviet Union's chief intention," stresses the Bulgarian newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

The Soviet leader expressed his readiness to meet U.S. President Reagan in any European city at any time for talks on a comprehensive ban on nuclear weapons tests, observed a commentator of the American NBC television network. Gorbachev said he saw no insurmountable obstacles to that--political, technical, or any other, the commentator pointed out.

The American Administration has hastily rejected the latest Soviet peace initiative. As to the nuclear test moratorium, says the White House statement, "The U.S. position has not changed." The White House announced that "a moderate level of nuclear testing is needed to ensure the continue reliability, safety and effectiveness of our nuclear deterrent."

White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan said in Santa Barbara, California, that the administration was not going to cancel the nuclear test to be set off in Nevada in mid-April. American observers pointed out in this connection that the Pentagon needed nuclear explosions for continuing work on first-strike weapons -- Midgetman and MX missiles -- and implementing the "star wars" programme directed at gaining military superiority.

16 April 1986

The statement rejects the suggestion for an early summit meeting in Europe to conclude an agreement banning nuclear tests on the pretext that "meetings at the highest level should deal with the entire range of important issues between our two countries."

The White House's negative response has run into criticism on the part of prominent political and public figures in the United States. Paul Warnke, former chief American negotiator at Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, described the administration's response as a grave mistake. In his view, the further buildup of nuclear armaments was undermining the United States' security.

The White House statement cannot be regarded as a straight answer to the proposal involving the major question of our time. Nations all over the world demand that the ban on nuclear explosions become a fact, an immutable form of interstate relations.

THE NEW YORK TIMES quotes Gorbachev as saying that the actions by the American Administration, which is continuing nuclear tests despite pressing demands of the peoples, are regarded in the USSR as a pointed challenge to the Soviet Union, and not only to it but also to the whole world, to all peoples, including to its own people as well. Unless the United States responded to the Soviet Union's appeal, said a commentator of the American ABC television network, the USSR would have to resume its nuclear testing that was suspended in August last year. The USSR would have to do that for it could not forego its own security and that of its allies.

There is no task more important than invigorating the campaign for the termination of any nuclear blasts, eliminating nuclear weapons and all other types of weapons of mass annihilation, and preventing the militarization of outer space. This has been underlined by the participants in a world peace forum in the Austrian city of Graz. They stressed the importance of the peace initiatives advanced by the Soviet Union, noting that these initiatives were meeting approval and support of the world public.

REUTER news agency stressed that Gorbachev, while giving a fresh impetus to the Soviet campaign for the prohibition of nuclear testing, urged Reagan to meet as soon as possible to discuss the moratorium issue. According to Western diplomats, the proposal would generate political pressure on the Reagan administration in favour of displaying a readiness for disarmament.

The Soviet Union thrice extended its unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions, recalled a commentator of the Japanese NHK Radio and Television Corp., assessing Gorbachev's speech as yet another attempt to influence the United States and to show that Moscow was doing its utmost to achieve the termination of nuclear testing. The Soviet Union was pressing the U.S. Administration to adopt a responsible political decision on ending nuclear blasts, stressed the Japanese news agency KYODO TSUSHIN. The Soviet Union accused Washington, it said, of placing the selfish interests of the military-industrial circles above the interests of all of mankind.

News Conference Cited

LD010841 Moscow TASS in English 0831 GMT 1 Apr 86

[Text] Moscow April 1 TASS -- A news conference was held for Soviet and foreign correspondents at the press center of the Foreign Ministry of the USSR today. It dealt with a statement made by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on Soviet television and his message to the U.N. secretary-general.

The news conference was given by Georgiy Korniyenko, a first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, Vladimir Petrovskiy, head of the International Organizations Department of the Foreign Ministry of the USSR, and Vladimir Lomeyko, head of the ministry's press department. Opening the meeting with the press, Korniyenko said: The fact that Mikhail Gorbachev's address on Soviet television on March 29 was devoted especially to the issue of ending nuclear tests attests to the tremendous significance attached to it by the Soviet leadership.

That we are concentrating efforts in this area is explained by the following considerations:

The first consideration. The issue of stopping nuclear weapons tests, while being an organic part of the general program for nuclear disarmament which was set forth in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of January 15, lends itself readily at the same time to independent, and quick, resolution, given, of course, a shared desire to achieve it. What are the grounds for saying this? First, the problem of ending nuclear weapons testing completely is already 75-percent solved: For many years none of the nuclear powers has been conducting nuclear blasts in three mediums, that is on the surface of the earth, in the atmosphere and in outer space. So it only remains to agree not to stage them also in the fourth medium, underground. Second, the question of prohibition of underground nuclear tests has already been the subject of negotiations between the USSR, USA and Britain, and moreover -- the sides have been close to completion of elaboration of a relevant treaty. Over a period of many years various aspects of that question are being worked on also at the multilateral organ -- the Geneva Conference on Disarmament. Third, if earlier difficulties in verification over prohibition of nuclear tests were more far-fetched, than real, they are now simply non-existent: Scientific-technical means of verification became even more perfect, and, if need be, they could be supplemented with international on-site inspections.

Second consideration. With such a measure as prohibition of nuclear tests being seemingly limited, termination of nuclear tests is the most real, the simplest and the most efficient step towards ending the nuclear arms race and, to a major extent, prevention of the arms race in outer space. It is most important now to stop the arms race, to move from the dead centre the process of disarmament, above all nuclear.

It is exactly for that purpose that the Soviet Union decided to take a unilateral daring step, as a good example: It stopped any nuclear explosions as of August 6 last year -- both in military and peaceful purposes. The initial deadline of that moratorium, January 1, this year, was later extended till March 31.

And then a new constructive step was made on the part of the Soviet Union. As was announced in Mikhail Gorbachev's reply to the leaders of six states and reaffirmed in his March 29 television appearance, the Soviet Union will not conduct nuclear explosions also after the expiration of March 31 -- the extended date of the unilateral moratorium, as long as the United States does not hold such tests. Otherwise, the Soviet Union will resume nuclear tests. This, as was emphasized by Mikhail Gorbachev, should be absolutely clear. The USSR cannot waive its own security and the security of its allies.

But that would not be our choice -- all our thoughts and efforts are directed exactly at preventing such a turn of affairs. To have an accord on ending nuclear tests, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee is ready to meet at an early date the U.S. President at one of the European capitals.

Mikhail Gorbachev's March 28 Message to U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar on the occasion of the International Year of Peace, is also permeated with the care to ensure a turn to the better in international affairs, to strengthen peace.

The Soviet Union is known to have been the first to respond to the declaration, which proclaimed 1986 as the International Year of Peace, and which was adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in October last year. In the USSR that U.N. decision was received as an extra political stimulus for the quest for large-scale and effective measures to remove the nuclear threat.

A package of exactly such measures of fundamental significance was set forth in the January 15 statement of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and then reaffirmed and developed in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress. The fundamental basic principles of a comprehensive system of international security, put forth at the congress, harmoniously accord with the aims and the tasks of the International Year of Peace, just as with the U.N. Charter.

Answers have been given to numerous questions put by journalist.

More Korniyenko Remarks

LD011017 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0940 GMT 1 Apr 86

[Text] Moscow, 1 Apr (TASS) -- Georgiy Korniyenko, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, answering a question on the USSR's reaction to the White House proposal that Soviet experts be sent to observe the nuclear blast in the State of Nevada planned for the middle of April said: We have put forward a proposal to the U.S. Government that experts from the two countries meet at any time and in any place to discuss matters relating to monitoring the halting of nuclear blasts. Our position is unambiguous. Traveling and observing how nuclear blasts are carried out would mean to all intents and purposes legalizing blasts. Let the Americans look elsewhere for companions wanting to take part in such a legalization. We shall not take part in this. Georgiy Korniyenko was speaking at a news conference at the Press Center of the USSR Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Asked whether the extension of the moratorium by the USSR is possible if the United States carries out a new nuclear test, he stressed that it would no longer be in force. The USSR has already warned that it will not be able to extend the moratorium endlessly. The USSR will refrain from carrying out nuclear tests only until the first nuclear explosion in the United States.

We would not like to think that President Reagan has uttered his final word on a special meeting on the issue of halting nuclear weapons tests. By proposing a meeting in the very near future in one of the European capitals to discuss this question, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, did not mean that this meeting would replace the one arranged in Geneva and which must take the form of a visit by him to the United States. This issue remains on the agenda.

U.S. actions over the past few months represent a departure from "the spirit of Geneva," said Georgiy Korniyenko. As for the USSR we shall continue our efforts to improve the situation and achieve a turn for the better. The USSR, he noted, is particularly negatively inclined when this or that country, whether it be the FRG or Israel, joins in U.S. plans to create a so-called "space shield." The FRG's participation in the SDI program cannot fail to have an effect on the state of USSR-FRG relations too. The first deputy USSR minister of foreign affairs condemned Washington's intention to supply the most up-to-date types of weapons to counterrevolutionary gangs in Afghanistan and Angola.

U.S. Rejection Scored

PM311907 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Apr 86 First Edition p 4

[Vitaliy Korionov "Observer's Opinion" under the general headline: "Take the Sensible Step!"]

[Text] The reports currently arriving in an unbroken stream from all ends of the earth testify to the fact that the planet is witnessing what is essentially a universal referendum on today's most acute issue for mankind: Will the opportunities still available for finally halting the dangerous nuclear arms race be utilized? The cessation of nuclear tests primarily by the Soviet Union and the United States must be the chief and urgent step to be taken along the path toward this goal.

The new Soviet initiative has stirred the world and has been a powerful boost for all those who want to safeguard the earth against a nuclear conflagration. The position of the USSR, which is continuing to adhere to its unilaterally imposed moratorium, is viewed everywhere as an initiative of outstanding political significance.

As for the United States, everyone can see that the U.S. Administration has been given yet another chance to back up with actions its declarative statements of its desire for the reduction of nuclear armaments. This chance should not be missed -- such is the resolute demand which is growing hourly everywhere, the United States included. The governments of peace-loving states, the broadest strata of the international public, political parties, public organizations and movements, parliaments, church representatives, and people espousing the most diverse political views are all demanding: Enough empty promises, it is time for immediate and vigorous actions!

What is more, the U.S. Administration is acting, but only in the opposite direction: A new nuclear explosion is being prepared at the Nevada test range. It is not enough that Washington has hastily rejected the new Soviet peace initiative. The White House is declaring over and over that it is still expecting "Soviet specialists to observe the U.S. nuclear test to be held mid-April." What is this if not cynical mockery of the hopes of the peoples who are insisting on Washington's cessation of nuclear tests!

The constructive Soviet proposal is receiving increasingly broad international support. Millions and millions of people are yet again being convinced in fact that the USSR acts with an understanding of its responsibility to mankind. If the planet continues to be shaken by nuclear explosions, the responsibility for this will rest wholly and completely with the Washington administration. And with it alone!

Levin Assails Reagan Remarks

LD312003 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 31 Mar 86

[Text] Beyond U.S. borders, Soviet proposals for a halt to nuclear tests have been received even more warmly. Washington's negative response to them has evoked indignation. The U.S. argument is seen as a defiance of common sense. In a dispatch from Washington a DPA correspondent analyzes the U.S. Administration's position on the issue, summing up: the United States sees the Soviet proposal as, just listen, a propaganda ploy. Here is my colleague Viktor Levin:

[Levin] I will begin with a quotation: Militarist states see unilateral concessions as a sign of weakness and not good intentions. To my mind this description wholly covers the American position in relation to the moratorium on nuclear explosions introduced unilaterally by the Soviet Union. What we did was to take a good-will step and for 8 months now we have not carried out any nuclear explosions although the United States stubbornly continues with its tests. As confirmed in Comrade Gorbachev's television address, we even now call on the United States to display a sense of responsibility and follow our example. The reply to this is negative.

This seems the right moment to return to the quotation I gave. I repeat it: Militaristic states see unilateral concessions as a sign of weakness and not good intentions. And whatever anyone might say as far as official Washington is concerned, the quotation hits the nail on the head. And do you know who is being quoted? I will not keep you in suspense any longer: These words were spoken by U.S. President Ronald Reagan. In his usual way, he intended to brand someone else but the way it turned out, his high-flown rhetoric disregards facts and rebounds directly on the very policies being pursued by the present American Administration.

As already noted, Washington hastened to call the new Soviet proposal -- which opens up a real way to the total halting of nuclear weapons testing -- a propaganda ploy. But just a moment; the fact that we have done so unilaterally and to the prejudice -- and there can be no two ways about this -- of our own security, given that the United States is continuing such explosions, can this fact really be a propaganda ploy? Our proposal for a Soviet-U.S. summit meeting to be held in the near future to take the first major step toward stopping the nuclear arms race and reach agreement on halting nuclear tests -- is this also a propaganda ploy? If so, then it is to ask what Washington would call responsibility for the fate of the world and political will to solve the burning problems confronting mankind.

The DPA dispatch notes that, despite wide-ranging protests from world opinion the United States has carried out not only its 22d March defiant nuclear explosion but is preparing for another test in the 3d week of April, one which is an integral part of the work to develop strike weapons in space. There are rumors, the West German journalist notes, that yet another test may be carried out in the first half of April. So are these explosions to be regarded as a constructive contribution by Washington to the cause of ridding mankind of the threat of nuclear war?

The Soviet Union has made an honest and realistic proposal dictated by a feeling of utmost responsibility and by a desire to see a ban on nuclear explosions become a fact, an immutable norm of interstate relations. Washington's position, as it appears today, shows that the U.S. Administration is not ready for such constructive steps. Recalling Reagan's words once more, it remains to be said that it is the United States which acts like the militarist state about which the head of the U.S. Administration spoke.

Kornilov Urges Test Ban

LD312116 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 31 Mar 86

[Text] Moscow March 31 TASS -- TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov writes: "It is not yet late to halt the nuclear arms race. The first major stride in that direction is needed. Putting an end to nuclear testing by all, above all by the Soviet Union and the United States, as well as by the other nuclear powers, could become such a step. We attach tremendous significance to the solution of this task which concerns the destiny of all peoples", Mikhail Gorbachev said in his speech over the Soviet television on

March 29. The world press emphasizes that this is another vivid confirmation of the Soviet Union's consistent foreign policy course aimed at removing the danger of nuclear holocaust.

A good example set by the Soviet Union, which unilaterally announced a moratorium on all nuclear explosions eight months ago, on the day of the 40th anniversary of the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and urged the USA and other nuclear powers to follow suit has evoked approval all over the world.

And this is natural. One need not be an expert in the military sphere to realize that not to conduct testing means to put an end to the refining of nuclear weapons, to start practical advance to their complete elimination everywhere. The Soviet Union views an end to testing as part and parcel of the Soviet Union's large-scale peace programme, the implementation of which would enable humanity to enter the 21st century being rid of the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

We view an end to testing as a most important element of setting up a comprehensive system of international security, the foundations of which have been formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress.

It would seem that Washington should support the Soviet Union's initiative and meet the expectations of the peoples, for President of the United States Reagan, less than six months ago, put his signature in Geneva to the joint Soviet-U.S. statement which clearly declared that a nuclear war is inadmissible and that the sides will not be striving for nuclear superiority. But what was Washington's real answer? At first silence and then awkward manoeuvres aimed at avoiding the discussion of the essence of the matter while a number of tests of nuclear devices were conducted in Nevada.

After non-aligned countries, other peaceful nations started declaring for an end to nuclear testing ever more resolutely, and the USSR, having extended its moratorium till March 31, declared that it will not conduct tests even after the expiry of that deadline, till the USA conducts a nuclear explosion. Another nuclear explosion, the eighth one in the past eight months was set off at the test site in Nevada. What is this if not an ostentatious and brazen challenge to the Soviet Union, to all peoples? This is an act of defiance that evoked stormy indignation all over the world.

Trying to camouflage the militaristic essence of its policy, Washington is launching these days ever more propaganda fireworks aimed at misleading the public. It is asserted, for instance, that the USA, allegedly "lags behind" the USSR and needs nuclear explosions to ensure its own security. But this is a lie and to refute it it is enough to quote the information of such a prestigious organization as the Swedish Institute of Defence Studies. Its information indicates that the number of nuclear devices the USA has tested since 1945 exceeds by third that tested by the USSR. And a number of nuclear tests conducted by the USA and other western powers is 50 per cent greater than the number of tests by the USSR. Furthermore, Washington asserts that to end testing is impossible because of "difficulties of verification". This is also a lie which has been refuted more than once by prominent western politicians, scientists and military experts.

The U.S. ruling circles placed self-seeking interests of the military-industrial circles above the interests of entire humanity and their own people. Ignoring the will of the international public, flouting the United Nations Charter, going back on its own obligations assumed during the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, Washington continues banking on the militaristic course, on force, and is asserting that it is precisely in this way that

the United States can "influence" the USSR's policy. These are futile calculations. Time and the course of events show if the U.S. ruling circles will be able to realize soberly the realities of the present and abandon the hegemonistic philosophy and militaristic doctrines dashed by life itself. As for the Soviet Union, it remains loyal to the policy of peace and continues declaring vigorously for the removal of war threat.

'Top Priority' Examines Attitude

LD022102 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 1 Apr 86

["Top Priority" program presented by Pavel Kuznetsov, with Dr Radomir Bogdanov and Dr Sergey Plekhanov from the Institute for United States and Canada Studies]

[Text] Speaking on Soviet television last Saturday, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev once again confirmed that this country would prolong its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests beyond March 31 if the United States refrained from its own nuclear testing. The Soviet leader proposed a meeting with President Reagan in London, Rome, or any other European capital to discuss the most crucial problem of banning nuclear testing. With the survival of humanity at stake the Soviet moratorium was dictated by the urgent need to seek new approaches to international security in the spirit of responsibility. However, the Reagan administration is against halting nuclear tests, one of the reasons being the need to build new weapons, both nuclear and those in space, the X-ray laser in particular.

On Saturday 22 March the United States detonated a nuclear device in Nevada, and according to press reports from Washington, intends to carry out another nuclear explosion shortly. In today's edition of Top Priority, leading experts from the Moscow-based Institute for United States and Canada Studies Dr Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov take a look at some official American arguments on nuclear testing. Moderating Top Priority is Pavel Kuznetsov of our staff.

[Kuznetsov] President Reagan invited Soviet scientists to come to Nevada and watch new American equipment to monitor nuclear testing in use. He added that he had offered to share with this country, that is with us, this new technology that would allow both nations to verify compliance with treaties limiting nuclear testing. But at the same time the Reagan administration is dragging their feet on renewing talks on a comprehensive test ban treaty. I don't see how the two things can go hand in hand, I mean this passion for compliance with (?unratified) treaties and at the same time their unwillingness to resume talks on a comprehensive test ban.

[Bogdanov] Pavel, you are right, you are right. My difficulty with that is also along the same lines, but I would like to add to that some illogical, you know, points which are in the proposals of the Reagan administration. What I mean by that: We suggest to this administration that we stop testing. But this administration suggests to us: you join us in improving the level of testing. You know, that's the no 1 point of illogical behavior in that. It looks like that, I'm sorry for that, that you invite somebody to train in robbing somebody, to improve the level of robbing somebody's pockets instead of stopping robbing somebody. It looks like that, it's the same, you know. So I don't know why we should accept Reagan's invitation to send our people and just to bless by that the resuming and continuation of nuclear testing. So it means that they take us for such a silly people that we will by one hand suggest stop testing but by the other hand join them in improving (?them).

[Kuznetsov] And bless them.

[Bogdanov] And bless them, and bless them. And, you know, what is really a propaganda trick, that's exactly what the Reagan administration suggested to us -- without, of course, any hope that we will accept it -- but they were rather suggesting that for their own people, uninformed people, to show how they are, you know, generous to the Soviets and ready even to share their new technology but (?the Soviets) don't accept it.

[Kuznetsov] In a (?Senate) report since 1984 the United States Administration has recently accused the Soviet Union of violating its arms control treaty commitments. Like I said, similar charges were made in 1984 and '85. Is there any connection between these regular charges with the official American position on nuclear testing?

[Plekhanov] Well, of course, I think there is a connection; it's part of the same policy, trying to prevent any progress in Soviet-American relations on arms control. You see, there is so little that can be used as ammunition against the idea of banning all nuclear tests that you need whatever ammunition you can find in other quarters. But also, I think, the recent report is also connected with the continued attempts by the extremist forces in the Reagan administration to undermine the ABM treaty of 1972, and the SALT-II treaty; they have been doing it for several years. They have been trying, coming up with new ploys, new attempts to break out of those treaties, to destroy them, and they haven't given up. So it's not just connected with the business of testing. But what they did come up with, on the basis of what I have been able to read in the press, is the same old list of complaints, which have been rejected before by very responsible sources in the administration itself. For instance, Admiral Chain, who until recently was head of the bureau of political military affairs at the State Department, stated a year ago in connection with the previous report, which contained virtually the same charges, stated that actually he did not agree that the Soviet Union violated the existing treaties, that those charges are not very well grounded. And one must say in fairness that in most of those so-called cases that the -- that have been included in those reports, the administration is talking about possible violations that they have grounds to think that -- (?violations)...

[Kuznetsov] (?Violations likely) ...

[Plekhanov] So (?they need an escape clause) because you really don't want to be -- to get caught brazenly lying in public. You also must be aware, you know we can't say -- we're not 100 percent sure, but there's enough...

[Kuznetsov] [ords indistinct]

[Plekhanov] Yeah. But for the public, which doesn't go into detail, and for the 2-minute newscast, you know, news points -- news spots -- in the -- on television.

[Kuznetsov] Or radio?

[Plekhanov] It does sound like -- yes, well, the Soviets are cheating, and the administration is trying to catch them, you know. That's very harmful.

[Kuznetsov] As far as I know, an intelligence estimate made public by the Joint Chiefs of Staff contradicts President Reagan's assertion that the Soviet Union has violated the key arms control provision, and that was carried by THE NEW YORK TIMES news service in February, and this report refers to similar accusations made by the Reagan administration in 1985. And the independent scientists and experts said that it appears gravely irresponsible for the administration to have formally charged the

Soviet Union in December with a violation of the SALT-II overall numerical limits when the Joint Chiefs of Staff order of battle now shows them to be well within the required limit.

[Plekhanov] Well, of course, honoring such important treaties as SALT I and II treaties is in the interests of the Soviet Union. We are not interested in breaking out of treaties which serve our interests.

And we are firmly convinced that they, those treaties, are also in the interests of the United States, and that they should observe those treaties scrupulously, and not try to undermine them, to break out of them.

[Kuznetsov] Our moratorium was described by administration officials as propaganda. Why is it that we have neither seen nor heard any such propaganda, in quotation marks, from them? Dr Bogdanov, why haven't they stopped their testing for at least 2 or 3 months?

[Bogdanov] It's clear for me why they didn't. They have suggested to the Congress a huge military budget, you know, for '87. Now, if they stop testing, if they join us in moratorium, the congress will put a very reasonable question to them: What the hell you are spending billions and billions on those toys while you stop (?nice little) the Soviet Union; you join them. Why do you need all this money? That's another reason why they are building up tension around Congress; first of all to my mind, around Congress. And if you look at the American scene, it's a very unfortunate, you know, development. Very unfortunate time in the sense that the military budget is in the Congress now, and they have to convince their Congress counterparts that the evil empire guys are so badly behaved that Americans have only one answer to that, to spend another billions and billions and billions. How they can stop now testing?

And you know, there's another point. There, I still have a question: Defense Guidance of 81 [words indistinct]

[Kuznetsov] Produced in 1982?

[Bogdanov] There were two Defense Guidance, but (?basics as they say) to build up such an American, such American nuclear might, that they will prevail in the Soviet Union, over the Soviet Union, and they will finish the military conflict on the terms favorable for America. Now, my question is: Is it valid for this administration or not? If you judge by the Reagan-Gorbachev communique after Geneva summit, where it is said that no side is aiming at the nuclear superiority, and where it is stated that the nuclear war is not winnable; so, my question is how that correlates to the American behavior when they don't stop testing? [sentence as heard] So where is the truth? Are the Defense Guidances still valid?

[Kuznetsov] I think...

[Bogdanov] Interrupting or these statements, very important statements in the joint communique are still valid or there are several American policies; one is for the public and one is for the Congress and that last one for the American Administration. I have no answer to that.

[Words indistinct due to multiple speakers]

[Plekhanov] I think those Guidances, I think those Defense Guidances are still valid, because they were drawn up by Caspar Weinberger, the defense secretary, and he says he is not signatory to any Soviet-American accord; he is just pushing ahead with star wars, with nuclear testing, with modernizing the arsenals and it fits; it perfectly fits into those Defense Guidances. You were absolutely right, they were drawn up in 1982, and I remember comments in THE NEW YORK TIMES: (?We) were bewildered, numbed, astonished, because actually those Guidances put the United States on a permanent war footing in peacetime with the Soviet Union because of this relentless military drive.

[Kuznetsov] Our time is running out. I'd like to conclude with this: On Radio Moscow we have a program called "Opinion Forum," on which we read the reaction of our listeners to the Soviet disarmament program announced by Mikhail Gorbachev, and also on our policy on nuclear testing. Thus far we haven't received a single letter praising the arms race, and well, I've brought some letters with me. They are from (Eric Milner) of Austin, Texas, they are from Mrs (Lynette Williams) of Oakland, California.

[Bogdanov] You have so many letters on this, I (?think) maybe this one?

[Kuznetsov] In his proposal, Mikhail Gorbachev addressed this problem where he pointed to the need to change the caveman mentality in which security was to be sought in a bigger stick or a heavier stone. Mikhail Gorbachev is absolutely right. Nuclear arms are not sticks and stones, and piling up more and more of them serves to (?diminish) rather than enhance security. And this is typical of responses that we get. And yet in the White House they cite national policy, national policy concerns, national security, and all that as a justification for the relentless military (?drive). And we know from the latest opinion polls in the United States that the majority of the Americans reject this build-up, this military drive. How can anyone talk about this military drive being in national interests if the people reject it?

[Plekhanov] Well, there is that old traditional approach coming from the Roman Empire, and it was striking to hear this approach referred to again. The ancient Romans, being quoted by Ronald Reagan, said that now, if you want peace, prepare for war, and he also mentioned that nobody ever crossed Jack Dempsey. Well, apparently because Jack Dempsey was a boxing champion, and he could beat the hell out of anyone who would cross him. But if you project it onto the military situation today with nuclear weapons, it would look as if Jack Dempsey would have deterred others not by his fists or his muscles or his reputation, but by just carrying a bomb around and threatening to explode it on (?himself). Because really it's very dangerous, very misleading to apply the obsolete dogma to the nuclear age, to this world of ours today which is so dynamic, so full of change, and so interdependent and so fragile that we really must work out a new approach to security. This is a difficult business; it involves changing a lot of ingrained attitudes. It involves a lot of dropping of old assumptions. We have started the process of updating and modernizing our approach to security, making it more enlightened, more in line with the realities of the world, and we are hoping to try to involve the American side in that process. And we are hoping that the common sense on that side will finally prevail. Otherwise there is no hope for survival.

[Kuznetsov] And we openly admit that there can be no Soviet security without that of the United States.

[Plekhanov] Obviously, obviously. Not only that there must be security on the American side, there must be just as much security. America must be able to feel as secure as we are, and vice versa. There must be equal security.

[Bogdanov] Yeah. Less American security means less Soviet security, because if they feel less secure they will do something to fill the gap. And that will provoke us, you know, for another reaction to that. So that's why that form of less security for one means less security for the other. I think it's very important [words indistinct]. Now, the last part of your question about public opinion polls. It's another example (?of) how this administration manipulates polls. When they have polls in their favor, they, you know...

[Kuznetsov] Advertise?

[Bogdanov] Advertise that at all levels as something very much proving and supporting this administration [as heard]. But if they have polls just contradicting their policy, they just don't mention them as they [as heard] were not existing at all. It's another example of a very high skill of manipulation, in this administration.

[Kuznetsov] Thank you, Dr Bogdanov; thank you Dr Plekhanov. You've heard "Top Priority" from the studios of the North American service of Radio Moscow. "Top Priority" is a weekly panel discussion, and I am Pavel Kuznetsov, your host. Goodbye till a week from now.

More On News Conference

LD011945 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1637 GMT 1 Apr 86

[News conference at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Center in Moscow on 1 April with Georgiy Markovich Korniyenko, USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs first deputy minister; Valdimir Fedorovich Petrovskiy, chief of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs International Organizations Department; Vladimir Lomeyko, head of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Department -- recorded]

[Excerpt] [Lomeyko] A question from Rajiv Shah of the Indian PATRIOT newspaper: In the USSR's opinion, what mechanisms for talks can be the most effective to achieve a ban on nuclear weapons tests?

[Korniyenko] The Soviet Union's proposal on a radical solution of the problem of banning nuclear weapons tests envisages, as is known, the use of all possible mechanisms of talks to achieve this aim. I would remind you, in this connection, that the Soviet Union has proposed to the United States that bilateral Soviet-U.S. talks begin to work out an understanding on the total banning of nuclear weapons tests. We also have confirmed our proposal to the United States and Great Britain to resume, and to bring to a conclusion, the trilateral talks broken off by the United States in 1980. We also are prepared to make use of the proposal forwarded by the nonaligned countries to hold consultations to extend the Moscow treaty banning nuclear tests in three environments into the fourth environment which it does not currently include -- underground. Simultaneous with this, we also are in favor of beginning multi-lateral talks without delay within the framework of the Geneva disarmament conference in which all the nuclear powers can participate. I particularly would like to stress that the Soviet Union does not impose any preliminary conditions and does not give preference to any of the abovementioned mechanisms. In our opinion, each can play a useful role in achieving an agreement on such an important question as banning nuclear weapons tests.

In our opinion, simultaneous with bilateral or trilateral talks, multilateral talks also can be held on banning testing in order to work out an appropriate treaty. And, we stress that questions of verification can be discussed at all the talks, at the same time as other articles of the treaty. Finally, to give a stimulus to dialogue on the question of banning testing and, primarily, to speed up the start of specific talks between the USSR and the United States, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Gorbachev proposed something that the U.S. President already has spoken of; namely, to meet in the capital of a European power in the near future to exchange opinions on the problem of banning testing. Thus, it is now up to the U.S. side.

[Petrovskiy] I would like to add to this that we informed U.S. Government some time ago that we already have appointed a delegation to conduct talks with the United States on questions of ceasing nuclear weapons tests. The head of that delegation, Andrey Mikhaylovich Petrosyants, is currently in Geneva and he is ready to sit down at the negotiating table with a U.S. delegation at any time if agreement is reached to conduct such talks.

[Lomeyko] A correspondent of the Indian PTI [Press Trust of India] agency, Mr Gupta, has the following question: Does Reagan's refusal to meet Gorbachev to discuss the question of banning nuclear tests under the pretext that it is necessary to discuss the whole complex of Soviet-U.S. relations at such a meeting mean that Gorbachev will not go to Washington this year?

[Korniyenko] First, we do not want to think Reagan has said his final word on a special meeting on banning nuclear weapons tests. He has not said he rejects such a meeting. Well, I repeat, we would not like to think this is the final word.

As far as the second part of the question is concerned, I quite clearly would like to say that in proposing now that a meeting be held specially in Europe in the very near future to discuss the question of banning nuclear weapons tests, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev did not intend that this proposal, this meeting, if it takes place, should replace the meeting which was agreed to in Geneva and which is to take the form of a visit by him to the United States. This question has not been taken off the agenda.

[Lomeyko] Some questions from the floor, please.

[Unidentified voice] In connection with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's message to the UN secretary general, what role do you allocate to the United Nations in creating an all-embracing system of international security?

[?Petrovskiy] Our proposal on the creation of an all-embracing system of international security which was put forward at the 27th congress undoubtedly is a multifaceted and global task in the sense it requires the joint efforts of all states and, therefore, it is quite natural that in solving it a contribution must be made and a role must be played by the United Nations which, in accordance with its charter, is called upon to serve as the center for harmonizing the actions of states. It must be noted that that prestigious organization has firmly confirmed its role in the system of international relations over the past 4 decades as a unique and universal instrument of international cooperation. It has proven capable in a whole series of cases of taking practical measures with regard to reducing the danger of war. Naturally, the organization will do much more in the future than has been done up to now. I believe the United Nations is capable of contributing to the creation of the material, the political-legal, and moral-psychological guarantees required to create a system for a just and secure world [or peace].

An important role in creating an all-embracing system of international security also can be played by direct dialogue between the Security Council permanent members which are, moreover, nuclear powers and all the more so since, according to the organization's charter they have particular responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. It is precisely for this reason that our country proposes that the leaders of the five powers hold a roundtable meeting and discuss what can and must be done both to strengthen peace and security and, primarily, to eliminate nuclear weapons.

Thus, as we see, the United Nations has rather large opportunities to make a contribution in the creation of an all-embracing security system.

[Unidentified speaker] Stuart Lowey, a correspondence of the U.S. television company CNN, asks how diplomatic contacts are progressing regarding the timing for Comrade Gorbachev's visit to the United States?

[Korniyenko] What the administration has publicly stated has indeed been brought to our knowledge through diplomatic channels. I have in mind the times which the U.S. side considers most convenient for it. For our part, the point of view which you know and which was formulated in the Political Report at our congress -- how we imagine a new meeting between the leaders of our states -- also has been conveyed to the administration quite officially.

That is, there must first of all be confidence in the success of such a meeting, in a constructive outcome of such a meeting, and then the dates will be no problem. Any time will be acceptable for the Soviet leadership, even if it requires a change in existing plans. This would be done for the sake of that.

Alekseyev Notes U.S. Rejection

OW020537 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 31 Mar 86

[From the "Novosti" newscast; commentary by Sergey Alekseyev]

[Text] Peter H. Roussel, deputy White House press secretary, made a statement in Santa Barbara, California practically rejecting the new Soviet peace initiatives outlined in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's address. Our commentary:

[Alekseyev] Hello, comrades. Yes, today, when millions of people of our planet were united by the new hope that the Washington administration would at last make a reciprocal step in the direction of peace, a representative of that same administration came out with that sort of statement. On behalf of the U.S. President, the statement talks about the immutable U.S. position on the question of the Soviet nuclear test moratorium, repeating for the nth time arguments on behalf of the necessity of those tests to ensure the reliability and effectiveness of nuclear forces. The statement also practically rejects our proposal for a summit meeting in Europe in the near future for the purpose of concluding an agreement on the banning of nuclear tests and, to top it off, it once again invites Soviet specialists to observe the next U.S. nuclear explosion on the Nevada test range scheduled for mid-April.

It is noteworthy that on the very eve of the issuance of the statement, the U.S. President, at a White House meeting with our schoolgirl Katya Lycheva, said that he, --and I quote: also wants the total liquidation of nuclear arms, that he has lived through four wars and is striving for peace.

How is one to reconcile these words of the President with the statement made by one of his subordinates? One wishes to believe that this statement is not as yet the U.S. answer to the new Soviet proposal, which is tied to the most important question of today. Otherwise, the world has every right to consider Washington's action to be a demonstrative, criminal challenge not only to the Soviet Union, but to all peoples of the world.

ABC Cited

LD011909 Moscow TASS in English 1839 GMT 1 Apr 86

[Text] New York April 1 TASS -- The U.S. television network ABC, touching upon the TV address by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev during which he proposed a meeting in Europe with President of the USA Ronald Reagan to solve the question of banning nuclear tests, pointed out that the idea was clearly not to the liking of the U.S. Administration.

It was emphasised in the reportage that the White House had rejected Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal at once, declaring only that it does not suit the best interests of the USA, its friends and allies. The administration rejects the moratorium under the pretext that it is very difficult to verify. It also insists that the reliability of the existing arsenals of nuclear weapons should be verified periodically.

The television company emphasised that the administration needs the explosions to develop new weapon systems in the "star wars" programme. But American expert in the sphere of arms control Barry Blechman who dealt with those matters in the Carter administration is of the opinion that the administration simply does not want a test ban under any conditions and so invents various justifications, overestimates technical difficulties of verification, etc.

Dubinin Refutes U.S. Stance

LD011935 Moscow TASS in English 1925 GMT 1 Apr 86

[Text] New York April 1 TASS -- The banning of nuclear tests, their prohibition is the simplest, real, reliable and effective step to ending the nuclear arms race and to a considerable extent to preventing an arms race in outer space, a press conference at the United Nations Headquarters was told today by the USSR Permanent Representative at the United Nations Yuriy Dubinin. This step accords with the most important task of our time -- that of stopping the arms race and taking the disarmament process, first of all in the nuclear field, out of deadlock. That is why the bold Soviet proposals directed at ending nuclear tests are evoking a tremendous positive response of the peoples, of political and public circles in the whole world, including in the United States and the United Nations Organization.

The ending of nuclear weapon tests, Yuriy Dubinin noted, in an organic part of the Soviet programme of ridding mankind of nuclear arms by the year 2000. A package of fundamentally important major and effective measures to eliminate the nuclear threat was set forth by the USSR on January 15 and then confirmed and developed in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress. The mainstays of an all-embracing system of international security, set forth in these proposals, harmoniously agree with the aims and tasks of the International Year of Peace proclaimed by the United Nations Organization and with the United Nations Charter. At the same time the question of ending nuclear tests lends itself to an independent and, moreover, quick solution, given of course mutual desire.

That is why the Soviet Union hopes that the United States Administration has not yet said its final word in connection with the proposal by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to meet with the United States President already in the near future in one of the European capitals in order to solve this question of immense importance for the whole of mankind.

The permanent Soviet representative to the United Nations resolutely refuted the groundless contentions by the American side that by making its proposals the USSR supposedly wants to pick up propaganda points, to outwit or outdo the other side. Everybody would be happy if the United States responded with similar "propaganda" and joined the unilateral Soviet moratorium, he stressed.

Zagladin Cables Senator Cranston

LD020811 Moscow TASS in English 0708 GMT 2 Apr 86

[Text] Moscow April 2 TASS--Vadim Zagladin, a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, addressed American Senator Alan Cranston, as a convinced supporter of a moratorium, that he use his prestige among his colleagues in the U.S. Congress to urge the U.S. Administration to end nuclear testing.

While the Soviet Union's moratorium on all nuclear testing, the proposals put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on March 29, pave the ground for a total ban, the telegram from Vadim Zagladin says, the U.S. Administration has once again demonstrated its reluctance to heed the voice of reason and take the path leading to disarmament. The nuclear explosions conducted in Nevada, the administration's refusal to discuss the Soviet proposals undermine hopes for a limitation and, in the final analysis, elimination of nuclear weapons. Since no testing is necessary if one does not wish to preserve such weapons and further upgrade them.

My colleagues in the USSR Supreme Soviet are unanimous that it is necessary to put an end to nuclear testing so that mankind could meet the 21st century without the Sword of Damocles of a nuclear threat hanging over them, Vadim Zagladin emphasizes.

Test Ban Supporters Cited

PM011028 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Mar 86 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch under general headline: "United States: Another Chance"]

[Text] A Sensible Proposal...

Washington, 30 Mar -- The Soviet Union's authorities reaffirmation of its political will to seek to transform a nuclear test ban into an immutable norm of international relations was received with tremendous interest by the public here. News agencies carried reports from Moscow, marked "urgent," which emphasized: "Announcing that the USSR is giving President Reagan another chance, M.S. Gorbachev declared on Saturday that the Soviet Union will continue to observe its unilateral moratorium as long as the United States refrains from carrying out a nuclear explosion."

"The Soviet Union has again demonstrated its sincere desire to end nuclear weapons tests. Without any doubt, the ball is now in President Reagan's court. He must give an answer. In my view, it will be difficult for the United States to continue tests because they can no longer be justified," G. La Rocque, director of the Center for Defense Information, told your correspondent.

"A few days ago we who work in the Center for Defense Information sent a letter on this issue to President Reagan. I think that holding a meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan is a very sensible proposal because first, it is easy to implement and second, it relates to a question which brooks no delay."

"Most Americans support the Soviet proposal. I fully agree that the moratorium is the simplest and most effective step toward ending the nuclear arms race," (J. Koks), national coordinator of the American Peace Test organization, said in conversation.

U.S. Response Examined

PM020941 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 1 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by our international observer G. Dadyants: "It Is Still Not Too Late"]

[Text] The address on Soviet television by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has been received with enormous attention and hope by the entire world public.

It was concerned with the ultimate problem -- the problem of ending nuclear tests. The Soviet leader's readiness to meet with President Reagan in the very near future in London, Rome, or any other European capital to reach agreement on this question is being regarded by political observers as authoritative confirmation by the Soviet Union of its political will to seek to turn the ban on nuclear explosions into an immutable norm of interstate relations.

"The Soviet Union has once again demonstrated its sincere desire to stop nuclear weapons tests," G. La Rocque, director of the American Center for Defense Information, stated. "There is no doubt that it is now up to President Reagan."

What, then, has President Reagan done?

The White House essentially failed to respond to the proposal -- a proposal concerning the most important question of the present day -- but hurried from the outset to reject the idea of a summit meeting. Moreover, Regan, White House chief of staff, stated that the United States intends to continue carrying out nuclear explosions.

The American Administration's negative reaction to the new Soviet peace initiative shows that the United States does not want nuclear disarmament. Clearly, all President Reagan's statements in Geneva that nuclear war was impermissible and that the United States would not seek military superiority have remained mere words. Washington continues to place the interests of the military-industrial complex above those of mankind and even its own people.

The American Administration's refusal to halt nuclear explosions shows that the people there do not appreciate, or do not want to appreciate, the prevailing situation in the world. The quantity of stockpiled nuclear weapons has acquired a new quality. As a result of the achievements of scientific and technical progress the nuclear arms race

is going out of control and could end up being controlled solely by computers. In this regard the risk of a world nuclear war, including one as the result of an error or accident, centuples.

The Soviet Union is doing all in its power to stop any further dangerous development of events. Eight months ago, on the 40th anniversary of the American atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, we introduced a moratorium on nuclear explosions, hoping that the United States would follow this good example. Then, after the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and President R. Reagan in Geneva, the moratorium was extended until 31 March. The United States not only did not join the Soviet moratorium but even continued to carry out nuclear explosions, including explosions directly designed to implement the "star wars" program. A few days before the expiry of the Soviet moratorium, the United States carried out a nuclear explosion in Nevada. It has now become known that they intend to detonate yet another nuclear device.

How can the U.S. stance be described? It cannot be described as other than provocative.

It is highly symptomatic that the refusal to join the Soviet moratorium was accompanied by other provocative U.S. actions in the international arena -- intrusion by American warships into Soviet territorial waters in the Black Sea, demands for a 40-percent cut in the Soviet Union's UN diplomatic staff, and flagrant provocations against Libya and Nicaragua.

What are they aiming at in the White House? By using force they aim to dictate their will to other countries and peoples. Here the American leaders state that they thus also intend to influence Soviet policy.

Let us say straightaway that we are talking about an attempt involving clearly unsuitable means. No one ever succeeded by using strong-arm methods against our state in the past, and, today, as M.S. Gorbachev stressed, they are simply ludicrous.

Obviously they cannot or do not want to understand in the White House that the restraint being shown by the Soviet Union is not a sign of weakness. This restraint is attributable to a keen sense of responsibility for the fate of the world, responsibility which is sadly lacking in the American Administration.

It lacks even a basic sense of reality if it hopes to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union using the nuclear-pumped lasers tested in Nevada. There are no weapons which the Soviet Union is not prepared to ban or place under strict international control [kontrol], and nor have there been or will there be any weapons which it is incapable of creating if they appear in the United States.

In rejecting the Soviet peace initiative, the American Administration is showing once again its arrogance and ostentatious disregard for the opinion of the peoples, the world community, and, ultimately, its own people. P. Warnke, former head of the American delegation at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, has stated that the U.S. Administration is committing a very serious error in refusing the Soviet proposal. A further buildup in nuclear armaments will result in an undermining of America's own security.

The development of the world has now entered a stage which requires new approaches to questions of international security. You cannot today, in the nuclear space age, think in the categories of the past. It must ultimately be understood that everything has fundamentally changed and that the question is no longer just that of the preservation of peace but of the survival of mankind.

It is quite clear that if the American explosions continue, the Soviet Union will also be forced to renew its nuclear tests, because it will no longer be able to forgo its own security or that of its allies. The consequences of the nuclear arms race in the prevailing conditions can be dangerously unpredictable.

The Soviet moratorium has expired but there is still time. "It is still not too late to stop the nuclear arms race," M.S. Gorbachev said in his address. "A major first step in that direction is needed. The halting of nuclear tests by everyone, above all the Soviet Union and the United States, as well as the other nuclear powers, could be such a step."

The peoples of the world demand that Washington heed the voice of reason and immediately stop its nuclear explosions. Today this question affects each and every one of us.

/12858

CSO: 5200/1321

NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

SOVIET 'TOP PRIORITY' PANELISTS FOCUS ON TEST BAN

LD261530 Moscow in English to North America 0001 GMT 16 Mar 86

["Top Priority" program]

[Text] On Saturday the United States exploded its first nuclear device at the Yucca Flats site in Nevada since the Soviet Union extended its unilateral test ban to last after the end of March. The blast was codenamed Glen Cove. We now bring you our weekly panel discussion, Top Priority, in which Dr Radomir Boganov and Sergey Plekhanov of the Moscow-based Institute for United States and Canada Studies discuss the positions of the Soviet Union and the United States on the crucial issue of banning nuclear testing. The host of Top Priority is Pavel Kuznetsov of our staff.

[Kuznetsov] In his recent replies to an appeal by the leaders of six nations -- Argentina, Mexico, India, Greece, Sweden, and Tanzania -- to the Soviet Union and the United States to refrain from all nuclear testing in the period leading to their next summit, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev said that this country was extending its unilateral moratorium beyond the expiration date of 31 March until the first such blast in the United States and I suggest that we start with taking a brief look at the history of the Soviet moratorium.

[Bogdanov] Pavel, the history of the Soviet moratorium is really a very glorious history. We started to stop to test our nuclear weapons from 6 August 85. Mind you, we stated that we stopped to test on the date of nuclear bombing of Hiroshima. Then we extended our moratorium once again till 31 March and all the time we were inviting United States to join us in that, saying that if they join us, the moratorium becomes endless, for ever. So, this time answering the leaders of the countries, we again invited United States in a way to join us because there is only one condition that we stop testing, if the United States again joins us and we say that if they start, if they resume their testing, only in that case we will resume our testing.

You know, if you look at that story from different angles, you will see that it has a really tremendous importance for the Soviet-American relations. Everybody at this end and at the American end is saying that what is lacking in the Soviet-American relation is trust: We cannot build our relations because there is no trust. I agree with them completely: There is no trust. We have enough grounds to not trust our American partners and in our relations we have several really very hot points which may contribute greatly to the trust-building business or just wipe the slate -- to decrease this very little amount, make no trust at all, in our relations and to decrease it till it is minus zero, something like that. So, moratorium just belongs to that business of trust. If they are really willing to improve relations with us

and to signal to us that the American side is genuine in building good relations with the Soviet Union, they have very good opportunity to signal, to demonstrate that to the whole world: stop testing.

Number two: They were claiming all the time, from the top, that this administration has no design to launch a nuclear war strike, that they are a very peace-loving country that just deters the Soviet Union. You know all that bunk we have been hearing for quite a long time. Why I say bunk? Because there is no proof, so far there is no proof that the American side is really willing to cooperate with the Soviet Union in the field of avoiding nuclear war, and the most, you know, substantial signal we could get from the American side on that would be just stopping testing nuclear weapons.

Why, I believe Sergey you have explained to our American listeners why it is so important in that business; but look really, as a student of American politics for the last 25 years I am getting more and more, you know, pessimist in all that. What we have been witnessing now is a kind, you know, of very cheap politics, really very cheap politics, when you have on the table the problem of survival or death and around that you have a kind of, you know, a kind of cheap lies aiming at one, you know, aiming at one point, just to try to find out ways and means to continue to build up American strength, nuclear might in such a way that it will be superior to the Soviet Union. I have no other explanation to that, what they are doing now. Maybe I'm too emotional, I'm sorry, but, you know, as a student, as I said, as a student of the American's policy really I am surprised. I don't know if you put the question to me now, at that juncture, what the future will be for the Soviet-American relations I am a complete pessimist. I really think pessimistically.

[Kuznetsov] We are really jumping a little bit ahead in drawing our conclusions on the future of Soviet-American relations, I'm sorry. Dr Plekhanov why is it so important from at least the military standpoint to stop nuclear tests. Can such a move really contribute to checking the spread of the nukes?

[Plekhanov] Well, Pavel, there are 50,000 nuclear weapons in the world today and there is a widespread consensus in the world that there are much too many. In fact, there is a growing consensus that there should be no nuclear weapons at all and it is practical to talk about reducing and eliminating them altogether. There is really that huge amount of overkill capability and the least that we can do is discontinue testing designed to produce new kinds of nuclear weapons and this is what the story is all about.

Now we have heard from the U.S. Administration that they need to continue testing in order to modernize their nuclear arsenal but why the hell modernize existing nuclear arsenals? If you explode just 1 percent of that arsenal of nuclear weapons that there is in the world today the damage done to the atmosphere, to the environment, will be quite enough in order to make the earth uninhabitable. So it really makes no sense, it is really some madness on the rampage to continue modernization, to continue to build-up of nuclear weapons and this fact was recognized by the U.S. Government when it was almost ready to sign a comprehensive test ban treaty in the late seventies. The treaty was almost ready and then the U.S. side decided to discontinue negotiations with the Soviet Union on the subject, apparently because there were some ideas in the military quarters in the United States about new kinds of weapons and now we see that it is not just the offensive nuclear weapons, not just the bombs and the warheads for the missiles, but also the new kinds of strategic defense, of space weapons.

[Kuznetsov] Such nuclear weapons are the source of energy for those systems and sub-systems of star wars?

[Plekhanov] Of a particular system which is called the X-ray laser. Another thing which is important is that, you know, even underground testing, even though underground testing is not as harmful as the atmospheric testing, it still is bad for the environment. You know there are scientists in various parts of the world who measure the levels of radioactivity and I read a recent report about the historical changes in the levels of radioactivity.

In the seventies when the amount of, when the number of nuclear explosions in the world declined because there was a milder and more relaxed international atmosphere, we had detente, the levels of radiation markedly declined; in the eighties there has been again an increase in the levels of radioactivity and that is connected with the fact that there have been more tests. So, even on that ground I think it would be a good thing to stop testing.

[Kuznetsov] Now what was the response of the White House to the latest Soviet initiative, to the latest Soviet step that is extending the unilateral Soviet moratorium beyond the expiration date of 31 March? They have rejected also the efforts to make our moratorium a mutual one and ignored our almost 8-month restraint. We have partially covered the reasons why and still I want more (?stronger) answers to this.

[Bogdanov] You know, my difficulty is just the last part of your question. Why? Because there are so many why's on the American side and there are so many arguments that I am really puzzled which one is the valid one for the time being and I am really sorry for my American friends over there -- they have to listen to all these arguments almost every day and I can imagine how they are confused because really speaking, every week, every second week, we have a new argument why the American administration cannot join the Soviet Union in the moratorium.

[Kuznetsov] OK. Let's take a look at some of them, like on verification and control.

[Bogdanov] You know, Pavel, let me say the first thing, you know. If you have no desire to join the other side, with such excellent brains as this administration has, you can produce another thousand arguments just convincing the others, their own fellows, that they cannot join, you know. So, argument -- there is no problem with arguments; there is a problem with the truth. Why the truth? Because arguments on this particular business belong rather to a very imaginary world which has nothing to do with the real one. We have witnessed a number of arguments beginning from the statement that the Soviet Union has already in such a way improved its nuclear weapons that America has to catch up with it. The second argument was that the Soviet Union was against verification and control. And the last one is very nearly the truth, which is as [name indistinct] put it: We need to modernize our nuclear arsenal but they don't say the second half of the truth -- what for? Just to gain superiority over the Soviet Union. All that you need for one thing, just to intimidate the Soviet Union, to coerce it, and just to try to play the Soviet Union the American tune. [as heard] That is all. There is no other reason. If you really tell the truth -- what for they need it? And I am afraid whatever convincing argument we can really suggest to our American listeners they will not play any role because we have a very strange world now at the American end; the world which has nothing to do with the reality, which has to do for this administration with only one thing, how to convince the American public that the Soviet Union

is a very bad guy and you need all the time to spend money to build up American might just to deter this bad guy. That is all, it has nothing to do with the reality but it has to do with American domestic policy and in that imaginary, unreal world, I am sorry you are hopeless, you are hopeless because whatever you say at the other end they will say their own thing just to try to convince their own. So what is left to us is just to use our own common-sense of the American view. Let them themselves find out where it is.

[Kuznetsov] You wanted to say something?

[Plekhanov] Yes I wanted to touch upon briefly those arguments which have been advanced. Dr Bogdanov has touched on the basic thing and that is that they do want to continue testing.

Now, I would like to talk a little bit about why the other arguments, because you know simply a desire to continue testing, it is not a very persuasive argument, it can also be beaten very easily. But how about those objections and all kinds of buts and its. Number one, verification -- now that is an old chestnut and the United States have been saying for a long time that well, you know, you in the Soviet Union, you are a closed society; we in America are an open society and so we must have adequate means of verification that you guys are complying with the treaty. We can't build treaties on trust. Neither can we and we are very much interested in the business of verification and the United States is not such an open society after all and we are not as closed a society as they are trying to portray us. How the question of monitoring the tests has been adequately resolved by the existence of a very sophisticated seismological devices. The United States has about 200 seismological stations which are constantly listening to whatever goes on in this area in the Soviet Union.

[Kuznetsov] How many do we have of those?

[Plekhanov] We have about 20 and the problem that we have is that our stations are not as near the American territory as the Americans are because we don't have countries like, you know, Turkey and Pakistan -- military allies of the United States -- or West Germany, which allow it to place those stations close to our territory. We have just 20 and they are much farther away from American than the Americans' are from ours but still those 20 are absolutely adequate to perform the job of monitoring American tests. But still if the United States thinks and insists that they need to have on-site inspection, that they need to put devices inside the Soviet territory and be able to send their observers and so on and so forth, we decided that we can make a step forward and say okay, let's have on-site inspections as well. And the moment we made that admission the question of verification was immediately swept off the table.

[Bogdanov] No, no, Sergey, you are not right. This argument can also be beaten very easily. What you say is just propaganda, nothing else.

[Kuznetsov] Well, if you don't agree to it, then it is propaganda accordingly.

[Bogdanov] Yes, that is why I say that argument can also be beaten very easily and that it is why I am sure you know...

[Kuznetsov -- interrupting] It is like saying I offer you \$10 if you know this is just propaganda.

[Bogdanov] Yes, exactly.

[Plekhanov] Yes, and Sergey, I'd like to back you up on what you said with a brief quote from THE NEW YORK TIMES news service. It was written by Flora Lewis in February and I quote: Without quite admitting it, the Reagan administration has turned America's formal policy on nuclear testing on its head. This could be veiled so long as the Soviets refused verification measures to make sure any cheating could be immediately detected. But now Mikhail Gorbachev said: The Soviet Union is agreeable to the most strict control over a ban on nuclear weapons tests, including on-site inspections and on the use of all achievements in seismology but, she goes on to say, instead of re-negotiating with the Soviets on a comprehensive test ban, broken off by President Reagan, Washington has reversed its argument.

Yes, you know their reversing arguments in my view is like undressing in public. Don't they realize that what can be done on a public beach and not on every beach, well it's kind of like-minded for politicians.

As far as the beaches are concerned it just occurred to me that others are saying that you can take a horse to the water but you can't make it drink. I mean there is a problem there. If you really don't want to do something you always produce a new argument against it.

There is another thing which I'd like to touch upon and that is the argument that the United States needs to continue testing in order to check on the existing arsenals. Not just to modernize, not just to come up with a new weapon, but to see if the old ones are not rusty, so to say. This is called reliability testing. But this argument was raised before by some people in the Pentagon in the late seventies when the Carter administration was negotiating the comprehensive test ban and the scientists, the military scientists, who were studying the problem at the time, they came up with definite answers. Reliability testing is not necessary in order to check that the bombs are in order. You can perform the checking in the laboratories. You don't need to poison the earth by testing bombs to see that they are working properly so the existing stockpiles can be checked and stay reliable without tests. So that argument again holds no water.

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NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

USSR'S RYZHKOV OUTLINES MORATORIUM

TASS Report

LDO21421 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT 2 Apr 86

[Excerpts] Sofia, April 2 TASS--"The solution of the new tasks that have been set by the 27th CPSU Congress and that are being set by the 13th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party is directly connected with the utilization of the tremendous possibilities of cooperation and interaction by Bulgaria and the USSR, by all of the socialist community in various fields by public life and in international affairs," it was stated by member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee. Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Nikolay Ryzhkov, who is heading the CPSU delegation at the 13th Congress of the BCP. He delivered a speech today at the forum of Bulgarian Communists.

"The fraternal countries are at one in their approach to all the main questions of international life. The community of our positions vividly manifested itself in the unanimous support given by the fraternal countries to the program of fully liquidating all arsenals of nuclear and chemical arms before the end of the present century, of prohibiting strike space arms, set forth in the statement by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on the fundamentals of creating an all-embracing system of international security was received with full approval".

"The ending of nuclear tests is an important measure that could have a favourable influence on the political climate in the world. We have already extended twice our unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions in the hope that the American Administration would display at long last a responsible approach to this problem of concern to mankind. But the United States displayed a cynical disregard for the aspirations of the peoples, for the possibility to make a real step towards scaling down the arms race. The new nuclear explosion set off by the United States has given rise to the legitimate indignation and a wave of protests in the whole world", Nikolay Ryzhkov stressed. "All this only makes more urgent the task of stopping nuclear arms tests, and it must be solved without delay. The Soviet Union, as it was stated recently on Soviet television by Mikhail Gorbachev, will not depart from the course of preserving and strengthening peace. Our undertaking not to conduct nuclear explosions even after the expiration of the moratorium on March 31 shall remain in force, if the United States does not continue tests".

"Mikhail Gorbachev", the leader of the CPSU delegation recalled, "suggested that a meeting with President Ronald Reagan of the United States be held urgently in order to reach agreement on this matter". "It is to be only regretted that the above-mentioned proposal has not met with a positive response. Washington has again displayed the lack of political will for a solution to this major problem which affects the destiny of all peoples. The international situation remains tense and dangerous as a result of the imperialist power politics, the development of the arms race, and interference in the internal affairs of other states. The situation requires high vigilance and everyday preparedness of all us to defend the peaceful labour of our peoples".

"It is uncharacteristic of the Communists to sink into pessimism. The more so as the Soviet Union, the socialist community possess everything necessary to prevent a military-and-strategic superiority over themselves. This strengthens our confidence that, despite the resistance of the aggressive forces, there is a possibility to ensure a turn for the better in European and world affairs", Nikolay Ryzhkov stated.

Further Ryzhkov Remarks

LD022249 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Apr 86

[Speech by Nikolay Ryzhkov, secretary to the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to the 13th BCP Congress in Sofia on 2 April--recorded; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] Comrades, the fraternal parties are united in their approach to all the major questions of international life. The proposals put forward by the socialist countries at the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states in Sofia in October 1985, are aimed at solving the most urgent and cardinal problem of our time--removing the threat of nuclear war. The common nature of our positions was clearly displayed in the unanimous support of the fraternal countries for the program for the total elimination of all arsenals of nuclear and chemical weapons by the end of this century and for the ban on space-strike weapons that was put forward in the statement of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee of 15 January this year. The proposal of the 27th CPSU Congress on the basis for the creation of an all-embracing system of international security was received with complete approval. The halting of nuclear tests is an important measure which could have a favorable effect on the world political climate. However, the United States has displayed a cynical disregard for the hopes of the peoples and for the opportunity to take a real step in curtailing the arms race. The new nuclear blast carried out by the United States has aroused justified indignation and a wave of protest throughout the world.

All of this only intensifies the urgency of the task of ceasing nuclear weapons tests and it must be tackled without delay. Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has proposed an urgent meeting with President Reagan in order to reach agreement on this question. One can only regret that this proposal has not met with a positive response. Washington has once again displayed an absence of political will to solve this very important problem which concerns the fate of all peoples.

The USSR highly evaluates the role of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian People's Republic in defending our common foreign policy positions and in our joint struggle to resolve key questions of disarmament and international security. We value and support your efforts aimed at the development of relations of good-neighborliness in the Balkans, at turning this region into a zone of peace free from nuclear and chemical weapons. Your active foreign policy activity is a weighty contribution to the general cause of the struggle for peace.

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NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

JPRS-TAC-86-033
16 April 1986

SOVIET COMMENTATOR PRAISES NUCLEAR MORATORIUM

PM261129 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 22 Mar 86 p 3

[International observer G. Dadyants article: "To Heed the Voice of Reason"]

[Text] The question of ending nuclear tests remains at the center of the attention of all the world's peoples. It is a question of a problem of paramount importance, on whose solution the fate of nuclear disarmament depends.

The Soviet approach to this problem is clear: The USSR has introduced a unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions and has been abiding by it for more than 7 months now. Although the moratorium expires 31 March, M.S. Gorbachev declared in his reply to the appeal from the leaders of six countries -- Argentina, India, Mexico, Tanzania, Sweden, and Greece -- that the Soviet Union will not conduct nuclear explosions even after 31 March -- until the first nuclear explosion in the United States.

And the United States? Over the past year it has conducted 15 nuclear explosions, including 7 even after the Soviet moratorium came into effect.

The last explosion in the Nevada desert at the end of the 1985 had a yield 10 times greater than the bomb the United States dropped on Hiroshima and was a constituent part of the research connected with creating [sozdaniye] nuclear-pumped X-ray lasers within the framework of the "Strategic Defense Initiative" proclaimed by R. Reagan. Despite the restraint shown by the Soviet Union, a new explosion is now being prepared, scheduled for April. As THE WALL STREET JOURNAL reports, a nuclear charge will be exploded under conditions close to those that exist in space, and the results will be used for the same "star wars" program.

All this can only be viewed as a real challenge to world public opinion. The U.S. Administration is clearly gambling on achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union. This runs directly counter to the aims jointly announced at the Soviet-American summit talks in Geneva.

Under the conditions which have come about the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium appealed to the U.S. Congress to do all in its power to ensure that the U.S. position accords with resolving the task of ending nuclear task in accordance with the will of the peoples and their ardent desire to ensure lasting peace on earth.

None of the arguments advance by the U.S. Administration to justify its reluctance to subscribe to the Soviet moratorium and end nuclear tests stands up to criticism. The BALTIMORE SUN bluntly relegates them to the "sphere of nuclear mythology." In

particular, the argument that nuclear explosions are "impossible to monitor" [kontrolirovat] is a flimsy one. Scientific means have existed for many years which make it possible to accurately record even small underground explosions conducted thousands of miles away. In addition, the Soviet Union has publicly declared that it is prepared, in the event of a mutual moratorium being established, to reach agreement with the United States on the verification [kontrol] measures with a view to removing possible doubts about the moratorium's observance -- right down to international on-site verification [kontrol] and inspections [inspektsii].

Nor does another "argument" stand up to criticism. It has recently been advanced by the U.S. Administration, seeking to justify its negative stand on the question of banning nuclear explosions, and it alleges that the United States conducts nuclear test just to check the "reliability" of the existing nuclear arsenals. In fact, the American tests are conducted to modernize nuclear weapons and strengthen their destructive combat properties.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium appeal to the U.S. Congress to end nuclear weapon tests without delay has been perceived by broad circles of the world public as new evidence of the Soviet Union's good will and of its desire to break the vicious circle of arms race and achieve the total elimination of nuclear arsenals. Numerous foreign press organs, public organizations, and also the participants in the session of the Socialist International Consultative Council on Disarmament, which has been held in Oslo these days, have come out in support of the Soviet initiative. They have urged the United States to follow the USSR's example and emphasized the pressing need to take other urgent measures to reach specific accords at the Soviet-American talks in Geneva.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium appeal is one more attempt to make the U.S. ruling circles heed the voice of reason, overcome the logic of confrontation, and free mankind from the nuclear threat handing over it. At the same time, it is obvious that the USSR cannot endlessly display unilateral restraint in the face of the provocative stand taken by the U.S. Administration on the question of nuclear tests.

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JPRS-TAC-86-033
16 April 1986

NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

FURTHER SOVIET COMMENTARY ON LATEST U.S. NUCLEAR TEST

Test Provokes 'Outrage'

PM291729 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Mar 86 Second Edition p 3

["TASS Commentary for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA" by military observer V. Chernyshev: "Contrary to the Will of Millions"]

[Text] A shock wave of outrage and anger has spread throughout the world. Its epicenter was the American test range in Nevada, where the United States, despite everything, carried out a new explosion of a nuclear device. This test, code-named "Glencove," is Washington's crude and ostentatious response to the act of good will on the part of the USSR in stating that it would not carry out nuclear explosions even after the expiry of its unilateral moratorium on 31 March this year, that is to say, not before the first nuclear explosion in the United States. The American Administration thus ignored the call to stop nuclear tests, although people throughout the world realize the urgency for this important measure, which would improve the international atmosphere and constitute a major step toward eliminating nuclear arms.

In continuing its nuclear explosions the U.S. Administration is increasingly opposing itself to the clearly expressed will of the majority of states in the world and the demands of the broadest strata of the world public and ignoring the warnings coming from many influential U.S. politicians and public figures and members of the American Congress. Such actions show up the true worth of the American Administration's hypocritical statements about Washington's alleged desire to make nuclear arms "impotent and obsolete" and to reduce and scrap them. The following legitimate question also arises: Can the testing [otrabotka] of more and newer nuclear means in the United States really accord with the recognition of the inadmissibility of nuclear war and of attempts to gain military superiority enshrined in the joint Soviet-American statement at the Geneva summit meeting?

According to a report in THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, preparation is in full swing in Nevada for the the testing of an X-ray laser pumped by a nuclear explosion scheduled for April.

The testing [otrabotka] of a laser weapon for the purpose of ABM defense and for its use in outer space must cause serious concern in the world. First, it is a direct breach of the Soviet-American ABM Treaty, which forbids testing for the purposes of ABM defense anywhere except at the previously announced and established test ranges (in the case of the United States, White Sands in New Mexico and Kwajalein Atoll in the Pacific). Second, the creation [sozdaniye] of such devices for nuclear explosions in

outer space is a practical measure whose implementation in the future may lead to breach of the provisions of other important documents -- the SALT II treaty and the 1967 treaty on outer space.

The testing [otrabotka] of a nuclear-pumped X-ray laser once again refutes the myth about the "nonnuclear" nature of SDI spread by Washington officialdom. In this regard it is appropriate to recall a number of other facts which clearly indicate the preparation of nuclear weapons for "star wars" in the United States.

In 1983 the "Fletcher Commission," in a report to the U.S. National Security Council, recommended that \$895 million be invested by 1989 in developing [razrabotka] nuclear-pumped X-ray lasers. In February 1985 the U.S. Secretary of Defense and Secretary of Energy signed a joint document whereby their departments are to engage in energetic work to create [sozdat] new types of nuclear weapons for "star wars." Directive No 172, signed by the U.S. President in May 1985, officially states that nuclear weapons may be an element of SDI. In the middle of last year R. Wagner, assistant to the secretary of defense for atomic energy, testified to Congress that plans to use nuclear weapons in a large-scale ABM system with space-based elements were at the "focus of attention" in the Pentagon. In accordance with the White House's request for the next fiscal year, appropriations for research [issledovaniye] and development [razrabotka] in the sphere of nuclear armaments under the SDI program are doubling. It is intended to appropriate at least \$250 million for nuclear tests for "star wars" in Nevada.

It is now no longer a question of work of a "scientific research nature" being carried out by the Pentagon in the SDI sphere, the American newspaper CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR writes, but of practical tests of new kinds of weapons. The creation [sozdaniye] of nuclear armaments for outer space is causing alarm in the world, including in the countries of U.S. allies. French President F. Mitterrand expressed this alarm as follows: "The transfer of nuclear arms into outer space will mean not just the end of the 1972 treaty on ABM systems but the beginning of a new spiral in the arms race and advancement toward other forms of arms whose nature I am not even able to specify at this moment."

Washington's insolent action has caused anger and outrage among all progressive mankind. People of good will are insistently demanding a ban on all nuclear tests.

'Challenge' to Arms Opponents

AU271603 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 27 Mar 86 p 3

[Commentary by Spartak Beglov of NOVOSTI; paper's headline: "From the Soviet Viewpoint: After the Nevada Test"]

[Text] The subterranean nuclear test carried out as scheduled by the Americans on 22 March in Nevada was assessed quite unequivocally in Moscow, as in most capitals of the world. It is an open challenge to the opponents of the arms race throughout the world; "a 150-kiloton blow to the hopes of the peoples."

It would seem, though, that the term "as scheduled" is out of place here. Reports from the United States indicate that the U.S. Administration has altered the schedule of the nuclear explosions, and has moved up the date of the test, originally slated for April, to March.

Primarily there are two explanations for this unusual hurry. First, the six signatory states of the Delhi declaration 1 week before the Nevada explosion received an unmistakable signal from the USSR, indicating its readiness not to carry out any nuclear explosions even beyond 31 March, at least until the next summit meeting, should the Americans consent to do the same. Thus Washington was confronted with the unanimous opinion of seven states with a total of 1 billion inhabitants, and decided to resort to preemptive action. The world was to be presented with a fait accompli, before the demand for discontinuation of the tests had become a chain reaction that could no longer be stopped, neither abroad nor in the United States itself.

Second, the U.S. Administration had suffered a severe defeat in Congress 48 hours before the Nevada test: The House of Representatives refused to approve a \$100 million grant for military aid to the "contras" in Nicaragua. It is amply known how Reagan reacts in cases like that: Whenever his policy of strength suffers a setback somewhere, he immediately attempts to boost his prestige again by an ostentatious demonstration of strength in some other place. This was practiced in October 1983 when the White House -- after the debacle in Lebanon, where nearly 250 GI's were killed in Beirut -- launched the invasion against tiny Grenada, so as to present it as the "greatest victory of American weapons."

The new nuclear explosion in Nevada, where a weapon for "star wars" was tested, has still further undermined the confidence in the United States as a potential disarmament partner. When Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev during the Geneva summit meeting last November agreed on the need to accelerate progress toward nuclear disarmament, it seemed -- at least verbally -- as if the U.S. President wanted to comply with the hopes of American and international public opinion. But these were only words. The deeds of the administration amount to the opposite, and are obviously dictated by the interests of the military-industrial complex and the ultraconservative circles of the United States.

Thus, with whom is the Soviet Union dealing in the dialogue with the United States? With the America that is genuinely interested in halting the arms race and in constructively collaborating with the USSR in implementing the plan for nuclear disarmament, outlined at the 27th CPSU Congress, or with a militarist group which arrogantly rejects all reasonable arguments for preventing the arms race in space and for halting it on earth that were agreed on at the Geneva summit meeting?

These are questions which invariably arise in view of the new Soviet-American summit meeting planned for this year.

Treaties Seen As 'Obstacles'

PM030853 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Mar 86 Second Edition p 5

[Observer on military questions V. Chernyshev "TASS Commentary for KRSNAYA ZVEZDA": "Who Is Hampered by the Treaties"]

[Text] The world is indignant at the provocative militarist actions of the U.S. Administration which despite the repeated calls of the Soviet Union and other countries and the broad public in the United States itself, has sanctioned another nuclear weapon test. The explosion carried out on the Nevada testing range 22 March is one more testimony to the fact that Washington's real aims is not the reduction and elimination of nuclear armaments but on the contrary their buildup and the creation of new types of nuclear weapons.

The new explosion and the refusal to resume talks on the total prohibition of nuclear tests are also evidence that the present U.S. leadership views the commitments previously adopted and the treaties and agreements signed as no more than obstacles in its desire to achieve military-strategic superiority for the United States.

Thus U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense R. Perle, addressing a subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee, frankly called for a large-scale ABM system with space-based elements to be deployed irrespective of "whether or not the Russians agree to conduct talks on reviewing" the ABM Treaty. According to him, in the meanwhile, even at the present stage of fulfillment of the "star wars" program which Washington makes out is a "research" program, it is necessary to adopt a "broad interpretation" of this treaty in order to carry out arms tests. As is well known, according to this "broad interpretation," invented in the United States only 6 months ago, despite the understanding which the Soviet Union and the four preceding U.S. administrations had of the ABM Treaty, it is claimed that developments [razrabotki] and tests of systems and so forth -- are not banned at all.

Consequently, in his address to the legislators Perle unabashedly set forth a program for the disruption of the ABM Treaty.

A threat also looms over the SALT II treaty. In May this year the U.S. Navy plans to launch the eighth Trident nuclear missile-carrying submarine -- the "Nevada." Unless the United States takes compensatory measures, for instance, unless it dismantles two old submarines with Poseidon missiles, then the limit set by the SALT II treaty for MIRV'd missile launchers.

But there are already figures in Washington who oppose the continuation of the United States' fulfillment of this treaty and the apologists of "star wars" have been in the front ranks of its opponents.

The leadership of the organization to implement the "Strategic Defense Initiative," for instance, is obstinately fighting for the conservation of existing missile-carrying Poseidon submarines in the Navy's fighting strength, because according to the Pentagon's plan they should become "ideal launchpads" for "exotic weapons" -- nuclear-pumped X-ray lasers. The "star warriors" are thus hampered not only by the ABM Treaty but also by the SALT II Treaty and they are calling for the renunciation of the fulfillment of its provisions.

All this shows that some people in Washington are obstinately seeking to think in old, hidebound categories. This has all happened before. Take just the now published recommendations for President H. Truman in the secret report prepared for him on U.S.-Soviet relations: "The United States with its military potential, consisting primarily of highly effective armaments, should not support any disarmament or arms limitation proposals." These are the "recommendations" which official Washington is now trying to follow, forgetting that it is not 1946 now.

It is time the U.S. leadership finally realized that this policy merely entails new dangers to the peoples, including the U.S. people. After all, security in our time can only be mutual. And that requires from everyone new thinking and an understanding of the fact that a global catastrophe can only be prevented by political means, on the path of talks and the conservation of accords already reached.

Reagan's Reasoning 'Far-Fetched'

PM011553 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Apr 86 Second Edition p 3

[Article by military observer V. Chernyshev entitled "Inveterate Thinking in the Nuclear and Space Age"]

[Text] "The situation requires immediate action. It is not yet too late to halt the nuclear arms race. The first major stride in that direction is needed. Putting an end to nuclear testing by all, first of all by the Soviet Union and the United States, as well as by the other nuclear powers, could become such a step. We attach tremendous significance to the solution of this task which concerns the destiny of all people," Mikhail Gorbachev said in a Soviet TV address.

The question of ending nuclear testing assumed great importance in conditions when huge stockpiles of nuclear material have been accumulated in the world. Specialists the world over declared outright that the problem of moratorium on nuclear explosions is the touchstone to verify the real attitude of the leadership of any nuclear power to the very idea of nuclear disarmament. For an end to nuclear testing is the most real way to put an end to the arms race, since without such tests nuclear weapons cannot be refined, nor can new types of nuclear weapons be created.

Since 6 August 1985 the Soviet Union has abided by its unilaterally announced moratorium on all nuclear explosions and declared that it will not conduct nuclear explosions in the future if the United States does likewise. The USSR has proposed beginning talks without delay on a total nuclear weapon test ban, including questions of verification. M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has voiced readiness to meet with U.S. President R. Reagan in the very near future in any European capital to reach agreement on ending nuclear tests.

Thus, the Soviet side has done everything to promote the immediate reaching of an accord on this question.

And what about Washington? The U.S. Administration hastened to reject the Soviet initiative again. Its representatives declared that the White House has no intention to call off another nuclear explosion planned for mid-April and the President has no wish for a meeting on this question. What Washington plans to send to humanity is not a signal of peace but another shudder of nuclear explosion.

The U.S. side continues making references to verification problem in an effort to "substantiate" its negative stand. "In the field of nuclear testing, as in arms control generally, effective verification is a central element. It has also long been one of the most difficult problems to resolve," President Reagan declared. This reasoning is clearly far-fetched.

In the United States itself prominent specialists declared last year that the present-day level of the development of seismology and existing technical means of monitoring seismic waves give ground for confidence that secret nuclear explosions, even with a yield of not over a kiloton, can be promptly detected with the use of a network of seismic stations. Resolution No 3 endorsed by the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress on February 26 of this year says that substantial progress in methods of detection of underground nuclear explosions by seismic and other methods has been achieved.

Moreover, the Soviet Union declared that it is prepared to use any forms of verification -- by national technical means, with the use of international mechanisms, on-site inspections. Should doubts about the observance of commitments arise, let Americans go to the USSR and carry crates with equipment along, it declares. Adversaries of nuclear disarmament who made references to the problem of verification can no longer resort to their only remaining "argument". It has now become clear to the whole world that doubts about verification are false. The British newspaper THE TIMES wrote that the Soviet Union's readiness to ensure on-site inspections removed the West's objection to concluding a nuclear test ban treaty, the objection the West was regarding the most important one, and placed the USA in an extremely awkward position from the viewpoint of morality.

The arguments usually advanced in support of the United States rejecting the Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing are in the sphere of nuclear mythology, this is how the American BALTIMORE SUN commented on the stand of the White House. The Reagan administration put the U.S. policy on nuclear testing topsy turvy, THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote.

Camouflaging its obvious unwillingness to stop nuclear explosions, the White House pays lip service to "readiness" to the quest of the ways to ensure effective verification. "I urged the Soviet Union to join us without delay in bilateral discussions on finding ways to reach agreement on essential verification improvements of the Threshold Test Ban (TTBT) and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty (PNET)", the President of the United States loudly proclaimed.

The White House invited the USSR to send Soviet experts to observe a nuclear test at the Nevada test site in the third week of April to be able to discuss verification methods.

In this connection one cannot but recall the assessment given to a similar invitation by THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper.

It wrote that while the Soviet Union invites the President of the USA to a peaceful dinner, the American President invites the Soviet Union to a nuclear luncheon. The White House is really inviting the USSR to be an accomplice in a nuclear crime against the world. Neither the Soviet Union nor all other peoples need "nuclear shows". The Soviet Union's stand is clearcut and easy to understand by the whole world: Let us stop explosions first, so as to engage in verification later as much as possible and in every way conceivable.

The point of the matter is that the Soviet Union proposes disarmament and appropriate verification of it, while the United States talks about verification of the arms race. The Soviet Union proposes the verification of a complete end to testing, while the USA declares for the verification of testing. Washington has adopted the course at replacing the ban on nuclear explosions with their continuation and would also like the presence of Soviet representatives watching U.S. explosions to signify the Soviet Union's official consent to that U.S. challenge to peoples, to its ostentatious contempt for the world public opinion. The USA is showing neither a sense of reality nor a sense of responsibility.

It seems that they in Washington got accustomed to nuclear weapons and are linking with them their plans in the international arena. Still, whether U.S. politicians want it or not, they will have to answer the question if they are prepared to give up nuclear weapons at all.

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NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

BRIEFS

TASS: U.S. BLOCKS NUCLEAR TEST BAN FORMATION--Geneva, March 27 TASS--The U.S. stand once again became the main obstacle holding back the establishment of a special committee to deal with the prohibition of nuclear testing within the framework of the Geneva conference on disarmament. An early establishment of that body would make it possible to get down to concrete work in order to draft an agreement on the general and complete termination of nuclear weapon tests. Addressing today's meeting of the conference on behalf of the group of socialist countries, Harold Rose (the German Democratic Republic) emphasized that such a document would meet the demands of the present day and the aspirations of millions of people of the world. The head of the Mexican delegation Alfonso Garcia Robles noted with regret that the situation that had taken shape last year when the United States had blocked the establishment of the special committee was about to recur. Not even a group of delegations, he said, but the U.S. delegation alone is holding back work on that important and urgent problem. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 2147 GMT 27 Mar 86 LD] /12858

TASS: U.S. PREPARING FOR APRIL NUCLEAR TEST--Washington, March 28 TASS--The United States is planning to conduct yet another nuclear test and most probably it will be carried out within the third week of April. This was confirmed by Edward Djerejian, deputy press secretary of the White House, at a briefing for foreign correspondents on Thursday. Djerejian said the United States had a program for tests and was planning the next explosion. President Reagan in one of his recent statements is known to have made it clear that a test would be effected in the third week of April. It follows from pronouncements by the deputy press secretary of the White House that the date still holds good. The United States conducted its previous test with a yield of up to 150 kilotons at the proving ground in Nevada on March 22 in defiance of the demands of both U.S. and world public that the USA should follow the Soviet Union's example and announce a moratorium on nuclear tests. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 0630 GMT 28 Mar 86 LD] /12858

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RELATED ISSUES

GORBACHEV SENDS YEAR OF PEACE MESSAGE TO UN

TASS Report

LD271629 Moscow TASS in English 1626 GMT 27 Mar 86

[Text] Moscow March 27 TASS -- Follows the full text of a message sent by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar:

"Esteemed Mr Secretary General,

The Soviet Union responded with gratification to the unanimous proclamation by the United Nations of the current year, 1986, as the International Year of Peace. We consider this a manifestation of the world community's striving to achieve at long last a drastic change for the better in the development of international relations. This approach is fully in accord with the foreign policy principles and goals put forward by the 27th CPSU Congress. We hold that our ideal is a world without weapons and violence, in which every nation would live under conditions of justice and security and be free to shape its destiny.

Is it realistic to pave the road to such a future from today's world of ours, saturated with weapons which threaten to turn it into a lifeless desert? Our answer is univocal: It is. To this end, it is necessary first and foremost to realize that in the nuclear and space age our planet is too small and fragile for wars and power politics, and to embrace a new political mentality, which demands that the philosophy of survival and equal security for all be followed up by bold and resolute actions. Herein lies the essence of the principles formulated by the CPSU congress. The proposal, put forward at the congress, on the foundations of a comprehensive international security system is in harmony with the goals and tasks of the International Year of Peace. It amounts to making peaceful coexistence a universal principle of state-to-state relations, embodied in the constructive and creative interaction of states and peoples.

The congress decided that efforts to implement the program for universal security through disarmament, set forth on January 15, 1986, shall be the central guideline of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The core of the program is a plan for step-by-step elimination of nuclear weapons given the ban on space strike arms. Simultaneously with nuclear weapons the U.S.S.R. proposes to eliminate chemical weapons completely and to give up the development of other systems of mass annihilation. Along with this we are prepared to go as far as other states are ready to go also in the sphere of reduction of conventional arms and armed forces. All disarmament measures proposed by us provide for verification, including on-site inspections where necessary. This verification should be enough to ensure the compliance of all the sides with the agreement.

Nations can and should ensure that the International Year of Peace will go down in mankind's history as a year that will see the beginning of the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security and that every next year after that and till the turn of the century will become a milestone on the road toward completely ridding mankind of nuclear weapons, toward eliminating the threat of universal destruction. The prohibition of nuclear weapon testing would create a realistic possibility for that. Not to conduct tests means to put an end to the modernization of such weapons and the development of their new types, to start practical steps toward the elimination of nuclear arsenals. This issue is today at the focus of attention of the nations of the world.

An accord on the complete elimination of the medium-range missiles of the USSR and the United States in the European zone on a reciprocal basis could become a major event of the International Year of Peace. The Soviet Union is prepared to come to terms on the issue, just as on nuclear testing, without any linkages.

The International Year of Peace could be marked by mounting joint efforts by states in the peaceful exploration of outer space and in laying down organizational foundations for international cooperation to prevent an arms race in space and to use it for peaceful purpose, as is in effect unanimously demanded by the United Nations.

Establishing an all-embracing system of international security is a task which is not only a multifaceted but also a global one requiring the joint efforts of states and peoples, all and everyone. All international forums, in the first place such a universal instrument for multilateral cooperation as the United Nations, are called to make an effective contribution to accomplishing it. The vital cause of ensuring peace must not be allowed to drown in endless verbiage. The peoples are waiting for all ongoing talks to become effective and productive. A regular dialogue, both bilateral and multilateral, among the leaders of all countries of the world community should play an important role. By virtue of the U.N. Charter a special responsibility for the world situation rests on the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, which, moreover, are nuclear powers. This is why the Soviet Union suggests that the five powers gather at a round table to discuss what can and should be done to strengthen peace, first of all to do away with nuclear weapons. Obviously, what is meant is not the recognition of any claims to 'leadership' in world affairs but what is in essence an opposite goal. Once the nuclear weapons are destroyed, the so-called exclusive club of nuclear-weapon powers would also cease to exist and a great stride forward would be made towards democratizing international relations.

When putting forward the large-scale program of ensuring international security, the Soviet Union proceeds from the assumption that measures planned and implemented within the framework of the International Year of Peace are called upon to promote joint actions of states and peoples aimed at warding off the war threat and to rally the broadest popular masses to this cause. By taking resolute actions with a view to ensuring a radical change for the better in the development of the world situation, the Soviet leadership complies with the mandate from our entire people and relies on the potential of peace, reason and goodwill which is strengthening on our planet.

Soviet people express hope that all the countries will take advantage of the International Year of Peace in order to take concrete, practical steps in the current year already towards really delivering the present and future generations from the threat of nuclear catastrophe. The Soviet Union will continue to take part in the efforts aimed at attaining the goals of the International Year of Peace, whose motto is to safeguard

peace and the future of humanity, and to actively promote the enhancement of the role and prestige of the United Nations Organization in questions connected with the consolidation of peace and security of nations and the development of international cooperation.

M. Gorbachev"

Perez de Cuellar on Message

LD271746 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT 27 Mar 86

[Text] New York March 27 TASS -- Perez de Cuellar, U.N. secretary general, has expressed high appreciation of the message sent to him by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev which welcomes the proclamation of 1986 as the International Year of Peace. He said that the Soviet Union had always favoured and continued to favor the preservation of international peace and security and the enhancement of the role played by the U.N. in this sphere. The message of Mikhail Gorbachev is another evidence of the support for the United Nations organization rendered by the Soviet Union.

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CSO: 5200/1320

16 April 1986

RELATED ISSUES

USSR'S BOGACHEV OPTIMISTIC ON UN'S YEAR OF PEACE

LD290346 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 28 Mar 86

[Vladimir Bogachev commentary from the "Outlook" program]

[Excerpts] The United Nations has proclaimed this year an International Year of Peace. In this connection, the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has sent a message to the United Nations Secretary General Perez de Cuellar. Our news analyst Vladimir Bogachev comments. Here is what he writes:

The motto of the year is Peace and a Future for Humanity. People in the Soviet Union are hoping for tangible practical steps to be taken this year to rid present and future generations of the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. The Soviet Union recently advanced a comprehensive program of nuclear disarmament.

This year provides a chance to agree on a comprehensive nuclear test ban. The Soviet Union has gone a long way to promote such an accord. It extended its nuclear moratorium twice and is ready to accept any measures to verify compliance with a test ban in the Soviet Union and in the United States. The continuing blasts in Nevada seem to be the only roadblock. This year could also produce an agreement to scrap, on a mutual basis, Soviet and American medium-range missiles in Europe. Here too the Soviet Union has done everything for an agreement to be reached. It has unilaterally reduced the number of its missiles, suggested effective verification, and displayed a readiness to resolve the issue without any linkages. And here too the Western response evokes nothing but apprehension. For example, United States cruise missiles in Federal Germany are this month to be placed on operational duty. This year too could be used to set up a structure for a cooperation in preventing an arms race in space and in using space exclusively for peaceful purposes. But NATO seems to be in a rush to set up a totally different sort of structure whose one pillar is an agreement on collaborating on the "star wars" program signed by the United States with Federal Germany the other day.

In the light of all this does humanity stand a chance of reaching peace, security, and disarmament? The Soviet Union's answer is in the affirmative. The International Year of Peace should go down in history as one laying the foundations for a comprehensive system of international security. Each subsequent year until the end of the century should become a landmark in ridding humanity of all nuclear weapons.

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RELATED ISSUES

SOVIET ACADEMICIANS OUTLINE SECURITY CONCEPTS

Primakov Describes 'Philosophy'

PM240703 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 86 First Edition p 6

[Article by Academician Ye. Primakov: "A Philosophy of Security. The 27th CPSU Congress: Elaborating a Foreign Policy Strategy"]

[Text] One very important result of the 27th CPSU Congress is the party's foreign policy strategy elaborated at it. There are objective reasons for this.

History has entered a very dangerous period. The first half of the eighties saw an intensification of nuclear confrontation between the United States and the USSR and between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. There appeared the threat of the destruction of human civilization. Never before, therefore, had the problem of normalization of the international situation and creation of a reliable barrier against plunging into a devastating nuclear missile war been so acute. Never before had state leaders, primarily those of the strongest countries from the military viewpoint, borne such a high responsibility for the fate not only of their own and allied peoples, but of all the peoples of the world.

Another group of reasons which necessitated the elaboration of a detailed CPSU foreign policy strategy is associated with the arrival of a qualitatively new stage in our country's domestic development. And normalization of the international situation, together with the cessation of the very dangerous and expensive arms race, would create ideal conditions for carrying out the set tasks.

The CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th congress says: "Our task is to acquire a broad, Leninist understanding of the times we are living in and to elaborate a realistic and thoroughly considered program of actions organically combining impressive goals with realism of potential and the party's plans with everyone's hopes and aspirations." This is the approach the party adopted when elaborating the program of actions in the foreign policy sphere.

The scale, depth, and -- above all -- the mounting danger of the problems that have accumulated in the international sphere are obvious. They are:

The unbridled arms race unleashed by imperialism, which is leading mankind to the brink of self-destruction; and the prospect of strike weapons being put into space, which would greatly magnify the threat to peace and could make the arms race on earth irreversible;

Regional conflicts, which could explode and destroy the present relative stability at the global level;

The buildup of distrust between states, which is eating into the fabric of international relations;

Unsettled global problems: ecology, raw materials, famine, and disease;

The backwardness of former colonies and semicolonies, with a gulf between them and the former mother states that is not narrowing; and continuing exploitation of the liberated countries -- in particular, the enormous debt that hangs over them like the Sword of Damocles.

Can these and other problems be solved merely by repeating the steps that have been taken in the past? The 27th congress clearly confirmed the need to exploit all available opportunities for solving them, including new methods, means, and approaches. This makes it particularly important to form a realistic assessment of, on the one hand, the factors that gave rise to the dangerous development of the international situation, and, on the other, the forces, processes, and trends which could play a positive part in improving it.

Imperialism has not changed its nature. It is still characterized by militarism, hegemonism, and aggression. It is hindering efforts by the USSR and other peace-loving states to stabilize and improve international life.

But it would be wrong today to act on the basis of these assessments alone. The historic gain of world socialism is not only the creation, but the guarantee of the preservation of strategic military parity between the USSR and the United States, the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Imperialism's potential has diminished, and the leaders of the capitalist world have to face up to this. A thermonuclear war spells suicide for mankind. In these conditions, it is now possible if not to state that a mood of realism has spread among the leaders of the capitalist world, then to predict with a greater degree of probability that it will emerge in the foreseeable future.

Nor can the capitalist coalition confronting us be regarded as an integral whole. The United States takes the most extremist stance on a number of international issues. But it does not have the unconditional support of all its allies, especially in a policy that could block compromise solutions.

There is extensive manipulation of public opinion in the capitalist world. But it still has a certain influence on the elaboration of foreign policy decisions.

As tension in the world grows, the conglomeration of political forces consciously or objectively acting in the interests of improving the international situation acquires an increasingly broad outline. The spectrum of these forces is pretty extensive. They include the Nonaligned Movement and individual or groups of liberated countries upholding the principles of detente and democratization of the system of international relations; trade unions of different hues; numerous nongovernmental organizations; and a number of pacifist movements. The success of the struggle to preserve peace depends largely on the intensity of the antiwar activity of various forces in the international arena. The Soviet foreign policy strategy takes all the aforementioned circumstances into account.

The world socialist system is a factor that plays an extremely big part in improving the international situation. The CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th congress says: "Today the fact of peace and of social progress is linked more closely than ever to the dynamism of the **ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM**" [uppercase passage published in boldface]. The CPSU's foreign policy strategy pays special attention to effective collaboration among all the socialist countries and the entire communist movement, which leads to an increase in the potential for peace.

One of the chief components of the Soviet peace strategy is the concept of an all-embracing system of international security, which was elaborated after the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum.

What is it based on? Above all on the conclusion that no state is capable of defending itself solely by military-technical means, even with the most powerful defenses.

Life rules out the possibility of safeguarding security by building up one's own military potential, even if one managed to achieve military superiority over the other side. Given the nature of modern weapons, the only way to safeguard security is through political channels, in other words, through accords taking into account the interests of the sides and aimed at halting the arms race and stabilizing the world situation.

At the moment, to be frank, security is based on fear of retribution. It was not our country that initiated this method of safeguarding security, but in the conditions of the Washington-inspired unbridled arms race we were forced to commit ourselves to catching up the United States in the race and then maintaining parity in the military-strategic sphere. The USSR has never regarded this situation as ideal or even acceptable. The USSR wants to lower its level while maintaining equal security for the sides.

But the arms race has continued in both quantitative and -- what is even more dangerous -- qualitative terms. As a result, the problem of maintaining the sides' equal security becomes a problem of equal danger for them. Since the whole world becomes hostage to this situation, it is perfectly clear how immoral it is. The CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th party congress also notes the absurdity of this situation. The continuation of the arms race is bound to raise this "equal danger" to the level where the world situation will cease to depend on the reason and will of politicians, and the fate of mankind will be "entrusted" to technology, with all the potential fatal consequences that that entails. Our party congress reached the conclusion that, if the present trends continue, military-strategic parity will eventually be unable to perform a restraining function.

The CPSU deems it necessary to effect an immediate breakthrough in the main area and eliminate nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons from the military-strategic balance. A detailed, comprehensive proposal for the complete and universal elimination of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons is contained in the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary's 15 January statement. A real solution insuring against the spread of the arms race to space is fundamental in this case.

The leadership of the U.S. Administration also talks of its desire to abandon the "balance of terror" (ravnyy strakh) concept. But what new security philosophy is

it proposing? It is the creation of a system of space weapons and preparation for "star wars" which can allegedly make nuclear weapons unnecessary and unusable. According to the experts, including well-known U.S. scientists, the placing of weapons in space can only utterly destabilize the international situation and whip up the offensive nuclear arms race. Even if one imagines that the U.S. leaders sincerely want to find ways of getting rid of nuclear arms, is it not simpler to eliminate them altogether -- in stages, as proposed by the USSR, taking into account the need not to cause even temporary damage to any state's security?

The Soviet security concept is based on ruling out the possibility of one side's safeguarding its interests to the detriment of the other. As for USSR-U.S. relations, the security of both can only be mutual, based on consideration of each other's interests and identification of areas where they coincide and of actions to bring them closer together.

The Soviet security concept is not confined to USSR-U.S. relations, important though they may be. The task is to create an all-embracing international security system.

First, it could be based on political accords not only at the global level, as mentioned above, but also at regional level.

Here great significance attaches to joint efforts to find ways of resolving regional conflicts -- in the Near East, Central America, and southern Africa -- wherever hotbeds of war danger exist.

Second, the CPSU is intending not only to use military detente measures to create an all-embracing international security system, although, naturally, specific measures to improve matters in the military sphere are of paramount significance. As well as actions in the military sphere, the CPSU Central Committee Political Report designates actions in political, economic, and humanitarian spheres as the basis for an all-embracing international security system. It is a matter of creating a broad and lasting foundation for international security, capable of taking the strain of the contradictions and unresolved problems that have accumulated over the years.

Third, measures to stabilize peace must be implemented immediately. While recognizing the importance of all spheres of the struggle to improve international life, the Soviet security concept sees the struggle to halt the arms race as the chief task. Neither the problems connected with an accord on the political settlement of regional conflicts, nor the process of building confidence between the two systems' states can be set up as an obstacle to this struggle, whose aim is to well and truly cut off the main source of the threat to peace. It must also be seen that positive advances in the sphere of reduction and then elimination of nuclear weapons would contribute to the solution of other vital tasks connected with the improvement of the international climate.

The very dangerous atmosphere of nuclear confrontation demands new political thinking. M.S. Gorbachev talked about this in Geneva. The idea was confirmed and developed in the 27th CPSU Congress materials.

The dialectics between the division of the world into two opposing parts and its continuing and even increasing unity -- especially in conditions where mankind is facing the full-scale problem of survival -- are manifested in the fact that opposition between capitalism and socialism OBJECTIVELY [uppercase word published in boldface] should occur in the form of peaceful competition and peaceful rivalry.

We cannot turn a blind eye to the social, ideological, and political contradictions with capitalism. Obviously, the capitalist countries' ruling circles will not turn a blind eye to contradictions with socialism either. But this is no justification at all for turning international relations into the sphere in which the fate of competition between the two systems will be decided.

Soviet foreign policy is geared to the quest for mutual understanding, to dialogue, and to the consolidation of peaceful coexistence as the norm in relations between states. The element of normalization of relations between the states of the two systems is increasingly becoming a part of the concept of peaceful coexistence. It is not just a matter of removing war from the life of society, but of renouncing tough, strongarm forms of opposition, behaving in a restrained and circumspect manner in the international arena, and widening mutually advantageous cooperation in various spheres, in particular to solve global problems.

The new political thinking must incorporate a correct attitude to the objective process of social development in the world. Marxism-Leninism has always stated that it is futile and impermissible to encourage revolution from outside. At the same time, no one must ever be allowed to halt the onward march of history and preserve an outdated sociopolitical status quo by exporting counterrevolution.

The party's foreign policy strategy, elaborated by the 27th CPSU Congress, is becoming an active factor in international life. Its principles must be incorporated in political relations between states. The USSR's specific proposals on normalizing the international situation have been placed on the negotiating table and now belong to the world public.

Of course, we are not expecting instantaneous radical changes in relations with the United States. "The militarist, aggressive forces would prefer, of course, even now, to freeze and perpetuate confrontation," M.S. Gorbachev said in his speech at the closing of the 27th CPSU Congress. "So what do we do, comrades? Slam the door? It is possible that this is precisely what they are trying to get us to do. But we are perfectly well aware of our responsibility for the fate of the country, for the fate of peace. Therefore we do not intend to go along with those who would force mankind to become accustomed to the nuclear threat, to the arms race."

Ahead lies a path of long and stubborn struggle to implement the Soviet peace strategy.

Proektor Elaborates

PM141701 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 86 Morning Edition p 5

[Professor D. Proektor article: "The Soviet Concept of Security"]

[Text] Throughout history it has been believed that the security of states and alliances can only be ensured by military strength. "War is the father of all things," the philosopher Heraclitus said. At the beginning of the 20th century, the "philosopher" M. Harden wrote: "Only one principle is taken into account -- strength. Insist on that, and everything else can be disregarded." At the end of our century, President Reagan has urged: "Let us realize our own strength!" Three completely different eras -- approximately the same cult of strength.

Surely mankind is not doomed to view its own history and its future only through the prism of arms balances and to build its life primarily in accordance with categories of militarist thinking?

The socialist way of thinking is the first to scientifically substantiate other possibilities of ensuring security. This question is particularly acute today when, having reached peaks of progress, people have simultaneously created a vast potential for self-destruction. And when political and military awareness has managed to fall into line with the totally new demands made by the development of the scientific and technical revolution in by no means every stratum of bourgeois society.

It goes without saying that the ideas in the sphere of international security policy formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress are crucial to the understanding of this major problem. They are the fruit of creative use being made of the Marxist method in the development of one of the most important questions of war and peace as applicable to the end of our century.

The congress definition of international security as a political task, which can only be revolved by political means, must be recognized as a most important theoretical tenet. The militarist-technical approach to international security -- characteristic of imperialism -- drives interstate relations into a deadlock of hopeless confrontation; it is a colorless, soulless approach. It offers mankind no future, other than the expectation of worse to come, and it engenders a sense of fear and impotence.

It is unworthy of man, degrading and gradually turning him into a slave of the technology of war and of those who create and control that technology. This approach renders international relations and the whole of mankind's existence primitive. We would not be exaggerating if we said that now the watershed in understanding the essence of security policy lies between those who can see nothing in that policy above military and military-technical categories and who tend to make any solution to its problems dependent solely on the number of units of arms, and those who perceive here primarily a flexible and complex form of political interrelations.

Developing principles of security policy which correspond totally to the very complex conditions of our time and to the prospects for the foreseeable future, the CPSU is creatively guided by Leninist ideas on war and peace, with the characteristic, unconditional priority they attach to a political basis. The party has reached a number of conclusions which are of principled importance. The main conclusions are as follows:

First: The nature of contemporary arms can leave no state any hope of defending itself by military and technical means alone or even by creating the most powerful defense. This means that all the old, traditional forms of military and defense strategy, be it a "Maginot Line," every possible kind of "wall," or multizone systems, the formation of which swallows up gigantic means and resources, can no longer guarantee security in its modern interpretation. The latest technology will scarcely alter this. Consequently, the transatlantic "Strategic Defense Initiative" -- if it is implemented -- will most probably be no more reliable than the infamous "Atlantic Wall" in 1944.

Second: If the arms race is going to continue on earth and, what is more, spread into space, the critically high rate at which nuclear weapons are being improved will deprive of all meaning the parity of forces between East and West as a restraining factor. Consequently, even parity of military forces is by no means an absolute form of security. It is, like all the rest, an historical phenomenon characteristic only of certain conditions. Of course, we have no right to ignore the scenarios of a nuclear attack on our country which have been created in the Pentagon, and as long as they exist we are compelled to strengthen our defense shield. But it is our firm belief that peaceful coexistence and detente are a far higher and more reliable form of ensuring international security.

And the third conclusion: The situation in the world is drawing near the state when, perhaps, it will no longer depend on the reason or will of politicians. It could prove to be in thrall to technology and military-technocratic logic. The Pentagon does not simply envisage the most extensive possible introduction of information science and computerization to the entire U.S. military structure; It must make it possible, to use the expression of one American political scientist, "to spread the arms race to the furthest corner of our solar system." It is a question of a so-called "war without people," or, to be more precise, a growth in the potential to annihilate people with machines on the basis of computer technology and microelectronics, robot technology, and artificial intelligence. Is this really a future worthy of mankind?

On the basis of these conclusions the CPSU has formulated the main tenets of Soviet security policy, which were expounded by M.S. Gorbachev in his Political Report at the 27th CPSU Congress: "...The contemporary world has become too small and fragile for wars and policies of strength. Saving and preserving this world is impossible if we do not break -- decisively and irrevocably -- with the type of ideas and actions which have formed over the centuries on the basis of the acceptability and permissibility of wars and armed conflicts."

Breaking with obsolete forms of political thinking is absolutely essential. But it is also realistic, because in the final analysis the idea of equal security for all must inevitably be established. Awareness that it is no longer possible to win the arms race, or nuclear war itself, must also be established. In approximately comparable industrial, scientific, and technological potential of today's developed states and their alliances makes attempts to gain unilateral military superiority and to build policies in the new era on the basis of antiquated aims of the distant past both senseless and archaic.

In the spirit of innovation the CPSU has also developed another extremely important idea -- to create an all-embracing international security system. For as far back as man can remember, the predominant aspiration has been to guarantee one's own security at the expense of another, and sometimes actually to the detriment of another. Various "balances of forces," "maneuvering between power centers," these infamous "triangles" and "polygons," every kind of "axis" or "polar model," and so forth -- all this was based on the ancient political "subtleties" of the play on contradictions, on cunning, on stirring up some people against others, and so forth.

In the contemporary world the only constructive approach can be one which, first, guarantees the same level of security for all -- which is impossible to achieve without making the most decisive break with old concepts of methods of politics and diplomacy, and with scholastic attempts to drag them into the present, completely changed era. Second, an approach which excludes any of the worship of military strength so characteristic of the past. And, third, an approach which is based on an integrated concept of security, that is, one which includes all the most important areas of state functioning and interaction -- political, military, economic, and humanitarian.

Proceeding precisely from this kind of approach and taking as a basis the Soviet philosophy of peace, which put forward the idea of collective security as early as the beginning of the thirties, the 27th CPSU Congress elaborated the principled "Basis for Creating a Comprehensive International Security System" as applicable to the situation at the end of our century. The characteristic feature of this most contemporary security concept consist in the following. In the military sphere it envisages a rejection by nuclear powers of war against one another or against third states --

either nuclear or conventional war -- plans, prevention of an arms race in space, a monitored reduction in the levels of military potential, the dissolution of military groupings, and a proportional and balanced reduction in military budgets.

Of an equally broad nature are the ideas embracing the political, economic, and humanitarian spheres of international security. Realization of these ideas would make it possible to turn peaceful coexistence into the highest universal principle of interstate relations.

A truly Leninist approach to the problem of security opens up before mankind the possibility of being free of the onerous pressure of militarization and constant threat. Now as never before, it is dangerous to divide peace from war by only the thin barrier of the arms balance. More reliable walls and many layers of padding are necessary, which would form a reserve of strength. Only an integrated approach, with unconditional priority given to the political principle, can erect these -- reliable and strong -- walls of an edifice of peace.

The vitality of the Soviet theory of international security is determined by the fact that objective conditions have taken shape, under which the struggle between capitalism and socialism can take its course solely and exclusively in the forms of peaceful coexistence and peaceful rivalry. This conclusion has permanent theoretical and practical significance.

It has allowed us, in particular, to put forward a program for eliminating mass destruction weapons -- a program which will be a central aspect of the Soviet Union's foreign policy in the years to come.

Set out in M.S. Gorbachev's statement of 15 January this year, it has been received with great interest and understanding virtually everywhere. Of course, there is also no shortage of misunderstanding and critical judgments. But how could it be otherwise? It is never the case that new ideas come into the world without encountering opposition. Just take the arguments put forward by opponents of the Soviet program to eliminate mass destruction weapons. Some believe that its realization "would deprive relations between East and West of a stabilizing basis." Others claim that our program is difficult to implement, because the United States will not give up SDI and France and Britain will not give up their own nuclear forces. In the opinion of others, the program is disadvantageous to the West, because the elimination of nuclear weapons would signify "consolidation of Soviet superiority in conventional weapons." And others are convinced that our statement is only the result of the U.S. "policy of strength," and so forth.

The groundlessness of these "arguments" has been proven more than once. And so we will not repeat ourselves. We will only note that the historical process possesses astonishing properties and that sooner or later it will definitely put everything in its place. And the laws of the objective order are revealed during this process -- laws compelling people to act in accordance with them and not in accordance with any far-fetched dogmas, which history can also expose well enough. Our statement is addressed not only to the governments of the NATO countries, but basically to all peoples and governments, whose will plays a large role. We will stubbornly strive to realize the ideas inherent in it, and we believe that the rightness of our cause will be proved in the foreseeable future. This is because the ideas in the statement correspond to the needs of the era.

The security concept developed at the congress counters the amoral and absurd philosophy of "deterrence." The amorality of this philosophy lies in the fact that one should not try to build peace on the basis of mankind's fear and horror of universal annihilation.

Life under these conditions can lose all meaning. The absurdity of this philosophy lies in the negation of one's own self; stimulating the increasing nuclear arms race, "deterrence" not only does not guarantee security but, on the contrary, ultimately catastrophically undermines it.

The Soviet security concept places the entire problem in a different dimension: not to "deter" with the annihilation of the human race for the sake of political ambition or one-sided interpretation of the course of history, intolerance, and infinite class egoism, but to relentlessly, indefatigably seek political solutions to the most complex, involved situations. In international relations, as in life, there are no hopeless situations. So-called "political deadlocks" are basically, for the most part, only evidence of the inability of politicians preferring a head-on clash to flexible maneuver. All that is needed is for people to look properly for solutions -- not in crises, conflicts, and wars, but in intelligent decisions based on a desire for peace and mutual understanding wherever there is even the slightest chance of this, and then solutions to the most "hopeless" situations will be found.

In the difficult time ahead, attempts will probably be made to force us to abandon our chosen course of detente and peace and to provoke military, strong-arm confrontation in the hope, perhaps, that we will slam the door. But we will not yield to such challenges and begin copying the methods of the inspirers of imperial ideology and policy who continue to regard strength as the most powerful argument in world politics.

We will pursue our own Leninist policy and follow our own course, worthy of a socialist state. We have no need of attempting to halt the course of history by force. It was declared from the congress rostrum to the whole world that Soviet foreign policy is oriented toward seeking mutual understanding, toward dialogue, and toward the establishment of peaceful coexistence as the universal norm in interstate relations. "We are perfectly aware of our responsibility for the fate of the country and the fate of peace. And that is why we do not intend to play up to those who would like to force mankind to get used to the nuclear threat and the arms race," M.S. Gorbachev added at the close of the congress. Our concept of security serves to achieve the main aim of CPSU foreign policy strategy--to guarantee the Soviet people the opportunity to work under conditions of lasting peace and freedom and to preserve universal peace.

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RELATED ISSUES

SOVIET COMMENTATORS VIEW TESTING, SDI, WEINBERGER

LD282301 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1315 GMT 28 Mar 86

["International Situation -- Question and Answers" program presented by All-Union Radio foreign policy commentator Sergey Pravdin; with TASS political observer Yuriy Kornilov; IZVESTIYA international observer Melor Sturua; and international affairs journalists Vladimir Tsvetov, Vasiliy Lesovik, Vladimir Pasko, Pavel Kasparov, and Konstantin Patsyuk]

[Excerpts] These days in our editorial office mail we get many listeners' letters, the authors of which express full support for the new Soviet peace initiatives and the peace-loving foreign policy course of the Soviet Union, but condemn the notorious U.S. neoglobalism and its provocative imperial policy. We have had such letters from Comrades Yaglo from Moscow, Sagamanyan from Yerevan, Tyutrin from Orekhovo-Zuyevo, Perevalov from Leningrad, Borisovskiy from Minsk, (Chavchavadze) from Tbilisi, the Simakov family from Khabarovsk and many, many others. It is impossible to list the authors of all such letters, but I would nevertheless like to quote a small excerpt from one letter. Its author, labor veteran Dancheva from Moscow - regretfully, she did not indicate her full name and patronymic -- writes:

There is probably not a single sensible adult in the world now who would not be worried by the threat of destructive nuclear war and the fate of entire mankind. I am already 75 years old. I have experienced both joys and troubles in my life. But with all my heart I want one thing -- for the peoples of all countries to live in peace and friendship, to rejoice in the sun and children, to delight at masterpieces of art and, with their own hands, to make life even more beautiful. That is why I fully support the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the peace program reaffirmed by it.

More than 3 weeks have already gone by since the congress ended. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries do not cease their peaceful offensive. But instead of showing political will and for its part taking a step forward, to meet the Soviet peaceful proposals halfway, the United States has conducted a new nuclear explosion. This crude provocation and open blackmail, writes Comrade Dancheva, has attracted condemnation from all over the world. Why did the United States take this step now, when a Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests is in force?

We now go to TASS political observer, Yuriy Immanuilovich Kornilov.

[Kornilov] Anger and indignation -- that is the reaction of the international public to the actions of the U.S. Administration that sanctioned the test of a nuclear device at a testing ground in Nevada on 22 March.

The explosion caused not just an earth tremor in Nevada; it caused a genuine storm of international protest which tore off the architects of Washington's foreign policy the remnants of the propagandist make-up meant to corroborate their sham love of peace and, at the same time, vividly demonstrated that millions of people in various corners of the planet are fully aware of the fact that the problem of banning all nuclear explosions is one of the key problems on the solution of which the very future of our planet depends. Guided by a striving to do everything for the preservation and strengthening of peace, the Soviet Union has put forth a specific program designed for a precisely defined period, for the total elimination of nuclear weapons, the implementation of which would enable mankind to meet the 3d millenium under a peaceful sky and space. Guided by the same striving, our country has, now for more than 7 months, unilaterally not conducted nuclear tests and persistently called on the United States to begin talks on an all-embracing ban on such tests.

This position is in full accord with the strivings and expectations of the widest sections of world public -- strivings and expectations which found their expression equally in a UN General Assembly resolution containing an appeal to halt all nuclear weapons tests; in the communique of the Foreign Ministers Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states which met in Warsaw in March; in a recent joint message by the leaders of Argentina, India, Mexico, Tanzania, Sweden, and Greece, calling for not sanctioning any nuclear tests in the coming months; and in a number of other important international documents. But how, one may ask, does the United States reply to the goodwill of the USSR and the calls of other peace-loving states? In the beginning their response was silence. Then, a series of nuclear explosions accompanied by attempts, under various far-fetched pretexts, to avoid a direct response to the Soviet call for joining the moratorium. And finally, yet another nuclear explosion, the eighth since our country unilaterally ceased such explosions. It is an open, insolent challenge to peoples and world public opinion.

[Pravdin] Now that waves of public indignation are swamping Washington, they are clearly trying to provide some kind of propaganda safeguards for their militarist and provocative action there. What arguments does American propaganda resort to for that purpose?

[Kornilov] There are several such arguments, if the statements of the American adherents of the arms race can at all be called arguments rather than propaganda tricks which would, of course, be far more accurate. It is maintained, for example, that nuclear tests are inevitable in order to maintain the effectiveness of the American deterrence arsenal and not to fall behind the USSR thereby undermining the security of the United States. They also expatiate in Washington about difficulties of monitoring nuclear explosions.

[Pravdin] Well, as far as the argument about an imaginary U.S. lag is concerned, it is not a new postulate. It is set in motion in Washington every time there is a question of testing or manufacturing new weapon systems, of new appropriations for military purposes. Is that not so?

[Kornilov] Exactly so. The very same circles which are now trying to justify nuclear tests by using fables about a U.S. lag, at other times painstakingly frightened the U.S. citizen with Soviet superiority, now in the field of bomber aviation, now in the field of missiles. And every time these fabrications would suffer total fiasco which in the end would be admitted in Washington itself. This time too this move is not working. An indeed, what U.S. lag can there be when everybody knows well -- and this is

confirmed, in particular, by so authoritative an organization as the Swedish Defense Research Institute -- that since 1945 the United States has tested a third more nuclear devices than the USSR and together with other Western powers, one-and-a-half times as many.

[Pravdin] And how should one regard U.S. claims about apparent monitoring difficulties?

[Kornilov] This too is a fabrication calculated to deceive people who are insufficiently knowledgeable or confused by the bourgeois propaganda. Prominent political figures, authoritative military experts, and eminent scientists, also, of course, in the West, unanimsly agree that effective monitoring of stopping nuclear tests is possible. If the United States were to support halting tests of that kind on a mutual basis, it could be fully ensured through national technical means as well as through international procedures and, in required cases, with on-site inspection. I will recall an opinion on this account by Palme, Sweden's former prime minister who was recently killed by the hand of a terrorist, these were his words: Scientific and technical knowledge and experience gathered to date make it possible to ensure the appropriate checks of the observance of a treaty banning any nuclear weapons tests. End quote.

Facts show that the negative position of those circles in Washington which, ignoring the views of the world public, stubbornly refuse to reciprocate the Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions is, of course, explained not by a mythical U.S. lag nor by equally mythical monitoring difficulties. The genuine cause lies elsewhere -- in fact that nuclear explosions are a key component of the arms race and the continuation of such a race is the core of the militarist policy of strength which the U.S. ruling circles, expressing the aspirations and will of the powerful military-industrial complex, obstinately refuse to relinquish.

[Pravdin] What is the connection between nuclear device explosions and Washington's so called Strategic Defense Initiative?

[Kornilov] Most direct. Washington's elaborated plans for militarization of space propose the development of laser weapons as one of its key components. In order to get those weapons going, it is necessary to use the power of a nuclear explosion. Nuclear tests are one of the important components in preparation for the star wars program. Let us add that the cost of this program is expressed by the cosmic sum of \$1.5-2 trillion and its implementation will bring, and is already bringing, U.S. weapon magnates truly cosmic profits. Should we therefore be surprised that the bosses of the military-industrial complex, who play the role of generators of militarism, are not awaiting the stoppage, or even a slowing of the pace of nuclear weapons production lines and that they are erecting ever-newer obstacles in the way of reliably blocking the channels of perfecting nuclear and developing space weapons, once an end has been put to nuclear tests?

The U.S. press, in particular THE WASHINGTON POST, has reported in the last few days that Washington especially re-examined the schedule for conducting nuclear tests, having moved the date of conducting one explosion from mid-April to the end of March. Comparing these facts, observers and many press organs come to the natural conclusion that the White House thereby attempted to neutralize the public movement in favor of a moratorium, the movement which in the coming month would undoubtedly acquire an even wider range. But the wishes of the Washington administration and its real possibilities are far from one and the same thing. Whatever maneuvers Washington figures resort to in order to guide the dangerous militarist course of their political

line, they will not succeed, just as they will not succeed in taking the heat out of the indignation in connection with the sabotage of the call by our country for banning all nuclear tests.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it -- faithful to its principled policy of peace -- views the cessation of all nuclear-weapons tests as one of the key elements in the creation of an all-embracing system of international security, the principled basis of which was formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress.

Replying recently to a joint message from the leaders of Argentina, India, Mexico, Tanzania, Sweden, and Greece, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev emphasized that in order to fully solve the problem of tests an agreement which would ban such tests under international law is necessary. The Soviet Union proposes beginning preparations for such an agreement without delay. In a word, our country intends to continue to do everything to move the solution of the urgent problem of halting nuclear tests on to practical tracks and to achieve a total elimination of nuclear arsenals. This peace-loving, consistent line meets with growing support from all those to whom a clear sky over the planet is dear.

[Pravdin]

Servicemen (Akhmolovskiy) and (Bratchenko) from Moscow ask which circles are represented by Caspar Weinberger, secretary of defense in the present U.S. Government. Every time the United States takes a new step in exacerbating the arms race and military hysteria, it is in one way or another always connected with the name of the U.S. secretary of defense, write our listeners. Here with an answer to the question in Melor Sturua, IZVESTIYA international observer.

[Sturua] The secretary of defense's office is on the third floor of the famous five-sided building, the Pentagon. It is an enormous room with a huge table in the middle. It is said that the telephone console on the table is of such dimensions that an intercontinental bomber could take off from it. Of course, this is an exaggeration, but the point behind it is that the man sitting behind that table pursues a policy of steadily whipping up the arms race. Even more eloquent are the photographs on display on the Pentagon chief's table -- photographs of Winston Churchill and Ronald Reagan. Washington observers claim that it is precisely to these two people that Weinberger owes his ascent: By his ideological devotion to the former's anti-communism, and his personal devotion to the latter, which, indeed, harmonize ideally with each other.

Reagan and Weinberger have long years of cooperation behind them. When Reagan became governor of California he made Weinberger finance director of his state. In that post, Weinberger displayed such tight-fistedness that he was even nicknamed Cap the Knife. Without the least hesitation he cut down the allocation for the Californians' social needs. In 1970, Weinberger was transferred to Washington to become director of the Office of Management and Budget, and from 1973 to 1975 he held office as secretary for health, education, and welfare. In 1976, after the Democrats came to power, Weinberger left Washington, returned to California and became vice president of the multinational construction company Bechtel Corporation. He actively participated in the 1980 presidential campaign, was a member of Reagan's so-called kitchen cabinet, and as remuneration for his services, was given the post of secretary of defense by Reagan.

Weinberger's appearance in the Pentagon at first worried the military-industrial complex and the top military brass. They remembered Weinberger as the stingy Caspar the Knife. However, their concern soon disappeared -- Weinberger immediately proved

to be a fervent spokesman for the military monopolies and aggressive circles. He started presenting such mighty military budgets to Congress that a new nickname was coined for him -- Caspar the Spade. He throws money into the Pentagon furnace with a spade, wrote U.S. newspapers in this connection. Incidentally, Weinberger has yet another nickname -- Caspar the Sword. The origins of this nickname are in Weinberger's rabid anticommunism, in the way in which he brandishes his sword, calling for a crusade against socialism and progress. Here is how one of Weinberger's retinue describes him. Caspar is a militant anticommunist, he writes. Insofar as he does not have the necessary refinement, his foreign policy views are notable in their rigidity and simplification. The Soviets are our enemies, he asserts. He is an opponent of detente and an opponent of normalization of Soviet-American relations. Weinberger is a rabid advocate of the "star wars" program, i.e. of the militarization of space and the creation of first-strike space forces. Weinberger maintains an equally aggressive and unconstructive stance on the issue of banning nuclear tests.

Weinberger has recently been appearing more and more frequently on television screens and in the press -- sometimes surrounded by arms kings, sometimes accompanied by strapping generals and admirals, dressed in half-civilian half-military uniform. We see him climbing up aircraft carriers' gangways and descending into tank hatches, ascending into the heavens and diving to the ocean depths in submarines, inspecting military parades and opening military maneuvers, peering through binoculars and periscopes. Caspar Weinberger learns his role, tease American observers. However, it is not at all funny, for they are talking about a man who heads the biggest and most aggressive military machine in the capitalist world.

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RELATED ISSUES

USSR 'STUDIO 9' PROGRAM ON GENEVA, MORATORIUM, INF

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["Studio 9" program presented by Professor Valentin Sergeevich Zorin, political observer of Soviet television and radio with Academician Georgiy Arkadyevich Arbatov, director of the United States of America and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and Vitaliy Ivanovich Kobysh, political observer]

[Excerpts][Zorin] Hello, comrades: We are beginning our traditional "Studio 9" discussion at Ostankino television center. The discussion is devoted to current problems in world politics. Today's "Studio 9" guests are: Academician Georgiy Arkadyevich Arbatov, director of the United States of America and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and political observer Vitaliy Ivanovich Kobysh.

[Zorin] Georgiy Arkadyevich, returning to an analysis of the results of the congress, I would like to ask you: What is the main thing the congress yielded in the foreign policy sphere?

[Arbatov] In our immediate foreign policy?

[Zorin] Yes.

[Arbatov] This of course is our concept of a universal system of international security proposed in Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev's Political Report. This concept is not simply an idea, it is a political platform which must operate for years and generally it is difficult to imagine an alternative for it.

[Kobysh] It is a formula for mankind's survival.

[Arbatov] Of survival, and generally it is an essential condition for mankind's existence and progress. The strength of the idea lies in the fact that it reflects certain urgent requirements of society. Here for the first time it was revealed in the form of an integral concept or political platform. It is not an ultimatum, we are prepared to discuss any other proposals. Such is the style of our policy. But this is an agenda for worldwide discussion which is urgently needed today.

[Zorin] Continuing that you have outlined in a conceptual and general way I would like to ask a question from many of our television viewers' letters to "Studio 9" recently. The question, in brief, is as follows: What is happening with the post-Geneva process?

[Arbatov] Well, I would say that everything that was achieved in Geneva is being dismantled fairly rapidly by the Americans. In the west, I would say, no one is prepared to blame us for this.

[Zorin] Now you have told us what is happening. The next question is, naturally, why is this happening?

[Arbatov] Various suggestions are being made. One of them is that the U.S. President, while signing the statement in Geneva, did not plan to fulfill it, that this was a politically insincere act and a calculated maneuver of some sort.

Another suggestion is that during the 5 months since Geneva some changes have occurred among the President's entourage and in U.S. ruling circles. The correlation of forces has changed and the extreme right wing has gained the upper hand. Mentioned in connection with this are the resignation of McFarlane and the increased role of Patrick Buchanan, the President's main speechwriter, a truly strange person who has publicly bragged that one of his favorite historical heroes is Senator McCarthy and another is Generalissimo Francisco Franco, the bloody butcher of Spain.

I would not exclude one or the other of these versions although I would not put my name to them. Other factors may also be operating, but I fully concede that the matter may be more simple, that President Reagan really did want to do something positive. After all, it is most pleasant to be a peacemaker. This is liked, it is popular, and he may have sincerely gone to Geneva for this and spoken about it proudly on his return from Geneva. Perhaps at the time he simply did not imagine that in order to become a peacemaker many changes and corrections to U.S. policy needed to be made.

Now when he saw that this was necessary -- not only he, I have the entire administration in mind -- when they saw that these corrections were necessary and, moreover, when they saw that the entire situation and course of developments after Geneva demand these changes with increasing persistence, then they were taken aback or gave certain people and circles a chance to jump back a long way in the opposite direction.

I think this demonstrated another thing, a most revealing one, it seems to me. It showed that the entire situation in which the administration found itself was uncomfortable, somehow awkward, and it felt devoid of tension, without an arms race, without that constant chain of political adventures -- it felt like a fish out of water. And because of this there was a rapid reaction in the opposite direction. If we consider the situation today we cannot of course over-dramatize things. It is all occurring in real life. But if we consider the past couple of weeks, they have been worse than the weeks before Geneva.

[Zorin] In this connection, Georgiy Arkadyevich, question naturally arises: Is it time for us to reassess Geneva?

[Arbatov] I do not think so. When we first assessed the results of the Geneva summit, we constantly said that the scope of the success and the actual success or failure will be determined by the development of events afterward, by the actual implementation of the ideas on which an agreement seemed to have been reached and which had been mentioned in the statement during the summit meeting. Of course, we hoped and thought things would proceed precisely that way, that the understandings would be converted into obligating agreements and would be implemented. We were also ready for a different course and we then said that there is another course.

Second, I would like to say that if what we actually see today is the last word of the current U.S. Administration, though we would not like it to be true, the Geneva meeting has been very useful just the same. It was a useful event. The administration has long said very different things, and it appeared that different people had spoken, although it was the same man or the very same people who spoke. But they said totally different things which inevitably had to be checked out. And actually there is no other way to check the possibility of coming to an agreement on anything with this administration, than to begin negotiations and enter into serious and summit talks with it. We could not pass up that opportunity. We could not miss it because of purely domestic positions and especially for our people. For them the issue of war and peace is always the object of special sensitivity; priorities play a special role and they expect no opportunity to be ignored or missed.

In addition, it was also very important for the entire world. You can see it is possible to verbally expose as much as you wish. The Americans can teach for they are experienced master polemicists.

It has to be said that the administration knows how to manage propaganda, the art of using words, and it is fully conversant with verbal propaganda. But when people show their deeds, when it is no longer possible to avoid a direct answer on a very specific political issue, the situation changes, when it says yes or no about its attitude toward nuclear weapons...

[Zorin interrupting] ...and the moratorium...

[Arbatov] ...and the moratorium of course, nuclear weapons, and horrors about which the President was willing to speak: His desire to make nuclear weapons obsolete, to deliver humanity from them, and the moratorium on nuclear tests...

[Zorin interrupting] And this is what, despite the general attitude in the world, they have resumed testing...

[Arbatov] And this is actually a test by actions. Test of the nuclear issue about nuclear weapon testing has become a test by deed, a test of the administration's intentions. The same applies to intermediate-range weapons and a lot of other issues. You see, on the whole I would say that a result of Geneva, one of the consequences, was the very recent political leaf shedding, so to speak, when there was a massive fall of fig-leaves which uncovered the shame of a large number of political leaders.

[Zorin] Well, that is a very graphic description, Georgiy Arkadyevich, but it seems to provide a considerable definite use for propaganda. Is that sufficient?

[Arbatov] You see, naturally it would have been far better if we were close to or could sign an agreement, say to reduce by 50 percent the nuclear armaments and intermediate-range weapons in Europe, to completely ban nuclear testing, and so forth, but you see we had that in mind. We proposed that, we did not engage in propaganda, And now see what followed Geneva. It was not a wave of propaganda. Deeds followed. First of all, the 15 January statement of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. That was an idea which struck the imagination of everyone in the world. You see, that is a concrete plan for finally eliminating nuclear arms, solving a lot of problems involving the world of militarization, a militarization which is becoming both dangerous and beyond the power of humanity.

Yet at the same time it must be understood that the declaration of true intentions is not just propaganda, it is a very important policy, it is diplomacy, that very open diplomacy which Vladimir Ilich Lenin actually mentioned on the day after the October Revolution when the decree on peace was adopted. By the way, Comrade Gorbachev dealt with it in much detail during his interview with the French Communist newspaper L'HUMANITE. You see, the heart of the matter is that there are types of policies, or using Lenin's expression -- there are abominations and villainies which cannot tolerate publicity, cannot tolerate truth like mold cannot stand sunlight. And in this aspect, military allocations reflecting the full meaning of huge military spendings, plans for bloody adventures, can be achieved in the present world only when supported by a thick wave of deceit, of universal duping. In this way a very great contribution is made by this always present element of that very important policy. You understand, it is not just talk but decisions that will either push in certain directions or force the truth to be exposed.

At the same time, this open diplomacy is also important in another aspect. It presupposes a very clear, convincing, realistic position by the one who simply conducts it, and in this aspect, the Geneva and the post-Geneva process have helped us greatly. Comrade Gorbachev has spoken about this. He allowed us to come more boldly and more determinedly to the preparation of new proposals and new initiatives. In a word, it can be said it has given powerful impetus to the complicated and very important process. And this process will continue. You know, whichever way the situation goes, however much it tends to the pre-Geneva situation, there is no return.

New ideas, new proposals, new concepts about the arms race, and methods for fighting the arms race, a new kind of rearrangement of forces in public movements are beginning to take root. And all that means a struggle, and all that is complicated, yet it is alive and active, so I think that, on the whole, events are developing in a complicated manner. Yet, we have no justification for reassessing what was really a very major and serious political event.

[Zorin] Yes, the political process is moving, Georgiy Arkadyevich, but excuse my insistence. I would like to ask you the following question: Will it be possible to achieve anything substantial if the other side does not move from its position, and keeps to its previous position?

[Arbatov] You know of course that, in order to achieve an agreement, you have to negotiate with somebody, and there must be the willingness of the other side for this. I would say that the administration has many times changed its position, unfortunately more often for the worse than for the better, but there have been instances to the contrary. I think the main point lies somewhere else. At any rate, the political behavior of any government is determined by some kind of objective factor, which generally operates in the direction of a logical approach to the realities of the world. And then, of course, we should not forget and I have already mentioned it in this studio, that the history of Soviet-U.S. relations did not begin with the Reagan administration, and that it will not end with it. Actually the administration has less than 3 years left. That is not a short period. But the signs of apparent damage coming at full speed I think are manifest in the political situation which we now observe.

The hysterical splash of the last few weeks in U.S. policy is explained by some observers as the beginning of the 1988 presidential electoral campaign, its first battles, battles connected in particular with the extreme right-wing circles fearing to lose their position after Reagan, wanting to preserve and strengthen these positions.

And for this purpose, they naturally need anti-communist hysteria and a military-psychotic atmosphere. Of course, there is the question of whether they will succeed or not and, frankly speaking, after spending 18 years at the institute which studies the United States, I have become very cautious about making any kind of forecast. In the United States, anything is generally possible, yet at the same time I find it very difficult to see how the United States will be able for several more years to stand military spending similar to that in the last 5 years, and the budget deficit and state debt associated with them; how it will be able to preserve intact the huge bag of falsifications and eyewash concerning military programs and many other political falsehoods, open lies which have actually become one of the cornerstones of the entire foundation of current U.S. policy; and how it will be able to keep the United States for several more years in a state of almost general conformism, silent in the face of this kind of high-handed pressure.

[Zorin] I do not think that the right-wingers will have it easy.

[Kobysh] I think there is another significant and interesting aspect. The political leaf-shedding Georgiy Arkadyevich spoke about has led to the emergence in the United States within the top leadership, and even within the administration, of a certain discord, and we even suspect there is a fight going on about very substantial problems -- first of all, those connected with the approach to the problem of arms control. This is, of course, primarily what was stated by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on 15 January in our proposals. All this had placed the U.S. ruling circles, the administration, in a very difficult position, and they are now, in the full meaning of the word, fighting back in the political, propaganda, and diplomatic fields, while being practically in a political blockade in the world, and all that is the result of Geneva and the actions following Geneva.

[Zorin] Georgiy Arkadyevich, I would like to return directly to the discussion of Geneva and ask you a question which cannot fail to arise. In Geneva, an agreement on the next summit was agreed upon...

[Arbatov interrupting] On the next two meetings...

[Zorin] Yes, but particularly about the meeting this year. What is the prospect of this agreement in the light of the current situation; in light of what we have discussed?

[Arbatov] The question is important of course. It is a question which, frankly speaking, I cannot answer. The answer has to be given officially, at the appropriate level and in the appropriate manner. I can only make some observations in connection with this. My observation lies in that the main point agreed on at Geneva, it seems to me, was the intention and I quote the statement signed by Comrade Gorbachev and President Reagan: To improve Soviet-U.S. relations and improve the international situation in general. And it is for this purpose that the talks must be held. For this purpose summit meetings were planned and the main motive for making decisions, I think, will be whether the new summit meeting planned for this year, and planned last year during the Geneva meeting, will serve these purposes.

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RELATED ISSUES

USSR WEEKLY 'INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS ROUNDTABLE' ON TESTING, SDI

LD301705 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 30 Mar 86

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Rudolf Georgiyevich Kolchanov, deputy editor in chief of TRUD; Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Lebedev, deputy editor in chief of MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA; and Aleksandr Vladimirovich Zholkver, political observer of central television and All-Union Radio]

[Excerpts][Zholkver] Hello, comrades. At the center of everyone's attention today is the address by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on the issue of halting nuclear tests. This is now one of the main issues of the day: upon its solution depends the halting of the nuclear arms race, upon its solution -- to a decisive extent -- depends the strengthening of peace on our planet. It seems to me that first of all we ought to remind ourselves, albeit briefly, of the history of the nuclear test-ban issue.

[Lebedev] Well if we are going to talk about the history of this issue, Aleksandr Vladimirovich, then of course this is an appropriate time for recalling it, for way back in 1946 the Soviet Union was the first to make a proposal for the banning of nuclear weapons for all time, for eliminating nuclear weapons, and for using nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful purposes. In general, this was a call to the United States. The consequences of the barbarous bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were still fresh in the memories of people, bombing which was carried out by the United States. But evidently in the United States and elsewhere in the West at that time there were circles which thought that they would be able to preserve their atomic monopoly, if not forever then at any rate for a sufficiently lengthy period in order to implement the atomic blackmail diplomacy of sad repute. The consequences of the refusal of the United States and its allies to accept the Soviet Union's proposal are still felt to this day.

[Kolchanov] Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, I agree with you, the history of this issue, the history of the issue of the banning of nuclear tests, has indeed now become a part of history. I am not going to dwell in detail on all the stages in the history, if you will, of the Soviet Union's peaceful battle for nuclear disarmament: I am just going to remind our listeners of those stages which are perhaps the most important ones. On 5 August 1963, a treaty banning tests of nuclear weapons in three environments was signed in Moscow. It can be stated firmly that the conclusion of this treaty was first and foremost the consequence of the persistent and consistent efforts of the Soviet Union.

[Kholkver] And as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev put it while speaking on Soviet television, this means that now we do not have to start from scratch.

[Kolchanov] Yes, definite experience has already been built up in the struggle for achieving an agreement of this kind, and definite experience has also been built up of a negative kind, so to speak...

[Zholkver, interrupting] Of resistance to banning nuclear weapons.

[Kolchanov] Yes, yes, that is precisely what I wanted to say. In 1977, on the initiative of the USSR, tripartite talks begin between the USSR, the United States, and Britain with the object of working out a treaty on the complete and universal banning of nuclear weapons tests. By the summer of 1980, it had proved possible in the main to coordinate the provisions of the treaty, a number of technical appendices, and the issues of monitoring. But in the West there was a sharp turn towards confrontation. In November 1980, the American side broke off these talks and in July 1982, President Reagan made a unilateral decision not to resume them at all.

[Zholkver] True, it has to be said that this did not stop our country in its desire to erect barriers in the path of nuclear arming. I remember, Rudolf Georgiyevich, that in that same year -- 1982 -- the Soviet Union took upon itself unilaterally at the session of the UN General Assembly an obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

[Kolchanov] Also in 1982, the Soviet Union presented at the General Assembly the basic provisions of a treaty on the complete and universal banning of nuclear weapons tests.

[Zholkver] Well, unfortunately, it has not yet proved possible to implement our proposals either within the UN or on a bilateral or trilateral basis or at the Geneva disarmament conference; we continue to favor bilateral and trilateral and multilateral talks on the issue of ending nuclear tests. This was stressed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. And we are also acting unilaterally.

[Kolchanov] Yes, and we are taking practical steps: There is the nuclear test moratorium about which everyone knows and which is widely supported in the world, which we introduced on the 40th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima, 6 August 1985. Then, as is known, we extended the moratorium until 31 March and after 31 March we are willing -- Mikhail Sergeyevich stressed this once again in his address -- not to resort to nuclear weapon tests if the Americans do the same.

[Lebedev] This is of course the manifestation of a very high sense of political responsibility which our leadership and our country is demonstrating once again in the critical period that mankind is currently living through. In the statement of 15 January, we proposed a stage-by-stage program of nuclear disarmament. One has to start somewhere. As Mikhail Sergeyevich said, the most realistic, the most simple step -- and also a radical step in this direction -- would be the reaching of an accord, primarily, of course, between the United States and the USSR but with other nuclear powers, too, on the immediate halting of all nuclear tests.

[Zholkver] And the Soviet Union also stressed its sense of responsibility and its goodwill with its proposal that there should be a meeting now, without delay, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said, with the President of the United States either in Rome or in London...

[Kolchanov] Or in any European capital.

[Zholkver] Or in any European capital in order to start discussion of this very important issue and give instructions so that the appropriate documents might be able to be prepared. The Soviet Union, in fact, has stressed repeatedly that we favor a broad and effective system for monitoring a ban on nuclear tests. For a long time the issue of monitoring was an excuse for the West; it was allegedly difficult to monitor whether or not nuclear tests were being carried out. Well, scientists, including U.S. scientists, have confirmed that this can now be monitored by national means, but the Soviet Union is in favor of also carrying out monitoring tests on site in the event of its being necessary. The issue is not one of monitoring.

[Kolchanov] Of course.

[Zholkver] The issue is one of desire, of political will, of striving for the conclusion of a treaty of this kind. And, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stressed when he appeared on television, the Soviet Union is once again appealing first and foremost to the U.S. Administration and giving one more chance -- if I can put it like that -- for thinking, for reflecting and ultimately for taking into consideration the demand of the world public. For of late it is not just the Soviet Union that has been coming out so persistently in favor of ending nuclear tests. Remember, for example, the appeal by the leaders of the six countries which signed the so-called Delhi declaration. They call insistently upon both the Soviet Union and the United States to end nuclear tests. I have seen a statement by the Indian Government, transmitted via the channels of the Indian Foreign Ministry. After the Soviet Union had responded positively to the second appeal by the six states, the U.S. Government dragged out its answer and the Indian Foreign Ministry then drew attention -- as this statement points out -- to the rapid response to this initiative by the Soviet leadership, unlike the U.S. leadership. True, the American leadership replied in its own special way, it replied with new nuclear explosions in Nevada.

[Lebedev] Yes, and this, of course, gives rise to a wholly justifiable feeling of indignation; this is naturally wholly understandable in our people, since our country, our government has in the recent period alone unilaterally made so many good-will gestures, so to speak, that it appeared one could wholly count upon at least some constructive reaction in response. This explosion in Nevada of course aroused great indignation among the world public and among the most diverse political forces. Furthermore, you know, the arrogance, demagoguery, and insincerity of the position of both the U.S. Administration and the leaders of a number of other countries which are its NATO partners, are right now standing out in particular relief.

[Zholkver] This is giving rise to worry and indignation in the United States itself. For instance, I have seen an appeal by a whole detachment, I would call it, of U.S. religious figures, an appeal to the President, calling upon him to follow the example and actions of the Soviet Union in halting nuclear tests and to do the same; they declare, literally, we call upon you to take the next essential step and call an immediate halt to nuclear weapons tests. This decision will not place the national security of the United States under threat, they declare. A moratorium on testing nuclear weapons is subject to verification. Well, if even such figures as United States religious leaders are addressing such messages to the President, one must assume that this sort of mood is very widespread in the United States. And this appeal to the President states frankly: We are at a cross-roads; one way leads us to the dead end of nuclear destruction, and the other to the future of a world without nuclear weapons.

[Kolchanov] The world is indignant, the world protests. The U.S. Administration's words are sharply at variance with its deeds, and this position, apparently, is not by chance.

[Zholkver] Yes, indeed. Behind this are indeed the interests of other circles, first and foremost the military-industrial circles in the United States, those who place their stake on the illusory search for military supremacy on earth and in space.

[Kolchanov] Yes, the SDI program, the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative, has nothing to do with defensive aims, but has a great deal to do with deployment [razmeshcheniye] of nuclear weapons in space. This is one reason explaining why such a negative position on the part of the U.S. Administration is not accidental.

[Zholkver] Yes, for it was just the other day that the White House delivered what was more or less an ultimatum and demanded that Congress should urgently -- as it stated -- lift the ban on testing the ASAT antisatellite weapon. May I remind you that last year Congress refused to allocate funds for such tests to be carried out; this is a certain barrier to putting weapons into space. And now the White House has insisted that this should be replaced. Why? Well, because in the spite of the catastrophe over the Challenger spacecraft, and even though the reasons for this have still not been finally explained, plans have already been announced in the United States for 9 launches of the reusable spacecraft in shuttle program to be carried out to start with, then 12 and 18, starting February of next year. And the majority of these launches are to be openly military in nature.

[Lebedev] Yes, and at the same time, all this is accompanied by very dangerous statements on the part of quite responsible U.S. officials in connection with the fact that the realization of the programs you mentioned, Aleksandr Vladimirovich, will require the violation or repudiation, shall we say, of treaties between the USSR and United States which have already been concluded and which are currently being observed, in particular the SALT-II Treaty and the ABM Treaty. As Weinberger's aide, Perle, has stated, the United States will have to resort, as he put it, to an expanded interpretation, to an expanded interpretation, you see, of the ABM Treaty, for instance. But to call a spade a spade, that means violation of the treaty.

[Zholkver] Yes, an agreement has just been signed in Washington between the FRG Economics Minister Bangemann and the U.S. Defense Department head Weinberger, on the question of the FRG's participation in the American military space programs. Well, it is true, as one should point out, that a number of maneuvers were undertaken here. As I have said, it was signed on behalf of the West German side not by a military figure but by an economic one, so as to make all this out to be, so to speak, some sort of economic project, as they said. But there is no getting round it. Of course, economic interests are involved here, that is, the interests of the major West German military concerns. Bangemann himself names about 50 or 60 firms in the FRG...

[Kolchanov]... Mainly from Southern Bavaria, where the largest military industrial firms are situated.

[Zholkver] Yes, aviation, aerospace firms, these are interested in it. That is so. But it is clear that it is a purely military program which the FRG is now joining, and the ruling circles in Bonn indisputably will bear their share of responsibility for this, as the FRG Social Democrats are now saying publicly.

[Kolchanov] One would like to say that they do not know what they are doing in this case, but the trouble is that, in fact, they do know what they are doing.

For example, I remember a conversation I had in the Bundestag, where three deputies said: Well, we have a democratic country; we cannot ban our firms from participating if they want to. Meanwhile, however, the FRG Constitution itself contains an article that pronounces as unconstitutional and punishable those actions capable of violating the peoples' peaceful life. If they wanted to ban these firms from participating, they could, naturally, do so. That is purely an excuse. The fact is that the U.S. is exerting strong pressure. The American aspiration to make Western Europe a nuclear hostage is being realized; their aspiration to draw it into another nuclear space adventure also is being realized. But I agree, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, the West Europeans themselves -- I mean, of course, the leaders of those countries can in no event (?evade) responsibility.

[Zholkver] Yes, this relates, incidentally, to Japan, as well. The latest Japanese delegation -- the third, if I am not mistaken -- is now leaving for the States to study this issue. But, what, properly speaking, is there to study? For Weinberger has frankly stated that the Japanese have more advanced technology than the United States in whole series of spheres, first and foremost microelectronics. The United States is aiming to make use of this in military space programs, and demanding that Japan join in with SDI. Here, again, I have seen a report that representatives of 18 Japanese corporations, major ones like Hitachi, Toshiba, Fujitsu, Nissan, are sending their representatives to the United States to discuss this matter. This is not just an economic matter. Of course, these companies may indeed acquire profits at some stage, but what a risk! What a responsibility for the destiny of Japan itself as well -- which has felt U.S. nuclear bombs for itself -- is being assumed by those prepared to sign the agreements on cooperation in "star wars."

But, it seems to me that we have, so to speak, gone out into space; if we come back to our sinful earth, there are more than enough examples of what this obstinate U.S. refusal to subscribe to our proposal for halting nuclear tests is connected with. It is a manifestation of that very same imperial policy of strength...

[Lebedev] Well, Aleksandr Vladimirovich, you have just listed a whole chain of events. Rudolf Georgiyevich for his part has noted all these regional conflicts and tensions in various parts of the world and so on, and all this against the background of a clearly growing military confrontation between the principal powers, in the military-technological plane, so to speak. Clearly we are now already talking, as described in the 27th congress Political Report, not of equal security but of equal danger precisely founded upon the established military-strategic equilibrium. But, very soon, and this was emphasized at the congress, this equal danger may become insufficient as, so to speak, a deterrent factor. When you hear all this, read it, the question inevitably arises: Is there some realistic, constructive, practical way out of this most complicated international situation? Along what paths is it possible to seek this way out and get out of blind alleys?

[Zholkver] It is a question of establishing an all-embracing system of international security. Its major component, of course, is curbing the arms race, above all nuclear arms. The most effective, simplest, and most realizable measure toward this in the immediate future is halting nuclear tests. That is precisely why our country is posing this issue so intensely, so persistently, and so stubbornly.

[Kolchanov] The 27th congress put forth a program for the total eliminating of mass-destruction weapons by the end of this century and adopted the foundations for an all-embracing system of international security. It is a document of enormous gravity, having an enormous effect upon antiwar movements, and enjoying the widest support of

millions of people in every region of our planet. I would just like to recall the military part of this foundation for an all-embracing system of international security. It includes renouncement by the nuclear powers of warring against each other or against third states in both the nuclear and conventional spheres. It proceeds from the necessity to prevent an arms race in space; to halt all nuclear weapons tests, and to completely eliminate them; to ban and destroy chemical weapons; to renounce other means of mass destruction; and so on. Indeed an all-embracing system of all-embracing security.

[Zholkver] And now, in conclusion, I will cite what Mikhail Sergeevich again emphasized while speaking on Soviet television: We are not going to depart from the course of preserving and strengthening peace, reaffirmed by the 27th CPSU Congress.

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RELATED ISSUES

USSR'S SOLOMENTSEV SPEAKS AT CPCZ CONGRESS

PM021446 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 86 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "17th CPCZ Congress: Speech by Comrade M.S. Solomentsev"]

[Excerpts] Prague, 25 March--CPSU delegation head M.S. Solomentsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, who was warmly welcomed by those assembled, addressed the 17th CPCZ Congress today he said.

Esteemed Comrade Husak!

Esteemed delegates to the 17th CPCZ Congress!

Accept cordial and fraternal greetings and wishes for complete success in the work of your congress from the CPSU Central Committee, Soviet Communists, and all working people in our country.

An enormous response was generated in the world by the 15 January statement by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which contained a program for the phased liberation of the world from nuclear weapons by the end of this century. These proposals were developed by the 27th CPSU Congress, which formulated the foundations for the creation of an all-embracing system of international security.

This enabled the peoples again -- for the umpteenth time! -- to see for themselves that the terms "socialism" and "peace" are inseparable. On the other hand, life and political practice show who is actually opposed to the cause of disarmament.

Particular mention must be made of the problem of the termination of nuclear tests. It is well known that the Soviet Union, in accordance with the interests and appeals of all peace-loving forces, announced a unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions, and for almost 8 months now has not conducted any such explosions. And how did Washington respond to this important action? On 22 March the world reacted with indignation to the challenging militarist actions by the U.S. Administration which, despite numerous appeals by the Soviet Union, other countries, and the broad public in the United States itself, conducted a nuclear weapon test. This is yet further proof that Washington's real goal is not to reduce and eliminate nuclear weapons but, on the contrary, to build them up and to create new and even more destructive varieties.

An indication of this can also be seen in the U.S. Government's attitude toward our proposal to eliminate Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe and in its stubborn

desire to push through the "star wars" concept and present it as a "defensive alternative" to nuclear weapons. In other words, the U.S. Administration is striving by all means to change to its own advantage the prevailing approximate equilibrium of forces between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

It is clear that the socialist states will never agree to this and will not allow their sovereignty, their revolutionary gains, and peace on the continent to be threatened.

Utmost vigilance toward the schemes by the opponents of international cooperation and social progress is required in the complex international situation, when imperialism is not ceasing its attempts to fan existing seats of tension and create new ones.

The Soviet Union will utilize any opportunity to break the trend toward the growth of the military danger. In this noble cause, as before, we will act in close unity with socialist Czechoslovakia and the other fraternal countries and will cooperate actively with all progressive and peace-loving forces. Our sympathies and the socialist community countries' solidarity and support will remain on the side of peoples struggling for their freedom and independence.

Our countries' working people deem it their patriotic and international duty to build socialism and uphold the cause of peace. These lofty goals are pursued by the domestic and foreign policies of the CPSU and the CPCZ and of the Soviet Union and the CSSR.

We wish you, dear comrades, and also all Communists and the entire Czechoslovak people, great successes in fulfilling the 17th CPCZ Congress decisions!

We will continue to strengthen the all-around interaction between our fraternal parties and to deepen the relations of comradeship and friendship between the Soviet and Czechoslovak people!

Long live socialism! Long live peace!

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RELATED ISSUES

WARSAW PACT, NATO PLANNING GROUP MEETINGS CONTRASTED

LD212040 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 21 Mar 86
[Viktor Levin commentary]

[Excerpts] The press in socialist countries has devoted considerable attention to the results of the session of the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Warsaw Pact member states which took place in the Polish capital on 19-20 March. Here is a latest news commentary: At the microphone is Viktor Levin:

Unity of views and unity of actions: This is how the results of the work of the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of fraternal states can be fully justified. There is this unity of views on the modern international situation, which remains tense and dangerous, but besides this, thanks to the energetic and purposeful actions of the socialist states, a real hope for changes for the better is provided. The unity of action is aimed at implementing the opportunities which have opened up for solving the most urgent, cardinal task of modern times: the elimination of the threat of nuclear war; the ending of the arms race, above all the nuclear arms race; and a further movement toward disarmament. Assertions are being stubbornly spread by the ruling circles of the United States and its closest partners, who blindly follow the policy of Washington, that the cause of the tension allegedly lies not in the arms race, but in a lack of trust. If, so they say, countries and people trusted each other, then there would be no arms race. But trust is formed not by what is said but by what is done. You can't build it with the most ardent speeches or the most high-flown rhetoric. Practical actions are needed.

The socialist states are not only prepared for this, they are also carrying out such actions in practice. The most vivid and convincing example is the position of the Soviet Union, unanimously supported by other fraternal countries, on the question of ending nuclear tests.

Unfortunately it has to be stated that this kind of readiness does not exist across the ocean. At the session, concluded today, of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group, assistant to the U.S. Secretary of Defense, Wagner, stated that the continuation of nuclear tests has a decisive significance for the United States. British Defense Secretary Younger here took up this assertion and reported London's intention also to continue nuclear tests. What is this? A contribution to building trust? Of course not! We can see perfectly that talk of the pre-eminence of trust is intended to try to justify military preparations.

In the current complex international situation the constant strengthening of the one unity and cohesion of the Warsaw Pact member states has a particular significance. The fraternal countries have decided to continue to interact closely in international affairs and in the elaboration and implementation of an agreed policy of peace, security and international cooperation.

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TASS CITES PRC'S ZHAO ZIYANG ON DISARMAMENT

LD282004 Moscow TASS in English 1835 GMT 28 Mar 86

[Text] Beijing March 28 TASS -- A meeting was held here on the occasion of the International Year of Peace proclaimed by the United Nations Organization. The Premier of the PRC State Council Zhao Ziyang addressed it and said that China needs peace because it is only in conditions of peaceful development that the country can achieve flourishing, the aims of socialist modernisation requiring the efforts of several generations. The PRC's stand on the question of peace and its efforts in the interests of peace, Zhao Ziyang noted, exert and will exert a general impact on a world scale. "Being aware of this important mission", he said, "China is prepared to undertake the necessary efforts and make a contribution to the cause of peace and stability".

Having emphasised that China opposes the arms race, the premier of the State Council declared that in future the PRC will not stage nuclear tests in the atmosphere.

Zhao Ziyang outlined China's position on the problem of disarmament. It includes, in particular, the prohibition and total liquidation of nuclear arms as the ultimate aim; the proposal to reduce substantially all types of nuclear arms of the United States and the USSR because this, according to Zhao Ziyang, would create conditions for all nuclear states to hold an international conference with the aim of discussing further measures of nuclear disarmament; the commitment by all nuclear states not to be the first to use nuclear arms and the conclusion on this basis of an international convention banning their use; the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes and the conclusion of an international agreement banning space arms; the total prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons; the implementation of the necessary verification measures.

But at the same time the Chinese leaders continue to base their approach to the problems of war and peace on the concept of the equal responsibility of the "two super powers", that is the United States and the USSR, for the existence of international tension and the war danger. Thus, in his report at a session of the National People's Congress in Beijing Zhao Ziyang stated: "The arms race and the struggle for regions between the two superpowers poses the main threat to peace in the whole world and the security of various countries".

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USSR'S CHERVOV INTERVIEWED ON USSR PEACE STRATEGY

AU192051 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 18 Mar 86 p 4

[Manfred Quiring dispatch from Moscow]

[Text] Colonel General Nikolay Chervov is in great demand as an interview partner for the accredited correspondents in the Soviet capital. His press conferences always cause great interest. He is known as a quick-witted and dedicated disarmament expert. Col Gen Chervov is chief of administration in the Soviet General Staff. In a talk on the sidelines of the 27th CPSU Congress he explained some basic aspects of Soviet disarmament policy.

He recalled Mikhail Gorbachev's statement in his political report that today, in the nuclear, space, and missile age, a new approach to solving security questions is necessary. The nature of this new approach is, in his opinion, the following:

First--A nuclear war is inadmissible, there can be no winner in it; but mankind's existence is at stake. All people must wage a determined struggle against the threat of war. In this struggle we are all on the same side of the barricade.

Second--At present, security can only exist on a mutual basis. It must be general and collective. Figuratively speaking, the general said, we are all in the same boat. If somebody tries to damage the boat in order to drown his neighbor, then this would only lead to sinking the boat with all its passengers.

Third--The economic, scientific-technological, intellectual, and military possibilities of both sides are developed in such a way that nobody can achieve military superiority. The United States, which is pursuing such an illusion, is now trying to reach this goal via space. But this is reality: Either the Soviet Union and the United States renounce the possession of offensive space weapons or these weapons come into existence with all the resulting dangerous consequences.

Intermediate-Range Missiles Are a Gordian Knot

In this connection Col Gen Chervov referred to another aspect. Today, the nuclear balance exists at a very high level. According to calculations

400 megatons are enough for each side to cause unacceptable losses to the other. Meanwhile, however, both sides have more than 4,000 megatons. If the arms race is continued, the general anxiously pointed out, the nuclear balance might reach a level at which it is no longer possible to ensure strategic stability. Stability itself would get out of control. Therefore, the task must consist of radically reducing the level of nuclear confrontation. This is the direction the political leadership of the Soviet Union is taking.

Here my interview partner stressed the problem of nuclear weapons facing each other in Europe. "We think that the problem of intermediate-range missiles is a Gordian knot. If we cut it then we will principally solve the question of nuclear confrontation in Europe." At the same time, mutual trust could be consolidated in such a way that further disarmament steps would become realistic. "We propose the total elimination of Soviet and U.S. intermediate-range missiles in the European zone, without any restrictive conditions. By eliminating the American Pershing-2 and cruise missiles the question of operative-tactical missiles with an extended range--which are currently deployed as a countermeasure in this area, mainly in the GDR and the CSSR--is also immediately solved.

On this issue the Soviet Union has shown itself ready for compromise in various respects, the general stressed. The USSR is ready to uncouple the problem of intermediate-range missiles from that of strategic and space weapons, and solve it separately. It also made concessions to the Western side by being willing to leave the nuclear potentials of France and Great Britain out of the calculations concerning the balance of power. Then it is certainly logical for both states to "freeze" the number of their nuclear weapons during the stage in which the Soviet and American intermediate-range missiles are withdrawn.

The Soviet Union, for its part, would "freeze" the number of its intermediate-range weapons in Asia as soon as the problem in Europe is solved. Chervov gave the number of U.S. intermediate-range nuclear weapons in this area as about 400 units. The Soviet deployment corresponds to this concerning the weapons' capacity, but the number is about 2.5 to 3 times lower. This proportion will not change, and in line with its long-term program, the USSR is striving for the total elimination of these weapons in the East, too.

At present, everything concerning the unilaterally declared USSR moratorium on nuclear explosions is, of course, particularly topical. "It was not easy for us to approve the decision on this unilateral step," Col Gen Chervov admitted. "We did it in order to alleviate tensions and to find a beginning for improving the situation." He quoted figures from American and Swedish sources that demonstrate a clear U.S. lead in the number of nuclear tests. Fifty percent of all explosions between 1945 and 1986 took place in the United States and 36 percent in the Soviet Union. "Unilateral restraint on the Soviet Union's part therefore has its limits."

Col Gen Chervov expressed the opinion that precisely this general nuclear test ban and the question of intermediate-range missiles in Europe can be solved at once. A solution to both problems is also possible where there are differing positions concerning offensive space weapons, he stated with great emphasis.

The USSR Is Looking for Points of Contact

Asked about his opinion on zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons, Nikolay Chervov referred to the Soviet position to support the creation of such zones in all parts of the world and particularly in Europe. "Of course, it would strengthen security if a corridor free of nuclear weapons were created between the two military blocs. This is all the more so since the GDR Government is willing to make its country's territory fully available for the creation of such a corridor." The USSR also favors the creation of such zones on the Balkans, in the Baltic Sea, or in northern Europe. It is ready to give appropriate guarantees and also to take concrete practical steps.

Unfortunately, he added, the United States and NATO are of different opinions in this respect, too. Since 1981, when talks on strategic and intermediate-range missiles started, the U.S. position has not shifted one single centimeter in any of the two areas. This is once more confirmed by the recently concluded round of negotiations on nuclear and space weapons in Geneva. There the American side explained its position in practically the same way as the President in his letter to Mikhail Gorbachev. "But despite one's best intentions nothing constructive can be seen, not even under a microscope," Chervov deplored and continued: "It is understandable that you ask what remains for us to do. We do not intend to twiddle our thumbs. The Soviet Union, together with the United States, will continue to look for points of contact, for common positions, in order to stop the arms race on earth and not to permit it in space--despite everything to the contrary."

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RELATED ISSUES

BRIEFS

USSR-PRC FOREIGN MINISTRY TALKS--Beijing, March 31 TASS--Soviet-Chinese consultations have been held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China on the items of the agenda of the session of the UN General Assembly. Taking part in the consultations from the Soviet side was Igor Rogachev, member of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and from the Chinese side--Li Daoyu, head of a department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. During the consultations held in a businesslike atmosphere much attention was devoted to the disarmament problem. Participants in the consultations were received by the Deputy Foreign Minister of China Qian Qichen. [Text]
[Moscow TASS in English 0936 GMT 31 Mar 86 LD] /12858

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