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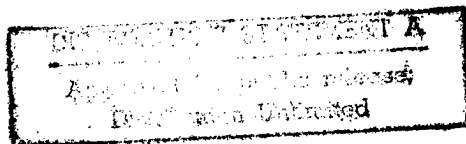
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28 MAY 1986

## Worldwide Report

# ARMS CONTROL



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28 MAY 1986

# WORLDWIDE REPORT

## ARMS CONTROL

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NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

WORLD LEADERS' LETTER TO GORBACHEV ON TEST BAN

TASS Transmits 'Text'

LD021651 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1520 GMT 2 May 86

[Text] Moscow, 2 May (TASS) -- We transmit the text of the message to Mikhail Gorbachev:

To Mr M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,

Dear general secretary!

We thank you for your message of 13 March. We are deeply grateful for your reply to our letter of 28 February, in which we appealed to the United States of America and to the USSR not to sanction any nuclear tests before the next summit meeting between yourself and President Reagan.

We welcome your resolute declaration of the need for the complete and irreversible elimination of nuclear weapons. We recall the joint statement previously made by you and President Reagan to the effect that there can be no winners in a nuclear war and that it must not be unleashed.

We appeal to you to go beyond this statement and guarantee that there will be no nuclear war. While there are nuclear weapons in existence, the threat of its accidental or deliberate use cannot be fully ruled out. The only long-term solution is the total destruction of this terrifying weaponry of mass destruction. The first step on this path must be an immediate stop to all nuclear-weapon tests.

We are happy that you share our point of view on the fact that a stop to nuclear tests is an important step in striving to halt the nuclear arms race. We welcome your statement on the Soviet Union's extension of its unilateral moratorium on tests beyond 31 March -- up to the first nuclear blast in the United States. We also note your readiness to make use of our proposal to render assistance in verifying any suspension of nuclear tests.

We are convinced that banning nuclear tests is of tremendous importance for a number of reasons:

First, the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons urges the arms race forward. Further modernization of nuclear arsenals will merely enlarge the source of danger, which also threatens our people and the future of mankind.

Second, your country and the United States possess a sufficient quantity of nuclear weapons to annihilate not only each other, but the entire world several times over.

Third, continued improvement of nuclear weapons by those who possess them would be detrimental to efforts to prevent the further proliferation of nuclear weapons to other countries. We assume that you share our concern over the consequences of such proliferation.

Fourth, we are convinced that it is possible to implement adequately [adekvatnyy] verification of the observance of any suspension of nuclear tests, particularly in view of the fact that both your country and the United States have now stated their willingness to permit on-site inspection. Given the presence of political will and a sufficient degree of mutual trust by both sides, a joint decision on halting tests could be achieved without delay.

Finally, there are a good many other needs in the world that require immediate attention, and moreover, the resources currently spent on the development [razrabotka] of nuclear armaments could find a better use. The struggle against hunger and poverty, illiteracy and disease, must for all of us be a more urgent aim than the further improvement of means that are capable of leading to the complete annihilation of mankind.

It will soon be 2 years since our group first called for the halting of all nuclear weapons tests. This call was confirmed in the Delhi Declaration in January 1985 as one of the two specific measures that today require particular attention. However, no mutual accord on this matter can yet be foreseen. This matter is too important for us, for all the people in the world, for its solution to be left only to the nuclear powers. For this reason, we will continue to demand that our interests be taken into account.

We are aware that this problem has huge strategic significance both for your country and the United States. Our intentions in no way include interference in your bilateral talks on questions of arms control and disarmament.

There is no doubt that if an accord were reached between your own two countries we would view this with great satisfaction. But like all the international community, we are concerned by the lack of progress at the talks so far. That is why the continuation and development of the dialogue commenced last year by you and President Reagan are a matter of vital importance for the entire world community, brooking no delay. The spirit of Geneva must not be lost.

That is why we call on you and President Reagan to meet again as early as possible in accordance with the accord reached at Geneva. We again call on both your countries to refrain from further nuclear tests, at least before this meeting, in order to prepare the ground for an agreement on a mutual and verifiable moratorium.

[Signed] Raul Alfonsin, Argentina; Rajiv Gandhi, India; Julius Nyerere, Tanzania; Ingvar Carlsson, Sweden; Miguel de la Madrid, Mexico; Andreas Papandreu, Greece

Corbachev Replies

PM051149 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 May 86 First Edition p 1

[Text] The reply of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to a message from Mr Raul Alfonsin, president of Argentina; Mr Rajiv Gandhi, prime minister



of India; Mr Miguel de la Madrid, president of Mexico; Mr Julius Nyerere, Tanzania; Mr Ingvar Carlsson, prime minister of Sweden; Mr Andreas Papandreu, prime minister of Greece:

Dear sirs,

I thank you for the message of 8 April 1986 and for the support you expressed in it for our efforts to terminate nuclear testing. I share the concern you expressed over the dangerous development of world events and share your considerations concerning concrete steps and actions that could be taken, primarily by the USSR and the United States, with a view to removing the nuclear threat that looms over mankind. I believe that you are absolutely right in the assessment of the importance of the termination of nuclear testing as a measure that would hold back the further modernization of nuclear arms and would promote a decrease of the nuclear threat.

The message was received at the time when the United States, in spite of the demands of broad sections of the world public, in defiance of appeals made by statesmen in countries on different contingents, staged nuclear tests on 10 April and also on 22 April 1986. You certainly understand that this challenging act substantially changed the situation.

We made repeated warnings, both publicly and in our correspondence with President Reagan, that the Soviet Union could not extend its unilateral moratorium forever. By not conducting either tests or peaceful explosions over a long period of time, our country took a certain risk. During our moratorium, the United States carried on with the implementation of large-scale military programs, including within the framework of the so-called 'Strategic Defense Initiative.' Nuclear explosions at the Nevada test range are a component part of these programs.

In such conditions, we were compelled to lift the unilateral commitment we voluntarily took not to conduct any nuclear explosions, because we cannot waive our own security and the security of our allies and friends. I repeat the actions of the U.S. compelled us to make this decision.

However, even in this new situation the Soviet Union is firmly determined to continue working, persevering consistently toward solving the acute problem of the complete termination of nuclear testing -- a problem that allows no delay. We continue to count on your valuable support in this cause.

I would like to emphasize that the Soviet Union is doing everything necessary to make a bilateral Soviet U.S. moratorium a reality. We are prepared to return at any moment to the question of a mutual moratorium if the United States does not conduct nuclear tests. We supported the idea expressed by you earlier that the USSR and the United States refrain from nuclear testing for the period until another summit meeting. Even now, following an 8-month interval in nuclear tests in the USSR, we are in no hurry to resume them. However, Washington's reaction to all this remains negative.

I can add to this that we cannot regard the broadly advertised 'reply' of Washington to our calls for ending nuclear explosions -- that is, the invitation for our experts to be present during the explosions in Nevada -- in any other way than an outrage on common sense. In this way they want to put us in the delusive position of "cooperation" in the arms race, not in its termination.

The prohibition of nuclear weapon tests on an international law basis remains the principal task. It can be accomplished as a result of negotiations. In order to set this

process in motion, it is necessary to try out all the existing opportunities on that score. As you know, we proposed to the United States to open bilateral talks on the termination of nuclear testing. The USSR also favors the resumption of tripartite talks on that matter and recently raised this question before Mrs Thatcher again.

The conference on disarmament presents good opportunities for multipartite talks. Finally, we are prepared to reach agreement on the application of the terms of the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and underwater to underground nuclear tests as well.

The Soviet Union reaffirms its readiness to consider and use such verification measures, including those suggested by you, that would ensure absolute certainty that an accord on the termination of nuclear testing, should it be reached, is strictly observed by all.

In your message, you correctly link the question about a Soviet-American summit meeting with progress in the sphere of arms limitation, with the solution of the question of nuclear testing.

At the meeting in Geneva we agreed with the U.S. President to carry on with the dialogue which, as we believe, should lead to practical results, above all, on matters of security. At the same time, the current actions of the United States are at variance with the task of searching for ways to improve international relations and intensify the positive tendencies that emerged as a result of the Geneva meeting. These actions, let me put it frankly, caused direct damage to the dialogue between the USSR and the United States.

However, considering the urgent character of the question of terminating nuclear tests, we proposed holding a meeting in Europe in the immediate future especially on that matter. This meeting would not replace that on which we agreed in Geneva. At the meeting in Europe, we could reach agreement in principle on the termination of nuclear testing. And then relevant talks could follow for drafting the text of an agreement on that matter. These proposals of ours remain in force.

The Soviet Union regards the termination and prohibition of nuclear testing as a very important component part of the movement toward implementing the concept of a nuclear-free world. You can rest assured that in striving for its realization, we are prepared to take the boldest steps on the principle of equal security. We hope that you, too, will continue to promote, by making joint efforts, the establishment of constructive and businesslike cooperation of all peace-loving states in their efforts to ensure international security in the conditions of a nuclear-free world. The main thing now is to stop the slide of mankind toward a nuclear abyss. This is a cause of all and everyone.

[Signed] Respectfully,

M. Gorbachev

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CSO: 5200/1359

## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

### USSR'S KAPITSA VISITS PHILIPPINES, DISCUSSES U.S. BASES

Meets With Aquino

HK291417 Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 29 Apr 86 pp 1, 9

[Excerpts] A high-ranking Soviet official informed President Aquino yesterday that there are many areas that the Philippines and the Soviet Union could explore to their mutual advantage. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister M.S. Kapitsa, during a call on the president, pointed to joint economic enterprises, such as those in Singapore, and landing rights for Soviet commercial planes which, he said, would "bring in a lot of money." Kapitsa said there are many problems in the world, especially in the Southeast Asian region, that need to be discussed by President Aquino with her "counterpart" in Russia. Stressing that these discussions must be carried out on the highest levels, the Soviet official hoped that Mrs Aquino would accept the invitation of the Soviet Union to visit the country. He promised that "Leningrad would be more beautiful than Paris."

President Aquino said that to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the establishment of Philippine-Soviet diplomatic relations, she would appoint an ambassador to Moscow after consulting with her foreign minister who is now in Bali, Indonesia. The Philippines has had no chief of mission in the Soviet capital since Ambassador Luis Moreno Salcedo was transferred to the United Nations in New York about five years ago. Only a charge d'affaires, Romeo Fernandez, has been administering the Philippine Embassy in Moscow.

Kapitsa also took occasion to accuse [as published] the United States of forming a new military alliance in the Pacific region that the USSR feared would eventually expand into a North Atlantic Treaty Organization-type group. He pointed out that the U.S. and Japan have indicated the creation of the new alliance that would first be called Pacific Economic Community. But eventually, he said, the organization would become an "Asian NATO" comprising the U.S., Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and the underdeveloped Southeast Asian nations. "The Soviet Union has called attention to this plan and has asked why, instead of such dubious alliances, more trade and technological relationships were not established," Kapitsa told Mrs Aquino. He stressed that instead of a military alliance envisioned by the U.S., a Pacific Conference should be called to discuss a non-nuclear zone in the area, the reduction of naval presence, and broader economic relations. "Energetic measures must be taken to reduce, to halt the slide into nuclear war," Kapitsa said. "The situation in the Pacific is especially disturbing. This lake that should be what it is called, peaceful, is instead an arena fraught with the possibility of war." Noting that the ocean is "dotted with military bases and patrolled by warships," the minister called for a ban on nuclear weapons, the reduction of conventional armies and naval presence. He said his mission here is "to begin to build a

bridge between Moscow and Manila, and for that task to succeed with the necessary speed it is important that the bridge be constructed from both sides of the river." Kapitsa declared that the Soviet Union respects the independence of nations and believes in non-interference in their affairs. It also respects the choices of the people, and "the Filipino people could not have made a more excellent choice than Corazon Aquino."

#### Discusses Asian, Pacific Forum

HK301349 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 30 Apr 86 p 16

[By Abrino Aydinan]

[Text] While U.S. President Ronald Reagan is meeting ASEAN leaders in Bali for talks that will likely touch on Pacific cooperation, a ranking Soviet Union official yesterday called here for the Soviet version of a Pacific alliance.

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Michael Kapitsa described as a plan to put up a "mini-NATO" any Pacific Basin Community concept, which the U.S., Japan, Australia, ASEAN and other American allies support. Kapitsa referred to the existing Atlantic military alliance of the U.S. and Western Europe. Without naming the U.S., he also accused it of wanting to "turn the Pacific into an internal lake."

Kapitsa said the Soviet Union proposed last April 23 an Asian and Pacific Forum which will tackle various concerns of the countries of the region, including security. He said this would be similar to the European Conference on Security. He named a number of Soviet aligned governments, as well as India, as having already expressed support for the proposed regional organization.

Kapitsa said President Corazon C. Aquino whom he met Monday promised to study the Soviet proposal.

"The world has witnessed more than once how the screen of economic assistance and economic cooperation, the objective processes of internationalization and integration of the world economy have been used to further and substantiate imperialist plans for the establishment of military groupings, treaties on joint defense and so forth," Kapitsa said.

Kapitsa made a surprising revelation that ousted president Marcos assured the Soviet Union that the Philippines would not allow the Americans to keep nuclear weapons in their bases here.

"We have guarantees from the former government that it will not allow the Americans to have stores of nuclear weaponry at these bases," the Soviet official said.

Evidently referring to the new administration of President Aquino, Kapitsa said, "we hope the government of the Philippines will look after that." The introduction of nuclear weapons into the U.S. bases "will create a new situation," he added.

BUSINESS DAY asked Kapitsa whether or not the Soviet Union was prepared to undertake an initiative to help resolve the Kampuchean conflict which is top in the ASEAN agenda. He replied that the Soviet Union was supporting an offer from the Heng Samrin regime installed by Soviet ally Vietnam for a meeting with the two noncommunist anti-Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea. The meeting would exclude the force of the former Kampuchean government overthrown by the Vietnamese.

The Soviet ambassador described Kapitsa's visit as official.

## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

USSR'S STURUA SEES TESTING AS 'IRRESPONSIBLE' U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

PM221335 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Apr 86 First Edition p 1

[Melor Sturua article under the rubric "A Journalist's Reflections": "Wild West Sheriffs"]

[Text] At first there was still a glimmer of hope. Small and flickering. It was reminiscent of the 10 candles lit last Monday [14 April] when darkness fell in one of the central squares of Las Vegas outside the building of a branch of the U.S. Energy Department. This was a "peace vigil" organized in token of protest against the nuclear test for which preparations were being made on the firing range in Nevada. An official announcement said that the test was being postponed due to "strong winds which could carry the dust cloud created by the explosion in the direction of inhabited regions." At the same time it was stressed that the test would be held "as soon as weather permits."

In the diplomatic vocabulary the word "weather" holds an important place, and people would have liked to believe that the "strong winds" of public opinion, multiplied by reason and good will, would keep alight the candles of hope in Las Vegas. But it was not to be. Last Thursday a nuclear test was carried out, under the codename "Mighty Oak."

The late Senator Church once said: "In the absence of a state of war, the government does not have the right to murder." In the last analysis, the president is not the "godfather." Last Thursday the "godfathers" from the Potomac murdered hope by failing to take the historic opportunity offered them by Moscow's moratorium. I cannot help recalling Stefan Zweig's words in "Maria Stuart": "Politics and reason seldom follow the same path: perhaps it is precisely these lost opportunities which determine the dramatic development of history." Yes, on that fateful day in Nevada politics and reason diverged steeply.

And another remark by the late Senator Church. He likened his country's foreign policy to "an abandoned graveyard where sometimes, in spring, the irises and violets begin to flower again." In the spring of 1986, at the Washington graveyard and the Nevada firing range, which, symbolically speaking, are one and the same, the "Mighty Oak" flowered. But this nuclear test should have been given quite a different codename--"Poisonous Upas Tree." Although, on the other hand, that would have been a decoded name.

In April the "Washington graveyard" will flower again, perhaps twice. The Pentagon plans its next nuclear tests, codenamed "Jefferson." The pursuit of the creation and improvement of still more terrible weapons of mass destruction has been given the name of the great American president, the president who, rephrasing the celebrated formula of the English philosopher Locke, wrote into the U.S. Declaration of Independence the lofty words about the "pursuit of happiness."

But no, it is not happiness which is pursued by the Washington successors of Jefferson in the deserts of Nevada and New Mexico, it is not a formula for happiness that they are cooking up in the laboratories of Livermore and Los Alamos. What they pursue there is military superiority over the Soviet Union, imperial ambitions of the present-day claimants to world domination. The Soviet Government statement says that Washington places these ambitions of the U.S. military-industrial complex above mankind's interests. Not for nothing is it said that the style is the man. What they want to boast about the height of the George Washington Monument, guides in the capital liken it to the length of Poseidon and Trident submarines, and the guides who lavish praise on the Pentagon do not omit to mention that the secret documents stored within it occupy a volume 2,297 times that of the Thomas Jefferson Rotunda.

But the more secret papers the Pentagon produces, the more it reveals its own secrets to the world public. The nuclear explosion at the Yucca Flats firing range in Nevada is the most convincing evidence of this.

We do not know the results of the nuclear tests in Nevada. But one thing has become absolutely clear: Washington's policy has not withstood the peace-ability test.

The nuclear explosion in Nevada had hardly died down when the world was shaken by the bomb blasts which fell on Libyan cities. The "new globalists" had committed a new crime, the state terrorists had perpetrated a new act of international piracy. Washington, acting like a Wild West sheriff for whom the law is his own Colt and lynching rope, decided to "punish" a people who would not fall to their knees.

The bombing of Libya, like the Nevada explosion, is a flagrant, open challenge to all world public opinion. They are branches from the same root of the poisonous upas tree, because they jeopardize the cause of peace and international security. Both constitute irresponsible, criminal playing with fire. Speaking in Berlin, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said that "the crime against Nicaragua, cannot be seen in isolation. All this is a manifestation of the general line of the American administration whose militarist, aggressive orientation has been made entirely clear in recent days."

Acting White House Press Secretary Larry Speakes, worried about the anti-Reagan sentiments which are increasingly permeating the American press, once flung derisively at the reporters: "You remind me of rooks sitting on the telegraph wires. As soon as one takes off, all the others follow." In recent days Larry Speakes and his deputy E. Djerejian have been in a particularly tight spot. Not only the "rooks," the CHICAGO TRIBUNE, writes: "It appears

that President Reagan does not know what to say out loud except 'no,' and there is no sign of his overloading the direct telephone line to Moscow by putting forward his own constructive proposals."

Yes, that is indeed how things are. For instance, the problem of verification, which Washington clung to for salvation, turned out to be a double-edged sword. The Soviet Union only had to say that it is ready for the strictest verification, up to and including on-site inspections, and the American verifier turned into an ordinary timid rabbit caught thieving. The Washington wits say spitefully: What kind of a man is this, sitting in the Oval Office (the President's office in the White House--M.S.), who has been clever enough to drive himself into a corner? But it seems that there are corners even in oval offices, if their inhabitants attach prime importance to the arms race as a means of achieving a world domination.

But our country has an entirely different point of reckoning, as M.S. Gorbachev said in Berlin the day before yesterday:

"We extend to the West not a fist, but an open palm. I wish to stress: It is not through weakness that we seek paths toward mutual understanding and the limitation of the arms race. We need peace, but so does everyone. Our policy is dictated by concern for the survival of mankind, perhaps the only civilization in the starry expanses of the galaxy."

Of course, in the context of the American explosions and bombings, it would be blasphemous to cite the proverb which declares that every cloud has a silver lining. But these acts have undermined Washington's moral credit, and the United States has appeared in its true guise to all the world.

TIME magazine recently quoted the words of one weapons merchant: "Our business is still original sin." Witty, but wrong. First, the death business is not a sin, but a crime. And second, it is highly dubious that it is original, in the sense of innate. Man's age-old striving is for peace, not war. The human race is still young enough not to suffer from a failing memory, but sophisticated enough to profit from the moneybox of memory. The annals of blood have taught it much. Not for nothing is the saying "If you want peace, prepare for war" now being replaced by a new one: "If you want peace, fight for peace." The angry waves of indignation which flowed all over the planet in connection with the nuclear explosion in Nevada and the bombing of Libya are eloquent evidence that mankind is relearning, not degenerating. The self-preservation instinct is not slumbering, but pulsating actively in man.

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CSO: 5200/1359

## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

IZVESTIYA, ARMY PAPER COMMENT ON U.S. REJECTION OF TEST BAN

### IZVESTIYA Condemns 'Nuclear Orgy'

PM291336 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Apr 86 Morning Edition p 5

[V. Lukin article: "The Reasons for the Explosions in Nevada"]

[Text] The nuclear explosion carried out by the United States in Nevada on 10 April sounded an alarm throughout the world. It dispelled the still glimmering hopes of hundreds of millions of people that the U.S. Administration would nevertheless respond to the Soviet Union's appeal and join its unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions that was announced on 6 August 1985.

The United States carried out a new nuclear explosion the other day, and it is reported that the White House has scheduled a program of further explosions in Nevada. Washington is trying to present its entire nuclear orgy as if it were an ordinary, routine matter. But the international public correctly regards U.S. actions as a crime against humanity. The U.S. leaders have rejected the unique opportunity afforded them of taking right now the first practical step toward nuclear disarmament and the elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

This opportunity did not come about by itself. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have been waging a consistent struggle to achieve a general and complete ban on nuclear weapons tests. The vast majority of countries in the world are also in favor of this.

After exhausting every means for obtaining agreement from its partners at talks on this problem, the Soviet Union, as a sign of goodwill, stopped all its nuclear explosions beginning on the 40th commemoration of "Hiroshima Day" through 1 January 1986, and subsequently through 31 March this year, urging the other nuclear powers, above all the United States, to follow its example.

Both in 1985 and this year, Washington's only "response" has been nuclear explosions in Nevada. Therefore, as of 31 March, the Soviet Union has had every reason to resume its own nuclear explosions. During those 8 months, in which the other side escalated its tests, the Soviet Union showed restraint. It was, of course, impossible to forego forever its own defense and national economic interests. However, in response to the appeal by the leaders of the "Delhi Six," our country extended its moratorium until the first U.S. nuclear explosion.

The moment of truth had arrived: The whole world was awaiting the answer to whether the U.S. Administration really favored the elimination of nuclear armaments or whether its



verbal assurances were just hot air and a cover for its line of continuing the race. Washington, unfortunately, did not heed the voice of reason.

The Soviet Government statement on the explosion carried out by the United States on 10 April says bluntly that Washington's irresponsible actions "conceal the intention to continue to threaten mankind with a nuclear sword and maintain mankind in dread of universal destruction, which the selfish, imperial ambitions of the U.S. military-industrial complex have again placed above the interests of mankind."

What, then, are the real motives behind this sharply negative U.S. attitude toward a nuclear test ban? The main reason is that the present administration has not abandoned its futile gamble on achieving military superiority. And nuclear weapons are allocated an important role in these plans.

According to Western press reports, the Pentagon is carrying out nearly 20 programs to create [sozdaniye] new types of nuclear war munitions. Most of them are already testing stage. These include nuclear charges for the latest MX, Trident-2, and Midgetman ICBM's and bombs for the new B-1B and Stealth bombers. It has also become known that so-called third generation nuclear weapons, in which nuclear-pumped X-ray lasers predominate, were undergoing tests as part of the "star wars" program long before the President declared his notorious SDI. In 1985, for example, almost one-fourth of the 18 nuclear tests in Nevada were used to continue the process of proving them.

A group of congressmen, in a letter to Reagan, demonstrate on the basis of actual figures that more than 95 percent of nuclear tests (784 out of 817), throughout the years these tests have been carried out, have had the aim of checking the quality of newly created [sozdanny] charges or refining [otrabotka] fundamentally new types of nuclear weapons.

Improvement in nuclear munitions also stimulates the development [razvitiye] of the means of delivering them. In their turn, the new delivery vehicles spur on the development [razrabotka] of even more sophisticated combat charges, and so forth. A closed circuit is created out of which it is possible to break only by banning nuclear tests. Ending nuclear explosions would thus freeze any further development [razvitiye] of the technology of nuclear combat munitions and their delivery vehicles. There would also be a simultaneous halt to the quantitative buildup of nuclear charges. The remaining combat munitions would, through obsolescence, gradually lose their reliability and combat capability. There would be a powerful incentive to reduce them to the point of complete elimination.

But the most important thing is that the nuclear tests today are opening up the way for an arms race in new spheres. What is involved is the creation [sozdaniye] of weapons in the United States for "star wars" and the emergence of a qualitatively new threat to the world security. Nor does the Pentagon for the most part hide this. In addition to the testing [otrabotka] in Nevada of an X-ray laser triggered by a nuclear explosion, the Pentagon plans other tests to create [sozdaniye] nuclear microwave and accelerator weapons, kinetic energy nuclear weapons, and various other types of space-strike arms. But again this dangerous turn of events can be prevented by banning nuclear explosions.

What does Washington's stubborn refusal to resolve the problem of completely ending nuclear tests mean if not an intention on its part to continue to seek military superiority over the USSR and NATO bloc superiority over the Warsaw Pact?

To camouflage their negative approach, the U.S. leaders devise various "arguments." Unconvincing statements about the United States "lagging behind" in carrying out nuclear tests in recent years is now the most popular. The facts, however, indicate the

opposite: To date, the United States has carried out more nuclear explosions than all the other nuclear powers combined. In the last 5-10 years, the United States has regularly outstripped the Soviet Union in terms of nuclear tests by one-third. And in 1985, the United States carried out 18 tests, whereas the USSR carried out only 9, and a number of them were for peaceful, national economic purposes. Thus in terms of nuclear weapons tests, the United States has not only substantially outstripped the USSR but is constantly increasing the gap in its favor. And given the incontrovertible figures, the claims about some kind of "lag" indicate that the White House would like to reserve the "right" to continue creating [sozdavat] more and more new types of nuclear weapons and whipping up the arms race. The United States and NATO also claim that the Warsaw Pact has an "advantage" over the NATO bloc in conventional arms. Therefore, it is said, NATO needs to retain its nuclear "deterrence" potential. And nuclear tests are required if its efficiency is to be maintained.

Here the U.S. and NATO leaders deliberately resort to deception in an attempt to intimidate their populations with the USSR's "superarmament." In actual fact, the balance of conventional weapons between NATO and Warsaw Pact forces is not only close to parity but is even in the West's favor. On the whole there is rough equality.

It is well known that the United States has blocked many talks in the disarmament sphere -- on nuclear and space arms, on chemical weapons, on conventional weapons, and on armed forces in central Europe -- by citing difficulties in verification [kontrol]. Washington's cheating on questions of verification [kontrol] was exposed before the whole world public during the Soviet moratorium on all nuclear explosions. The Soviet side put forth bold, constructive proposals to organize effective verification [kontrol] of the ending of nuclear tests. As the Soviet leadership has pointed out, verification [kontrol] is not a problem for us.

Above all, the USSR, the United States, and many other countries in the world possess sophisticated national technical means capable of highly reliable monitoring [proverka] of nuclear explosions.

Moreover, the United States and NATO have a geographical advantage in that they have set up a network of seismic stations around the USSR's territory. They number around 200, as opposed to the Soviet Union's approximately 20, that is to say a ratio of 10:1. Even American experts in the control [kontrol] sphere acknowledge that the system is quite capable of registering even the weakest nuclear explosion.

It is quite possible to reach agreement on international monitoring [proverka] measures and to take up the proposal of the leaders of the "Delhi Six" on creating special stations on their territory to monitor [nablyudeniye] fulfillment of an accord ending tests. The Soviet Union advocates the most strict monitoring [proverka], including on-the-spot inspection [inspektsii na meste]. Time has shown, however, that the United States does not want an end to nuclear tests or a reliable verification [kontrol] system. And the various "arguments" are merely attempts to disinform the world public. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it is ready at any time to return to the question of a joint moratorium on nuclear explosions if the United States for its part states that it will not carry out such explosions.

Our country, pursuing the peace-loving course of the 27th CPSU Congress, opens its doors to any form of talks on a general and complete ban on nuclear weapons tests and is ready for any form of accord on this vitally important question of the nuclear space age. The main thing is to achieve a practical result.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on 'Inexcusable Action'

PM291408 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Apr 86 Second Edition p 3

[Colonel I. Nikolayev "Pertinent Remarks": "Against the Will of the Peoples"]

[Text] The latest underground nuclear explosion, code-named "Jefferson," was carried out at the test site in the U.S. state of Nevada. Transatlantic militarists of all hues are jubilant. They relish the data about the TNT equivalent estimated at "up to 150 kilotons," the depth of the shaft, its location, and the fact that the explosion caused a seismic wave registering 5.8 on the Richter scale.

This inexcusable action by Washington caused a diametrically opposite reaction among the peace-loving public -- a reaction of anger, indignation, and... bewilderment. People on the planet are bewildered: How is it possible to disregard their vital interests so unceremoniously? It would seem that, when the Soviet Union announced and rigorously observed a moratorium on all nuclear explosions and put forth a specific program for the liquidation of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, all the U.S. Administration had to do was take a step in the direction of these sensible initiatives. Instead, however, the latest nuclear explosions are resounding. To what purpose?

Washington is in no position to give an intelligible answer to this question. After all, it is impossible to take seriously the propaganda apparatus' laughable attempts to present matters as if the United States simply cannot manage without nuclear tests. Is there any truth in the fairy tales regarding the "lagging" of the United States; the "seasonal nature of tests" in the USSR; the disparities in technologies; the excessive inaccuracy and poor sensitivity of seismological instruments; and even the inadequacy of all other means and methods of verification [kontrol], up to and including the on-site inspections [inspektsii na mestakh] proposed by the Soviet Union! The latest by Congressman E. Markey from the State Department in answer to a letter he had written to G. Shultz. This "clarification" was signed by Under Secretary of State J. Dyer. In his uncontrollable eagerness to present black as white, Dyer goes as far as to claim that the "serious doubts concerning the reliability of the U.S. nuclear deterrent" that would supposedly arise in the event of a total ban on nuclear tests would lead to "vertical" and "horizontal" proliferation of nuclear weapons. This newly-hatched "theoretician" uses the term "vertical proliferation" simply to cover up the fact of the further buildup of the U.S. nuclear arsenal. "Horizontal" is used to describe the proliferation of nuclear weapons among nonnuclear states which, Dyer threatens, "could take the path of creating [sozdaniye] their own nuclear weapons if the U.S. nuclear deterrent were to be weakened." You can only marvel on hearing such -- if one may use the expression -- "arguments." All of them have been repeatedly and convincingly exposed by authoritative scientists and specialists, including Americans.

What are we left with after discarding the verbal cover used by Washington? We are left with an undisguised inhuman and militarist essence: Nuclear tests are needed by the U.S. ruling circles to continue the buildup and improvement of the most barbaric type of mass destruction weapons -- nuclear weapons; they need nuclear explosions in order to implement the "star wars" program which is aimed at creating [sozdaniye] a qualitatively new type of weapons -- space weapons.

Evading a direct answer to the expanded program for the total liquidation of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, that was put forth by the Soviet Union, and essentially ignoring it, the White House has unambiguously made it clear that the United States

will continue all planned work on the creation [sozdaniye] of the new MX and Midgetman ICBM's and the new Trident-2 submarine-based ballistic missiles.

And the Pentagon intends to fit the new missiles with new nuclear warheads, which require repeated checks beforehand, in other words practical explosion tests. This is the background to the first reason why the United States is unwilling to halt nuclear explosions.

The second reason involves the "star wars" plans. Hypnotizing itself and its allies with the imaginary attributes of the so-called "Strategic Defense Initiative," the administration is pushing these plans through Congress regardless of consequences and is aiming to ensure the allies' participation in their implementation. It is well known that X-ray lasers are a significant component of this program. Given the present development of technology, the required capacity of such lasers can be ensured only by pumping them with energy from a nuclear explosion.

This is the actual background of Washington's unwillingness to abandon nuclear tests and to continue its policy of nuclear arms race.

The present U.S. Administration, more than any one of its predecessors, is fanatically committed to the idea of attaining military superiority over the USSR and is striving, come what may, to "overtake" the USSR in the nuclear weapons sphere and, furthermore, to ensure for itself a monopoly of space-strike weapons.

The President has declared: "Only after the United States has conducted tests of new and improved nuclear weapon systems will the administration be prepared to hold talks on a total nuclear test ban." And the secretary of defense added: "Our tests will continue for as long as there is reliance on nuclear weapons and until SDI has been created [sozdana]." Making a statement in connection with the State Department's "clarification," E. Markey offered a fair assessment of the U.S. Administration's activity on the nuclear policy issue. He pointed out that, between the time the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty was signed in 1968 and the time the present administration came to power, U.S. policy consisted of support for talks of the total ban of nuclear tests, which accords with the interests of U.S. national security. But now, according to Markey, "the Reagan administration has turned this policy upside down. Evidently, its internal aversion for a total ban on nuclear tests is so strong that it deems it necessary to prove that such a ban would in fact encourage the proliferation of nuclear weapons." It is hard not to agree with this sober assessment.

The excessively zealous champions of war ought to recall the lessons of history more often. The Soviet Union will not let itself be caught unawares.

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CSO: 5200/1359

## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

### SOVIET ARMY PAPER DENOUNCES U.S. NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROGRAM

PN280834 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Apr 86 Second Edition p 3

[F. Andreyev article under the rubric "The Facts Exposed": "In Pursuit of Superiority"]

[Text] Having issued an impudent challenge to the peoples, on 22 April, Washington conducted its latest nuclear weapon test -- the 3d this year and the 10th since August of last year. The United States thus demonstrated its commitment to a policy of whipping up the nuclear arms race and attaining military superiority over the USSR.

The Department of Energy implements the development [razrabotka], testing, and production of nuclear ammunition [boyepripas] for all three branches of the U.S. Armed Forces. THE WASHINGTON POST wrote recently: "Department of Energy budget documents make it clear that the Reagan administration, which is already financing the largest U.S. program of nuclear weapons production in the last 20 years, is aiming for the appropriation of additional sums to expand production capacities for the manufacture of nuclear ammunition, ensuring its production in even larger quantities." Moreover, it is envisaged that the construction of new enterprises for the U.S. nuclear industry complex and the modernization of existing ones "must be completed in the early nineties." It is also planned to create a new research base and expand the existing one so as to study problems connected with the utilization of nuclear explosion energy within the framework of the "star wars" program. Specifically, it is planned to build a new laboratory to conduct experiments with X-ray lasers and particle beam weapons at the "Sandia" Scientific Research Center in Albuquerque (New Mexico).

The implementation of the set plans, according to the Pentagon's calculations, will make it possible to build up the U.S. nuclear arsenal to 20,000 strategic charges [zaryad] by the end of this decade, in other words to boost it by almost 50 percent. Despite the fact that the total U.S. nuclear arsenal already contains over 30,000 units of nuclear ammunition (whose total capacity is equivalent to almost 1 million atom bombs similar to the ones the Americans dropped on Japanese cities in 1945), the Pentagon is planning to manufacture an additional 17,000 new nuclear charges in the early nineties. According to the U.S. press, up to 10 new units of ammunition for various purposes come into service every day.

The following are currently at the stage of series production: nose cones for MX ICBM's, each one fitted with 10 warheads with a capacity of up to 600 kilotons, and for Trident-1 nuclear submarine ballistic missiles (8 warheads of 100-150 kilotons each); nuclear payload sections [boyevaya chast] for ground, air, and sea launched cruise missiles; new aviation bombs with a capacity of up to several megatons for the

strategic air force, and up to several hundred kilotons for the tactical air force; nose cones for Pershing-2 medium-range ballistic missiles (with a capacity of up to 80 kilotons); and 203.2-mm nuclear artillery shells.

Capacities for the processing of tritium, uranium-235, and plutonium are being built up to ensure the expanded production of new nuclear ammunition in the United States. The assimilation of the laser method for separating uranium and plutonium isotopes is at its final stage and this will make it possible to significantly increase the output of fissionable materials.

It is a noteworthy fact that next year the U.S. Department of Energy plans to spend twice as much as this year on the development [razrabotka] of nuclear charge devices [yadernoye zaryadnoye ustroystvo] for strike space weapons, including for pumped X-ray lasers, and guided ammunition. The U.S. Administration's desire to complete, come what may, the development [razrabotka] of "third generation" weapons under the "star wars" program is one of the main reasons behind its unwillingness to abandon nuclear tests.

The measures being implemented in the United States to expand the production of new nuclear ammunition provide a straightforward refutation of the administration's claims that the implementation of the "star wars" program would supposedly render nuclear weapons unnecessary and useless. In actual fact, the Reagan administration is pursuing the following goal: In parallel with the further buildup of the combat potential of the existing components of the strategic "triad," to create [sozdat] a new, fourth component of strategic offensive forces -- space-strike weapons. This is where the U.S. Administration's words that it does not pursue military superiority over the USSR differ from its practical deeds.

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## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

### USSR'S BOVIN CRITICIZES OPPOSITION TO NUCLEAR TEST BAN

LD202307 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 20 Apr 86

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Aleksandr Bovin; Ruehe remarks in German, with superimposed translation]

[Text] One of our concrete proposals aimed precisely at halting the slide toward nuclear disaster is a ban on nuclear weapons tests. Real possibilities for reaching agreement objectively exist. Only one thing stands in the way, the stubborn unwillingness of the White House to negotiate. What do the U.S. allies think in this connection?

[Correspondent Vladimir Kondratyev -- identified from screen caption] We are in the office of Volker Ruehe, deputy chairman of the CDU-CSU faction in the Bundestag. In his party, the Christian Democrats, he is known as a foreign policy expert, and particularly regarding security problems. What does he think about the Soviet nuclear moratorium?

[Ruehe] Ultimately we need an agreement banning nuclear tests, but this cannot be achieved all at once. There is no sense in implementing a freeze on tests for some particular period of international development that has been chosen arbitrarily and is not of long duration. We, therefore, are in favor of talks on both sides. Time is necessary for reflection. There should not be any automatic carrying out of test series by one side or the other. Intermediate solutions are needed. For example, it would be possible to agree on a lower power for warhead devices, on limiting explosions. In pursuing the aim of ending nuclear tests we will not forget that this will not lead to the disappearance of any of the existing nuclear arms. We must also, therefore, pay attention to talks on disarmament and strive to move both these problems forward in an energetic way.

[Kondratyev] The Soviet Union has proposed to the United States that there be an immediate meeting to exchange opinions on the issue of ending nuclear tests. But it took just 1 day for the United States to turn down this proposal.

And I would welcome it if, once the American series is completed -- and certainly during the summit meeting -- if this subject could be discussed and if, as a result, it were possible to find a way out of the automatic commencement of test series and also a way to link this issue with disarmament talks. After all, one cannot achieve what one wants in a single step. Besides, it would be important to agree to technical conditions necessary for the verification of nuclear tests. Time must not be wasted, and over the next few months both sides must begin intensive talks about this.

[Kondratyev] Do you not believe that the conducting of test series by the United States at a time when the Soviet Union is not doing so contradicts the idea of a ban on nuclear explosions?

[Ruehe] The Soviet Union completed its series of explosions earlier, and it would be a good thing if it did not now begin a new one. At this moment there is no sense in dwelling on individual tests. Both sides have carried out several hundred of them. The United States and the Soviet Union must, through limiting the number of explosions, move toward the ultimate goal. One must not, therefore, display maximalism. I repeat: One step here is not enough, the more so in view of the fact that monitoring methods do not exist. It would be of value for the talks if the Soviet Union actively took part in developing technical means for seismic monitoring. Confidence is created where accords can be verified. If one of the sides has doubts about whether or not the other side is keeping to the agreements that have been concluded, then distrust is thereby strengthened and that is undesirable.

[Bovin] Once again we see a contrast: Look how precisely and clearly people talk on the street, and how indeterminate and streamlined are the thoughts of the professional politician. Of course, in principle, Mr Ruehe is in favor of ending tests. But then the brakes in the form of conditions are applied. It cannot be done at once. There has to be time for discussion. Intermediate solutions are needed. The condition is laid down that there has to be talk about verification.

Generally speaking, of course, all this is correct. But this is the point: that to start with you have to sit down at the negotiating table and start discussing all these questions. This is what we are proposing. This is what the Americans do not want. This is indeed the main point that the Bonn politician is doing his best to politely avoid. What is more, in defending Washington's position Mr Ruehe, in my view, is more of an American than the Americans themselves. At any rate, he uses the arguments that the Americans would appear to have overcome: It was in the past that they used to move this way and that, talking about monitoring, about the need to think through and once again think through things. Now they are not deceiving; they state directly that they need to continue tests because they want to develop [sozdavat] new weapons and want to be sure of the reliability of the old ones. That is what it is all about.

They draw up this kind of figure: To start, we have to agree on reducing nuclear armaments, and then later on ending tests. It is turning everything upside down. What is the point of ending nuclear tests? It is precisely this, in order to create more favorable conditions for talks on reducing armaments. If either side is going to be capable of improving nuclear weapons and developing new types of varieties of it, if each of the sides is going to gradually lose its confidence in the reliability of the weapons that already exist, then all this is going to urge an accord and stimulate the search for some kind of mutually acceptable compromise. That is our logic. But for the Americans here, too, the possibility of increasing their strength outweighs all logic. They have already carried out 2 explosions this year, and according to what people are writing they intend to carry out another 12 explosions. Well, so to speak, a nuclear salvo against a new summit meeting. However, I would like to stress that we need this meeting no more than Washington does and if they think otherwise in the White House then they are making a mistake.

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## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

### USSR'S KORNILOV ON TEST BAN, CONTRASTING SOVIET, U.S. STANCE

PM181043 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSYA in Russian 15 Apr 86 First Edition pl

[Yuriy Kornilov "International Review": "Stop the Nuclear Madness"]

[Text] "The summit meeting has inched open the door into the world of hope. However, this ray of hope greatly alarmed the people connected with the U.S. military-industrial complex! They flung themselves toward this 'door' in order to slam it shut!," said M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in reply to questions put by the Algerian journal REVOLUTION AFRICAINE. Despite the fact that the U.S. President has put his signature to the Soviet-American joint statement, which emphasizes that nuclear war must never be unleashed and that the sides will not seek military superiority, the Washington administration continues to gamble on strength; it rejects or blocks any initiative aimed at delivering the world from the nuclear threat, and it fuels the "anti-Geneva syndrome." This was again borne out by the latest nuclear test carried out by the United States under the code name "Mighty Oak" in Nevada on 10 April.

This militarist action of Washington's evoked universal indignation. This is quite natural. In a situation where mountains of combustible nuclear material have accumulated in the world, the question of ending nuclear tests assumes tremendous importance. You do not have to be a military expert to grasp that ending these tests is a realistic step toward halting and revising the material preparations for a nuclear dual that were started by imperialism. Had the U.S. Administration responded to the Soviet initiative, had it taken the step that all the peoples expected from it, this could have meant the end of efforts to improve nuclear weapons and the beginning of a practical process toward their complete and universal elimination.

It was in light of these circumstances, having carefully considered all the "pros" and "cons," that the Soviet Union unilaterally suspended its nuclear tests more than 8 months ago, on the 40th anniversary of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki tragedy, and appealed to the United States to follow its example. Our country's positive initiative evoked widespread approval in the world. But how did Washington react? First of all, with an invitation to the opening of a new season of nuclear tests in Nevada, although it is more than obvious that neither Soviet people, nor mankind as a whole, need such spectacles. When the USSR extended its moratorium to 31 March and declared, in response to the joint message of the six nonaligned countries' leaders, that it would not resume tests even after this deadline until the first U.S. nuclear test, the ominous reverberations of new explosions rang out from the test site in Nevada. A total of nine nuclear tests have been carried out in the United States over the past 8 months -- one a month on the average. What is this, if not a demonstration of glaring political irresponsibility and an overt and cynical challenge to the Soviet Union, the peoples of all continents, and the world as a whole?!

When analyzing the numerous statements by prominent politicians and public figures and various countries' press organs today in which they speak of Washington's stance with profound disillusionment and indignation, one cannot fail to notice that many of them directly link the U.S. refusal to join the Soviet moratorium with other aspects of the global U.S. foreign policy course. There is good reason for this. The following are all in the same league: There are the forced preparations in the United States for the implementation of the extremely dangerous "star wars" program, which is directly connected with the nuclear tests and which, if implemented, will lead to an arms race on an unprecedented scale.

Then, there is the continuing deployment in Western Europe of U.S. first-strike weapons -- Pershing and cruise missiles -- targeted on the USSR and its allies and friends; and the plans -- officially admitted by the U.S. Defense Department a few days ago -- to transform a number of West European states into huge dumps of barbarous new-generation chemical weapons, the so-called binary munitions; and the Pentagon's constantly growing budget, which will top \$310 billion in fiscal 1987 -- a figure unprecedented in the country's history. All these are links of the same chain, components of one and the same policy. A policy whose architects are not averse to expatiating on their desire to eliminate nuclear weapons, but who in practice have every intention of continuing to threaten mankind with the nuclear sword and keeping the world in the grip of the fear of total destruction.

The aggressive military course of the United States, the country that acts as the driving force of militarism in the international arena, is resolutely rejected by the peoples, but obviously, it plays into the hands of the powerful military-industrial complex. What does this complex, whose interests and aspirations are expressed by the R. Reagan administration, consist of? It is a conglomeration of military-industrial giants working toward war and making billions on the arms race. According to the latest edition of FORTUNE, the U.S. journal of big business, the 1985 profits of the Boeing Aerospace Corporation, a leading Pentagon supplier, increased by 312 percent in comparison with the previous year, while those of General Electric increased by 194 percent, those of General Dynamics by 210 percent, McDonnell Douglas by 176 percent, and Rockwell by 93 percent. The military-industrial complex is also the military and above all, the Pentagon -- the headquarters of the "war hawks" -- in charge of the staffing, equipment, and indoctrination of the U.S. Armed Forces, which are oriented toward aggression. Influential military-bureaucratic groupings occupy key posts on Washington's political Olympus. The sinister alliance between the bomb and the dollar and the dollar and the organs of power -- that is the powerful economic and political force that not only us not interested in detente but, on the contrary, sees a direct advantage in fueling tension. The operation "Mighty Oak" from which Washington, according to Senator E. Kennedy's apt remark, intends to fashion a "big stick" to wage "star wars," confirmed once again that those who wield power in Washington place the imperial ambitions of the military-industrial complex above mankind's interests.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that the U.S. ruling circles continue to insist on implementing a militarist line with the aim of acquiring as long and as sharp a nuclear space sword as possible so as to be able to dictate their will to sovereign countries and peoples. At the same time, they have declared for all the world to hear that this is also the method they intend to use to "exert influence" on Soviet policy. Futile hopes! History has shown time and time again that all U.S. attempts to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union have ended in failure. This was the case with the attempt at nuclear blackmail, in response to which the USSR created its own nuclear shield; and again when the United States tried to outstrip our country in nuclear arsenal potential. We are all familiar with the various kinds of rumors which Western propaganda is spreading around the term "superpower," a term which it, itself invented.

Loyal to its Leninist peace policy, the USSR will continue to consistently and with determination pursue its line aimed at the implementation of the program of comprehensive security to be achieved through disarmament, which was put forward 15 January. This principled line also determines our country's approach to such a key problem as a general and complete ban on nuclear tests. In view of the continuation of nuclear explosions by Washington, we cannot, of course, neglect our own security and the security of our allies. Since, despite all warnings, another nuclear test was carried out in the United States, our country has announced that, henceforth, it considers itself no longer bound by its adopted unilateral pledge to refrain from all nuclear explosions.

However, at the same time, the Soviet Union emphasizes again and again that ending nuclear weapons tests would represent an effective practical step towards the destruction of these weapons and expresses a readiness to return to the question of a mutual moratorium on nuclear explosions at any time.

It is not yet too late to halt the nuclear arms race, and banning nuclear tests is the best way toward resolving this key task. Time and the development of events will show whether the U.S. ruling circles will display a sense of realism and responsibility, whether they are capable of renouncing their hegemonist political philosophy and militarist doctrines and grasping that the world today is too small and fragile for wars and all kinds of "strong-arm tactics." As for our country, it will continue to persistently struggle for a ban on nuclear weapons tests in the interests of ensuring lasting peace, as the Soviet Government statement emphasizes.

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## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

### SOVIET COMMENT ON U.S. LINKAGE OF NUCLEAR TESTS, TREATY

LD251748 Moscow World Service in English 2010 GMT 23 Apr 86

[Viktor Ivanov commentary]

[Text] The United States Administration, on the eve of another nuclear explosion in Nevada, has published a report on the interrelationship between nuclear tests and a nuclear arms nonproliferation treaty. Viktor Ivanov comments:

The Nonproliferation Treaty of 1968 rests on the idea that a limitation of and a stop to nuclear tests would be an important move in the field of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Therefore, it would be right to expect that Washington's report would analyze what has been done and what has not. However, its aims are quite different. Its authors allege that a continuation of nuclear explosions is called to promote the nonproliferation regime and that a ban on nuclear testing would encourage other countries to develop their own nuclear weapons. There is no logic in these statements. Universal truths have been called into question with the only aim to justify the nuclear arms race and the plans for militarizing outer space, of which the program for nuclear testing is part. The administration ignores logic and common sense if they do not correspond with its intentions. It has ignored the opinion of authoritative experts whose conclusions deserve decisive roles in shaping the position of the leadership of a great country on an issue of utmost importance.

Yet the administration has entirely turned a blind eye on the results of research carried out in the United States and Western Europe which were published at the beginning of this month. Prominent experts independently came to the same conclusion that a stop to nuclear explosions would put what can be described as psychological pressure on the other countries and prevent them from going nuclear, whereas the continuation of explosions would promote the perfection of nuclear technology and increase the temptation of other countries to have nuclear weapons, too. The chairman of the American panel who was chief negotiator at the SALT talks with the Soviet Union, Mr Gerard Smith, has said: We are not going to have a real nonproliferation regime as long as we have an open race with the Soviet Union in strategic arms. He told a news conference that the attitude of the American Government on a comprehensive test ban was a deplorable development.

The administration's intentions to go ahead with nuclear explosions despite the most dangerous consequences they can lead to has caused mounting concern, not only of scientists but also of the Congress and the American population. Eighty percent of the American people have said in opinion polls that they want an agreement with the USSR on a ban on nuclear testing. Congressman Edward Markey has said in connection with the report that the Reagan administration has turned the nonproliferation policy on its head.

## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

### PRAVDA SCORES THIRD NEVADA NUCLEAR TEST

PM251030 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 86 First Edition p 5

[Vitaliy Korionov "Commentator's Column": "Deaf to the Voice of Reason"]

[Text] Yet another nuclear explosion has taken place at the Nevada test site, bringing pain to people's minds and hearts.

It is the 3d publicly announced underground test in the United States this year and the 10th since last August when the Soviet Union prompted by a sense of political responsibility, announced a unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions.

Washington's actions can only be seen as a new challenge to people who are demanding an end to the arms race, above all nuclear arms. The U.S. ruling circles are plainly swimming against the current.

Washington's ostentatious behavior shows that it intends to continue sharpening the nuclear sword and holding the people in the grip of fear of total annihilation. U.S. militarists say that they intend to keep increasing the number of nuclear explosions, testing types of so-called "third generation" weapons -- X-ray lasers, super-high-speed nuclear charges, beam weapons, and so forth. It is no secret that these tests are part and parcel of the program to create [sozdavat] space-strike weapons.

In an effort to somehow justify its dangerous course, Washington is concocting a series of "arguments" in favor of continuing nuclear weapon tests. On the eve of the third explosion in Nevada, the administration released to the press the information that a total test ban could... "encourage other countries to start creating [sozdavat] their own nuclear weapons." Evidently, Washington is still scorning calls for an end to nuclear weapon tests not only from the world public, but from the majority of the American people. Indeed, recent public opinion polls show that at least 60 percent of Americans want the United States to join the Soviet Union in banning nuclear explosions. The legislative assemblies of five states have now adopted resolutions in support of a moratorium.

The U.S. ruling circles are testing the world community's will. By refusing to heed mankind's voice, the voice of reason, the instigators of the arms race are assuming a grave responsibility.

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CSO: 5200/1359

NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

TASS: NEVADA TEST SITE 'INCIDENT' DUE TO EQUIPMENT FAILURE

'Considerable Contradictions'

LD031019 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0645 GMT 3 May 86

[Text] San Francisco, 3 May (TASS) -- TASS correspondent Yuriy Ustimenko reports:

Another incident has occurred at the Reiner-Mesa nuclear test site in Nevada. As the KLAS television company reports in Las Vegas, during a recent nuclear test, electronic equipment worth \$70 million was damaged by a blast wave because equipment designed to ensure safety did not work. This took place on 10 April during underground testing of a nuclear device that was being held under the code name "Mighty Oak" within the "star wars" program.

In March 1984, at the very same Reiner Mesa test site in Nevada, an area of subsidence almost 40 meters deep formed following an underground nuclear explosion. Fifteen people in the area of the epicenter were injured. One of them later died in a Las Vegas hospital.

Commenting on these incidents, the press is noting the considerable contradictions between the facts and the public statements of the authorities on its causes. So, a spokesman for the Energy Department gave assurances that the area of subsidence in 1984 allegedly appeared "accidentally" of its own accord. However, as THE LOS ANGELES TIMES wrote, shortly before the test geologists carefully studied the granite rock in the test site area and found no anomalies.

'Radioactive Contamination' Cited

LD041307 Moscow TASS in English 1253 GMT 4 May 86

[Text] New York May 4 TASS -- A nuclear explosion at the Rainier Mesa testing range in Nevada on April 10 to test the effects radiation has on military equipment experienced serious complications, THE NEW YORK TIMES quoted administration officials as saying. Debris from the blast struck the equipment that was to be tested and produced radioactive contamination. No further details have so far been reported.

An administration spokesman said on May 2 that "we think it might be a matter of several more weeks before we are able to get in" the contaminated area.

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## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

USSR: U.S. DISREGARDS PUBLIC PROTESTS ON NUCLEAR TESTS

LD230225 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Apr 86

[Viktor Levin commentary]

[Text] In defiance of broad protests by the American and world public, the United States has carried out another nuclear weapons test at the proving ground in Nevada. As a U.S. Energy Department spokesman has reported, the force of the explosion was 20-150 kilotonnes. This is already the third officially declared nuclear test this year.

Here is a 'Latest News' commentary; at the microphone is Viktor Levin:

Since the United States carried out a nuclear explosion in Nevada on 10 April, which in the political sense was directed against the Soviet moratorium on the staging of nuclear explosions and against ending tests in general; in other words since the explosion christened "Mighty Oak" in the United States roared, there has been no let-up in the wave of protests in the world against official Washington's irresponsible policy. People in the world are quite justifiably calling the stubborn continuation of nuclear explosions as a challenge to all mankind, and a challenge to common sense. Top representatives of the U.S. administration are assuring that they are striving to deliver mankind from a nuclear threat, but they see the way to this in further perfecting and building-up mass destruction weapons. They counter the humanist approach of the Soviet Union, which is in favor of the complete liquidation of nuclear weapons, with the cannibalistic point of view that a happy life can only be protected by the nuclear Sword of Damocles; and in response to our insistent appeals to end nuclear explosions—and we reaffirmed our readiness on a reciprocal basis to embark upon this even after the United States wrecked our unilateral moratorium—Washington invites us to take part in the carrying out of their tests. Incidentally, bear in mind the fact that the bourgeois mass media, in reporting the latest nuclear explosion in the United States, obviously on instructions from above, maintain that President Reagan invited Soviet specialists to come to Nevada and acquaint themselves with the latest methods of registering explosions, but they refused. We would pose the question, not with a view to how to monitor nuclear explosions, but how to monitor the nonstaging of them, and people of goodwill can see perfectly well the difference in principle in the Soviet and U.S. approaches to the problem which excites all mankind.

It is our aim to deliver the world from the threat of nuclear annihilation. The United States' aim is to reaffirm its egoistic, imperial ambitions. Now, as the NEW YORK TIMES states, the Pentagon is contemplating carrying out up to 100 tests a year instead of the average of 15, with the purpose of developing [sozdaniye] third-generation nuclear weapons and strike space armaments.

There is an irrepressible yearning across the ocean to achieve military strategic superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact organization as a whole. It would appear that there are some people in Washington who see our sincere desire to consolidate peace as a manifestation of weakness. That is a dangerous delusion. The states of the socialist community are ensuring and will ensure their defense capability to the full. No actions on the part of Washington will divert us from persistently continuing the struggle to avert the nuclear threat, and that shows our responsibility for the destiny of all people on earth.

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## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

### TASS REPORTS SED-SPD TALKS ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS-FREE ZONE

LD302231 Moscow TASS in English 1152 GMT 30 Apr 86

[Text] Berlin April 30 TASS -- A joint working group of the Political leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) and the faction of the Socialist Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) in the West German Bundestag has held its regular meeting here centering on the issue of setting up a zone free of battlefield nuclear weapons in central Europe, ADN news agency has reported.

The working group welcomed the Soviet proposals on mutual reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe, including all components of land forces and tactical aviation, of the European states and also of the United States and Canada stationed in Europe. These proposals were put forward in the speech made by the general secretary of the 11th SED Congress.

In conjuncture with the production of new types of binary chemical weapons planned by NATO to be begun in the United States and their possible deployment in Europe, the working group holds that this should be avoided. This step would inflict an irreparable damage on the Geneva talks on outlawing chemical weapons. Therefore, the initiative for setting up a zone free of chemical arms in Europe is exceptionally urgent today.

It was decided to hold the next meeting of the working group in Bonn on May 30. The Berlin meeting was attended by Hermann Axen, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee, and Egon Bahr, member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany Presidium, chairman of the Subcommission on Disarmament and Arms Control of the West German Bundestag.

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## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

### DANISH FOREIGN MINISTER ATTACKS SDP ON 'ZONE' GUARANTEES

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 15 Apr 86 p 1

[Article by Thorkild Dahl: "Ellemann: Demands Social Democratic Answer Regarding NATO"]

[Text] The Social Democratic Party is creating uncertainty regarding Denmark's position in NATO, Foreign Affairs Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen believes. Social Democratic Party Spokesman Lasse Budtz says that he can well imagine a Nordic nuclear-free zone just with Soviet promises regarding negotiations and in spite of protests by the USA and NATO.

It is fantastic that prominent Social Democrats are ready to push the support of Denmark's allies aside in favor of casual and uncertain assurances by the Soviet Union.

Foreign Affairs Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen (Liberal Party) said this yesterday evening at Sabro near Århus and called it deeply disturbing that the Social Democratic Party is sending out sensational security policy signals.

"This is the first time that a Social Democratic spokesman has so clearly backed out towards NATO," Uffe Ellemann-Jensen said.

This sharp attack by the foreign affairs minister came after the Social Democratic security policy spokesman said during the weekend at the national congress at the Coalition Committee for Peace and Security organization that he can well imagine a Nordic nuclear-free zone in spite of protests by the USA and NATO and just with promises of negotiations by the Soviet Union.

Foreign Affairs Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen said last evening that he refuses to believe that there is complete support in the Social Democratic Party for the fact that "Denmark's security and freedom can be based in a satisfactory manner on promises by the Soviet Union."

"All our efforts should go toward avoiding war in Europe. But for a free and democratic country like Denmark it is important to adhere to the fact that we want peace and freedom. And this is not ensured by creating uncertainty regarding our position," Uffe Ellemann-Jensen said, and he demanded from the Social Democratic Party a clear answer as to whether the Social Democratic Party is for or against Danish participation in the NATO alliance.

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## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

### DANISH GOVERNMENT FORCED BY PARLIAMENT TO STUDY ZONE ISSUE

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 4 Apr 86 p 13

[Article by Thorkild Dahl: "Officials to Study Possibilities for Nordic Nuclear-Free Zone"]

[Text] The security policy majority yesterday forced it through that the government is to propose that the Nordic governments study at the government official level the possibilities of making proposals for a Nordic nuclear-free zone.

Foreign Affairs Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen (Liberal Party) will move next week at the Nordic foreign affairs ministers' meeting in Stockholm that a joint Nordic committee of government officials be appointed, which can study the possibilities for and make proposals for a Nordic nuclear-free zone.

This was the outcome of another duel between the government and the opposition yesterday in the Folketing, and the alternative security policy majority consisting of the Social Democratic Party, the Radical Liberal Party, the Socialist People's Party and the Socialist Left Party voted through a motion for a Nordic committee of government officials. The government parties refrained from voting, while the Progressive Party voted against.

Defense Minister Hans Engell (Conservative Party) said that the government cannot have anything against impartial work being done on the problems, for "this will as well be able to dismiss many of the myths regarding the North as a nuclear-free zone."

The Liberal Party's spokesman, Ivar Hansen, was sharp in his speech against the security policy majority and called the inquiry debate raised by the Socialist People's Party and the Socialist Left Party a conjuring trick. The parties wanted the defense minister's views on Denmark's possibilities of opposing in a war or crisis situation the use of nuclear weapons on Danish territory.

"The debate was superfluous, but the Socialist People's Party and Socialist Left Party managed to give the impression that we are on the brink of war and

must take a position now on the use of nuclear weapons," Ivar Hansen said, and stated that there are no nuclear weapons in the Nordic countries and that none of the Nordic countries wants nuclear weapons.

The Social Democratic Party's spokesman, Lasse Budtz, said that the Social Democratic Party is a supporter of NATO membership, "among other things because we can get reinforcements but without nuclear weapons. The military strategists must plan a defense without nuclear weapons."

Defense Minister Hans Engell said that "as we know, the Danish policy in the area of nuclear weapons is that we under the present circumstances, i.e., in peace time, will not permit the deployment of nuclear weapons on Danish territory. Any decision regarding the acceptance of such weapons will require the Folketing's consent."

"Furthermore, in connection with a decision regarding the acceptance of allied nuclear weapons, Denmark would always have the ability to make the additional agreements which might be deemed necessary concerning these weapons," the defense minister added.

Radical Liberal Spokesman Arne Stinus sharply criticized the government's positions on the nuclear weapons policy and said that he was not satisfied with the defense minister's answer.

"The best guarantee of Denmark's being nuclear-free is to ensure a situation whereby there will be no need for nuclear weapons," Arne Stinus said, who added that the Radical Liberals do not want the government alone to get the right to decide whether Denmark is to ask for nuclear weapons.

Arne Stinus also broached the debate a few days ago regarding American nuclear testing and called it "outrageous." Other opposition spokesmen also mentioned in their speeches that they think that the government should protest directly to the American government and not only in NATO agencies. The spokesmen from the so-called security policy majority emphasized that they will also stand together in the next security policy round with the government. This will be on 24 April, when nuclear testing is to be debated.

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## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

### DANISH PAPER ARGUES AGAINST BACKING USSR TEST 'ULTIMATUM'

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 5 Apr 86 p 8

[Editorial: "The Road to a Testing Halt"]

[Text] It would be a sudden stepping up of Denmark's arms reduction policy and a stepping down of our alliance policy if the Danish government were to insist on President Reagan's agreeing to General Secretary Gorbachev's ultimatum regarding a nuclear testing halt now. It would move Denmark's policy out of the Atlantic context and into the line which has the Warsaw Pact countries' support.

It has up to now been Denmark's position that a comprehensive testing halt is desirable, and that it is regrettable that the three major nuclear powers, who carried out the partial halt to testing, have still not been able to agree regarding extending it to cover also underground test blasts. It is this position which the Danish government has actively advocated in the UN, where it together with Australia presented resolutions which seek to force the nuclear powers to agree on a complete halt to testing.

This position is supported by those NATO countries which do not themselves have nuclear weapons, and is respected by those NATO countries who have them. It is a realistic position which makes the halt to testing a coveted political objective, but with recognition of the fact that the nuclear powers themselves must create the preconditions for its being able to be achieved, through negotiations at the UN disarmament conference in Geneva. It is a position which differs from the alliance-free countries' UN policy, which has the Soviet Union's and the East Bloc's support: It demands an immediate halt to testing, carried out via a three-way moratorium, or three unilateral moratoria, and in force until the three nuclear powers agree on a treaty-bound halt to testing. In reality it is this policy which Gorbachev is advancing again with his demand for an American halt to testing now, or the resumption of Soviet testing. It is a demand that the testing be stopped without agreement having been reached regarding the conditions.

But there is one more thing. Packaged in with Gorbachev's offer and demand for an immediate halt to testing is also an attempt to interrupt or impede American SDI research into the possibilities of setting up a defense system in space. One of the problems the SDI project must clarify is whether it is

feasible to gather by means of lasers the x-rays which are released in a nuclear explosion, for the purpose of bringing them into action against far-off missiles in space. This is not a question which can be answered by a computer alone. The answer, which very well can prove to be negative and mean a final breaking off of SDI's most ambitious plans in space, can be gotten only through underground testing. This is not the argument the American government is using against a halt to testing, but it lies in its firm rejection of a complete halt to testing as long as the strategic securing of peace must be based on nuclear weapons.

A halt to testing is not what it was once. When President Eisenhower and President Kennedy let the USA enact unilateral moratoria on testing, it was in order to force the Soviet Union to discontinue weapons testing in the atmosphere; which polluted the earth with radioactive fallout. With underground testing of limited scope the fallout is not anything more that can change much, with the natural occurrence of radioactivity. At the same time, nuclear weapons technology has come so far that the maintenance of nuclear weapons arsenals and the development of more refined types of weapons can be attended to to a great extent in laboratories and be simulated on computers. A comprehensive halt to testing accordingly will no longer in itself be a decisive and automatic arms reduction factor. It will not prevent a continuation of the weapons technology race, although it of course will impede major breakthroughs toward new horizons.

As far as developments are about to have gone, a complete halt to testing has most of all become a political signal. It is a measure which can be carried out when the political preconditions exist. Of course, there must be agreement on under which technical conditions strict observance of the halt to testing can be ensured and monitored. But there must also be widespread agreement regarding the strategic joint effort, which of necessity must be the framework for a joint arms reduction policy of substance. A halt to testing is not the gateway to the superpowers' disarmament, but a milestone a good part of the way along the road to the goal.

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## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

### DANISH PAPER ON NUCLEAR TEST HALT ISSUE

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 10 Apr 86 p 14

[Editorial: "Toward the Summit Again"]

[Text] It was nice of the weather in Nevada to cause a short halt to nuclear testing while Ambassador Dobrynin was on his farewell visit to the White House. The high-political climate benefits from a little break in the weather and the prospects are brightened when it is not thundering underground while there are talks at the top.

Presumably there was no other connection between Dobrynin's conversation with President Reagan and the postponement in Nevada than the fact that the American government certainly got to test what it wanted to in this round in the advanced test blast a couple of weeks ago and that for this reason there was time to wait a little. It is a kindness which does not cost anything but which suits the efforts to get further in the dialogue with the Soviet Union.

It had been conducted in the wrong key at the time around the Soviet party congress, at which General Secretary Gorbachev introduced a supply of fair proposals to the world while he let the concrete negotiations idle in Geneva. With the agreement that the foreign affairs heads are to meet in Washington in May in order to prepare for the next summit meeting, there is perhaps a chance that the more quiet and more useful exchange of opinions can be resumed. Some time was lost in the winter, but it was surely to be expected that the party congress which would secure and affirm Gorbachev's position of power could come to result in a break-off. There will be no summit meeting in June, as originally agreed in Geneva. But if it will then be September or November again, the most important thing will be the fact that there still is a mutual interest in and desire for achieving more concrete results from improved relations between the superpowers. This will be able to be seen in Geneva in the time to come, and it will show itself in Washington.

For the present it can be taken as a step forward that the Soviet government has returned to more quiet diplomacy and the agreed-on timetable after the nuclear halt got what it could take and the lightning summit meeting was shelved. There are other indirect signs of the fact that this is the case. The Soviet reaction to the German-American SDI agreement was restrained. It

could have been used to reopen the critical campaign against West Germany. But it was only made an object of the obligatory protests, and it was not permitted to influence the negotiations regarding expanded German-Soviet trade. There has also not been any slandering of the other East Bloc countries' improved relations with West Germany. The Polish foreign affairs minister has been able to complete his first difficult visit to Bonn, and General Secretary Honecker is making every sign of soon following suit. Perhaps the time is about to near when Gorbachev himself will include West Germany in his shuttle diplomacy.

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## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

TASS: FRANCE SETS OFF UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR TEST

LD270835 Moscow TASS in English 0813 GMT 27 Apr 86

[Text] Paris, April 27 TASS -- France today conducted another nuclear test on Mururoa Atoll in the Pacific, AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE reported from Wellington, quoting government sources.

Prime Minister David Lange of New Zealand condemned the blast, saying that "France had thus demonstrated its intention to press on with its nuclear testing program contrary to protests by all Pacific countries.

A comprehensive nuclear test ban, he told an AFP correspondent, would represent a decisive step to putting an end to the arms race.

Last year France staged eight nuclear explosions on Mururoa Atoll.

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## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

### MOSCOW ANALYZES UK ROLE IN CONTINUING NUCLEAR TESTS

LD142239 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 14 Apr 86

[Unidentified presenter's interview with commentator Nikolay Borin]

[Text] [Presenter] After another nuclear test in the United States, the Soviet Government issued a statement to say it now considered itself free from its unilateral pledge not to carry out any nuclear explosions. For more than 8 months, the Soviet Union had not made a single blast. But if the unilateral moratorium is observed further, the statement says, the continuing nuclear tests in the United States can damage the security of the Soviet Union and its allies. My questions are answered today by commentator Nikolay Borin.

Time was when Britain took part in a tripartite talk that in 1963 produced a treaty banning tests in three media: the atmosphere, water, and space. So what role, as you see it, has the British position played in the present efforts to set a total ban on nuclear tests?

[Borin] Many observers call it passive. But I beg to differ. When the Soviet moratorium was in force the detonation of a British device in Nevada in early December of last year was the first challenge to this peace initiative. Meanwhile, in all its official statements Moscow underlined a readiness to resume the tripartite talks with British participation. Mikhail Gorbachev, speaking to TV viewers, suggested London in the first place as a venue of talks with President Reagan for a total nuclear testing ban. And the statement issued by the Soviet Government after the explosion in Nevada last week reaffirms the proposal for the United States and British Governments to complete the total ban talks that America suspended in 1980. In this context the position of the British Government, which can not imagine its security without nuclear weapons, according to the prime minister, can hardly be called constructive. For the Tories themselves said quite recently that multilateral efforts to ban any nuclear test were their political aim. (?Fitting) international documents were signed by London as some kind of commitment by a nuclear power to the world community.

[Presenter] But now London claims it will be difficult to monitor effectively action on the treaty for which London is pressing, and this has been stated in particular by the Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe.

[Borin] The latest explosion in Nevada had one-tenth of the yield of the explosion in Hiroshima. It concluded a series of tests (?in) Trident and MX warheads and was also geared to the "Star Wars" program. The Soviet Union announced the explosion as soon as it was staged. Earlier it made public another U.S. blast that the Americans had not announced at all. Up-to-date equipment allows to spot nuclear tests quite accurately in any (?spot of the) world. By the way, by the mid-fifties Britain had signed a document in which the nuclear powers admitted that even at the time national monitoring facilities could detect any explosion, even a weak one. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union stated in the thick of its unilateral moratorium and this has been (?remained) in force, that it was ready to accept on-site inspections to monitor a total ban treaty.

[Presenter] Judging by the statement of the Soviet Government, Moscow is keeping the door open for a comprehensive agreement to ban nuclear tests of any kind. So how can one explain such a position after Washington conducted three nuclear tests in the course of the Soviet moratorium as it to demonstrate its unwillingness to join the Soviet initiative. Many of our listeners are asking the same question.

[Borin] Well, although the way for the 1963 treaty was difficult it nevertheless was a success. A nuclear test ban is for Moscow a matter of principle. It is a question linked closely with the whole process of curbing the arms race. Besides, although in questions like this we have to deal with Western leaders, they, as you can see, can not ignore the demands of their people. President Kennedy, who signed the tripartite treaty for banning nuclear tests in three media toured the American West let's say in 1963. The president saw, as his immediate aides recalled, that his audiences were showing much more enthusiasm about the test ban treaty than about any other plans of the White House. When he saw this, Kennedy made a stop to nuclear testing the key note of his statements.

Another episode from that tour of the American West was characteristic of Kennedy. He was shown a large crater in some of the regions of the State of New Mexico. The crater had shaped as the result of an underground nuclear explosion. Two American scientists were telling him with enthusiasm that they had been working on a nuclear bomb smaller in size but with a greater yield. Kennedy made no comment as he listened but then, with nobody at his side but an advisor, he remarked something like this: How can one go into raptures about things like that. As you can see, the rapturous tones and some kind of worshipping statements now often made about nuclear weapons by Western leaders are far from the only position that was held in the West on this matter. There was also another position which was held.

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NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

TASS REPORTS CEAUSESCU URGES U.S. TO JOIN TEST MORATORIUM

PM301507 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Apr 86 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Supporting Soviet Initiatives"]

[Text] Bucharest, 24 Apr -- Romania wholly supports the program put forward by the Soviet Union for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons and believes it necessary to reach agreement at the earliest opportunity on ending the siting of medium-range missiles in Europe and subsequently worldwide, N. Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and Romanian president, stated at the opening here today of the General Union of Trade Unions Congress.

The ending of nuclear tests as the first step in banning nuclear weapons and eliminating them everywhere is of immense importance, he stressed. We urge the United States to end nuclear tests and join the USSR's test moratorium. It is also necessary for the program for universal disarmament to envisage conventional arms and armed forces reductions.

Romania resolutely condemns the aggressive U.S. actions against independent and sovereign Libya and the bombing of Libyan cities by U.S. aircraft.

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NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

TASS CITES DPRK PAPERS ON NEVADA TESTS

PM011107 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 May 86 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Source of Tension"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 30 Apr -- The DPRK press assesses the U.S. continuation of the nuclear tests in Nevada as an attempt to achieve military superiority over the USSR. While the Soviet Union is putting forward constructive proposals aimed at preventing the arms race in space and halting it on earth, U.S. imperialism, in activating militarist preparations, has in fact embarked on the path of undermining the Soviet-U.S. accords reached at summit level in Geneva, MINJU CHOSON notes. Under these conditions the USSR has been compelled to repeal the unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions previously introduced.

Washington's actions are generating the legitimate anger of all peace-loving peoples of the world who are demanding the abolition of nuclear weapons, NODONG SINMUN stresses. The buildup of U.S. nuclear armaments together with the piratical aggression against Libya and the intrigues against Nicaragua are evidence that U.S. imperialism is the main source of international tension.

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## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

TASS: NEW ZEALAND'S LANGE AFFIRMS ANTINUCLEAR POLICY

LD281305 Moscow TASS in English 1146 GMT 28 Apr 86

[Text] Canberra April 28 TASS -- The Government of New Zealand will not lift its ban on calls by nuclear-armed or nuclear-powered ships at its ports, Prime Minister David Lange is reported to have told a group of journalists in Wellington. He said that New Zealand was not going to budge on the question of the presence of nuclear weapons in the territory of the country. The prime minister also said that no circumstances would make him abandon the legal formalization of an anti-nuclear policy, proclaimed by the government and approved by the people. A draft anti-nuclear bill has been submitted to parliament and is likely to be passed this summer.

The United States has more than once forcefully warned the labour government that if that bill is passed, New Zealand will automatically be expelled from the ANZUS military alliance and find itself "defenseless" in the face of the "increased Soviet threat." These threadbare myths, however, are not working: David Lange has pointed out on more than one occasion that no one threatens New Zealand. Other methods of "bringing round" the recalcitrant "ally" that have been used by Washington have also failed. (The USA threatened Wellington with trade and economic sanctions and other repressions.)

The persistence with which Washington has been trying for over a year now to make Wellington revise its anti-nuclear policy is explained by the U.S. desire to preserve by all means the ANZUS military alliance dominated by Washington. The establishment of pro-American alliances, "triangles" and "axes" is the basis of Washington's aggressive strategy in Asia and the Pacific.

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NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

TASS: AUSTRALIAN PEACE COMMITTEE ENDORSES SOVIET PROPOSAL

LD291336 Moscow TASS in English 1045 GMT 29 Apr 86

[Text] Canberra April 29 TASS -- William Brown, first vice-president of the Australian Peace Committee, has stated that the Soviet proposals on the convocation of an all-Asian forum and the holding of a separate conference of the Pacific countries for discussing security problems can only be welcomed.

W. Brown pointed out in a TASS interview that the new initiatives could play an important part in the growing struggle for the turning of the whole of the Pacific basin into a zone of peace free from nuclear weapons.

By suggesting the holding of the forum and the conference on security problems, he continued, the Soviet leadership did a great favour to all those who stand for the preservation of peace and the expansion of international cooperation in that area.

According to W. Brown, the Soviet appeals on discussing questions connected with peaceful cooperation, together with proposals on reducing naval activity in the Pacific and on the creation of nuclear-free zones in the Asian-Pacific region will undoubtedly be supported by all the peace-minded forces of Australia.

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## NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

TASS: OKINAWA PEACE RALLY APPEALS FOR NUCLEAR-FREE PACIFIC

LD290430 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 28 Apr 86

[Text] Naha (Okinawa) April 28 TASS -- TASS correspondent Aleksandr Anichkin reports: The main task of all peace forces standing out for liquidating nuclear weapons and warding off the threat of a nuclear war is to set up a united international front of anti-nuclear solidarity, said today participants in a mass rally held in Naha, Okinawa Administrative Centre. It was attended by delegates of an international conference of anti-war organizations of the Asian and Pacific region, being held here, thousands of Japanese peace advocates and island residents. The appeal of the rally underlines the top priority of the struggle for banning and liquidating completely weapons of mass destruction and for preventing a nuclear war. Rally participants highly assessed the programme for the complete destruction of nuclear weapons put forth in the statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Speakers at the meeting denounced the policy of fanning up tension in the Pacific area pursued by the Washington administration. They demanded an end to nuclear tests in this region and a dismantling of military bases in Japan, the Philippines and other Pacific countries. The turning of the Pacific into a nuclear-free peace zone is an inseparable part of the world-wide struggle for removing the nuclear threat, rally participants underlined.

The Okinawa appeal expresses a resolute demand to abrogate the Japanese-U.S. security treaty and the agreement granting the right to the Pentagon to commandeer at its discretion the best tracks of land on Okinawa for U.S. military facilities.

After the rally its participants held a peace march in the area of the U.S. military bases.

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## RELATED ISSUES

## SOVIETS LINK CHERNOBYL ACCIDENT TO ARMS CONTROL

## 'Always a Risk'

LD291347 Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 29 Apr 86

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] It has been announced in Moscow that an accident took place at the nuclear power plant in Chernobyl, the Ukraine. Here's what our commentator Yuriy Solton writes:

One of the station's nuclear reactors was damaged and a special government commission of enquiry was set up to investigate the causes of the accident. The consequences of the accident are being dealt with and aid is being given to those who were injured. The accident is the first in more than 30 years of the operation of nuclear power plants in the USSR. This fact shows that they are highly reliable but however carefully nuclear power plants may be planned to protect the people and the environment it is impossible to foresee everything. There is always a degree of risk involved in using nuclear raw materials. According to THE NEW YORK TIMES for instance, in 1985 alone the United States Administration had to close down six nuclear power plants because they threatened the safety of the population.

The consequences of a major accident at Three Mile Island, Pennsylvania, in 1979 are still felt in the United States today. That accident was caused by the criminal neglect of the plant's owners for the basic safety measures which resulted in a discharge of radioactive substances into the atmosphere and a great deal of damage to the health of local residents. Many of them are still suffering from exposure related diseases.

Accidents and leaks of radioactive substances have also taken place in Britain and other countries. All these accidents took place at nuclear power plants using the power of the atom for peaceful purposes. One can easily imagine the amount of damage that may be caused by an accident at a military factory. Nuclear factories manufacture warheads whose yields are hundreds of times greater than that of the American atom bomb that devastated Hiroshima in 1945. An accident involving a military nuclear factory or a nuclear missile on combat duty would have terrible consequences, and indeed there have been quite a few occasions when American missiles were on the brink of such an accident.

The power of the atom can bring enormous benefits and indeed it is bringing them, but the same power put into warheads is capable of wiping out all life on earth. The only way to remove that grim prospect is to abolish all nuclear weapons once and for all. The Soviet Union is proposing that this be done by the turn of the century and that is a realistic task if a responsible approach is adopted to it.

USSR's Yeltsin in GDR

LD021830 Moscow TASS in English 1818 GMT 2 May 86

[Text] Hamburg May 2 TASS -- Boris Yeltsin, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU, who is heading a CPSU delegation, today addressed the 13th congress of the German Communist Party.

In describing the decisions defining the course towards the accelerated social and economic development of the USSR, advanced at the 27th CPSU Congress, Yeltsin stressed that peace was necessary for the implementation of the programme.

The situation remained tense, he said. It was no accident that it was giving rise to particular concern among the population in the Federal Republic of Germany. Two world wars started on German soil.

It was well known where the policy of the unrestricted arms race and sabre-rattling was leading to, he pointed out. Europe should never again become an arena of wars. It was the duty of the Europeans, all and everyone, to prevent that.

Profoundly mindful of our responsibility for the survival of mankind, and of the need for urgent actions, we have offered a programme of ridding the world of nuclear weapons by the turn of the century," the head of the CPSU delegation said.

"We stand for deep cuts in conventional armaments as well. On behalf of the CPSU leadership, we declare here: The Soviet Union is prepared to implement this programme wholly and till the end, point by point."

"We demonstrated our good will to the entire world by introducing a unilateral moratorium on nuclear weapons testing. But our proposals did not find a proper response from the other side."

The Soviet proposals for turning Europe into a zone free from chemical weapons also were rejected, he said. The reason was clear since the United States was now working on binary weapons.

The implementation of the U.S. programme was threatening to turn the world's densely-populated areas into a potential theatre of a devastating chemical war. Europe's civilian population would be the chief victim. "Our ideological opponents," Yeltsin pointed out, "do not miss a single opportunity to launch yet one more campaign against the USSR. Here is the latest example. The bourgeois propaganda media are concocting many hoaxes around the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power plant.

One cannot but be indignant at the brazen lie about thousands of dead in West German newspapers, for instance, in today's BILD. On the purpose of all that is to step up even more the anti-Soviet hysteria in the hope of driving a wedge in the Soviet Union's relations with other countries.

I can state with responsibility that the government is doing everything to eliminate the consequences of the breakdown and, in implementing the energy programme, to continue using the atom for the peaceful purposes in the interests of man."

The United States wanted to turn Western Europe into its "dual hostage" -- both nuclear and chemical, Yeltsin said. "As far as the Pershing-two and long-range cruise missiles are concerned, the United States is clearly engaged in an unfair play in a bid to divert a retaliatory strike from its own territory at the expense of the population of its allies, including the FRG.

This is a direct deception of the peoples of Western Europe. You and we cannot place the destinies of peace in the hands of American imperialism and the FRG Government obediently following in its wake."

Yeltsin recalled the recent proposal by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to start reducing conventional armaments and tactical nuclear weapons over the entire territory of Europe -- from the Atlantic to the Urals -- under international verification.

"The implementation of our proposals," Yeltsin said, "Presupposes the reciprocal wish of the other side to act likewise. So far, we see no wish of this kind in Washington, nor in several European capitals, including Bonn.

"We regard the FRG as an important political partner. But one should understand that partnership presupposes a loyal, peace-loving policy with regard to each other. But Bonn's political course is deviating ever further from this policy. And this hinders the development of our relations which could be rather fruitful under other circumstances."

The head of the CPSU delegation expressed confidence that it was possible to achieve progress and a turn in international affairs. "Wars are intrinsically alien to socialism. It is not by the force of arms, but by the force of example that socialism is proving and will prove its advantages over the society built on the exploitation of man by man."

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RELATED ISSUES

MOSCOW: WEINBERGER SEEKS TOKYO'S SUPPORT FOR NUCLEAR PLANS

LD052049 Moscow World Service in English 1431 GMT 5 Apr 86

[Vasilii Nikolayev commentary]

[Excerpts] American Defense Secretary Weinberger is in Japan. (Vasilii Nikolayev) comments. Participants in the U.S.-Japanese conference on security issues held last January in Honolulu pointed out once again that the significance of Japan as a compliment to the American strategy against the Soviet Union had substantially increased. Assistant Defense Secretary Armitage declared that Japan served as the lock on the bear's cage that shut ocean outlets to the Soviet Union.

In this context it's indicative that Weinberger's current visit to Japan began with a trip to Hokkaido where, in the vicinity of Soviet borders, Japan keeps its biggest army group--four divisions--including an armored one. It's the place where the United States intends to build large depots of military equipment for protracted military actions. In the course of this current visit the chief of the Pentagon is expected to demand that Japan increase its allocations for the maintenance of American bases and troops stationed on its soil. Japan is second only to West Germany in regard to the size of the American military contingent stationed there; 45,000 servicemen at 127 bases and other military facilities. Japanese taxpayers annually contribute over \$1 billion to their upkeep. Judging by Washington's ambitions this amount will grow because the plans for U.S.-Japanese cooperation include apart from the Hokkaido depots, the building of an airfield for night-time training on Miyake Island, a new command center in Atsugi, and other facilities.

To justify its military preparations in the Far East the United States claims that all this is needed to strengthen Japan's security. However, the Pentagon has no concern for Japan's security whatsoever. Witness the January issue of the United States naval bulletin which printed an article by Admiral Watkins, chief of naval operations. In case of a military conflict, he writes, the United States will launch a nuclear strike on Soviet facilities in the Sea of Okhotsk. That means, Japanese observers noted with anxiety, that the Pacific Ocean, the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan will become the major theaters of American military operations with the use of nuclear weapons. There's no need to specify what menace this will present to the Japanese people. The memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki poses an unfading reminder that is serious enough.

Recently another disquieting report emerged in the Japanese press. The Pentagon demands that Japan take steps to protect U.S. facilities in case of a nuclear conflict. This shows that the Pentagon views a nuclear conflict on Japanese soil as a quite real prospect. This prospect looks even more concrete in the presence of delivery vehicles for nuclear weapons stationed in Misawa, F-16 fighter bombers and atomic-powered submarines equipped with nuclear missiles of the Tomahawk type which this year alone called at Yokosuka on nine occasions.

In the postwar years the United States has created in Japan a ramified nuclear infrastructure including strategic communication lines and specially equipped command posts. The United States needs all these facilities in order to be able to launch a nuclear strike on the eastern areas of the USSR at close range in the advent of emergency circumstances. What it banks on is that the retaliatory strike will fall not on U.S. territory but on military facilities lying thousands of kilometers away from the American coast.

It's an appropriate time to think about all this now because, just a week before Weinberger started his Asian tour the United States had exploded another nuclear device in Nevada. The test was a hostile challenge to the entire peace-loving public.

Washington's approach to nuclear problems clearly reflects its total disregard for the destiny of humanity and for its own destiny, not to mention that of Japan. By exploding a nuclear device in Nevada the U.S. administration indicated that it intends to continue to bank on escalating its nuclear confrontation with the USSR. It's obvious that in Tokyo, Weinberger will seek support for this dangerous stance. The program of his trip also includes Japan's participation in the "Star Wars" scheme, a nuclear project that poses the greatest menace to peace. SDI, nuclear tests and the kindling of military tensions in all parts of the world are a straight road to a global holocaust. A major goal of Weinberger's trip to Japan is to ensure political support for this dangerous policy.

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## RELATED ISSUES

USSR: U.S. DESIRES TO 'THREATEN MANKIND WITH NUCLEAR SWORD'

PM231355 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Apr 86 Second Edition p 5

[Final part of article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Yu. Katasonov under the rubric "United States -- Locomotive of Militarism": "Forces of Reaction and War Are Not Omnipotent"]

[Text] The object lesson which the Cuban patriots taught the counterrevolutionary rabble and its U.S. masters 25 years ago has done them no good. Within a little while, the U.S. ruling circles had drawn the country into the "dirty war" that lasted many years against the heroic people of Vietnam. Defeat in this war was so impressive and so painful for the United States that to this day millions of Americans are afraid of a "new Vietnam."

But today the "hawks" from the Pentagon and elsewhere are saber-rattling in various parts of the world and kindling bellicose chauvinism in their country, doing everything possible to force America to rid itself of the "Vietnam syndrome." They are again pushing the country on the path of military adventures -- this time under the flag of "neoglobalism." The undeclared war against sovereign Nicaragua, and the all-around support for the bandit formations acting against their own people in Afghanistan, Cambodia, and Angola are recent examples of U.S. imperial "neoglobalist" policy.

On 25 March, and 15 and 16 April, air attacks on Libya caused outrage throughout the world, were evidence that the present U.S. Administration is again playing with fire, pursuing a policy of aggression, provocation of regional conflicts, and brinkmanship.

A special threat is connected with the fact that U.S. imperialism, in lashing on the arms race, including the nuclear arms race, is preparing to move the arms race to space. In the chase after the specter of military superiority and despite the clearly expressed will of the world public, the United States carried out a new test on a nuclear device on 10 April, partially within the framework of the creation of "star wars" weapons systems. The provocative, arrogant nature of this irresponsible act was emphasized by the fact that it was undertaken on the eve of a notable date -- the 25th anniversary of the flight of Yuriy Gagarin, which opened the era of the peaceful development of space. It is obvious to everyone that behind the U.S. action there lies the desire to threaten mankind with the nuclear sword, to hold the world in hostage to the fear of universal annihilation. "The main aim of the present U.S. authorities," the Indian newspaper THE PATRIOT writes, "consists in intimidating the whole world with its nuclear blackmail until the whole world makes concessions and agrees to U.S. hegemony." This, the newspaper stresses, is a dangerous and senseless plan.

Yes, the danger emanating from militarism, above all U.S. militarism, has never been so terrible. But never before have the opportunities for preserving and strengthening peace and averting the threat of nuclear catastrophe been so real either. The growing potential of the forces of peace and social progress is countering the sinister alliance of manufacturers of death and imperialist state power, which represents the bulwark of extreme reaction and a constant and growing source of military danger.

The socialist community is the stronghold of these forces of peace and social progress. It is the main obstacle on the path of imperialist aggression and reaction. Under conditions where the aggressive NATO bloc continues to exist, the socialist community states consider it necessary to do everything to strengthen and improve the Warsaw Pact organization as an instrument of collective defense against the aggressive aspirations of imperialism and the joint struggle for peace.

A historic gain for socialism has been the establishment of military-strategic parity between the USSR and the United States and the Warsaw Pact organization and NATO. Ensuring parity has substantially limited the aggressive plans and opportunities of imperialism to unleash nuclear war and has had a sobering effect on their creators. The Pentagon strategists have frequently nurtured plans for attacking our country. If they have not made up their minds to implement them, it is above all because of an understanding of the inevitability of retribution and a crushing retaliatory strike.

As is well known, Soviet military doctrine is aimed at defending our motherland and allies from an outside attack. The USSR threatens no one. It has undertaken not to make a first strike with nuclear weapons. But scenarios exist for a nuclear attack on our country. And they must be considered. That is why the Soviet power's defense might is maintained at a level which rules out the military superiority of the forces of imperialism, and rules out their opportunity to take us unawares.

The combat readiness of the Soviet Army and Navy is such that they are prepared to rebuff any aggression, wherever it may come from.

The Soviet Union has frequently given convincing evidence of its ability to respond to any challenge in the arms race imposed by the United States. This also applies to the "star wars" program Washington has put into full swing. Because there is nothing in science and technology that the United States can make and the USSR cannot. "... It is time," M.S. Gorbachev said, "to stop building relations with the USSR on erroneous ideas, on illusions. One of the most dangerous of these illusions is to assess the Soviet Union's peaceful intentions and appeals as a sign of weakness. So: The arms race cannot be used to wear us down, to remove us from space, or overtake us in technology. No good will come of those attempts."

The potential of peace, intelligence, and goodwill is considerably expanded and intensified as a result of the world revolutionary process and the upsurge of mass democratic and antiwar movements. Common end goals -- peace and socialism -- are pursued by the parties making up the communist movement. In the struggle to eliminate the threat of war, the Soviet Union is also collaborating with the liberated countries of socialist orientation, with the revolutionary-democratic parties, and with the Nonaligned Movement. The resistance of the peoples of these countries to the imperialist policy of plunder and piracy is being intensified.

The working people, politicians, and parties of the capitalist countries, including the NATO countries, who possess common sense and are aware of the new realities advocate preserving peace. Notable in this respect is the appeal from the leaders of six coun-

tries -- Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania, and Sweden -- to the USSR and the United States not to carry out nuclear tests in the period before the next Soviet-U.S. summit meeting.

In contrast to the Soviet Union, the United States has arrogantly rejected this sensible proposal and carried out a nuclear explosion on 10 April. That is why the USSR Government stated that henceforth it is free from the unilateral undertaking it assumed to refrain from any nuclear explosions. Under the conditions of Washington's continuation of nuclear explosions, the Soviet state cannot forfeit its own security and the security of its allies.

"The citadel of international reaction," the new edition of the CPSU Program states, "is U.S. imperialism. It is the primary source of the threat of war." The transatlantic locomotive of militarism, with a tremendous military machine, seeking to place the military potential of its allied countries at its service, is trying to halt the course of history, to undermine the positions of socialism, and to wreak social revenge on a world scale.

But the forces of aggression and reaction are not omnipotent. It is possible to prevent war and protect mankind from catastrophe. That is the historical calling of socialism and all progressive peace-loving forces of our planet.

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RELATED ISSUES

USSR: RELIANCE ON POLICY OF FORCE 'DOOMED TO FAILURE'

PM231146 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Apr 86 Single Edition p 3

[Colonel V. Yeshchenko article under the rubric "Imperialism -- Generator of Aggression and Adventurism": "Militarism in a Nuclear Guise"]

[Text] "Let us not cloud the issue by shifting all the responsibility onto our opponents. We must remember that precisely we Americans have initiated the further development of such (nuclear -- author's note) weapons at every turn of the way. We were the first to create and test such a device, we enhance the degree of its destructiveness by creating the hydrogen bomb, we were the first to create a multiple warhead, we rejected all proposals to renounce in principle the 'first use of nuclear weapons,' and we alone -- may God forgive us -- used this weapon against other people, against tens of thousands of defenseless peaceful citizens."

G. Kennan, veteran of U.S. diplomacy, to whom these words belong, is right many times over. It is precisely the reactionary military, the military-industrial circles, and the pathological anticommunists in the United States that bear responsibility for the fact that their country has become the citadel of nuclear militarism -- the most monstrous outcome of 20th-century scientific and technical progress. In the belief that the weighty "nuclear cudgel" is the "superweapon" that will pave the way to the global hegemony of U.S. imperialism, for more than 40 years now its most reactionary and bellicose circles have been instigators of the arms race. According to figures in the BULLETIN OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS, since the atomic bomb raids on Hiroshima and Nagasaki the United States has produced 60,000 nuclear warheads of 71 types for use in 26 arms systems. Some \$750 billion has been spent on these purposes. The production complex of the U.S. nuclear infrastructure employs 45,000 people in 36 laboratories and production centers cover a total of 2,000 square miles (which is equal to the area of Delaware State). Nuclear ammunition of 26 different types is assembled and stuffed with charges at 7 military installations.

As for the complex engaged in developing and testing delivery systems for nuclear weapons (aircraft, missiles, artillery, ships), it is almost 10 times more extensive than the complex that produces nuclear charges. The United States has more than 10 ranges for testing these systems. Every year some 100,000 simulated bomb drops, missile launches, and artillery shots are carried out there. The United States also conducts a considerable proportion of its tests on foreign territory.

The Pentagon's nuclear infrastructure, according to the figures of U.S. scientists (U. Arkin) and (R. Fildkhaus), embraces 830 installations, of which 749 are abroad.

Nuclear weapons are deployed in 28 U.S. states and in 8 countries -- Belgium, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Turkey, South Korea, Britain, and West Germany -- as well as on the island of Guam. In addition, dozens of countries are in one way or another ensnared in the nuclear threats formed by aircraft flights, visits by ships, and other kinds of U.S. military activity entailing nuclear weapons. All this disfigures the planet and threatens an irreparable disaster.

Considering its most important duty to be doing everything to halt the world's slide toward nuclear catastrophe, the Soviet Union has undertaken a number of major foreign policy actions. "It was precisely our striving for this goal," M.S. Gorbachev declared at the 11th SED Congress, "that dictated our trip to Geneva, the moratorium on nuclear explosions, and the specific program advanced in January for the total elimination of nuclear weapons. These major initiatives, which accord with the interests of all peoples, were energetically supported by the allied socialist countries and by many states. People have gained hope for a change for the better in the political atmosphere."

However, the nature of the political sentiments at the White House differs fundamentally from the prevailing sentiments in the world community and from the command of the times arms. The U.S. ruling circles are continuing to emphasize the implementation of a militarist policy and the gamble on force in order to dictate their will to other countries and peoples. At the same time, public statements are made that they intend to influence the Soviet Union's policy in just this way. The groundlessness of such means has been proven by the entire history of the imperialist "strong-arm" policy with regard to the Soviet State.

Washington refuses point-blank to end nuclear tests. It is not so difficult to explain this behavior. First, the development [razrabotka] of weapons of a new, "third generation" is in full swing in the United States. Washington considers the creation [sozdaniye] of these weapons to be an important task within the framework of achieving military superiority over the USSR.

Second, on the pretext of ensuring the "persuasiveness of the U.S. deterrent force," the Pentagon is in fact carrying out a qualitative improvement of the nuclear forces and creating a first-strike potential. U.S. military programs provide for the creation and deployment of MX, Midgetman, Trident-2, and Pershing-3 missiles; B-1B and Stealth bombers; long-range ground-, air-, and sea-based cruise missiles; nuclear artillery, air defense, and ABM systems using nuclear weapons; and others.

Third, the Pentagon needs nuclear weapon tests to create [sozdaniye] space-strike arms within the "star wars" framework. As U.S. Defense Secretary C. Weinberger's report to Congress points out, "The 'Strategic Defense Initiative' is the natural development and the cornerstone of all the changes in our strategic nuclear forces motivated by the search for a more reliable deterrent." That is, dotting the "I's": SDI is regarded as a very important component of the strategic nuclear forces, even though it is ranked as "defensive." "The chief reason enabling us to understand why the United States rejects a comprehensive test ban," the magazine U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT wrote, "seems to be that in that case it would have to abandon tests on an X-ray laser under the SDI program. And this laser uses the energy from a nuclear explosion."

Finally, even though the U.S. leaders declare that "nuclear war cannot be won and should not be waged," nevertheless, as the real facts attest, the preparations for one are in full swing. "The underground nuclear test program," Lieutenant General R. Saxer, director of the Pentagon's Defense Nuclear Agency, declared in evidence to Congress, "...is indispensable for assessing the survivability of our military systems in the

event of a nuclear war, for forecasting the degree of destruction of enemy military targets, and for developing technology aimed at increasing the survivability and reliability of our forces."

The gamble on achieving nuclear superiority over the USSR, on waging nuclear war, and on ending it on terms advantageous to the United States is nothing more than one of numerous illusions in the system of the Pentagon's military-strategic myths. This is well understood by Americans who know the Soviet Union intimately. "Those who play at war on sand with the theoretical use of nuclear weapons either allow themselves to be dazzled by the latest glittering technology and fail to see the real state of affairs behind its brilliance or they still subscribe to the opinion that we can intimidate the Soviet Union or make it bow before us by increasing military spending, and, if not, that we can wage and win a nuclear war. Whether intentionally or not, these people are leading us to disaster." This is the opinion of T. Watson, former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, and M. Garrison, former deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

The nuclear arms race must be halted before it is too late. The Soviet Union will continue to act consistently and persistently in the main areas of the struggle against nuclear war in the spirit of the 27th CPSU Congress decisions. Our country advocates preserving the impetus of Paris and Geneva.

We will not let ourselves be provoked; we will not throw fuel on the rekindled bonfire of the "cold war." The Soviet Union advocates an antinuclear policy, not playing at politics in the nuclear age. To counteract the nuclear threat, the Soviet Union counts on the reason of the working people of all countries, on the common sense of ordinary people, on the growing sense of self-preservation, and on awareness of the new realities by politicians and parties, including in NATO countries. At the same time, any hopes that the policy of force with regard to our country can bring its champions any dividends are doomed to failure.

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## RELATED ISSUES

USSR: WESTERN COUNTRIES AVOIDING SOLUTION TO ARMS RACE

LD271946 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 27 Apr 86

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Spartak Beglov]

[Text] Our program is being broadcast on the eve of May Day and in the International Year of Peace. Of course, this year working people are expecting governments to make as many simple and clear decisions as possible for peace and the strengthening of international security. Soviet diplomacy consistently acts in the spirit of the Year of Peace. This year got off to a good start in the form of our plan for nuclear disarmament and the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, which advanced a program for an all-embracing system of international security. Taken unawares by such a fundamental approach to international affairs, Western politicians are doing all they can to decline the solutions proposed by the Soviet Union and are putting forward all sorts of pretexts and reservations. For example, the West has begun to talk about the impossibility of parting with nuclear weapons. The pretext for the myth about the alleged overwhelming superiority of the Warsaw Pact countries in conventional weapons and armed forces, has been resurrected.

Speaking not long ago in Berlin, Comrade Gorbachev put forth a clear and simple proposal: Let us reach agreement on substantial reductions in all components for conventional weapons and armed forces both in Eastern and Western Europe and from the Atlantic to the Urals. Let us do this strictly in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security. Thus, the references to some sort of superiority would no longer obstruct the path to nuclear disarmament. Just recently, a Soviet proposal was put forth at the Geneva Disarmament Conference on the complete elimination of chemical weapons and of its industrial production base, along with strict monitoring. That means that a strike has also been made against the other conjecture alleging that nuclear disarmament is being hindered by the mythical Soviet superiority in chemical weapons. Finally, this week saw the publication of peaceful cooperation of countries in the Asian and Pacific Ocean region in the name of the quest for a reliable security system. This means that our plans in Asia are the same as those in Europe and throughout the world.

As for U.S. policy, as is obvious it is going in the diametrically opposite direction. Today it is sufficient to say just one word -- Libya -- and no other evidence is needed. The barbarous aggression against Libya is the calling card of Washington's policy.

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RELATED ISSUES

IZVESTIYA ATTACKS PENTAGON PAMPHLET ON USSR MILITARY

PM011253 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Apr 86 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by Yu. Viktorov: "Again a Lie in Large Circulation"]

[Text] A malicious anti-Soviet campaign has been launched across the ocean, a campaign saturated in all kinds of fabrications and insults addressed to the Soviet Union. One of the links in this unseemly activity is the new (fifth) edition of the brochure "Soviet Military Power," recently published by the Pentagon.

Like the previous editions, this unscrupulous concoction from the Pentagon kitchen abounds in false allegations and conjectures regarding the Soviet Union's policies. Vile accusations of preparing to carry out preemptive nuclear strikes and launch massive nuclear offensives are hurled at our country, which has made a unilateral pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Soviet defense countermeasures are presented to the reader as the reason compelling the United States to build up its own weapons. The authors of the brochure even try to ascribe regional conflicts to the Soviet Union when, as has long been well known, it is experts from the Pentagon and the U.S. CIA who stir up such conflicts. The reader is also "informed" that the USSR is supposedly violating obligations assumed under treaties and agreements. In the end, the authors of the libel, to quote the chief of the Pentagon himself, "staggered" even themselves with the "Soviet military threat" they had invented. And what can be said of American readers after this? They are frightened? Of course. This, after all, is the aim of the Pentagon-published brochure, whose popularizer is none other than the U.S. secretary of defense.

Publicizing the brochure at press conferences and briefings, C. Weinberger has fanatically laid the blame for everything at someone else's door. In saying that the United States supposedly lags behind the USSR in military respects, C. Weinberger has evidently forgotten his own words from the report to Congress for fiscal 1987: "We now have the most effective Armed Forces the United States has ever had at its disposal in peacetime."

Balking at nothing, the authors of "Soviet Military Power" and their chief likewise gamble on discrediting Soviet peace initiatives and on presenting USSR foreign policy in a distorted light. Every possible attribute is drawn from the arsenal of U.S. propaganda so that, having depicted the Soviet Union as a "threat to international peace," chauvinist attitudes in the country can be raised.

The lie, spread over the 156 glossy pages of the brochure "Soviet Military Power," cannot fail to prompt the question: Who needs this, and why? Who needs this now, when

the realities of the nuclear space age demand that we rise above national egoism and tactical calculations, disputes, and discord for the sake of preserving the main benefit of peace and a safe future? Well, such forces do exist in the United States -- forces connected with military business, which personify the military-industrial complex and make billions out of the arms race. These forces look for any occasion to crush the beginnings of hope for an improvement in the international situation.

Right-wing U.S. circles have not given up their illusory hopes of gaining military superiority over the USSR. They continue to load the U.S. military-industrial conveyor belt with more and more new types of weapons. They cherish the dream of fabulous profits from the production of space-based weapons and hope to return to the situation when the United States enjoyed a monopoly on nuclear weapons. But these times have slipped irrevocably into the past. Today you will not gain security for yourself through force of arms. Security can only be ensured for everyone and only through detente, disarmament, and political solutions to international issues. And this sickens the champions of war.

In order to justify U.S. militarist aspirations and deceive the world public and the American people, in the brochure "Soviet Military Power" Washington propaganda attempts to reanimate the myth of the "Soviet military threat." It is no accident that the publication of this opus coincides with the period when the debate on financing U.S. military programs is heating up in the United States. By pressuring Congress and intimidating it with imaginary "dangers," the U.S. Defense Department is counting on once again securing a substantial sum for implementing its strategic and other military programs. Using various false arguments, Washington would like to whitewash its policy of state terrorism and so-called "neoglobalism," which has found its most brutal practical embodiment in the U.S. aggression against Libya. This policy of disregarding the interests of small states and people provokes indignation throughout the world. Under these conditions the U.S. Administration is trying its utmost to shift responsibility for the continuing arms race and for the appearance of deadlock situations in negotiations to the Soviet Union. At the same time the ground is being prepared for justifying actions tending to shake the foundations of an ultimately undermine existing Soviet-American accords. This is the real meaning of the new Pentagon brochure.

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28 May 1986

## RELATED ISSUES

## SOVIET AMBASSADOR COMMENTS ON RELATIONS WITH FRG

DW250653 Mainz ZDF Television Service in German 1945 GMT 24 Apr 86

[Interview with new Soviet ambassador to Bonn Yuliy Kvitsinskiy by correspondent Susanné Gelhard in Bonn; date not given -- recorded]

[Text][Gelhard] How do you think German-Soviet relations have developed since you were last here?

[Kvitsinskiy] I was here as an envoy for 3 years, from 1978 to 1981. They were productive years for our relations, and working here was fun. We are now undergoing a more complicated period in international life and, of course, it reflects on the relations between our states. I suggest concentrating on improving the current state of affairs. Our relations are worthy and capable of improvement. I believe that much, and much good, can be done and that in no case must be substance of our relations deteriorate. On the contrary, they must be enhanced in specific fields between parties, organizations, social groups, and people in our countries. To this end, we have a solid basis, the Moscow Treaty, and to this end we have the sincere will of our people to live always in peace.

We should try to the best of our ability to convert that into concrete actions, above all in the fields of disarmament and security, banishing the danger of nuclear war, destroying chemical weapons, and preventing a space weapons race.

[Gelhard] Do you intend to take a walk with your U.S. counterpart Richard Burt some time?

[Kvitsinskiy] There are candidates here for taking a walk other than Mr Burt. Still, I believe I will cultivate the usual contacts with Mr Burt that are customary between the ambassadors of the great powers.

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RELATED ISSUES

USSR ENVOY TO FRG URGES DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS

Kvitsinskiy Interviewed

DW051054 Hamburg BILD in German 3 May 86 pp 1, 9

[Interview with USSR Ambassador Yuliy Kvitsinskiy by reporter Stephen Vogel in Hamburg; date not given]

[Text] When will Sakharov, the Soviet regime critic, eventually be permitted to go to the West? That was one question from the exclusive BILD interview with the new Soviet ambassador in Bonn, Yuliy Kvitsinskiy. Another question: What are German-Soviet relations like today?

Kvitsinskiy's answer shocked the Bonn government yesterday: "Naturally, German-Soviet relations are worse than they were a few years ago. The main reason is the international situation, which has deteriorated in the last 3 years. It reflects on our relations with the FRG."

BILD: Please be specific...

Kvitsinskiy: Well, we note the absence of Bonn's progress toward disarmament. It is simply incorrect that only the Soviet Union and the United States can decide on disarmament measures. Every country must make its own contribution, especially a country such as the FRG. It is geographically, politically, and economically a significant country. If the Federal Government pressed more decisively for disarmament, peace would be more secure in Europe, and we would have advanced considerably more in disarmament. My government regrets the insufficient steps by the Federal Government.

BILD: What change would you have liked to see?

Kvitsinskiy: For example, energetic decisions to decrease the number of intermediate-range missiles in Europe. We also note the lack of clear statements in favor of a halt to nuclear testing and dismantling chemical weapons. Nothing significant is being done to dismantle conventional weapons.

BILD: Now we have heard quite a lot of Soviet demands. What is your country prepared to do?

Kvitsinskiy: We are not joking. We are very serious. We are prepared to renounce all space weapons. We have made definite proposals to totally destroy all nuclear weapons. Our proposals to drastically dismantle conventional weapons are completely new.



Unfortunately, we always hear "no" or some evasive statement. The Soviet Union cannot accept that in the long run. The Western attitude seriously endangers detente policy. The West must take the initiative to avoid a new phase in the arms race. The Soviet Union does everything it can.

BILD: We believe that the Soviet Union is doing everything it can to separate the FRG from NATO so that we will become a neutralist state that would then be pulverized between the blocs.

Kvitsinskiy: You are wrong. There are unchangeable realities that will continue into the foreseeable future. The FRG is and will remain a NATO state, an ally of the United States. The Soviet Union cannot and does not want to change that. However, the FRG is our neighbor in Europe. It has been a neighbor for hundreds of years. We have common traditions. We attribute the greatest importance to peaceful relations with our Western neighbor. We cannot feel unconcerned by what happens in the FRG.

BILD: When will General Secretary Gorbachev come to the FRG?

Kvitsinskiy: There are no definite plans. General Secretary Gorbachev will come when the time is ripe. Not yet.

BILD: Will Federal Chancellor Kohl visit the Soviet Union this year?

Kvitsinskiy: Hardly. Such plans are unknown to me. The FRG is in an election year and in an election year everything is difficult.

BILD: In what fields are all relations good between Bonn and Moscow?

Kvitsinskiy: In the economic, scientific-technical, and cultural fields. Also in tourism. My government wants to develop that.

BILD: One word about Sakharov. What chance does he have to come to the West?

Kvitsinskiy: I see no chance at the moment. The man knows many secrets connected with military technology. The technology is still current. For security reasons he cannot leave. I believe that ought to be understood. Nobody is doing anything to him. He lives in Gorki, he is a member of the Academy of Sciences, and he can work.

#### FRG Chancellery Minister Responds

LD021918 Hamburg DPA in German 1817 GMT 2 May 86

[Text] Bonn, 2 May (DPA) -- [dateline as received] Wolfgang Schaeuble, chancellery minister, stated with regard to an interview given to BILD by the new Soviet ambassador that he is getting off to a bad start in Bonn. Instead of correctly and comprehensively informing the worried population about the extent and consequences of the reactor accident in the Soviet Union, he is continuing the Moscow propaganda campaign against our country. The Federal Government has been striving for more than 3 years for an improvement in German-Soviet relations with objective and constructive proposals. The ambassador's remarks make no positive contribution to this. His uncalled for criticism contradicts also the balanced views expressed only recently by him to Bonn during disarmament discussions.

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RELATED ISSUES

TASS CITES UK DEFENSE AIDE ON U.S. NUCLEAR ARMS ISSUE

LD241111 Moscow TASS in English 0717 GMT 23 Apr 86

[Text] London April 23 TASS -- TASS correspondent Nikolay Pakhomov reports:

British Defense Secretary George Younger made an attempt to "reassure" the British public, alarmed by the admission of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in Parliament that the American Armed Forces actually had the right to use at their discretion nuclear weapons stationed at U.S. military bases in Britain. Disclaiming that admission, the defense secretary argued in an interview to a BBC radio program that the use of those weapons was fully controlled by the British Government and that they could not be used without the mutual accord of the U.S. President and the British prime minister.

Younger's statement is viewed here as a Whitehall manoeuvre to defuse the political scandal caused by Margaret Thatcher's admissions. Addressing the House of Commons, she said in her comments on the recent raids of the U.S. Air Force on Libya from British territory that it was up to the United States to choose weapons to hit necessary targets. In this way the prime minister gave the USA a free hand in deciding on the use of nuclear weapons in raids mounted from the American bases in Britain, THE MORNING STAR said today about the statements of the head of government. The newspaper also added that these statements had caused a storm of outrage from political opposition and the anti-war forces. The prime minister at last admitted that the United States could use nuclear weapons from British territory even without Britain's permission, P. Johns, chairman of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, said. Margaret Thatcher's statement was strongly criticized by Labour spokesmen and by David Steel, leader of the Liberal Party. The PRESS ASSOCIATION news agency points out that George Younger's interview today will hardly satisfy many opposition parliamentarians, who believe that the government should exercise tougher control over the American military bases in Britain.

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RELATED ISSUES

IZVESTIYA: 'GENERALS FOR PEACE AND DISARMAMENT' MEETING

PM060937 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 May 86 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent dispatch: "Austria: Generals for Peace and Disarmament"]

[Text] Vienna -- The fourth meeting of former top officers from Warsaw Pact and NATO countries created at the initiative of the "Generals for Peace and Disarmament" organization has opened in Vienna's Altmansdorf Hotel.

Two co-chairmen were elected for the meeting -- Netherlands representative (M. Fov Meyenfeldt) and Aviation Colonel General A.N. Ponomarev, head of the Soviet delegation.

Representatives of 14 countries -- 6 from the Warsaw Pact countries and 8 from the NATO countries -- are taking part in the Vienna meeting. Nearly all representatives delivered brief speeches on the 1st day of work. All the speakers noted that international tension is being aggravated. They stressed that unless resolute measures are taken against the forces of war those forces may push the world into "the nuclear missile abyss."

The speakers sharply denounced the U.S. SDI plan that destabilizes the military-political situation in the world and whips up the arms race.

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RELATED ISSUES

CZECH FOREIGN MINISTER CONCLUDES MOSCOW VISIT

Luncheon Given

LD252059 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 25 Apr 86

[Text] Talks continued today between Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, and Chnoupek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs.

Comrade Shevardnadze held a luncheon in Comrade Chnoupek's honor. The luncheon was attended by Comrade Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of culture, Comrade Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, USSR ministers and other officials, officials accompanying Chnoupek, and also Zavadil, Czechoslovakia's ambassador to the USSR.

Comrades Shevardnadze and Chnoupek exchanged speeches. The luncheon took place in a cordial and comradely atmosphere. Later in the day Chnoupek laid a wreath at the Vladimir Ilich Lenin Mausoleum. A wreath was also laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

Shevardnadze Speech

PM281404 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Apr 86 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Friendship That Has Stood the Test of Time"]

[Excerpts]

E.A. Shevardnadze gave a luncheon in B. Chnoupek's honor. The luncheon was attended by P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of culture; K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; USSR ministers and other officials; those accompanying B. Chnoupek; and CSSR Ambassador to the USSR M. Zavadil.

Addressing the guest, E.A. Shevardnadze said: Your official friendly visit to the Soviet Union, Comrade B. Chnoupek, is taking place during an important period in the life of our countries. The 27th CPSU Congress and the 17th CPCZ Congress have outlined impressive programs for accelerating the social and economic development of our countries. Their fulfillment will strengthen still further the positions of socialism, its prestige, and influence in the international arena.

We are at one in assessing the present international situation and the causes of its deterioration.

Through the fault of American imperialism and its allies, the world has approached a dangerous line, the crossing of which would mean destruction for mankind.

Certain circles in Washington are behaving like the militarist maniacs who were caustically ridiculed by Karel Capek 50 years ago. They said that they would rather have the whole of mankind die of the White Plague than agree to disarmament and the conclusion of a treaty on peace among all peoples for all time.

In these conditions -- and we have every reason to say this, the defensive alliance of states of the Warsaw Treaty is the most important factor for preserving peace and security in Europe, and also in the whole world. The combined might of the Warsaw Treaty members is a real, insurmountable barrier to those harboring aggressive plans in respect of the states of the socialist community.

At the same time, it is the hope and support of all peace-loving countries and peoples in the struggle for independence and social progress.

Being aware of its historic responsibility for the fate of the world and socialism, for the future of the peoples on earth, the socialist community is firmly holding the initiative in the cause of averting nuclear war, achieving progress in the field of disarmament, easing international tension, and developing extensive and mutually advantageous cooperation between states with different social systems.

Real prospects of ridding Europe of the mountains of nuclear and chemical arms are opened up by the Soviet proposals contained in the 15 January statement by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The proposal for a considerable reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, set forth recently in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Berlin, is a serious supplement to the program of nuclear disarmament, further developing it and making it more concrete.

It is our view that the process of reducing conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe -- that could be started with the armed forces of the two alliances, while constantly preserving the existing balance in this field, and subsequently joined by other European states -- should be carried out in combination with and with due account for our program of nuclear disarmament. In specific terms, the intention would be to reduce operational-tactical nuclear armaments deployed in the European zone, as well as conventional armaments.

The implementation of these proposals would considerably lower the level of military confrontation in Europe and strengthen peace and the security of all states on the European Continent.

Czechoslovakia's vigorous foreign policy activities, its weighty contribution to strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist community, to the pursuance of the coordinated course of the fraternal countries in the international arena are highly appreciated in the Soviet Union. It gives us special satisfaction to note Czechoslovakia's growing prestige in the international community, the growing support for its foreign policy initiatives, in particular for the proposal made by it jointly with the GDR to create a zone free of chemical weapons in central Europe.

Initiatives in international matters, and I want to emphasize this particularly, come into being as a result of a collective exchange of views with our allies. Here a

special role belongs to the now regular meetings of the top party and state leaders of the fraternal countries. So there is a comradely and actually continuous exchange of views on how to merge the forces of socialist countries more effectively in the efforts to achieve a radical restructuring of international relations on the basis of just democratic principles and turn the idea of an all-embracing system of international security, set forth by the 27th CPSU Congress, into a reality.

We say again and again: We are not lacking in determination to work patiently, perseveringly, and persistently for an all-round development of international cooperation, for civilized relations with all countries, for the solution of the most complex problems. We say: Let not even the slightest chance be lost in achieving disarmament, strengthening the security of peoples, and ensuring the peaceful cohabitation and cooperation of states with different social systems.

The Soviet Union, together with Czechoslovakia and all the fraternal socialist countries, has done and will continue to ensure the continuation of the human race.

#### Chnoupek Speech

PM281420 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Apr 86 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report on CSSR Foreign Minister B. Chnoupek speech at 25 April Moscow luncheon in his honor under the general headline: "Friendship That Has Stood the Test of Time"]

[Text] B. Chnoupek noted in his speech that the Czechoslovak people are impressed by the bold aims set by the 27th CPSU Congress, which provided clear answers to current vitally important questions. The congress documents contain a tremendous wealth of theoretical ideas and a scientifically substantiated realistic program for the dynamic development of Soviet society, and they clearly outline the prospect of accelerated advancement during the current historical period of radical change in the USSR.

The congress decisions provide an inspiring example also for our party. We have stated this with utmost emphasis at the recent 17th congress of our Communist Party, which called for a struggle for a new way of thinking and a new style in tackling pressing problems and reaffirmed our immutable foreign policy orientation whose cornerstone is the unswerving strengthening of friendship and development of cooperation with the fraternal Soviet Union.

The close collaboration between our parties, their Central Committees, and their general secretaries, Comrades Gustav Husak and M.S. Gorbachev, greatly influences the content of our relations. We take pride in the fact that they are characterized by complete trust, unity of views, and extensive cooperation in all spheres and that -- in the words of the Soviet delegation at the 17th CPCZ Congress -- they serve as an example of socialist internationalism.

We welcome all the positive elements that have emerged so clearly in our mutual relations since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, and not only in our relations. They include, first and foremost, the strengthening of the principle of democracy which manifests itself noticeably in the attentive approach to the experience of the fraternal parties and countries based on their history and distinctive features, and also in the passing on of the unique and in many respects universal experience of the first socialist country. All this makes for a high degree of unity and close coordination of foreign policy steps within the framework of the Warsaw Pact. We especially value the proposals put forward at our congresses for the further improvement of international socialist division of labor.

Referring to socialist Czechoslovakia's successes, the minister noted that the nationwide discussion which is under way in the country in connection with the general election is showing that the country's working people understand the demand of the time. They are not afraid of restructuring; they want to work in the new way.

I would like to emphasize once again that our party and the entire Czechoslovak people fully support the peace program of the Soviet Communists, he said. We intend to use every means at our disposal to contribute more effectively to its translation into reality, to seek to achieve peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, the establishment of the groundwork for a system of comprehensive international security, and the complete elimination of all arsenals of nuclear and chemical weapons, and primarily Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in the European zone.

Judging by appearances, the anti-Geneva syndrome which expressed the egoistic interests of the military-industrial complex is building up across the ocean. Preparations are under way to implement the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative and measures to create a European option of this program are being studied. All this is creating difficulties not just in Soviet-American relations, it is poisoning the international atmosphere as a whole. However, we believe that even at the current complex stage there is no room for pessimism. We seek to strengthen stability and trust between European states.

The minister noted further that Czechoslovakia will continue to develop friendly relations and multifaceted cooperation with the countries that have embarked on the path of independent development. He resolutely denounced the aggressive U.S. imperialist policy of neoglobalism in all its manifestations. This applies also to the barbaric U.S. attack on Libya, whose consequences go far beyond the Mediterranean. We seek a peaceful and just settlement in all seats of tension.

The luncheon was held in a cordial, comradely atmosphere.

#### Ligachev, Medvedev Receive

LD251851 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT 25 Apr 86

[Text] Moscow April 25 TASS -- Yegor Ligachev, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Vadim Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, have received today Bohuslav Chnoupek, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovak foreign minister, who is currently on an official friendly visit in the Soviet Union.

Views were exchanged on topical international issues. It was pointed out that the situation in the world remains tense and acute. The continuing nuclear explosions, the aggressive actions of the United States against Libya have further aggravated the international situation. Under those conditions the countries of the socialist community are consistently pursuing their principled and responsible foreign policy directed at ensuring a change for the better in the situation in Europe and the world.

Bohuslav Chnoupek pointed out that the Czechoslovak leadership actively supports the new Soviet initiatives, which were put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Berlin. The implementation of the proposals concerning a considerable cut in all components of land forces and the tactical aviation of the European states and the corresponding forces of the USA and Canada deployed in Europe, as well as the initiative in the field of a ban on chemical weapons will make it possible to lower the level of military confrontation. An important prerequisite for improving the atmosphere in Europe is

the renunciation of any attempts at calling in question the fundamental of the post-war set-up and the existing borders, the overcoming of the revanchist tendencies manifesting themselves in the FRG's policy.

It was stressed in the course of the meeting that the decisions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU and the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia open prospects for a deepening of all-round cooperation between the two fraternal countries, their close cooperation in the international arena. The striving was expressed to perfect further the practices of coordinating the foreign policy actions of the allied states in the name of ensuring peace and security of the peoples.

The meeting proceeded in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

#### Chnoupek Comments on Talks

AU291307 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Apr p 7

[CTK Moscow report on an interview given by Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, on 25 April to Czechoslovak journalists accredited in Moscow, on his 24-25 April talks with Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs]

[Excerpts] B. Chnoupek said that the talks conducted with Eduard Shevardnadze as well as the receptions by Yegor Ligachev and Vadim Medvedev were held in a cordial comradely atmosphere, an atmosphere that was strongly influenced by the historically important 27th CPSU Congress. Its Leninist adherence to principles, great exactingness, and philosophy of innovation also became a powerful source of inspiration for the 17th CPCZ Congress. This fact alone determined the highly constructive course and very productive results of the meetings in Moscow.

Our talks confirmed our absolute unanimity of views on all problems of international life. We proceeded from the profound analysis of the current complex international situation that was carried out by the 27th CPSU Congress. We exchanged views on how to efficiently translate into practice by joint coordinated efforts the specific, comprehensive, and realistic peace program of Soviet Communists, with which our party and our people full identify. We want to make use of all means and possibilities to contribute the best we can to building the foundations of an all-embracing system of international security, in the interest of enforcing permanent peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. We described as the optimal path toward this end the important Soviet proposals of 15 January, aimed at the complete liquidation of all arsenals of nuclear and chemical weapons by the year 2000, and of 18 April, aimed at concluding an agreement on substantially limiting all segments of ground forces and tactical air forces in Europe and simultaneously reducing the number of nuclear weapons of operational-tactical designation.

We expressed concern over the policy of imperialism, be it the continuing pursuit of the project of militarizing space and the fact that the NATO path indulges in speculation about its European variant, the continuing deployment of new American intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe, or the revival of revanchism. These are all very serious signals. The nuclear age and, as we might add today, the space age, as well as a number of negative manifestations in the West and particularly in the United States, that constitute a breach of the spirit of Geneva, require a new method of political thought, however. Its outcome must be the realization that the



traditional notions about the possibility of acquiring military supremacy are no longer valid.

We also exchanged views on the further development of the Helsinki process. We expressed the conviction that, with good will on the part of all Final Act signatories, it is possible to achieve positive results at all forums of negotiations -- from Stockholm to Vienna.

In concluding, I would like to stress that we perceive our talks with Eduard Shevardnadze as an important part of informal, businesslike contacts between representatives of the two fraternal countries, which at the same time constitute a manifestation of new qualities in relations among states of the socialist community in the spirit of the conclusions of the congresses of our Communist Parties, B. Chnoupek said.

#### Joint Communiqué

PM301435 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 86 First Edition p 4

["Soviet-Czechoslovak Joint Communiqué"--PRAVDA headline]

[Excerpts]

[Text] B. Chnoupek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and Czechoslovak foreign minister, was in the Soviet Union 24-26 April 1986 on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and V.A. Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received B. Chnoupek and in the course of a cordial, comradely conversation briefed him on the multifaceted work that is under way in the USSR in connection with the implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. In turn, B. Chnoupek reported on the results of the 17th CPCZ Congress and on progress in the implementation of its objectives.

Talks were held between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and B. Chnoupek, during which questions of further strengthening bilateral relations and topical problems of the international situation were discussed.

The sides declared that in the present complex international situation the constant strengthening of the Warsaw Pact states' unity and cohesion on the basis of the concerted foreign policy course elaborated at the Political Consultative Committee conference in Sofia and at other meetings of the leaders of the fraternal parties and allied socialist states is of special importance for consolidating peace in Europe and throughout the world. Satisfaction was expressed with the results of the recent session of the Foreign Ministers Committee in Warsaw, which was described as an important forum for the practical coordination of the Warsaw Pact countries' foreign policy stances and actions.

It was noted during the talks that the main source of tension in the present complex international situation is the aggressive militarist policy of the United States which, relying on the support of its closest NATO allies, is escalating the arms race in an

attempt to achieve military superiority so as to be able to dictate its will to other countries and peoples. Involving the U.S. allies in the Strategic Defense Initiative program and complementing it with a European variant of the "star wars" program pursues the aim of destroying the strategic equilibrium and undermining international security.

The ministers emphasized that it is necessary to take vigorous steps in order to stop the arms race that is being fueled by the United States, prevent it from spreading to space, eliminate the nuclear threat, and move on to disarmament. B. Chnoupak, on behalf of the Czechoslovak Government, expressed himself in favor of the implementation of the program for the elimination of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons by the end of this century as set forth in the 15 January 1986 statement of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and in support of the fundamental principles for the creation of a comprehensive international security system put forward at the 27th CPSU Congress.

The participants in the talks believe that the complete elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe would be an important step toward eliminating the threat of nuclear war and strengthening security in Europe and throughout the world, and that this would simultaneously resolve the question of the operational-tactical means deployed as a countermeasure to the deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles in Western Europe.

Expressing the conviction that a total nuclear weapons test ban would be an effective practical step toward the elimination of these weapons, the USSR and the CSSR resolutely denounced the irresponsible policy of the U.S. ruling circles which have passed up a unique opportunity to end Soviet and U.S. nuclear explosions right now and thereby create a real basis for the disarmament process.

The new Soviet proposals for the implementation, subject to appropriate verification [kontrol], of large-scale reductions in conventional arms and armed forces in Europe, including all components of the ground forces and tactical aviation of the European states and the United States and Canada deployed on the European Continent, accord with the fundamental interests of all European countries. The USSR's constructive proposals for the complete and general elimination of chemical weapons and the industrial base for their production, put forward at the Geneva Disarmament Conference, pursue the same aim. The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia share the view that these far-reaching new Soviet initiatives make it possible to accelerate the conclusion of an appropriate international convention. The USSR declared its full support for the initiatives put forward by the CSSR and the GDR and also Bulgaria and Romania to create chemical weapon-free zones in central Europe and the Balkans, respectively, as an important step toward this aim.

The conviction was expressed that the implementation of the proposal of the allied socialist states to create nuclear-free zones in Europe would contribute to improving the international climate and ensure greater stability and mutual trust.

Attaching fundamental importance to the development and strengthening of the all-European process, the ministers expressed the view that substantial accords that strengthen trust and security in Europe should be sought at the Stockholm conference prior to the all-European meeting in Vienna. They noted that this meeting must be thoroughly prepared for and held in a positive tone so as to impart a strong new impetus to the continuation and development of the Helsinki spirit.

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia reaffirmed their resolve to strengthen their collaboration in the foreign policy sphere with a view to forestalling a further exacerbation

tion of the international situation and ensuring the continuation of a constructive East-West dialogue and a return to detente in world affairs.

The talks were held in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship, complete mutual understanding, and unity of views on all the questions discussed.

On behalf of the Czechoslovak Government, B. Chnoupek extended an invitation to E.A. Shevardnadze to pay an official friendly visit to the CSSR. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

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CSO: 5200/1360

RELATED ISSUES

TASS NEWS ANALYST ON WORLDWIDE MAY DAY CELEBRATION

LD301528 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 30 Apr 86

[Text] Moscow April 30 TASS -- TASS News Analyst Vasilii Kharkov writes:

This year's May Day -- the festival of internationalist solidarity of working people -- is a jubilee one. The fine tradition to mark this day under the slogans of unity of the working people in the struggle for vital interests, against the employers' arbitrariness, for political rights, against the war threat, and for peace originated a hundred years ago. The words 'May, Labour, and Peace' became the symbols of the festival which brings together millions of people in all countries under May Day banners.

This year's May Day is marked by the peoples of the world in an atmosphere of the growing nuclear-war danger which emanates from the forces of imperialism. The fires caused by the U.S. bombs released over the peaceful Libyan cities manifested still more vividly the entire extent of the danger. The task of checking the nuclear threat, of putting a barrier to aggressive aspirations, and of keeping and strengthening peace is now urgent as never before.

The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, which proceed along the course of accelerating socio-economic development, consider it their paramount duty to do their best to normalise the international situation and to stop the world's slipping down to a nuclear catastrophe. The potential of socialism is a powerful obstacle in the path of the instigators of war.

The Soviet initiatives set out from the rostrum of the 27th Congress of the CPSU indicate the real way to lasting peace, to complete elimination of nuclear weapons and to an all-embracing system of international security. They are supplemented with new proposals on a reduction of conventional arms in the European Continent and on matters of security, good-neighbourliness and cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region.

The initiatives meet the hopes and aspirations of an overwhelming majority of people around the world. This will be reaffirmed by watchwords with which people will participate in May Day demonstrations and meetings wherever they live. The demonstrations will be yet another vivid illustration of the peoples' will to restrain the forces of war and sanguinary piracy.

May Day demonstrations are traditionally a review of the determination of the working class of capitalist countries to resist monopolies' oppression. The mounting vigour of workers' strikes is an indicator of the acuteness of the struggle and of growing class solidarity of its participants. Mass unemployment -- an incurable ailment -- erodes the capitalist world. More than 30 million people are out of jobs in the industrially developed Western countries alone. In these conditions the struggle for the vital rights of the working people is inseparably connected with their active resistance to militarism.

RELATED ISSUES

TASS: JAPAN CONDEMNED FOR DUMPING RADIOACTIVE WASTE

LD302256 Moscow TASS in English 1314 GMT 30 Apr 86

[text] Tokyo April 30 TASS -- The Japanese Government's intention to dump radioactive waste in the Pacific Ocean sparks off alarm among the South Pacific states. "To poison the ocean means to poison us, since the ocean is the sole source of the means of subsistence for the residents of the Republic of Kiribati", a representative of this small island state said in London.

A treaty on establishing a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific, which was supported by the entire progressive world public, includes, apart from "closing" this part of the world for nuclear weapons, demands for a halt to all nuclear tests in the region also another aspect - a ban on the disposal of radioactive waste there. Nuclear waste dumping poses by no means a lesser threat to the people in that part of the world.

According to figures released by KYODO TSUSHIN news agency, over half a million 200-litre containers with radioactive substance were stored in Japan a year ago. In line with capitalism's "logic", the Nakasone administration decided to get rid of them by...disposing... in foreign waters.

The Japanese Government contends that this does not harbour any hazards. But K. Tengeluk, a representative of the Republic of Palau, objected to it at the international conference for banning nuclear weapons in Tokyo. "If the Japanese Government is sure that this waste is not hazardous, let it dump it in the Tokyo Bay". This was supported by Michael Samore, former prime minister of Papua and New Guinea who said that the South Pacific states did not want Japan to turn the waters surrounding them into a nuclear disposal site.

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RELATED ISSUES

PRAVDA NOTES WEST EUROPEAN ATTITUDE TOWARD PEACE

PM241549 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 86 First Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent Yu. Karlanov: "Europe: There Is No Other Path"]

[Text] Brussels, April -- They say that one swallow does not make a spring. The saying was thought up by people. But the swallow does not know it. Even if it is still cold the swallow is already flying to its home. And sooner or later spring begins.

This tradition is persistent, nevertheless, there is a reluctance or fear of doing something under cover of excuses like "mine is a small matter" or "it's no concern of mine." There are equivalents to these pseudo-wisdoms in every European language. And it would be a good thing if they were used only by individuals. No, this "self-absentment that goes beyond pride" is to be encountered more and more in Western Europe when talk turns to politics and the destiny of whole countries and the entire continent. A fixed stereotype has also already appeared: The destiny of mankind is resolved "only" in relationships between the two world "superpowers." The West European countries that are U.S. allies have no other way out in foreign and military policy except "solidarity" that that means subjection to instructions from Washington. True, the U.S. military adventure against Libya undertaken despite West European opinion has markedly shaken loyal sentiments, but will that be for long?

It is with a special feeling of discomfort that you follow this timid backward glance at the transatlantic power when talk turns to genuinely European problems, above all the continent's security. You can feel this right now, when the voice of reason and hope has again been heard from Moscow. It was heard when the Soviet Union supplemented its program for the gradual abolition of weapons of mass destruction by the end of the century with detailed proposals for a radical reduction in the level of military antagonism in Europe in the field of conventional armaments.

But to understand the difficult position in which Western Europe finds itself, those who, on the pretext of "Atlantic solidarity," are preaching subservience to Washington's militarist course should be reminded of the response to the Soviet nuclear disarmament program.

When, on 15 January, this program was made public, it seemed that everyone in the NATO countries welcomed it. Even the central organs of the North Atlantic bloc stated that the Soviet proposals would be studied painstakingly and comprehensively. But that was where the matter ended and the fruits of this study are so far not to be seen. On the other hand, the campaign has been unleashed with new force on the subject of how the U.S. allies allegedly have no cause to interfere in the business of nuclear arms limitation, that this problem is the exclusive concern of relations between Washington and Moscow.

At the instigation of U.S. General B. Rogers, commander in chief of the NATO forces in Europe, the propaganda of the thesis that the total elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe is not to the West European's advantage is now being propagandized from the roof-tops. Here the NATO propagandists are already beginning to make generalizations: "The European allies who used to approve the idea of abolishing medium-range missile weapons or the so-called zero option later expressed the view that the Soviet proposal entails a fundamental risk.

They are worried that the disappearance of these nuclear missiles will emphasize Soviet superiority in the sphere of conventional weapons and undermine U.S. nuclear guarantees of Western Europe's security."

Who is saying this on behalf of the 10 or so states many of which have still given no definitive answer on this problem? William (Drozdyak), THE WASHINGTON POST's Bonn correspondent. Of course, a categorical statement of this kind is one form of bringing pressure to bear on the West European public. But, alas, as the past shows, Washington's pressure, despite its use of the most insolent forms, has frequently been crowned with success here.

It is now quite hard for the (Drozdyaks) and those who stand behind them when the Soviet Union offers to engage specifically in the reduction of not only nuclear missile but also conventional armaments. The Soviet Union is suggesting reaching agreement on a substantial reduction of the European states' troops and tactical aircraft and the corresponding forces of the United States and Canada deployed in Europe. At the same time there would be a reduction in operational-tactical nuclear armaments. All Europe -- from the Atlantic to the Urals -- should become the zone of reduction. The USSR advocates reliable verification [kontrol] at all stages of the process with the aid of national means and international forms of inspection [proverka] including where necessary on-site inspection [inspektsiya].

The world welcomed with approval the new Soviet initiatives which, as AFP remarked, "have filled the last gap in the general plan, proposing a reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe. Specialists in the arms field, AFP notes, "have also appreciated the fact that despite the international crisis caused by the U.S. attack on Libya, the Soviet Union has not stopped its campaign, continuing to make new proposals to the West on disarmament issues."

However, not everyone was pleased by these proposals, which have deprived them of further grounds for alleging that the elimination of nuclear armaments would give the Soviet Union unilateral advantages in conventional armaments. And now aid from the transatlantic ally has immediately come. Defense Secretary C. Weinberger has recommended to the West Europeans that they "treat with the utmost caution any plans of the Russians to alter the structure of forces in Europe... It is important that you realize that we must resist this."

In general, what is striking is the ease with which sovereign countries, which in other matters treat their sovereignty so scrupulously, are so obedient to diktat from the United States and NATO and take decisions which contradict their own national interests and are denounced by the public. For instance, the Belgian and FRG Governments intend to extend the period of military service as the NATO organs are demanding.

Since the Soviet Union put forward its proposals for eliminating medium-range missiles in Europe and substantially reducing conventional armaments, the most logical thing for the Netherlands Government would seem to be to take its time in pushing through parliament the bill authorizing the deployment of U.S. cruise missiles in the country.

All the more so since according to the NATO schedule their introduction is to begin in 1988. No, The Hague, under pressure from Washington and NATO, has displayed haste, even violating the Constitution and traditions. It is demanding that these important and contentious decisions be taken by parliament, not simply by a majority vote, but by a minimum of two-thirds of deputies' votes.

When you speak of all these illogicalities, your interlocutors, who are trying to justify them, as a rule make do with one argument: We are U.S. allies. But there are over 200 million Americans.

Why not be the allies of those people in the United States who assess realistically the situation and correlations of forces in the world? Why must they repeat their "zigzags," following each new U.S. Administration? Why follow the path leading to the brink of nuclear war? Why not come out with their own initiatives for preventing this catastrophe? "What do you mean?" they answer me, "one swallow does not make a spring."

Fortunately, in Western Europe and the world as a whole there are people who have not been hypnotized by this saying. I have attended an extraordinary congress of the Labor Party, the main opposition force of the Netherlands. During the congress a special ballot was held and a resolution was adopted demanding the rejection of the deployment of U.S. first-strike weapons on the Netherlands' soil.

And in Belgium, the trial at which the authorities tried to achieve the indictment of seven participants in antimissile demonstrations close to the air base in Florennes ended in a victory for the organizers of the antiwar demonstrations. A court ruling vindicating the participants in the demonstration was greeted tumultuously not only by the Belgians gathered in the hall, but also by the women taking part in antimissile demonstrations at the Greenham Common base, who had made a special trip from Britain.

In the Florennes City Park, representatives of Belgium's antiwar movements planted Japanese cherry tree shoots. "May this cherry orchard be a permanent reminder of the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the need to prevent a nuclear catastrophe on earth," (I. Zekkin), a member of the peace movement Florennes, said.

"Nothing can justify any slackening of vigilance on the part of the peace movement, which has repeatedly demonstrated its force both in our country and in other West European countries," Claude Renard, vice president of the Communist Party of Belgium, notes in the NOUVELLE GAZETTE. "Genuine detente can only begin on the basis of specific measures that will confirm the will of both sides to finally halt the arms race, which entails a mortal threat and the monstrous squandering of material resources."

"In the struggle for peace and the elimination of the nuclear threat, the contribution of every country and every people is of importance," I was told by Rene Urbani, chairman of the Communist Party of Luxembourg. "That is why the Luxembourg Communists have instructed me to submit a request to parliament. In it we demand a positive response to the program of peace, detente, and the world's transformation into a completely nuclear-free zone put forward by the USSR. And if Luxembourg, in supporting these noble aims, becomes the first swallow in the West, respect for it in the world would only increase."

The West European countries are not that weak and helpless in the international arena. Their concerns are not peripheral but at the very center of the policy of confrontation which NATO pursues where the two blocs meet. If they display the desire for resolute actions in favor of detente, it will be possible in a brief historical period to achieve a breakthrough, as the experience of the seventies has shown.



The program for reducing military antagonism in Europe was set forth by the Soviet Union. It is specific and realistic in the field of nuclear missile and conventional armaments. Headway along this path will not lessen, rather it will strengthen the security of all countries taking part.

Its fulfillment would demonstrate the reality of the peaceful alternative and would advance the solution of problems facing mankind and help reverse the process of man's slide toward nuclear catastrophe.

Of course, the implementation of this concept of security requires resolve and a persistent struggle and the breaking of traditions which have remained standing for centuries. But in the face of the threat of nuclear catastrophe there is no other path. It is time to take the first steps along this path.

...And the swallows have already arrived. They are circling over Brussels' parks. The spring, albeit a late one, has begun.

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RELATED ISSUES

SOVIET JOURNAL SURVEY OF WORLD EVENTS SEPTEMBER-NOVEMBER 1985

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 1, Jan 86  
(signed to press 13 Dec 85) pp 76-95

[V. Vadimov international review: "Current Problems of World Politics"]

[Excerpts]

In terms of its saturation with events and their long-term consequences for the fate of entire peoples and our entire planet the fall of the past year will undoubtedly occupy an important place in the history of contemporary international relations. The period in question is characterized both by the continuing complexity and tenseness of the situation in the world and the appearance of real prerequisites for a change for the better in world politics. The Soviet-American summit in Geneva cut through the gloomy atmosphere of confrontation like a ray of hope. And this was primarily the result of purposeful, persevering efforts made by the USSR and its allies in support of peace and the security of all peoples.

1. Program of Creation and Peace

The pulse of our country's political life is beating in an intense, precise rhythm. Preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress have unfolded everywhere and extensive, nationwide discussion of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee October Plenum, which approved documents of tremendous theoretical and political importance: the drafts of the new version of the CPSU Program, the CPSU Rules (with the proposed changes) and also the Main Directions of the USSR's Economic and Social Development in 1986-1990 and the Period up to the Year 2000 has begun. A session of the 11th USSR Supreme Soviet was held 26-27 November, examining vitally important questions of communist creation and peace.

Abiding by Leninist traditions, the party appeals to the people and their inexhaustible collective experience in the present crucial, largely pivotal period in the history of Soviet society to ensure the most efficient ways of solving the economic and social problems confronting the country.

Both the draft Main Directions of the USSR's Economic and Social Development in the upcoming 5-year period and the plan and budget for 1986 clearly reflect the pivotal idea of the draft new version of the CPSU Program: via an acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development to the achievement of a qualitatively new state of Soviet society.

Commenting on the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet session and the decisions which it adopted, the foreign mass media have been calling attention to the fact that, despite the complex, tense international situation, the Soviet Union is not increasing defense spending: the plan for 1986 envisages for it the same volume as in 1985.

All Soviet people's aspirations and designs are directed toward constructive, creative goals. Our country has far-reaching plans for the building of the new society, and for this peace is essential.

## 2. Crucial Stage of Development for the Socialist World

Describing the state of relations between socialist states, M.S. Gorbachev observed in the report at the USSR Supreme Soviet session: "The political and economic relations of the socialist community countries have been stimulated and intensified considerably in recent months. Long-term programs of cooperation in the sphere of the economy and scientific-technical progress have been elaborated. A mechanism of current, specific relations has been created, and the coordination of foreign policy activity is becoming closer."

An important landmark on the path of the further cohesion of the socialist community was the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee [PCC].

The PCC meeting was held at an extraordinarily complex and crucial time. International tension had increased sharply since the last, Prague, meeting (January 1983). The deployment of American nuclear weapons had begun in the FRG, Britain, Italy and Belgium. The deployment of cruise missiles in Holland is scheduled for 1988. The prospect of the spread of the arms race to space has become a menacing reality.

Having analyzed the current situation, the top leaders of the Warsaw Pact states concluded: "The world has approached a line beyond which events could get out of control". As the declaration "For Removal of the Nuclear Threat and a Change for the Better in European and World Affairs," which was adopted at the PCC meeting, emphasized, this complex situation requires a new approach to policy corresponding to the realities of the present-day world and mutual restraint.

The number of unilateral good will actions which were adopted by our country and wholly supported by the participants in the Sofia meeting were convincing testimony to the fact that the USSR and its allies adhere to such an approach not in word but in deed.

The states represented at the meeting gave a reminder in the declaration of proposals which they had put forward earlier addressed to the NATO members and which preserve their relevance in full. They provide for direct negotiations concerning: the conclusion of a treaty on the mutual nonuse of military force and the maintenance of relations of peace between the Warsaw Pact states and the NATO countries;

a nonincrease and reduction in military spending;

the deliverance of Europe from chemical weapons.

The conferees emphasized the vital need for an extension of the political dialogue between European countries in various forms and at various levels in the interests of an improvement in the atmosphere on the continent and a strengthening of mutual trust.

It was stated once again in Sofia that the cardinal task of our time is stopping the arms race, nuclear primarily, and switching to disarmament. A practical contribution to this cause would be a halt to all work on the creation, testing and deployment of attack space-based arms, including antisatellite weapons, and a freeze on the existing nuclear arms at the present quantitative levels with the maximum limitation of their modernization given a suspension of the creation, testing and deployment of new kinds and types of such arms and the United States' adherence to the moratorium on all kinds of nuclear explosion announced by the USSR.

Besides, the leaders of the fraternal socialist countries proposed that the USSR and the United States undertake not to create and not to produce new types of conventional arms comparable to weapons of mass annihilation in terms of their destructive possibilities.

The leaders of the socialist community countries paid great attention to the situation taking shape in the Asian, African and Latin American developing countries, where there are many dangerous hotbeds of tension. Having declared solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of these continents for independence and social progress, they emphasized the need for a decisive end to the imperialist policy of force and interference in the internal affairs of other countries and acts of aggression and a solution of conflict situations and disputes between states by peaceful means.

The conferees appealed to the governments and peoples of all countries of Europe and other continents for a unification of efforts in the struggle against the threat of general annihilation looming over mankind. Operating actively and cohesively, the forces of peace are capable of averting a nuclear catastrophe and ensuring the highest right of the peoples--the right to a peaceful life and independent and free development--the declaration says.

The strength of the alliance of the fraternal socialist countries is the guarantee of their successes in the sphere of domestic and foreign policy. The results of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria were convincing evidence of this.

### 3. Return to Detente--Command of the Times

The peaceful, creative thrust of the plans of the party and the entire Soviet people are the most convincing proof of the love of peace of our country's foreign policy. "...Our policy is entirely predictable," M.S. Gorbachev said in the report at the CPSU Central Committee October (1985) Plenum, "it contains no puzzles and uncertainties. It is a policy based on Lenin's idea of the peaceful

coexistence of the two opposite systems. We proceed from the fact that only a stable and reliable policy is worthy of states and parties aware of their responsibility for the fate of peace in our contradiction-filled age." The peace-loving essence of the CPSU's foreign policy activity, which ensues from the humane nature of the socialist system, has been expressed clearly and precisely in the draft new version of the party program. It not only proclaims the ideal of socialism--a world without wars and without weapons--but determines the ways to achieve this noble and magnificent goal.

The past months showed once again that purposeful, persevering struggle for the removal of the nuclear threat and an improvement in the international situation forms the pivotal direction of the foreign policy of the USSR and the other socialist community countries.

M.S. Gorbachev's visit to France took place at the start of October. The top-level Soviet-Soviet-French meeting was a major event going beyond the framework of bilateral relations. It was essentially a question of a resumption of regular top-level contacts between two countries which largely determine the trends of European policies.

In the course of the visit the Soviet leader promulgated a whole set of large-scale peace initiatives and unilateral steps taken by the USSR in the interests of an improvement in the international atmosphere and to facilitate the progress of the disarmament negotiations. These included the proposal put forward at the Geneva negotiations on nuclear and space-based arms concerning a complete ban for both sides on strike space-based arms and a truly radical, 50-percent, reduction in their nuclear arms capable of reaching one another's territory;

a proposal concerning the conclusion of an agreement on a mutual reduction in intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe separately, not directly linked with the problem of space-based and strategic arms;

the USSR's decision to take down from duty alert the SS-20 missiles additionally deployed in its European zone in response to the deployment of the American intermediate-range missiles in West Europe and to dismantle the fixed installations for these missiles.

Considering the rapid growth of the nuclear potential of France and Britain and its increased role in the European balance of nuclear forces, the Soviet side expressed the opinion that it was time to begin a direct discussion on this subject and attempt to find an acceptable solution by joint efforts. It also put forward a number of proposals and ideas aimed at the achievement of progress at the multilateral disarmament negotiations. Thus the Soviet leadership declared its readiness to take part in the formulation of an international agreement on the nonproliferation of chemical weapons.

The Soviet side also supported the proposal expressed by the neutral and nonaligned states at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe concerning the mutual exchange of annual plans of military activity of which notice has to be given. Such an exchange--within the context, of course, of a broader arrangement incorporating specification and the

imparting of the maximum efficacy to the principle of the nonuse of force--and also a certain set of confidence-building measures in the military sphere would help overcome suspicion and make hidden preparations for war more difficult.

In the course of the negotiations in Paris the Soviet leadership also put forward or developed proposals concerning an extension of bilateral and all-European cooperation in the economic, scientific-technical and cultural spheres. In particular, the usefulness of the establishment of more practical relations between CEMA and the EEC was emphasized, and, furthermore, to the extent that the EEC countries act as a "political unit" the USSR and the other CEMA states are prepared to seek a common language with it on specific international problems also. Such interaction could also incorporate parliamentary ties, with those representing the European Parliament also.

The thought was expressed concerning the possibility of the establishment in some form or the other of contacts between the Warsaw Pact and the North

Atlantic alliance as organizations and concerning the creation of a "modus vivendi which would take the edge off the seriousness of the present confrontation in Europe."

Evidence of the big possibilities of the further development of the bilateral economic and scientific-technical ties of the USSR and France was the agreement on the two countries' economic cooperation for the period 1986-1990, which was signed on 4 October, and also the arrangements which were arrived at concerning the participation of a French cosmonaut in a long flight on board the Soviet orbital station and possible cooperation on the construction of an international "Tokamak" thermonuclear reactor.

The new Soviet initiatives had the broadest international repercussions and were a subject of close study throughout the world, primarily in West Europe. According to the American press, a few days after the Soviet leader's visit to Paris the governments of the FRG, Britain and the Netherlands "engaged in urgent research to prepare for Washington political proposals taking account of their own interests" and the new Soviet proposals. Particular attention was elicited in the West European countries by the USSR's readiness to conclude a separate agreement on a reduction in intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe not directly connected with space-based and strategic arms.

The positive reaction throughout the world to the Soviet initiatives, particularly on the part of the public and ruling circles of the United States' West European allies, caused confusion and perplexity in Washington. In order to somehow neutralize the broad support which the USSR's large-scale proposals had gained the White House resolved to conduct an emergency meeting of leaders of the "big seven"--the United States, Britain, France, the FRG, Canada, Italy and Japan--for the purpose of formulating a common approach by the leading capitalist states to East-West relations at the Geneva meeting. However, the idea of such a meeting strained relations between the United States and some of its allies. French President F. Mitterrand declined to participate therein altogether, while the small NATO members, Belgium and Holland, openly expressed dissatisfaction that attempts were being made to push them aside from the discussion of such important issues.

The less time there remained until the Soviet-American top-level meeting, the more unease and nervousness were displayed by the supporters of a hard line in the United States in connection with its possible positive outcome. According to the LOS ANGELES TIMES, the hawks in the Defense Department were awaiting the summit "with fear and loathing".

Indicative in this respect was the interview which U.S. Defense Secretary C. Weinberger gave to the French journal L'EXPRESS shortly before the meeting in Geneva, in which he very candidly set forth the approach of the supporters of a hard line toward the Soviet-American negotiations on questions of arms limitation and a suspension of the arms race on Earth and its prevention in space.

Question: If you succeed in concluding a balanced treaty on a significant arms reduction, will you be prepared to suspend the testing and deployment of the systems being developed within the SDI framework? Answer: Of course not....

Question: How, in your opinion, will the Treaty Limiting AMB Systems, which was signed in 1972 and which imposes strict limitations on defensive systems, be an obstacle in the way of deployment of the SDI? Answer: No, in no way.

Militarist circles in the United States made their own preparations for the Geneva meeting, endeavoring to render impossible in advance a constructive dialogue on problems of disarmament and to create conditions for negotiating with the USSR "from a position of strength".

In terms of intensity and the potential consequences for the cause of general peace and disarmament the Pentagon's militarist preparations were raised to a qualitatively new level in this period. Here are just some of its actions which have been made public: the flight of the multiple-use Atlantis spacecraft, which was carried out, like the preceding flight of the Discovery spacecraft, within the framework of the "star wars" program; tests of a laser weapon against a ballistic missile in flight and in launch position; the launching of the seventh Ohio-class nuclear submarine; the testing of a new sea-based strategic cruise missile; the early deployment in the FRG of all 108 Pershing 2's, which was carried out, as Pentagon representatives acknowledged, in the fear that "at the top-level Geneva meeting... a decision could be made on an immediate suspension of the deployment of intermediate-range missiles in the West and in the East."

While contemplating the creation of an antimissile "shield" (\$2.7 billion have been allocated for realization of the SDI in the 1986 fiscal year, which began 1 October) the United States is persistently modernizing its strategic "sword". In 1985 the number of warheads on American SLBM's increased to 384, while the total yield of submarine-based nuclear weapons grew to 11.2 megatons. In the 1986 fiscal year the Pentagon plans supplementing its nuclear arsenal by 12 MX missiles and spending \$2.1 billion on the creation of the Trident SLBM.

In the week preceding the Geneva meeting the U.S. military-industrial complex and its stooges in the State Department carried out a whole series of preemptive operations at the foreign policy level. Their general purpose was to push the administration into actual renunciation of compliance with the ABM Treaty and

the SALT II Treaty and thereby undermine the basis for constructive dialogue on disarmament problems in Geneva.

The first such operation was conducted against the ABM Treaty. Disclosing its motives, the American commentator D. Oberdorfer wrote: "Some people in the administration are in a state of 'high anxiety' concerning the fact that Reagan might consent to some limitations in respect of SDI at the Soviet-American summit and are for this reason attempting to block such a possibility, now coming up with a different interpretation of the ABM Treaty." On the initiative of the "civilian militarists" in the Pentagon--F. Ikle and R. Perle--the treaty was "analyzed" in order to assess its impact on strategic defense systems. A certain (Kansberg), assistant district attorney (!) of New York, was invited to make this "analysis". The parvenu "specialist," "who has to his credit a fight against pornography merchants and the mafia, but who has no experience in the arms control field, spent less than a week studying secret documents concerning the ABM negotiations," the WASHINGTON POST wrote sarcastically. His findings, which were set forth in a 19-page report, caused a sensation in Washington inasmuch as they led to a "new legal interpretation" of the treaty exempting the United States from the majority of limitations in respect of "star wars".

R. MacFarlane, the President's national security adviser, hastened to convey this "discovery" to the public, declaring in a television interview on 6 October that the testing and development of ABM systems based on new physical principles were not prohibited but, on the contrary, "approved and sanctioned by the treaty." As the WASHINGTON POST observed, "the staggering pronouncement of a high-ranking official signifying an almost 180-degree turn in the United States' long-standing attitude toward the treaty has shocked... the United States' allies in Europe and the members of Congress disposed toward arms control." G. Smith, a veteran of arms limitation negotiations, called the debate which began in the administration on the new "interpretation" of the ABM Treaty "absurd". D. Fascell, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, condemned the Reagan administration's new interpretation of the treaty as "not inspiring confidence". The British Government expressed "concern and dissatisfaction" apropos the revision of U.S. policy in this sphere. The FRG Government asked Washington "to clarify the possible new interpretation of the 1972 ABM Treaty," which as DPA observed, could, given certain circumstances, call in question both the treaty itself and cooperation within the framework of space "research" pertaining to SDI.

In order to somehow take the edge off the conflict which was heating up and not enter into a public confrontation with lobbyists of the military-industrial complex the White House agreed to a compromise solution: the administration would accept the "new" interpretation of the treaty but also preserve the "old" interpretation limiting testing and deployment in respect of the "star wars" program as an aspect of its practical policy.

However, such an ambiguous decision did not reassure the United States' West European allies. The question of American leading circles' "radical" approach to key provisions of the ABM Treaty was the central issue at the special NATO Council session in Brussels on 15-16 October.

Whereas Washington had originally approached this measure merely as a formal concession to the small countries of the bloc which were unhappy that they had



been left on the sidelines of the emergency meeting of leaders of the foremost Western countries which Washington had arranged on the eve of the Geneva meeting, the campaign of the Pentagon hawks against the ABM Treaty imparted an entirely different turn to the council session of the North Atlantic alliance. "Secretary of State G. Shultz will first of all have to answer the Europeans' questions as to why without prior notification and consultations within the NATO framework the United States fundamentally altered, as a surprise to all, its previous official interpretation of the treaty limiting antimissile defense systems," the West German GENERAL-ANZEIGER wrote. "Compliance with the provisions of this document was a prerequisite for important preliminary accords between Washington, Bonn and the remaining NATO partners concerning the SDI." It was only with great difficulty that U.S. Secretary of State managed to reassure the West European allies.

Nonetheless, the echoes of new strain in transatlantic relations again made themselves known at the NATO Nuclear Planning Group meeting held 20-30 October.

As the British press wrote, it was only as the result of "last-minute arm-twisting on the part of NATO Secretary General Lord Carrington that the United States' allies... supported President R. Reagan's position on the eve of his meeting with M.S. Gorbachev. They approved the American approach to a broad range of arms control issues, including the 'star wars' program, which is giving rise to arguments."

The decisive role in shaping NATO's position was performed by leading circles of Britain and the FRG. The conservative forces in these countries are endeavoring to raise their prestige in the eyes of the transatlantic ally, demonstrating active support for the "star wars" plans. In addition, both states' military-industrial complexes are hoping for big profits from participation in the SDI. Thus London proposed to Washington the conclusion of an intergovernmental agreement on SDI on condition that British firms be granted contracts totaling \$1.5 billion.

In the context of "preparation" of the world community for the Geneva meeting the Washington administration placed certain hopes in R. Reagan's speech at the UN General Assembly anniversary session, which was held on 24 October. However, instead of a specific response to the proposals advanced by the Soviet Union in the disarmament sphere, as many strata of the public in the United States and West Europe had expected, the White House made an attempt to shift the emphasis from questions of arms limitation to problems of the so-called "settlement" of regional conflicts.

Reagan's speech was negatively assessed by the majority of developing states, whose representatives pointed out that it had failed to reflect the problems troubling them first and foremost: the situation in Southern Africa and Namibia, the complex of North-South relations and the problem of overcoming the economic difficulties of Asian, African and Latin American countries, their constantly growing financial indebtedness to the Western countries and banks and a settlement in the Near East, including a solution of the Palestinian problem.

Even the heads of state of a number of the United States' allies who had come to New York for consultations with Reagan on questions of the formulation of the

West's uniform position at the Geneva summit also were surprised and disappointed by his speech.

The American-West European differences were manifested as clearly as could be at the meeting of leaders of certain Western states in New York. "Following a round of individual meetings and a 2-hour 'mini-summit' the allies (of the United States--B.V.)... were hardly 'in step' with the American leadership on disarmament issues," the magazine NEWSWEEK noted despondently. While publicly expressing delight in connection with the "collective support" which the United States had obtained on the threshold of the summit, the President's advisers did not even attempt to draw up a joint communique containing an expression of such support. More, the scale of the American-West European disagreements on the future of East-West relations which had been revealed toward the end of October became a subject of Washington's serious concern and a principal stimulus of a certain reorganization of the U.S. approach to the impending meeting.

A new "anti-Geneva" operation was conducted by the hawks in November--on this occasion against both the ABM Treaty and the SALT II Treaty. The instigators of the operation hoped to push the administration toward a refusal to comply with the provisions of the SALT II Treaty, whose term is expiring (on the pretext that the USSR "intends" violating this treaty) and endeavored to tightly block the possibility of serious dialogue in Geneva on problems of preventing a race in antimissile arms.

As the Geneva meeting approached, the internal contradictions in the American leadership itself even intensified. As senators S. Nunn and W. Cohen put it, "guerrilla war has broken out within the administration between those who see no point to relations with the Russians if these relations do not meet our conditions and those who discern benefits in the achievement of compromise."

It is perfectly natural that the Soviet side attentively observed how the American partner prepared for the meeting. The maneuvers of the opponents of an improvement in the international atmosphere cannot fail to cause serious concern in the USSR and in many other states. But at the same time the Soviet Union, as M.S. Gorbachev emphasized at a press conference in Geneva, "understood full well that the situation in the world was too dangerous to pass up even the slightest chance to rectify the situation and move toward a more stable and lasting peace." And the Soviet leadership took full advantage of this chance.

In the course of the plenary sessions of the delegations and the numerous tete-a-tete conversations of M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan (their duration constituted, incidentally, a distinguishing feature of the Geneva meeting--the first such meeting in the past 6½ years) which took place 19-22 November the Soviet leader put before the American side an integral concept of relations between the USSR and the United States imbued with a spirit of high responsibility for the fate of all peoples of the world. The CPSU Central Committee general secretary formulated its essence as follows: "Granted all the difference in the approaches of the sides and evaluations... we saw that we have, it seems to me, that in common which could be a point of departure for an improvement in Soviet-American relations: this is an understanding of the fact that nuclear war is impermissible, that it must not be fought and that it can have no winners. This thought has been expressed repeatedly both on our side and the American side.

The conclusion from this is that the central problem in relations between our countries at the current stage is that of security. We are emphatically in favor of agreements being reached providing for equal security for both countries."

Questions of war and peace were the core of the frank, sometimes blunt, discussions in Geneva. The Soviet side presented to the partner a comprehensive, convincing set of arguments against the "star wars" plans being developed by the United States. The warning sounded in Geneva as strongly as could be that the program for militarization of space would not simply lend impetus to the race in all kinds of arms but also put an end to any curbing of this race. Such a formulation of the question by no means signifies an artificial linkage of heterogeneous problems and some "departure" by the Soviet Union from discussion of problems of nuclear disarmament. On the contrary, it is a recognition of the objective interconnection of the far-advanced process of the nuclear arms race on Earth and its planned transfer by the United States to space. If, on the other hand, the door of weapons' egress into near-Earth space is tightly shut, a really radical reduction in nuclear arsenals will be possible. It was at this that the Soviet proposal concerning a 50-percent reduction in systems of nuclear weapons capable of reaching one another's territory was aimed. Differences in the sides' positions were ascertained in the course of discussion of this proposal in Geneva. However, as M.S. Gorbachev emphasized, "we are not dramatizing these differences and are prepared to seek a mutually acceptable solution."

Evaluating the results of the Soviet-American top-level meeting, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo noted at its session that it was a most important political event of international life. The meeting initiated a dialogue for the purpose of achieving changes for the better in Soviet-American relations and in the world in general.

The general understanding enshrined in the joint statement that nuclear war must never be unleashed and that it can have no winners and also the commitment of the USSR and the United States to construct their relations by proceeding from this indisputable truth and not to aspire to military superiority were the fundamentally important result of the meeting.

Importance for the progress of the negotiations on nuclear and space-based arms is attached to the adherence confirmed by both sides, now at the top level, to the tasks posed in the Soviet-American joint statement of 8 January 1985, namely, prevention of an arms race in space and its suspension on Earth, limitation of and reduction in nuclear arms and a strengthening of strategic stability.

With regard for the proposals recently submitted by the Soviet Union and the United States, the participants in the top-level meeting advocated the speediest progress, particularly in the spheres where there are points of contact, including the appropriate application of the principle of a 50-percent reduction in the sides' nuclear arms, and also the idea of an interim agreement on intermediate-range missiles in Europe. The joint statement emphasized that upon the formulation of these accords effective measures of monitoring compliance with the assumed commitments would be agreed.

An important new feature in the dialogue of the USSR and the United States on problems of a strengthening of strategic stability was the consent of the participants in the Geneva meeting to study at expert level the question of centers for lessening the nuclear danger, taking into consideration the development of the negotiations in Geneva and the questions discussed thereat.

At the same time it has to be acknowledged that there was no change in the United States' position on the cardinal problem of preventing an arms race in space. Immediately following the meeting the American leadership delivered the assertion that "SDI is unrelated to offensive arms... If our (American--B.V.) research is successful, it will bring considerably closer that safer, more stable world which we seek." Attempts by the hawks in the administration to foist on the American public their version of the results of the Geneva meeting also may be traced distinctly. We cannot fail to be alerted by statements that in the course of the negotiations the Soviet leadership was allegedly "reconciled" to the SDI program and that realization of the "star wars" plans would not influence the course of negotiations on nuclear and space-based arms.

The Soviet Union, M.S. Gorbachev declared, addressing the USSR Supreme Soviet session, cannot agree with such evaluations: "Everything indicates precisely that the United States conceives of the antimissile space system by no means as a 'shield' but as part of a unified offensive complex." In this connection the CPSU Central Committee general secretary emphasized that the appearance of American space-based weapons would not go unanswered on the part of the USSR: to restore the balance it would be forced to enhance the efficiency, accuracy and yield of its arms in order to neutralize, if necessary, the electronic-space-based "star wars" machinery which is being created.

One further very important result of the meeting was the decision of the USSR and the United States to intensify bilateral discussions at expert level on all aspects of the problem of banning chemical weapons, including questions of supervision, and embark on discussion of the question concerning prevention of the proliferation of chemical weapons. The joint statement emphasized the significance which the sides attach to the Vienna negotiations on a mutual reduction in armed forces and armaments in Central Europe and expressed the readiness to promote the achievement of positive results thereat.

Attaching importance to the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security and Disarmament in Europe and noting the progress it had made, the sides declared in Geneva the intention to contribute to its speediest successful completion in conjunction with the other conferees. For this purpose the USSR and the United States confirmed the need for the adoption of a document which would incorporate both mutually acceptable confidence-building and security measures and the concretization and the imparting of efficacy to the principle of the nonuse of force.

Of exceptional importance in the plane of the development of bilateral relations was the agreement reached in Geneva to stimulate dialogue at various levels and put it on a regular basis. Together with meetings of the leaders of the two countries this provides for regular meetings of the USSR foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state, and the leaders of other ministries and departments.

The signing of the Soviet-American agreement on contacts and exchanges in the sphere of science, education and culture took place within the framework of the Geneva meeting. The negotiations which were being conducted in Moscow on a resumption of the air service between the two countries received a new boost. A result of the Geneva meeting was also the arrangement concerning the simultaneous opening of general consulates in New York and Kiev.

A blow to the plans of the organizers of the "scientific-technical blockade of the USSR" was the support expressed by the leaders of the two countries in Geneva for the utmost practical international cooperation in the sphere of controlled thermonuclear synthesis.

The meeting evoked the tremendous interest of the international community. Merely the fact that approximately 4,000 journalists came to Geneva to cover it testifies to this.

There was a meeting in Prague on 21 November 1985 of the top leaders of the Warsaw Pact states. M.S. Gorbachev informed its participants in detail of the progress and results of the Soviet-American top-level meeting in Geneva.

The leaders of the fraternal parties and countries expressed complete support for the constructive position set forth by M.S. Gorbachev at the negotiations with R. Reagan in the spirit of the joint line expressed in the Warsaw Pact declaration of 23 October 1985. They made a high evaluation of the exceptionally important contribution to the advancement of the jointly elaborated peace-loving positions of the socialist community countries performed by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary in the course of the Geneva meeting and noted unanimously that the direct, candid discussion in Geneva had been necessary and that its results were useful and afforded more favorable opportunities for an improvement in the international situation and a return to detente. It is important that these opportunities be converted into practical action by the two sides.

The results of the Geneva meeting were evaluated highly in the West also. Returning to the United States from Geneva, President R. Reagan made a stopover in Brussels, where he notified leaders of the NATO states of the results of the Soviet-American meeting. Granted all the differences in views on East-West relations, the participants in the session welcomed the accords reached in Geneva.

The results of Geneva were received with great approval in UN circles. The importance of this event and the hopes of the peoples of the world linked with it were emphasized in the speeches of representatives of many states at the UN General Assembly 40th Session. The Geneva meeting itself and the accords reached thereat became a most important factor determining the progress of the session and the nature of the decisions it adopted. The problem of preventing nuclear war and switching to real disarmament steps occupied a central place in the discussion which developed in the General Assembly First Committee (political questions and questions of security, including disarmament). Its outcome was the adoption of 66 draft resolutions, which as a whole--despite the sometimes differing evaluations of the causes of international tension and the lack of progress in the disarmament sphere--testify to the world community's growing recognition of the need for practical actions to remove the menacing danger looming over mankind.

These included draft resolutions on an immediate suspension and prohibition of nuclear weapons testing, renunciation of the use or threat of nuclear weapons, a ban on the development and production of new types of weapons of mass annihilation, a freezing of nuclear arsenals, on the banning of neutron weapons and a number of others. By an overwhelming majority the First Committee passed the draft resolution "Prevention of an Arms Race in Space". This document reflected the main ideas contained in the "star peace" concept put forward by the USSR--the proposal concerning international cooperation in the peaceful conquest of space under conditions of its nonmilitarization. It is indicative that only a small group of states--the United States and a number of its closest allies--voted against the draft.

#### 4. In the Labyrinth of Economic and Political Contradictions

Whence the interest evoked by the second intergovernmental conference, which was held at the start of November in Hannover (FRG) and which discussed the Eureka Project, which sets as its goal the creation of a so-called European Technology Community. We would recall in this connection that the first constituent conference on this project was held in mid-July 1985 in Paris. The ministers of foreign affairs and scientific research of 17 countries--the EEC members and also Spain, Portugal, Austria, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway and Finland--who approved the project in principle, participated. Following the constituent conference, its participants were joined by Turkey.

The Hannover conference was preceded by a series of preparatory meetings. A meeting of managers of leading industrial firms of the participants in the European Technology Community which is being created, which discussed the private sector's approach to Eureka, was held in London on 14 October. A meeting of representatives of the governments of the 18 states and also the European Communities Commission on 16-17 October in Bonn examined a draft declaration on the "principles of European technical cooperation" and its organizational framework.

Whereas at the first stage of the discussion--in July 1985--the sides had reached agreement quite easily on the need for a stimulation of scientific-technical cooperation for the purpose of strengthening West Europe's positions in the face of growing competition on the part of the United States and Japan, the next stage of the formation of Eureka--determination of the specific priorities of cooperation and its financial base and organizational framework--was accompanied by discord, disagreements and an obvious conflict of the main partners' interests. As WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE, the organ of FRG business circles, observed, "with the help of the Eureka program (West) Europeans hope to advance their technologically relatively backward industry. However, national interests, intraparty conflict and also the uncertainty of the prospects of West Europe's participation in SDI are impeding realization of Eureka."

The focus of the discussion which unfolded at the time of preparation for the Hannover conference in West Europe's business and political circles were such questions as determination of the scientific-technical and commercial priorities within the framework of the project, the correlation of public and private

sources of its financing, the place of the European Technology Community structure which is taking shape in the overall context of integration processes in West European and, finally, the correlation between Eureka and the plans for West European business' participation in realization of the SDI.

As the initiator of Eureka, Paris naturally displayed the greatest interest in the success of the Hannover conference. The French side submitted for examination thereat 25 specific plans encompassing the following spheres: "Euromatic"--powerful computers, artificial intelligence, microelectronics; "Eurobot"--industrial robots and lasers; "Eurobio"--biotechnology and genetic engineering, agrarian industry; "Eurocom"--communications and control systems, optoelectronics; "Euromat"--artificial materials; "Eurorail"--high-speed railroads.

Against this background the proposals of France's main partners appeared highly modest. Thus the FRG submitted only three plans: the creation of a uniform computer system for West Europe's scientific establishments, research in the sphere of the spread of atmospheric pollutants on the continent and also the development of industrial lasers. Ultimately, of the approximately 300 proposed plans, it was possible to agree on only 10, which caused unconcealed disappointment in Paris.

The question of financing Eureka has proven no less difficult. Whereas the French Government allocated Fr1 billion from the budget for realization of the project and advocated that the state's share in the participation in various specific programs amount to 50 percent, the other partners were not ready to assume large financial commitments. Thus speaking on behalf of British business circles at an international conference in London on 14 October (P. Kerey), a director of the Morgan Grenfell Bank, emphasized that the basis of Britain's position was "the principle of the market orientation of the programs (within the Eureka framework--B.V.), in whose realization business and not government will have the decisive say." Ultimately London agreed to allocate Eureka 250 million pounds sterling.

A serious blow to the plans of the French initiators of Eureka was the actual retreat of the FRG Government on the eve of the Hannover conference from the promise it had given earlier to allocate from the budget DM1 billion for the financing of the project. "This clearly did not make a good impression on the conferees," the newspaper Koelner Stadt-Anzeiger observed, not without irony.

Outwardly Bonn's contradictory position in respect of the plans for the European Technology Community--a combination of declarations in support of Eureka with a manifest reluctance to consent to substantial financial outlays--is explained by a number of factors. In first place we should put the skeptical attitude toward Eureka's prospects of influential industrial and financial circles of West Germany. As Wolf von Amerongen, president of the FRG's Joint Chamber of Trade and Industry, declared, this project "is still too vague and unclear, particularly from the financial aspect." Another reason is connected with the fact that Bonn is manifestly reluctant to annoy its American partner by unduly active support for Eureka--a potential competitor of Reagan's SDI--under conditions where the framework and forms of the FRG's participation in the realization of "star wars" plans have yet to be determined. Finally, a significant part has been played by differences between H.-D. Genscher, an ardent supporter of

Eureka, and H. Kohl, who is urging the priority of FRG participation in the American "antimissile defense" program.

The declaration approved at the conference proclaims the peaceful nature of the cooperation. "The plans within the Eureka framework," the document says, "serve civil purposes and are oriented toward the markets of the private and public sectors." The declaration defines the principles, purposes and main directions of the planned cooperation. At the initial stage it is a question of such spheres as information science and communications equipment, robotics, the creation of new materials, industrial technology, biotechnology, ocean exploration, lasers, environmental protection and transport. Realization of the Eureka Project is also intended to create the technical prerequisites for the solution of problems which go beyond the framework of individual states.

The declaration proclaims the principle of the exchange (but not uncompensated transfer) of technology between individual enterprises and research institutes. An essential prerequisite for the success of the Eureka Project, the conferees believe, is the creation of a "large, homogeneous and dynamic European economic zone which aspires to expand," the basis of which it is contemplated making the EEC domestic market and the EFTA sphere. Private initiative is considered a most important principle of realization of plans within the Eureka framework. As the declaration emphasizes, interested enterprises and research establishments will negotiate the specific projects and terms of their financing both from their own funds and with the aid of bank loans and, where necessary, specially allocated state resources,

The participants in the Hannover meeting also determined the main contours of Eureka's organizational structure. The coordinating authority will be a conference of ministers of the participants in the project and representatives of the European Communities Commission.

At the same time the conferees failed to settle the question of the nature and functions of the single working body for realization of Eureka--the secretariat. A number of countries advocated the transfer of its functions to the European Communities Commission. Others, primarily France, insisted on the creation of a working body independent of the EEC, fearing that the cumbersome machinery of this organization would serve as a restraining element and not a driving force. Ultimately a compromise was reached. It provides for the creation of a small secretariat subordinate to the conference of ministers. Its functions include: the collection and dissemination of information, assistance to the enterprises and scientific establishments of the participants in the project in establishing contact with partners and ensuring continuity in accomplishment of the set goals.

Commenting on the results of the Hannover conference, some West European press organs call attention to the fact that although the declaration adopted by its participants proclaims the project's peaceful purposes, a number of statesmen and businessmen connected with its preparation and realization delivered on the eve of and following the conference highly ambiguous statements. Thus H. Riesenhuber, minister of research and technology of the FRG, declared at a seminar conducted in Bonn in November 1985 that the cooperation in the sphere of civil technology envisaged by the Eureka Project does not entirely preclude the possibility of the results of the research being used in the military sphere.



The concern of West Europe's democratic public is also caused by the fact that with the aid of Eureka monopoly circles of the leading West European states are hoping to strengthen their positions in the economy of the region and squeeze weaker competitors out of the new, promising sectors, which is being impeded as yet to a considerable extent by the customs and other barriers which exist in, for example, the EFTA countries. Manifestly expressing the expansionist aspirations of the giants of West European business, the British weekly THE ECONOMIST wrote on the eve of the opening of the Hannover conference: "...European firms producing the latest technology products will not be able to catch up with America and Japan in the sphere of advanced technology until competition has squeezed out the weak. Eureka has a chance of success only if it is used for this purpose."

A major event of the public-political life of many countries was the Disarmament Action Week conducted on the initiative of the United Nations from 21 through 28 October. The mass nature of the protests of the peace supporters, the nature of the demands which were put forward and the repercussions of the demonstrations confirmed as obviously as could be the justice of the conclusion contained in the draft new version of the CPSU Program that "antiwar movements of the broadest popular masses on all continents... have become a long-term and influential factor of public life". Here are just a few facts attesting the scale of the action of the antiwar forces:

Japan: approximately 700,000 persons took part in meetings and demonstrations of protest against the country's militarization and increasingly profound involvement in the Pentagon's nuclear strategy. Some 150,000 persons attended the week's central meeting in Tokyo's Ueno Park alone;

France: more than 1.8 million persons signed an appeal demanding a halt to the arms race on Earth and the prevention thereof in space;

Denmark: on 24 October approximately 1 million Danes, responding to an appeal of the country's Central Trade Union Association, conducted a "peace strike," expressing their will to detente and disarmament and the creation of a nuclear-free zone in North Europe;

Canada: antiwar demonstrations under the slogans "No to Star Wars," "United States--Threat to Peace!" and "Canadians for a Nuclear-Free Zone!" were held in Toronto, Montreal, St Johns, Vancouver, Thunder Bay and other of the country's cities;

Finland: approximately 220,000 persons took part in the week's measures.

The epicenter of the antiwar movement and the main arena of the confrontation of the broad people's masses with the militarist aspirations of NATO was, last fall, Holland, where on 1 November the government had to decide on the question of the deployment of 48 American cruise missiles at the Wunsdrecht Base. As is known, on 6 June 1984 W. (sic) Lubbers' center-right cabinet had declared that a final decision on deployment of the missiles would be made in November 1985 with regard for the number of SS-20 missiles deployed in the USSR, and, furthermore, if this number did not exceed the June 1984 level, the American missiles would not appear in Holland.

The Soviet statement issued at the most authoritative level at the start of October that the number of SS-20 missiles on duty alert in the European zone had been reduced to the number which had existed in June 1984 put the supporters of the "missile decision" in Holland in a very difficult position. As J. den Uyl, leader of the Labor Party, declared, "an entirely new situation has arisen which the government cannot fail to take into consideration." The news of the Soviet Union's unilateral step caused a powerful new upsurge of the peace supporters movement. By the end of October more than 3.7 million Dutch had signed an appeal for the government to refrain from adopting the fatal decision. Nonetheless, on 1 November, following lengthy debate, the government of the Netherlands adopted the decision to consent to the deployment of American cruise missiles in the country.

Sensing the shakiness of its positions in parliament, the government sought to ensure that the agreement with the United States be seen in parliament not as a treaty of decisive significance for the country's national interests and therefore requiring two-thirds majority approval but as an ordinary exchange of memoranda which could be carried by a simple majority. Nonetheless, even given these conditions, the government decision was approved in parliament only by a negligible majority, which was secured for the Lubbers' cabinet by the members of the four small parties of the right. It is indicative that even a number of members of parliament from the ruling (KhNP) (sic) voted against the "missile decision".

As Labor Party Leader J. den Uyl declared, the government had made an irreparable historic mistake. It had failed to avail itself of the real chance to make an appreciable contribution to an improvement in the international situation and a relaxation of tension in Europe. Representatives of the opposition parties and the antiwar movement declared that the government's "missile step" would not lead to a suspension of the struggle against the appearance of first-strike weapons on Dutch territory.

##### 5. Imperialism--Culprit of Regional Conflicts

The policy being pursued by the Soviet Union in the international arena is a policy of the entire Soviet people--the creator-people. Socialism as a social system has no need of force and compulsion to prove its superiority. It relies not on weapons but on the attraction of the real example of how social, economic and political problems are being tackled in practice in the interests of the broad working masses.

It is on the confidence in the soundness of its choice and historical optimism that the Leninist policy of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is based. The CPSU understands peaceful coexistence here not simply as the absence of war but as an international order where not military force but good-neighborliness and extensive mutually profitable cooperation in various spheres, primarily in the solution of the problems troubling all mankind, predominate. It is for this reason that the specific initiatives of the USSR and its allies, whose purpose is halting the disastrous arms race on Earth, preventing its transition to a new, space, dimension, banning and ultimately liquidating nuclear weapons and other menacing means of people's extermination and radically improving the international atmosphere, are enjoying such a warm positive response all over the world.

Recent months have shown the insolvency of the variety of gloomy pessimistic forecasts predicting mankind's "inevitable" slide into the nuclear abyss. Our country's decisive actions in the international arena and the active dialogue which the USSR has struck up with the United States and other capitalist states have shown convincingly the high sense of responsibility for the development of events possessed by the Soviet leadership. This responsible approach combined with a realistic assessment of the situation, swift reaction to changes therein and a sincere readiness for negotiations and practical accords based on intelligent compromise and respect for the principle of equality and equal security--this is what has characterized the Soviet Union's most important foreign policy steps in the recent period, primarily its top-level contacts.

All this has made it possible to halt to a considerable extent a further dangerous spurring of tension and shown graphically who supports peace on Earth and in space and who is concealing with arguments about the "benefits of star wars" his pretensions to world domination. The new Soviet peace offensive, as foreign observers are calling it, is contributing to the isolation of the most aggressive, militarist and adventurist forces of imperialism and helping the peoples defending their freedom and independence and right to the choice of independent path.

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USSR WEEKLY 'INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS ROUNDTABLE' 27 APRIL 1986

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["International Observers Roundtable" with Dmitriy Antonovich Volskiy, member of the NOVOYE VREMYA editorial board; Vadim Nikolayevich Nekrasov, observer of KOMMUNIST; and Viktor Nikolayevich Levin, All-Union Radio commentator]

[Excerpts]

[Levin] Hello, esteemed comrade radio-listeners! In discussing this week's most important events, I would like to remind you of the conclusion of the work of the 11th SED Congress; of the Soviet-Afghan talks that took place in Moscow, and also, incidentally, the 8th anniversary of the April Revolution in Afghanistan, which is being marked today. The Soviet Government statement on issues of guaranteeing cooperation and security in the Asia and Pacific Ocean region and the World Peace Council session, which ends its work today in the Bulgarian capital, Sofia, deserve a good deal of attention. The visit to Moscow by the Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, Comrade Chnoupek, also occurred at the same time. All these events I cited lie in one category: the category of the struggle of peace-loving forces and the struggle of the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community for the consolidation of peace and for the triumph of ideals of social justice. Naturally, however, there are also events on another level which overshadow the development of the international situation and which again and again remind us that the international situation remains complex and tense. In this sense of events, one should first cite yet another nuclear blast carried out in the U.S. State of Nevada, and the continuing imperialistic and anti-Libyan campaign of threats, which are also accompanied by definite actions.

[Nekrasov] Well, I think, Viktor Nikolayevich, that these events cannot be examined in total isolation from one another. They represent a definite chain, a chain in U.S. policy that leads, so to speak, from regional conflicts to neoglobalism. This is a new philosophical doctrine which, in effect, turns out not to be a philosophical doctrine after all. It turns out to be, so to speak, some sort of instructions on state terrorism. From there, neoglobalism leads to a threat to universal peace, which we clearly see in this series of nuclear blasts that have not coincided fortuitously, of course, with the aggression against Libya.

On the whole, we not quite validly say that the current FRG Government is following the U.S. adventurist course very actively. This is leading the FRG Government itself into an extremely complex situation. This week -- incidentally, once again it was this week -- the West

German Bundestag debated the issue of an agreement between the FRG and the United States on the issue of West German firms taking part in the Strategic Defense Initiative, in the program of creating [sozdaniye] space-strike weapons. The opposition, already on the basis of documents, which, incidentally, the government tried to hide from the public, the opposition showed very clearly that the FRG is embarking on the sale of its own interests. And, I would like to add, Western Europe looks with different eyes on many international problems, problems of fundamental importance. Here I would like to return to the proposal, a very important proposal, which, on behalf of the Soviet Union, was set forth by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the 11th SED Congress. The proposal is for a significant reduction in armed forces and arms on the entire European Continent, from the Atlantic to the Urals.

[Nekrasov] To conclude the discussion on the previous subject, I would like to note that the situation in Western Europe was, in my view, very well summed up in the conversation between the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the head of the Swedish Government, Carlsson. During their talks, it was stated that there remain great opportunities for positive actions in Western Europe, but that there is not sufficient political will. What is now interesting in this situation is that many people in Western Europe see our move, which is in itself of fundamental importance -- and I shall dwell on this issue later -- they see it also as a sign from a great European power, the Soviet Union, to the other European countries, above all the West European countries. In the situation being created by the U.S. actions it is as if the Soviet Union is saying: And what about you, West Europeans? Where is your attention directed? What might you let yourselves be dragged into? It is precisely from this point of view that the impact of our proposals, of our firm, principled, flexible, and peace-loving course is being seen, as well as its impact on the European situation.

[Volskiy] At this point, Vadim Nikolayevich, it may be appropriate to also recall that it was just this week that the Soviet Union put forward a constructive initiative concerning a completely different zone -- the opposite zone, one could say, looking at the globe from above -- the Pacific Ocean region. That region is a very important one. I think that in its economic and especially in its potential economic significance, it could, at some point in the future even surpass the Atlantic basin. Naturally, everyone who is striving for a peaceful future and for cooperation, must also strive to make this cooperation extend to that very large and important zone. All the more so, the Soviet Union which is a Pacific Ocean power with, let us remember, the BAM [Baykalo-Amurskaya magistral] and all our plans concerning the Far East, Maritime Kray, Sakhalin and so on.

The United States is attempting to isolate the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries from the system that they want to create in that area -- a closed system that they call the Pacific Ocean Community. It is closed in its capitalist relations, but it has a dual objective. On the one hand, by creating this community they want to increase the opportunities for neocolonialist exploitation of the developing countries in the Pacific Ocean and Asia, and on the other, they want to transform the economic structure under creation there into a type of platform or base for stepping up military preparations and military cooperation among the countries of this zone under the hegemony and domination of the United States and the Pentagon. In other words, they want to create a sort of equivalent to NATO. They are already attempting to transform the entire zone not simply into a field of action for their separate forces, but also into a kind of fist aimed from the East at the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

[Levin] Here I would like to give an example from, admittedly, a different sphere, but which it seems to me can very clearly sum up what we are talking about. I have

before me a telegram from the UPI agency containing the report of House Representative Bill Nelson, a Democrat from Florida, and a representative of the state where the John Kennedy Space Flight Center is located, who flew on the Columbia space shuttle in January of this year as an observer. This Bill Nelson has now stated that, in his view, one of the future Soviet-U.S. summit meetings should be held in space, so that, as he stated, the U.S. and Soviet leaders can look at the problems of life and politics in a new way. Nelson bases his point of view on the fact that when he looked down at the Earth from space he saw that, first, the Earth is very beautiful and second, it looks so fragile and lost in the black void of space. There is no need to persuade us of this. The entire foreign policy program of our party that was worked out by the 27th CPSU Congress proceeds from a new philosophy of international relations, from an understanding of the fragility of our planet and the need to exert maximum effort to preserve it. The U.S. Administration must be persuaded of this. It simply cannot understand this. True, it says the right things, but its actions are in diametric opposition to the conclusions reached during, for example, the Geneva meeting between the U.S. President and the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. In these conditions we are stubbornly and persistently continuing and shall continue our constructive search for solutions to international problems.

Now, I would like to recall once again that after the last nuclear explosion, which in essence blew up the unilateral Soviet moratorium, we stated: The United States is forcing us to begin testing nuclear weapons so that our country's security interests will not suffer. However, we confirm once again that we are willing at any moment to immediately cease nuclear tests on the basis of mutual accord with the United States. We are willing to immediately begin talks on the conclusion of a treaty completely banning nuclear tests.

The new initiative concerning military confrontation in Europe is also yet another constructive step organically resulting from our foreign policy strategy and I think it would be worth concentrating a little more attention on it today. Vadim Nikolayevich, you promised to speak on this subject, so it is your turn.

[Nekrasov] It is completely obvious that all the proposals contained in the speech by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at the 11th congress in Berlin finish off and perfect the international security structure proposed as early as in Comrade Gorbachev's 15 January statement. In that statement, if you remember, it was said in general terms that conventional weapons and armed forces would also become the subject of agreed reductions. Detailed proposals have now been advanced regarding this. Admittedly, they do not contain any kind of rigid plan on how to reduce, in what quantities, and precisely how to monitor all this. They are, so to speak, reference points for negotiations.

But, in this way, the West's whole pseudo-argument proving that medium-range weapons allegedly cannot be removed from Europe because there is no guarantee that Soviet conventional armed forces would not then prevail over all of Europe, becomes obsolete. This, of course, does not correspond to reality and the figures are well known. Nonetheless, this type of propaganda goes on and on.

The new Soviet proposals that finish off the edifice of our large-scale proposals on the creation of a nonnuclear world by the 21st century -- these proposals also show that, given good will on all sides, we can as soon as possible move to the new political thinking our country is calling for. In general, it must be said that there is a lot of talk in the world just now about what should specifically constitute this political thinking. Well, I think that our side has sufficiently clearly set forth its content. It is not simply a discussion of the need to realize the new realities

and the critical nature of the new era; such discussion can from time to time be heard in the West as well. It is also an indication of the need to act, to act boldly, decisively, and constructively. Meanwhile, some people in the West would like to restrict themselves to the first phrase for the time being; to talk about the need for new thinking and discuss its philosophical meaning without getting down to action, while the world situation demands action as soon as possible. Now that our proposals are on the table and have become known to world public opinion, a dissatisfied grumbling can again be heard in the West. For example, Paris' LE MONDE again states that the Soviet Union is appealing to public opinion once more. When its proposals are put on the negotiating table, the public's attitude has already taken shape. Diplomatic negotiations, they claim, are not carried on in this way. Well, one can answer this by saying that it is a Leninist tradition to appeal to the peoples. It has its origins in our Decree of Peace in 1917. However, that is not the most important point.

[Levin] The Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe are proceeding through diplomatic channels. But due to the position of the Western powers, we have been talking for 13 years and have achieved nothing. Presumably, that is precisely the course of diplomatic negotiations onto which they would like to push us: negotiations that get bogged down in details and trivialities, negotiations where they would erect every possible obstacle. Moreover, when we adopt one of their positions, they immediately renounce it. While we set the question on a different plane, and this different approach, fundamentally different approach is also vividly demonstrated in this initiative...

[Volskiy, interrupting] And it is also demonstrated in our Pacific Ocean initiative...

[Levin] ...of course...

[Volskiy, interrupting] ...as it has a completely specific, precise political objective: to hold a prospective conference of the countries of the Pacific basin or some kind of pan-Asian forum, in order to discuss security issues, also particularly of economic security.

[Nekrasov] I would say that in this case we are acting on the basis of the Helsinki precedent. That was precisely the course along which the events in Europe developed when the pan-European conference was being prepared. Experience has shown that that course is very fruitful.

[Volskiy] That is precisely why it seems to me that the new political thinking is particularly manifested -- aside from everything else, of course -- in the need for a clear, specific, and constructive objective; not just negotiations for its own sake.

[Levin] Quite so! And it is precisely we who have lately been very vividly demonstrating the constructive nature of our approach through removing those problems which, from the West's point of view, allowed them to block our peaceful initiatives. This is the primary problem of monitoring.

Let us consider the proposals for significant reductions in all elements of ground forces and tactical air forces of the European countries, as well as the corresponding forces of the United States and Canada stationed in Europe, put forward by Comrade Gorbachev. It is directly said that reliable monitoring should be ensured at every stage of that process. This may be equally a question of national technical means and of international forms of verification, including, if necessary, on-site inspection.

Let us consider the proposal on chemical weapons, put forth by the Soviet Union in Geneva at the disarmament conference. Speaking at the 11th SED Congress, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said the proposal would be here soon. Here we are: We have not kept anyone waiting. In these proposals, too, a special place is also given to questions of monitoring.

The Western powers, by the way, have always been saying that the Russians do not want monitoring. Forgive me, but we want monitoring no less than the Western powers. And we want monitoring that is no less reliable. The question is of course different: What should be monitored? That is the fundamental question today. The United States proposes that we monitor the continuation of the arms race and the continuation of nuclear explosions, while we propose monitoring cardinal reduction in armaments, monitoring the halting of nuclear tests. Our is a fundamentally different approach.

But now, different arguments are being sought. A few days ago I read a statement by a high-ranking representative of the U.S. State Department, who said that the cessation of nuclear tests under current circumstances could allegedly undermine the West's fighting efficiency and undermine West Europeans' faith in U.S. alliance obligations. But, of course, one can weave words any way one likes. What lies hidden behind those words is an entirely defined policy of striving to accumulate and improve nuclear weapons, and to conduct tests to that end.

[Nekrasov] In connection with this, it would be interesting to note the great struggle that has now started in the corridors of power in Washington regarding the observance or nonobservance of the terms of the SALT II treaty.

[Levin] The underlying cause here lies in the fact that the sea trials for Nevada, the eighth Ohio-type nuclear missile submarine, are to begin in May. That is when the United States could overstep the limit set by the SALT II treaty. The formulation itself, however, is simply quite interesting.

[Nekrasov] Yes, you know, the interesting thing is that of the Washington proponents of SALT II, back stage not up front, who do you think they are? The chiefs of staff.

[Levin] The military.

[Nekrasov] The military. The professional military who know the real situation and who understand that the SALT II treaty serves the security interests of the United States. They are experiencing pressure from the politicians who would like, using the example of SALT II and U.S. renunciation of that treaty, to predetermine the fundamental question: Would any new agreements with the Soviet Union on limiting the arms race be possible under the present administration? If one looks at the essence, that is the issue the struggle is centered on.

Should the U.S. side proceed with violating the conditions of this treaty, which they have not satisfied but undertook to observe, it would signal that Washington does not want any agreements.

At the moment they are trying to involve the U.S. allies in that struggle. Nitze has gone to Europe as a White House special envoy, Rowney is setting off for the Far East and Canada. Their mission is to survey the allies' views as they did in connection with our proposal to remove medium-range missiles from Europe. But the question is, what relation, fundamentally, do these countries bear to Soviet-U.S. bilateral negotiations on strategic weapons? They do bear a relation. Some time after the Americans back-tracked on the issue of medium-range missiles, it transpired that during that



period a special alliance was formed between the Washington hawks and the right, ultra-right political circles on the Rhine. Now, too, the U.S. right-wingers are trying to involve their friends in other countries in this game in order to frustrate the possibility of further fruitful results in Soviet-U.S. dialogue on limiting and reducing armaments.

[Volskiy] It seems to me that roughly the same kind of tactics by U.S. reactionary circles can be also observed with respect to so-called regional conflicts. They also involve their allies in these conflicts, thereby hampering them in their efforts to assist in resolving these conflicts or, at least, in playing some neutral role. The dangers of this cannot fail to be felt even by those who generally count themselves among the friends of the United States.

[Levin] In connection with this, I would like to mention the FRG's position in respect to our proposal for significant reductions in armaments and armed forces in Europe. You know, it has been a long time since I heard such positive pronouncements in response to our peaceful initiatives...

[Nekrasov, interrupting] And I would add here, on a very wide front, starting with the defense minister, Woerner,...

[Levin] ...quite so,...

[Nekrasov] ...a leading Christian Democrat.

[Levin] ...while Weinberger, the U.S. defense secretary, in an extensive answer to a journalist's question -- What can you say about the latest proposals from the Soviet Union regarding the reduction of conventional forces in Europe? -- he said: This should be treated with caution. These are perfidious machinations by the Russians. They are trying to drive us out of Europe. That is, here, too, he tries in every possible way to immediately create a blind alley situation. But it seems that the force of life is asserting itself and the power, the power of attraction held by the Soviet peace initiatives is so great that we can already speak of a definite influence on the minds of not only representatives of the public at large but also of government circles in a number of West European countries. Once more we have the basis to say that the Soviet Union's Leninist foreign policy, which in the CPSU Central Committee May Day slogans is defined as a policy for strengthening peace and security of the peoples and wide international cooperation, is producing quite tangible results.

[Nekrasov] As Fidel Castro said when speaking at our congress, the situation requires of all of us, that is the socialist countries, nerves of steel, crystal-clear policies, and granite firmness.

[Levin] Good words. Our program time, comrades, has run out. Thank you for your attention. Good-bye.

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USSR WEEKLY 'INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS ROUNDTABLE' 4 MAY 1986

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["International Observers Roundtable" program with Yuriy Emmanuilovich Kornilov, TASS political observer; Aleksandr Vladimirovich Zholkver, Central Television and All-Union Radio political observer; and Kim Antonovich Gerasimov, All-Union Radio commentator]

[Text] [Gerasimov] Hello, comrades! Our meeting today is the first one in May. This week the peoples of our country and working people throughout the whole planet celebrated the day of international solidarity of working people. This year, as you know, this red-letter day was 100 years old. It was marked with particular warmth and excitement everywhere; from the U.S. city of Chicago where it was born, and where attempts were immediately made to stifle it at birth -- which, as you know, were not successful -- to towns in South Africa, where many thousands of people went out into the street, scorning the tear gas and plastic bullets. But our listeners have already read this in the newspapers, heard it on the radio, and seen it on television.

The only thing I would like to stress here is the fact that the broad scope of the May Day celebrations in the most varied countries disproves the allegations by our ideological opponents that the acuteness of class conflicts in the capitalist world are declining with the progress of science and technology. The attempts to disprove Marxism, though, are nothing new. We all remember how many times over the past 100 years Marxism has been written off and buried, both before and after the October Revolution. Against the backdrop of the recent mass demonstrations by the working people for the right to work, for democracy and peace, the impotence of those who would bury the ideas of Marxism stands out with particular clarity. This latest May Day was the first one after the 27th CPSU Congress. In the international sphere, as everyone knows, the congress put forward the idea of creating an all-embracing system of international security based on the concept of a nuclear-free world. The Soviet Union just recently reaffirmed its adherence to that concept. Our listeners are already familiar, of course, with the reply of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the message by the leaders of six countries, Argentina, India, Tanzania, Sweden, Mexico, and Greece. The response we are getting from abroad indicates that unbiased and honest politicians and public figures commend that document highly. The Soviet Union is once again showing goodwill: that is the overall tone of what they are saying. That is indeed how it is.

[Zholkver] Well, of course, because what is being raised here is what I would call one of the most important problems of today: the problem of banning nuclear tests. The letter from the leaders of the six countries stresses the urgent importance of the problem because the ending of nuclear tests would put a barrier both on the path

of nuclear weapons development and on the path of the proliferation of nuclear weapons to other countries. In addition to everything else, it would release funds that could be used for the needs of the developing countries and to solve a whole number of social problems. The statement by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in fact stresses that the Soviet Union views the ending and the banning of nuclear tests as a most important integral part of the movement toward realizing the concept of a nuclear-free world. Well, of course, a new situation has been created following the fact that the United States did not reply to our proposal for a moratorium on nuclear explosions, and that moreover it is continuing its nuclear tests. But, even in this new situation, the Soviet Union stresses that it is ready to return at any moment to the question of a mutual moratorium if the United States refrains from conducting nuclear tests.

We also support the idea that the Soviet Union and the United States refrain from carrying out nuclear tests at least in the period up to the next summit meeting. Even now, after an 8-month break in carrying out nuclear tests, the Soviet Union is in no hurry to resume them. We are ready for talks with the United States. As you know, we have proposed a meeting in Europe especially devoted to this question. This meeting is not to replace the one that agreement was reached on in Geneva, but the question brooks no delay. The letter by the six indeed stresses that this is precisely how they view the question of ending nuclear tests throughout the world: as a problem that cannot be put off.

[Kornilov] In addition, I would stress another aspect of the matter in this connection, namely that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's reply to the letter from the six leaders is yet another confirmation that our country's foreign policy is overall a highly dynamic one, and that the Soviet Union's attitude in principle toward major international problems is continually backed up by acts of goodwill and new major and important initiatives. I recall in this connection, in addition to what we have already said, that international public opinion has a high opinion of the USSR's constructive proposals for a ban on chemical weapons; that there was a broad response in Europe and elsewhere to the Soviet initiative which aimed to effect a substantial reduction in so-called conventional armaments and armed forces on the European Continent from the Atlantic to the Urals; and that the proposals contained in the recent Soviet Government statement for strengthening peace, mutual understanding, and trust in the Asian-Pacific region were viewed everywhere as being of an exceptionally important and timely nature. All these are component parts of one political line, a line toward preserving and consolidating peace.

[Zholkver] I would single out in particular, apart from the global nature of the Soviet proposals, their completely concrete character. You have already mentioned, Yuriy Emmanuilovich, the Soviet Union's proposals for reducing conventional weapons. I had occasion to be in Berlin, at the congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, in fact, when Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev put forward these new proposals in his speech. Here, you see, it is a matter of considerable reduction of all components: the land forces and the tactical aircraft of the European states, and the corresponding forces of the United States and Canada stationed in Europe. Moreover, it is stressed that the military formations and units being reduced would have to be disbanded and their weapons destroyed. Simultaneously with conventional weapons, there would also be reductions in nuclear weapons for operational tactical purposes. You see how totally concrete it all is; and it must be said that it made a very great impression immediately on, specifically, the foreign journalists attending the congress. But, one further point was also made: It is a small part of the common, agreed position of the whole socialist community.

You know that these matters also have been discussed on more than one occasion by the highest body of the Warsaw Pact Organization, at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee. They were discussed at the conference of foreign ministers of our community, and it is not fortuitous that it was mentioned at the party congress. The party congresses of the socialist countries, where Marxist-Leninist parties are ruling parties controlling the state, provide an opportunity, as it were, for synchronizing watches. This applies not only to comparing and coordinating positions on questions of economic and scientific-technical cooperation, but also, to no lesser a degree, to political and foreign policy cooperation. The GDR, specifically, also plays an active part in this. In fact, just a few days ago, new meetings were held of working groups from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the FRG's Social Democratic Party to discuss questions of creating a nuclear-free zone in the center of Europe, as well as a zone free of chemical weapons.

[Gerasimov] To continue our conversation, comrades, I would like to draw particular attention now not only to European problems, but also to Asian and Pacific problems. This is not fortuitous. Most of humanity lives in that region and, as for our country, the greater part of its territory lies precisely in the Asian and Pacific region. The problems of international security, the problems of the struggle for peace are no less acute there than, let's say, in old Europe. At this point, I would like to stress once again, just as you have stressed, Aleksandr Vladimirovich, the common, combined political line of the socialist countries. In the struggle for collective security on the Asian continent, they are acting in just as united a front and with the same degree of initiative as in Europe. We are familiar with the initiatives put forward by the Mongolian People's Republic and the socialist countries of Indochina. The DPRK produced a whole series of them.

Our listeners, of course, know of the Soviet Government statement on the position in the Asian and Pacific region. The Soviet Union has advanced -- and it is mentioned in that statement -- the proposal to start a broad exchange of views between all the interested countries in that part of the world on questions of arranging fair, mutually beneficial, and stable commercial, economic technological, scientific and cultural cooperation. The areas covered by such cooperation could be the development of productive forces; the training of cadres; the utilization of new energy sources, including nuclear power; the improvement of transportation and communications; the devising of new forms of commercial, economic, and financial cooperation that take into account the interests of the region's developing countries; the exchange of scientific and scientific-technical information; and so on. I will not list everything that it says. There are many proposals, and, I would just like to make the point that all of them pursue the aims of peaceful cooperation. This is all the more important, because the activities now being carried out by the United States and its allies in the Asian and Pacific region are, in fact, pursuing an end that cannot be regarded as corresponding to the interests of peace.

[Zholkver] Quite the opposite, in fact. The reactions to the Soviet Government statement from the region make the point that the Soviet proposals are in accord with the interests of those states. The Australian newspaper SYDNEY MORNING HERALD specially singles out the Soviet proposals for reducing the activities of naval forces in the Pacific Ocean and holding an all-Asian forum to examine security matters. The paper emphasizes that the Soviet proposals take into account the interests of the Asian and Pacific countries, including their economic interests. It seems to me that a vivid example of this correspondence between the Soviet proposals and the interests of the countries in the region, both in regard to strengthening peace and the economic field, is provided by the recent conference of ASEAN foreign ministers. I remind our listeners that this regional organization consists of Indonesia, the

Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, and Brunei. ASEAN was founded in 1967. The latest meeting, on the Indonesian island of Bali, was, as it were, a pre-anniversary one. But it must be said that what was discussed there was most certainly not questions relating to anniversary celebrations, but the highly acute everyday problems of the Southeast Asian states. Primarily, as we have said, this means the problems of strengthening peace.

Were you not just speaking about U.S. policies in this region, Kim Antonovich? What are the principal areas covered by these policies? These are the holding of nuclear tests by the United States and France in the Pacific and use of this region as a bridgehead for concentrating major U.S. Navy and Air Force contingents.

[Kornilov] I would say the following in this connection: The ASEAN states that you have been talking about are regarded in Washington, generally speaking, as future members of a so-called Pacific commonwealth, which in the future could be transformed into a closed military alignment, that is another militarist bloc.

[Zholkver] One should say that it is precisely such a development that would not suit the region's countries. Let us take New Zealand as a concrete example. This country's government has made a specific decision banning naval ships carrying atomic weapons from calling at the country's ports. Well, it is absolutely clear against whom this decision is aimed, and it is not coincidental that it provoked the extreme displeasure of Washington, which has been and is making threats to take all sorts of punitive measures against New Zealand. But New Zealand Premier Lange declared that they were not going to yield an inch on the issue of nuclear weapons on their territory, and stressed that the government's decision was going to be attached the status of a special law. The interesting thing was, Washington started saying in reply that in that case, it will stop protecting New Zealand from the Soviet threat. In reply, the premier said that New Zealand was threatened by no one and that it did not feel any need for protectors of this sort. And you know, it seems appropriate for me to dwell here not only on these foreign policy and military policy problems, pressing and important though they are, but on economic problems as well.

[Gerasimov] Right, I would like to remind you here of the fact that it is precisely today which is the first day of the Tokyo summit of leaders of the seven most industrially developed capitalist countries: the United States, Canada, Britain, France, Italy, the FRG, and Japan. This annual summit meeting is being convened for the 12th time. You know, one can view these conferences from different angles, both from the angle of distributing profitable areas among partners, and from the point of view of elaborating a joint strategy of opposing the national liberation and revolutionary movements; and from the point of view of coordination of the most, so to speak, crafty methods of tightening the noose of debts around the neck of the Third World countries. But, no matter what the viewing angle is, the existence of acute conflicts within the big seven and primarily between the United States, Japan, and West European countries -- the three principal centers of present-day imperialism -- would be a common feature. The objective of each conference is, naturally, to reach a compromise.

But the size of mutual concessions will be determined by the positions gained by the participating countries in trade and currency wars among themselves by the time the summit is held. One might say that Japan now has risen to the commanding heights of the world capitalist economy. No, in terms of gross national product, the United States still leads the race. Japan, however, has already left the principal capitalist power well behind in terms of products competitiveness. It has also left it behind in terms of products competitiveness. It has also left it behind in terms of the number of credits given to other countries. Japan is presently the world's number one

creditor, whereas the United States has enormous debts; it is one of the world's major indebted countries. Japanese commodities forced their way into the U.S. domestic market, compelling the commodities bearing the label "made in USA" [previous three words in English] to disappear from shop displays. The U.S. trade deficit with Japan has reached almost \$50 billion. Similar problems have shaped themselves in relations between Japan and Western Europe. Both the United States and Western Europe demand that Japan curb its appetite. At the same time, one should not err by regarding Japan's partners as helpless and harmless. Over a whole number of years, the U.S. financial capital had been making limitless profits by arbitrarily rocketing interest rates in U.S. banks, thus securing a powerful influx of money from abroad, primarily from Western Europe, which, naturally, badly impaired the latter's economic growth. But now the United States has very skillfully punched its Pacific ally in the guts, as they say, by flooding the Japanese stock exchange with dollars. As a result, the dollar has sharply declined against the Japanese yen, and the prices of Japanese goods in dollars on the U.S. market have promptly risen accordingly. This time, Japan is complaining. The list of similar mutual complaints could be extended, but it is hardly necessary. The partners, naturally, will be trying to snatch as much as possible from each other at the talks.

At the same time -- and one should not forget this -- the common nature of their class interests will be compelling them to seek certain accords. The question is, at whose expense? No doubt, at the expense of those whom their custom has been to exploit: developing countries and their own working people, their own workers.

[Kornilov] The seven in Japan will also have to touch upon issues of great importance, such as debts of developing countries to the developed capitalist countries.

[Zholkver] Yes, a debt which already reaches \$1 trillion. One gets the impression that they will try to enforce a solution to the economic problems eating away at the main countries of the capitalist world not by some economic means, but under the pretext of the struggle against terrorism. It is a case of practically forcing the U.S. allies to agree to the United States being the sole master in determining the direction of their foreign policy. But this calls forth natural opposition and, nevertheless, in spite of the great opposition to U.S. plans, it is precisely under the pretext of terrorism, with the aim of forcing its own view of this problem on its allies, that it is going to the Tokyo meeting of the seven countries.

[Kornilov] In connection with what you are saying, Aleksandr Vladimirovich, I would remind you of this statement, and I quote: In whatever country of the globe there are disturbances or an internal social struggle taking place, all such phenomena are invariably interpreted by our opponents as the work of the hands of imaginary Soviet agents supplied with imaginary Soviet gold. What is interesting is that this is not a present-day statement nor even one of yesterday. That is what Chicherin, the first Soviet people's commissar for foreign affairs wrote as long ago as 1927, a period when British reactionary circles were developing another one of their provocative campaigns against the Soviet Union. Decades have gone by since then and the tactics, these provocative tactics of our ideological opponents, have not changed. The same fabrications are whipped up even today in order to conceal, to mask the so-called doctrine of neoglobalism.

[Gerasimov] The scale of the attempts Washington has made with the help of armed force and subversive operations in order to dictate its will to sovereign countries and peoples, is borne out by these facts. For example: In waging the undeclared war against sovereign Afghanistan, the United States has already spent over \$1 billion. As is reported, over \$500,000 a year are spent on sabotage operations against

Ethiopia. Over \$100 million have been spent by the CIA on arming the terrorist bands from the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola active in Angolan territory.

[Kornilov] Very recently, the press reported facts about the destruction and victims of the U.S. bombings of Libya. Well, as we are talking about, so to speak, expressing the scale of hegemonist, interventionist acts of the United States in figures, in statistics, then many other facts must be added. Can one, for example, really forget the U.S. aggression against Vietnam where the U.S. military, having conceived the idea of bombing Vietnam back into the Stone Age, introduced the fanaticism of the colonizers multiplied by the destructive power of modern means of destruction? During the dirty war the United States fought in Vietnam, hundreds of thousands of people died. More than 7 million metric tons of bombs were dropped on Vietnamese soil by the aggressor and 48 million liters of the poisonous substance Agent Orange, the poisonous effects of which tens of thousands of Vietnamese are suffering from even to this day, were sprayed over fields and forests.

[Gerasimov] Well, these statistics are truly horrifying, but one must also add these facts to this data: During the undeclared war that Washington unleashed and is fighting against Afghanistan, dozens of enterprises have been destroyed and burned as well as over 2,000 schools.

Enormous damage has been caused by the subversive activities of counterrevolutionary bands being sent into Afghanistan. The scale of the undeclared war unleashed by Washington on 1980 against another sovereign state, Nicaragua, is increasing. As Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega said in a recent interview with the Mexican agency NOTIMEX, in the past 5 years, at least 11,000 Nicaraguans have been killed through the fault of the United States. Another 5,000 were wounded, and 250,000 were forced to leave their home towns and move into the interior of the country. These are sinister statistics, if you think about it.

[Kornilov] And that is not all: The U.S. press reports that during the present Republican administration's term, the number of special CIA operations has increased by at least a factor of five and the CIA presently is carrying out around 50 major operations of this kind in various regions of the world. As Stockwell, a former CIA employee, reports, the number of victims of the secret wars the U.S. special services are waging in the developing countries is already around 3 million people. Such are the results of U.S. hegemonism, the balance of terror, so to speak, created by Washington in various parts of the world.

[Zholkver] Well, you were just speaking about all kinds of covert and secret U.S. operations, as they are called. It should be said that this now really is becoming one of the main directions of U.S. foreign policy and, you know, this is most closely linked with the general, present situation in the United States, including the social situation. You see, it is really a disgrace that a country, the most wealthy country of the capitalist world, a country which tries to dictate to all others how they should behave, what freedom and democracy are, that this country has 23 million illiterate people.

[Kornilov] About 12 million unemployed...

[Zholkver, interrupting] And well, really, when all these figures and facts come before the mind's eye, one cannot help but think of times 100 years back. You see, really, it was against all this, against social inequality, against ignorance, against oppression that U.S. workers in Chicago came out at what was then the first May Day demonstration. Here, it should be said that the historical contribution of communists

lies precisely in the fact that they headed the struggle for liberation, for human rights, and now are in the first ranks in the struggle to save mankind from a nuclear catastrophe.

[Gerasimov] And so, comrades, today in our conversation we examined two directions, two approaches to international affairs: that of the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole on the one hand, and the Western countries on the other. I want to stress that in our approach, concern for guaranteeing equal security for all, developing a comprehensive system of international security is what prevails. Our initiatives are universal; they discriminate against no one, leave no one outside the framework of agreements. They are aimed at peaceful cooperation, while the policy of the West is directed at developing closed groups, at providing certain groups of countries with advantages at the expense of others. In a few days, progressive mankind will be marking another, the 41st, anniversary of the great victory, the victory over Hitlerite fascism. Our party, our state will do everything possible so that the tragedy of world war, now the nuclear variety, will never be repeated again. This is what peaceful Soviet initiatives are directed toward. This is what the work of all Soviet people is directed toward; your work, comrades. Our meeting today is over. All the best to you!

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