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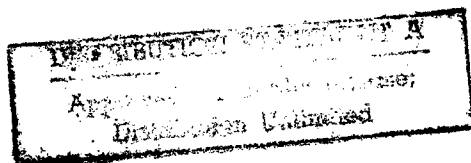
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Worldwide Report

# ARMS CONTROL



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15 March 1986

## WORLDWIDE REPORT

## ARMS CONTROL

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### USSR ASSESSES DANGERS OF SDI SYSTEMS

LD111927 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1245 GMT 11 Feb 86

["Outer Space Without Weapons" program presented by All-Union Radio commentator Konstantin Patsyuk with TASS military observer Vladimir Bogachev]

[Text] [Patsyuk] Hello, comrades. Nearly a month has elapsed since the day when our country made fresh peace initiatives. It can be said without exaggeration that they have literally riveted the attention of the world public, the mass media, and the statesmen of various countries. As was said in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's replies to questions from L'HUMANITE, these proposals are a moment of truth, so to speak. Our country has always acted openly in the international arena and this time, too, the Soviet Union, demonstrating its adherence to peace and its passionate desire to preserve terrestrial civilization from catastrophe, is proposing a program for the complete liquidation of nuclear weapons throughout the world. This program does not give any advantages to the Soviet Union, nor does it pursue the aim of outwitting others. It is a realistic, constructive, and broad-scale program calculated for a definite period of time -- 15 years. It forces our negotiations partners to show their worth and to reveal what aims their policy pursues in reality.

Yes, the moment of truth has arrived. Declamatory statements alone are not enough, specific steps to peace are needed. And the Soviet Union has already taken and is taking such steps. In particular, it has extended the unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions to 31 March. So far, the United States has not followed our example. But surely, if it did this, that would reliably close the channels to the further development of nuclear weapons.

As you know, it was not possible to reach agreement at the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Geneva on real disarmament and primarily, on the central problem of nuclear and space weapons. One of the main reasons for this was the U.S.'s unwillingness to renounce the "star wars" program. Has the U.S. position on this question changed since then? I invite TASS observer on military affairs Vladimir Ivanovich Bogachev to speak.

[Bogachev] Yes, unfortunately it must be said that the position of the United States on problems of nonmilitarization of space has not undergone any change. A few words on the history of this question: The first Soviet satellite opened the road to space for mankind in 1957. Despite the sometimes turbulent events on earth, for 29 years near-earth space has remained practically free of strike weapons. This is a consoling fact which, in the current alarming situation in the world, maintains the hope that eventually it will be possible to close the door forever to weapons in

space. For it is much simpler to reach agreement on a ban on siting [razmeshcheniye] weapons where there are none yet, than to later work for agreement on removing an arms system already deployed [razvernutaya] in near-earth space. In the past 3 years the prospects of using space only for peaceful purposes has been threatened by Washington's plans to deploy [razvernut] thousands of units of strike weapons in near-earth space. It is a question of the U.S. "star wars" plans.

From the first days of the space age, the Soviet Union has based its policy on the fact that space and the arms race are incompatible, that outer space must be an arena for peaceful, fruitful cooperation, not military confrontation.

[Patsyuk] Vladimir Ivanovich, suppose we take the technical aspect of the militarization of space? What dangers are there?

[Bogachev] To operate any equipment in space, to maintain it in the necessary working conditions, is much more complex than controlling similar systems on earth. It is extremely difficult and sometimes impossible to eliminate or even to simply detect faults in a complex system sited hundreds of kilometers from the earth's surface.

An accident on a peaceful satellite or a spacecraft, as occurred with the U.S. Challenger, is an extremely unpleasant event. An accident with a system of space strike weapons, however, will be fraught with world catastrophe. For the electronic computers for combat operation, scientists reckon, could -- bypassing people -- activate the system of strike weapons in space. Even the priming [perekhod na predboyevoy rezhim] of weapons in space -- say as a result of a magnetic storm -- may be taken by the other side as preparation for a first strike, with all the ensuing consequences. In brief, strike weapons in space may accidentally provoke nuclear war simply through faults in the computer or defects in some unit of the complex and extremely vulnerable [uyazvimoye] equipment.

[Patsyuk] As Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stressed in his replies to questions from L'HUMANITE, militarization of space may lead to vitally important decisions on questions of war and peace having to be entrusted to computers, to automatons, making human civilization a hostage of machines.

[Bogachev] The situation really will become serious. The U.S. space weapons may misfire and shoot in quite another direction from where the Pentagon would like.

The British writer Mary Shelley once wrote a fantastic novel about a scientist who tried to create the perfect man in the laboratory and instead produced a manlike monster. Eventually the monster, called Frankenstein, killed its own creator. It cannot be ruled out that the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative, or the space strategy of lethal risk, as it is also called, will become a Frankenstein toward its initiators. The risk of war as a result of technical faults is multiplied by political factors, the military-strategic guidelines of the Pentagon. In March 1983 the U.S. Administration came out with plans to create [sozdaniye] a wide scale space-based ABM system. As is now becoming clear, Washington intends to deploy [razvernut] a seven-tier cupola of strike space weapons above the territory of the socialist countries. This weapons system may give some hotheads in Washington the dangerous illusion that a first strike can be dealt from beneath a space shield, averting, or at least weakening a return strike in revenge for the aggression.

[Patsyuk] I recall that the conclusions arrived at by many authoritative scientists are fairly unambiguous. Washington's planned space strike weapons will not be able to ensure reliable protection against offensive missiles.

[Bogachev] Of course, an antimissile umbrella for the United States will inevitably have holes. On the other hand, any high-accuracy weapon using huge amounts of energy -- and it is these characteristics that laser beam systems will possess -- will be able to be used to destroy ground targets. There is every reason to suppose that the Pentagon intends to use space strike weapons primarily for mounting a first, disarming strike and not for protecting its own territory against offensive missiles. So, Washington's assurances that the Strategic Defense Initiative has the aim of making nuclear weapons obsolete and impotent is designed for simpletons.

[Patsyuk] Vladimir Ivanovich, will you please say something about the gist of the Soviet proposals for preventing the militarization of space.

[Bogachev] We are countering the U.S. "star wars" program with a program of "star peace." It is an important component part of the Soviet program for the complete liquidation of nuclear weapons by the end of the 20th century. Instead of spending the next 10-15 years on the creation [sozdaniye] of new space weapons, which are extremely dangerous to mankind, as Washington is proposing, the Soviet program proposes beginning the destruction of these nuclear arms themselves and finally reducing their arsenals to zero. A reduction of nuclear weapons is possible only if the Soviet Union and the United States mutually renounce the creation [sozdaniye], testing, and development of space strike weapons. The Soviet program envisions that, as soon as the first stage of its implementation, the Soviet Union and the United States should undertake the appropriate obligations of nonmilitarization of outer space. As the Soviet Union has repeatedly warned, the creation of space strike weapons will dash the hopes of cutting arms on earth.

[Patsyuk] That is the first step. And what will be done further?

[Bogachev] In the second stage which, as you know, Konstantin Nikolayevich, will continue for 5-7 years, the Soviet-U.S. agreement on banning nuclear space weapons should become multilateral. The leading industrial powers should join it without fail because preventing the unleashing of an arms race in space means removing the obstacles to deep cuts in nuclear armaments. To lock the door to a solution of the problem of nonmilitarization of space from the very start signifies ruling out the possibility of halting the arms race on earth.

[Bogachev] The problems of monitoring have always served as a pretext for the U.S. side to wreck the most varied agreements on arms limitation and cuts. Our side has thrown off the customary logic of the arms race, has demonstrated new approaches to solving disarmament problems in the nuclear age. In the field of verification of agreement on banning space arms, the Soviet Union is ready for the strictest monitoring, including on-the-spot checks and even inspection of the appropriate laboratories.

[Patsyuk] How is one to explain the objective, organic interrelation of the problem of arms cuts with a solution to the question of nonmilitarization of space; an interrelation on which the Soviet Union insists?

[Bogachev] That question can be answered briefly: It is meaningless to cut armaments on a comparatively limited area of the earth's surface and at the same time, to give the green light to still more dangerous arms systems in truly limitless outer space. What is the sense of limiting arms on earth and deploying them over our heads?

The U.S. Administration, creating space weapons for an antimissile defense, is, simultaneously, intensively working on the creation of new strategic mass-strike weapons: MX intercontinental ballistic missiles, Midgetman, sea-based Trident-2 missiles, B-1 and Stealth aircraft, and other nuclear arms systems. In the past 5 years the U.S. Administration has not taken a single, I repeat, a single practical step which can be appraised as a gesture of goodwill, as a desire by Washington to find a solution to the problem of curbing the arms race.

[Patsyuk] It is evident that implementation of the U.S. "star wars" program will affect the status of the still operational Soviet-U.S. agreements on limitation and reduction of armaments.

[Bogachev] Quite right. Although the program for the creation of a widescale U.S. antimissile defense is a chimera, in which only a handful of enthusiasts believe, the work on it, as was noted by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, will bring very serious consequences in the near future. The U.S. "star wars" program is a flagrant violation of the Soviet U.S. treaty of 1972 on limitation of ABM systems and the international agreement on principles of states' activity in space. Implementing this program, Washington is consciously embarking on wrecking the talks being held and on cancelling all existing agreements on limiting armaments. In the near future the whole world could find itself in a situation with an absolutely uncontrolled arms race, strategic chaos, and most dangerous undermining of stability. The risk of catastrophic nuclear war would sharply grow. If the gates are nevertheless opened for weapons in space, the scale of military rivalry would grow immeasurably and the arms race would acquire an irreversible character.

[Patsyuk] Have we any basis for believing that the U.S. side will adhere -- not in words, but in deeds -- to its obligations to prevent an arms race in space?

[Bogachev] An entirely legitimate question. Policy must be built on realistic foundations and the Soviet Union -- like the socialist states -- is obliged to propose a radical and at the same time, realistic alternative to nuclear war. At the beginning of the broadcast it was mentioned that the moment which has arrived in the international situation is the moment of truth. We are addressing our peace proposals not only to governments, but to peoples.

[Patsyuk] As Vladimir Ilich Lenin once said, peoples must be helped to intervene in questions of war and peace; these words are just as topical today. That ends our broadcast. It was conducted by Konstantin Patsyuk. Goodbye, comrades, and all the best.

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### TASS: SDI DANGEROUS TO WORLD'S INTERESTS

LD130012 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1822 GMT 12 Feb 86

["The Question of the Militarization of Space; The 'Starry' Road to Strategic Chaos"  
-- TASS headline]

[Text]: Moscow, 12 Feb (TASS) -- Vladimir Chernyshev, TASS military observer writes:

The U.S. creators of "star wars" are trying to present the SDI program as almost being a means of "reinforcing" strategic stability and as an opportunity to move, with the help of an extensive antimissile defense system involving space-based elements, "from a strategy founded on the threat of offensive power to a strategy that threatens no one." There is nothing further from the truth than assertions of this kind.

In actual fact, the militarization of space will inevitably lead to the disappearance of the very concept of strategic stability and will turn the present strategic balance into strategic chaos. Distrust among countries will rise, while the security of all countries will be significantly lowered. This is the way that the Soviet Union assesses the dangers that "star wars" constitute for mankind. And this opinion, this assessment is shared throughout the world, including the United States, by prominent politicians, military experts, and scientists, SDI, they declare, is an intrusion of fantasy into politics, a mixture of unrealizable dream and confused strategy. Implementation of the "star wars" program will dangerously destabilize the situation, will make it even more explosive, and, one fine day, will strike back like a boomerang at the United States itself.

What, then, is the point? What are the circumstances producing this "starry" road to strategic chaos? First, there is a close interconnection between strategic offensive and defensive weapons; effective measures to limit antimissile defensive systems constitute a substantial factor in restraining the arms race in strategic offensive weapons. But the disturbing or ignoring this interconnection inevitably leads to an increase in their numbers. The higher the piles of weapons, the less stable is the situation. The interdependence of offensive and defensive weapons is nontransitory and universal in nature: It is not "eroded" and does not vanish with the appearance of the possibility of creating technically more sophisticated and effective antimissile defense systems.

Official Washington consciously "overlooks" the fact that strike weapons as well as defensive weapons have, over the last 10-15 years, undergone considerable technical development, the initiator of which has been the United States in every specific case.



What is more, nothing is being said there either about the important point that, with the "brilliant promise" of the development of technology suitable for SDI, offensive weapons can, undoubtedly, within the same time frame, also make significant strides in their development. So that if one compares the development of technology suitable for "defensive" missions and the development of technology that may considerably boost the possibilities of offensive potential, the advantages of the "defensive" systems proclaimed by "star wars" supporters do not look at all convincing.

Second, the introduction into the strategic equation of a qualitatively new component, which is what the ABM systems with space-based elements would be, creates an additional element of uncertainty in the strategic balance, which is a natural consequence of the differences in the systems that the two sides will have, even if these differences are inconsiderable. As has already occurred with strategic offensive weapons, the development in the new sphere would proceed along different paths for the two leading nuclear powers. Such a circumstance would increase the concern of each of them about the possibility of asymmetry arising in strategic potentials.

Third, the development [razrabotka] and deployment of an antimissile defense will lead to an accelerated creation [sozdaniye] and improvement of means of counteracting this defense, means of penetrating it with strategic offensive weapons, that is, adding yet another fundamentally new element to the strategic equation and consequently, even greater uncertainty. In response to the development of means of countering the ABM system and penetrating it, the sides would acquire weapons to oppose them -- counter-response weapons, counter-counter measures -- which would serve to further increase uncertainty in the strategic balance.

Competition between offence and defense will become a sort of "racing round in circles;" weapons, counter-weapons, counter-counter weapons, and so on ad infinitum.

This "racing round in circles," this endless stepping up of ever more and more turns of the arms race spiral will be accompanied by a sharp worsening of strategic stability and a movement towards general uncertainty and fear linked with this whole increase in the risk of catastrophe. SDI will not create any sort of "perfect world of defense," but will destroy the idea of mutual deterrence.

The U.S. concept is aimed at achieving absolute security for itself and at placing everyone else in a position of "absolute danger." This is a concept which is vicious and dangerous for the world. That is why the USSR is consistently and stubbornly opposed to the "star wars" program and is struggling for the introduction into life of the concept of equal security, the strengthening of which could be implemented by way of reducing armaments and by disarming, going as far as the total elimination of nuclear weapons.

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### USSR: SDI RELIANCE ON COMPUTERS FOUND DANGEROUS

PM141427 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Feb 86 First Edition p 3

[TASS military observer V. Chernyshev article: "Civilization Hostage to Machines?"]

[Text] The Soviet Union is strongly convinced that the "star wars" program increases the threat of war and can at a certain point make it probable. Such is the assessment made by Mikhail Gorbachev in his answers to questions put by the newspaper L'HUMANITE.

This danger increases as a result of a number of factors. First, as a result of unrealistic ideas prevalent in the United States about its own invulnerability and illusions about its being possible to deliver a nuclear first strike from beneath a space "shield" and prevent, or at least reduce to an "acceptable level," a counterstrike.

Second, because of changes in the material basis of the sides' military potential and concomitant disappearance of the very concept of strategic stability and transformation of the present strategic chaos.

The unstable conditions, the unpredictable development of events, and the impossibility of confident strategic planning will make it necessary in a crisis or near-crisis situation for decisions, which can prove fatal to the whole world, to be made with utmost speed. Nuclear war can start under these conditions not just as the result of a deliberate decision, but also through attempts at blackmail, inaccurate assessment by one side of the other's actions, or as the consequence of some unconsidered act caused by an unexpected deterioration of the situation.

Third and last, as the result of technical errors and malfunctioning of the extremely complex computer systems. Any system in a "star wars" vein will have computers instead of people. Since it will have to react quickly and "decisively," there will be no time for human intervention, no time, for example, to "wake up the President," let alone "call the National Security Council" before the United States starts a war. As a result of the deployment of space strike arms a situation would be created in which fundamentally important decisions with irreversible consequences would essentially be made by computers without the participation of human reason or political will and without regard to moral or ethical criteria. In such a situation mankind would become hostage to machines and consequently, their technical hitches and malfunctions. Senator P. Tsongas once cracked a somewhat lugubrious joke on this matter. He suggested that the computer in charge of the U.S. Armed Forces should be elected president of the country. Black humor, is it not?

The recent catastrophe with the Challenger spacecraft illustrated the future danger to the whole world. Yet that was a reliable system which had been repeatedly tested and checked. SDI will be much more complex and the price paid for a technical error on its part will be the destruction of an enormous spaceship, planet earth, whose crew comprises the whole of mankind.

To appreciate just how complex the "star wars" system will be, we will compare its future computer program with the Challenger's. In the last 9 minutes before the ship's takeoff, for example, when all operations are taken over by automatic computer control, 88,000 commands are issued. Whereas the program designed to operate the "star wars" system will, according to specialists' calculations, consist of 10-100 million commands.

It is impossible to predict all the circumstances which such a system may actually encounter and it is only possible to test and check it in the conditions in which it is designed to function, that is to say, in conditions of war. Relying on a program that has not actually been checked is like having a set of short-circuiting switches in a place where you store a lot of gasoline. The slightest failure of the system will lead to nuclear war and it will not be possible to "go back" to iron out the kinks and analyze the situation.

Aside from computer errors themselves, war could be started by them as a result of solar activity confusing all the sensors or through misleading effects caused by the northern lights. A disintegrating satellite could be taken for an approaching missile warhead by a sensor and a fire on a gas pipeline in the opposing side's territory as the launching of a ballistic missile, and so forth.

It is time that Washington officialdom realized it is dealing with weapons which can blow up the entire world and which it will not be able, even with the most thorough "care," to control. The desire to "suspend" space strike weapons above the earth will lead, in the words of former U.S. Defense Secretary H. Brown to a "nightmare which we will hand down to our children in the 21st century." Mankind can and must enter that century not only without space weapons and nuclear weapons, but without any weapons of mass destruction at all.

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CSO: 5200/1265

## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

TASS: U.S. CONTINUES SDI PROGRAM DESPITE CRITICISM

LD171742 Moscow TASS in English 1616 GMT 17 Feb 86

["Strike Weapons in Space Would Cancel Out Prospects for Disarmament on Earth" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, February 17 TASS -- TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev writes:

Six years ago the then Secretary of Defence, Harold Brown, admitted in his last report to Congress on the U.S. military budget that an attempt at creating a U.S. large-scale anti-missile defence system would prove unacceptably costly, destabilising and, for sure, doomed to failure.

The work which is now under way in the United States to implement the "star wars" programme is confirming the conclusion drawn by the former Pentagon chief. Information as to "insurmountable obstacles", "engineering problems" and "scientific setbacks" which pursue the creators of a U.S. "space shield" filters into the Western press.

In the face of sharp criticism inside the United States for the spending of huge funds for the creation of an "anti-missile shield" which, it turns out, would inevitably be holey, U.S. Administration spokesmen do not venture to admit that the true goal of the "star wars" program is by no means defense but the creation of a first-nuclear-strike capability.

They prefer to shift and dodge by putting forward new less and less convincing arguments in defence of the "Strategic Defence Initiative" (SDI). General James Abrahamson, director of the U.S. "star wars" programme, has stated in London that a U.S. anti-missile defence system should not necessarily ensure a hundred percent defence against offensive missiles. According to Abrahamson, penetration by 8,000 missiles with the lack of an anti-missile defence system would mean the start of headway towards "the end of our civilization" whereas the "star wars" programme with all its imperfection would be able to reduce damage to an acceptable level. General Abrahamson obviously dissembles his feelings when he tries to convince the British of the advantages of the option of a space strategy of mortal risk over an alternative of reducing the risk of nuclear war through talks and agreements.

Even according to the most "upbeat" estimates by the "star wars" advocates, the efficiency of a U.S. "anti-missile shield" would not exceed 80-90 percent. For an all-out destruction of civilization, much less than 10-20 percent of missiles breaking through to targets are needed. The burst of one percent of the now existing nuclear missiles would produce a devastating effect equal to 5,000 missiles of Hiroshima bombing type.

According to scientists' estimates, as a result of the burst of 100-150-megaton nuclear fuel -- 11-16 U.S. "Titan" ICBMs -- over the largest cities of Europe, Asia, and or the Americas would bring about, apart from everything else, huge clouds of soot of enormous dimensions, which would result in an inevitable onset of "nuclear winter" on earth for three months. That period of time would be quite enough to do away with life on earth.

Contrary to the assertions of U.S. General Abrahamson, there would be practically no difference between the bursts of twenty big nuclear missiles and 8,000 missiles. To the human race, anyhow. Any nuclear war with the use of ABM systems or without them would lead to the end of life on earth.

Mankind should enter the third millenium with a "star peace" programme, and not with the "star wars" one. To prevent the arms race's spreading over to outer space means to remove the obstacle to deep cuts in nuclear arms and to complete elimination of weapons of mass destruction already in the current century. It is precisely such programme that the Soviet Union is suggesting to the world.

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### SHULTZ' ATTEMPTS TO JUSTIFY SDI CRITICIZED BY TASS OBSERVER

LD101651 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1530 GMT 10 Feb 86

[By TASS political observer Yuriy Kornilov]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Feb (TASS) -- The more resolute the protests of world public opinion, including U.S., against the militarist "star wars" plans worked out in the United States, the more actively and cunningly do they try in Washington to justify these dangerous schemes. The latest such attempt was made in an interview given to THE NEW YORK TIMES by G. Shultz, U.S. secretary of state. Praising SDI, he declared that it is the President's dream, allegedly, "to reach a stage when we could liquidate nuclear weapons altogether" and even asserted that this "dream" has played its part and had an effect.

I will not go into what Mr Shultz calls "the President's dream" -- perhaps Mr Reagan really does believe in the "salvation" mission of "star wars." However, the fact remains that if anyone in Washington does believe this, then for every believer in Washington -- and this is clearly confirmed in many statements by spokesmen of the Republican administration and by the U.S. press itself -- there are at least 10 cynics who have something in mind that is not at all like that which Mr Shultz interprets on behalf of the President. Some, understanding that an "impenetrable shield" cannot be created, are ready to settle for a smaller, limited antimissile defense which, in combination with preventive [uprezhdayushchiy] strike against other side's forces of vengeance, would create the opportunity for unpunished nuclear aggression. Others simply want to make money: Let us recall that the combined profits of 10 leading U.S. military-industrial corporations have increased 150 percent in the past 5 years and the Pentagon is now calling for an increase in funds for producing "ultramodern" armaments by a further 75 percent. Others are making foolish calculations that by drawing the Soviet Union into an arms race in space, its economy can be undermined. Others would like to increase the technical lead of the United States over Western Europe and thus keep it dependent...

The following question then arises: If the whole point is really to put an end to the nuclear threat, is it worth taking the "faith" of a handful of "enthusiasts" as a guiding star? Why should the United States not agree in principle with the latest Soviet proposals: They provide a very much shorter, more direct, cheaper, and, most important, safer way of eliminating the nuclear threat -- the total liquidation of nuclear weapons?

Trying to justify the current concept in Washington about guaranteeing security by means of a "superweapon" in space, Mr Shultz states further: "SDI is one of the chief reasons why the Russians are putting forward arms reduction proposals...SDI is not so much a problem, rather it is an asset to us."

In other words it is a matter of instilling in the minds of the gullible that the U.S. "big stick in space" is not a threat to peace, but something like a lever enabling Washington to almost put pressure on Moscow, inducing it to hold talks.

Nothing could be further from the truth! We should recall in this connection that from the very moment when the plans for "star wars" preparations were made public in the United States, the Soviet Union not only repeatedly pointed out the extreme danger of those plans, but stressed most definitely and with utter clarity that if Washington does not abandon its hopeless attempts to acquire military superiority by transferring the arms race into space, the Soviet Union will be forced to answer in a corresponding fashion to those attempts. And it would be a rapid and less expensive answer than the U.S. program, an answer which would completely neutralize the electronic space "star wars" machine being created by the Americans. Would the Americans really feel more comfortable if Soviet weaponry were also added to the echelons of space weapons that are being planned by Washington?

However, it is appropriate to repeat this again and again, such a turn of events, if it were to happen, would be counter to the intentions of the Soviet Union. Our political choice is not to step up the material preparations for war by spiralling the arms race on earth and in space, but by force of argument, by force of example, and by force of common sense to do everything possible to alter the dangerous course of international affairs. It is precisely this that the package of new, broad-scale Soviet initiatives is aimed: The Soviet Union proceeds from the point that although the differences between the Soviet Union and the United States, between East and West are enormous, the mutual links and interdependence that we have between us are just as great and the acuteness of the current moment does not leave the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States, or the peoples of both countries, any other alternative than to grasp the great science of living together.

In a word, from whatever angle you approach it, Mr Shultz just cannot make both ends meet, when, attempting to depict black as white, he advertises SDI as somehow being to Washington's political "credit." This program -- the implementation of which, incidentally, would cost the U.S. taxpayer at least \$2 trillion -- is, using the terminology of the U.S. secretary of state, not to Washington's "credit," but an obvious debit, for the accelerated preparations for the militarization of space which are continuing in the United States demonstrate again and again to the whole world that the U.S. ruling circles do not wish to give up strong-arm methods in politics and attempts to gain military superiority at any price, while their assurances that they desire a fruitful dialogue and arms control remain, up until now at any rate, nothing more than rhetoric, which is not backed up by practical deeds...

Thus, the question arises: What would those in the United States like to work toward, those who, not wishing to look at the international realities in a new way, from a stance of common sense and realism continue to stake on a nuclear-space fist? Waving such a fist has thus far led to nothing apart from a most dangerous stepping up of international tension and an increase in the threat to the security of all countries, including the United States. And one could expect nothing else from the militaristic line of preparing for "star wars," however hard Mr Shultz tries to prove the opposite...

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### TASS ANALYST CHERNYSHEV OUTLINES THREAT POSED BY SDI

LD101858 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 10 Feb 86

[Text] Moscow, February 10 TASS -- Vladimir Chernyshev, TASS military news analyst, writes: The Soviet Union is deeply convinced that the "star wars" program increases the threat of war, and can make it probable at a certain stage.

This is the evaluation given by Mikhail Gorbachev in his answers to the questions of the newspaper L'HUMANITE.

This danger increases because of a number of factors. First as a result of the widespread illusions of its own invulnerability and that it is possible to launch the first nuclear strike from beyond a space "shield" and to prevent or, at least, weaken a counterstrike down to an "acceptable level," a notion, which is a product of wishful thinking.

Second, in connection with the changes in the material basis of the military potential of the sides and the disappearance in this connection of the very notion of strategic stability, the turning of the present-day strategic balance into a strategic chaos.

And, third, as a result of an error or disrepair of highly sophisticated computer systems.

As a result of the deployment of space strike weapons a situation would emerge when decisions of fundamental significance and irreversible in their consequences would be taken, as a matter of fact, by electronic computers without participation of human intellect, political will, without taking into account the criteria of morality and ethics. In such a situation mankind would become hostage of machines and, consequently, of disrepair in them or of their malfunctioning. It is impossible to foretell all circumstances, which such a "star wars" system could encounter in reality, but it can be tried and checked only in the conditions, in which it is designed to function, i.e. in the conditions of war. Even the slightest failure of the system will lead to nuclear war and there will be no "going back" to repair the faulty equipment and analyze the situation.

Apart from the errors of computers themselves, war can break out simply because of solar activity blinding all pick-ups or because of false effects simulated by the northern lights. A satellite falling to pieces can be mistaken by a pick-up for an approaching nuclear warhead, and fire on a gas pipeline in the territory of the confronting side -- for the start of a ballistic missile, etc.



It is high time official Washington should realize, at long last, that it deals with weapons, which can explode the whole world, and which, even with most careful "concern" for them it will be unable to keep in check. The aspiration to "hang" strike weapons over the earth will, as former U.S. Secretary of Defence H. Brown said, lead to a nightmare, which we will turn over to our children into the 21st century. Mankind should enter that century neither without space nor without nuclear weapons, and in general, without any mass destruction weapons. [sentence as received]

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### SOVIET SPECIALISTS DISCUSS SDI, ARMS CONTROL

LD061334 Moscow in English to North America 0001 GMT 6 Feb 86

[Studio discussion presented by unidentified moderator with arms control specialists Dr Grigoriy Khozin, Yuriy (Katasonov), Lev Semeyko and PRAVDA correspondent Vladimir Bolshakov]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on issues of nuclear disarmament until the year 2000 contains a three-stage plan to eliminate both nuclear warheads and delivery vehicles within the next 15 years. Today we bring you the second discussion in the series. Here is Lev Semeyko:

[Semeyko] In the new Soviet initiative, the problem of nonmilitarization of space is linked with the issue of nuclear disarmament. In the light of the Soviet proposal, the SDI program becomes pointless. Why develop space weapons if 15 years later there won't be left any arms against which, according to Washington, they are being developed? Why should hundreds of combat stations with laser and particle beam weapons fly above our heads?

[Announcer] Now the view of Dr Grigoriy Khozin.

[Khozin] The USSR links nuclear disarmament with the issue of banning space weapons, otherwise its plan will be a half-measure. It would simply be impossible to carry out. How is it possible to speak of eliminating arms and, at the same time, to insist on developing new systems of weapons? This is a serious, profound proposal and it must cover the entire range of technical activity.

[Announcer] Yet the United States claims that these are defensive and not offensive weapons. Why does the USSR oppose their development so insistently, then? After all, if these weapons are not offensive as the Washington leaders point out, let them be developed, for the Soviet Union says it's high time to start trusting one another. Dr Grigoriy Khozin:

[Khozin] The United States view is that this is developing defensive weapons which will make nuclear arms useless and obsolete. Let's allow that for a moment. Some time ago West German specialist analyzed about 600 documents that have appeared in the United States over the SDI, starting with government papers and ending with work by private groups. The West German scientists have drawn this conclusion: The SDI is a program that is not oriented to peace; it is oriented to solving political problems by military means. This program cannot permit largely reaching the objective that the President speaks publicly about. [Sentence as heard] Even if we take the former line

of reasoning, we cannot agree with the claims by some American researchers that the development of even defensive weapons, if we allow that for a moment, does not amount to raising the levels of the combined military capabilities of the country. It has also been recognized already that a system like the SDI cannot ensure 100 percent protection; therefore, hard as others try to convince us of its defensive nature, the system will be meaningful and will justify the trillions of dollars spent on it only if the country that has it will deliver the first nuclear strike on nuclear facilities of the adversary meant for retaliation. The SDI system will then be able to weaken additionally an already weakened retaliatory strike.

Our orientation to a ban on nuclear arms is to rule out the chance of a situation developing when one side, having placed defensive weapons at its disposal, can afford counting on success in such an adventure. I must also note that defensive means have always provoked the development of new offensive arms. The SDI instigates the arms race. It creates distrust and because of being complex, enhances the danger of nuclear war starting by accident.

[Announcer] If the SDI is so dangerous both for the Soviet Union and for the United States to the same extent, who is really interested in carrying it out? Who is really trying to prove that the SDI will help rid the world of the nuclear menace? Here is Yuriy (Katasonov).

(Katasonov) The only quarter truly interested in the SDI are the mighty military industrial corporations of the United States. They are doing their best to conceal the truth formulated back in ancient times by the Roman orator Cicero, who said that money was the motive force of war. Talking about a window of vulnerability, about a Soviet peril, the military-industrial complex has taken away from the Americans \$2 trillion since 1980. To this very day some United States politicians keep claiming that this window of vulnerability has not been closed yet. The arms race goes on and more statements are made about the United States lagging behind it. The military-industrial complex does not wish to stop the process of the arms race. We can now see that more trillions of dollars are considered for spending. The idea is to carry through the SDI, which will allow the munitions concerns to get guaranteed profits for several more decades.

[Announcer] And now a point raised by Vladimir Bolshakov:

[Bolshakov] We can see there are influential quarters in the United States that like to secure super profits for themselves in the future. The military-industrial complex is doing its utmost to rally public opinion disarmament. [sentence as heard]. The monopolies that get away with selling to the Pentagon ordinary hammers at \$20 or \$60 apiece are looting their fellow citizens. Understandably, this cannot go on for long. An economy even as powerful as that of the United States cannot be constantly overstretched under the effect of the arms race.

[Announcer] How does the arms race influence the American economy?  
Vladimir Bolshakov:

[Bolshakov] Compare two figures; the \$2 trillion that have already been spent on the arms race in the past 5 years and the \$2 trillion of the United States federal debt. The arms race is pushing the United States to bankruptcy and its economy to a breakdown. The deficit is mounting. The Americans are getting poorer. Advocates of the arms race claim the race is built for the economy. If that is true, the aftereffects of using dope are the same for the economy as for artificially stimulating an athlete; decline, exhaustion and semi-coma. For each billion dollars invested in the munitions industry, it's possible to create 75,000 jobs. But double that figure can be created in the civilian industries.

The Americans are not better off due to the arms race; their real wages decreased by 11 percent between 1973 and '84. Official statistics show there are 8 million jobless in the United States now, but one in four jobless draws an unemployment benefit. Nearly 6 million don't get it. That's equal to the number of jobless without benefits 3 years ago at the moment of a sharp economic decline when there were 11 million unemployed. Thirty-three million Americans live below the official poverty line, but the SDI means record high spending in a fight against nuclear arms. The Soviet program to destroy nuclear arms offers a release of vast funds from the arms race to channel into solutions of pressing problems.

[Announcer] Some political leaders in the United States claim the arms race is needed for national security in order to attain military superiority over the Soviet Union and to talk to the Soviet Union from a position of force. That is why allegedly sacrifices have to be made. Vladimir Bolshakov:

[Bolshakov] But that's an illusion. The United States will not be able to get military superiority. The path to genuine security for the United States lies not in a search for new military technologies, not in whipping up the arms race, but in moving over to disarmament.

The USSR suggests just that -- without impairing the security of either the United States or itself to ensure at the first stage, as proposed in our program, security at lower levels of armaments and in the long run at the nuclear-free level. War cannot resolve the dispute between the two social systems. As a result of nuclear disaster there won't be anyone left to resolve what system was better. Many Western policymakers cannot unfortunately overcome the barrier of distrust to the Soviet Union that has been cultivated for years. Mikhail Gorbachev's statement says that the task of ridding humanity of the nuclear menace will have to be solved by people of our generation.

[Announcer] But the issue of the arms race concerns not only the USSR and the United States, not only capitalism and socialism. The consequences of the arms race are burdensome for all. The Soviet statement provides the alternative to the arms race. Vladimir Bolshakov:

[Bolshakov] Nuclear disarmament would make the life of humanity healthier. The arms race is having a disruptive effect, not only on the economy of the United States, but also on the world economy, on the international relations in all their aspects -- scientific, cultural and other contacts, the human morals and psyches. When I was staying in Geneva for the Soviet-American summit, children arrived there from many countries, including the United States. It can be gathered from what they said and wrote in their letters that from their cradles they grew up in a state of fear for their future. The human psyche, the human outlook is shaped amid this fear. We must not maim our children.

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### SDI, DISARMAMENT PROPOSAL AIMS CONTRASTED IN SOVIET ARMY PAPER

PM141624 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Feb 86 First Edition p 3

[Colonel A. Timofeyev article: "Ruinous Venture; the United States Continues a Policy Aimed at the Militarization of Space"]

[Excerpt] Defenders of SDI frequently claim, demagogically, that peace and stability would be strengthened if the Soviet Union and the United States were simultaneously to deploy large-scale ABM systems. But this is an unsound argument. In order to be convinced of this, you have only to take a sober look, for example, at individual aspects of such a hypothetical situation. Since it is impossible in practice to properly evaluate and compare the effectiveness of such systems with the inevitable differences between them, it is natural that, afraid of ending up worse off, each side would seek to strengthen its own strategic potential in the spheres of both defensive and offensive means. That is, the stockpiling of weapons would continue and stability would be undermined.

Another fact is no less obvious. Given parallel possession of large-scale ABM systems, a "first strike" strategy would prove preferable, since such a strike inflicted simultaneously -- both at the enemy's ABM system (particularly its most vulnerable space element) and at his territory -- would clearly benefit the attacking side. The aggressor would deprive the enemy of a proper opportunity to withstand the attack and, at the same time, would retain the ability to parry a counterstrike. As a result, the development of events in the world would be totally unpredictable.

However, talk of parallel possession belongs to the realm of theoretical argument. As the facts attest, the U.S. architects of "star wars" do not, in fact, conceive of any such thing. On the contrary, by means of a breakthrough in the technological sphere they hope to achieve a military advantage in space and, at the same time, supremacy on earth. Everything attests to the fact that Washington has again decided to outwit reality. And the reality is that each new U.S. threat to the Soviet Union has invariably entailed a corresponding decrease in the latter's own security. "...If we speak of this so-called technological superiority, which it is proposed to realize within SDI and thereby, place the Soviet Union in a difficult position," M.S. Gorbachev pointed out, "then...this is another delusion. An answer will be found."

The Soviet Union cannot allow the United States to upset the military equilibrium in its favor. The disruption of military-strategic parity is particularly dangerous now that the arsenals are overfull of nuclear weapons.

In the past the Soviet Union has repeatedly caught up with the United States in whatever types of strategic arms it has forged ahead with and, if SDI is not given the red light, the Soviet Union will take the necessary measures this time also. However, the piling up of new pyramids of weapons is not our choice.

The path which the Soviet Union urges people to follow is the path toward the total elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world. A specific program for the elimination of nuclear weapons, calculated for a precisely defined period of time, is set forth in the statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. At the very first stage of its implementation it is planned that over the course of 5-8 years the Soviet Union and the United States will halve the nuclear arms capable of reaching each other's territory.

It goes without saying that such a reduction is possible only if the Soviet Union and the United States mutually renounce the creation [sozdaniye], testing, and deployment of space strike arms. Space must be kept peaceful and such arms must not be deployed there. They must not even be created [sozdavat]. Fixing a padlock to the resolution of this problem means not wanting to end the arms race on earth.

Unfortunately, the United States is continuing to step up its efforts to realize the misanthropic "star wars" plans. Washington politicians, who now talk so much about clear skies for mankind, are in reality working to literally cram the sky above our earth with strike weapons of unprecedented power. All this leads to an increased threat of war and, at a certain stage, could make it probable.

Although it is planned to finish implementing the whole "star wars" venture only after decades have elapsed, it will bring very serious consequences in the very near future. For, by implementing the "star wars" program, Washington is, in point of fact, deliberately working to wreck the present talks and to nullify all existing arms limitation agreements. In that case the whole world would find itself in a situation of an uncontrolled arms race, strategic chaos, most dangerous undermining of stability, universal uncertainty and fear, and an increased risk of nuclear catastrophe associated with all this.

The authors of the U.S. "star wars" program assign the 15 years remaining until the end of the 20th century to "deliverance from nuclear arms" with the help of the creation [sozdaniye] and deployment of the notorious space "shield." The Soviet Union proposes totally curing the earth of its nuclear ailment. Of course, the implementation of the Soviet program for ensuring equal security for all on the path of arms reduction and disarmament, right down to the total elimination of all types of weapons of mass destruction, demands tremendous effort, labor, persistent struggle, and the breaking of thousand-year-old traditions. But, as M.S. Gorbachev pointed out in his replies to L'HUMANITE's questions, "The world simply cannot continue to live and act in the old way when there is a real threat of nuclear war."

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### TASS: U.S. CHARGED WITH ABM TREATY VIOLATIONS

LD111636 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1605 GMT 11 Feb 86

[Text] Moscow, 11 Feb (TASS) -- A briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists was held in the USSR Foreign Ministry press center today at which Vladimir Morozov, deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry press department, touched on certain topical aspects of the current international situation.

He drew attention to U.S. violations of the 1972 ABM Treaty which have become more marked of late. One of these violations, V. Morozov said, is the deployment of major radar stations. Such a station has been deployed on Shemya island in the Aleutians, during construction of which elements tested with the goal of antimissile defense were used, in violation of accords. Construction of a Pave Paws type phased-array radar station is also under way in Greenland, which is a plain violation of Article 6 of the ABM Treaty.

The work which is going on now in the United States with the special purpose of creating [sozdaniye] models of space weapons, to be followed by their appearance [poyavleniye] and deployment is contrary to this treaty.

V. Morozov noted that recently the policy of violating the ABM Treaty has been taken up by the Government of Great Britain. This is shown by the plans to deploy a new U.S. radar station in the Fylingdales Moor region of North Yorkshire. Although, to cover up these plans it is asserted that what is being planned is a modernization of the U.S. radar station which already exists there, in reality it is a question of the construction of a project which is new in principle and of a totally new design.

Thus, if these plans are implemented, the Government of Great Britain would be directly involved in the violation of the 1972 ABM Treaty.

Concerning the issue of Soviet-Swedish relations, V. Morozov stressed that the Soviet Union attaches great importance to the maintenance of good-neighborly relations with Sweden. On the whole, the balance of relations between our countries is a positive one, he said.

However, at the same time there are negative phenomena in Soviet-Swedish relations. At a time when noticeable changes for the better have taken shape in bilateral relations and when important visits and exchanges fostering the maintenance of a peaceful situation in Europe as a whole are to come, right-wing forces have launched a fresh anti-Soviet campaign. Swedish military circles are striving to intimidate the population with the notorious "Soviet threat". Such actions, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed, act as a brake on the process of deepening relations between the two countries.

## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### USSR HITS WEST EUROPE'S DEEPENDING INVOLVEMENT IN SDI

#### British Role

LD190024 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 18 Feb 86

[Excerpts] This week a new round of negotiations is to be held between the Pentagon representatives and British Defense Ministry on Britain's participation in the "star wars" program. Here in the studio with me [not further identified] now are our observers, Nikolay Borin and Vadim Muchkin.

[Presenter] The British press and senior NATO officials, Lord Carrington among them, have been saying there is no way of going back on the "star wars" venture and that the project cannot be abandoned now that it has been taken up. What are your views?

[Borin] Indeed that idea is very much in vogue now and it concerns not only the "star wars" program. For instance, certain people begin to talk at length about the inevitability of the existence of nuclear weapons as soon as they hear about plans for scrapping nuclear weapons. The idea that something cannot be disinvented appears to run counter to every kind of logic. It suggests that it is the progress of time and technology and not political thinking that relies on force, that is piling weapons up and pushing the human race to a holocaust. It would be unfair to say that the progress of science and technology runs out of control. After all, it is under very tight control in the West. It would be unfair to say either that research cannot be stopped once it has got underway. It can. After all, some American and British universities have cut short research programs of great scientific and humanitarian interest and after all, big scientific teams have abandoned what they were doing to contribute to "star wars" research. Take for instance a department of Edinburgh University which was, until recently, doing advanced research into artificial intelligence. The outsize funds earmarked for the development and manufacture of new weapons slowed down the efforts of scientists to combat cancer, famine, or, for that matter, the effects of the drought in Africa.

The next round of the Anglo-American talks on developing attack space weapons will very likely involve Britain still further into Pentagon plans, but the crux of the matter has nothing to do with political or cosmic inevitability, but rather with the political will of concrete people who are pushing the country in that direction.

[Presenter] Thank you Nikolay Borin. And my next question is to Vadim Muchkin here. Britain, according to reports, will be involved in developing lasers for the American program and it looks as though this is going to be one of the crucial research and development undertakings under the "star wars" program. What can you say on that score?



[Muchkin] Indeed, this is going to be the central part of the program, but the British side stands little or no chance of getting out of it more than any American corporation will. Secondly, lasers are the most politically and militarily dangerous aspect of the "star wars" program. There is every indication that it is much easier to prohibit space weapons now than try to control such a destabilizing and dangerous system at a later date. And banning space weapons now is exactly what Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has proposed.

[Presenter] Nikolay Borin and Vadim Muchkin commenting on the new round of British-American negotiations on the "star wars" program.

#### UK Firms Get Guidance

LD191701 Moscow TASS in English 1625 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] London, February 18 TASS--Britain and the United States have concluded amid strict secrecy a series of new agreements to flesh out their "memorandum of understanding" signed last December, which sets guidelines for British involvement in the U.S. "star wars" program.

The agreements were signed for the U.S. side by Lt-General James Abrahamson, director of the "Strategic Defense Initiative" organization who has arrived in London. He also spoke before a large group of officials from British firms and research organizations interested in SDI-related orders.

Reporting this, the newspaper GUARDIAN said that the agreements testified to London's political endorsement of the "star wars" project and that, in practical terms, they spelled out the terms under which British firms could compete for SDI deals. The paper said that the U.S. Defense Department was already planning to vet and classify the work of every British company and researcher commissioned to develop technology which could be used in "star wars". The Pentagon's implementation of those plans would mean that Britain would have to pay the price of its sovereignty for the conservative government's support to the U.S. course. In Whitehall they were concerned that it would spark off a new political row about the application of U.S. law outside America.

Summing up the sentiments in British political and public circles, THE GUARDIAN said in an editorial article that Britain had entered itself on the list of SDI supporters without having made a serious analysis of all aspects and the possible ramifications of that program. Its realization, it said, would destabilize the situation in the world since the Soviet Union would be compelled to adopt corresponding reply measures.

#### 'Yoke' of 'Dependence' Created

LD191700 Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Moscow, February 19 TASS -- By TASS political news analyst Aleksey Grigoriyev.

The London-based GUARDIAN newspaper found a very sore spot in the British-American relationship shaped by their cooperation under the "star wars" program. The paper writes about London's anxiety -- British officials are concerned over a real possibility of a new wave of political protests against the application of American laws outside the U.S. So, why is Whitehall so concerned?

Gen James Abrahamson, who is in charge of the organization that will implement the "Strategic Defense Initiative", held a secret meeting at the Ministry of Defense of Great Britain. About 100 leading experts of research organizations, members of the business community of the country and officials from a special department of the Defense Ministry in charge of the participation in realizing the SDI were present at the meeting.

A series of new agreements on enlisting Britain in preparations for "star wars" was concluded in the development of the "memorandum of understanding" signed last December. These agreements, just as the main "memorandum," are a closely guarded secret. There is nothing surprising in that. A different thing attracts instantaneous attention -- the U.S. (yes, the U.S., not British) Department of Defense intends to make a check and classify the operations of British firms called upon to develop the technology that will be used in the "star wars" program.

That was the point where London began to feel concerned. And really, lucrative promises coming from across the ocean, solemn pledges concerning "equitable cooperation" between the United States and Western Europe in the development of a so-called "defensive space shield," assurances about the "joint use" of the newest technology turn out to be Washington's preemptory and proprietary plan to place the scientific and technical potential of the allies under control for the purpose of an early beginning of its military-space adventure.

To do that, the U.S. Administration is not only dangling a carrot before them but also reaches out for a stick. According to the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE newspaper, the United States is now intensifying pressure on Japan in order to draw it into the realization of the SDI program. Some time back, Bavarian Prime Minister Franz Josef Strauss, the chief spokesman for the American lobby in West Germany, said with frankness so characteristic of him: "I know that the American side is annoyed at Bonn's contradictory reaction to the invitation to participate in SDI." Speaking at the beginning of February in Davos at a symposium organized by the "World Economic Forum," Richard Perle, U.S. assistant secretary of defense, expressed "surprise" over the fact that certain Western governments were of the opinion that they were doing the United States a favor by signing contracts in the field of SDI. Perle's "surprise" resembled something of a threat.

Not surprisingly, the enlistment of new participants in the SDI program is also explained by the appetites of Western European arms manufacturing concerns which are prodding the governments of their countries into concluding relevant agreements with the Washington administration. Great Britain's British Aerospace, West Germany's Dornier and Messerschmitt-Boelkow-Blohm, France's Matra, Italy's Agusta and other corporate giants do not bother to conceal that they would like to get their own chunk of the space pie. But here is a paradox that is a consequence of the realities of the U.S. policy toward its partners: British companies that will be awarded contracts under the SDI program, will face very stiff competition or even the terms of a 'horse race,' in the words of Gen. James Abrahamson, and as a result they will have to come up with fresh ideas in the shortest possible time, laments the London FINANCIAL TIMES.

This means that "space cooperation" advertized by Washington is rapidly acquiring features of political rightlessness and the fettering of America's partners in SDI as far as science and technology are concerned. "Reagan's initiative is an attempt to fasten the Federal Republic of Germany to the military-industrial complex of the

United States, to increase Bonn's dependence on Washington which is not justified by the interests of security of the F.R.G. It will no longer be possible to cast off the yoke of that dependence. The case in point, in the final analysis, is the policy of hegemonism with a heavy reliance on force," writes the West German DIE ZEIT newspaper, dotting all i's and crossing all t's. And really, there is hardly anything that could be added to that just assessment of American neoglobalism.

### FRG's 'Evasive' Words

LD112044 Moscow TASS in English 2025 GMT 11 Feb 86

[Text] Moscow, February 11 TASS -- TASS political news analyst Alexey Grigoryev writes:

There is a tricky word in German, "jein", formed of "ja" and "nein", "yes" and "no". This word is used much by Bonn politicians, especially in cases when most burning problems of the present are the point of the matter.

The question of ending nuclear explosions is a patent example. Speaking at a press conference in Bonn on January 9, FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl said this: "Both the Federal Government and the U.S. Administration have long since proclaimed their fundamental interest in large-scale cessation of testing. To my mind, there is a chance now for promising talks on the limitation and subsequent ending of nuclear testing and verification of this".

Less than a week has passed, and the Soviet Union submitted for the consideration of peoples and governments the programme for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere by the year 2000 and extended its unilateral moratorium on any nuclear explosions for three months.

What was Bonn's reaction to this complex of large-scale Soviet initiatives aimed at ridding humanity of nuclear threat? On behalf of the FRG Government Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said that the government "welcomes the stand" of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee set out in his statement and intends, jointly with the FRG's allies, to study the Soviet proposals thoroughly. It would seem that "no" to nuclear testing and nuclear arms has been said officially on the banks of the Rhine. Not so. Resort has at once been made to "jein".

Following the Washington administration which, through President Reagan, proclaims its "dream of ridding the world of nuclear arms" but refuses stubbornly to join the Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions the Bonn Cabinet talks ever more openly about the "need" to continue dangerous tests. On the demand of the parliamentary group of Social Democrats, the question of the FRG's attitude to the ending of nuclear tests was discussed in the West German Bundestage late in January. The question was topical indeed, since prior to the debate, at a meeting of the Bundestag's commission on defence, State Secretary of the Bonn Military Department Lothar Ruel said that a certain number of nuclear tests will be necessary as long as NATO strategy envisages the use of these weapons of mass destruction.

The selfsame Ruehl later said that practice firing with the use of U.S. "Pershing-2" nuclear missiles, disrupted by last year's accident involving such a missile near Heilbronn will possibly be resumed in the FRG next spring.

It gets worse and worse as it goes on. In an interview to the Austrian newspaper NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG the other day, FRG Defence Minister Manfred Woerner asserted that it is hard for him to believe the seriousness of the Soviet Union's proposals in the sphere of the elimination of nuclear arms and that the Soviet Union, allegedly, has not even stopped anything in the sphere so far. The logic of the West German war minister was simple and blunt as the Bundeswehr's song: The Soviet nuclear moratorium, according to it, does not exist, and so there should be no American moratorium...

This stand by Bonn is explained not only by its notorious "Atlantic", that is NATO, solidarity, but first of all by the decision of the FRG ruling circles to join in the preparation of the U.S. "star wars".

Manfred Woerner made no secret of this, either. He declared again for the implementation of the sinister SDI, which according to him "opens the possibility of achieving a new form of strategic stability". And answering the question if SDI will open an opportunity to live in peace without the threat of nuclear arms, the minister said, without mincing matters: "I think this an illusion". And he added: "I believe that the complete elimination of nuclear arms as a result of SDI cannot be achieved, at least in foreseeable future".

Just so, Mr Minister. There is no need to beat about the bush. Having forgotten the bitter lessons of history, West German war industry concerns, including the aerospace giant "MBB" are eager to participate in the implementation of the "star wars" programme. Militaristic and revanchist circles of the FRG dream of getting hold of space weapons. Chancellor Helmut Kohl, leader of the Bavarian ultras Franz-Jozef Strauss and other influential politicians on the Rhine say that the FRG's involvement in the implementation of SDI is "morally justified and necessary". And "star wars" cannot be prepared without the continuing of nuclear weapons tests, without upgrading nuclear weapons. Such is the truth and it cannot be concealed either by peaceable statements or by evasive words such as "jein".

#### FRG Claims 'Euro-SDI' Possible

LD171133 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Feb 86

[Announcer-read report from the "International Panorama" program presented by Aleksandr Bovin]

[Text] It is to a certain degree easier for the Americans to maneuver in Europe because they have their allies here, the North Atlantic Treaty members, and the Atlantic discipline. The Americans broke Britain first, as you know; now it is the turn of the FRG. Pressure is being exerted against that country now in terms of the SDI. And at the same time, negotiations on a sort of Euro-SDI are now being increasingly actively conducted. For instance, Manfred Woerner, FRG minister of defense, writes the following opinion: There is no need to wait for all sorts of laser miracles. An antimissile defense system could be created [sozdat], the minister considers, using the equipment and technology which is already in existence or will very soon be created. This system, Woerner writes, could be deployed regardless of the hopes that the research currently being carried out by the United States on the SDI program will yield anything new. In other words, what is being offered is a wholly American sort of logic: Instead of reducing the existing weapons, it is recommended that new weapons should be added, describing them, that is, as defensive.

Well, in the final analysis, where Europe is concerned, the Americans will apparently say this: In general, we are ready to take away our missiles, if you take away yours, but France and Britain object. They do not want to freeze their nuclear forces at the current level. Well, if one is speaking and thinking about the Americans' reply, then on the whole, they will evidently agree with us in principle at the level, so to speak, of general phrases; but on all specific points I think that they will avoid positive decisions and seek some sort of way round them. (?The motivation for such a refusal is more or less respectable), but it is unlikely that they will agree with us.

### Portuguese 'Pandering' to U.S.

LD202337 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] A seminar organized by the leadership of the North Atlantic bloc is taking place in Lisbon. Our correspondent Viktor Anikin reports from the Portuguese capital.

[Anikin] The course of sessions at the seminar shows that its main task is to propagandize and advertise the U.S. Administration's so-called Strategic Defense Initiative. Portugal's defense minister, Ribeiro de Almeida, has assumed the role of advocate and defender of space militarization, and declared the readiness of Portugal's Social Democratic government to -- I quote -- assist as far as possible in embodying the strategic initiative designs.

The progressive Portuguese press emphasizes that the United States, not especially needing Portuguese specialists for the materialization of the "star wars" designs, is striving to involve Portugal politically in this new adventure and, judging from official Lisbon's position at the NATO seminar, is succeeding in this. Indulging the militarist appetites of the Pentagon and the U.S. military-industrial complex, the Portuguese Social Democratic cabinet is taking upon itself grave responsibility for the future of the world. This is totally at variance with the interests of the Portuguese people, who are more actively participating in the struggle for peace and for transforming the Iberian Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone. The speeches in support of the "star wars" designs that can be heard in Lisbon at present reveal the short-sighted and dangerous nature of a policy of pandering to the nuclear ambitions of U.S. militarist circles.

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### USSR: SECURITY TERMED KEY TO DISARMAMENT ISSUES

LD201903 Moscow World Service in English 1531 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Yuriy Solton commentary read by two unidentified speakers]

[Excerpts] [First speaker] When was the arms race started and who began it? The arms race began when the United States dropped atom bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. It has now led to a situation described as the nuclear deadlock. A mere fraction of the nuclear stockpiles accumulated in the world today is enough to wipe out all life on earth and turn the planet into a desert. But the nuclear weapons are still manufactured and more and more nuclear weapons are put on production lines. The nuclear weapons are becoming more destructive and sophisticated and more difficult to control. The risk of a nuclear conflict by accident, technical error, or irresponsibility is growing. Consider this example: Every year over 5,000 drug addicts, alcoholics, and mentally unbalanced people are dismissed from the American military personnel having direct access to nuclear weapons.

[Second speaker] In other words, the threat of a nuclear holocaust is now hanging over every home and every family. Is there a way out?

[First speaker] Washington is hoping for a defensive space shield to be set up under the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative of President Reagan, better known as "star wars." In his recent State of the Union address the President said that the security shield will one day make all nuclear weapons obsolete and deliver the human race from the nuclear nightmare.

[Second speaker] Let us assume that it is possible to build such a shield, although authoritative scientists, and among them American, describe that as an illusion and a waste of money.

[First speaker] Indeed, it will take decades to build such a shield and meanwhile, nuclear weapons continue to be made and grow in sophistication. In its new long-term directives the Pentagon named its top priorities as the "star wars" and offensive nuclear weapons. There can be no question of making nuclear weapons obsolete as far as the Pentagon is concerned.

According to its plans, the offensive nuclear potential is to add attack space weapons capable of hitting targets in space and on the ground. Will that help people of the earth to live in peace?

[Second speaker] Well let's make another assumption. Both the United States and the Soviet Union hold defense space shields. Will world security grow in that case? Let us hear the thoughts of the head of the chief staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, General Nikolay Chervov. Here is what he said in a roundtable television show.

[First speaker] Gen Chervov is saying that even if we imagine that both the Soviet Union and the United States have built space shields, the situation would be extremely unstable and critical. Estimates show that even a very slight advantage of one side in the effectiveness of its space shield and in the effectiveness of its defenses will immediately destabilize the situation. Another important consideration here is that the control of space weapons and the making of crucial and irreversible decisions will be done by computers.

[Second speaker] This will make the human civilization a hostage of machines which are liable to throw up faults and malfunctions. Speaking in the same television discussion, Academician Roald Sagdeyev who heads the Soviet Institute of Space Studies gave this assessment of the consequences.

[First speaker] Academician Sagdeyev says that ensuring the reliability of such an ultrasophisticated system from the purely technological point of view is a problem that cannot be resolved. Computers will have to be developed storing in their memories instructions and codes for a course of action compiled in advance for the whole system to react to any imaginable situation. Such a system will have to take into account tens of thousands and even hundreds of thousands of bodies moving in space and among them all kinds of dummy targets. The total number of such instructions will be of the order of tens of millions of display screen lines. It is a theoretical improbability to compile a file of absolutely correct instructions and account for every contingency. Even a test of such a system may lead to a tragedy like the Challenger disaster, only very much worse.

[Second speaker] In other words, the so-called space security shield will not strengthen anyone's security.

[First speaker] As a result, the whole world would be up against an arms race going ahead out of control, strategic chaos and universal uncertainty, and fear as the risk of a holocaust continues to escalate. That danger will be hanging over this generation if the United States persists in its commitment to "star wars." The Americans are dreaming of getting out of the nuclear deadlock by means of new ultimate weapons and technical wizardry and they want absolute security for themselves and absolute insecurity for the rest of the world.

Let us take the political attitudes for a start. In 1982 the Soviet Union assumed a unilateral pledge never to be the first to use nuclear weapons. The United States refused to follow suit. The United States military doctrine does not rule out the delivery of a first or, as Washington puts it, preemptive strike. The strategic nuclear missiles it deploys in Western Europe and other parts of the world are designed for that very purpose. According to United States plans, attack space weapons conveniently called a security shield should first of all increase the United States' offensive nuclear potential by a factor of ten and give the United States a chance to launch nuclear aggression with impunity against the Soviet Union or any other nation.

There can be no security for the Soviet Union without security for the United States, and there can be no security for the nations of the Warsaw Treaty organization without security for the nations of NATO in this day and age. There can be no world security without their mutual security.

## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### TASS POLITICAL OBSERVER DISCUSSES JAPANESE UNCERTAINTY OVER SDI

LD181623 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1225 GMT 18 Feb 86

["What Does Tokyo Want Then" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Feb (TASS) -- TASS political observer Askold Biryukov writes:

According to reports from Tokyo, Japan's ruling Liberal-Democratic Party has expressed itself in favor of Japanese companies participating in "research work" within the framework of Washington's so-called "Strategic Defense Initiative." (Fudzio), one of the leaders of this party stated at a meeting with leaders of Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs that private Japanese companies could be joining in this work, "without waiting for government will to be finally defined." Moreover, as the newspaper NIHON KEIZAI notes, Tokyo is proceeding from "concern over relations with the United States" in the run-up to the trip to Washington by Prime Minister Nakasone, the trip to Japan by Pentagon chief Weinberger and the forthcoming meeting in May of the "seven" in Tokyo. Let us note that this is not from the interests of preserving and strengthening peace, but from a "concern over relations" with Washington, which has adopted a policy of implementing the "star wars" program, at whatever cost.

In essence the decision of the ruling party predetermines the government's decision as well. Hitherto the latter has been occupying a cautious position on taking part in SDI. While in principle expressing "understanding" as regards this program of Washington's, official Tokyo has been dragging its feet on making a decision as to whether to take part in it and if it should decide to do so then in what way. As is evident, a decision was reached after the return from a trip to the United States by a second group of Japanese government experts which studied specific areas of technology in which Japan might cooperate with the United States on the SDI program. According to (Riodzi Onodera), a Foreign Ministry adviser and the leader of this group, the group "understood where the emphasis was to lie." The decision by the Japanese ruling party on taking part in SDI at a private level gave grounds for Schneider, the U.S. deputy secretary of state to say in London that having done so with the FRG the United States hopes to sign the relevant agreements with other potential SDI participants, including Japan, probably this summer.

Now Tokyo is searching for a pretext for doing this. The most "irresistable" one is not missing the boat. The same Liberal-Democratic Party has stated that it "considers it necessary to speed up scientific and technical progress by taking part in SDI." Experts in various fields assert that SDI 'research' will lead to major technological breakthroughs and Japan desperately needs to be involved in them in order not to fall behind technological progress.



But indeed, what is at stake is not only technical progress. Technological breakthroughs all come about in the course of research connected with peaceful mastering of space. SDI is a purely military venture and one which is capable of setting mankind right back, if it doesn't actually put a question mark over man's very existence.

In agreeing to take part in work on SDI, work moreover with a view to developing and testing new types of nuclear weapons, Japan is not only taking upon itself responsibility for destroying one of the conditions for strategic stability in the world. It is undermining to the very roots its own efforts, efforts being made by its representatives at the Geneva disarmament conference and in particular proposals on gradually putting an end to underground nuclear tests. We are not saying that work on SDI renders pointless the idea of concluding a treaty on complete and universal banning of nuclear tests, a ban which is favored by practically the entire international community. Japan has its chance to say its piece on the matter upon which depends the fate of this community. Is it going to make use of the chance or will it be lost once and for all?

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### USSR ACADEMICIAN SAGDEYEV OUTLINES SOVIET RESPONSE TO SDI

PM121507 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 9 Feb 86 p 3

[Interview with Academician R. Sagdeyev, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Space Research, by correspondent Yu. Knyaze: "What Lurks Behind the SDI Concept?"]

[Text] President Reagan, the Pentagon and NATO generals, and some U.S. politicians and statesmen are trying to convince the public in the United States and in West European countries that the "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI) is dictated by concern for human civilization and for its security; that the United States has no intention of seeking military superiority, but only intends to create a purely defensive "antimissile shield." What is the "Strategic Defense Initiative"? Correspondent Yu. Knyazev put this question to Academician R. Sagdeyev, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Space Research.

"There is a path that leads directly to the deliverance of mankind from the threat of nuclear war," R. Sagdeyev said. "It is the path of consistently ridding the world of nuclear weapon stockpiles. This path demands maximum political wisdom and resolve on the part of each of the participants in military confrontation. It is this approach to the elimination of the danger of a devastating nuclear war that our country has consistently advocated. This is confirmed by the comprehensive program for the elimination of the means of mass destruction which was recently put forward by M.S. Gorbachev.

"But if one is setting out to preserve nuclear arsenals, the arms race, and the volumes of military orders received by the military industry, then, of course, this aim is best served by the 'star wars' program. It is already clear that the implementation of this plan will require the kind of funds never before spent on armaments.

"The nuclear genie was let out of the U.S. bottle in 1945 and it can only be chased back into the bottle by a renunciation of nuclear weapons, not by new technological genies released into space.

"The supporters of SDI give assurances that nuclear weapons and stockpiles of bombs can be rendered harmless and obsolete by a defense system which, allegedly, would be able to parry every missile and every warhead in the event of a nuclear conflict. As a physicist involved with modern space technology, I can say that it is a sheer utopia. In fact, even assuming (this is absolutely impossible in practice) that

the destruction of 99 percent of the warheads in flight is guaranteed, the remainder will be quite sufficient to ensure a destructive effect equivalent to thousands of Hiroshimas. Yet there is a considerable number of specific ways of overcoming this defensive shield.

"So all this is nothing more than an illusion, although an extremely dangerous illusion. Indeed, instead of directing the quest for a way out of the nuclear impasse into a political channel, onto the path of talks, the 'star wars' program could cause a dangerous delay in the solution of this question, perhaps not until future generations come along. Meanwhile, the widening of the arms race and its transfer to space may make the process irreversible and a return to the negotiating table impossible. That is why our country is pressing so hard to prevent an arms race in space."

[Knyazev] Are there scientists in the West who are aware of the danger of the arms race?

[Sagdeyev] Yes, and their number is growing.

Their conclusions are based on serious scientific analysis, utilizing the achievements of modern physics and laser and computer technology. They are well acquainted with the technological options being proposed by the advocates of "star wars." Computer software experts say the computer system controlling the strategic defense would have to handle such an unprecedented quantity of information that there would inevitably be a vast number of errors. Usually, full-scale tests are carried out when developing programs for computer systems, even much more modest systems, for use in military and civilian technology. Only through tests is it possible to identify and eliminate software errors. But in the "star wars" program full-scale tests would mean a nuclear catastrophe.

[Knyazev] And what is the opinion of sober-minded military specialists?

[Sagdeyev] Military strategy experts, including a number of well-known former U.S. military men, have more than once expressed their view that the overall strategic equilibrium in the world, based on competition between offensive and defensive weapons, including space weapons, is extremely unstable. One of the main flaws in this strategic opposition became apparent back in the sixties: It is that competition between offensive and defensive weapons would lead to an unlimited buildup of nuclear arsenals. The proposed space deployment adds a whole series of strategic instabilities of its own. After all, space-based elements of an antimissile defense can themselves become extremely dangerous strike weapons.

[Knyazev] In their SDI propaganda, the advocates of "star wars" say that implementation of the program would lead to progress in civilian spheres of technology and that all the expense would be recouped...

[Sagdeyev] Yes, they do put forward these arguments. Of course, they may be spin-offs from particular military programs. In the event of SDI, strategic stability would be the first victim. But any benefit from the "star wars" program in terms of peaceful applications is very problematical. The point is that the technology needed for the destruction of remote military targets demands the creation of specialized, and I would even say extravagant, technical facilities. For example, who would need, for industrial and technological purposes, to create a superlaser capable of setting objects on fire at a distance of hundreds of kilometers and more?

[Knyazev] What would the socialist community's response be if the "star wars" program was intensively developed in the capitalist countries?

[Sagdeyev] First of all, I want to say the "star wars" plans will not work even if they spend many billions of dollars. But military technology could be improved in the course of the program's elaboration and this would require certain retaliatory measures based on the use of, among other things, new technologies and new ideas. One of the most effective forms of retaliation is the use of so-called countermeasures, that is, methods which would sharply reduce the effectiveness of the space elements of "star wars" and immediately demonstrate to the originators of the concept that their efforts are futile. Potential countermeasures of this kind have been discussed by scientists and military strategists. They include a relatively varied collection of methods that are far cheaper than SDI. Our country is in favor of the solution of all problems by political means and has demonstrated this in practice on more than one occasion.

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### UK WINS SDI CONTRACT FOR NEUTRAL PARTICLE BEAM ACCELERATOR

Frankfurt/Main FINANCIAL TIMES in English 24 Feb 86 p 6

[Article by David Fishlock]

[Text]

THERE is a certain irony in the news that Britain's Culham Laboratory has won a contract to design vital components for one of the space weapons under development in the US Star Wars research programme—for a Russian invention is at the heart of the technology.

The laboratory, part of the UK Atomic Energy Authority, will work with the Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico on a novel high-voltage accelerator for generating continuous neutral particle beams.

Such beams can strike at very long ranges, because they remain finely focused in the vacuum of space and unaffected by the earth's magnetism, delivering their energy deep inside the target.

Early in 1988 the partners plan to assemble at Culham, Oxford, a demonstration called *Draconis*, an acronym for direct acceleration of a negative ion source. It will combine British and US technology in a type of beam generator which could be used in industry and medicine as well as space weapons.

A very bright and continuous neutral particle beam could have a dual role in a future space defence, say senior SDI scientists. One role was recognised from the start of *White Horse*. A neutral particle beam could travel long distances in the vacuum of space, at close to the speed of light, without being distorted by the earth's magnetism, unlike charged-particle beams such as electron beams.

The second role emerged in the Fletcher report to the US Government in 1983, which led to the SDI programme. A neutral particle beam should discriminate clearly between nuclear weapons and the much flimsier radar decoys released by missiles to confuse defenders. This would allow a defence system to concentrate on destroying genuine targets.

Unlike laser beams, which heat the surface of the target, there is no way of shielding a target from a neutral particle beam, says Dr Gerold Yonas, chief scientist of the SDI programme. "It heats and melts from the inside out. It is practically impossible to counter."

The Los Alamos scientists, led by Dick Beuick and Fred Purser are developing a very compact particle accelerator, small enough to be put into space. The heart of their technology is a Russian invention called the radio frequency quadrupole (RFQ), which promises dramatic reductions in size and weight.

Three years ago these scientists recognised that Culham might have a kind of beam they could accelerate with their RFQ into a useful weapon.

Culham was studying neutral particle beams as a way of injecting extra energy into JET, the Joint European Torus, a European experiment in controlled thermonuclear fusion adjoining the Culham Laboratory. Neutral particle beams can be fired right through the intense magnetic fields enveloping the experiment. In this way

JET's designers hope to super-heat their plasma with an extra 15 Mw of power.

For JET, Culham's physicists led by Tom Green and Andrew Holmes have developed a high-voltage negative ion beam source operating at 80 kilovolts. It is part of a collaboration involving the JET team and French physicists at Fontenay-aux-Roses. In principle, the source resembles an old-fashioned radio valve, engineered to fire a pencil-fine beam of negative protons. Fine beams are needed to match the small "windows" of JET.

Stability had been one of the big design problems for this type of beam. What excited the SDI scientists was Culham's ideas for generating a very stable beam, of a kind that might be relied upon to perform perfectly after a long spell of inactivity.

Culham's design also generates a highly collimated beam; that is, it does not fan out like a torch beam, but remains perfectly parallel for long distances.

The *Draconis* beam source will be about four times as powerful as those Culham has designed for JET. The plan is to develop the beam source to 100 kilovolts and inject it into a new RFQ under development at Los Alamos, which will be shipped to Culham in 1988. Together, the two will make an accelerator about 4 metres long.

Culham already has a major test rig called the multi-megawatt beam line facility, built to test the JET beam sources. The

physicists estimate it would cost the project about £5m to build this from scratch.

When the accelerated beam emerges from the RFQ, Culham has another task to perform, in designing the system for neutralising the beam. This can be likened to passing the beam through a fluorescent tube about 2 metres long, in which xenon gas will strip off the negative charge, leaving neutral protons to emerge.

The challenge here is to design a neutraliser which does not degrade the beam's brightness or sharpness.

If Draconis is a success they will also need a way of dissipating the 200 kilowatts of energy they expect to produce in a beam only 2 or 3 mm in diameter. Carelessly handled, this beam will do dreadful damage, causing explosions deep inside anything it may strike. Culham and Los Alamos plan to design a safe way of dumping the beam once they have made their measurements.

The goal of the SDI neutral beam programme is a high-voltage accelerator small enough to be launched into space. The present target is a device which can be packed inside the cargo bay of the space shuttle.

Dr Yonas is enthusiastic about the commercial spin-off from the SDI work. He believes the large ion sources needed for the SDI programme will also find industrial uses in the surface treatment of large engineering parts to enhance surface strength, wear-resistance or corrosion resistance. These effects would be achieved by driving "foreign" atoms into the metal: ion implantation.

He also believes the technology could be used to make a miniature accelerator for medical treatment, which deposited its energy right inside a patient's tumour.

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### TOP FRENCH INDUSTRY OFFICIALS ATTEND SDI BRIEFING

Frankfurt/Main FINANCIAL TIMES in English 21 Feb 86 p 3

[Article by David Marsh]

[Text] GROWING FRENCH interest in participation in the US Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) was underlined last night when a top US official gave a classified briefing on the research programme to leading French aerospace companies and Defence Ministry officials.

Mr John Gardner, head of systems and battle management at the Washington-based SDI Organisation, was due to give a dinner address to an audience of top members of the French defence research establishment.

Those due to attend included officials from the Defence Ministry's research organisation, and other technical experts from the armed services.

Companies due to send representatives included the state-owned Aerospatiale, Alcatel, Thomson and Bull electronics and aerospace groups as well as leading software companies such as Cap Gemini Sogeti and SESA.

Other specialised electronics companies due to be present were CIMS, Crouzet, Sogitec and TRT, and subsidiaries of the US Sperry, Rockwell and Northrop companies.

France has been alone among the major Western European nations in opposing the concept

of SDI on political and strategic grounds. But Mr Paul Quilès, the Defence Minister, said last month he was in favour of French companies taking part in SDI research — opening the way for negotiations on contracts.

Last night's meeting was the first large-scale occasion at which SDI experts from the US have been able to present the programme in Paris to French aerospace and defence representatives, although several companies have already made private contacts with the Organisation in Washington.

A spokesman for the US Armed Forces Communications Electronics Association, whose Paris branch arranged the meeting, said it was designed to help pave the way for such companies to agree contracts. He said about 70 people were due to attend.

Mr Gardner, who is working on ways of arranging the computer-controlled "systems architecture" for a future anti-missile, attended a similar larger meeting with UK industrialists earlier this week. French companies have specific expertise in military electronics which in some areas gives them a world lead.

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### TOKYO TV LATE REPORT: VELIKHOV SEES POSSIBLE SDI ACCORD

OW201207 Tokyo NHK Television Network in Japanese 1000 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] According to Moscow correspondent Kobayashi, Vice President Velikhov of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who is close to General Secretary Gorbachev, touched on SDI, the Strategic Defense Initiative, in his interview with NHK on 19 February. Velikhov stated that if the United States should positively promise not to deploy weapons in space, the research work could be approved.

When asked in the interview what can be expected from the U.S.-Soviet summit this year while the United States persistently attempts to promote its SDI program, Vice President Velikhov said that it could be expected that accords would be reached on such issues as the mutual suspension of nuclear tests and the reduction of intermediate nuclear force.

Touching on SDI, Velikhov further stated: We think there are some other ways, different from those in the past, to reach an accord. That is, the research project can be approved for the sake of research. If the United States should confine itself to the research work and promise not to deploy arms in space, the Soviet Union might give its approval.

Such were the remarks made by Vice President Velikhov, and it was the first time that a high-ranking Soviet official had ever made such remarks on the U.S. SDI research project.

Vice President Velikhov's remarks are seen to indicate that the Soviet Union, noting no change in the U.S. position on the SDI issue, intends to take a flexible attitude on the issue so as to achieve concrete and fruitful results at the U.S.-Soviet summit scheduled this year.

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## SDI AND SPACE ARMS

### BRIEFS

TASS HITS REAGAN ON TESTING--Washington, February 10 TASS--The U.S. President has stated that the U.S. should help forward the research and tests within the framework of the "star wars" program. He met in the White House with a group of journalists. Observers point out that it is for the second time in past several days that the head of the U.S. Administration makes a statement reiterating point-blank the intention of the U.S. not to confine itself only to the research within the framework of the "star wars" program, but also to test the component parts of that system. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 2338 GMT 10 Feb 86 LD] /12858

TASS ON WEINBERGER SUPPORT--New York, February 14 TASS--The loss of the space shuttle Challenger will not block U.S. pursuit of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) program, U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger stressed Thursday in an interview with ASSOCIATED PRESS editors. He made it clear that if flights under the space shuttle program are not resumed within the next six months, the Pentagon might have to turn to alternatives for launching military objects and spy satellites. Acknowledging that the disaster could have an impact on several SDI projects, he stressed that the work on devising a partially space-based anti-missile defense has not been suspended, but is following the early schedule. The defense secretary's obsession with the idea of space militarization, despite human casualties, have caused bewilderment among the journalists. They made an attempt to find out whether the United States could accept an intricate space defense system like "star wars" in view of the accident that destroyed the shuttle. To this, Weinberger cynically replied, "I certainly don't think we should stop working on it because we had a terrible tragedy on the shuttle." [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 14 Feb 86 LD] /12858

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## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

TASS: ADELMAN 'AGAINST' 'VERY IDEA' OF REACHING ACCORD

### Adelman's Statements 'A Trick'

LD191837 Moscow TASS in English 1817 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Moscow, February 19 TASS -- By TASS military news analyst Vladimir Chernyshev:

Kenneth Adelman, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, made a speech in Philadelphia. His remarks were filled with affected elan, hypocrisy and distortions of the real state of affairs on the international scene.

"This is a critical, challenging, and exciting time for us working in arms control. To borrow a mod phrase from the 60's, the whole world is watching us," Kenneth Adelman declared. Yes, the time is indeed crucial, the time requires responsible and constructive approaches and a sincere desire to crack the problem of ridding the world of nuclear threat, slamming the door to outer space shut in front of the arms race, and reducing drastically the lethally dangerous weapon arsenals on earth.

But what did the director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency tell the world? Where do his difficulties and worries lie?

Speaking of the process of arms limitation and reduction, Kenneth Adelman stated: "I've been writing and thinking about it for the past 10 years and the fundamental questions and problems remain pretty much the same." It is appropriate to ask then: Who is to blame for that? Evidently, the answer to this question is to be found in Mr. Adelman's writings and pronouncements. For it is exactly Kenneth Adelman who made the "revelation" that nuclear arms reduction negotiations were simply a trick which the United States had to resort to in order to reassure the American people and America's allies.

But at the present time the director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency maintains that the United States devotes much attention to nuclear and space arms negotiations. The next moment he "reveals" the true meaning of that "attention": The United States is striving to reduce nuclear arms but it will not give up SDI, that is, "star wars" programs. Mr. Adelman says a path should be pursued "so that arms control and SDI can work together." Yes, this is a trick, indeed, using Adelman's own words to assert that the stockpiling of weapons to the space heights can be accompanied by arms control, means to be a very low opinion about the intellectual abilities of one's audience.

Surely, the author of such a statement must be fully aware that without a ban on the militarization of outer space there can be no cuts to strategic nuclear armaments and that if the U.S. refuses to agree to such a ban this sweet talk about "the desire" to reduce such armaments is worth a farthing. Kenneth Adelman, however, does not understand another thing: Such a trick can no longer "reassure" the American people and America's allies. Likewise, he is not aware of the fact that he looks simply funny in expressing the hope that the Russians will join the United States in fulfilling the commitment undertaken at the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting with regard to the Geneva negotiations. It is Washington that demonstrates its reluctance to honor this commitment by blocking the solution of the problem of non-militarization of outer space, and in doing so, shows that it does not want the termination of the arms race on earth.

Speaking of the large-scale Soviet peace program formulated by Mikhail Gorbachev in his statement of January 15, 1986 Kenneth Adelman did not take the risk of even mentioning its goal -- to rid mankind of nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000. The program -- "contains some potentially constructive elements", while "other elements of that proposal are pretty standard Soviet fare."

He seems to be totally unaware of the fact that the Soviet program is a vivid reflection of a consistent and principled peaceful course of the Soviet State which from the very start of the nuclear age has firmly advocated the elimination of nuclear arms.

It is evident that the director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency fails to understand the fact that the U.S. Administration, if it is indeed committed to the goal of eliminating nuclear weapons, as is frequently affirmed in Washington, is given a practical opportunity to engage in that process in earnest, and not to use the coming 10-15 years for the development of new and extremely dangerous weapons in space.

However, such Washington officials as Adelman are clearly displeased with the prospect of ridding mankind of nuclear weapons. They are against the very idea of reaching agreement with the Soviet Union. So, he keeps inventing all kinds of "arguments" and putting up artificial barriers on the road toward an accord: He totally groundlessly accuses the U.S.S.R. of "violating" the existing agreements, plays up the "problem of verification", etc., evidently forgetting that these frail sprouts planted by Washington have long withered no matter how hard American "hawks" were working to cultivate them with their speeches and all kinds of "reports".

#### 'Hypocritical' Remarks

LD191650 Moscow TASS in English 1618 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Washington, February 19 TASS -- TASS correspondent Nikolay Trukatenko reports:

Kenneth Adelman, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, speaking in Philadelphia, has set out the U.S. stand on the arms limitation problem. He assured that the United States earnestly seeks to reach agreement with the Soviet Union on nuclear and space arms. At the same time he tried in every way to present the matter so as to show that talks between the USSR and the U.S.A. in Geneva are being ostensibly hampered by the Soviet side, and not by the U.S. one.

To any unprejudiced observer, however, it becomes clear from Adelman's speech who in actual fact puts the spoke in the wheel of the Geneva talks. This is seen first of all from that part of the address in which the administration's spokesman extols the "star wars" programme and proclaimed the U.S. determination to go on implementing it. Contrary to the generally-known facts which indicate that the USA had conceived the programme for the purpose of upsetting the military-strategic parity with the USSR and of creating a U.S. first-strike capability, Adelman stated that SDI is not a problem but rather an opportunity -- an opportunity not just for arms control but also for reducing the risk of nuclear war. The hypocritical nature of such assertions is also evidenced already by the fact that the United States, while speeding up the development of space strike weapons, is busy upgrading and building up its nuclear potential and, first of all, its strategic forces.

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## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### USSR CONTINUES TO HIT U.S. RESPONSE TO GORBACHEV PROPOSAL

#### 'Constructive Response' Lacking

PM121001 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Feb 86 Morning Edition p 5

[Valentin Falin "Political Observer's Opinion": "Washington Is Blocking Movement"]

[Text] In meteorology there is a phenomenon called blocking. This is when a strong front, usually of high atmospheric pressure, forms and hinders the normal seasonal atmospheric processes.

There are blocking phenomena in politics, also. But instead of occurring spontaneously in nature, they are created by man. Tension and conflicts take over from cooperation and detente; not because night inevitably follows day, but because of shifts in the intentions and views of people in power due to the fact that certain people feel more comfortable living in a black and white world.

Here is a concrete example. Even on the Atlantic Olympus not everyone can understand why the United States opposes halting underground nuclear explosions on a permanent or temporary basis. Over to the West German representative: As long as NATO military doctrines are based on the use of nuclear weapons, Ruehl said, there can be no question of abandoning tests.

A single sentence, yet more pregnant with meaning than any speech! It admits that the United States and its allies are the initiators of the nuclear arms race. It confirms that the NATO bloc is continuing to prepare for nuclear war and does not intend to restrict its "freedom" of action in that area. Finally, it strips off all the camouflage that has been used in the past -- references to "inadequate" or "unreliable" verification. Since the proposals put forward on 15 January by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev, which envisage international inspection [inspektsiya] as well as national verification [kontrol] such references are death rather than salvation.

It is unpleasant, certainly, but there is nothing for it -- you have to reveal all, even if you risk your reputation. But it is a small risk: Deception in "democratic" circles is so common that it is more conspicuous by its absence, especially when it is posing as a "special opinion," as a sign of "deep thought," and, finally as an "honest mistake." For he who does nothing makes no mistakes and consequently, he who makes no mistakes does nothing useful.

But perhaps Bonn has gone over the top in saying that nuclear disarmament or even partial measures toward it are incompatible with the doctrine of the chief imperialist military bloc? Alas, not at all. The FRG Government is merely shifting the boss' globalism from the major key to a register that is less of an assault on the West European ear. It is in the forefront of those who are trying to divert public attention from the discrepancies between the Washington administration's words and actions which have become even more obvious, glaringly so, against the background of Geneva.

No, it was by no means accidental that there was no hint of a mention of the November summit in Reagan's "State of the Union" message, delivered in Congress the other day. To be accurate, the purpose of the foreign policy section would be seen as the antithesis of Geneva.

In Geneva the U.S. head of state signed a statement stressing the need to prevent a nuclear or any other war and to prevent an arms race in space. Two months later the same politician signed a draft budget pressing for a 75-percent increase in appropriations for research on the "star wars" program and a 25-percent increase in overall military expenditure in the immediate future.

To stir the military-industrial complex, the "defense secretary's report" was also handed to Congress. In it G. Weinberger spoke of the "need to press for a continued review of the concepts we (the administration) have inherited" and predicted that "our (U.S.) strategists will be tackling this task for many years to come."

According to Weinberger, solutions are needed which "differ substantially from the approach of those who concluded and proposed ratification of the SALT II treaty." And who, let it be said, acknowledge the importance of actual observance of the treaty's provisions now, despite the U.S. refusal to ratify it in the manner stipulated by the country's laws. Solutions are needed which will overturn all previous agreements and treaties which have entered into force, if Washington considers them to be an embarrassment either now or in the future.

What the minister dislikes above all is the treaty of unlimited duration on limiting ABM systems. "If through painstaking research," he said at the Senate Armed Services Committee meeting on 5 February, "we manage to develop [razrabotat] a reliable anti-missile defense system, then, in my view, we should, without a moment's hesitation, give notice of amendments (to the ABM Treaty) and deploy the system." Deploy it without waiting for the USSR's agreement to a revision of the treaty, because the "negotiations could take 12-15 years."

The period of 1 and 1/2 decades was not off the top of his head: According to U.S. estimates, it would take approximately that much time to switch from the current, strictly limited ABM to the projected, unlimited one. A period which the Americans see as the most unstable and dangerous. Therefore, the United States must play it safe and pretend that it is not breaking with the treaty and that, in turning everything upside down, it is only "modernizing" it and is maintaining "contact" with the Soviet Union before covering us with a space umbrella.

"Strength," the defense secretary asserts, "is the price of peace. ...The weapons we buy today will serve as the basis of U.S. military forces many years after the beginning of the 21st century." In other words, the hundreds of billions of dollars which the Reagan administration has already spent on the arms race and countless billions more which it is extorting from Congress must be put to good use; not spent on the idle talk which U.S. delegates content themselves with at international forums, talk about "lowering the levels of military confrontation by means of raising them."

Weapons are needed in order -- we quote the secretary's report -- to ensure that the United States and its allies have "guaranteed access to critically important raw material and energy resources in Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East," as well as safeguarding "safe transit on critically important sea routes linking the free, industrially developed countries to those resources and to each other," "vital U.S. interests in Asia and the Pacific," and also "vital interests in Western Europe." As if all the land -- except that which belongs to socialism -- and all the seas were on Washington's inventory; as in the olden times of open colonial piracy.

In light of Washington's latest revelations one can hardly fail to agree with Secretary of State G. Shultz that "our countries (the United States and the Soviet Union) have irreconcilably different views of the world." And although the secretary of state then stipulates that "the realities of the nuclear age demand that we (Americans) maintain constructive relations with the Soviet Union wherever that is possible without sacrificing our principles," that stipulation does not make much difference. How could anyone, without sacrificing his own principles, go along with U.S. globalism? According to Shultz, in the seventies the United States "appeared for some time to turn aside from the role of strong leader and the situation in the world became more dangerous." The logic is extremely simple -- it is necessary to "restore the military might" of the United States, as the claim to superiority is officially expressed, and everything will be fine.

Then U.S. diplomacy will once again acquire weight, since "strength and diplomacy are not contradictory; they go hand in hand." That is also an integral part of the revision of "inherited concepts" which is designed to bring closer the realization of the cherished dream of establishing peace [mir] American-style.

Peace which does not discriminate against any country or any people, peace built on trust, not on violence, a world [mir] free of the threat of destruction, because no nuclear, chemical, or other systems for the mass extermination of life remain in that world -- that is the Soviet idea, embodied in a concrete, constructive plan which could and should be realized by the end of this century, so that the new century, the 21st, is truly a new age. This would be a peace not only for the Soviet Union or for the United States, but for the first time a world peace.

Washington counterposes peace and security for all to peace and security for itself. For the others, there is what U.S. imperialism does not particularly want or what, in its munificence, it hands out. An American-style world [mir] must be ruled by strength, mainly by strength and first and foremost, by strength. In the 21st century, this means not only strength at sea, in the air, and on land, but strength in space also. Not only nuclear or chemical strength, but also laser, infrared, X-ray, and genetic strength. Until the day when the blue-green planet earth passes through a high- or low-temperature hell to become a Mars, a Saturn, or a Jupiter. *Après nous le deluge* -- that is the motto of a system incapable of finding a constructive response to the challenges of the age.

## U.S. Silence Criticized

PM121453 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Feb 86 p 3

[TASS correspondent A. Lyuty "Washington Dispatch" for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA: "Oh, This Russian Language...."]

[Text] A few days ago President Reagan delivered the traditional annual "State of the Union" address to Congress. Just as in the past, the address generated conflicting reactions among U.S. observers. There was, however, one fact which amazed most of them. Lou Cannon, veteran of the capital's press corps and THE WASHINGTON POST's White House correspondent, wrote: "The President did not utter a single word about the proposals put forward by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev on 15 January and envisaging the gradual reduction of Soviet and U.S. nuclear arsenals right up to their complete liquidation by the end of this century." Proposals, which were affirmed with renewed force in the interview with L'HUMANITE.

L. Cannon's amazement is understandable. The proposals put forward by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, were -- in the words of well-known Senator W. Proxmire -- "the most radical and far-reaching arms limitation program in history," but official Washington maintains a bashful silence on them. The Soviet program generated a response in the hearts of millions of people who are tired of the danger of a nuclear war. And yet, the White House opts for silence. "One gets the impression that nothing has happened" -- these were the maliciously ironic remarks by New York State Congressman Thomas Downey in this connection.

Let us be, however, totally fair to the Washington administration. President Reagan did say, on the day when the Soviet leader's statement was published, that the United States was "very grateful" for the Soviet proposals and even perceived some "constructive elements" in them. But almost a month has gone by and the world is still waiting for a serious, detailed, and substantive response from the White House to our proposals.

By taking such a stance, according to prominent U.S. observer Mary McGrory, the U.S. Administration is "insulting by silence" the U.S. and other peoples who have seen a real hope for durable and long-lasting peace in the disarmament program presented by Moscow.

If you were to ask Larry Speakes, Edward Djerejian, and other White House press liaison officials to clarify the reason for the official silence, they would begin a leisurely explanation to the effect that not everything is done in such a hurry and that the elaboration of a comprehensive reaction demands time and "supplementary details" which the Soviet Union has supposedly not yet supplied. These are the actual arguments that Larry Speakes has used on umpteen occasions at his daily briefings for journalists. He was undoubtedly helped a few days ago by the magazine U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, which claimed without any embarrassment that... "difficulties in translating" the Soviet proposals from Russian into English were one of the reasons for the delay in the U.S. reply.

Some people will, of course, believe these excuses, which are not too convincing. By no means all people, though. THE WASHINGTON POST wrote a few days ago that, in actual fact, the administration found itself simply "paralyzed" by the Soviet peace offensive and that "chaos reigns" inside the apparatus of arms control advisers.



Paul Warnke headed the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in the Carter Administration. When I got in touch with Paul Warnke and asked him to comment on what some newspapers called the "deadly silence" of the White House on the Soviet initiatives, he answered clearly and without hesitation: "I think everything is obvious. Your proposals were totally unexpected by the administration. It needs time to gather its wits and present an answer which would not just sound like an excuse. This is a complex matter, bearing in mind the deep-seated contradictions which are tearing the incumbent administration apart."

Let us make one thing clear at once: These contradictions are not of a fundamental nature. There is a group of officials who are implacably against any agreements with the Soviet Union in any arms limitation spheres. There are also others who believe that certain compromises in spheres where the interests of the two sides could share points of contact could be useful and necessary for the country. It is difficult to say which of the two viewpoints will gain the upper hand and whether common sense will triumph altogether. The forces of those who are in favor of whipping up the arms race at an even more insane pace are quite powerful. It is sufficient to glance at the draft Pentagon budget for fiscal 1987 which has just been submitted to Congress. It stands at almost one-third of a trillion dollars. No matter how thoroughly you examine this document, you will not find the slightest hint of even a flash of common sense. Everything is subordinated to the slogan "On with the arms buildup!" Primarily, in strategic and offensive arms. This is in addition to the almost double appropriations for work on the "star wars" program. Yet, President Reagan is still trying to convince the world that the Strategic Defense Initiative is for exclusively defensive purposes. People do not build up offensive potentials in order to defend themselves.

It is hard to foresee whether the administration's champions of compromises with the Soviet side will withstand the pressure from the military-industrial complex, for which any easing of tension in Soviet-U.S. relations is like a red rag to a bull. President Dwight Eisenhower proved to have been a wise prophet when he warned Americans on 17 January 1961 about the "grave consequences" of the too powerful influence exerted by the U.S. military-industrial complex on the country's politics. "In the government sphere," he handed down to his compatriots, "we must guard against the military-industrial complex gaining an unjustifiably powerful influence." Is today's President thinking over his predecessor's words?

The United States is now discussing the Soviet proposals with its allies. There are rumors in Washington that opportunities do exist for certain moves in the sphere of reducing the numbers of medium-range missiles in Europe.

Well, let us be patient and wait and see how the administration will respond to the Soviet disarmament program. The White House has no right to "insult with silence" the peoples in the world, who expect from responsible governments not expressions of "gratitude," but specific deeds along the path of averting the threat of nuclear annihilation that is now hanging over all of us.

### 'Took West By Surprise'

LD141407 Moscow World Service in English '0710 GMT 14 Feb 86

[Spartak Beglov commentary]

[Text] President Reagan's State of the Union message is the first major political pronouncement by a Western leader following General Secretary Gorbachev's statement of 15 January in which he offered a bold 15 year plan for scrapping nuclear weapons plus other disarmament measures. Mr Reagan's message gave not the slightest hint as to America's official reaction to the plan. This is what Spartak Beglov of the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY writes about it:

This is surprising, to say the least, in view of the widespread public support for the Soviet proposals. The Soviet nuclear disarmament plan obviously took the governments of the West by surprise.

And this time they cannot shrug it off as another Soviet propaganda ploy because in the eyes of millions of concerned people, it looks a very real thing. The Soviet plan presents a definite schedule for eliminating nuclear weapons with careful and balanced provisions for the security interests of other nuclear states and for fully controlling the disarmament process.

So why the prolonged silence on the part of NATO country governments? If one assumes that the main reason for this silence is the need for a careful study and exchange of views within the Western alliance, then it may be a good omen. But, unfortunately, the indications are just the opposite, namely that this delay is meant to give the vested interests a chance to fill the vacuum in the Western position with all sorts of artificial objections against a radical solution of the disarmament issue. It's an old tactic to prevent a sound disarmament idea from being realized by presenting the public with an accomplished fact. This is exactly what the Pentagon chief is doing when he claims that his military machine can't afford to go on without further nuclear tests. This is exactly what Mr Reagan is doing when in his State of the Union message he insists on creating a security shield, which is a codename for the "star wars" project. He actually wants us to believe that spending billions of dollars on a highly explosive astrocupola can one day render nuclear weapons obsolete.

There's a much safer, cheaper, and shorter way to achieve that: Start getting rid of nuclear weapons now and that is what the Soviet plan means to achieve before we enter the next century. Soviet readiness to start the realization of this most profound aspiration of humanity is evident, while the West still has to give a clear-cut answer.

### U.S. Considers Varied Responses

LD170025 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Feb 86

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Aleksandr Bovin]

[Text] Hello, comrades. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement, containing a 15-year plan for the elimination of nuclear armaments in stages, was announced exactly 1 month ago. Mikhail Sergeyevich addressed all peoples, all governments, but all the same, the main addressee was, understandably, the United States of America. Precisely this main addressee, has not yet replied to the Soviet proposals.

The general feeling in Washington at the beginning of the year was more or less that because the 27th CPSU Congress is approaching, it is improbable that any major foreign policy ideas will be formed in Moscow.

However, it turned out otherwise and the Soviet initiative itself, writes Ian Davidson in THE FINANCIAL TIMES, was totally unexpected both in terms of scale and timing. This has clearly stunned the entire West. Silence and incomprehensible utterances provide evidence for this. The twaddlers in strategic circles are clearly speechless. This was truly unexpected for them and the U.S. papers now report that three different versions, three different approaches to Soviet proposals, three different ways of answering them are competing against one another.

Here is Weinberger's version, that is, the Pentagon's: The Soviet proposals are sheer propaganda and generally speaking, there is practically nothing in the U.S. position that need be altered in connection with them. And there is Adelman's version, that of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. On the whole, to give a positive answer on the issue of Euromissiles, proposes Adelman, it is necessary to suggest that the Soviet Union reduce by another 50 percent its SS-20's in Asia. And then there is Shultz from the State Department. On the whole, he agrees with Adelman and adds that it would be possible for both sides to confirm adherence to the ABM Treaty. So, these are the three versions. The selection, however, has not yet been made. The arguments are going on and on in the meantime.

Special presidential and secretary of state aides on the issues of disarmament Paul Nitze and Edward Rowny have been sent to Western Europe and Asia to consult with allies and friends; both are well-known U.S. political figures. Formally, they are having consultations on how to respond to Soviet proposals. But in essence, they have repeatedly been defending the U.S. stance, which rigidly insists on continuation of the "star wars" program. This was what Rowny was hawking around Australia and China, where, in my opinion, he was not very warmly received. He was, of course, in Japan, also.

#### Allies Take 'Cover Behind Wall of Silence'

LD171853 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1548 GMT 17 Feb 86

[From "The World Today" program presented by Igor Kudrin]

[Text] The United States and the North Atlantic bloc, after high-level consultations on the latest Soviet proposals, have taken cover behind a wall of silence.

This is a quotation from the British newspaper THE GUARDIAN. I have not selected it accidentally; in my view the paper's Brussels correspondent has found a very accurate definition of the West's position -- a wall of silence. Indeed, 15 February was exactly 1 month since the publication of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement.

The days go by, but there is no response from across the ocean, although headlines of the type "The United States Plans a Positive Response to the Soviet Proposals" are not fading from U.S. newspapers. As yet, they are only planning. Of course, the package of major initiatives from the Soviet Union require serious and deep analysis and study. In addition, Washington needed to consult with Bonn and Paris, London and Brussels, Tokyo and Beijing. All of this is understandable, but the days inexorably go by.

At the end of January, THE WASHINGTON POST wrote that the Soviet arms control proposal, which was both thorough and sharp, forced the White House to move onto the defensive. The (?reactionaries') camp has also gone to ground for a bit: The Soviet Union's proposal to enter the 21st century without nuclear and chemical weapons has had too impressive an effect on millions of people. But while Washington delays its response, the right-wing politicians and the press are continually moving to the attack. Fantasies have again come into circulation. Pentagon chief Weinberger said: The Soviet proposal is basically a propagandistic gesture and there is no need to change anything in U.S. policy. They try to hush up, or at times distort, the essence of certain important clauses in the statement. They even go as far as forgery and deception: Supposedly, the Soviet Union is prepped to sign a perfectly insignificant agreement, while President Reagan does not have to renounce his Strategic Defense Initiative.

We knew in advance that our proposals would not be to the liking of some in the West. Detente still has many enemies. However, they are increasingly in the minority. A recent U.S. public opinion poll demonstrated that 74 percent of Americans support the USSR's proposal for the liquidation of nuclear weapons by 2000. Indeed, the West has to give a response before its own peoples. I would like to be an optimist and believe that the U.S. side will yet give a positive response. Herbert Wells wisely noted: If we do not put an end to war, war will put an end to us.

### Response Will Show 'True Face'

LD171835 Moscow TASS in English 1827 GMT 17 Feb 86

[Text] Moscow, February 17 TASS -- TASS military news analyst Vladimir Chernyshev writes:

The package of far-reaching Soviet peace initiatives set forth in a statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has been summed up in the world as "a comprehensive blueprint for peace," "a prescription for survival" and "the sole cure for the nuclear disease." It offers a realistic prospect for delivering the planet from nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

The complete elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in the European zone can mark a first step on this noble path, a first "course of treatment for the nuclear disease."

The Soviet leadership has explained that its proposal on this issue is not accompanied by any conditions, except a renunciation by Britain and France of their buildup of corresponding nuclear weapons and a commitment by the United States not to transfer its missiles, either strategic or medium-range, to other countries.

Everything seems to be clear and definite in this proposal. It takes into account the interests of all those who are interested in fact rather than in words in real progress towards ridding the European continent of nuclear arms.

Such proposals, U.S. Congressman Gerry Studds remarked bluntly, could not be easily turned down by the United States. This is because of the fact that if Washington keeps rejecting all Soviet attempts to bring about detente, this will give the rest of the world every reason to believe that the nuclear buildup is the only language understood by the United States. The fact apparently has been realized in Washington, which perhaps explains why U.S. Administration officials have of late been saying again and again that Washington is drafting a "response" to the Soviet proposal on medium-range missiles.

But the substance of the response, judging by American press reports, clearly fails to show a desire really to advance along the road of eradicating the "nuclear disease".

The West German newspaper FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE described the draft American response as a "revival" of the old "zero option". It said it will hardly suit the Soviet Union since the U.S. Administration will refuse to undertake not to hand over its missiles to other countries (and so will retain the possibility to supply Trident-2 missiles to Britain). The impression also is that Washington has already "persistently advised" Britain and France not to take any part even in the very first course of treatment for the "nuclear disease", that is not to agree to renounce the buildup of their respective nuclear weapons.

Moreover, according to THE BOSTON GLOBE, the U.S. Administration's aim is to demand still greater cuts in Soviet medium-range missiles, while offering nothing in return. Specifically, Washington intends to demand an additional reduction of 50 percent of the Soviet SS-20 missiles in Asia without any accompanying cuts in the American nuclear weapons in the region. The attempt to revive the "zero option", and a "zero option" at that with changes for the worse, dooms the resolution of the medium-range missile issue to failure in advance.

Some of the U.S. spokesmen are openly declaring unwillingness to reduce the American medium-range missiles in the European zone in any case. U.S. General Bernard Rogers, supreme allied commander in Europe, for one, openly voiced the apprehensions of the "hawks" when he contended that destroying medium-range weapons would mean that the Pershing-2 and cruise missiles, that is the weapons which, he said, were the binding link between European and American security, would disappear from Europe.

His claim made it appear as if there were no "linkage" between European and American security before the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe and the "linkage" will be no longer be there with the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. But in fact the general and other "hawks" are concerned about something else. U.S. medium-range missiles are first-strike weapons and are among the basic elements of the U.S.-propelled arms race, a "binding link" of this race. This is why some people in Washington are reluctant to see this link disappear because then the entire chain can come apart. But they forget in the process that their response to the Soviet proposals will show the entire world the true face, the true intentions of Washington.

## Attempts 'To Sidestep' Proposal

PM191830 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb First Edition p 5

[Vaevolod Ovchinnikov "Commentator's Column": "Still No Reply..."]

[Text] There has still been no official reply from the U.S. Administration to the Soviet proposals of 15 January. It is difficult to be openly negative about them. That is why attempts are being made to dismember and emasculate this targeted, constructive program and impose unacceptable provisos on it in order to deprive it of its practical sense and at the same time, create the semblance of some kind of "positive" approach to it on the part of the West.

Without proposing anything concrete for its part, Washington prefers the role of some kind of filter -- to pick out individual provisions that suit the U.S. Administration out of the stream of Soviet initiatives and ignore their comprehensive nature.

According to Western press reports the reply to the Soviet proposals has been discussed by NATO members in Brussels. It is clear from these commentaries that the U.S. delegation took a hard line and by no means showed a desire to seek agreement with the Soviet Union. This applies, first and foremost, to the Strategic Defense Initiative. According to information from NATO circles, U.S. representative Nitze told the session participants that there could be no question of rejecting the program and also expressed the totally unfounded opinion that the Soviet Union would make concessions on the matter.

Washington is trying in every possible way to sidestep or emasculate the core of the Soviet proposals -- the idea of the total elimination of nuclear weapons. Sources close to NATO claim that, in Nitze's words, an "abandonment of nuclear means could only be possible if they were replaced by new types of weapons of equal force." In other words, before saving mankind from the nuclear threat they are thinking about a replacement.

Insofar as can be judged from the press reports the NATO members expressed different opinions while discussing the question of medium-range missiles in Europe. Certain of them advocated accepting the Soviet proposals. Others sought pretexts for rejecting them. A freeze on British and French nuclear arsenals, they said, runs counter to the plans for their modernization, specifically the equipping of the British navy with the U.S. Trident system. Moreover, a fuss has been raised in the West European press claiming that the elimination of U.S. medium-range means would destroy the integrity of the NATO system of deterrence and would "decouple West Europe from the United States."

In conclusion, let us return to the idea of the total elimination of nuclear weapons. The U.S. President loves to number himself among the adherents to that idea. I recall how he persistently repeated to us Soviet journalists in the White House that the space umbrella would be launched only after the United States and the Soviet Union abandoned and eliminated their offensive nuclear arms. But these words were later disavowed by Washington. And the press reports about the U.S. Administration's approach to the Soviet proposals of 15 January by no means show that the White House really wants to save mankind from the nuclear threat.

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CSO: 5200/1264

## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### USSR: REAGAN'S STATE OF UNION ADDRESS AIMS AT 'IMPERIAL POLICY'

PM110951 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Feb 86 First Edition p 3

[Review by V. Pustov: "On the Basis of Hackneyed Stereotypes," under the general heading "Military-Political Review"]

[Text] It seemed to be an act of divination when the LOS ANGELES TIMES predicted that senators and members of the House of Representatives would be stunned by President R. Reagan's "State of the Union" address. This is what actually happened. Many legislators, not to mention ordinary Americans, to whom peace and international security are dear, had good cause to feel alarmed. It did not go unnoticed by them, for example, that not a word was said in the message from the master of the White House about the program put forward in the 15 January statement by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to totally eliminate nuclear weapons everywhere by the year 2000. This is a program which has aroused benevolent responses throughout the world and which, if accepted by the U.S. Administration, would, to quote the Boston newspaper THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, begin a new chapter in the history of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union at the end of the 20th century.

Here the question arises: Which chapter in Soviet-U.S. relations would the President and Defense Secretary C. Weinberger, together with members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, like to open, the latter having almost simultaneously issued statements and reports on the Pentagon budget for fiscal year 1987 and on "the U.S. military position in the world"? Some of their anti-Soviet statements have a whiff of the bad memory of the "cold war." They attempt to validate their demands to continue increasing military expenditure and building up arms with a series of hackneyed anti-Soviet stereotypes and totally false accusations that the Soviet Union "strives for domination."

The President said he will insist on a "modest, but constant increase" in military appropriations. The real essence of the President's "modesty" has already been reflected in the fact that, under the present administration, U.S. military expenditure has increased more than 1.5 times. P. Kirk, chairman of the U.S. Democratic Party National Committee, noted that the policy of inflating military expenditure pursued by the present administration has meant that, over the 5 years it has been in power, the U.S. national debt (according to official data, it has reached \$2 trillion) has increased as much as it did "during the time in power by all previous presidents, from G. Washington to J. Carter." And it is under these conditions that appropriations for military purposes have been demanded to the tune of \$320.3 billion for the next fiscal year -- for the Pentagon, the Department of Energy, and other departments. It is proposed to allocate \$311.6 billion to the Pentagon, which is almost 12 percent more than the sum allocated in the current fiscal year.

What, one asks, is the purpose of the planned military appropriations? The answer can be found in disclosures by the Pentagon chief. It is "to create an up-to-date military potential capable of ensuring the fulfillment of all of our obligations in the world...with an acceptable degree of risk." And to implement the "star wars" program disguised as a defense program.

Two kinds of measures are implied by "obligations" and "risk." First, those directly connected with the doctrine of "neoglobalism." This doctrine envisages provoking "low-intensity conflicts" everywhere in the world. This verbal camouflage conceals planned aggressive actions on various scales. "We must decide," the Pentagon chief lectures, "what form interference must take and, if we decide to intervene, by what means and with the aid of which organs."

The occupation of small, defenseless Grenada by U.S. troops, the drive to stifle Nicaragua, and provocation by U.S. naval forces along Libyan shores -- these are just some graphic illustrations of how this is decided and performed.

The draft Pentagon budget for fiscal year 1987 envisages increasing the numerical strength of U.S. Armed Forces by almost 14,000 and that of the reserves and the National Guard by 52,000, and acquiring hundreds of new M-1 Abrams tanks, infantry combat vehicles, armored personnel carriers, 4 strike submarines, 2 cruisers, 3 missile destroyers, 384 F-15, F-16, F-18A fighter planes, and so forth. It is planned to strengthen the potential of rapid deployment interventionist forces.

Second (in reckoning, but not in significance), measures are being planned to ensure a quantitative build-up in first-strike nuclear means. The question is being raised, for example, of creating 100 MX ICBMs with dividing warheads [MIRVs] (10 warheads each with a capacity of 600 kilotons). The means are being provided for building another Ohio-type nuclear missile submarine carrying 24 Trident-1 missiles (8 warheads each with a capacity of 100 kilotons on each missile).

The draft Pentagon budget also outlines the creation, development, and deployment of other nuclear weapon offensive systems: Midgetmen ICBMs, new strategic bombers, Pershing-2 medium-range ballistic missiles, and cruise missiles. In a word, everything aimed at fulfilling a dangerous, albeit impossible dream -- to gain military superiority.

In the United States, as in other countries, last week was overshadowed by the Challenger catastrophe. Suffering deeply from the tragedy, people continue to ask many questions; not only about the purely technical causes of the tragedy. The explosion of one of the four U.S. multi-use spaceships has particularly clearly highlighted and emphasized the truly global dimensions of the threat with which the "star wars" program is fraught for all mankind. "President Reagan," the Indian newspaper THE TELEGRAPH writes, "must realize the danger that lies in his 'Strategic Defense Initiative.' The Challenger catastrophe destroyed several human lives. A failure in the 'star wars' system could bring down a nuclear winter on the whole of mankind." Is this not the reason why access to correct information on the real causes, consequences, and persons responsible for the catastrophe is barred, to quote THE WASHINGTON POST, by an "iron curtain"?

Washington would like to keep a great deal secret. The ominous link, for example, between the space shuttle program, of which the ill-fated Challenger flight was a part, and the program to militarize space. R. Perle, assistant defense secretary, claims that the former supposedly has only an insignificant military component. This is said notwithstanding the fact that the Pentagon, as THE WASHINGTON POST stresses, is NASA's "major employer," instructing its shuttles to convey military components into space within the framework of the "star wars" program.



It is precisely the Pentagon that is now most concerned with finding the speediest solution to the problem of how and with what to replace the destroyed Challenger which, like other shuttles, was intended, in particular, to take intelligence satellites and other military-purpose units into space. It is calculated that building a new spaceship would cost approximately \$2 billion and would take 2 and 1/2 years. Consequently, the question of using launch vehicles such as the Titan, for example, instead of Challenger is being considered as an alternative. It is not ruled out that the hasty Pentagon will request additional funds to build new, more powerful rockets which would be capable of carrying heavy military components into space.

The draft military budget attests to the desire to speed up the militarization of space. A total of \$4.8 billion is being requested for fiscal year 1987 to implement the infamous "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI) -- almost double that for the current fiscal year.

And next year it is planned to increase the correspondent appropriations to \$3.5 billion.

U.S. militarist programs reveal another connection which clearly refutes unsubstantiated claims as to the supposedly "inoffensive" nature of SDI. The existence of this connection has even been admitted by Weinberger, who stated that SDI must be one of the buttresses of the U.S. nuclear "restraining factor" for many years to come and that it is a "component part and cornerstone of a whole series of changes" in U.S. strategic forces. In other words, the creation of one causes a sharp increase in the other. Both strategic and space weapons may be used as first nuclear strike means.

Although it is planned to complete implementation of the entire undertaking with "star wars" in 10 years, it will have very serious consequences -- if Washington persists in this matter -- even in the immediate future. "The fact of the matter is," M.S. Gorbachev says in his replies to questions put by the newspaper L'HUMANITE, "that, by implementing the 'star wars' program, Washington is basically consciously wrecking negotiations in progress and cancelling all existing agreements on arms limitation. In this case, even in the immediate future, the Soviet Union and the United States, their allies, and the whole world would find themselves in a situation of an absolutely uncontrolled arms race, strategic chaos, the most dangerous undermining of stability, universal uncertainty and fear, and, connected with all this, an increase in the risk of a catastrophe."

It is precisely on this level that we must evaluate the President's "State of the Union" address and the statements by U.S. military leaders. They are aimed at extorting additional large sums for pursuing an imperial policy "from a position of strength" and for taking on more and more new lethal systems. Illusory hopes of the United States gaining military superiority over the Soviet Union and of realizing the foolhardy idea of a "crusade" against socialism are now primarily connected with implementation of the "star wars" program.

The Soviet Union's precise, clear response to this challenge is well known. We are not afraid of falling behind in the space race if it is forced on us. Our military and technological potential should not be put to the test again. This could cost not only ourselves and the United States dearly, irreparably dearly, but also the whole of mankind. This serious warning has met with support from all people who soberly appraise the threat to peace emanating from the forces of war and aggression.

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## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### USSR: U.S. ADHERES TO 'CONTRADICTION POSITION'

PM191240 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Feb 86 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Candidate of Technical Sciences Colonel (Reserve) V. Chernyshev under the rubric "Reading Between the Lines of the Statement": "Moment of Truth and Fantasy"]

[Text] Finally and irrevocably, the time has come to end the crazy nuclear arms race and completely bar arms from space, the Soviet Union has declared. A radical and, at the same time, realistic alternative to nuclear war, taking the interests of all peoples into account, is contained in the statement of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. It sets forth a program for the total destruction of nuclear weapons -- a program strictly calculated in time and subdivided into three specific, organically linked stages which proceed one from the other and, in a number of elements, overlap.

Naturally, this noble aim can only be achieved if the Soviet Union and the United States renounce the creation [sozdaniye], testing, and deployment of space strike arms.

But representatives of the U.S. Administration try to draw a veil over this specific and practicable Soviet program and equate it with the U.S. leadership's very general statements on its alleged "desire" to free the world from nuclear weapons. In an ABC TV interview Secretary of State G. Shultz even went so far as to claim that the United States has "held this position for a long time," almost since the end of the forties. According to him, it turns out that Washington has constantly dreamed of destroying nuclear weapons and the United States has in no way been the constant initiator of the nuclear arms race throughout all 4 postwar decades in its pursuit of the chimera of military superiority.

Frankly speaking, since the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting and since the Soviet Union advanced a specific nuclear disarmament program, the continuing attempts by administration spokesmen to claim that it is possible to take the "star wars" path to arrive at "the world's deliverance from nuclear weapons" are particularly striking. Could anyone in the world believe such a thing? You might think the sermons in favor of "star wars" would become obsolete now that everyone knows how the world can be rid of the nuclear cudgel within a real time span. However, the number of preachers in Washington is not yet diminishing. They are continuing to create myths. They are seeking to deceive the world public and to sow certain illusions. But politics are not built on illusions nor even on good intentions, but on real foundations, on the demands of the time, and on the interests of one's own people and of other people.

The White House continues to adhere to its contradictory position. On the one hand, the joint statement on the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting recorded the agreement by both sides that work at the talks on nuclear and space arms will be accelerated with a view to fulfilling, above all, such tasks as preventing an arms race in space and ending it on earth. On the other hand, Washington is once again stubbornly refusing to agree to the Soviet proposal for the total ban on space strike arms.

But let us assume for the moment that, as Washington frequently declares, SDI is aimed at "making an important contribution to the creation of a world free from nuclear weapons."

The official "schedule" for the "star wars" program provides for three stages: The first is to last at least 10 years, when the United States will carry out work on SDI; the second will last "several decades," during which "defensive means" will be tested, developed [razrabatyvat], and deployed; during the third stage, the United States -- provided there are "suitable technical and political conditions" -- reckons on being in a position to reduce all nuclear weapons.

So, even according to the official interpretation, the United States "reckons on being in a position" to reduce nuclear weapons in many decades' time and only then provided "suitable conditions" exist, while the conditions will be evaluated by the "star warriors" themselves at their own discretion. Somewhere in the distant "mist" of the next millennium all this might happen, perhaps not. For those who promise this now will long since have ceased to exist; no responsibility.

The Soviet Union's approach to solving the most important problems of war and peace, on whose solution the destinies not only of the Soviet and U.S. peoples, but also of all mankind depend, is fundamentally different. The Soviet Union proposes embarking without delay on the process of freeing the world from nuclear weapons, completing it within 15 years, and entering the next millennium without means of mass destruction. And, at the same time, leaving space clear, without any arms.

The United States intends to spend 10 years carrying out work on the creation [sozdaniye] of space strike arms and, at the same time, to build up and improve all nuclear arms. But under the Soviet scheme, the Soviet Union and the United States would halve the number of nuclear arms capable of reaching each other's territory during the first 5-8 years and come to a decision on the total elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in the European zone. At the second stage, not later than 1990, the remaining nuclear powers would start to be involved in the nuclear disarmament process and then, all nuclear powers would totally eliminate tactical nuclear weapons.

According to the U.S. "concept," the "transitional period" lasting "several decades" -- the stage of the deployment of new arms in space and on the earth -- would begin in 10 years, that is, somewhere in the region of 1995. But under the Soviet plan, the third stage of nuclear disarmament would begin not later than the same year of 1995 and the elimination of all nuclear weapons would be completed in full.

"If it is just a question of putting an end to the nuclear threat," M.S. Gorbachev said in response to L'HUMANITE's questions, "Then why does the United States not agree in principle to the latest Soviet proposals. They provide for a far shorter, more direct, cheaper, and most importantly, safer way to remove the nuclear threat -- the total elimination of nuclear weapons. I emphasize -- safer. For the path to this goal now being proposed by the United States is hopeless."

The Soviet assessment of the state of affairs is that for every "believer" in the fantastic U.S. plan to deliver the world from the nuclear threat in Washington, there are at least 10 cynics. The "dreams" of these cynics boil down to creating the possibility for the United States to carry out nuclear aggression with impunity, drawing the Soviet Union into the space arms race, undermining its economy, widening the technological gap between the United States and Western Europe, thereby ensuring the latter's dependence on Washington, and so forth.

However, it is time for all responsible persons in Washington to embark on a realistic path and abandon all illusions. It is time they realized that the Soviet proposals constitute a kind of "moment of truth" and that Washington's response to them will once again reveal to the whole world the true aims they are pursuing with their policy.

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## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

TASS: ARMS VERIFICATION SEEN AS 'NO PROBLEM' FOR ACCORD

LD171631 Moscow TASS in English 1543 GMT 17 Feb 86

[Text] Moscow, February 17 TASS -- TASS news analyst Vasilii Kharkov writes:

The British newspaper FINANCIAL TIMES writes today that with modern technical means, arms control agreements can be verified with a high degree of confidence. The paper denounces those "hawks" in the Reagan administration that seek to make "effective verification" the keystone of their negative position towards the Soviet disarmament programme. "The real problem with verification, however, is not so much technical as political", the FINANCIAL TIMES underlines.

One cannot fail to agree with this view. And indeed, the question of verification lies in the political and good will which Washington should display. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned verification is no problem. The Soviet stand with regard to armaments under destruction and limitation, which was formulated in the January 15 statement by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev, is crystal clear and rules out any false speculation. The Soviet Union is prepared to effect in practice any measures of the most rigid control whether it is related to refusal to conduct any nuclear explosions, a ban on the development of space strike arms (to the point of inspection of relevant laboratories), the elimination of chemical weapons or reduction in conventional arms, etc.

No one can object to the fact that the issue of effective verification is highly important in the cause of nuclear disarmament. Opponents of disarmament have been clinging to this problem to this day in a bid to prevent progress in accomplishing this task of vital importance in our day and age. The Soviet Union has a no less stake in verification than any other side. It fosters this strong interest of itself with drafting large-scale measures to verify limitation, reduction, and liquidation of armaments. The U.S.S.R. holds that concrete agreements on disarmament should be verified both by national technical means and on-site inspection through international procedures. The U.S.S.R. suggested the United States coming to terms on this.

But the Soviet Union underscores that the point at issue should be control over disarmament and not armament, for which "hawks" in the United States and NATO are actually after.

The appeal by the Soviet Union, addressed to the entire mankind, to enter the 21st century without nuclear weapons, to harness the energy of the atom to the service of peace, meets the aspirations of all peoples. This appeal is ardently supported by hundreds of millions of people on all continents, who expect from Washington a constructive and businesslike approach to it.

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## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### SOVIET EXPERTS HOLD PRESS CONFERENCE IN GENEVA

#### TASS Report

LD131957 Moscow TASS in English 1942 GMT 13 Feb 86

[Text] Geneva, February 13 TASS -- A group of Soviet experts -- Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, senior official of the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee Nikolay Shishlin and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Vitaliy Zhurkin, staying here, today met with leaders of the Soviet and American delegations to the Geneva negotiations on nuclear and space armaments. Meetings were also held with the American delegation and the delegations of the socialist countries participating in the work of the conference on disarmament.

The main attention was paid to the large-scale plan of peace and disarmament, which was put forward in the statement by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev.

The Soviet experts held at the Palace of Nations a press conference which was attended by representatives of mass media organs accredited in Geneva. The character of the questions raised by foreign journalists testifies to profound interest in the Soviet initiatives, which are being actively discussed by the political circles and broad public of different countries.

#### Good Chance of Accord

AU131648 Paris AFP in English 1631 GMT 13 Feb 86

[Excerpt] Geneva, Feb 13 (AFP) -- Two top Soviet officials today said there was a good chance of reaching a U.S.-Soviet agreement this year on medium-range missiles in Europe.

Progress in the ongoing negotiations here could lead to "very positive results" in a planned summit later this year between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan, the officials said.

The officials, Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Moscow Institute of World Economic Studies and International Relations, and Vitaliy Zhurkin, deputy director of the Institute for the United States and Canada, were addressing a press conference here.

They said the proposal put forward by Mr. Gorbachev on January 15 was not linked to Mr. Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, a space-based anti-missile research program. But the Soviet proposal, they said, remained tied to a future agreement by Britain and France not to boost their strategic capabilities and to a U.S. pledge not to supply such arms to third countries.

Both conditions were brushed off yesterday as "unacceptable" by a group of U.S. senators visiting Geneva.

Mr. Primakov and Mr. Zhurkin were here to meet U.S. and Soviet negotiators at the disarmament talks, as well as the delegations attending the U.N. conference on disarmament.

The Soviet Union, they said, was ready to work out an identical agreement on missiles in Asia "on condition the United States does not increase its strategic nuclear capabilities on the Asian borders of the Soviet Union."

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## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### SOVIET 'EXPERTS' HOLD NEWS CONFERENCE ON PROPOSALS IN VIENNA

LD171850 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT 17 Feb 86

[Text] Vienna, February 17 TASS -- Taking into account the keen interest shown all over the world in the statement on disarmament issued by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and numerous requests by members of the press for explanations and comments on its individual provisions, a group of Soviet foreign-policy experts have arrived in Vienna under arrangements with the Soviet Embassy in Austria.

They held a news conference in the press club of the Austrian capital, which dealt with the latest Soviet disarmament initiatives and was attended by numerous journalists representing the Austrian and foreign press, including leading Vienna papers, and the news agencies of a number of countries.

It was pointed out at the news conference that Mikhail Gorbachev's statement sets forth a concrete and detailed plan for action to remove the most formidable threat facing mankind today, that of a nuclear war.

The Soviet experts also called attention to the extension by the USSR, as a gesture of good will, of its unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions till March 31 and to its repeated call on the United States to join the constructive step.

The Soviet experts also answered questions from attending newsmen.

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## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### TASS ON EUROPE-U.S. 'DISSENT' ON ARMS TALKS

LDL31841 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1414 GMT 13 Feb 86

[Text] London, 13 Feb (TASS) -- A session of the NATO Council at ambassador level -- permanent representatives took place on 12 February in Brussels under conditions of strict secrecy. P. Nitze, the special adviser on arms reduction talks to the U.S. President and secretary of state took part in the council's work.

According to REUTER, the representatives of the member countries expressed to Nitze "mixed feelings in connection with the United States proposed reply to the plan of the Soviet leader, M.S. Gorbachev, to eliminate nuclear weapons stage-by-stage by the year 2000."

The news agency report from Brussels goes on to say that, according to the participants in the session, Nitze stated to the council that Washington would not agree to the Soviet demand that the French and British nuclear arsenals be frozen and that the deployment of U.S. nuclear weapons in other countries be banned. He also defended the principle of "globalism" in the solution of the problem of medium-range nuclear weapons, by means of which the United States is attempting to block the elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe.

A press conference given by A. Holmes, a State Department specialist on medium-range missiles, which had been planned for immediately after the NATO Council session, was cancelled at the very last moment for considerations of secrecy. Instead of this, Holmes made a short statement saying: "As President Reagan has already said, the United States will not adopt final decisions until the completion of discussions with its allies. The NATO members have confirmed their support for the appeal by U.S. President Reagan and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which was contained in the joint Soviet-U.S. statement of 21 November 1985, to strive for the most rapid progress in those areas where there are common points of contact, including in medium-range nuclear weapons."

Later, Nitze flew to Washington to report to Reagan on the results of his trip, along with E. Rowny, the other adviser on arms reduction talks to the President and the secretary of state who was engaged in taking U.S. allies in Asia to task.

The British GUARDIAN writes in this connection:

"The North-Atlantic bloc NATO has hidden itself behind the wall of silence, after top-level consultations were held between the allies in respect of the recent moves in the field of the Soviet-U.S. talks on arms control. The sudden cancellation of the planned press conference has given rise to rumors of disagreement between the United States and European countries on the issue of strategy at the talks. However, circles close to the NATO meeting have denied the reports of dissent."

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## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### GORBACHEV REPLY RELAYED TO SWEDISH ANTIWAR GROUP

LD111809 Moscow TASS in English 1800 GMT 11 Feb 86

["The Common Task of Mankind" -- TASS headline; quotation marks as received]

[Text] Stockholm, February 11 TASS -- A group of activists of Swedish anti-war organizations and groups which had been set up on a professional basis visited the Embassy of the USSR in Sweden today. Their visit was made in connection with a significant event.

Boris Pankin, the ambassador of the USSR to Sweden, acquainted the peace campaigners with a reply by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to their letter which had expressed profound concern of the Swedish professional groups, which come out in favour of peace, against nuclear weapons, over the mounting nuclear arms race, and had drawn special attention to disastrous consequences which the use of nuclear weapons would bring to the world civilisation.

On behalf of 21 Swedish professional groups the letter emphasized an urgent necessity to conclude a treaty on a total ban on nuclear weapon testing, which would be a substantial headway on the way to the establishment of peace and security throughout the world.

During the meeting the Soviet ambassador informed the representatives of the Swedish peace-loving public that it was with interest that Mikhail Gorbachev had acquainted himself with the letter, and had requested to convey the following to its authors:

"Removal of the threat of nuclear war is a task facing the entire population of the globe. The problem of banning nuclear arms must be resolved thoroughly, in a cardinal way. This is why the Soviet Union proposes a concrete programme of the complete elimination of nuclear arms everywhere with the simultaneous establishment of an international ban on the development, testing and deployment of space strike arms. If nuclear weapons are eliminated and a universal agreement is achieved that they will not re-emerge, the material base for nuclear war will thus be destroyed.

The ending of nuclear weapon tests is the key that opens the door to a world free from the most horrible weapons of mass destruction for without tests the arsenals of nuclear weapons will not be upgraded and will soon start deactivating. The time factor is very important in this now, as in no other matter. The Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions has been in effect for over six months now. The participants in the 40th session of the United Nations General Assembly, millions of people the world over welcomed that step of the Soviet Union as a bold undertaking, a good example for practical transition to the ending of nuclear tests everywhere and by all nuclear powers starting, naturally, with the USSR and the USA.

The turning of the moratorium into a bilateral Soviet-American one, would mean implementing the arrangements reached during the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan. The Soviet Union cannot show endlessly unilateral restraint in the matter, particularly in conditions when the United States, which made a greater number of nuclear explosions than the USSR as it is, continues making them even after the Soviet Union disrupted its programme of nuclear testing. The present situation requires insistently that representatives of the USSR, the USA, and Great Britain get down to a negotiating table to conclude the tripartite talks disrupted by Washington, the talks to draft the text of a treaty on a total ban on nuclear tests in all the media. The Soviet Union is prepared to embark on such talks also in the framework of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament in which all the five nuclear powers would take part.

People in the U.S.S.R. share the view held by the Swedish professional groups that reliable means exist already today to ensure verification of the termination of nuclear tests. At the same time, in order to remove all grounds for the allegations on the existing difficulties of verification, the U.S.S.R. agrees to employing, along with national technical means, international procedures -- including on-site inspections whenever necessary.

The U.S.S.R. expressed, in particular, its readiness to make use of the proposal by the leaders of six states of various continents, including Sweden, to set up in their territories special stations to monitor the fulfillment of the accord on halting nuclear tests. In a word, verification cannot be a hurdle to a complete and universal prohibition of nuclear weapon tests.

The anti-war and anti-nuclear movements and organisations are called upon to play a major role in mobilizing the public opinion against the nuclear arms race and for a comprehensive ban on nuclear weapon tests.

Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet ambassador said, wishes the participants in the Swedish professional groups great success in their noble activity for the benefit of peace and disarmament.

The activists of the Swedish groups, uniting physicians, engineers, lawyers, scientists, journalists, actors, writers and representatives of other professions, expressed gratitude and deep satisfaction with the fact that the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev responded to their letter. They stressed that the content of the response by the Soviet leader coincides in many respects with those thoughts and views by which the Swedish professional groups are guided in their activity.

They expressed the conviction that, despite the complex international situation, there exist opportunities for preventing nuclear war. In this connection the representatives of the public emphasized special importance of Mikhail Gorbachev's statement dated January 15, this year. The document, which contains a program for the elimination of nuclear weapons before the year 2000 and other peaceful initiatives, accords with the aspirations and interests of all the peoples and therefore it is highly appreciated in all countries of the world, including Sweden. They pointed out that Mikhail Gorbachev's reply to their letter is yet another convincing illustration that the USSR highly values the movement of the peace and anti-war forces of various states, including the activities of Swedish professional groups.

During the conversation the activists said that they had sent similar letters to the leaders of the other nuclear powers from whom they likewise hope to get replies.

"We have taken Mikhail Gorbachev's reply with great gratification", Mirre Hofsten, secretary of the "Writers of Sweden Against Nuclear Weapons" organisation, has said in an interview with a TASS correspondent. "It has once again clearly and extensively set out the USSR's stand on such vitally important problem as ridding mankind of the threat of nuclear annihilation. At the same time it gives a high appraisal of our contribution to the struggle for peace, against nuclear weapons, which is a great stimulus to the intensification of our efforts in this direction. "In the coming days we shall attentively acquaint ourselves with the Soviet leader's reply and shall work out a further program for the activities of our groups in the interests of peace and security on earth", Mirre Hofsten emphasized.

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## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### TRANSCRIPT OF SHEVARDNAZE'S TOKYO NEWS CONFERENCE

PM141127 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 5, 10 Feb 86 pp 11-13

["Transcript of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's Press Conference at the Japanese Press Club in Tokyo, 19 January": "Both Sides The Gainers"]

[Excerpts] Shevardnadze. Ladies and gentlemen, I wish to thank the leadership of the Japanese Press Club and personally Mr Arai for their kind invitation to meet you.

I must frankly say that, this being Sunday, I expected a smaller attendance at this, my first press conference on the talks that have been held. But it has worked the other way around. I was reluctant to spoil your rest day, but I believe that newsmen do not relax, not only on Sundays, but also when they sleep. After all, when journalists and diplomats take a day off, public opinion is left to its own devices. And that is hardly desirable.

I have been told that Japanese newsmen have "complained" that the Soviet side has been "regulating" the information on the talks we have had here. I think the reproach is not quite justified. First, there were press releases and public pronouncements. Sufficient material was made available for obtaining an idea of the nature of the talks and the atmosphere in which they were held. Second, as a rule, talks proceed in such a way as to make it difficult to say precisely where the discussion of one or another issue is completed, especially if it is a question of the world situation and problems relating to security. Besides, we made a point of not hurrying with conclusions before hearing out the other side and putting forward our own arguments.

Now, after three rounds of talks and unofficial conversations with Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe and an interesting and meaningful meeting with Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, some conclusions can be drawn.

Above all the resumption of political dialogue, which both sides firmly agreed to continue, is a positive fact in itself. It may be said that we now have a much better idea of each other's positions, moreover, on a wide range of issues. In this respect we took a step forward. The important thing is that the desire to meet each other half-way was mutual and sincere.

As you know, a message from CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev was conveyed to Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone inviting him to visit the Soviet Union. Mikhail Gorbachev was similarly invited to visit your splendid country. This means that political contacts will be continued at the highest level.

I should like to dwell in greater detail on a question which occupied a central place in the meeting with Prime Minister Nakasone and the talks with Foreign Minister Abe. I am referring to the initiatives put forward by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, initiatives comprehensive in scale and truly historic in significance which open a real avenue to the elimination of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons by the end of the century. I found it noteworthy that the leaders of Japanese political parties I talked with yesterday described these initiatives as epochal.

I believe that you are well acquainted with the statement made by Gorbachev, and hence shall not go into it in detail. I only wish to stress that our proposals cover the entire range of issues relating to the limitation and elimination of armaments, primarily the nuclear and chemical. The Soviet Union's comprehensive programme directed at removing the threat of nuclear destruction by the end of the century has evoked great interest the world over and met with wide support on the part of both governments and the public.

It must be noted, however, that attempts are already being made to erode the substance of our proposals, to implant scepticism in people's minds, doubts as to the feasibility of the objective set. There are some who, while complimenting the Soviet initiative, are trying to sidetrack its discussion far off course. To begin with it is approached not as the integral, all-embracing programme it is. It may be said that the idea is to fragment it into isolated elements.

The day before yesterday we visited an auto plant and saw the conveyor in operation. In relation to our initiative it might be said that certain quarters would like to reverse the conveyor in order to dismantle the up-to-date working model of disarmament already assembled. A different "technology" is also used. An argument is started as to who was the first and it is hinted that the Soviet proposals have been borrowed from the American side. If this were so, it would seem that there should be no hitches in working out a programme for the abolition of nuclear and chemical weapons and carrying out other arms limitation measures.

Again we hear allegations that the Soviet Union is once more laying down preliminary conditions. It is insisting, you see, on the U.S. dropping the "star wars" programme. For those bent on embarking on an arms race in the most dangerous area of all - in outer space - our stand is truly an impediment.

But it is absurd to talk about doing away with nuclear weapons while developing new space strike weapons, which in no sense are less dangerous than the nuclear and are envisaged as an addition to the already existing mass destruction weapons potentials. Once we decide to disarm, armaments must be eliminated and not carried over from Earth to outer space.

A few words about verification. Mikhail Gorbachev's statement makes it clear that we are for combining all forms of verification -- through national technical means, international mechanisms, on-the-spot inspections, and access to relevant research laboratories.

We propose working out clear-cut procedures that would fully guarantee the destruction of nuclear and chemical weapons and preclude the possibility of their reappearance. The impression is that whatever forms of verification we agree to, the other side promptly thinks up new ones in order to evade any real disarmament measures.

The proposals put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev offer a real alternative to the increasingly dangerous arms race which must be checked, and open the prospect of a more secure world for all. To this end the Soviet Union is ready for wide cooperation with all who proceed from positions of reason, good will, and awareness of their responsibility for ensuring humanity a future without wars and without armaments.

In this connection I should like to recall what the well-known Latin American writer Gabriel Garcia Marquez said about decisions taken with a sense of responsibility today -- being operative also in the 21st century. It seems to me that the statement by Mikhail Gorbachev has precisely this significance: it anticipates how and in what situation we shall enter the next century.

Assembled in this hall are representatives of the press of different countries. I would like each of you to construct a mental picture of what an uncontrolled arms race and the further sophistication of the means of destruction would spell for your countries. Think of the situation in which we all would find ourselves in the year 2000, if we are destined to see it at all. Compare your forecast with the situation that could come into being if the programme for a radical break with military rivalry advanced by Gorbachev is realized. In the final analysis we shall have to answer to coming generations.

Thank you. I am now ready to answer your questions.

Soviet television. How do things stand as regards the projected meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and the U.S. President, and can it be understood that by his statement Comrade Gorbachev is making the problems of nuclear and chemical weapons the central issue at this meeting?

Shevardnadze. In Geneva agreement in principle was reached on continuing the Soviet-American summit meetings. The idea is that Mikhail Gorbachev will visit the U.S. and meet the President and the U.S. President will visit the Soviet Union next year. The dates have not yet been fixed. Arrangements are now being made and the dates will be announced later. We are seriously preparing for this meeting. Our most important argument is the statement by Comrade Gorbachev. Needless to say, security and disarmament will hold the central place in the Soviet leader's meeting with the U.S. President. This is how we visualize the meeting. If you consider my answer insufficiently exhaustive, we can talk about it again in Moscow.

ASSOCIATED PRESS. My question is connected with the Soviet Union's attitude to SDI. President Reagan has often said that at present this is a matter only of research into the defensive possibilities and the object is not to create an offensive weapon. The United States is therefore, continuing research relating to defence in outer space. It is not against the U.S.S.R. conducting similar research. Why, then, should the Soviet side object to similar research in the United States?

Shevardnadze. No one prevents you from engaging in research. Mikhail Gorbachev has made this quite plain. Laboratory research is going on both in the U.S.A. and in the U.S.S.R. If you create space strike weapons we shall do the same, we shall not be found wanting. But we are proposing an altogether different concept to do away with all that hinders us now from delivering people of the fear of nuclear catastrophe, to destroy nuclear weapons, to destroy chemical weapons. What need would there be in that case for a so-called "defence system"? Against what? Against whom? What is the need of it? Why spend trillions and trillions of dollars on creating that system? The alternative we propose is this: let us cooperate in the peaceful exploration of outer space, in the peaceful exploration of Mars, and so on, for there are plenty of planets and galaxies. This is a tremendous field for exploration. And so it is quite a different programme the Soviet Union is proposing. The logic is not on your side.

I cannot reply to this question calmly because the life of humanity on Earth is at stake. SDI is not as innocuous a programme as it is depicted. It is a military programme, a programme for the militarization of outer space. Let me remind you of the philosophy propounded by U.S. President Johnson: he who dominates outer space will dominate the Earth as well. That is the secret of the "star wars" concept.

It is even sometimes said in the U.S. that the Soviet Union is ahead of the United States in scientific research, in particular in the creation of space weapons. If that is so, the American side should be even more interested in prohibiting space weaponry. A far better course would be to keep the sky and outer space clear for peaceful cooperation.

The chairman then declared the press conference closed and thanked the Soviet Foreign Minister.

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## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### REPORTAGE ON GORBACHEV MESSAGE TO JAPANESE MAYORS

#### Text of Contents

LD121237 Moscow TASS in English 1229 GMT 12 Feb 86

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS -- Follows the full text of Mikhail Gorbachev's message:

"To Mr. Hitoshi Motoshima, mayor of Nagasaki; to Mr. Takeshi Araki, mayor of Hiroshima; Esteemed messrs,

Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, who recently visited Japan, told me of your addresses, pervaded with the anguish of the tragedy through which the people of your cities lived and with anxiety over the future of mankind. I am truly moved by your ardent desire to see the world free from nuclear weapons, which are fraught with catastrophe for world civilization. Many letters which have come in from Japan -- those from the association of the Nagasaki Victims of Atomic Bombing, the Society for Collection of Signatures in support of Victims of the Atomic Bombing, the Society of Relatives of People Killed in the Atomic Bombing, the Society of Friends of Victims of the Atomic Bombing and other -- bespeak the same desire.

The two words "Hiroshima" and "Nagasaki" are echoing like the tolling of the bell in the hearts of the upright people of the world today. They are ringing an appeal for preventing nuclear conflagration and safeguarding peace. The Soviet Union understands your anxiety better than any other country. Every Soviet family was singed in the past war, which took a toll of 20 million lives of our people.

Recently our country reiterated its readiness for constructive practical steps to rid mankind of the fear of nuclear catastrophe and to contribute as much as possible to the improvement of the international situation. We proposed a concrete program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons during a definite period of time. Its contents are well-known in Japan.

We are grateful to you for the high appraisal of the new Soviet initiatives expressed by you. We are confident that the pooled efforts of the governments, political parties and peoples can and should create conditions for the people of our planet to enter the 21st century without nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass annihilation. In our assessment, such a task today is vitally important and timely more than any time before. On the other hand, it is realistic and feasible. It is important to act vigorously in the name of it, to act immediately, to act all together.

The clearly defined approach of the Soviet Union to the great goal -- the elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere and for good is supplemented, as is known, by the extension of the moratorium on any nuclear explosions -- the moratorium introduced on the day of the 40th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. By making such a move that met with a positive response on your part, which we appreciate duly, the Soviet Union proposed to the U.S.A. yet another time to join in the moratorium. The benefits of such a step for all are evident.

Moving toward a nuclear-free world, mankind ought to surmount obstacles that may arise on that path. And the main of the obstacles of this kind are attempts to militarize space, to fill the near-earth orbit with space strike arms and turn it into a place d'armes. The realization of the "star wars" concept will blast hopes for a reduction in nuclear arms on earth -- everyone should understand this.

I would like to repeat again: The prevention of the militarization of outer space is the fundamental condition for the termination of the arms race.

The Soviet programme of building the world without nuclear and other armaments by the turn of the century is addressed to all, for no one can remain indifferent in face of the universal threat. We also address our appeal to Japan.

The Japan-proclaimed "three non-nuclear principles", which provide for the renunciation of the possession of nuclear weapons, their production and introduction into its territory, are well-known in the Soviet Union. These principles could receive broad international recognition and set an example for many countries if the world became convinced of their strict and invariable observance.

We know that 900 Japanese cities, townships and villages, inhabited by more than half of the country's population, have proclaimed themselves nuclear-weapon free zones. This mounting movement reflects the striving of the broad masses of the Japanese people to make their country really nuclear-free and thus contribute to eliminating nuclear weapons from the face of earth.

It is inscribed on the memorial stone in Hiroshima: "Rest in peace, the error will not be repeated." This is a vow of remembering the dead, a vow to the present and succeeding generations. It obliges all who cherish peace and life on earth itself to do everything possible to build for mankind a secure road into the future that will have no place for weapons and wars.

Yours sincerely, M. Gorbachev"

Ceremonies Held

LD122217 Moscow TASS in English 2010 GMT 12 Feb 86

[Text] Tokyo, February 12 TASS -- Ceremonies have taken place in Nagasaki and Hiroshima to deliver Mikhail Gorbachev's reply message to the mayors of the two Japanese cities which were subjected to the U.S. atomic bombings at the end of World War Two.

Speaking at the ceremony, Hitoshi Motoshima, the mayor of Nagasaki, said: "The contents of Mikhail Gorbachev's message meet the innermost aspirations of the population of our city who experienced the consequences of the atomic bombing. I would like to point out the great importance of the Soviet peace initiatives and, in particular, the Soviet Union's readiness, expressed in the reply message, for constructive practical steps with a view to securing the elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000."

"We," Mr. Motoshima went on to say, "highly appreciate the Soviet Union's concrete steps towards prohibition of nuclear weapons and, above all, its unilateral termination of nuclear explosions. We wholeheartedly welcome the fact that the USSR has been the first among the countries possessing nuclear weapons to announce a moratorium on nuclear tests".

When accepting the message, Takeshi Araki, the mayor of Hiroshima, said: "The words which are inscribed on the monument to the victims of the atomic bombing 'You May Rest Assured, the Error Will Not Recur' which are contained in Mikhail Gorbachev's reply message are indicative of the profound understanding of our sentiments and of the Soviet people's ardent striving to rid the world of nuclear weapons. This striving produced deep impression.

"The Soviet Union has made active steps in this direction. We the residents of Hiroshima remember well that the USSR introduced a moratorium on nuclear explosions precisely on August 6 the day of the 40th anniversary of the atomic bombing of our city. This is an important step and the residents of Hiroshima highly appreciate it."

Deep gratitude to the Soviet leader for the reply message was expressed on behalf of all people of Nagasaki and Hiroshima by Sendji Yamaguchi, chairman of the Japanese confederation of the organizations of the victims of the atomic bombings, and Sakaya Ito, the co-chairman of the confederation. "The reply message," Mr. Yamaguchi pointed out, "just as the new Soviet peace initiatives, are indicative of the Soviet Union's aspiration to take practical steps in actual fact and not in words towards the elimination of nuclear weapons in order to rid mankind of the nightmare of nuclear war."

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## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### USSR'S CHERVOV DISCUSSES GORBACHEV PROPOSAL, DISARMAMENT

DW131001 Berlin ARD Television Network in German 2200 GMT 12 Feb 86

[Interview with Soviet Colonel General Nikolay F. Chervov by Lothar Loewe, SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG correspondent Josef Joffe, and STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG correspondent Walther Stuetzle on the "Fernseh Pressekonferenz" program in Berlin; questions in German, answers in Russian with superimposed German translation -- recorded]

[Text] [Loewe] Good evening ladies and gentlemen, welcome to the SFB [Sender Freies Berlin] television press conference. In our studio we have as guest Colonel General Nikolay Chervov, member of the Soviet general staff, where he is a department chief and specialist on weapons and disarmament problems. As guest we have Josef Joffe, foreign policy editor of SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, and Walther Stuetzle of STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, a military expert and former chief of the defense ministry's planning staff.

General Chervov, the Gorbachev proposal envisages that the intermediate-range missiles, that is the Pershing and cruise missiles, should be eliminated in Western Europe simultaneously with the 250 Soviet SS-20 missiles in the European part of Russia. How will that be done? Do you want to move all the SS-20 missiles into a big square; will they be scrapped there, so to speak; and is it to happen in the presence of Western observers? What will then happen to the SS-20 missiles you have deployed east of the Urals, which are targeted at Asia, but which can be removed or targeted at Europe?

[Chervov] Gentlemen, an important feature of Gorbachev's statement, a feature of the Soviet program to rid the world of nuclear weapons, is its European aspect. The European aspect envisages the liquidation -- I stress -- the liquidation of Soviet and U.S. intermediate-range missiles in the European area. We consider parts of the Soviet Union to be European territory, not just the Ural and Trans-Ural area. These are the limits from which missiles from the European area can reach the territory of the Soviet Union; it is about the 80th longitude, where intermediate-range missiles are deployed in the European area. All the missiles in the European area of the Soviet Union as well as the U.S. missiles in Europe must be liquidated, according to Mikhail Gorbachev's program. The liquidation is to take place in the first phase. We do not plan to deploy the missiles in some other place, not in the East nor the West. They will be destroyed, destroyed under careful and reliable control, national and international control, including on-site inspections. There will be no traps, no obstacles, no deception. The missiles will be liquidated. That will be announced to all.

As to the Soviet Union's missiles deployed in our east, they are behind the 80th longitude. They are intermediate-range missiles facing the U.S. intermediate-range nuclear weapons and are grouped to the east of the country. They have no relation at all to the European area. They do not reach the European countries. Now the U.S. side says, for example -- and some people in Western Europe also say -- that those missiles can easily be moved to Western Europe. However, they have another purpose. We cannot deploy them just anywhere. That is not why they are in the east.

If one accepted such so-called logic, I could also ask you and the U.S. side: Just now the U.S. side has begun the production of about 900 Pershings as planned; what are the Pershings for? What is their purpose on U.S. territory? None. So they are also planned to be deployed in Europe. They can be deployed in Europe in a shorter time. Therefore, the deployment of our missiles from the east to the west and from the west to the east is not a serious question.

I would like to finish this thought. The European aspect of the task we are posing now with a view to liquidating U.S. and Soviet missiles in the European area is a very important basic issue. If we were to solve this problem, the European problem of intermediate-range missiles, it would be a decisive step toward nuclear disarmament.

[Loewe] Did I understand you correctly that you agree that the Soviet SS-20 missiles will be destroyed under international control?

[Chervov] Yes, naturally, including inspection.

[Stuetzle] May I ask something more? The destruction of the missiles would mean progress as such. However, just the destruction of the missiles would not suffice. What about the infrastructure belonging to the missiles, that is the launching pads. Who will control the destruction of the launching pads and who will guarantee that new missiles will not be built. In other words, who will control the discontinuation of production?

[Chervov] When I speak of the destruction of missiles, I have in mind not only the missiles themselves, but also the launching pads and infrastructure belonging to these missiles. You know that we have unilaterally taken 27 missiles out of combat preparedness. Mikhail Gorbachev stated that a part of our missiles has been dismantled. The entire infrastructure belonging to these missiles has been dismantled, liquidated. The U.S. side knows it very well. When I speak of the destruction of missiles, launching pads, and other stationary installations belonging to these missiles, it will all take place under international control.

[Joffe] A somewhat political question now. By the way, it is not quite certain whether the Americans are producing 900 Pershing missiles at present. As regards politics, Gorbachev surprisingly, now offers what we call the zero solution, that is no missiles on both sides. This solution could have been achieved by the Soviet Union 6 years ago. That was the official position of Western governments. Why does this offer come so late? Were those people on our side right who said that the Soviet Union will seriously negotiate with us only when we have begun to rearm? Why after 6 years when it was possible earlier when we offered it to you?

[Chervov] If you remember the history of negotiations, you will come to another conclusion and you would not ask this question. I will recall the history for you. On 6 October 1979, that was 6 or even 7 years ago, Leonid Brezhnev made a proposal in Berlin prior to the NATO council's December session on the two-track decision, saying that the Soviet Union was prepared to sit down at the negotiating table and that it was prepared to decrease the number of its intermediate-range missiles if the two-track decision was not made. Do you remember this proposal? You do? All remember it.

Why was it not accepted? Because NATO and the United States wanted, come what may, to achieve the two-track decision. They achieved it.

[Joffe] I remember this speech somewhat differently. I do not believe that Brezhnev offered to destroy all SS-20 missiles targeted on Europe at that time. However, I find it very nice that after 6 years the Soviet Union has reached the point we achieved 6 years ago. I am very happy about it.

[Chervov] I would like to continue. You certainly know our proposal to liquidate all intermediate-range missiles and tactical nuclear missiles in Europe. We made this proposal on the very first day of the negotiations.

We proposed to free Europe from intermediate-range missiles and tactical nuclear weapons. Such a proposal has been made and it is still on the negotiating table. It is so: The Soviet Union proposed such a solution on the very first day.

[Joffe] Both sides, the West and the East, agree that armament should be limited and decreased. Modalities are the problem, controls are the problem. You or Mr Gorbachev say that the proposal we have just discussed cannot exist if the Americans will not discontinue their preparatory work for SDI. However, the problem exists here that the Soviet Union is working on space weapon systems, at least on their research and development. Mr Kvitzinskiy recently introduced the term in Bonn that the Americans should be permitted to continue basic research in the field of SDI. Is that correct and what does that mean?

[Chervov] At present the U.S. side has embarked on the line of cosmic armament, that is the transformation of the arms race into space, the development of a missile defense system on a wide range with elements of cosmic bases. The Soviet Union is categorically against the so-called SDI. It is not against it because of fear of SDI. No. We are against SDI because the gravest consequences for peace could emanate from this. We are unable to get the arms race on earth under control. Now the U.S. side wants to stage an arms race in space. Once an aggressive cosmic weapon has been created and deployed in space, the uncontrolled arms race will have begun. Therefore, the Soviet Union demands that aggressive cosmic weapons be banned in all phases, including scientific research work.

It is said in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement that we are prepared to set up respective controlling laboratories together with the U.S. side. However, laboratories not for the production of cosmic weapons, but for the ban of aggressive cosmic weapons, in order to mutually ensure that neither the United States nor the Soviet Union will produce such weapons.

The U.S. side also proposes to set up laboratories, but it gives the term another meaning. It wants some sort of agreements on the production of cosmic weapons to exist between us so that no side can overtake the other. That is what it is.

[Joffe] Honestly speaking, I do not understand the Soviet indignation. As far as we know, the Soviet Union has been working for 15 years and more on similar or identical systems such as particle weapons, laser weapons. Moreover, the Soviet Union has a fully working antimissile system, it has a fully working antisatellite system. I do not believe the Americans propose to begin a new arms race, it began long ago. The Soviet Union has been fully participating in it for 15 or more years. Or is that not so?

[Chervov] We are engaged in basic research. We do not contest that. Let us say, basic research in the field of lasers. That cannot be prohibited. We do not demand it either; that is logical. This is being done in the field of laser technology in the FRG, Great Britain, and in other countries. What is involved is the problem that lasers should not become a weapon. The Soviet Union is not engaged in any work to produce a laser weapon that would be brought into space to threaten mankind from the cosmos. Therefore, we do not speak of banning basic research. However, we are against targeted research aimed at the production of aggressive cosmic weapons.

[Stuetzle] General, so-called experts in the West say that the Soviet Union already has destroyed space satellites with laser weapons. The four of us sitting here can neither prove this nor the opposite.

However, if General Secretary Gorbachev now proposes to permit research work, but not transformation into weapons, he is offering a degree of control demanding that all Soviet laboratories, all laboratories, all universities, including Krasnoyarsk and its giant radar installations be opened. Two questions now. Is that acceptable to the Soviet social system? In what time, do you think, can this desirable aim be achieved?

[Chervov] What shall I tell you in connection with this question? Let us assume that I have overtaken you in the production of laser weapons. Let us assume such a hypothetical situation. I am ahead of you. Suddenly I suggest to you to destroy the laser weapon. You are lagging behind. What conclusion is obvious? Naturally, you must agree to destroy this weapon. That is the current situation. If the Soviet Union is leading in the production of weapons and we suggest destruction, why should the other side that is lagging behind not agree? Even more so because we will open these laboratories.

As regards the laser weapon, in the West one refers to it; that in the Soviet Union, in the Staryi Shagan area, a laser installation has been set up that can be used as a laser weapon. That is disinformation. At the Staryi Shagan shooting range there really is a laser testing installation used for experiments and the location of cosmic objects, using the laser for the exact definition of the parameter of cosmic objects. We do not contest that. The U.S. side knows it exactly. However, this is not a laser weapon. The U.S. side knows it very well. However, in order to confuse the people, the Americans pretend it is a laser weapon. That is disinformation.

[Joffe] May I get back to the question? The question is that Gorbachev has offered to open everything. Our question is: What an effect will that have on the Soviet social system; namely, suddenly doing something that the Soviet Union has never permitted in 50 or 60 years? Do you really believe this can happen; namely, to open a closed society that much?

[Chervov] Come now, our statement has been thoroughly considered, it is very balanced and responsible. All the Soviet leadership says, all that has been said in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement is real, everything can be implemented and will be. There was never a difference between our words and actions. Therefore, one can say in full responsibility to all the people that all this is real.

[Stuetzle] General, nobody among us here thinks little of this progressive idea of Soviet foreign policy. However, it is so far only an idea. Our questions only pertain to the concrete action, the implementation of the program. What will the modalities be? A much simpler matter now. Why, for example, has the Soviet Union invited maneuver observers to the Soviet Union only three times since the signing of the Helsinki CSCE act -- you as a general staff member know it. We have extended invitations to more than 30 maneuvers in the FRG. These are concrete signs indicating that one is really interested in building confidence. I do not want to play Gorbachev's proposals down, I just ask about concrete action.

[Chervov] I agree with you that there is a lack of confidence among us at present. We need confidence from both sides. We must approach each other to strengthen confidence. As regards the maneuver invitations, you have inaccurate information. I know exactly how many people we have invited to maneuvers and how many maneuver announcements have been made. Your information that we have extended only three invitations is inaccurate. According to the Helsinki Final Act, any side does not invite observers from all 35 European states. That is not necessary. Let us say we will have a maneuver in Caucasia. We have announced the maneuver. Let us say we can invite maneuver observers from Turkey, Italy, Greece, Spain, and Portugal -- that is, from the region where the maneuver will take place.

I must tell you that no FRG representatives will be invited by us to such maneuvers. This maneuver will take place far from the FRG. If a maneuver will take place in central Europe, FRG representatives will be invited.

I will tell you something else. This question was discussed with Helmut Schmidt long ago. When Helmut Schmidt was in Moscow and talked with Defense Minister Ustinov, Ustinov said: Mr Chancellor, at present we mutually invite only military attaches to maneuvers. Let us extend this. Why do we invite only military attaches? Send us Bundeswehr representatives, general staff representatives. Schmidt said: Okay, I will instruct my defense minister, Mr Apel, accordingly. It so happened that one year later I met Helmut Schmidt and Apel also. I asked Mr Apel whether he had received such instructions. No, he said, there were none. Then I asked Helmut Schmidt why he told it in such a way to his defense minister without giving him instructions. Let us achieve more confidence and mutually invite each other to maneuvers. I do not want to say what Helmut Schmidt answered. At any rate, this idea was not implemented. It was not our fault. Confidence must be achieved from both sides. One says that one shakes hands with two hands.

[Stuetzle] Mr General, incidentally, I know the story you are talking about very well and agree that the fact that it went wrong cannot be blamed on you alone. However, it also cannot be blamed on the Federal Republic alone. The question resulting from that is...

[Chervov, interrupting] I have blamed no one. I only gave an example.



[Stuetzle] Yes, but I know the story very well and it is a nice coincidence for us to talk about something whose details we cannot fully reveal to our television audience. However, the question resulting from that is: Why do we not improve that in the future? Why should it not be possible for cadets of the Soviet Army to study at the Bundeswehr leadership academy and why does the Soviet Army not invite Bundeswehr student officers to study at the Frunze academy for a year?

[Chervov] That requires great confidence, very great confidence. Obviously, we have not yet reached a state that would allow us to resolve your problem.

[Loewe] You are certainly right. We must begin with confidence, in other words, with many small steps. Considering the Gorbachev proposal, what do you think would be the first step to begin with?

[Chervov] Of the whole range of nuclear disarmament problems proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev, I would place the reduction of nuclear explosions first. Nuclear explosions must be discontinued. That is a real step toward disarmament. I believe all realistically thinking people and the public in general understand what the halt of nuclear tests means for confidence building. An absolute majority of the public advocates that. They are aware that the Soviet Union has not found it at all easy to extend the moratorium. What the U.S. side has said -- that it depends on the season, that the Soviet Union conducts nuclear explosions only in the summer and not in the winter, and that the Soviet Union has conducted more nuclear explosions than the United States -- all that is not true. All that is an attempt to deceive the public. You could say directly that the U.S. refusal to join our moratorium has to do with the fact that it does not want an end to the nuclear arms race. Therefore, the first step is the halt of nuclear explosions.

The second step. Our program is realistic and must be studied now in the negotiations, in the negotiations on nuclear weapons in space that are conducted in Geneva by Kvitsinskiy and Karpov as well as, on the U.S. side, by Kampelman, Tower, and Glitman. However, regrettably the U.S. side has only shrugged so far. It is not ready to respond to our proposals. There are no instructions from Washington.

[Joffe] You addressed the problem of confidence. I found it interesting for you to say it was still too early to start something like an exchange of cadets for studies at our academies. I am asking myself, if there is not enough confidence for such small actions, what makes General Secretary Gorbachev promise the abolition of all nuclear weapons within the next 15 years? How is that supposed to work?

[Chervov] I do not think the nuclear disarmament program can be related to an exchange of cadets. That is not the problem.

[Joffe] Confidence.

[Chervov] Yes, it is a matter of confidence. The only thing I can tell you is the fact that in our view the Soviet program is absolutely realistic. It is no utopia and no fiction. Its reality consists of the fact that we have now proposed concrete stages time limits, orders of succession, procedures, and ranges for the liquidation of nuclear weapons. I must tell you that the Soviet Union and the United States have a great deal of experience in working out methods for the practical destruction of nuclear weapons and control. All that shows that the measures for the liquidation of nuclear weapons are feasible. In addition, everything will be under strict national and international control. Therefore, we must approach each other, if only by small steps, for

mutual confidence. And you are right here; we will probably not begin with the cadets. Let us put an end to nuclear explosions. That will create confidence. Let us study the nuclear disarmament program. That will create confidence. Those are the fundamental problems.

[Joffe] So you think eliminating nuclear weapons is easier than exchanging cadets.

[Chervov] Perhaps it is even easier.

[Joffe] Hm.

[Chervov] We are not dealing with the exchange of cadets or academy students. They will eventually be dealt with. That is no problem. We have never considered it a problem.

[Loewe] Mr General, I have an entirely different question that you as an army man and general staff member, can certainly answer also. Why does the continental power, the Soviet Union, have such a large fleet?

[Chervov] To answer your question, one must know very well what the U.S. naval forces represent, what the NATO states' naval forces represent, and what the Soviet naval forces represent. Before 1960, the U.S. side did not talk about the Soviet naval forces. They thought they were a coastal fleet without any influence on the international situation. Now the U.S. side has begun to talk about the Soviet naval forces, because our naval forces have analogous warships and analogous weapons. That means we have come closer to the U.S. war fleet. Nobody disputes that we have efficient naval forces. However, the Americans exaggerate things quite a bit regarding the Soviet Navy. Let me give you some figures to prove that. The U.S. warships displace about 4 million tons of water, the Soviet Union's about 3 million. That is one of the reasons why people closely regard the Soviet naval fleet and totally disregard the U.S. fleet.

[Loewe] But does the Soviet Union really need such a large fleet for its security as a continental power?

[Chervov] The Soviet Union is not only a continental power. It is also a military naval power.

[Stuetzle] That brings us to another question, Mr General. Assuming that General Secretary Gorbachev's idea to eliminate all nuclear weapons on earth by the year 2000 could be implemented, what about the Warsaw Pact's superiority in conventional weapons; the costs of which are a much higher burden in the East and West than the costs of nuclear weapons?

[Chervov] I am ready to discuss that problem with any NATO experts, military experts. There is no superiority. If you talk about superiority, I must ask you questions. On NATO's side the French and Spanish Armed Forces are left out of account. Why? On NATO's side the stockpiled means of mobilization are left out of account. Why? On NATO's side only those forces are taken into account which are under General Rogers' command. However, that is not all. There are other forces under national command.

[Stuetzle] Mr General, if I may interrupt you -- it has always been a mistake for the NATO states to allow the Soviet Union to use this easy, propagandistic argument. It is true that NATO does not officially take the French and Spanish Armed Forces into account. However, even the Soviet Union (?accepts) the information by the very renowned London Institute for Strategic Studies...

[Chervov, interrupting] That is not correct, they must be taken into account.

[Loewe] That leads to a very clear imbalance in the Warsaw Pact's favor. I have a very brief question and would like a brief answer. In Gorbachev's proposal the Chinese capabilities are not taken into account at all. Why not?

[Chervov] No, that is not quite correct. Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal -- and that is a special quality of our nuclear disarmament program -- concerns all nuclear powers, including China. It is another thing that the first stage essentially concerns the Soviet Union and the United States. The second stage -- the liquidation of the tactical weapons -- concerns the other states' tactical weapons. The third stage -- after 1995 -- marks the beginning of the so-called strategic weapons of third countries, including Britain, France, and China. China is not excluded.

[Stuetzle] May I ask you another question?

[Chervov] Of course.

[Stuetzle] In March 1977, Foreign Minister Gromyko asked the then President Carter whether he was ready to take care of the British and French weapons in the sense of reduction. Carter answered with the question: Are you ready to take care of the Chinese weapons? Gromyko changed the subject. [Laughter] Is the situation different today? Are you courageous enough to talk to the Chinese about their nuclear weapons?

[Chervov] There has been no talk about negotiations. The Soviet Union submitted a program on the liquidation of nuclear weapons. We also do not talk about negotiations with Britain and France. That is not at issue. Mikhail Gorbachev also said in Paris that there is talk about the possibility of these states discussing their nuclear capabilities -- he used the term discussion, not negotiations. Perhaps these discussions will eventually deepen and flow into negotiations. That is possible. So there is no change of position, not even regarding Britain and France.

[Loewe] Mr General, thank you very much for having come to us. We hope that we will really advance on the road to disarmament. Thank you very much.

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CSO: 5200/1264

## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### USSR'S CHERVOV DISCUSSES GORBACHEV PROPOSAL, MORATORIUM

DW181437 East Berlin Television Service in German 1945 GMT 13 Feb 86

[Interview with Colonel General Nikolay Chervov by correspondent Klaus (Hippert) on the "Objektiv" program; answers in Russian with superimposed German translation; date and place not given--recorded]

[Text] [Chervov] The absolute majority of all states, the people of the world, governments, and political parties assess CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's initiative on a whole as positive, especially his nuclear disarmament program -- the liquidation of nuclear weapons on earth by the year 2000. It is stressed in comment that this program is not an utopia, not a fantasy, but a real program. The realism of this program is characterized by the fact that it is concrete, that it is to be implemented in phases, that it sets dates, deadlines, and an order for things, and that it points out ways in which nuclear armaments can be liquidated. In addition, the idea is being stressed that the Soviet Union and the United States have a certain experience of how weapons can be liquidated through common agreements. Also, both have the methods to practically destroy weapons. Therefore, the measures suggested by Mikhail Gorbachev are being considered really practicable; even more so, because the Soviet Union proposes to implement all these measures under strong national and international control and on site.

We wait for an answer from the U.S. Administration, we wait for an official answer. Much time has already passed and although the U.S. Administration states that it continues the studies and continues consultations with its allies, it is, nevertheless, time for an answer. The Soviet leadership and the leadership of the other socialist countries are fully aware of the fact that the destruction of nuclear weapons on earth is not an easy problem. At the same time, however, the leaders of socialist countries know that it must be done now. Today we stand at a threshold where it can be too late tomorrow, because the arms race today is already overtaking the negotiations. As you have certainly noted, Mikhail Gorbachev's statement, therefore, clearly says that one must act today, immediately. Nobody can stand aside in the fight against the threat of a nuclear war.

[Hippert] As is known, the Soviet Union has demonstrated and stressed its will for peace with this initiative, but also supported it with unilateral concessions made in advance. I have in mind the test moratorium that was extended for another 3 months.

[Chervov] In short, the significance of this moratorium consists of the fact that the discontinuation of nuclear weapons tests will lead to the antiquation of nuclear weaponry because the moratorium stops the qualitative development of nuclear weapons, their carrier means and warheads. Nuclear weaponry will not be further modernized, which is a great step toward the beginning of the destruction of nuclear weapons as a whole. The U.S. side understands that very well. If the moratorium will be adhered to, there will be no new kinds of nuclear ammunition, including laser weapons which the U.S. side wants to deploy in space with the help of nuclear explosions. This shows the enormous importance of the moratorium and, therefore, the Soviet Union asks the U.S. side to follow suit.

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CSO: 5200/1264

## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### USSR'S CHERVOV DISCUSSES NEW GORBACHEV PROPOSALS

AU201309 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 19 Feb 86 p 2

[APN report: "The Main Goal: To Avoid the Danger -- Colonel General Chervov on the Particular Features of the Soviet Disarmament Proposals"]

[Text] Evaluating the new peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, Colonel General Chervov, the well-known Soviet military policy expert, pointed out that Gorbachev's declaration expressed the historic program of turning from decades of nuclear arms race towards real disarmament. The essence of the program is the elimination of nuclear arsenals by the year 2000.

Analyzing the various aspects of the nuclear disarmament program, Colonel General Chervov pointed out particular features of the Soviet proposal for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

The essence of the first feature is that the program does not harm anyone's security interests in any phase. The military-strategic balance would be maintained at a steadily decreasing level and strategic stability would be guaranteed. The measures to be implemented would be inspected in every phase by national and international means and also by on-site observation. The verification is thorough, efficient, strict, and reliable. Verification also includes laboratory inspection. This inspection is aimed at ensuring that the armament does not spread to outer space. The Soviet Union is ready to agree on any other form of verification. The second feature is that keeping outer space free of arms is of key importance from the point of view of the implementation of the entire program. The U.S. Administration's speculation about keeping space out of the framework of agreements is an illusory one.

The U.S. plans connected with space strike weapons are part of a uniform offensive strategy. However, there can be no winner in a nuclear war; neither the arms race nor SDI change this fact. One must draw appropriate conclusions from this. The task should be to start eliminating nuclear weapons and not create space strike weapons.

An agreement on banning the deployment of space strike weapons could mean beginning the Soviet program of eliminating nuclear weapons. This is a realistic goal that can be achieved.

In the first three rounds of the Geneva talks, however, the U.S. side unfortunately did not show a readiness to halt the spread of the arms race into space. Without this, however, it is impossible to imagine a radical reduction of nuclear weapons.

The third feature is connected with intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe. In order to achieve a radical change in the European situation and outside the continent, the Soviet Union has submitted numerous initiatives aimed at achieving just and efficient agreements.

On 7 April 1985, the Soviet Union introduced a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of its intermediate-range missiles and halted any kind of counter-measures in Europe, dismantled [leserelte] the additionally deployed SS-20 missiles and eliminated [felszamolta] their launching installations.

At present, there are only 243 SS-20 missiles in the European area. We have completely eliminated the SS-5 intermediate-range weapons and we are continuing to dismantle the SS-4 missiles. Our country declared a unilateral moratorium on all kinds of nuclear explosions, as on 6 August 1985, and we extended its validity until 31 March 1986. Our constructive proposals, which -- if the United States also desires -- can serve as a good basis for achieving mutually acceptable agreements, are on the negotiating table in Geneva.

These measures, however, have not found a positive reply from the United States so far.

The fourth feature of the proposal is that this Soviet nuclear disarmament proposal affects all nuclear powers in the world. This is understandable. If the final task is the complete elimination of nuclear arms from the earth, then it is natural that every nuclear big power must take part in this project.

The first phase of the Soviet plan does not stipulate that England and France simultaneously reduce their nuclear arms with the Soviet and U.S. nuclear arms reduction. We are only talking about their freezing them. This is the just way. It would be unnatural for the Soviet Union and the United States to begin radically reducing their nuclear arsenals and for England and France to advance in the opposite direction, on the road to accumulating nuclear arms (possibly with U.S. contributions).

At their meeting on 27-28 January, Mikhail Gorbachev and PCI [Italian Communist Party] General Secretary Alessandro Natta stressed that the most important goal to be achieved is to remove the threat of nuclear war hanging over mankind, to make the international situation radically healthier, and to guarantee the peoples' lasting security.

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CSO: 5200/1264

## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### USSR'S PORTUGALOV INTERVIEWED ON GORBACHEV PROPOSAL

AU131507 Vienna NEUE AZ in German 13 Feb 86 p 7

["Exclusive interview" with Nikolay Portugalov, "Influential Soviet politician in charge of international information at the CPSU Central Committee" to ARBEITER-ZEITUNG reporters Georg Hoffmann-Ostenhof and Robert Wiesner in Vienna on 12 February]

[Excerpt] [NEUE AZ] OK, then let us turn to the disarmament problem. How do you assess the West's reaction to Gorbachev's three-phase plan that provides for total nuclear disarmament by the turn of the century?

PORTUGALOV: The Europeans have reacted rather positively and have shown themselves to be rather open-minded. The Americans, on the other hand, for the time being have not gone beyond a generally positive attitude. They are in no particular hurry to come up with specific reactions.

[NEUE AZ] Could you clarify that? The three-phase plan -- to what extent is it linked with Washington's renouncing the "star wars" program to which you are so opposed?

PORTUGALOV: I can give you a very precise answer: Regarding the solving of the intermediate-range missile problem -- that is, removal of all intermediate-range weapons of the United States and the USSR in Europe -- there is no linkage with SDI; there is no linkage with the general nuclear test freeze; nor is there a linkage with the Vienna negotiations on conventional armament, or the Stockholm CDE process. Here agreements can be reached irrespective of the U.S. attitude toward SDI.

[NEUE AZ] "Removal," "elimination" of the intermediate-range weapons -- what does this mean? Transfer or liquidation?

PORTUGALOV: It must be unequivocally declared: To remove means to destroy. There will be no moving around of missiles from West to East, as is occasionally imputed to us. They will be destroyed. And not only these missiles will be destroyed but also the pertinent launching pads, everything that has been deployed.

[NEUE AZ] And this destruction will be verified?

PORTUGALOV: Yes, all this will be verified, nationally and internationally, including on-the-spot inspections. But, you see: the three-phase plan is not meant to be a "do or die" proposition, but a basis for negotiations. In our opinion it is indeed a far better basis than would have been at all conceivable in the past few years.



[NEUE AZ] If one considers that in the first phase of the plan up to 1990 the French and the British would not have to destroy their intermediate-range missiles but could even modernize them, then one gets the impression that there might after all be some justification to the charge that Moscow is seeking to drive a wedge between the United States and Europe.

PORTUGALOV: Listen, we are realists. This is certainly unrealistic, given the deeply-rooted relations between the United States and Europe. But, it is true that we do distinguish between a policy guided by genuine West European interests, and an unconditional, let me say vassal-like, dependence on America. There exist, of course, nuances within the European alliance. But these are European decisions.

[NEUE AZ] But one nevertheless gets the impression that Gorbachev has adopted a more differentiated and more differentiating policy vis-avis the Europeans in NATO...

PORTUGALOV: I would not contradict you in this respect. And it is quite obvious, why: On the two -- or, if you want to include China, three -- big powers we are the only European one. We are indeed part of Europe ourselves.

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CSO: 5200/1264

## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### 'NO LINKAGE' EXISTS BETWEEN INF, SDI STANCES

PM181445 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 13 Feb 86 p 14

[Anders Mellbourn report: "Continued Moratorium"]

[Text] The Soviet Union will probably not resume its nuclear tests before the next summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan.

This emerged yesterday when a high-ranking delegation of experts from Moscow arrived in Stockholm to explain Gorbachev's disarmament initiative.

The Soviet Embassy's movie theater was filled with everyone from peace activists to generals as well as journalists for the 2 hours during which the delegation from Moscow answered questions. The visit to Stockholm is part of the more open information policy which the new Soviet leadership is trying to introduce.

"The new Soviet disarmament initiative is a development and a continuation of what Mikhail Gorbachev put forward at the Geneva summit last fall, delegation head Albert Vlasov, CPSU Central Committee International Information Department sector chief, said. The remarkable thing is Geneva was that both the Soviet and the U.S. leaders jointly declared that a nuclear war must never be allowed to break out and that no one could win such a war.

Gorbachev's statement of 15 January this year outlined the goal that all nuclear arms be abolished by the year 2000. It also contains quite detailed proposals for different phases of disarmament which deviate to some extent from past Soviet stances.

It is true that the Soviet Union's forceful criticism of the U.S. space defense plans remains. But space defenses no longer stand in the way of all the other disarmament talks between the two superpowers. "There is no linkage whatsoever between medium-range nuclear arms in Europe and space defenses," said economic historian Oleg Bykov, who provided the more detailed security policy commentary.

The Soviet Union wants to discuss space defenses in connection with strategic nuclear disarmament. The conditions for negotiations on the controversial medium-range nuclear arms in Europe are simply that the United States undertake not to export such weapons to third countries and that the two other nuclear powers in Europe, Britain and France, do not increase the numbers of nuclear arms in their possession.

The Soviet delegation was happy about the positive reception which Gorbachev's proposals have received so far. Nothing critical was said about the United States; Albert Vlasov simply stressed that the United States has until the end of March to make its official reactions public.

By April the Soviet Union would also like to know how far the United States is prepared to support the nuclear test moratorium which the Soviet Union has been observing unilaterally since last fall. But from Vlasov's line of argument it was clear that the Soviet Union -- regardless of what the U.S. response will be -- is hardly likely to begin testing any nuclear arms before the next summit between Reagan and Gorbachev which will probably take place in Washington in June or July.

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CSO: 5200/1264

## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### SOVIET AMBASSADOR SPEAKS AT DPRK MASS RALLY

SK050526 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 1230 GMT 4 Feb 86

[Excerpts] A mass rally of Kangwon province supporting the new Soviet peace proposal for the complete liquidation of nuclear weapons was held at the Wonsan youth hall theater this afternoon.

The flags of our country and the Soviet Union were hung at the front of the rally site. Also hung at the rally site were slogans reading "The Korean people actively support the peace-loving Soviet initiatives and efforts to defend the peace and security of the world" and "U.S. imperialists, withdraw at once from South Korea, along with your nuclear weapons."

Choe Pok-hyon, chairman of the Kangwon Province Administrative and Economic Guidance Committee, and Kim Kyong-ho, chairman of the Kangwon Provincial committee of the Korea-Soviet Friendship Society and vice chairman of the Administrative and Economic Guidance Committee of Kangwon Province, and other functionaries concerned were present at the rally, along with the working people of Wonsan City.

Nikolay Mikhaylovich Shubnikov, Soviet ambassador to our country, and staffers of the Soviet Embassy were invited to the rally. The Soviet ambassador to our country, Nikolay Mikhaylovich Shubnikov delivered a speech at the rally.

[Begin recording in Russian, fading into Korean translation]

Dear Korean comrades: I wish, above all, to extend my sincere thanks to the WPK Central Committee, the DPRK Government, party and state organizations, and the public organizations of Kangwon Province and Wonsan City for inviting me to attend this rally convened in support of the important Soviet peace proposal put forward in the statement by Comrade Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, published on 15 January.

Dear comrades: Taking this opportunity, I convey the warm greetings and best wishes from the Soviet people to the entire fraternal Korean people, and through you, to the workers of Wonsan City and Kangwon Province.

Today complicated and difficult tasks of a pan-national, pan-regional and pan-world scale lay before mankind. However, no task is more urgent than the task of preserving our civilization by eliminating the danger of nuclear war, by ending the arms race on earth and by preventing the arms race from expanding into space. The general line pursued by the Soviet state on international questions is aimed at resolving such a basic task. Our party is (?coping) with the imperialists' reckless policy for aggression and the "star wars" plan with its ideas for developments in the world to bring about a world free from war and weapons.

Proceeding from a desire to contribute to the maximum degree to basically improving the international situation and toward totally freeing mankind from a nuclear holocaust, the Soviet Union some time ago put forward new, comprehensive large-scale programs of historic significance, manifest to the government and people of each nation. These programs put forth by Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his 15 January statement comprise concrete proposals for totally eliminating nuclear weapons from the entire world.

Our country proposed that for the next 15 years -- to the end of the 20th century -- measures to totally free the earth from nuclear weapons be consistently implemented step by step and be achieved. Adopting another important decision as part of its program for the abolition of nuclear arms, the Soviet Union extended for 3 months the measures for unilaterally ending nuclear testing and appealed to foreign nations and the other countries possessing nuclear weapons to join this measures. We also proposed that bestial weapons of mass destruction, such as chemical weapons, be totally abolished. We think that it is necessary to destroy even the industrial bases for producing such weapons. Our peace programs include the prohibition of production of non-nuclear weapons that have similar destructive power to that of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons.

The comprehensive Soviet proposals consider the interests of all countries, including nations in the Asia and Pacific area. The Asian area has become a target of the more persistent hegemonist ambitions of the imperialists. The number of U.S. military bases in this area is increasing, and an attempt to fabricate new militarist blocs, including the Washington-Tokyo-Seoul alliance, is being made. Thus tensions have been aggravated in every way. The U.S. imperialists are scheming to organize a second front line in this area to struggle against the socialist countries.

The new Soviet proposals were to be sent to all nations of the world, all political parties and public organizations, and each individual. [end recording]

The speaker said: The new Soviet peace proposal also corresponds to the aspirations of the Asian peoples as well as those of the European peoples. Thus, this proposal has evoked great sympathy on the part of the peace-loving people of the world. He pointed out that the Soviet party and people are effecting great successes in socialist economic construction with the approach of the 27th CPSU Congress by vigorously carrying out the struggle to consolidate peace.

Noting that the traditional USSR-Korea friendship is being strengthened and developed with each passing day, he continued:

We express our sincere thanks to the WPK Central Committee and the DPRK Government for actively supporting the foreign policies put forward by the CPSU and the Soviet state, including the new Soviet proposal made in the 15 January statement by Comrade Gorbachev.

If the Korean peninsula is turned into nuclear-free zone and peace zone, this will be the concrete implementation of the peace proposals put forth by Comrade Gorbachev in his statement. This will also correspond to the spirit of agreement reached on during the talks between the USSR and the United States in Geneva and will greatly contribute to improving the situation in Korea and consolidating stability [anjong] in the Asia Pacific region.

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## U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

### BRIEFS

KORNIYENKO MEETS WITH U.S. NEGOTIATORS--Geneva, 20 Feb (TASS)--Georgiy Korniyenko, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, had a conversation here today with the leaders of the U.S. delegation to the Soviet-American negotiations on nuclear and space arms, Ambassadors Max Kampelman, John Tower and Maynard Glitman. The conversation in which the leaders of the delegation of the USSR, Ambassadors Viktor Karpov and Alexey Obukhov, took part, touched upon questions discussed in the negotiations. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1903 GMT 20 Feb 86] /9604

PRESS CONFERENCE ON GORBACHEV PROPOSALS--Stockholm, 17 Feb (TASS)--A press conference took place at the Soviet Embassy here attended by representatives of the Swedish mass information media, political parties, trade unions, scientific circles, and peace movements supporters. The Soviet representatives answered many questions on the main parts of the 15 January statement by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev. Particular attention was devoted to the European aspect of the Soviet disarmament program, as well as to questions on ending all nuclear tests and the role of Sweden in the work of the Delhi "Six." Taking part in the press conference was a group of Soviet experts and the Soviet Ambassador to Sweden Boris Pankin. [Text] [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1203 GMT 17 Feb 86] /9604

SOVIET ENVOY DISCUSSES ARMS WITH CANADIANS--Ottawa, 13 Feb (TASS)--Conversations have taken place here with the participation of N. Uspenskiy, representing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, on the Soviet program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his statement on 15 January. The Canadian participants in the conversations included J. Taylor, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of Canada, A. Sullivan, deputy minister of foreign affairs, W. Wineguard, chairman of the House of Commons Committee for foreign affairs and national defense, and other officials. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1440 GMT 13 Feb 86] /9604

USSR-PORTUGAL ARMS REDUCTION DISCUSSION--Lisbon, 7 Feb--R.S. Ovinnikov, special representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry, visited here on 5-6 February. He had meetings and talks with Freitas do Amaral, president of the Assembly of the Republic, and with Foreign Minister P. Pires de Miranda,

as well as at the Portuguese Foreign Ministry's Political Department on questions of arms reduction and disarmament on the basis of the statement of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, of 15 January this year. The meetings and talks took place in a business-like and constructive atmosphere. V.P. Vdovin, USSR ambassador to Portugal, participated in them. [Text] [TASS report: "USSR-Portugal: Exchange of Opinions"] [Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 86 Morning Edition p 4] /9604

PRAVDA ON KENNEDY PRESS CONFERENCE--Washington, 9 Feb--Senator E. Kennedy, a prominent U.S. public and political figure, declared that the Soviet Union sincerely desires success at the talks on nuclear and space arms. The senator gave a press conference at one of the halls in Congress on Saturday, following his return from Moscow where he was received by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze, and also had meetings with representatives of Soviet scientific circles. E. Kennedy emphasized the firmness of the Soviet Union's stance aimed at preventing the transfer of the arms race to outer space. The senator also noted the importance of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva and expressed the opinion that meetings between the top leaders of the USSR and the United States are of enormous significance for the cause of progress in relations between the two countries. Answering a question regarding his attitude toward the "star wars" program, E. Kennedy stressed that he has been and still is against the militarization of outer space, and is a firm supporter of the Soviet-American ABM Treaty. [Text] [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Feb 86 First Edition p 4] /9604

CSO: 5200/1264



## SALT/START ISSUES

### TASS: REAGAN LEADS PUBLIC 'ASTRAY' WITH ACCUSATIONS

LD082037 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1454 GMT 8 Feb 86

[Text] New York, 8 Feb (TASS) -- TASS correspondent Vladislav Orlov reports:

The Washington administration is leading U.S. and world public opinion astray is asserting that the Soviet Union is allegedly violating the SALT II treaty.

It is not so long ago that President Reagan accused the Soviet Union, saying that the Soviet Union is not fulfilling the obligations it took upon itself within the framework of this agreement [soglasheniye] in respect to the quantity of its strategic nuclear forces. However, the White House has resorted to such a falsification of the facts exclusively for propagandistic aims in order to justify its own plans for the "nuclear rearmament" of the United States. By an irony of fate the White House's fabrications have been unmasked, this time with the help of... generals from the Pentagon. THE NEW YORK TIMES newspaper has drawn attention to the fact that a report by the Chiefs of Staff, "The Military Position of the United States", recently presented to Congress, contains the "estimations of intelligence organs", which "contradict President Reagan's statements" and indicate that the Soviet Union fully adheres to its obligations.

Commenting on this report, S. Keeny, former assistant director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, condemned such propagandistic ruses by the White House. In his words the document prepared at the Pentagon "confirms that the Soviet Union continues to adhere to the obligations of the SALT II treaty." He stressed that Reagan's administration has acted "irresponsibly in the highest degree in having publicly accused the Soviet Union of violating the common limits established by the SALT II treaty on the number of strategic arms." "The estimation of the chiefs of staffs shows that the Soviet Union fully observes the required limitations," he said.

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CSO: 5200/1256

## INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES

### IKV, DUTCH LABOR PARTY DIFFER ON INF SITING

#### Faber on IKV Views

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 13 Jan 86 p 1

[Article by the political editor of NRC HANDELSBLAD: "IKV: Do Not Re-open Missile Negotiations"]

[Text] The Hague, Amsterdam, 13 Jan--Unlike the PvdA[Labor Party], the IKV[Interdenominational Peace Council] does not see any point in re-opening negotiations on the treaty with the United States, in which arrangements for the deployment of the 48 cruise missiles has been laid down. If the PvdA is going to be in the government, then it should try to denounce the treaty after the 5-year term, according to IKV secretary M.J. Faber.

"Just tell the Americans" they may come now but after 5 years they have to leave.

So, it is a waste of money. Besides, in this way new impulse will be given to the peace movement which has come to a dead end," according to IKV member Faber, also secretary of the KKN[No Cruise Missiles Committee].

According to Faber, the effect would be insufficient if the PvdA were to demand from its potential coalition partner, the CDA[Christian Democratic Appeal], that the CDA cancel the treaty with the United States during the upcoming government term. "A decision has been made. Soon, the Second Chamber will approve the treaty. That is the situation. If you stay out of the government, everything simply goes on. If you want to be in the government, then you must wonder: where can one find any leeway. There is not any if the PvdA says to the CDA: well, you have taken the position that no negotiations should take place, but you should forget about that now. After that 5-year period there will be leeway again. That is, also for the CDA, an open field," Faber reasons.

In 1984, on the eve of the "1 June Decision", Faber argued in favor of the so-called "crisis variant", to the effect that the cruise missiles could only be "flown in" in case of serious, international tensions. Last year proposed to accept "temporary deployment". From Faber's point of view, those arguments

were also aimed at maintaining the dynamics of the peace movement in order to prevent eventual deployment or to cancel it again. At the time, these ideas provoked so much criticism from the PvdA and the KKN that later on Faber again changed his ideas somewhat.

Now the PvdA is again in the IKV member's way. Mr M. van Traa, international secretary of the PvdA and also secretary of the KKN, thinks that Faber's suggestion is senseless. "It is all very well and must have been meant well but it does not get us any further. With Faber's point of view, one becomes dependent on the United States. If the PvdA were to join the government, we can simply tell the Americans: please do not deploy the missiles. Then they will not do that, because that is the way democratic states deal with each other. It also went that way when France withdrew from the military branch of the NATO in 1966." Moreover, according to Van Traa, the new government cannot dictate what the next government should do. "One cannot rule over one's grave. At a certain moment the trouvailles[discoveries] are finished. Don't go looking for them where there aren't any."

Faber, PvdA member, did not hand in any amendments, reflecting his proposal, before the election conference of his party on 12, 13 and 14 February. According to Faber, an election program should contain a clear rejection. Consequently, he criticized the draft program along those lines. In the eyes of the IKV secretary, the PvdA appears to be a less outspoken opponent of tactical nuclear weapons (the short range ones) in this program than in the program currently in effect.

#### Van Traa Refutes Faber

Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 14 Jan 86 p 7

[Article: "PvdA Not At All Keen About Proposal to Employ Missiles For 6 Years. Van Traa Calls Faber an 'Amateur Forming a Government'"]

[Text] The Hague--The PvdA[Labor Party] is not at all keen about the IKV secretary M.J. Faber's suggestion to accept cruise missile deployment in Woensdrecht for 6 years, under the condition that they will then be removed after that period. Faber launched his proposal over the past week-end. However, PvdA international secretary M. van Traa rejected it on Monday. The CDA [Christian Democratic Appeal] also does not like such a compromise at all which, according to Faber, is supposed to help the PvdA get into the next cabinet.

Van Traa: "Of course it is nice of the peace movement to want to help our party get into the government. However, 5 months before the elections," we are not at all keen on taking up ideas about forming a cabinet from an amateur. With his initiative Faber wants to prevent the PvdA from sentencing itself to the bench of the opposition by saying "no" to the cruise missiles.

Faber imagines that the social democrats could agree with the CDA on removing the 48 cruise missiles from Woensdrecht as soon as the terms of

the agreement with the United States expire. In that case the Americans will think twice, according to Faber, before taking their missiles to the Netherlands for such a short period. "So, the result could be that they will not be deployed at all," Faber says.

Van Traa strongly objects to the IKV secretary's proposal. Such a solution does not offer any certainty because in 1990 a new cabinet can reverse such a compromise again. The PvdA does not want the cabinet, being formed this year, ruling over its grave.

Van Traa does not want to dwell too long on Faber's new "trouvaille"[discovery]. He maintains the PvdA position that a new cabinet has to convince the Americans that deployment is not desirable. On the basis of examples from the past (Greece, France, Spain) Van Traa is convinced that the American would comply with such a request from the Netherlands.

#### Problem

"So, our problem is not the United States but the CDA. The PvdA can only get into the next cabinet if the VVD[People's Party for Freedom and Democracy] and the CDA lose their majority. In that case the CDA will have to agree with the intention to start talks with the Americans," according to Van Traa. He was supported by PvdA member of the Chamber Stemmerink.

The CDA is also not very enthusiastic about Faber's plan. Member of the Chamber Frinking: "It is very premature to determine now already that the missiles will be removed again after 6 years. The only thing that can be agreed upon is that the agreement will be renegotiated after 6 years. Which way things will go then, will depend upon the international situation at that time. Faber's proposal actually denies now already the necessity to deploy missiles."

His colleague, De Boer, notes that it would signify a "tremendous shift" of the PvdA if that party were to adopt Faber's proposal. He emphasizes that the CDA still assumes that the agreement's term is indefinite. "Whether stories like Faber's will ever come up for discussion, will of course entirely depend upon the election results," according to De Boer.

It is the third time in 1 and ½ years that Faber causes a lot of commotion with new proposals. In 1984 he already suggested that the cruise missiles would have to be accepted temporarily if it could lead to eventual arms reduction. In the fall of 1985 he reproached the PvdA for shifting the absolute "no" to cruise missiles in its draft election program.

The IKV secretary dismisses the accusation that he swings back and forth with his proposals. He says: "They are exactly in line with one another. I always felt and still feel that the PvdA's program should not leave any doubt about rejecting the cruise missiles. However, then the question arises how one wants to achieve that goal eventually."

Faber considers his new suggestion to be merely well-meant assistance. He says: "But if the PvdA thinks it can reach an agreement with the CDA on a different formula, then I hope so for its sake. I would not be on it."

The peace movement watches Faber's political interference Argus-eyed. At previous occasions he was severely criticized. S. Strikwerda, chairman of the KKN[No Cruise Missiles Committee], of which Faber is also secretary, said yesterday: "I do not hold it against Faber that he expresses himself but I do not consider it to be my task to offer the PvdA scenarios for forming a government."

On 22 February the KKN will organize a manifestation where speakers will discuss various aspects of the cruise missile decision and the agreement with the United States (to be discussed in the Second Chamber soon thereafter). Van Traa (also KKN secretary) as well as Faber are among the speakers. Van Traa: "Before then we will have to consult together if we are to show one point of view at the manifestation."

12433/12951  
CSO: 5200/2618

## **CHEMICAL/BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS**

### **USSR: U.S. PREPARING NEW BINARY CHEMICAL WEAPONS**

**PM101049 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Feb 86 First Edition p 3**

**[O. Mikhaylov article: "Destroy Once and For All!; No Place for Chemical Weapons on Earth"]**

**[Excerpts] Chemical weapons have already cost tens of thousands of human lives and millions have been crippled by them. Now the world is threatened by the mass use of types of chemical weapons that are many times more deadly than those used up to now. That is why the task of completely banning these weapons and eliminating stockpiles of them is becoming more and more acute.**

**The urgency of ensuring the speediest resolution of this question is also to be explained by the fact that the United States is currently preparing to produce new-generation binary chemical weapons. If the production of binary munitions is started it will not only complicate but may even entirely rule out the possibility of reaching an agreement on banning chemical weapons, trigger their spread throughout countries and continents, and increase the risk of the outbreak of chemical warfare.**

**Clearly recognizing the threat hanging over the planet, the USSR has issued new proposals in the chemical disarmament sphere.**

**It should be noted that official U.S. statements, including those at the highest level, are long on generally fine-sounding words about the U.S. commitment to the speediest conclusion of a convention on the total prohibition of chemical weapons. However, Washington's practical actions show something else.**

**Take, for instance, the U.S. approach to an overall ban. Calling it comprehensive, the United States tries at the same time to exclude from the ban military herbicides, irritant agents, and tear gas. That is, precisely the toxins which the United States has already tested and used most extensively in Indochina. The United States continues to supply these toxins to its allies and to counterrevolutionary groups. These chemical weapons, the foreign press reported, were also used in the Grenada invasion.**

**Moreover, the draft convention on chemical weapons proposed by the United States has been drawn up in such a way as to retain the possibility for the production of chemical weapons and primarily their most modern variety--binary weapons.**

The verification [kontrol] procedures proposed by Washington are unacceptable not only to the socialist countries but to many neutral and nonaligned countries too. The system of so-called "standing invitation" envisages organizing total verification [kontrol] at any place or time even at installations [obyekty] in no way lined with chemical weapons production. It is worth noting that the Americans are not extending the proposed verification [kontrol] system to their own chemical industry. Most private chemical firms, including multinationals whose enterprises could not only continue to produce but improve chemical weapons.

Analysis of U.S. positions on the problem of a chemical weapons ban shows that up to now it has merely put forward conditions that are unacceptable to most states. This line is the logical continuation of the overall militarist course of the United States and NATO. This, incidentally, also reflects the NATO bloc's military-strategic concept. It envisages the comprehensive utilization in combat operations of conventional, nuclear, electronic, and chemical warfare means.

The world public resolutely demands that the implementation of these dangerous schemes be prevented. The new proposals contained in M. S. Gorbachev's Statement are aimed at doing just that. Chemical weapons must be banned and eliminated in this century. The Soviet Union is striving for this. The ball is in Washington's court.

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CSO: 5200/1271

## CHEMICAL/BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

### MOSCOW COMMENTS ON NEED TO BAN CHEMICAL WEAPONS

LD051549 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 5 Feb 86

[From the "Time, Events, People" program; commentary by Nikolay Agayants]

[Text] One should say straight away that in the view of specialists, the impact [of] modern chemical weapons is extremely dangerous and equalled only by nuclear weapons. Its typical feature is that it can cause enormous human casualties without destroying installations, buildings, etc. Furthermore, combat poisonous substances are directed not only against people: irreparable damage can be done to the environment and primarily to vegetation and the soil and this hurts not only the generation in whose time the weapons are used but also several generations to follow. For this reason the task of delivering mankind from the threat of chemical warfare acquires such an urgent and responsible nature today.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have consistently and stubbornly favored and continue to favor a ban on all types of chemical weapons, considering that the complete elimination of these barbarous means of mass destruction is a perfectly realistic task.

Naturally, scientific circles in the USSR, the Soviet public, and all people of good will on our planet have been made especially anxious by the Pentagon's plan to begin production of nerve paralyzing binary charges, one of the most terrible and dangerous types of chemical weapon. At the Geneva disarmament conference our country persistently tries to achieve an international convention banning chemical weapons throughout the world. The safeguarding of lasting peace and the strengthening of security are being demanded with special persistence in order to cut off all channels for the arms race, including the chemical one, and in order to put a mighty barrier in the path of the unrestrained increase in weapons of mass destruction.

As was stressed in the 15 January 1986 statement by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the Soviet Union favors the very rapid and complete elimination of chemical weapons and of the very industrial base where they are manufactured. We are ready to provide timely notice of the location of enterprises producing chemical weapons and to stop producing them, as well as to begin formulating a procedure for the destruction of the corresponding production base and also to begin--very shortly after the entry into force of the convention--the elimination of all stocks of chemical weapons under strict control, including international on-site verification.



Our proposal on not passing combat poisonous substances to anyone and on not siting them on the territory of other states is also important. Let me recall that these steps were taken by the Soviet Union in developing the well known joint initiative by the governments of the GDR and the CSSR which last year proposed talks with the Federal Republic of Germany on setting up a European zone free of chemical weapons. Of course, this initiative is indisputably an important contribution to the joint efforts of socialist countries aimed at delivering the peoples of the European continent from the chemical threat. In the event such a zone is created, the USSR--as has already been reported--would be ready to respect and guarantee its status on condition that the United States acts in the same way.

At the talks on disarmament which have now restarted in Geneva there will naturally be discussion of chemical weapons as well. The Soviet Union resolutely favors the intensification of talks in Geneva on concluding an effective and internationally monitored convention on banning chemical weapons and destroying existing stocks of them, as stipulated during the Geneva summit between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. That is the imperative of the time.

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CSO: 5200/1271

## CHEMICAL/BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

### TASS: ROGERS ANNOUNCES PLAN FOR CHEMICAL STOCKPILING

LD241835 Moscow TASS in English 1814 GMT 24 Feb 86

[Text] Paris, February 24 TASS -- Supreme allied commander Europe, General Bernard Rogers, has announced that he has drawn up a plan for the deployment of American chemical weapons of a new type, binary nerve gas, in Western Europe. Delivering an address at the French International Relations Institute, General Rogers expressed the confidence that his plan would be approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Defence Department of the USA and subsequently by the NATO Military Planning Committee.

Giving an interview to REUTERS, Rogers declined to divulge the details of his plan for the deployment of new chemical weapons in the territories of Washington's NATO allies and only said that he saw no sense in keeping those munitions in the United States while "we need them in the European theatre." The U.S. Congress set aside 124.5 million dollars during the current fiscal year on the production of binary shells and bombs, tying the beginning of their production to the preparation of a plan for the deployment of those weapons in Western Europe. The production lines of the Pentagon's chemical complex at Pine Bluff, Arkansas, intended to produce binary munitions, are ready to go into operation. They only wait there for an order from Washington.

The Pine Bluff facility is just a part of the programme of the chemical rearmament of America on which the Reagan administration is going to spend a total of 2.6 billion dollars. Washington tries to justify this programme by allegations that the existing U.S. chemical arms arsenals are "obsolete" and "inadequate". According to press reports, meanwhile, those arsenals contain at least 150,000 tons of chemical agents. Another justification of the programme is the threadbare myth of "a chemical threat from the USSR", although, as THE NEW YORK TIMES, among others, says, quoting Reagan administration officials, the Soviet Union does not produce binary weapons. The latest Soviet initiatives, made public by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his statement on January 15, are aimed at banning chemical weapons and at eliminating all their stockpiles. This is precisely what is demanded by all who cherish peace.

NATO officials in Brussels admit in the context that the deployment of new American chemical weapons in Western Europe is bound to provoke public protests. As it is, the USA has turned the territory of its NATO allies in Western Europe into a "chemical hostage": four major bases in West Germany alone have had more than 10,000 tons of chemical agents stored at them.

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CSO: 5200/1271

## CHEMICAL/BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

### IZVESTIYA EDITORIAL ARTICLE ADVOCATES CHEMICAL WEAPONS BAN

PM232018 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Feb 86 Morning Edition p 5

[Editorial article: "Banning Chemical Weapons"]

[Text] The world public and political and scientific circles throughout the world are continuing to study the Soviet state's large-scale, peace-loving proposals promulgated in the 15 January statement by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. This package of peace proposals, which is designed to promote a radical improvement in the international situation and to help free mankind from the threat of nuclear, chemical, and other wars, is in the interests of the whole of mankind. The proposals made in the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's statement encompass all of the most important aspects of arms limitation and disarmament.

First and foremost, it is essential to free mankind from the threat of nuclear war. The Soviet Union proposes in the next 15 years -- by the beginning of the next century -- to carry out the elimination of nuclear weapons on earth; the deployment of space strike armaments being inadmissible.

The complete elimination of chemical weapons, which have already killed tens of thousands of people and maimed millions, is a vital task in the disarmament sphere. The use of chemical weapons today could result in the destruction of enormous numbers of people, particularly civilians, and, possibly, the whole of mankind.

"The Soviet Union considers it entirely realistic to completely eliminate now, in this century, such barbaric weapons of mass destruction as chemical weapons," the statement says. Specific proposals made by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in recent years, as well as the new proposals contained in the above-mentioned document, are aimed at resolving that task.

From the earliest years of its existence the Soviet Union has fought to ban these dreadful weapons and was one of the first signatories to the 1925 Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous, or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare. Since then it has rigorously observed its international commitments and, true to the Geneva protocol, it has never resorted to the use of chemical weapons anywhere or handed them over to other countries. Despite persistent pleas to sign that important document, the United States did not do so until 50 years later, in 1975, having perpetrated a number of crimes involving the use of chemical weapons in Southeast Asia prior to that.

The 1925 Geneva protocol, however, while it outlawed the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons, did not ban their development, manufacture, or stockpiling. Continuing its struggle to remove these means of mass destruction from military arsenals,

the Soviet Union, in conjunction with the other socialist countries, presented a draft convention on the simultaneous banning of chemical and bacteriological weapons to the United Nations in 1969. The United States, however, blocked the document's adoption.

On the initiative of the socialist countries a Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, and Stockpiling of Bacteriological and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction was signed. It came into force in 1975. Chemical weapons, however, remained in national arsenals.

Continuing its struggle to improve the international situation, the Soviet Union, together with the other socialist countries, submitted a draft in 1972 for a corresponding international convention to the Geneva Disarmament Committee (since 1984 the Disarmament Conference) for its examination.

The Soviet leadership also managed to persuade the U.S. Administration to begin Soviet-U.S. talks with the aim of drawing up a joint initiative on the question of banning chemical weapons and destroying stocks of them. Quite considerable progress was made at those meetings, which began in 1976. However, in 1980 the United States unilaterally broke off the talks. Continuing to pursue a policy of goodwill, in 1982 the Soviet Union submitted the draft "Basic Provisions on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, and Stockpiling of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction" to the United Nations.

The discussion of that document, augmented and broadened in 1983-1985 by new proposals from the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, including proposals on questions of verification [Kontrol], now occupies a central place in the Disarmament Conference's work in Geneva.

Simultaneous with the talks on a global and comprehensive ban on chemical weapons at the Geneva conference, the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries have also been conducting vigorous work to ban chemical weapons on a regional scale. On 10 January 1984, for example, the Warsaw Pact states proposed to the NATO states that talks begin on banning chemical weapons on a narrower plane, that is to say, on ridding Europe of these weapons. Thus far, this constructive proposal remains unanswered. But the socialist countries hope that reason will prevail and that talks will begin.

In 1985 the Soviet Union supported joint GDR-CSSR proposals regarding the creation of a chemical weapon-free zone in central Europe.

Last December our state supported and approved proposals by Bulgaria and Romania on creating a chemical weapon-free zone in the Balkans also.

Thus, the Soviet Union has proposed a whole series of approaches to the United States and the other NATO countries whereby it would be possible to initiate the process of drafting a document which would subsequently lead to the conclusion of an international convention on banning chemical weapons and on their destruction.

The new proposal proposed by the Soviet Union has considerably concretized and broadened our approach to questions of banning these barbarous weapons of mass destruction. What is the stance of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact states as a whole?

They continue to advocate a global and comprehensive ban on chemical weapons and the earliest destruction of all facilities where they are manufactured. For the implementation of effective and reliable verification [kontrol] to ensure that the above-men-

tioned measures are fulfilled, the Soviet Union is ready to ensure the prompt declaration of the location of all enterprises producing chemical weapons.

True to the spirit of the 22 November 1985 Soviet-U.S. statement, which urges "stepping up efforts to conclude an effective and verifiable [poddayushcheysya kontrolyu] international convention," the Soviet Union proposes that the Disarmament Conference in Geneva, which began its work this year, proceed to draft a procedure for the destruction of the corresponding production base. It is planned to proceed with the elimination of the stockpiles of chemical weapons shortly after the international convention comes into force.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary's statement, in addition to the radical resolution of lethal chemical means and their destruction, also proposes a number of, so-called, interim steps. Such could be, for example, multilateral accords on the nontransfer of chemical weapons to any other party and on the nonemplacement of them on other states' territory.

In its approach to banning chemical weapons the Soviet Union allocates a special place to questions of verification [kontrol]. The Soviet Union, no less than any other country, has an interest in ensuring that monitoring is both reliable and strict. As M.S. Gorbachev observed at a reception for the heads of diplomatic missions accredited to the Soviet Union, "Let it be verification [kontrol] using national technical means of international verification [kontrol]; the sole proviso is that it should be verification [kontrol] of the observance of specific accords." Our stance on the question of verification [kontrol] is therefore simple and specific: All measures to implement future accords must be carried out under strict verification [kontrol], including international procedures for on-site inspection [proverka].

How does the United States respond to this appeal? So far, it has to be regrettably stated, it has not adopted a constructive stance on banning chemical weapons. Moreover, under pressure from the military-industrial complex and the hawks, the Washington administration is openly seeking congressional approval for new appropriations to further improve chemical weapons and switch over to mass production of the new generation of chemical weapons -- binary chemical ammunition.

This course is patently at variance with the mood of the world public and the stance of the majority of the world's states, which unanimously favor the banning of chemical weapons and the destruction of all stockpiles of them. What all those who cherish peace demand is the elimination, not the expansion of chemical arsenals. The Soviet Union's new peace initiatives are also directed to that end.

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CSO: 5200/1271

## CHEMICAL/BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

TASS: SPANISH TV ACCUSES U.S. OF USING BACTERIOLOGICAL ARMS

LD311335 Moscow TASS in English 1205 GMT 31 Jan 86

[Text] Madrid, 31 Jan (TASS)--The United States is speedily developing new types of bacteriological weapons and testing them on people. Convincing proof of this fact has been cited in a documentary program of Spanish television.

It was noted in the report that intensive experiments with deadly pathogenic viruses are conducted at specialized U.S. centres for the development and production of bacteriological weapons in Forth Detrick, Maryland, and at the Dugway testing site in Utah. According to the well-known American journalist J. Powell, viruses produced in the USA were tested by the U.S. Army way back in the Korean War. The Pentagon regularly sprayed various bacteria "for research purposes" in large cities, including New York in the USA and Montreal in Canada.

The authors of the report confirmed that a CIA operation against Cuba was an abominable example of the practical application of bacteriological weapons: large areas of the island were infested with bacteria of hog cholera and dengue fever. Many Cubans died or became crippled and grave damage was done to Cuban agriculture.

Former CIA employee S. Barnes told Spanish television that his chiefs had instructed him to spray deadly bacteria and viruses in Latin American countries. His other task was to spread slanderous allegations about the application of bacteriological weapons by the Soviet Union in a number of countries, in particular, in Southeast Asia.

Spanish television stresses that the development, production and testing of ever new forms of bacteria and viruses by the United States constitute violations of a number of important international legal documents, in particular, the 1972 convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons and on their elimination.

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CSO: 5200/1271

## EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

### KORNIYENKO ON GORBACHEV PROPOSAL AT DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

PM211837 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Feb 86 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "At the Disarmament Conference"]

[Text] Geneva, 21 Feb -- On 20 February the Disarmament Conference session taking place here was addressed by G.M. Korniyenko, USSR first deputy foreign minister, who read out a message to the conference from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. M.S. Gorbachev's message was listened to with great attention by the Disarmament Conference participants.

While not needlessly dramatizing the situation, G.M. Korniyenko went on to say, at the same time the Soviet leadership soberly evaluates the time which we are all living through as an extremely crucial and critical time. On the threshold of the third millennium mankind must make a choice which will determine its destiny. Today mankind already possesses means capable of bringing it to self-destruction. But an attitude of hopelessness and of the fatal inevitability of nuclear war are alien to Soviet people. We are convinced that there is a real possibility of making a fundamental change for the better in the development of the international situation. Our confidence about this is founded on the fact that people's awareness of the scale and nature of the impending threat is growing daily. And we will never be convinced by the arguments of those who consider the arms race inevitable and who call the appeals for a return to common sense for the sake of the human race's survival "empty verbiage."

In the world there are states and there are figures who not only do not subscribe to such views, but consistently materialize awareness of the danger threatening mankind in their practical policy in weighty, tangible steps. They have sufficient goodwill and statesmanship to overcome the established stereotypes and prejudices of the period of confrontation and to be the first to embark on the path leading away from the edge of the nuclear abyss. The new formula for movement toward lasting peace must be based on unconditional recognition of the need to ensure identical security for all states and peoples. The realities of the nuclear and space age, which has infinitely expanded mankind's potential and, at the same time, narrowed and compressed to the utmost the space and the time in which we are living, have made it an axiom -- unfortunately, not yet grasped by everyone -- that it is impossible to strengthen one's own security at the expense or to the detriment of others' security. In the nuclear age the security of states, M.S. Gorbachev has emphasized, "is possible only as security for all."

Another fundamental element of the new approach to ensuring international security must be the understanding and acknowledgment by everyone that this task can only be resolved by political means, not military-technical means. No solutions of a military-technical order can compensate for a shortage of political will, the lack of which prevents some of our partners from escaping from the closed circle of arms race, tension, arms race.

But even here we are not fatalists; we hope that common sense and reason will still triumph over ideological intolerance and the temptations of strong-arm rivalry. The revolution in thinking must be and cannot fail to be stronger than the revolution in military hardware.

The Soviet Union's detailed proposals on a wide range of these questions were set forth in the statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on 15 January this year, whose chief constituent is the program for the stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world before the end of the present century.

In defining the substance of the practical measures provided for in the program, in breaking them down into stages, and in establishing the connection between these measures, the Soviet Union was guided, above all, by the fact that no one's security must be harmed at any time while implementing the program.

The interests of not harming anyone's security and, even more, of preventing one side's military superiority also dictated the fact that a ban on the creation [sozdaniye], testing, and deployment of space strike arms -- without which it is altogether impossible to count on the possibility of eliminating nuclear weapons -- is an inalienable part of the proposed program.

This is certainly not that artificial "linkage" whereby the resolution of one question is arbitrarily made conditional on the resolution of another question with no bearing on the first. No, in this instance it is a question of an organic connection between two questions which are objectively impossible to separate.

The speaker went on to subject to a detailed critical analysis the arguments being cited in the West to substantiate the U.S. SDI program aimed at creating [sozdaniye] a large-scale ABM system, including its space component, as well as creating [sozdaniye] other space strike means.

The very formulation of the task of creating [sozdaniye] a space ABM defense, regardless of the stage of its realization, he said in particular, is directly at variance with both the letter and the spirit of the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of ABM systems. To be convinced of this, you have only to make the following analogy: Some state -- a party to the convention on the prohibition and destruction of bacteriological weapons -- suddenly announces a national program for the creation of such weapons. Could anyone bring himself to say that this is a legitimate step and that it does not contravene the said convention? And yet this is precisely how things stand with SDI in regard to the ABM Treaty.

While speaking about the objective link between questions of strategic nuclear arms and space strike arms, at the same time the Soviet spokesman emphasized that the Soviet nuclear disarmament program has been drawn up -- this is another notable feature of it -- in such a way that the nature of the links between its various constituent parts is different: If there cannot be any solutions to some parts without a simultaneous solution to others, then certain measures can also be implemented independently.

Among the important problems which can also be discussed and resolved outside the framework of the general program he named the question of reducing the Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in the European zone and the question of ending nuclear weapon tests.

Particular emphasis was placed on the significance which the Soviet Union attaches to effective monitoring [kontrol] of the strict observance of the agreements which might be reached. It was confirmed here that the Soviet Union agrees to supplement national technical means of verification [kontrol] with international procedures, including, where necessary, on-site inspections [inspektzii].



While speaking about the Disarmament Conference as a whole, the speaker said in conclusion, I would like to state most definitely that the Soviet leadership, as confirmed by M.S. Gorbachev's message to the conference, regards it as an important and, in its own way, unique forum. The conference, in the persona of its predecessor -- the Disarmament Committee -- has quite an impressive service record. International legal documents of paramount importance were born after being conceived within it -- documents such as the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction, the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Seabed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof, and the Convention on the Prohibition of Hostile Uses of Environmental Modification Techniques. But for these agreements, the situation in the world today would undoubtedly be even more dangerous than it is.

But justice demands I remind you that almost 10 years have passed since the last of the said agreements was signed in 1977. Therefore, while paying tribute to what has been done, the peoples have a right to expect that the Disarmament Conference will act more intensively and more productively and that it will make its effective contribution to preventing nuclear war and strengthening world peace.

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CSO: 5200/1269

## EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

### PRAVDA ON LATEST WARSAW PACT MBFR INITIATIVE

PM250945 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 86 First Edition p 5

[Igor Melnikov "Commentator's Column": "Political Will Is Needed"]

[Text] An important new initiative has been taken at the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. At the latest plenary session in the Hofburg Palace, the socialist countries submitted a detailed draft "agreement on the initial reduction by the Soviet Union and the United States of ground forces and armaments, with no subsequent increase in the levels of the sides' armed forces and armaments, and associated measures in Central Europe." This was further confirmation of the Warsaw Pact countries' desire to achieve a constructive shift as soon as possible at the talks, which have been going on for more than 12 years.

What characterizes the draft which has been submitted? While retaining all the socialist states' principled proposals put forward a year ago, it greatly develops, clarifies, and supplements them. It takes account of those elements of the Western position set forth on 5 December last year which are acceptable. Compromise solutions are proposed on a number of important aspects on which there is as yet no consensus between the sides.

The initiative taken by the socialist countries brings substantially closer the positions held at the Vienna talks by the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Political observers have already noted that the compromise applies above all to the sphere of verification of the observance of the agreement -- the very "hobbyhorse" which Western propaganda has always tried to use to cast doubt on the sincerity of the socialist states' desire to achieve an agreement to lower the level of military confrontation in the center of our continent. The West is now having to climb down from this "hobbyhorse."

So a new step has been taken in Vienna, indicating the political will and creative energy displayed by the socialist countries. This initiative, if supported by the NATO side, could in the near future be translated into real actions -- troops will be withdrawn from the regions of reduction, arms and combat hardware will be removed. This will make it possible to clear away the heaps of arms piled up in the center of our continent and enable Europe's peoples to breathe more freely.

A question which is not a procedural question or a protocol question is now on the agenda at the Vienna talks, with an unprecedented urgency. It is a question of substance: The NATO side must at least heed the socialist states' constructive proposals and make up for the shortage of political will which has so far kept the "Vienna express" of military detente in Central Europe at a standstill.

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CSO: 5200/1269

## RELATED ISSUES

### USSR ECONOMIST EXPLAINS ADVANTAGES OF DISARMAMENT

PM061537 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 1 Feb 86 p 3

[Article by I. Ivanov, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations, under the rubric "We Reply to Readers' Questions": "Disarmament for the Sake of Development;" first two paragraphs are SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA introduction]

[Excerpt] From press reports in connection with the Statement of M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, we know that it is continually claimed in the West, and primarily in the United States, that the new Soviet peace initiatives are the result of fear that the arms race will "crush" our economy. Yet in respect to the capitalist countries' economies the opposite is claimed, namely that the arms race makes them thrive. What does actually happen? Signed: V. Stryukov, repairman, Tolyatti.

At the request of the editorial office, Doctor of Economic Sciences I. Ivanov, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International relations answers this question.

The USSR's peace-loving foreign policy course is based on the Leninist principle of the unity of foreign and domestic policy: In order to successfully build the new society we need peace. We do not seek to improve the international situation and oppose the arms race because our economy is "weak." We favor peaceful coexistence, peaceful economic competition, and guaranteed security for all countries and peoples. The arms race blocks the road to peace and prosperity. It is both politically and economically senseless and unnatural to subordinate one's economic potential to the wasteful buildup of the arms race. Therefore, the draft of the new edition of the Party Program states solemnly: There is no weapon which the Soviet Union is not prepared to limit or ban on a reciprocal basis and given effective verification. The means released as a consequence could be switched to socioeconomic purposes and utilized to much greater effect.

Unfortunately, so far such a switch is being held up. And, what is more, not through our fault. The socialist society, by virtue of its very nature, is free from militarism. But it must be capable of defending itself. Hence, as the price for the confrontation which is being foisted on us, the USSR state budget also contains a defense expenditure which absorbs part of the resources

from the other economic sectors. In 1986 it totals R19 billion.

Even though limited to the indispensable minimum and virtually "frozen" for a number of years, this expenditure does, of course, affect our economic development. If the need for it was removed, it would be possible to substantially increase capital investments in various national economic sectors.

A reversal of the trend toward stepped up armed confrontation would enable our country to spend additional funds on its creative plans and to harness the defense industry to the fulfillment of these plans. Naturally, some of its components would have to be dismantled. But it could help, much more than at present, to develop the nuclear power industry and modernize machine building and other priority sectors in which scientific development plays a major part. On this basis it would also be possible to considerably advance the comprehensive program for the development of the consumer goods industry and the service sphere.

According to Soviet economists' estimates--and conservative estimates at that--had the arms race been stopped in the seventies, the potential for introducing highly productive equipment in our industry could have been doubled at the very least, and labor productivity growth could have saved the labor of millions of people. In the period through the year 2000, when intensive economic growth factors are assigned paramount importance, the effect could be much more substantial than that.

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CSO: 5200/1270

## RELATED ISSUES

### USSR'S LT GEN VOLKOGONOV COMMENTS ON STRATEGIC PARITY

LD182158 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 18 Jan 86

[Commentary by Lieutenant General Dmitriy Antonovich Volkogonov: "A Guarantee of Peace"]

[Text] We will devote our talk today to military-strategic parity, sometimes called balance, between the Soviet Union and the United States, the Warsaw Pact and NATO. As never before the destinies of the preservation of peace have proved to be closely linked with the possibilities which the Soviet Union and its allies have at their disposal for their defense. The greatest guarantees of security in the face of the militarist challenge now lie in the ability of socialism to maintain military-strategic parity. In the draft new revised edition of our party's program, its establishment is evaluated as a historic achievement of socialism. The equality in strategic forces has strengthened the position of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries and has upset the hopes of the aggressive circles of imperialism for a victory in a nuclear war.

Preserving this balance is a substantial guarantee for safeguarding peace and international security, the party document stresses. Defense of socialism proceeds from a most important political premise: maintaining the armed forces at a level which rules out the strategic superiority of imperialism. Otherwise, this would be tantamount to encouraging the aggressor, who in the past few years alone has drawn up many scenarios for achieving, as he puts it, a decisive military victory. In the opinion of the planners from the Pentagon bunkers, the model of war which continues to be the most advantageous to them is that which is limited to the territory of West Europe and the Soviet Union, leaving the United States basically untouched. And this, in the view of the U.S. military department, can be achieved when the United States' nuclear missile forces in Europe are such that a considerable part of the Soviet Union's containment potential can be directed against them.

But today this already seems too little for them. As is known, the hawks in Washington are connecting special hopes with the so-called SDI whose essence boils down to creating such a space strike system as will ensure the possibility of inflicting a first strike on the economy and, to all intents and purposes, of not permitting a counterstrike or at least sharply reducing the power of such a counterstrike. The war hawks in no way wish to understand

that in the end we shall not permit their unilateral advantages either on earth or in space.

Pursuit of the unrealizable dream of military superiority, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stressed in his statement on a program for the elimination of nuclear weapons on the planet, is a fruitless and dangerous policy. If only they understood this immutable truth, our country's historic constructive proposals for a mutual reduction of the level of the strategic balance in stages right up [to] the elimination of nuclear weapons, could become the basis for cardinal changes for the better on the planet. And as long as this has not happened, the ability of socialism to maintain relative strengths in the form of parity--which through the fault of the Americans are at a very high level today--gives those chief material guarantees of security which serve the entire world. And here one has to take into account that the Soviet strategic forces are intended--both because of our peace-loving course and obligations not to be first to use nuclear weapons--only for a counterstrike, while the American ones are intended for first strike. It is therefore that the thinking of the American strategists is such that in evaluations, conclusions, and especially in talks, they are operating with their own categories which are unacceptable for real accords. Today, a potential aggressor must know that he can attempt to destroy an enemy by means of nuclear weapons--by the way, Washington's SDI precisely testifies that pursuit of the ephemeral but dangerous specter of decisive superiority is continuing--but he is also just as defenseless in a retaliatory crushing blow. In the Pentagon's bunkers they in no way want to agree with the imperious demand of the nuclear age. Real security now lies not in the search for ways of achieving victory in a war but in the guaranteed capability of preventing a nuclear cataclysm. And the foundation of such a prevention lies in the strategic balance of nuclear forces.

In the post-war years, imperialism, as is known, has unleashed some 100 local wars and armed conflicts, and has repeatedly placed the world on the verge of a dangerous confrontation, and has conducted global exercises of offensive strategic nuclear forces--for example, of the "global shield" type, with many hundreds of bombers carrying nuclear weapons onboard taking to the air and with the targeting of a multitude of missile complexes at real targets. Many of these wars could become the detonators of a large war and provocative exercises can be a prelude to an all-out attack on the Soviet Union and its allies.

But the real might of socialism and its political resolve to defend its gains are forcing the militarists each time to refrain from a nuclear adventure. Parity, balance, the approximate equality of strategic nuclear forces is a mighty restraining factor and a kind of bastion against war. Here I would like to stress that maintaining military-strategic parity is not only the business of designers, of our industry, of the higher operational link of the army and navy. This balance is nothing other than the ability of each soldier, each serviceman to carry out this duty to the end, their skill and craftsmanship multiplied by ardent patriotism and irreconcilability toward the enemy. The most complicated military system depends on the full execution of service obligations by each serviceman. For this reason it can be said that today virtually each soldier, sergeant, sergeant-major, officer has a part in

dealing with the strategic tasks to safeguard the security of the fatherland.

And one more fundamental observation: While maintaining military-strategic parity in nuclear weapons, there cannot be any question of parity in spiritual forces. We have had, have, and will have moral superiority over the personnel of the imperialist armies. This superiority is expressed in the invincible strength of our ideology, the great fairness of our ideals, the immense advantage of the socialist way of life, and the high moral-political qualities of the man who wears an army or navy greatcoat. On the quality of service and the execution of duty by this man, and speaking precisely, by each serviceman, depends the dearest thing we have--the destiny of our fatherland.

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CSO: 5200/1270

## RELATED ISSUES

### USSR'S ZAGLADIN FOCUSES ON PEACE POLICY FOR CONGRESS

LD222308 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in English 1400 GMT 22 Feb 86

Recorded statement by Professor Vadim Valentinovich Zagladin, deputy chairman of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; in Russian with superimposed English translation; date not given]

[Text] Just a few days are before the opening of the congress. All the preparations for it have been practically finished. These were very serious preparations as the Congress will be of exceptional significance. It will take place at the turning point of this country's life and also at the turning point of the life of mankind as a whole. In fact, all countries and nations are faced with the problem of choosing between letting the events take the same course as in the previous decade, that is toward confrontation and aggravation of the war threat, and seeking the way out of this well-used track, looking for the road to termination of confrontation to the loosening of tensions, to lasting peaceful coexistence. It is our firm belief that every country and nation, every government, every political and public functionary must think of this and make his choice, select his way in this complicated period.

We have made our choice. The Soviet Communists go to the 27th party congress having made their choice and with a clearly formulated foreign policy program. This program is outlined in the draft of the updated program of the party, in the statements of the party leaders, primarily of Mikhail Gorbachev. In many respects our choice is a new choice, a fresh approach to the problems faced by mankind today. In his interview for the *L'HUMANITE* newspaper, Mikhail Gorbachev spoke about this. In the present conditions, he pointed out, when human civilization has developed means sufficient for self destruction it is vital to break through the age-long traditions and give them up, for otherwise the problem of mankind's survival may become solution-proof. In the nuclear age it is impossible to leave at least sufficiently long relying on psychology, habits and regulations from the stonage age. [sentence as heard]

When we discuss this with our foreign colleagues we are sometimes asked if this approach doesn't signify a step back from certain basic principles. Not in the least, is our answer. The principles that are at the core of our foreign policy stay unchanged. These principles are traceable to Lenin's thought, to his Peace Decree, and we remain faithful to them. Yet the realization of this principle takes different shapes today, considering the peculiarities of our nuclear age, the demands of the

international situation. Our policy is successive and consistent. But succession, as our party has repeatedly pointed out, doesn't mean repetition of what has been before, but rather giving due consideration to the new circumstances, and we do this in full measure.

Well, what have we actually taken into account? What traditions of the past do we propose to forsake? For one thing we have taken into account the fact that in the present nuclear age it is impossible to guarantee security basically by way of multiplying weaponry. The more weapons, the less the security — such is the reality of today. We have also taken into account the fact that the security of one state cannot be guaranteed at the expense of another state's security. In the nuclear age security is one and the same for all. We have also realized that the efforts of one state, even of such a big one as the Soviet Union, are not enough to guarantee this security. In the past a nation could hope to guarantee security only for itself, this is no longer possible; security today requires collective efforts of both states and nations.

Proceeding from these premises we have elaborated the concept of security, as well as the program of its realization. The fundamental principles of this program were spelled out in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of 15 January this year. A significant aspect of this program is that for one thing its purpose is to rid mankind completely of such heavy burden as mass annihilation weapons by the end of this century. Naturally, we don't neglect other types of weapons generally called conventional. It's worth pointing out, as in the West anxieties are voiced quite groundlessly though, that once nuclear weapons are liquidated the Russians will take (?all) with conventional arms. But we don't have superiority or seek it.

Another thing is that we propose a strict system of international control, including control on-the-spot. Thirdly, our proposals envisage liquidation of mass annihilation weapons in three stages, and at each stage identical security to be guaranteed to all states. None of these stages relies on upsetting the military-strategic balance; on the contrary this balance is proposed to be maintained but on the minimal level. Naturally, the Soviet Union and the United States, as the two greatest nuclear powers, are to start the disarmament program. Yet on a later stage they are to be joined by other countries. In short, this program is to be carried



through not by one or two countries, but through the efforts of all nuclear powers, of the world community as a whole.

Finally, this program is addressed not just to governments, but to nations as well. This deserves special mentioning, because it is based not just on our own ideas but also on the proposals that have been advanced by various political and public forces. We take these proposals with utmost attention and try to incorporate them with the ideas of our own. We are ready and willing to study other proposals aimed to consolidate peace; we are ready for dialogue, for discussion; we are ready to seek mutually acceptable solutions, but only if these solutions serve peace.

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## RELATED ISSUES

### PRAVDA EDITORIAL ARTICLE ON USSR QUEST FOR PEACE

PM232030 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 86 First Edition p 6

#### [Editorial article: "Rising to the Challenge of the Epoch"]

[Text] The 27th CPSU Congress is awaited all over the world as a most important event not only in our country's domestic life, but also in international life. This appraisal stems from the revolutionary nature and scope of the tasks which Lenin's party has set itself, rising to the challenge of the epoch.

This is a dual challenge. From the viewpoint of the country's domestic life, it concerns the fact that Soviet society is now facing the task of decisively accelerating socioeconomic development. From the external viewpoint, the creation [sozdaniye] of highly efficient means for mankind's self-destruction brings to the foreground the need for fundamental changes in the sphere of international relations and for the renunciation of the practice, going back thousands of years, when states relied on military force and often set it in motion.

"We Soviet Communists," M.S. Gorbachev says, "have been and remain loyal to the immortal teaching of Marx and Lenin, which was born and developed as a revolutionary teaching, as an instrument for the profound transformation of the world in the interests of the working class and all working people, for the sake of satisfying their vital needs and implementing their social and moral ideals. And this means that we Communists must be masters of the art of always and everywhere applying this teaching skillfully and creatively to the specific conditions of our work and of the real world surrounding us."

This is exactly how Lenin's party acted in preparation for its congress. Political observers and even the broad public strata abroad are struck by its dynamism and the daring with which it is revealing the accumulated shortcomings, by the grandeur of the plans for creative activity set out in the pregress documents, and by the purposefulness embodied in the unity of domestic and foreign policy which supplement one another.

The world is living through a period of great hopes and great alarm. Never before in its history has mankind possessed such great opportunities to solve its problems. Never before, however, have its problems been as complex as at present.

The achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, undreamed of just a few decades ago, seem to have made our planet smaller with man's emergence into space -- the eyes perceive it as just a small blue sphere. How young this planet -- Earth -- still is, strictly speaking. Its actual formation is still in progress, as

volcanic eruptions and earthquakes constantly remind us. But no matter how destructive nature's elements may be at times, it is not they that cause the main alarm of mankind. Its attention is concentrated on different problems -- social, economic, and political.

The invention of nuclear weapons and the prospect of the creation [sozdaniye] of other, even more devastating means of mass destruction, transform the idea of peaceful coexistence between states with different socioeconomic systems, which was propounded way back by V.I. Lenin, into an imperative necessity. There is no other sensible alternative for mankind. The strong-arm method of solving international disputes is fraught with the destruction of life on earth itself. Now the question of war and peace has become the main, the key problem of mankind.

It is profoundly significant that the first country of victorious socialism in the world, the one that was born with the slogan "Peace for the peoples!", has now put forward, under fundamentally different international conditions, an expanded program for the total liquidation of nuclear weapons and the prevention of the militarization of space.

This program is contained in M.S. Gorbachev's 15 January statement. Presented on the eve of the 27th CPSU Congress, it became yet another important landmark along the path of preparations for the congress and enhanced even further the international importance of the forthcoming forum of Soviet Communists. We believe that, having conquered the minds of people, from responsible statesmen to the most ordinary people, this program is capable of becoming the material force which will enable mankind to free itself from the fear for its future, to enter the 21st century without nuclear or any other mass destruction weapons, and to channel into peaceful needs the enormous funds that are being wasted on the arms race.

Such is the noble and humane objective set by the Land of October. It counters the misanthropic "star wars" plan being hatched by the most aggressive circles of U.S. imperialism with its own "star peace" plan, opening before mankind the truly boundless horizons of exploring the universe and of social progress.

The peoples in the world hope that the 27th CPSU Congress will make a weighty contribution to the cause of the implementation of their common dream of a peaceful and happy life. And their hopes will not be in vain. Lenin's party has risen to the challenge of the epoch and will meet it appropriately.

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## RELATED ISSUES

### MOSCOW PAPER VIEWS EUROPEAN SECURITY ISSUES

PM031837 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Feb 86 First Edition p 3

[Vladlen Kuznetsov article under the rubric "Europe--Our Common Home": "The New Edifice of Detente"--first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] Today we open a new rubric, "Europe--Our Common Home." Under this rubric we will publish articles by leading Soviet and foreign journalists, writers, scientists, and politicians about the most urgent problems associated with the situation in Europe. As the Statement by M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stresses, a significant proportion of the new Soviet initiatives are directly addressed to Europe. We invite readers to take part in discussing this subject.

Europe is the most suitable site for the construction of new relations of security and cooperation, relations permeated by true mutual understanding and trust. And the blueprint exists for this building--the Helsinki Final Act of the all-European conference.

The bad political weather of recent years has battered the all-European house. But it stood firm. It stood firm, despite the fact that a load-bearing wall divides it into two opposing worlds--socialist and capitalist. The house has withstood loads and overloads, because its residents have already done much to learn to live side by side like good neighbors. They also have disagreements--life is life, but things have not reached the point of serious flare-ups.

However, the Europeans are not alone in their home. There are guests there too--lodgers remaining from the time of World War II. They said they would go back across the ocean a year or two after the war. But they stayed on, and made themselves so much at home that sometimes they behave practically like the owners of the house. True, they claim they are ready to defend the Western half of the all-European home as though it were their own. They have opened the "nuclear umbrella" above it, promising to unfurl a space umbrella too in the future. From time to time they threaten their clients that they will go home, leaving them alone with the "Soviet military threat." That is on the occasions when it is necessary once again to make the West Europeans fork out and increase their contribution to NATO "defense." The trick works every time. The "defenders" rub their hands contentedly and behave in an even

more free-and-easy way, and sometimes even permit themselves to put their feet on the table.... But that is not the USSR's problem. It is not for the USSR to teach the rules of etiquette which are broken in the Western part of the continent. It is for the West European to decide what suits them and what does not suit them in the behavior of their ally from across the ocean. As for the Soviet Union, it is quite unjustifiably and mainly reproached for wanting cause to a quarrel between Washington and Western Europe. Nobody could do that better than Washington itself.

But when they start arming the West Europeans against their neighbors in the East, and moreover with first-strike weapons, making them bear the burden of American economic sanctions, or making them join in operations to "loosen" the internal order in other countries, then that is the USSR's problem, and that of its allies. And this is not only a case of unceremoniousness in the Atlantic camp; it is a case of undermining the foundations of all-European good-neighborliness. Such activity is at variance with the principles and recommendations of the Helsinki Final Act. And it cannot be tolerated.

Europeans do not threaten Europeans, although some people continue to spin out the fabrication about the "Soviet military threat." The threat is exported from across the ocean.

True, people in Washington are not inclined to believe that Europe is in danger. "Assertions are sometimes heard to the effect that the danger of war in Europe is growing. That is nonsense," U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz asserts preemptorily. "In the century which has seen two European cataclysms, this continent has for the last 4 decades been experiencing an unprecedented period of peace. The equilibrium of military forces in Europe is stable...."

Then why, one wonders, is Washington bringing more and more new first-strike nuclear weapons into Western Europe? Why does it intend to replenish the chemical weapons drums and ship in neutron charges? To what end is it dragging its NATO partners into the "Star Wars" program? The reason is clear: in order to wreck the strategic parity and acquire military superiority.

Forty years without war in Europe--that is indeed an "unprecedented period of peace." But to whom does the continent owe this? To Washington? To the might of NATO, as G. Shultz asserts? No, Europe has been living without war thanks above all to the persistent struggle of the USSR and the other socialist states for its firm, guaranteed peaceful postwar structure, the inviolability of its borders, and the establishment of strategic stability, security, and cooperation. It was the USSR and its socialist states who initiated the conclusion of a series of treaties with the FRG which confirmed the immutability of the European borders and the four-power agreement on West Berlin. It was they who spent a good 10 years convincing the United States and its allies of the need to hold the all-European conference, which in 1975 adopted the peace charter--the Helsinki Final Act.

The danger of war in Europe is not someone's invention. Unfortunately, it is an objective fact. Just as objective as the fact that Washington continues to

step up the creation of a first nuclear strike bridgehead in the Western part of the continent, threatening to launch the lethal weapons at an early stage of a potential conflict. There is nothing surprising about the fact that the danger of war is being consciously exaggerated by those who create that danger. By those for whom Europe is only a convenient "theater of war," remote from their own territory.

Some people in Europe are inclined to labor under the delusion that Washington has recently supposedly renounced its attempts to impose its own tough anti-Soviet line on the West Europeans. The facts, alas, refute this.

So the main question in Europe is, will there be peace. This ranks above all the other questions--relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO and between CEMA and the EEC, problems of trade and commerce, economic, scientific, and technological cooperation, environmental conservation, cultural ties, humanitarian contacts. There is plenty to discuss here. There is plenty to argue about. And if the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, opening the rubric "Europe--Our Common Home," is prepared to make its pages available for a discussion of what is of concern to Soviet people and all Europeans, and not only them, then this initiative can only be welcomed.

Europe is not without its share of international attention. Its problems are discussed at the Stockholm conference, at the Vienna talks, in the United Nations, and at many other forums. They are discussed behind the closed doors of diplomatic conferences, and in full view of everyone. Both are needed. Many [of] those who live in the all-European home [are] not potential enemies, but partners in building a peaceful and secure Europe.

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CSO: 5200/1270

## RELATED ISSUES

### PRAVDA ON ENDING 'MILITARIST CONSCIOUSNESS'

PM311307 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 86 First Edition p 6

[Aleksandr Prokhanov article under the "Writer's Notes" rubric: "Dismantling the Threat"]

[Text] I try to imagine how the last remaining combat missile in the world will be dismantled and "killed." How the concrete cover of the silo will be opened somewhere in the woods, the missile taken out, its roots pulled out of the ground, and carried away on heavy trucks. They will unscrew the warhead, the uranium capable of turning an entire city into a poisonous fireball will be set to icebreakers and power stations, while the missile itself, with its string extracted, will be loaded with some satellite and launched into space to provide new TV programs, world weather forecasts, and teaching courses for those living in inaccessible parts of the world. This ceremony, timed to coincide with the last days of the 20th century, will be attended by heads of government and thousands-strong crowds of people, and the missile's end will be at the end of an enormous and terrible process that we, the inhabitants of this century, will have achieved through trials and tribulations.

Perhaps this picture is just a page from utopia. And my imagination is just toying with miracles and will return to the problems of global confrontation. No, it is not utopia. No, it will not return so easily. The program proclaimed by the general secretary of our party Central Committee for removing nuclear weapons is not tactics, propaganda, or one of the many doctrines publicized in recent decades. It is a fundamental, painfully-conceived phenomenon imbued with the development of life in which life itself would see and find in itself the power and capability to assess its evolution, perceive the looming catastrophe, sharply change tack, and amputate the monstrous organ of self-destruction that has been developed. That is how I understand the program. And expressed in strict language and unemotional statistics, figures, and timetables, it starts me on a complex train of thought which I have been considering for some time.

We propose that all powers scrap not only missiles and their silos and not only submarines--underwater launchpads and strategic nuclear bomb transports--and their entire command system on land, at sea, and in the air. We propose not only that the countless contingents of people working on thermonuclear hell, the end of the world, and the colossal and soon-to-be-implemented architecture of the last explosion be dispersed. We propose something

greater. We want to eradicate the consciousness and eliminate the womb of human civilization which could give birth to a threat and engender a nuclear arms race, extracting the best juices and forces from the earth and threatening to turn it into a withering dystrophic. We want to destroy the next where at some unknown moment an overflying cuckoo placed its egg.

We propose eradicating the "militarist consciousness" as the force that created out of clubs and crossbows cruise missiles and nuclear-powered lasers. For if we just break up bombers and missile-carriers and pulverize warheads while retaining a "militarist consciousness" more terrible weapons than today's will inevitably be invented. Those terrible lasers able to melt rocks and planets are also part of this clustered hate. We want to eradicate "militarist consciousness" based on fundamental distrust, denial, and misunderstanding that finds that sole and final argument in relations among people, states, and peoples--through the shoot, the strike, the missile launch, and the complete destruction of the enemy.

Maybe this too is utopia. Is it really possible to root out from history the most ancient, basic, and firmly fixed theme linked with the idea of warfare? After all, the history of humankind is to a considerable extent the history of fortresses, military elephants, crusades, captivity, mass executions, great military leaders, the invention of gunpowder, the invention of the cannon, the building of the defensive Great Wall of China that stretches across half a continent, and a fraudulently defensive "strategic initiative." That is all so. This, seemingly, is the mind's nature. Human nature. And are we infringing it?

Precisely, no less. In order to survive in one piece we propose addressing all the resources amassed in the world--knowledge, suffering, sacrifices, rich teachings, the prophecies of wise men and seers in whatever lands and languages they were made, the entire colossal experience of modern science and technology, peace institutes, the modern ability to think globally and implement peace programs affecting the entire earth and all human awareness at a stroke--we propose addressing all this to the idea of peace, the idea of "teaching peace," of recovering from "military epilepsy," and of excising the "tumor of war." This is not simply the task of the century or a world task. It is a universal task. We call on people to bring their weight to bear on this blind battering ram moving through history, to stop it, and to restrain this terribly forged sledgehammer. To maintain city walls, to maintain gardens, temples, and palaces. To maintain the supreme, shining goal that life strives for.

How hard this is!! Almost beyond us! How can we entice the president of another great power with this task? How can we use it to entice the admirals of the U.S. 6th Fleet who--as I saw with my own eyes--sent huge aircraft carriers to the Lebanese coast, screeching trios of deck-borne ground-attack aircraft flew over the blue waters with an awe-inspiring beauty, at night the battleship "New Jersey" floundered around, and in Lebanon invisible hills were dimly illuminated by the flashes of the battleship's exploding shells. How can we entice them?



I know our military men. I know the crushing power of the weapons they wield. And I am confident that they will understand me--they who have devoted their entire lives to combat and defense, but to whom a "militarist consciousness" is alien. I will also be understood by the missile troops who carried out an experimental missile launch, and the long glazed missile body made of valuable alloys and full of countless inventions, engineering insight, sleepless nights, and zeal for the security of our socialist power flew into the star-spangled sky.

Just as continents drift, volcanoes erupt, and the earth takes issue with the showers and the seas with the red-hot desert sands, so peoples and states whirl in contradictions. The eternally turbulent movement of history crammed with innumerable, often painful contradictions pushing it onward. Weapons--by the middle of the 20th century nuclear missiles--this nuclear missile weapons have engendered an avalanche of contradictions and snow-balling fear in which former diplomatic methods, military doctrines, and principles for resolving disputes are buried. Everything is eclipsed by fear, distrust, and the dread of destruction. We want to put a stop to this disaster caused by missiles and warheads, to clear the clot of nuclear arms, to extract it from the blood vessels of history, to bind and heal those cleared, reopened vessels, and to pump life into other areas needing life-giving energy.

To make this happen and to ensure that we are heard we are prepared to try not to remember the insults and affronts we have suffered. We are prepared to see ourselves as the other side sees us. We are prepared to subject ourselves to the most stringent criteria. We are prepared to do our share of the work to clear away this colossal obstacle that has built up in the way to peace. We are prepared to start this work first. We have already started it. We have publicized a program, issued a call, appealing to our neighbors, friends, and enemies to join this work, in an attempt to see even our enemies as comrades under the skin. We risked not meeting hatred with hatred. We did not create bloodthirsty series where superman with a red star and a Kalashnikov machinegun travels around the planet. We extended the moratorium on all nuclear explosions by another 3 months while listening to the rumble at Nevada underground ranges. And this risk, this restraint, this self-control bears witness to our honesty and our complete dedication to peace.

The "militarist consciousness" and the "militarist civilization" that it engendered are a black hole into which the planet is being sucked. Through our program, our passionate love of life, our potential covering one-sixth of the earth's land mass, and our experience of the multitude of peoples inhabiting our country we want to fill in that hole and overcome the gravitational pull of nonexistence. We are conducting this work in all avenues of life, among all generations, and in all social strata and professions. We are prepared to turn our entire power into a colossal peace institute, as our poets, wise men, and the creators of our state dreamed. As Lenin dreamed. And that is why we are prepared to use any idea, any invention--even the most homespun--aimed at creating peace.

No, this is not color TV euphoria. It is not an illusion to be swamped at any moment by a reason weighed down by gloomy reality, for the night sky still looks like a picture bearing the sinister inscription "Star Wars."

The idea of hanging 100 space fortresses over the USSR and drawing America's defense lines over Moscow, the Urals, Novosibirsk, and Vladivostok is tantamount to setting up something along the lines of military commandant's offices over us operating in space. This idea is clear to us. And it should be clear to our "space opponents" that we will oppose it with everything we stand for. And we will find a suitable response--and an effective one at that.

We appeal not only to the reason of the President and the directors of Boeing and Bell Telephone. We appeal to their instinct as fathers and grandfathers, to their patriotism, to their desire to see a flourishing and strong America, and to their secret aspiration for beauty and goodness, an aspiration that dwells in each living soul. For the beauty and goodness which we laud and for which we strive with the entire essence of our socialist motherland and building it, beautifying it, admiring it, and wishing for it a good lot among other peoples and countries worthy of the same beauty and joy.

These are the thoughts that the statement by the general secretary of our party's Central Committee aroused in me.

That was how I heard it. That was how I understood it. That is what I told my children.

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CSO: 5200/1270

## RELATED ISSUES

### IZVESTIYA VIEWS STATUS OF GENEVA, CDE, MBFR TALKS

PM251156 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 February 1986 Morning Edition carries on page 5 a roundup of Geneva, Stockholm, and Vienna dispatches on the status of the various arms- and security-related talks taking place in those cities. The roundup is prefaced by an editorial introduction reading:

"Soviet diplomacy has always stood in the front lines of the defense of peace and the fatherland. It broke the iron ring of the blockade and 'cordons sanitaires' during the turning-point twenties. It cleared away the rockpiles of nonrecognition and mistrust in the thirties. It sealed the handshakes of brothers in arms against the common enemy in the forties. It fought against the champions of 'cold war.' It erected the bridges of the policy of detente. And at all times it has spoken in the language of peace and friendship bequeathed by Vladimir Ilich. Today's successors of the diplomats of the Leninist school are continuing to realize the ideals originating in the Decree on Peace. The dispatches published below describe Soviet diplomacy's struggle to strengthen peace and security."

A.V. Kuznetsov Geneva dispatch headlined "Chroniclers Waiting" reads:

"The shivering figure of a journalist on the Avenue de la Paix is maybe a graphic symbol of the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms. Despite the slush and bad weather and the subsequent snow which covered the centuries-old lime and oak trees, the 'chroniclers of history' stubbornly appear three times a week at first the American and then the Soviet mission and attempt to find out whether 'any kind of breakthrough' in the talks is expected."

"From the very beginning the delegations agreed that in view of the importance and seriousness of the questions under discussion they would not tell the press anything about the substance of the questions under discussion. But nobody abolished the thirst for journalistic sensation, and the journalist corps in Geneva makes up for the total lack of information about the talks with speculation."

"This is why the system of indirect signs is so highly developed. Attempts are made to draw far-reaching conclusions about the state of the talks from the necktie sported by USSR delegation leader V.P. Karpov or the suit worn by M. Kampelman, who heads the U.S. delegation."

"This is flippant, of course, but maybe it merits some attention. Journalists scrupulously count up how much time the three working groups and the two delegations spend at the negotiating table. It has been calculated, for example, that the number of hours spent in the conference hall has increased in the course of the current round."

"Many hopes and expectations of concrete solutions to fundamental problems of ending the arms race, and primarily the nuclear arms race, are linked with Geneva at the present time. Let me remind you that it was in Geneva last November that the two countries' top leaders stressed the particular responsibility borne by the USSR and the United States in the matter of preserving peace, agreeing that the work at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms 'would be accelerated.' It is a question of fulfilling the tasks set in the Soviet-American joint statement of 8 January 1985, namely the prevention of an arms race in space and the termination of the arms race on earth, the limitation and reduction of nuclear arms, and the consolidation of strategic stability.

"There was even more talk about the hopes linked with Geneva when the recent Soviet initiatives were tabled at the Soviet-American talks. Attention is drawn by their preciseness and comprehensive consideration of all factors and of the positions of the sides which must participate in the nuclear disarmament process. The program for the phased elimination of nuclear weapons through the world given a complete ban on space strike weapons is a realistic path toward the implementation of mankind's age-old dream of peace.

"Delegations of international public representatives wishing to spell out their views and concern for the fate of our planet and their children and grandchildren head for Geneva. The Soviet delegation to the Geneva talks meets with these representatives and spells out the Soviet position and our viewpoint on the need for real solutions and on ending the arms race on earth and preventing it in space.

"A great deal of mail addressed to the Soviet-American talks is delivered daily: It includes children's scribblings, schoolchildren's drawings about peace, and letters and appeals for disarmament from various countries. They reflect the living pulse of our planet and the concern and hope of ordinary people.

"'I beg you to save us from nuclear annihilation,' Lindsey McDonald writes from Washington. 'We are pinning our hopes on Geneva.'"

The following Stockholm dispatch is contributed by A. Sychev under the headline "Decision Time!"

"The inhabitants of Stockholm talk about Sergelstrog Square with particular pride. Main streets radiate like beams of light from the glass obelisk, illuminated at night, in the center of the square. Above the square, reflected in the tiniest detail in the silvered glass, rises the building of the Kulturhuset, over which the national flags of 33 European states, the United States, and Canada have been flying for more than 2 years now. This is the venue of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe."

"How do things stand at the conference today? Twice a day in the gigantic hall of the Kulturhuset a musical signal rings out, summoning the delegation members to the conference hall, where the stage of drafting formulations and individual provisions of the final documents is taking place with the aid of coordinators from the neutral and nonaligned states. The discussion is currently centered on the proposals submitted by the socialist countries. The Soviet proposals spelled out in the statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, have exerted a fruitful influence on the course of the talks. Let me cite the views of conference participants.

"Ambassador A. Ciarrapico, head of the Italian delegation: 'The Italian delegation was very interested both in the statement as a whole and also in the individual parts of it which directly or indirectly affect the work of our conference.'"

"Ambassador M. Kavhiluoto, head of the Finnish delegation and coordinator of one of the working groups said: 'The signals coming in from the capitals of the states participating in the conference testify to a determination to get the Stockholm conference onto a road leading to success. This aspiration is also expressed in the Soviet-American joint statement in Geneva. The USSR's recent initiatives have played a substantial role in moving the conference forward.'

"For his part special envoy O.A. Grinevskiy, leader of the Soviet delegation, noted in conversation with your correspondent the change for the better that has occurred in the mood of many participants in the talks. 'The Soviet statement helps to solve one of the most complex problems at the conference -- notification of major military maneuvers,' he said. 'The conference has now reached a stage where words must without fail be backed up by action. Unfortunately a lack of readiness to conduct serious and constructive talks is manifestly displayed by the United States and certain NATO countries.'

"The point is that the United States and its closest NATO allies, while verbally advocating the speediest transition to the drafting stage, have not in practice made a real contribution to solving the problems. Instead they are repeating and hardening their old positions.

"More than 2 years have passed. Cold winds have lashed and bright sun has sparkled on the facets of the glass obelisk on Sergelstorg Square. The work of the Stockholm conference has also been marked by 'seasons.' But time does not stand still, and words must be translated into specific actions."

N. Novikov's Vienna dispatch is headlined "The Atmosphere in the Redoutensaal" and reads:

"The numerous foreign tourists filing through the courtyards of the Hofburg Palace always know when talks are taking place in the building. On those days the 19 multicolored national flags of the states participating in the talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and arms in central Europe (7 Warsaw Pact countries' flags and 12 NATO countries' flags) flutter in the wind on the facade of the famous Redoutensaal.

"The Redoutensaal matches the proud monuments of the entire palace complex. The walls of the hall are pale cream with gilded sculpted adornments, 14 ornate mirrors, and big French tapestries. The Redoutensaal was built during the reign of the Empress Maria Theresa (1740-1780) on the site of the old court opera theater. Many international conferences, including the Congress of Vienna of 1814-1815, have been held in this hall. Sessions of various specialized UN organs and other international meetings have been held here since World War II.

"The SALT II treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States was concluded in the Redoutensaal on 18 June 1979. The agreement signed by the U.S. President, which could have erected an important barrier to the further stockpiling of the most destructive means of mass destruction and most expensive types of weapons, has not been ratified by the U.S. Congress to this day.

"Very little has changed in the Redoutensaal. In the center stands an enormous round table at which the delegation heads and their advisers sit. A gallery houses glass booths for the interpreters. There is simultaneous translation into Russian, English, and German.

"At the end of a session -- the sessions are held behind closed doors -- I approached Ambassador V.V. Mikhaylov, leader of the Soviet delegation at the talks, and asked him

to answer the question: What is preventing the reaching of agreements at the Vienna talks, which have already been going on for over 12 years?

"As a result of joint initiatives from the socialist countries, V.V. Mikhaylov said, all the necessary conditions have now been created at the Vienna talks for agreement to be reached, without detriment to the sides' security, on a certain reduction of Soviet and American troops in central Europe and a subsequent freeze of the level of the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries' armed forces in this region. On 20 February the Warsaw Pact countries submitted new proposals at the Vienna talks. While retaining all the fundamental provisions contained in the socialist countries' proposal of 14 February 1985, the new draft greatly develops, clarifies, and supplements them. The new draft takes account of the acceptable elements of the position of the Western participants in the talks. Moreover, compromise views are proposed on a number of the most important points where there is no agreement between the sides. There is also a real opportunity for elaborating reasonable measures for monitoring [kontrol] the fulfillment of an agreement. The socialist countries have proposed a system of reliable reciprocal observation of the reduction and withdrawal of troops.

"Specific proposals relating to the subsequent nonincrease or 'freezing' of the level of the sides' armed forces and arms have also been tabled. In addition to national technical means of verification [kontrol] they envisage the establishment of permanent points for monitoring [kontrol] the entry of troop contingents into the zone covered by reductions, prior notification of movements or exercises involving substantial contingents of troops, and other measures.

"The Western participants in the talks are not ceasing their subterfuges aimed at imposing on the Warsaw Pact countries terms for an agreement which would place them in an unfavorable position in comparison with the NATO countries. They constantly reduce real reductions and limitations of armed forces to the minimum while at the same time arbitrarily making increasing and more complex demands in terms of verification [kontrol], pushing them to the point where they are absurd and unacceptable to other parties.

"...After every Thursday session the participants in the talks meet with Austrian and foreign journalists. And virtually each one of these meetings begins with the question: Is there progress at the Vienna talks? The response is: 'No change as yet on the Vienna front.' The socialist countries consider that the new draft agreement which they have submitted is a realistic basis for mutual accord at the Vienna talks."

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## RELATED ISSUES

### REPORTAGE, COMMENT ON SOVIET ARMY, NAVY DAY CELEBRATION

Defense Minister Sokolov

PM222006 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 86 First Edition p 2

[Article by Marshal of the Soviet Union S. L. Sokolov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister: "Decisive Source of Combat Might"]

#### [Excerpts]

This year our country is celebrating the nationwide holiday — Soviet Army and Navy Day — in an atmosphere of particular political and labor enthusiasm on the very eve of the 27th CPSU Congress. The preparations for the congress have generated, as they have done nationwide, high social and labor activeness on the part of Armed Forces personnel. Commanders, staffs, political organs, party and Komsomol organizations, and all servicemen are struggling to further improve the combat readiness of the Army and Navy and to strengthen organization, order, and discipline in units and on ships. They see the positive results and achievements in military work as their concrete contribution to the fulfillment of the party's creative plans and to the cause of ensuring peaceful conditions for improving socialist society.

#### I.

Soviet military policy is closely linked with our country's creative goals and tasks and is implemented within the framework of the USSR's peace-loving foreign policy course. The Soviet military doctrine, which — as the draft new edition of the CPSU Program notes — is profoundly defensive in nature, fully accords with this course. In this connection we cannot fail to mention the groundlessness of the incessant attempts by Western politicians and ideologists to ascribe aggressive and expansionist features to Soviet military doctrine.

It is common knowledge that any military doctrine has two aspects — the political and the military-technical. And the main, leading role is played by the political side. Its content is entirely determined by the policy followed by the state. The policy of the Land of the Soviets — from Lenin's Decree on Peace, to the present day — has been a clear and consistent peace policy. The resolve to continue to consistently and steadily implement it was reaffirmed by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU

Central Committee, at the Geneva summit and in the statement of 15 January this year. The Soviet program for saving mankind from nuclear weapons has gained widespread international approval and active support from the world's progressive forces.

As for the military-technical aspect of Soviet military doctrine, its content is wholly subordinated to the CPSU's program demand on maintaining the Armed Forces in a state of constant readiness to thwart imperialism's intrigues against the USSR and its allies and to resolutely rout any aggressor. The technical equipping of the Army and Navy is ensured on that basis. Our country is now capable of resolving any scientific and technical task and preventing anyone gaining superiority over us, be it on earth or in space. However, we are fundamentally opposed to the arms race and the militarization of space. There are many confirmations of that: the Soviet Union's refusal to be the first to use nuclear weapons; our moratorium on the holding of all nuclear explosions; the halting of the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe; the statement that we will not be the first to put weapons into space; and our readiness for other radical disarmament measures. These are extensively known by the world's public.

The facts attest that the United States hitherto has not abandoned its former and unrealizable aim of gaining an advantage over the USSR in the military sphere. This must be stated quite categorically: Not a single challenge that threatens us will go without the proper response. We favor relations among states that are based on the principles of sides' equality and identical security. That is the CPSU's principled and consistent position on the resolution of the most urgent questions of the day — the questions of war and peace. It has always firmly defended that position and will continue to do so. This is confirmed in the documents submitted by the party for its next congress.

Today's international situation urgently demands a responsible approach to the realities of the modern world and a resolute rejection of hopelessly obsolete political dogmas and ideas and of the cynical gamble on force. Yet influential Western circles continue to hold views aimed in essence at achieving their political goals with the help of military pressure and turning the arms race into a means of weakening the Soviet Union and its allies economically. The United States is stubbornly implementing the "star wars" program, attempting to present it as a "defense initiative" for propaganda purposes. By militarizing space it aims to wreck the existing military-strategic parity. The United States actively pursues the aggressive doctrine of so-called "neo

globalism," stokes seats of tension in various parts of the world, and takes other actions that run counter to the interests of peace and the peoples' security. This is a shortsighted and dangerous policy.

Our party is attentively following the development of the international situation and revealing in a timely fashion and properly assessing the dangerous trends that are appearing in this process. It does everything to reliably safeguard our country from anything unexpected and ensures that the USSR Armed Forces are maintained at a level commensurate with the demands of the times.

### **Akhrhomeyev KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Article**

**PM231822 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Feb 86 Second Edition p 2**

**[Article by Marshal of the Soviet Union S. Akhromeyev, chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces and USSR first deputy defense minister: "Guarding Peace and Socialism"]**

**[Excerpts] The Soviet people are celebrating a great nationwide holiday--the 68th anniversary of creation of the Soviet Army and Navy. This year the forthcoming 27th CPSU Congress, which will be a most important political event in the life of the party and of the whole Soviet people, imparts a particular coloration and character to the holiday.**

#### **II.**

The peoples in the world who suffered enormous sacrifices in routing Hitler's fascism and Japanese militarism hoped that war would be ruled out of mankind's life in the future. But, in their desire for world domination, the aggressive circles of imperialism, and primarily U.S. imperialism, started to elaborate plans for a new world war — and by now a nuclear war — having declared the Soviet Union to be "their main enemy."

As a result of this U.S. policy, for over 40 years now mankind has lived under conditions of the danger of nuclear war. Even today, under cover of "peace-loving" rhetoric, the aggressive circles of imperialism are following a strong-arm policy which leads to an increase of the danger of war. This policy is aimed at breaking the military-strategic equilibrium between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and the NATO bloc, at attaining military superiority. Imperialism's objective is the same as before — to dictate its will by threatening to use force.

"Imperialism's gravest crime against the peoples," the draft new edition of the CPSU Program says, "is the race in nuclear and other arms, unprecedented in scale, which it has unleashed." Today it is sweeping over the whole world. Stockpiles of nuclear weapons have been created [sozdany] in the arsenals of states. Nonetheless, many influential forces continue to claim that the United States is in danger, that it is lagging behind the Soviet

Union, and that the creation [sozdaniye] of more and more new weapons is therefore necessary. Under cover of such statements, which are inconsistent with reality, the United States is building up its military arsenal and is developing [razrabatyvat] more and more new systems of nuclear, chemical, and conventional weapons.

The U.S. militarist circles already feel cramped on earth. They are striving to transform outer space into a sphere of war. It is in this direction that the plans for the creation [sozdaniye] of space strike weapons and of a multi-echelon ABM defense for the country are channeled. The United States has conceived the intention to achieve military superiority over the USSR and the socialist community countries through space. With total disregard for the experience of the last 40 years and the realities of the present, it is intended to render the United States "invulnerable" in a nuclear war with the help of space weapons, while placing the Soviet Union in a position when the nuclear threat is constantly looming above it. These are the objectives of the notorious "Strategic Defense Initiative."

The Soviet leadership has repeatedly declared that it will not allow such a situation to develop. Any encroachment on the security of the USSR and its allies from space will inevitably lead to corresponding countermeasures. This can only lead to further growth of the danger of war for everyone, including the United States. No one's security can be guaranteed by the arms race. Profound realism and political will are needed today when evaluating the situation in the world, in order to put an end to the



race in nuclear and other arms and to embark on the process of their reduction. But the U.S. Administration has hitherto not followed this line.

The situation in the world remains tense, and even highly dangerous in some parts. New seats of conflict are added to those that already exist. U.S. spokesmen have been emphasizing recently that long-term U.S. policy is oriented toward the "most varied conflicts occupying an intermediate position between large-scale war and universal peace." Involvement of the U.S. Armed Forces is presupposed in every one of them. According to high-ranking U.S. officials, no plans are made in Washington to live under conditions of absolute peace. On the contrary, people there are bluntly claiming the right to armed interference in other countries' internal affairs, to some privileged position in the international community, and to stand above the norms and rules of international law.

The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that peace on earth must be preserved. It is, however, impossible to preserve peace while teetering on the brink of war. Therefore the USSR and the other socialist countries are waging a persistent struggle for the improvement of international relations. The draft new edition of the CPSU Program notes: "The CPSU proceeds from the premise that, no matter how great may be the threat against peace created by the policy of the aggressive circles of imperialism, there is no fatal inevitability of world war. It is possible to prevent war and save mankind from disaster. This is the historical vocation of socialism and of all progressive and peace-loving forces on our planet." The Soviet Union is doing everything within its power in this direction.

The USSR suspended unilaterally the further deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe, set an example by withdrawing from combat standby status [snyal s boyevogo dezhurstvo] a certain quantity of medium-range missiles in the European Zone, and extended the moratorium on conducting nuclear explosions until 31 March 1986. The Soviet proposal on the termination of nuclear explosions is not accompanied by any conditions. It is proposed to resume talks in this sphere without any delay. We expect an answer from the United States. Our unilateral steps are not infinite.

A confirmation of the policy of peace pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet state was provided by the new large-scale package of peace initiatives put forward by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev whose core is the stage-by-stage program for the total liquidation of nuclear weapons throughout the world by the year 2000. It is proposed in the first stage to reduce by one-half all nuclear means

existing in the USSR and the United States and capable of reaching each other's territory, while limiting to a ceiling of 6,000 units each the total number of nuclear charges on such delivery vehicles retained by the sides. An agreement on this question is fully possible under a total ban on strike space weapons. Such is our principled stance. It is also necessary, from the very onset, for the USSR and the United States to agree on the termination of all nuclear explosions and to address a call to other states to join such a moratorium as soon as possible.

A decision on the total liquidation of USSR and U.S. medium-range missiles (both ballistic and cruise) in the European zone is to be reached and implemented also at the first stage. This proposal of ours, just as the proposal on the termination of nuclear tests, is not accompanied by any conditions and envisages only that Britain and France renounce any buildup of relevant nuclear weapons and that the United States does not transfer such weapons to other countries.

Subsequently, it is presumed that the remaining nuclear powers would join the process of nuclear disarmament from the start of the second stage and, together with the USSR and the United States, would reduce their tactical weapons. The third stage, beginning in 1995, would see the completion of the total liquidation of all remaining nuclear weapons so that mankind could enter the third millennium without any nuclear weapons at all.

The Soviet proposal is a specific and expanded plan of actions aimed at averting the most serious threat hanging over mankind — the danger of nuclear war. The Soviet program is constructive; military equilibrium under effective verification is maintained for all states at all its stages, strategic stability is reliably guaranteed, and no one's security is encroached upon. The program takes into account the interests of all states, and primarily of West European states. It makes provision for corresponding measures for the total liquidation of chemical weapons and for the reduction of conventional arms. This program is realistic, provided, of course, that the United States and the other nuclear powers display a businesslike and constructive approach.

"The course of peace and disarmament," M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stressed in the 15 January 1986 statement, "has been and remains the core of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. Actively implementing this course, the Soviet Union is prepared for broad cooperation with everyone adhering to positions of common sense, good will, and awareness of the responsibility for ensuring for mankind a future without wars and without weapons."

### **Marshal Kurkotkin Speech**

**LD231539 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0910 GMT 23 Feb 86**

**[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union Semen Konstantinovich Kurkotkin, USSR deputy defense minister and chief of rear services of the USSR Armed Forces, marking Soviet Army and Navy Day; date, place not given--live or recorded]**

**[Excerpt]**

Interpreting the lessons of the war leads to the conclusion that we must be constantly vigilant. After all the weakening of

imperialism's position has not reduced, but rather has increased the aggressiveness and adventurism of its policies. This is why the draft for the new revised party program says that U.S. imperialism is the citadel of international reaction. Precisely U.S. imperialism is the source, first and foremost, of the threat of war. Aspiring to world domination, it has been falsely declaring whole continents to be within the zones of its vital interests.

The flywheel of aggressive military preparations that has been set in motion on the other side of the ocean continues to gather momentum. The aggressive circles in the United States are pushing ahead with the "star wars" program. The Pentagon has already invested over \$2 billion in it.

This is expensive madness. If it succeeds in being fully realized, by the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, it will come to at least a trillion dollars. Against whom do they intend to defend themselves across the ocean, calling their pro-

gram the Strategic Defense Initiative? It is clear to every person with commonsense that aggression will not come from the Soviet Union. It is perfectly clear that SDI is being planned so as to acquire the possibility to disarm the Soviet Union with a preemptive strike and then defend against a retaliatory strike. Moreover, the United States has already tested laser weapons, antisatellite equipment on a real target, and other types of offensive space arms.

Can the Soviet Union and other socialist countries afford not to take such danger in account? No, they cannot. That is why the reliable defense of the socialist fatherland and our friends and allies is for the Soviet Armed Forces an exceptionally important and responsible task. Its successful solution depends on military skill, ideological steadfastness, the organization and discipline of the personnel of the Army and Navy, and their loyalty to the patriotic and internationalist duty and the high level of technical equipping of all sectors of the Armed Forces.

### **Defense Official Shabanov's TV Talk**

**LD231846 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1305 GMT 23 Feb 86**

**[Talk by Vitaliy Mikhaylovich Shabanov, USSR deputy minister of defense and Army general: "Today Is Soviet Army and Navy Day"]**

**[Excerpt] Esteemed comrades: Today is a nationwide celebration. It is Soviet Army and Navy Day. This year it is being marked on the eve of an historic event of great political significance.**

The results of the Great Fatherland War and World War II as a whole showed that there are no forces in the world which could crush socialism and turn back the wheel of history. Our victory confirmed with particular force the futility of imperialism's plans for world supremacy. However, the aggressive forces of the imperialist powers did not draw the necessary conclusions from the lessons of history. Immediately after the World War II they began, at first behind the scenes and then openly, to develop new perfidious plans against the USSR. Imperialism, guilty of two world wars, began to prepare for a new, nuclear-missile war. It is known that from 1946 to 1975, Washington repeatedly raised the issue of using nuclear weapons, including against the Soviet Union. U.S. imperialism and their NATO allies surrounded our country and the countries of socialist community with hundreds of military bases. They have developed and are implementing a wide-scale program for the accumulation of nuclear and other kinds of arms. In these conditions the Communist Party and the Soviet state, not weakening its efforts in the struggle for peace, creatively implementing the Leninist ideas of the defense of the socialist fatherland, have done everything necessary to strengthen the defense capability of the country and increase the might of the Soviet Army and Navy. Equipping them with nuclear missile weapons, creating [sozdaniye] strategic missile forces, and developing [razvitiye] supersonic, missile-bearing aviation and the atomic missile fleet has fundamentally changed the appearance and substantially increased the combat might of the

Army and Navy. The measure allowed the Soviet Union by the beginning of the seventies to attain military strategic equilibrium with the United States and made bellicose circles of imperialist states take this important factor into account. Equality of military strategic force attained by the toil of the Soviet people has become our historical achievement, a decisive contribution to the struggle for peace. However, this state of affairs, judging by everything, does not suit U.S. aggressive circles. The idea of a crusade against socialism, the idea of social revenge gives them no peace. Concealing their plans, which are dangerous for mankind with the decrepit bogey of the Soviet military threat, the U.S. ruling elite are trying to break the military strategic balance, obtain military supremacy over the USSR and its allies and, by force of arms, dictate its will.

The United States has started on a new spiral in the race for all types of arms. At the same time as perfecting [sovershens-tvovaniye] their strategic nuclear forces, they are carrying out a multi billion dollar program to develop [sozdaniye] space-strike weapons. The aim of these intentions has long been clear: to guarantee the United States' impunity after a first strike on the Soviet Union by using an antimissile defense system with a space strike wave to ward off our supposedly weakened retaliatory strike. No specious names of the Strategic Defense Initiative sort can conceal the real intentions of aggressive circles in the United States. In direct opposition to the aggressive policy of imperialism

is the peace-loving policy of the Soviet state. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union firmly and consistently defends the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and does everything so as to preserve peace on earth and not cast mankind into the abyss of nuclear war. At the center of attention of all the world's public is the 15 January statement of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in which is put forward a set of new, major, peaceful foreign policy initiatives directed at improving the international situation and including a specific program for the elimination of nuclear weapons on earth by the year 2000.

The U.S. Administration has not yet responded to these proposals. At the same time, recent pronouncements by U.S. Administration leaders and the Pentagon's plans are evidence of their intention to continue the arms race and to conduct matters with the Soviet Union from a position of strength. However, this is an unrealizable dream on the part of the bellicose politicians.

The CPSU will make every effort to see that the USSR Armed Forces are at a level which rules out strategic superiority for the forces of imperialism; that the defensive capability of the Soviet state is improved in every way; and that the combat cooperation of fraternal socialist countries is strengthened. That is the brief but meaningful way in which the draft CPSU Program defines the policy of our party in the realm of defense. Let no one doubt the fact that the security of our country and its allies will continue to be properly ensured. The Soviet Union has everything it needs for defense at its disposal.

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## RELATED ISSUES

### FRENCH PRESIDENT DEFENDS NUCLEAR DETERRENT POLICY

PM121125 Paris LE MONDE in French 11 Feb 86 p 9

[Report by Jacques Isnard: "Mr Mitterrand, Strategy Teacher"]

[Text] "People who failed to ensure their security have vanished. France's strategy is one of avoiding war. But it is impossible to have the kind of defense we had in 1914 or 1939. We need modern means. The nuclear force is now our whole defense. We do not want to take the offensive, and the thrashing we would receive in return should make us cautious. I prefer to live and I prefer to live in freedom."

For 90 minutes Professor Mitterrand tried to explain his thinking on French defense, invoking his audience's "common sense." He adopted a confiding tone. He was giving off-the-cuff answers to questions which had been given to him in advance. The head of state gave this lesson on the subject of "What kind of defense should France have?" in Paris on Saturday, 8 February, to the members of approximately 12 Socialist clubs brought together by Francoise Castro, Laurent Fabius' wife.

The session was intended to be pedagogic. It was obvious that the teacher was enthusiastic about his subject, like all literary people who discover the beauties of advanced technology. The audience was behind him from the start. On several occasions the speaker paraphrased the book "Reflections on French Foreign Policy" which he has just had published by Fayard and which was on sale on a display stand at the entrance to the meeting.

So Mr Mitterrand reiterated that he is in favor of a joint European defense, but said that he did not know how it could be organized at present. "It is typical of discussions of empty dreams." What about a French nuclear umbrella for the FRG? "No one is asking us to provide it. The Americans provide such an umbrella and the extension of the French nuclear umbrella to the FRG would be a way of covering and defending nothing." What about having two "pillars" within the Atlantic alliance, an American pillar and a European pillar? "That would be progress. But the right conditions do not exist."

On the other hand, the head of state added, "France must reach agreement with the FRG on space and space defense." Europe has the means of bringing together industrial, financial, and technological capabilities in programs like the Hermes space shuttle and an inhabited space station.

On two points, however, Professor Mitterrand went a little further than his latest reference book. The first point is the neutron weapon. "I do not see any difference between a weapon which vaporizes you and a sword which passes through your body. It

is just another weapon, but it is a weapon whose usage is likely to spread [etre diluee] and therefore it requires great political control." The second point is chemical weapons. "If others threaten us with them we cannot merely put on gas masks. France is lagging behind. It should not rule out anything."

Before the arrival of the president of the Republic, Jean-Michel Gaillard, keynote speaker of the clubs' meetings, had emphasized that "the letter, spirit, and practise of the Fifth Republic" made the head of state "solemaster of the deterrent" without there being any possibility of transferring the Elysee's powers to other officials. Mr Mitterrand echoed this: "The president of the Republic alone can order a nuclear engagement. It is done in seconds. It is very difficult to deliberate and consult. Could there be consultation under these conditions? If there were, the war would already be over at your expense."

This was the only reference to election issues and to the debate on cohabitation, in other words on the respective roles of the president of the Republic and the government chief on this subject.

Mr Mitterrand was warmly applauded several times. Does this mean he lived up to his audience's expectations? At times there seemed to be a gap between a man concerned about his supreme responsibilities in the national security sphere and speakers concerned about what aspirations to pacifism and world disarmament socialism might have. In reply to these people the head of state merely said: "Men have always fought, first hand to hand, then by devising long-range weapons which are more destructive, quicker, and more accurate. Unfortunately the world is not as we would like it to be."

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**RELATED ISSUES**

**LABOR PARTY DISTRICT CONGRESS: BAN NUCLEAR ARMED SHIPS**

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 27 Jan 86 p 3

[Article: "Troms District Labor Party Demands Nuclear Weapons Guarantee"]

[Excerpts] The Troms District Labor Party annual congress this week has demanded that countries which send warships into Norwegian ports should guarantee that these ships are not carrying nuclear weapons. The requirement would pertain to visits of naval units as well as to exercises in Norway by our allies. The government is being asked to issue such a ban.

The measure was passed unanimously after a minority of 56 had voted for a narrower formulation of the proposal. A majority of 89 opposed the passage of the narrower measure. The disagreement focused on whether the government "can" or "must" require guarantees from warships of foreign countries.

The Labor Party's program which was approved last year contains a provision to the effect that it is assumed that foreign warships will not carry nuclear weapons during visits in Norwegian ports.

It was the Troms district AUF [Labor Party Youth] which had put forth this year's proposal on the nuclear weapons guarantee. There were many during the debate who argued that the paragraph on the guarantees against ships not carrying nuclear weapons should be stricken. This was based on considerations of national security.

The newly-elected chairman of the district party, Arne Bergland from Lenvik, told AFTENPOSTEN that in his opinion the proposal which was approved is "more moderate" than the AUF proposal which had been made prior to the annual meeting.

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## RELATED ISSUES

### USSR'S PONOMAREV STRESSES USSR'S PEACE POLICIES

AU241143 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Feb 86 p 3

["Before the 27th CPSU Congress; Policy of Safeguarding Peace and Socialist Construction — Article by B.N. Ponomarev, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] At present the CPSU is proceeding toward its 27th party congress. The great commitment of the working masses, and the energetic, imaginative activities of the work collectives and party organizations in all fields and at all levels are currently characterizing the political and social life of the Soviet Union. To put it briefly: the entire party and all our people are totally dedicated to the preparation for the party congress. This is easily understandable, because this will be a special party congress. At this congress the new party program, amendments to the CPSU Statute, and the main directions of economic and social development of the USSR for the 1986-1990 period and for the period up to the year 2000 will be decided.

What is the motto of the preparations for the party congress? The Soviet Union is implementing the strategy for accelerating the country's economic and social development on the basis of scientific-technological progress and of the broad working people's initiative, which was established at the April session of the CPSU Central Committee. The focal point in the work of party and people is the active discussion of all those problems, a realistic and balanced assessment of the achieved successes, and open criticism of existing deficiencies, of everything that is outdated and hinders our progress. The party congress will demonstrate energetically how all the strengths of socialism can be more comprehensively tapped, and which resources must be activated to bring about the overall development of the socialist society and the successful solution of the tasks for shaping socialism.

The tasks we are facing adopt really grandiose dimensions. It is planned to almost double the national income by the year 2000, and to considerably increase the people's material standard of living. The social program envisages raising per capita real income by 60 to 80 percent.

This of course explains the high importance accorded by the CPSU to guaranteeing peaceful conditions for the creative work of the Soviet people. The party sets two inseparably linked tasks: continuing the work of peaceful construction, and struggling for the preservation and safeguarding of peace and the security of the people.

In the field of foreign policy, the Soviet Union states that it is willing to continue developing new activities. It struggles to safeguard a lasting peace and advocates the elimination of nuclear arms.

The 27th CPSU Congress will take place at a decisive time in international development. The future existence of human civilization is endangered. Mankind has reached a point of "either-or": Either instruments of mass destruction will be eliminated or the threat of a nuclear inferno will continue to increase.

The existing stockpiles of nuclear arms are sufficient to kill all life many times over. This situation has been complicated over the past 1 or 2 years by a new element -- U.S. plans to develop offensive space weapons.

Under these circumstances the ways of thinking and behavior which have up to now been preserved for centuries, even for millenia, must be profoundly changed. Rigorous realism and political boldness are required if one wants to free himself from outdated concepts of international relations and take steps which will really end the arms race and initiate the process of arms reduction.

In questions of international policy the CPSU lets itself be led by the assessments and conclusions contained in the speeches of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and in the decisions of the Central Committee. The party proceeds from the premises that:

-- The issue at hand not only involves the confrontation between the two social systems, but the choice between survival or mutual destruction;

-- In the nuclear age the security of the people cannot be guaranteed on the basis of the principle of force or threats of force, but only by negotiations, arms reduction, and disarmament.

-- All together and each individually, not only at the state level but also in the field of societal activity, must realize their responsibility and understand that states depend on each other with regard to questions of war and peace. Ideological differences must not be transferred to international relations, so that the policy of averting a nuclear holocaust can be carried out efficiently.

-- Striving for military superiority is incompatible with saving mankind, even though enormous technical discoveries might be made or new technologies might be applied, because the technical processes may slip out of the politicians' control and technical faults may cause a disaster. What happened with Challenger tragically confirms this.

The Challenger disaster not only involves the tragic death of several astronauts, but also teaches a clear lesson to all those who envision an expansion of the arms race to space, particularly the U.S. Administration. As is known, many scientists, politicians, and the world public have repeatedly warned that a computer error or a fault in this or that system of a space vehicle might trigger a great war in which the most diverse nuclear weapons are activated and used. The end of all that would be a nuclear inferno all over the earth.

Of course, a new approach to international problems does not mean to ignore the intricacy of the various, different, often opposing interests of dozens of different countries or the contradictions between those interests. But today solving all these questions must be subordinate to the main concern: preventing a nuclear war.



This approach must be fundamentally based on respecting the right of each people to freely choose the ways and forms of their political and social development and to independently establish their domestic and foreign policy, and on renouncing super-power efforts and the interpretation of one's "vital interests" in such a way that the legitimate and real vital interests of others are violated.

This system of opinions was explained in detail by Mikhail Gorbachev and was received with a broad sympathetic response. Essentially it involves the concept of a lasting, just, and democratic peace, which takes into account the realities of the nuclear age and the space travel era. The strength of this concept consists in the fact that it unites our socialist interests with those of all mankind. Its strength consists in the fact that it does not aim at general statements but proposes practical things and solutions. It combines the exposure of the ideopolitical platform of the aggressive circles of imperialism with our positive program. The example set by socialism in the economy and in foreign policy is a strong weapon with which it is able to increase its influence on the entire world.

The Soviet initiatives, which were explained in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of 15 January 1986, are a highly important contribution to realizing this concept. The significance of these initiatives consists in the fact that the Soviet Union thus put forth comprehensive proposals aiming at halting the dangerous course of events, and at not only averting a nuclear inferno but at excluding that it might ever happen.

The Soviet plan envisages eliminating nuclear weapons by the year 2000, concurrently with renouncing the development, testing, and deployment of offensive space weapons. This is a comprehensive plan which also includes chemical and conventional weapons and provides for reliable and strict verification. A very topical component of this plan is the halting of all nuclear tests by the Soviet Union and the United States of America. This opportunity is given by the unilaterally declared Soviet moratorium on all nuclear tests, which has been extended until 31 March.

The problems of Europe, our home, are one of the focal issues in the complex of the Soviet proposals. The USSR sets the objective of making the European Continent free from nuclear weapons and of reducing conventional weapons and forces, which would give equal and lasting security to all European states. To achieve this objective, the USSR proposes -- without protracting the issue in any way -- to eliminate all Soviet and U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Europe. It is known that there are deliberations going on concerning the conclusion of an interim agreement. Thanks to the constructive position of the socialist countries, there is a real possibility of achieving contractual agreements at the Vienna and Stockholm negotiations.

The Soviet Union is open to any initiative if it aims at these objectives. This also applies to the proposal submitted jointly by the SD and the SPD to create a zone free from chemical weapons in central Europe.

Now all predonditions exist to overcome the disagreements on the European Continent concerning security questions and to shape, enrich, and enforce the process of detente in the spirit and on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act. This is the common property of the peoples and must thus be preserved and augmented.

One of the reasons why the USSR accords such great importance to alleviating tensions in Europe is that the forces of revanchism are still promoted in the FRG. There the European postwar order, the decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences, are doubted.

Supported by the other West countries, a policy of reequipment [umruestung] is followed there. This is proved by the fact that the West European Union has canceled the last restrictions for developing and producing arms, even strategic arms, in the FRG. But the FRG already has a strong armament potential even now. Furthermore, people in FRG monopolist and government circles are striving to participate in the U.S. "star wars" plans. Concrete steps are already being taken in this direction.

The Geneva summit contributed to an improvement of the international climate. It brought about a gleam of hope. After the summit in Geneva everyone heard the U.S. President's beautiful words about peace, about "America's sincere striving for peace," and so on. But all of mankind, including the peoples of our countries, are now expecting him to perform concrete deeds leading to a reduction of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, and to the prevention of the arms race in space. Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that a new Soviet-American summit must bring practical results and must be characterized by serious progress in the directions most important for the cause of peace; otherwise a new summit would be useless.

Now there is a real possibility to initiate the process of disarmament, particularly that of nuclear disarmament, and the concrete physical destruction of the arsenals of the most dangerous weapons. What is still hindering us?

To date it has not been possible to halt the arms race because Washington and NATO are doing everything to gain military advantages. Precisely this is the main reason for the arms race.

In order to thwart our country's efforts to eliminate the threat of war, they use the big lie of the "Soviet military threat." It is this lie which is actually the only justification for the arms race. To overcome this propaganda would mean to clear the atmosphere for really businesslike, serious, and promising disarmament talks.

Attempts are frequently made to support the mendacious assertion of a "Soviet threat" with the chimera of "Soviet expansionism." But everybody who is familiar to a certain extent with the Marxist-Leninist theory of the historical process should know that this theory rejects the "export of revolution."

The peaceful character of Soviet foreign policy comes from the nature of the socialist social system. The Soviet Union does not threaten anybody, neither in the West nor in the East. In the Soviet Union there are neither classes nor social strata nor vocational groups who are interested in war, aggression, or enrichment through the arms race. In our country war propaganda is prohibited by the Constitution. The Soviet people are in unanimous agreement concerning the arms race: We do not need it. Everyone who has already familiarized himself with the draft documents to be dealt with at the 27th CPSU Congress must have convinced himself that our country, which is working out comprehensive plans for peaceful construction and creative programs and projects, simply cannot have any aggressive intentions.

Hundreds of thousands of foreign guests, who visit the Soviet Union every year, can convince themselves with their own eyes of our people's deeply felt and sincere striving for peace. Several antiwar activities have already become a good tradition in the USSR. In 1985, almost 200,000 such campaigns took place, and 93 million people participated in them. In 1985, 58 million Soviet people participated in events within the campaign week for disarmament (24-31 October), which has also become a tradition.

At the initiative of the Lenin Komsomol, 70 million young people participated in the countrywide referendum "My vote -- for peace." More than 17 million Soviet youths sent postcards to President Reagan calling upon him to join the moratorium on all nuclear tests declared by the USSR. The first lesson at the beginning of each new school year is held as a peace lesson in all schools. The efforts of the Soviet people to make a very personal contribution to the success of our country's peaceful foreign policy is clearly shown by the fact that every year more and more of them participate in the work of the Soviet Peace Fund, because already more than 100 million people support it with donations.

The Soviet trade unions are actively working in the peace movement. At the 11th World Trade Union Congress, which will take place this September in Berlin, the representatives of the Soviet trade unions will also be able to report on such forms of our working people's activity in the struggle for peace as, for instance, staging antiwar rallies in enterprises or carrying out high-performance shifts for peace, whose net profit is partly donated to the Soviet Peace Fund. In 1985 more than 75 million people participated in the activities on the occasion of the International Day of Trade Unionist Activities for Peace.

The United Nations declared 1986 International Peace Year. The USSR is willing to use all its material capacities and all its good will for implementing the program for the Peace Year and for the struggle against the threat of war. Together with all countries of the socialist community, it has a uniformly peaceful point of view. This was expressed in the Sofia declaration of the Warsaw Pact states, in the community's unanimous agreement with the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit, and in the support for the proposals put forth in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of 15 January 1986. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, stressed that he considers the new Soviet peace initiative "a historic chance" to reach a change for the better in Europe and all over the world.

But the aggressive circles do not want to listen to the voice of the peoples and the peace-loving public, and do not want to renounce their militaristic course. The further intensification of the antiwar movement gains great importance in this connection. Everyone who is concerned about peace is called upon to make his contribution to the struggle for halting the arms race.

The forces of resistance against war, the forces of self-preservation of mankind, are gaining strength and numbers. These forces, which oppose the demons of war, are probably too numerous to be counted. Therefore the Soviet Communists are convinced: It is possible to prevent a nuclear war. Checking the arms race has a real chance. The objective -- to improve the international situation, to consolidate international security -- can be reached. It can be reached if all forces of peace become active and if the determined struggle for these great goals of historic scope is persistently continued.

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