SOVIET NEWS

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Soviet spokesman on Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers' meeting

CARDINAL issues of the present—removal of the nuclear menace, ridding humanity of the burden of nuclear and other arms, consolidation of European and universal security, and development of international co-operation—are in the focus of attention during the debates at the regular meeting of the Foreign Ministers' Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states, which opened in Moscow on March 24, said Boris Pyadyshev, the spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry.

He said it is being stressed at the meeting that the large-scale initiatives advanced by the Soviet Union in Reykjavik mean a qualitatively new approach to disarmament problems. Questions connected with the implementation of the proposals set out in the Budapest Address of the Warsaw Treaty member countries are being thoroughly discussed. The allied states declare resolutely for a ban on chemical weapons, and the elimination of their stockpiles and of the production base for their manufacture. An exchange of opinions about the Vienna meeting is being conducted.

The spokesman said it was stressed in the speeches by Eduard Shevardnadze and ministers of other allied states that the socialist community's international positions continue strengthening due to internal processes in the allied states. It's been a long time since the domestic policy has played such an important role in the shaping of the foreign policy as it is doing now. This process is an objective necessity. It is in keeping with the realities and requirements of the times. Socialism is growing stronger, is developing and upgrading on its own basis, and at the same time exerting an ever greater impact on the international situation and on world politics.

It was noted in the speeches of participants in the meeting that certain Western politicians suggest seeking new, untrodden roads. We certainly welcome this. Meanwhile, an old, deeply rutted road is taken by other Western politicians and on that road they are rocked from side to side: now they come out with a myth about the military menace from the East, now with calls to treat the USSR from positions of strength. Deceiving itself by relying on the policy of strong muscles, the West shows on the whole its incapability of reasonable compromise solutions,

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the spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry said.

It was noted during debates at the meetings of the Committee of Foreign Ministers that the characteristic feature of the present moment lies not only in that socialist countries have advanced proposals which cover the spectrum of key issues of security. The idea of an all-embracing system of peace and security has been endorsed by the United Nations. The concept of a nuclear-free world has become a philosophical and practical basis for talks on nuclear and space arms. The Budapest Address has been transferred to the plane of concrete talks. The plan for the consolidation of security in the Asian Pacific region has been put on the international agenda and is generating contacts and consultations. A dialogue is developing between the CMEA and the EEC.

It was noted at the meetings of the Foreign Ministers' Committee that the talks in Geneva have assumed a serious nature, even though the US side makes attempts to pose new issues, to artificially spread the area of discussion. The coming talks with US Secretary of State George Shultz in Moscow will make it possible to appraise the real intentions of the Americans and the prospects of the Geneva talks.

An important phase of formulating decisions has set in at the Vienna meeting. Removing problems of disarmament from the Helsinki process would lead to its deformation and degeneration, it would thwart our striving to consolidate the mainstays of the common European home.

All the participants in the meeting of the Foreign Ministers' Committee emphasised that the Warsaw Treaty is increasingly showing its role as a major factor of the consolidation of peace and security in Europe and the whole world.

Meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee

AT its meeting on March 19 the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee heard a report by Alexander Yakovlev on the results of an official visit to Spain by a delegation of the Foreign Affairs Committees of the two chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

It was noted that Soviet-Spanish relations in various fields are developing in the spirit of mutual understanding on important international problems and on the mutually advantageous basis of co-operation in the economic, scientific, technical and cultural spheres. It was noted with satisfaction that the Soviet-Spanish political dialogue, which in recent years has become a weighty factor of European and world politics, is gaining in importance within the framework of the overall intensification of efforts by European countries to achieve concrete accords

in questions of reducing nuclear arms, lowering the level of military confrontation in Europe and establishing there a climate of trust and co-operation.

The Political Bureau discussed the question of the main directions of restructuring the system of the political and economic education of working people. It is intended to change substantially the organisational structure of this system and bring its content, forms and methods in line with the tasks of accelerating the country's social and economic development, intensifying the human factor and democratising all spheres of public life.

The draft "Main Directions of Restructuring the System of the Political and Economic Education of Working People" will be published in the press for extensive discussion.

Also discussed at the meeting were some other questions of Party organising work, development of state structures and relations with foreign countries.

STATEMENT AT VIENNA MEETING

A STATEMENT was made yesterday at the Vienna meeting of representatives of countries participating in the Conference on European Security and Co-operation by Major-General Viktor Tatarnikov, member of the Soviet delegation. He called attention to the state of affairs that has arisen at the meeting over such an important and topical problem as military aspects of security in Europe. He stressed that the new Soviet proposal for an immediate solution of the problem of mediumnuclear missiles and readiness of the Soviet side to begin talks with the purpose of reducing and eliminating theatre nuclear fully

weapons tend to facilitate progress on matters of disarmament.

The problem of disarmament today is more pressing than ever before. At a time when general philosophic statements are being made at the Vienna meeting, the Soviet representative said, more and more first-strike nuclear weapons arrive in Europe and new types of conventional weapons of increased destructive power are developed and adopted for service. One gets the impression that some people would like to bury the Helsinki ideas of disarmament in Europe under piles of deadly weapons and remove the problems of disarmament from the European process.

Real, mutual, staged and considerable reductions of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe are a ripe problem which must be seriously examined without delay, on a (Continued on next page)

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Viktor Karpov on ABM Treaty

"AN agreement on the elimination of Euromissiles can be prepared in the course of three or four months, five or six at the most. But this needs the wish and goodwill from both sides," Viktor Karpov, Chief of the Directorate for the Limitation of Arms and Disarmament of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said in an *Izvestia* interview on March 22.

"But," he pointed out, "if instead of that they wish to palm us off with a scrap of paper as a cover for the preservation of the US nuclear missile potential in Europe, we will not agree to this."

"There is more and more evidence that the United States does not want in actual fact the elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe, that the 'zero option' was a bluff from the very outset, that Washington by no means wanted a situation in which it would have to eliminate Pershing-II and Cruise missiles.

"As far as we are concerned," Viktor Karpov continued, "we are prepared to eliminate all of our medium-range missiles in Europe, to scrap all the SS-20s, which number 243, together with their launching pads. But we would wish that the United States should act likewise. To that end we propose that the disassembly and the scrapping of missiles be strictly monitored. The bases where the missiles are stationed should become objects of verification and inspection. The same applies to the enterprises concerned."

If agreement is reached on the elimination of medium-range missiles, there must be a reliable

verification system. References to domestic legislation are no excuse. If the law of the United States prevents inspection at private enterprises, it should be changed. Inspectors should be allowed access where necessary. But there will be no problems on our part. The necessary inspection, the necessary control will be ensured by the Soviet State in exact conformity with the commitments pursuant to the treaty.

Answering the newspaper's question concerning the ABM Treaty Viktor Karpov said: "The only interpretation of the Treaty that is well-substantiated is that which was put into it from the very outset. It is a narrow interpretation designed to prevent large-scale anti-ballistic missile defence systems."

Prevent large-scale ABM systems

"It is only on the basis of this narrow interpretation," he pointed out, "that the Treaty was ratified by the Senate; hence the administration, as is borne out by the inquiry carried out by Senator Sam Nunn, Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, had no right to give the Treaty any other interpretation, without consent for that from the Senate."

Asked about the discussion currently under way in the USA on the need for declassifying the materials of the talks which brought about the ABM Treaty, so that the unfoundedness of the administration's attempts at giving the Treaty a meaning different from what was put into it in 1972 should become ultimately clear. Viktor Karpov said:

"The main thing is the Treaty itself. It said everything with utmost clarity. Talks on it were conducted for several years. Quite naturally in the process both sides expressed different views, which were then elaborated and complemented."

"The main thing," Viktor Karpov said, "is an analysis of the Treaty itself and the documents accompanying it. And this analysis unequivocally suggests the interpretation to which the Soviet Union is committed, and to which the United States was committed prior to October 1985, when Washington started the process of 'reinterpretation' of the Treaty."

In answer to a question about SDI Viktor Karpov said:

"In proclaiming his 'Strategic Defense Initiative', President Reagan admitted that together with the nuclear offensive potential, the SDI programme can be seen as evidence of aggressive intentions. We now get increasingly more facts to prove this conclusion. It directly follows from these facts that SDI is no evidence of intentions to rid the world of nuclear weapons, rather it is evidence of the intention to create a potential that would ensure for the United States the capability to wage a nuclear war in the hope of winning it. The Washington-based journal Arms Control Today pointed out in one of its latest issues that the SDI is, above all, a tight defence against any arms control measures. This is a very apt remark about the essence of the SDI programme.

Andranik Petrosyants' statement in Geneva

THE leader of the Soviet delegation to the Soviet-American expert talks on ending nuclear testing made a statement on March 23 on the results of the latest round of these negotiations, which recently ended in Geneva.

Andranik Petrosyants, Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Atomic Energy, said in the statement:

The fourth round of the Soviet-American expert talks for stopping nuclear tests ended in Geneva on March 20.

Summing up the results of the work done

(Continued from front page)

balanced and reciprocal basis and on the basis of equal respect for the security interests of all participants in the European process.

The Soviet delegation believes that there is a good basis for the solution of this problem. This is the proposal of the Polish People's Republic for an addition to the mandate of the Stockholm Conference, an addition making it possible to discuss in parallel both confidence-building and security measures and force and arms reductions in Europe.

A Dangerous Step

by Alexei Platonov

—on the White House decision to refuse to abide by Soviet-US agreements on limiting strategic offensive armaments

Price 35p

Available from Soviet Booklets (SN), 3 Rosary Gardens, LONDON, SW7 4NW.

there, one has to say with regret that owing to the US side's posture, it has not yet proved possible to make progress to the talks' objective of working out an accord to start full-scale negotiations that will lead to a comprehensive nuclear test ban.

The Soviet delegation continued to seek accord on the immediate beginning of such full-scale talks which would explore the entire range of issues related to the total termination of nuclear testing, including the ratification of the 1974 and 1976 Soviet-American treaties, interim limits on the number and yield of nuclear explosions, the formulation of an agreement on the total prohibition of nuclear tests, and verification of both the carrying out of nuclear explosions and their termination with a view to dependable compliance with agreements.

Such a broad approach will enable real progress towards the solution of such a problem — of major importance not only to the USSR and the US but to the whole of mankind as the total termination of nuclear weapon tests.

But the American side is effectively trying to replace full-scale talks with a discussion of just one issue, that of monitoring compliance with the "threshold" treaties of 1974 and 1976. They have suggested that we limit ourselves to "upgrading" the verification arrangements for these treaties.

An examination of further intermediate restrictions on the number and yield of nuclear explosions, the more so a full ban on nuclear testing, is, in the meantime, being put off indefinitely and made conditional by the American side on the resolution of the first issue and it is also being made dependant on a whole number of extra conditions, including a linkage with progress at other talks.

The American side is thus not demonstrating the political will needed to put an end to nuclear testing once and for all.

Izvestia on Soviet-US experiments

THE first stage of the Soviet-American experiment to monitor nuclear tests has ended. It was conducted in the area of Semipalatinsk, Soviet Kazakhstan, under an agreement between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the USA's Natural Resources Defence Council

In an interview published in the newspaper Izvestia last week, Jonathan Berger, Professor at the University of California and head of the group of American scientists, says that the Soviet side is fulfilling all of its commitments to conduct research into the methods of verifying nuclear explosions. Thanks to this, he believes, the first stage was completed more than successfully.

International verification of tests of nuclear devices is possible and technically feasible, the scientist stresses. But the accuracy of the results can be enhanced only with the installation of underground seismic equipment which totally rules out the impact of background noise on the instrumentation.

This work is included in the second stage of the experiment. It was launched strictly under the schedule. The 100-metre-deep holes in which the American instruments will be placed have been bored. As agreed by the sides, the experiment will last for a year. It will end in July.

Jacob Scherr, another American scientist, says that both in Moscow and near the Soviet test site he was able to see for himself yet again the actions being taken by the Soviet leadership to remove the nuclear menace looming large over the world. He emphasised that all Soviet people are showing interest in the joint experiment and trusted the American scientists.

Taking note of the complete mutual understanding which the American scientists are finding in the Soviet Union, Scherr recalled at the same time that their Soviet colleagues have so far failed to receive permission to install their equipment on the USA's territory.

Humanitarian aspects of international co-operation

By Yuri Kashlev, Doctor of History

FOR centuries, world politics was believed to comprise three aspects: military, political and economic. The 27th Congress of the CPSU amplified this traditional notion by adding humanitarian co-operation as one of the indispensable components of international security.

The programme the Congress put forward for international co-operation in the humanitarian field calls for:

co-operation in the dissemination of the ideas of peace, disarmament and international security; greater flow of general objective information and broader contact between peoples for the purpose of learning about one another; reinforcement of the spirit of mutual understanding and concord in relations between them;

— extirpation of genocide, apartheid, of the advocacy of fascism and any other form of racial, national or religious exclusiveness, and also of discrimination against people on this basis;

extension — while respecting the laws of each country — of international co-operation in the realisation of the political, social, and personal rights of people;

 decision in a humane and positive spirit of questions related to the reunification of families, marriage, and promotion of contacts between people and organisations;

- strengthening of and quests for new forms of co-operation in culture, art, science, education, and medicine.

Strengthening peace

Each component of the programme has a proper rationale behind it. The first one rests on the fact that the modern mass media have developed into the most powerful means of exercising ideological and political influence on the world's population. It is estimated that 600 million TV and 1,400 million radio sets are switched on every day, and 8,200 daily newspapers are circulated in a total of over 500 million copies.

There are principles and standards in the field of information, approved by the world community, for national leaders to guide themselves by. These are recorded in the UN Charter, in the Final Act of the Conference on European Security and Co-operation, and in the conventions and declarations, which have proclaimed the major objective of the international exchange of information - the strengthening of peace and mutual understanding. A number of documents adopted by the UN General Assembly in recent years upon the initiative of Socialist countries, contain provisions condemning militarist propaganda. In particular, they declare criminal the dissemination and propaganda of political and military doctrines and concepts designed to "justify" the idea of a nuclear war; subversive activities, comprising those by means of propaganda; dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority and hatred, including fascist ideology and propaganda of war.

Socialist countries invariably follow these principles and standards. At the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation countries in Prague, 1983, their leaders called for an end to

using television, broadcasting, and the press to spread mistrust and hostility between nations and for the mass media to be placed at the service of peace and mutual understanding. At the Vienna meeting of the CESC nations in November, 1986, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Eduard Shevardnadze emphasised: "The all-European home which we are building and in which we are all equal will not be solid and dependable if the cement that must hold it logether is mixed up with fraud, half-truths and misinformation. There must be no confidence deficit because of a misconceived national prestige or electioneering considerations."

Unfortunately, the pleas of Socialist countries have found no support in the West, although all they want is to see Western propaganda services abide by the international accords, first of all, stop all abuse of the press, radio and television for purposes hostile to peace.

Action to check the pollution of the world information environment is increasingly becoming a common global human problem. Democratic forces and public organisations and movements are beginning to share in resolving it. Active in this action now are tens of developing nations which are emphatically calling for the elimination of "information imperialism" and for the establishment of a new international information order.

Right to live

Enjoyment of human rights as an essential factor of peace is the second component of humanitarian co-operation. One paradox of the present situation is that those who profess to be the foremost "fighters" for human rights are the ones who violate the rights and freedoms of their own citizens and those of foreign nations. According to US data, there are 15 files, on average, in government departments for each citizen of the United States; racism and political murder are rampant.

Besides, many of the advanced capitalist countries, the US above all, are not only preaching militarism, but openly preparing for another world war which would kill hundreds of millions. Yet the right to live is one of the most essential of all rights, and that has been established in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Soviet Union has all along been speaking up for the reinforcement of the international legal framework for the protection of the rights of nations and individuals. It has sponsored and is a party to many international agreements on human rights, while the leading Western countries have not ratified the main international instruments on the subject (for example, the US has not ratified 30 out of the 40 treaties and conventions now in force).

Finally, Washington's policy of State-sponsored terrorism means riding roughshod over the rights of whole nations: the undeclared wars against Afghanistan and Nicaragua, the invasion of Grenada, attacks on Lebanon and Libya are by no means all the known acts of undisguised institutionalised terrorism. Now, the presidential directive providing for "preventive strikes" at what it describes as potential seats of terrorism declares Washington's "right" to use arms against whatever nation it may dislike.

The prime condition for a constructive approach to humanitarian co-operation to

become an international practice is to put an end to slander campaigns misrepresenting the human rights policies of Socialist countries. Another one is to determine a legal base, under international law, for this co-operation. It can be built predominantly on a system of documents on human rights approved by the world community. The task now is, on the one hand, to have these documents accepted by all nations or by as many as possible and, on the other, to have them translated into practice.

The world community has the necessary machinery to promote co-operation in the social and humanitarian fields. This is, first of all, the UN and the network of its agencies. In spite of a close contest over the major documents (the US and its allies usually vote against the UN majority), understanding on many issues is achieved. Consequently, the ground for promoting co-operation can be laid.

There is an agreed understanding at international level regarding the top priority human rights objectives which the world community must strive to realise. These are opposition to the policies of neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid, to wholesale murder and persecution of people in the countries with dictatorial regimes, along with the efforts to end famine, poverty, illiteracy, and homelessness, these are the ills that rob millions of their most elementary vital rights.

Yet another issue closely related to this group of problems is that of human contacts. It is, above all, the reunification of families, marriages between citizens of different countries, private visits, and so on. It was stated at the 27th CPSU Congress that the Soviet Government proposed to go on resolving these issues in a positive and humane spirit, witness the measures taken in recent years to promote the international contacts of Soviet citizens, institutions and organisations.

New mode of thinking

That is the line the USSR has been following throughout the year that has passed since the 27th Congress. There was, for example, a document worked out at a conference on this subject in Berne, which, unfortunately, failed to be adopted because of opposition from Washington, which is talking profusely about the importance of contacts, while in actual fact undermining their very foundation. Nevertheless, during his meeting with the French President, François Mitterand, in the Kremlin in the summer of 1986, Mikhail Gorbachev said the USSR is ready to guide itself in actual practice by the Berne document in bilateral relations with countries which would so desire.

By and large, the new mode of thinking in the nuclear age makes it necessary to take a fresh look at the human rights subject internationally. This area has to be cleared from the after-effects of the Cold War and ideological prejudice and states must concentrate their efforts on whatever is of common interest to them.

Cultural links, exchange of intellectual values, co-operation in the field of science, education, medicine, sport, and so on, are prominent factors in present-day international affairs. This set of issues also features prominently in the programme advanced by the 27th CPSU Congress for an all-embracing system of international security.

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SOVIET FOREIGN TRADE

By Boris Rachkov, M. Phil. (Economics)

ACCORDING to the USSR Central Statistical Board, in 1986 the country's foreign trade grew in comparable prices by 2 per cent on the previous year. In current world prices, our foreign trade decreased 8 per cent to 130 billion roubles from 141.6 billion roubles in the previous year.

Last year trade with the West and the Third World accounted for 33 per cent of overall Soviet foreign trade. Sound economically, trade with countries having political systems differing from ours contributes to peaceful coexistence.

Socialism applies planning to its external economic activity as well. Most CMEA countries protect mutual trade from sharp price fluctuations with the help of planned pricing procedures. However, our economic contacts with the capitalist world are subject to uncontrolled economic factors at work there. Fuel and raw materials are particularly liable to price swings in the capitalist market. They can fluctuate within the range of 1,000 per cent or more as against 10-20 per cent for machinery.

Last year fuel and raw materials export prices fell by over 50 per cent in the world market. Richly endowed by nature, the USSR is a major traditional exporter of power products and raw materials. Another big dealer in these commodities is the United States, which exports

80 to 100 million tonnes of coal, four times as much as the peak figures for the USSR in the mid-1970s. The Netherlands exports more natural gas to Western Europe than the USSR.

In the West, fuel and raw materials account for 10-20 per cent of overall exports. However, as far as the USSR is concerned, these products constitute over 66 per cent of our exports to the capitalist market. Depending relatively less on the market situation, the manufacturing segment of Soviet foreign trade is still modest. In 1985 machinery and equipment contributed 9 per cent to the value of Soviet exports to the non-socialist countries. This is because the West resorts to discriminatory commercial and political practices against Soviet technology. Soviet machinery exports are small also because they do not incorporate the latest research and engineering advances. Last year, the technology segment of Soviet exports grew several per cent due to the drop in the fuel and raw materials deliveries which became cheaper. We must increase the proportion of machinery to make our exports less dependent on the world market situation.

The 27th CPSU Congress stated that we must reduce the raw materials part of our exports in favour of manufactures. This will take time and we must start doing this without delay. Ministries and producers should be more export-oriented, making for the quality and competitiveness of our manufactures, particularly machinery.

This is facilitated by restructuring the nation's economic machinery, particularly organisations responsible for external economic activity. Resolutions by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers to upgrade external economic contracts, particularly co-operation with other socialist countries, help boost the external performance of Soviet producers.

Overhauling the nation's external economic effort calls for more rational foreign exchange spending and better import patterns. These are interdependent factors. Through the fault of sectoral ministries, foreign trade agencies and producers, we have large quantities of uninstalled imported plant. We must see that every project is handled efficiently and all imported machinery is put to use as soon as it arrives.

If our foreign economic activity is to become more effective, personnel in this sector should be more competent and resourceful. The Communists of ministries, government departments and economic units should centre on personnel attitudes. Addressing the Janua. y 1987 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev said that major steps to restructure the management machinery require more efficient efforts on the part of Party organisations, greater Party impact on all fields, and political approaches to all questions.

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The USSR maintains cultural links with most of the world's nations. It has signed intergovernmental agreements and exchange programmes with over a hundred of them. About half of the total cultural interchange is with other Socialist countries. The Soviet Union is sharing its cultural achievements, on a reciprocal basis, with the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and helping them create cultural institutions and train national manpower. Cultural links are of particular importance in Europe: the interlocking destinies and cultures of the neighbouring communities, extensive economic and social contacts between them, mass tourism have all transformed cultural intercourse into an essential factor of European life.

Of course, there are still some obstacles to broader cultural co-operation. To begin with, there are continued imbalances between Socialist and capitalist countries in terms of book publications, film and TV exchanges, and so on. The USSR, for example, is publishing between two and four times as many books by Western writers as the West publishes Soviet books.

A further negative factor that has its full effect on the cultural front is the continuing "psychological war" of a number of NATO countries against the USSR. Anti-Communist "works of fiction", films and TV programmes are proliferating. A simple renunciation of these practices would alone open up great opportunities for the intellectual intercourse of nations and individuals.

Co-operation for Peace and Progress (on USSR's policy of broad international co-operation in industry, science, culture and education)

Price 40p (Cheque/PO) Available from Soviet Booklets (SN), 3 Rosary Gardens, London SW7 4NW.

Najib's television interview

NAJIB, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, has proposed to representatives of international organisations dealing with refugees' problems that they visit Afghanistan and familiarise themselves with the situation of the refugees who have returned.

"They can see for themselves that refugees children go to school and enjoy various forms of social welfare, that yesterday's refugees participate in the country's social life, and that their representatives are elected members of special commissions for national reconciliation and even deputies of local government bodies and state government." he said in an interview shown on Soviet Television last week. "The

Since quite a few problems have built up in the way of humanitarian co-operation, and they all require close attention and new modes of approach, guided by new historical standards of reference, the Soviet Union has called for a representative conference of the CESC nations to review the entire range of these problems, including human contacts, information, cultural exchanges and educational co-operation, to be held in Moscow.

The main thrust in action in the field of humanitarian co-operation at this juncture is to create worthy and truly humane material, cultural and intellectual conditions for all nations. That is the sum and substance of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State.

course at national reconciliation is enthusiastically accepted by the Afghan people, by every Afghan patriot," Najib stressed.

"It can be confidently said now that the policy of national reconciliation has already brought quite definite results," he pointed out. "The return home of Afghan refugees is an important and positive factor in this process. As many as 35 thousand refugees have returned up to now, and this within just the past 70 days, while 37 thousand people had returned to Afghanistan in the previous eight years."

"A considerable number of armed antigovernment units totalling some ten thousand people have come over to the side of people's power. Moreover, a large number of such groups, totalling some 90 thousand people, are conducting negotiations on reconciliation with Afghanistan's Government. This represents half of the total number of all armed anti-government units."

All statements that Islam is in danger in Afghanistan are totally unwarranted, Najib emphasised. Contrary to the arguments of our opponents, we know the Koran, treat it with the most profound respect and defend it as befits Moslems.

If external aggression and outside interference in the affairs of our country had been ended, if imperialism and regional reaction led by the Reagan Administration had withdrawn financial and military aid to the armed anti-government forces, the national reconciliation policy would have led to the establishment of peace and security in Afghanistan within a short period of time, Najib said.

The national reconciliation process has become irreversible and we will pursue this course in a decisive and unwavering manner in the future as well.

(APN)

SOVIET ECONOMY:

The pace of Perestroika

By Gennadi Pisarevsky, Novosti political correspondent

THE first few steps in the current drive for **perestroika**, or a drastic shake-up of the entire Soviet economic and social order, have proved to be difficult, timid and irresolute. After quickening its pace last year industrial production growth in the first two months of 1987 dropped from 4.9 to 2.9 per cent. Targets for productivity were not achieved either.

Recent failures may be attributed to several factors. First, for a long time we have not seen so severe a winter as the one we have had this year. Disrupted transport services and excessive consumption of fuel and energy slackened the pace of industrial growth.

Fulfil contracts

But are severe winters new to Russia? They are certainly not. We simply failed to prepare ourselves adequately for the winter. References to "objective reasons" that until recently have been extensively used by economic managers to justify their failures are no longer taken into account. But many factory managers seem to be unprepared to work on such tough terms. And yet to live and work in a new way means to honour one's responsibilities. For instance, five years ago all shortcomings would have been attributed to biting frosts and heavy snow. (The snow cover this year has reached such dangerous thickness as to prompt nation-wide preparations for spring floods). This is no longer possible now.

Second, economic officials and managers have been told they will no longer be able to get away with failures to meet plan targets. The paramount plan indicator for 1987 is fulfilling one's contract obligation rather than procuring a pre-planned amount of goods. I will try to explain the difference. Factories until this year could easily meet plan targets by manufacturing more expensive goods. This created a paradox whereby production plans (in roubles) were met, while demand for cheap and vital goods was not. The flaw had prevailed in the national economy for decades. No more. Failure to meet consumers' orders in time is punishable.

It was an unusual and tough measure. Only 77 per cent of all enterprises managed to fulfil their contract obligations in January-February. Some missed their targets by a narrow margin of less than one per cent. But they, too, were denied bonuses.

Third, quality standards have been toughened as well. A state quality inspection service has been introduced at 1,500 enterprises to prevent breaches of quality standards. The new measure in January exposed poor performance by some enterprises, where workers and engineers were reprimanded with pay cuts. This caused a good deal of discontent. But then who prevented them from doing a good job? Quality control inspectors simply did not allow them to deceive others and themselves, too. Some are taking it easy and passions have quietened down. Many enterprises have managed to operate normally, manufacturing goods of top world standards.

The introduction of the state quality control service is but a first step toward making quality a universal yardstick superior to quantity. All products manufactured in this country (there are some 25 million items on the list) must be of top quality.

State quality control

But if the quality of all goods is checked by quality inspectors, how many such inspectors do we need?

State quality control is a vital, if tentative measure. The real quality inspector will be the consumer, the market. But we have yet a long way to go to achieve a plan-based and adequately controlled socialist market. As I see it, the most important thing here is to abandon conservative thinking and convince people that the market is a normal and indispensable category of the socialist mode of production. This is what Lenin said. His genius paved the way for us toward socialism. We heeded his advice at one time, but then, unfortunately, strayed from the correct path, because some of our self-styled leaders had decided it was too long a path to follow. This led to the industrial planning flaws and imbalances we are trying to remedy now.

Mikhail Gorbachev spoke about this frankly at the CPSU Central Committee plenum last

January: "Misconceptions about the role of monetary-commodity relations and the operation of the law of value, and sometimes their direct opposition to socialism as something alien to it, led to voluntarist attitudes in the economy, to an underestimation of profit and loss accountability and to wage levelling, and bred subjective approaches to price formation, imbalances in money circulation and disregard for the regulation of demand and supply.

"... In fact, a whole system that weakened the economic tools of government emerged and a mechanism that slowed socio-economic development and hindered the progressive transformations which make it possible to tap and use the advantages of socialism."

Plan-based market

I am convinced that the advantages of socialism will be fully manifest as soon as a plan-based and adequately controlled market becomes a chief lever for regulating economic efficiency. Profit accrued on the socialist market belongs to all. So everybody will be interested in redoubling profits belonging to all the people. Only under socialism can profit be earned honestly and distributed fairly.

And so the Soviet economy has set the pace for reorganisation. 1987 will be a special year noted for dramatic change. We are yet to see the passing of the law on state enterprise whose draft is being debated on a nation-wide scale. It will provide a legal foundation for managing the economy with economic rather than administrative methods.

We will soon have a new law introduced, allowing individual enterprise from May 1. It will help the state get rid of functions that are alien to it. The country's agriculture and related industries will operate under new conditions, too.

So the drive for reorganisation has been launched. Industries are beginning to hum with business according to plan schedules. I think it will be a good year. My forecast is based on facts rather than on good hope. The people are beginning to see perestroika as their common cause.

Mikhail Solomentsev and Todor Zhivkov discuss reorganisation

A meeting took place in Sofia on March 24 between Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Mikhail Solomentsev, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Party Control Committee at the CPSU Central Committee, who is heading a delegation from the Party Control Committee.

During a conversation which passed in a warm and comradely atmosphere, there was an exchange of information on problems which are being resolved at the present stage by the CPSU and the Bulgarian Communist Party, by the

two fraternal peoples. The Bulgarian leader emphasised that the Party and state leadership of the People's Republic of Bulgaria wholly supports the home and foreign policy of the CPSU. He dwelt on matters of upgrading economic management at every level.

The Soviet guest spoke about the decisions of the January (1987) plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee aimed at reorganisation in every sphere of the life of Soviet society. Key questions of the development of co-operation between the two fraternal countries and some aspects of international affairs were also touched upon.

The Chairman of the Control-Auditing Commission of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Nacho Papazov, and the USSR's Ambassador to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Leonid Grekov, were present at the meeting.

Econo	omy	and	Soci	iety
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The following booklets are available at N. Ryzhkov: Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period The Bread-Winners: the Soviet Food People's Well-Being in Socialist Society work, education, health, housing, pensions and social justice50p The Soviet Transport System 50p Please tick the appropriate box(es) and send cheque/PO to: Soviet Booklets (SN), 3 Rosary Gardens, London, SW7 4NW. Name Address

Conventional force reduction: chances for progress are good

By Dmitri Ardamatsky

HEATED debate around prospects for the elimination of American and Soviet medium-range missiles in Europe should not overshadow the fact that chances have improved of late for a solution to another major issue of European security — the reduction of conventional armaments. Moreover, chances for progress in this area have never been better.

The Reykjavik meeting showed that a nuclear-weapon-free world is not a utopia. The Soviet proposal on the elimination of Euromissiles is a practical step towards this goal. The Soviet Union could not ignore the fact that an agreement on these missiles would give the green light for conventional force reductions from the Atlantic to the Urals. Moscow has the political will to do this. Along with the other Warsaw Treaty countries it put forward last June a comprehensive programme for the reduction of conventional forces in Europe.

This programme calls for a simultaneous mutual reduction of the troop strengths of the two alliances by 100,000 to 150,000 men during the first year or two and a further 25 per cent reduction in the early 1990s. Each side would

PRAVDA ON SDI

"IT is high time Washington realised that, while deceiving a single person for a long time is quite possible, it is impossible to deceive a whole nation always. The anniversary of SDI serves as a sad reminder of this." *Pravda* says on March 24 commenting on the fourth 'anniversary' of the notorious 'Strategic Defense Initiative', which the newspaper says "in fact turned out to be the most dangerous military programme in the history of mankind, aimed at militarising outer space and turning it into a boundless arena of the arms race fraught with a nuclear holocaust."

Describing SDI as the greatest folly of our age, *Pravda* goes on "SDI is first of all a chimera. It is impossible to create an 'impenetrable' shield since 15-20 per cent of the 'area' will always be left vulnerable to missiles. Moreover, the asymmetrical answer of the other side will reduce this 'shield' to an illusion. It is quite obvious though that the comprehensive anti-missile system with space-based elements cannot be viewed as purely defensive and represents a new type of weapon designed to deliver the first preventive strike.

Quoting the American General Abrahamson as saying that the USA will be able to deploy over the USSR 300 to 400 satellites armed with strike missiles by 1994 or 1995, *Pravda* queries: "Who, as a matter of fact, will allow Washington to set up space 'gun emplacements' from which to fire on Soviet territory, who has given the militarists the right to use near Earth space at their discretion?"

"We will never allow SDI's main idea of breaking the strategic parity and gaining military superiority over the Soviet Union to be carried out," the newspaper stresses.

As Reykjavik has shown, *Pravda* says in conclusion, SDI became the main obstacle at the talks on nuclear weapons reduction and elimination. It undermines the Soviet-US ABM Treaty which largely prevents the militarisation of outer space.

have to cut its troops by roughly 500,000 men. The reduction would include tactical aircraft and tactical nuclear weapons.

Incidentally, Mikhail Gorbachev's February Statement added a new element to the Soviet position. The Soviet Union agreed to discuss the issue of reduction and complete elimination of tactical missiles separately from the question of conventional force reductions and begin negotiations on the issue immediately after the elimination of American and Soviet mediumrange missiles in Europe.

The elimination of Euromissiles would be a breakthrough in disarmament. It would create an unprecedented atmosphere of confidence and stimulate efforts to conclude new disarmament agreements. It would also help dissipate many fears which the East and the West have about each other's intentions. The elimination of missiles by both sides and verification of compliance with an agreement on this matter would create conditions conducive to negotiations on conventional force reductions.

The Soviet Union does not oversimplify the problem of monitoring conventional force reductions. The Warsaw Treaty proposal envisages effective verification procedures, including on-site inspection. An agreement on ways to verify compliance with an agreement on medium-range missiles would help the achievement of agreements on verification in other areas of disarmament.

It is a disquieting fact that some leaders say that the elimination of American and Soviet medium-range missiles in Europe would add a complicating factor to the issue of conventional forces because of alleged superiority of the Warsaw Treaty countries in this field.

The allegations about Warsaw Treaty superiority in conventional forces have been made in the West for nearly 40 years. They were first made when the United States had to justify the deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe (the Soviet Union had no nuclear weapons then). Ever since, this argument has been constantly invoked by the advocates of continued build-up and modernisation of the West's conventional

forces to block any arms reductions.

The thesis about the Warsaw Treaty's superiority over NATO is based on differences in the structure of the armed forces of the sides, though on the whole there is parity between them. The West says that the Warsaw Treaty has more tanks, but does not mention the fact that NATO has more helicopter gunships and tactical aircraft and several times as many anti-tank weapons. Even Warsaw Treaty superiority in tanks would disappear if the West counted as part of the NATO arsenal Spanish and French tanks. Incidentally, France participates in joint American-West German army manoeuvres on the territory of Federal Germany.

In making comparisons, the West does not take into account mobilisation and manpower resources (the population of the NATO countries exceeds that of the Warsaw Treaty countries by almost 50 per cent), ignores the reserve formations and weapon stockpiles of the United States and NATO, does not count the armed forces of France and Spain, fails to provide full data about the US Armed Forces and the armed forces under the national commands of individual NATO countries, and uses many other methods for distorting the real situation.

The kernel of the matter is that NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries are roughly equal in conventional forces. As regards the structural differences between them, US Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger justly said in his 1987 Defense Budget Report to Congress that "an adequate balance of conventional forces does not require equal numbers of tanks, aircraft or infantry."

Thus, the situation is good for mutual conventional force reductions. Naturally, the sides should take into account the structural differences between their armed forces, but the main condition for an agreement in this field is political will. The Soviet Union has it, but NATO is too slow in making a constructive response to the East. It continues to cling to distorted conventional force comparisons to block agreement in this field and now also to obstruct the elimination of Euromissiles.

(APN)

Moscow does not overlook US bases in Europe

By Vladimir Katin, Novosti political analyst

IT seems that the elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe is not far off. Yet in some NATO countries, West Germany for instance, far from all politicians and statesmen, and the press which reflects their views, welcome the prospect of a nuclear-free Europe.

They are warning the United States, a participant in the Geneva talks, against making haste with an agreement to eliminate medium-range missiles, painting a picture of a weakened and even defenceless Europe in the face of a "Soviet threat". They are out to prove that the elimination of US and Soviet medium-range missiles in Europe would leave the Warsaw Treaty with an edge in all other types of weapons.

This is already a campaign designed to

influence the US, sow doubts in the minds of West Europeans, and impede progress to agreement at the Soviet-US talks.

Analysing the arguments of those who oppose missile elimination. I was struck by the abundance of figures and calculations which all point to a strong military superiority of the Warsaw Treaty. Nothing is left out of account. The counting begins with entrenching tools and bayonets and ends with short-range missiles. The message is that all this is very dangerous for Europe, and should be counted and linked with medium-range missiles for this reason.

But what about the powerful US forwardbased systems at the borders of the Soviet Union, or its surface-based forces, or the continuously built-up and modernised nuclear potentials of Britain and France? However, in its proposal to solve the problem of medium-range missiles the

(Continued on next page)

Soviet Mass Media

FACTS AND FIGURES

THE Soviet Union publishes over 8,000 newspapers in 200 million copies, and more than 5,000 magazines in an annual edition of over 4,000 million. Every Soviet family subscribes to some six periodicals.

The Soviet Union leads the world in the daily issue of newspapers, publishing more than the US, France, West Germany and Italy but lagging behind Britain and Sweden as per 1,000 of the population.

Soviet Television has 116 TV centres. Radio incorporates some 200 committees in republics, territories and areas and more than 5,000 local editorial boards.

There are some 85 million TV sets, more than 80 million radios and over 100 million wired-radio outlets in the Soviet Union. Still, only 93 per cent of the population can watch TV (85 per cent, two or more channels), because some outlying and sparsely populated areas are not equipped to receive TV broadcasts.

Television in this country is a state monopoly. The same concerns radio, with the exception of some local radio stations and the station Peace and Progress of Soviet mass organisations. Newspapers and magazines are not so much state publications as the organs of political, mass, trade union, youth, women's, co-operative, writers', scientific, religious and other organisations, or are issued jointly, for instance by a branch ministry and its trade union, a collective farm and its mass organisations.

The Soviet mass media are multilingual. Republics, autonomous areas and regions broadcast their programmes and issue periodicals in local languages and in Russian as an interethnic media. Kazakhstan, for example, publishes periodicals in German, Bashkiria in

Tatar, while Georgia and Uzbekistan each publish periodicals in six languages.

The Soviet Union publishes newspapers and magazines in 57 languages, television broadcasts in 45, and radio in 71 languages. Only small ethnic groups do not have publications in their languages (there are ethnic groups in the Soviet Union numbering just several thousand or even a few hundred people).

There is no special law defining the functions of the mass media (a draft law is being prepared). The mass media function under the general constitutional guarantees for the press. But there are laws, binding on the mass media, which provide for prosecution for the incitement of war sentiments, hatred on the grounds of race or nationality, dissemination of amoral information, disclosure of military or state secrets, and defamation. These limitations are designed not to curb the freedom of the press but rather to check abuses of it, and are in full conformity with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and other international conventions.

Structurally, the Soviet mass media reflect the ethnic diversity of the Soviet population and the territorial division of the Soviet Union. So, newspapers are divided into national, republican, and local — territorial, regional, area, city, district — and newspapers are published at factories, organisations and farms.

Pravda is published daily in over 11 million copies (including 180,000 for foreign readers), Izvestia in 8 million copies, Trud in over 18 million, Komsomolskaya Pravda in 17 million and the Literaturnaya Gazeta in 3.1 million.

Now to magazines. Zdorovye is published in 16.6 million, Rabotnitsa in 16 million, Krestyanka in 14.5 million, Yunost in 3.2 million, Nauka i

Zhizn in 3.5 million, Kommunist in 1 million, Za Rubezhom in 1 million, Novy Mir in 480,000, and so on.

According to sociologists' polls, people prefer to read popular science magazines (38 per cent of adults). A third of the population read political and social science magazines, and a third literary magazines.

The national radio broadcasts for over 230 hours daily on five channels. Television broadcasts for some 150 hours daily. This year, television will broadcast late-night programmes. The next step will be having one of the channels work round the clock.

TV debates are very popular. During many of these programmes viewers can telephone the studio to put their questions to the hosts and guests of these live shows.

Newspapers have picked up the example of the TV. Thus, Komsomolskaya Pravda introduced a Hot Line column when on a pre-arranged day a minister, a famous actor or artist is invited to the editorial board and the readers can interview them by telephone. The results are published in the newspaper.

Over the past year national newspapers and magazines increased their subscription by 14 million due to the coverage of the readjustment process under way in the country and more openness which involves new forms of mass media work and more critical attitude.

The Soviet mass media have always relied on the reader. Under the existing order, every letter from the reader must be answered, and newspapers receive hosts of them. The TV and radio receive some 2 million letters annually. Last year, *Pravda* received 622,000 letters, and 57,000 letters this January alone.

(APN)

(Continued from previous page)

USSR does not take them into account. It runs a certain risk of course, but this risk is necessary to set nuclear disarmament going.

Take the US forward-based systems, for instance, which are passed over in silence more often than not. In Western Europe alone the Americans have deployed more than a thousand military installations, including 271 big military bases. The entire territory of the USSR is enmeshed in the web of these bases which create a very serious nuclear threat for it. The Geneva talks on eliminating medium-range missiles do not concern either bombers or nuclear explosives at US military airfields and depots in West Germany, Britain, Greece. Turkey and other countries. Can Moscow ignore such a formidable threat? Needless to say, it takes it into account and vigilantly maintains its defences at a level which enables it to parry it.

Yet, we are convinced that genuine security for Europe can be ensured not by bases, missiles or response measures, but by radical reduction and complete elimination of nuclear armaments. This spring the hope for a nuclear-free Europe was evoked by the Soviet proposal to do away with medium-range missiles. As for conventional weapons, the proposals of the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty members for deep cuts in these weapons by both the Warsaw Treaty and NATO from the Atlantic to the Urals have long been waiting for a positive answer.

The main thing now is not to impede progress at the Geneva talks, but create opportunities for their triumph to the benefit of all Europe, of all mankind.

USSR: education restructuring

THE objectives of accelerating the USSR's socio-economic development call for a fundamental restructuring of the system of education. This is precisely the aim of the "Guidelines for Restructuring Higher and Secondary Specialised Education in the Country", endorsed by the CPSU Central Committee, and published in the Soviet press on March 21.

The Guidelines note that the standard of education and upbringing at higher school does not meet to the full extent the present-day demands, that outstanding problems in training and using specialists started accumulating in the recent period, and indicate that the main tool of restructuring higher and secondary specialised education is its close integration with production and science, changing over to new principles of their interaction. Students' broader involvement in scientific research and real engineering developments should be among methods of fostering their analytical and creative thinking.

The Guidelines provide for the higher contribution of students to solving socioeconomic acceleration objectives, and the more active use of the advantages of higher school, above all the concentration at educational establishments of scientists of different specialities for solution of comprehensive problems.

The qualitative improvement of pedagogical

and scientific manpower must become the decisive factor in developing higher education and scientific research. It is planned to perfect the existing procedure of awarding academic degree and academic status, and to introduce the system of competitive re-election of administrators, educationalists and teachers.

The section on technical re-equipping of higher and secondary specialised school plans to ensure in full, by the year 1990, the requirements of the teaching process in electronic computers, to create approximately 130,000 working places provided with personal computers and terminals, and to start establishing inter-institute programming centres.

On the Five-Year Plan of the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990

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Glasnost — a new threat from the Kremlin?

By Spartak Beglov, Novosti political analyst

I TOOK part in the recent congress of Soviet journalists and heard many statements by my colleagues about the role of the media in the process of renovation which has now affected all aspects of our life. There were heated debates as well. Some feared that we might wholly concentrate our efforts on criticising the past, and cease to notice the achievements which have brought the once backward country with a predominantly illiterate population to the frontlines of progress in 70 years.

What makes certain subjects "taboo"? Higher authority or a kind of "self-censorship" within every writer? But we were unanimous in one thing — openness, criticism and self-criticism, democracy, a sum total of which makes what we call "glasnost", are a must for our advance.

This applies both to domestic and international affairs. There are no urgent issues of disarmament and peaceful coexistence which cannot be tackled in a new, business-like manner to be solved once and for all.

The magazine *Epoca* recently published the results of a public opinion poll in Italy in which Mikhail Gorbachev was given first place among the leaders of various countries for his political performance last month. The most favourable response was evoked by such actions as the convocation in Moscow of the international

forum of politicians, scientists and businessmen, and the proposal to eliminate medium-range missiles in Europe. The same is borne out by public opinion polls in some other countries.

But there are also people in the West who fear the prospect of Gorbachev's success most of all.

Here's the latest evidence— a speech by the US President's chief propaganda adviser and USIA director Charles Wick about glasnost as a challenge to public diplomacy, which was circulated in Washington a few days ago. He stressed that to counter this threat USIA are drafting their own initiatives to enable America to preserve its lead in this global "war of ideas" acting from positions of strength.

Denouncing nuclear weapons

A "threat", "war", "positions of strength"... indicatively, these words were uttered on the day after the 40th anniversary of the Truman Doctrine. The world has gone ahead, but Washington keeps clinging to its Cold War attitudes.

Meanwhile, even friends and patient partners of the USA from the third world are compelled to defend themselves not against the mythical "Soviet threats", but against real encroachments on their sovereignty, national dignity and economic security. Why is it that all countries which the US attacks militarily are non-white—Grenada, Libya, Nicaragua, Angola and the

Arabs in Lebanon? This question was raised on TV by an ordinary American woman (which was recently mentioned by the Washington Post). It lays emphasis on the racist flavour of US policy. But a no smaller number of so-called white countries have suffered a lot (both in the spheres of economy and security) from the continuous military threats of the US, from its export of counter-revolution under the pretext of "combating communism".

Probably, some American politicians are tempted by the title of the "number one scare-crow for the rest of the world". The Soviet Union will not compete here. Glasnost in Soviet policy implies, among other things, denunciation of nuclear weapons and the arms race. We openly invite the US and other members of the world community to co-operate in combating this evil.

Charles Wick is looking for a simple way of dodging consideration of constructive proposals. He suggests that "glasnost" be interpreted as "propaganda of lies". But this interpretation backfires. Last month one solid American magazine examined all methods of lying used in US policy — from Watergate to Irangate — and crowned this record with the following title: "United States. A Nation of Liars?"

Now the main thing for us — both in the USSR and elsewhere — is to find the right answers to global questions. These have been piling up for dozens of years and there is no more time to waste. We should solve them through co-operation not confrontation.

Nuclear weapons for regional conflicts?

By Yuri Gvozdev, Novosti political analyst

AN international parliamentary delegation representing the Delhi Six visited Rio de Janeiro recently to study Brazil's nuclear programme. It is believed that the reason for the visit was growing anxiety in the international community over the rapid spread of nuclear weapons in the world. Hopefully, there is no immediate threat of this kind in Latin America. Yet, dangerous changes are in evidence in south Asia, the Middle East and southern Africa. Some countries in these regions have either developed or are on the verge of developing nuclear weapons. So, why is nuclear proliferation a fact in spite of international efforts to check it and in spite of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty?

Indicatively, all these countries — Pakistan, Israel and South Africa — are the United States'

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regional allies. As I see it, Washington could have cooled their nuclear ambitions, had it so desired. But obviously it did not. Rather, it is the other way around: some influential circles in the US are giving their junior strategic partners indirect and secret aid for their nuclear arms programmes. And the US secret services are quite skilled at deceiving the public.

The Irangate scandal has exposed the global system the United States uses to make clandestine arms deliveries to other countries. It transpired that the CIA and the Pentagon have frequently employed private firms for the purpose. Who can guarantee, then, that individual components or models of nuclear weapons or instruction manuals needed for their manufacture have not slipped through the maze of delivery channels to South Africa, Israel or Pakistan? Moreover, the US authorities consider almost 50,000 applications a year from various companies for arms exports. In 1986, US arms deals amounted to 14.9 billion dollars and, according to the most conservative US Customs estimates, illegal arms sales run into tens of millions of dollars a year. Add to this the frequent cases of "theft" in US nuclear industries and scientific and military espionage conducted by other countries, notably Israel.

Besides, Israel and South Africa protect the United States' imperial interests and their own exclusive position in regions where they are confronted by multi-million-strong nations. The nuclear bomb is a guarantee of invulnerability for racists in the south of Africa and zionists in the Middle East. Possessing as it does from 100 to 200 nuclear charges, Israel is believed to be able to destroy all Middle East cities with a population of

over 100,000. The apartheid regime challenging the whole of black Africa might contemplate turning to that kind of nuclear genocide if a regional conflict flared up in southern Africa.

With Pakistan seeking to manufacture its own "Islamic" nuclear bomb, the developments there are no less ominous. Pakistan has repeatedly demonstrated its aggressive intentions towards India and is actively helping the CIA and the Pentagon to wage an undeclared war against Afghanistan. The nuclear element here is fraught with the most unpredictable of consequences. This notwithstanding, the Reagan Administration continues to give Islamabad billions of dollars in military aid, thereby helping to bring its nuclear ambitions to fruition. Evidently, Washington's immediate geo-political goals and anti-Sovietism overshadow all other considerations.

The United States is responsible for its allies getting nuclear weapons, which multiplies the risk of regional conflicts involving nuclear weapons. In their turn, they could easily lead to a world-wide Hiroshima. In such a situation, all efforts to control nuclear-weapon-related activities are growing increasingly complicated, with the nuclear arms race spreading to ever new regions. In this context, we can only welcome the activities of the Delhi Six, who are taking real steps to strengthen the non-proliferation regime, as well as the efforts by countries of different regions to create nuclear-free zones. Both are important factors in the drive to oppose the nuclear threat.

(N.B. The cross-heads in this bulletin were inserted by Soviet News—Ed.)