Worldwide Report

ARMS CONTROL

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WORLDWIDE REPORT
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CONTENTS

SDI AND SPACE ARMS

FRG Armed Forces Chief Concerned About Consequences of SDI
(Karl Feldmeyer; Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE,
29 Nov 85) ................................................................. 1

French Government 'Favors' Firms Participating in SDI
(Paris AFP, 23 Jan 86) ..................................................... 5

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

USSR: U.S., Soviet Comments on Gorbachev's 15 January Statement
(Various sources, various dates) ................................. 6

PRAVDA Editorial .......................................................... 6
Reagan, Shultz Reactions .............................................. 9
Karpov Remarks .......................................................... 10
Soviet Charge d'Affaires in Bonn .................................... 11
Soviet Envoy Discusses Proposal .................................... 11
Bogachev Notes Proposal's Aim ....................................... 12
Kornilov Views Importance .......................................... 13
Shishlin Sees 'Concrete Program' .................................... 14
Differing Opinions Cited .............................................. 14
Soviet Peace Group's Approval ...................................... 15
IZVESTIYA Editorial .................................................... 16
'Two Worlds, Two Policies', by Vitaliy Korionov ................. 19
'Constructive Reply' Required, S. A. Losev Interview ........... 22
Space Weapons Ban Crucial .......................................... 23
Plan of Action for All, by Yevgeniy Pavlovich Velikhov ....... 23
U.S. Arguments 'Crumbling' .......................................... 24
Meant for All States, by Nikolay Shishlin ......................... 26
Demonstrates Desire for Peace ....................................... 27
Statements by U.S. Cause Concern, by V. Chernyshev .......... 27
Supreme Soviet Commission Meets .................................. 30
Zhukov Criticizes Speakes, by Yuriy Zhukov ...................... 31
Reagan Comments on Proposal ....................................... 33

- a -
'International Situation' Program, by Konstantin Patsyuk ........................................... 34
Zhukov Comments on Statement, by Yuriy Zhukov ................................................................. 37
'Top Priority' Examines Initiative, by Vladimir Posner ......................................................... 41
TV Correspondents Sum Up Reaction, Georgiy Zubkov Interview ........................................ 45

Moscow Notes More International Support for Gorbachev's Proposal
(Various sources, various dates) .................................................................................................. 49
PRAVDA Rounds Up Reaction, by V. Gerasimov, et al. ............................................................ 49
PCF's Marchais Praises Proposals ............................................................................................... 52
Greece's Papandreou ..................................................................................................................... 52
Romania's Ceausescu .................................................................................................................... 52
Bulgaria's Zhivkov ....................................................................................................................... 53
CSSR's Husak ............................................................................................................................... 54
CSSR's Foreign Minister Chnoupek, by S. Vtorushin ................................................................. 54
Argentina's Caputo ....................................................................................................................... 55
India's Reaction ............................................................................................................................ 56
DRA Support ................................................................................................................................. 58
International Peace Group ........................................................................................................... 58
Peace Physician ............................................................................................................................. 59

Spanish Dailies Comment on Arms Proposal
(Various sources, 17 Jan 86) ....................................................................................................... 61

INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES

D'66 Party Willing To Implement Cruise Missile Pact
(Amsterdam DE TELEGRAAF, 2 Dec 85) .................................................................................... 63

CHEMICAL/BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

TASS: Scope of Canadian-U.S. Military Links Exposed
(Moscow TASS, 20 Jan 86) ....................................................................................................... 64
TASS: U.S. Propaganda Campaign Promotes Chemical Weapons
(Moscow TASS, 22 Jan 86) ....................................................................................................... 65

Briefs
Romanian-Bulgarian Appeal to UN ......................................................................................... 66

EUROPEAN CONFERENCES

French, FRG Ministers Address CDE Conference
(Paris AFP, 28 Jan 86) ............................................................................................................... 67

NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

TASS Hits Weinberger's Comments at Press Conference
(Moscow TASS, various dates) ..................................................................................................... 69

Weinberger Call for Testing Continuation
Testing Shows 'Contempt' for Geneva ................................................................................. 69

- b -
Nuclear Testing Ban Seen as 'First Step' by Moscow
(Nikolay Shishlin; Moscow Domestic Service, 23 Jan 86) .. 71

IZVESTIYA Editorial Urges Nuclear Test Ban
(Moscow IZVESTIYA, 24 Jan 86) ......................... 72

U.S. Cruise Missile Tests in Canada Assailed by USSR
(Various sources, various dates) ......................... 74

Preparations for Test
U.S. Continues Pursuit of Superiority, by Leonid Ponomarev 74
Test Fails 75

Briefs
NATO Head Rejects Moratorium 76
SDI AND SPACE ARMS

FRG ARMED FORCES CHIEF CONCERNED ABOUT CONSEQUENCES OF SDI

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 29 Nov 85 p 4


[Text] Bonn, 28 Nov--What does the Bundeswehr's inspector general think of SDI? What are the decisive criteria for him, in terms of the Federal Republic's interests? General Wolfgang Altenburg, as inspector general, is the official advisor to the Defense Minister and the Federal Security Council on military and security policy. Altenburg is at the same time one of the Federal Republic's most capable and discerning individuals on security-policy issues. Since the beginning of the seventies, he has been familiar with the arcana of nuclear strategy as few others have been. He knows the alliance's plans, and has not only been an influence in their development, but is also aware of their political, as well as their military, significance - and he factors the latter in continuously. He knows how security is produced, and what stabilizing or destabilizing effects armament or disarmament decisions have. So what does Altenburg think of America's Strategic Defense Initiative, for which the abbreviation SDI has become familiar here?

"The American decision can no longer be reversed," is his first statement, and the question as to what the results are for the Federal Republic he answers thus: "Whether I like it or not, holding back from SDI is the wrong way to go. If I decide to stay out of SDI, I can have no influence with which to defend my interests. I am very concerned about the overall SDI comples. To overcome this concern, we must cooperate."

Why does Altenburg think SDI can no longer be reversed? The inspector general sees two reasons: first, he considers the situation from the Soviet standpoint. "The Soviets are completely convinced that the Americans will continue to work on the project. For them, it is beyond any doubt that 'capitalism' will not renounce the project and will go on with the research, no matter what assurances it gives outwardly. The Soviet way of thinking therefore requires that they intensively expand their own current research and that in doing so they rely on the solid basis already achieved with their own missile-defense system and their anti-satellite weapons (killer satellites)."
To understand the American attitude, one must try to put oneself in the President's position, which is characterized by the burden of responsibility for nuclear decisions. Reagan wants to get away from the situation of having to tell his citizens that the first to shoot is the second to die. For the Americans, the way out of the dilemma of being unable to protect themselves by any other means than by keeping the opponent from using his weapons through the threat of annihilation, is to prove that the threat from space has been removed, that is, that the enemy intercontinental missiles can be intercepted. "This means SDI will go forward," concludes Altenburg, "from the Soviet standpoint just as much as from the American; for neither Reagan nor his successor can give up the thought that it is insufficient to protect one's own population by means of an offensive counterstrike capability. And the Soviets will find themselves forced to go on with it, because the American behavior is distorting their perception."

Once this finding is reached, the question at once arises as to Altenburg's judgment on where German interests lie. Altenburg distinguishes two aspects here. The effect of this development on the effectiveness of the North Atlantic alliance and on the protection of the Federal Republic's territory from aggression. "The argument that what serves as stronger protection for the Americans means more protection for the Federal Republic as well, is valid only so long as the alliance's community of risk is not thereby dissolved, thus calling in question the credibility of its overall strategy. Without this community of risk NATO is not credible. It must therefore be our goal to maintain the strategic unity of the alliance, its members' risk-sharing. For it is in our interest to prevent anything that could make a regional conflict possible. A war limited to Europe would be acceptable to world powers which had themselves become invulnerable, for it would --- in our case --- not penetrate to the Soviet Union. In reaching this conclusion, I am in agreement with General Orgakow when he concludes that neither general nuclear war nor conventional war is possible today, but perhaps a regional one is." (Editor's note: Orgakow was until recently chief of the Soviet general staff, and will in all probability receive command of the entire European area in the event of war.)

A second point in this is disquieting for Altenburg: the question of SDI's costs and their consequences. "If I want to have a space-defense system of high effectiveness, if possible one hundred percent effectiveness, this drives the costs of this system up steeply. This justifies the question where those resources are to come from, and the worry that they could be taken from those budgetary items with which the risks that would still remain after SDI must be covered, for example by economizing on the resources needed for the conventional defense of Europe. If the near-hundred-percent optimization of the SDI does not succeed, however, then the question will indeed arise, whether both sides won't have to consider keeping a certain offensive capability---that is, a given number of intercontinental missiles---to neutralize the residual risk that would remain. If this were the case, however---and I think we must reckon with it---then there are also grounds for fearing that the temptation could arise on both sides to achieve first-strike capability, that is, to be able to disarm the adversary and force one's will upon him."
"How can we get the Americans to cover our risk as well?"

Altenburg comes back to the question of the Federal Republic's interests and protection and those of the other West European states, and so to the risk SDI holds for them. "The whole thing makes sense for Europe only if the zones of differing security that already exist in NATO are not yet further accentuated. That means we must be careful that SDI does not create on one side a threat-free zone in NATO and on the other side another zone in which all the vital risks would be concentrated, because this would be detrimental to political agreement and to common capability for action among the partners. Therefore, we must ask of the Americans that in connection with SDI the nuclear weapons directed at Europe, down to the short-range missiles, also be neutralized. Our air threat analysis must in future take account not only of aircraft, but also of cruise missiles and rockets. Up to now these latter have been nuclear weapons, which were therefore not included in air defense, instead being covered by the threat of a counterstrike. Lately, however, the Soviet Union's missiles have not been armed with nuclear warheads, but rather with conventional and chemical ones. This is why they must, even independently of SDI, in future be included in our air defense efforts. But the question we must now ask ourselves is: how can we get the Americans to cover this risk for us as well? My answer is: we should, by means of appropriate agreements, assure that we put the priority on bringing our own technical capabilities to the project at those points at which the neutralization of short- and mid-range missiles is involved. The Americans would have to pledge themselves in return to covering, not only the intercontinental threat, but also the threat posed by shorter-range weapons. This ought without doubt to be a central concern not only for us but also for the English. I assume the Americans are prepared to do this."

Altenburg is fully aware that this still wouldn't dispose of the problem for the Federal Republic. "The more effective SDI becomes, the more weighty the conventional threat the Federal Republic is exposed to. This suggests to me the question: how can I get stronger in conventional terms? My answer goes: among other things, terminally-guided area-defense munitions. The emphasis must be here, as well as on markedly improved intercept and target-data acquisition capability. Whether I want to or not, I must also reorganize my air defense because of the triple threat." By triple threat is meant the fact that Soviet missiles can have nuclear, chemical or conventional warheads.

When the inspector general summarizes all this, his evaluation is: "I see a deterioration relative to the security that has hitherto existed based on the threat of mutual assured destruction (MAD), if SDI is to offer protection only from intercontinental-range systems. On the other hand, I see an improvement if we succeed in eliminating the threat from short- and mid-range weapons as well—and in improving conventional defensive capabilities. But really only if we succeed in so shaping the defensive capabilities that they at once have a credible deterrent value."
One must make oneself aware of these preconditions, of the last in particular, in order to understand what the general is saying here. The alliance has never since its inception been able to achieve "an independent deterrent value" for its conventional forces against the Soviet threat. This was the reason why it relied on the American atomic weapons, and developed first the "massive retaliation" strategy, and then the "flexible response" strategy. This means, then, that NATO must deliver something that it has hitherto been incapable of and that it is hardly probable it will bring itself to do in the future either, if SDI is to produce an improvement in the Federal Republic's security.

Altenburg has no illusions: "In my present state of knowledge, I regard it as difficult to attain. Should I come to the conclusion that credible conventional deterrence for NATO is not attainable, then the conclusion would be valid that, under the conditions we have discussed, conventional war becomes possible again. I am convinced, however, that these technical and financial problems are soluble, given the political will. For us SDI is, above everything else, a challenge in the realm of overall strategy. We can meet it only if we face it as an alliance. This requires recognition of the risks and active efforts resolve them. We can only do this by acquiring influence—not by standing aside."

13070/12795
CSO: 5200/2563
Marcoussis, France, Jan 23 (AFP) -- Defense Minister Paul Quiles said here today that the government "favors" the participation of French firms in contracts linked to Washington's "star wars" space research project.

Observers said Mr Quiles' open invitation to French firms marked a major shift in Paris' position on U.S. President Ronald Reagan's space-based defense research project, officially known as the "Strategic Defense Initiative".

Until now the French Government, which has been spearheading a European high-tech research drive to compete with the United States and Japan, had only said that French firms were "free" to take part in SDI.

Mr Quiles was on an inspection tour of the research center of the Compagnie Generale D'Electricite here and that of the Atomic Energy Commission at Limeil-Brevannes, both south of Paris.

He announced the creation of installations to test laser weapons at the Landes test center in Southwestern France and the publication of a "white paper on space weapons" in two weeks' time.

/9738
CSO: 5200/2604
The statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, putting forward a package of major new foreign policy initiatives has generated tremendous interest. It is a case of an epoch-making document in the struggle of Lenin's party and the Soviet State for lasting and universal peace. Our country is submitting for peoples' judgement and governments' examination, a program for the full and universal abolition of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, man's liberation from the threat of self-annihilation, and the safeguarding of reliable security for present and future generations of earth's inhabitants.

This lofty goal has been put on the agenda of world politics for practical implementation at a notable time. The year of the 27th CPSU Congress has come -- the congress which will adopt a program for accelerating our peaceful building. By a UN decision 1986 is International Peace Year.

A turn for the better is needed in the international arena. The peoples of the Soviet Union and the entire world are waiting for it and demanding it. Proceeding from this premise, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the Soviet Government have decided on a number of major, fundamental foreign policy actions.

"Their purport," the statement notes, "is to promote the improvement of the international situation to the maximum. They are dictated by the need to overcome the negative, confrontationist tendencies which have grown up in recent years and to clear the way for curtailment of the nuclear arms race on earth and its prevention in space, for a general reduction in the threat of war, and for the establishment of trust as an inalienable component of relations between states."

Chief among these actions is the specific program, geared to an explicitly defined period of time, for the total abolition of nuclear weapons throughout the world. It is time, high time, to rid mankind of the fear of a nuclear catastrophe and to place a great discovery of human genius -- the energy of the atom -- only at the service of peace and the benefit of the peoples. This is a realistic and feasible matter if we embark on it immediately -- directly in 1986.
The Soviet Union proposes acting gradually and consistently to implement and complete the process of earth’s liberation from nuclear weapons within the next 15 years, before the start of the next century.

The first stage presupposes that over 5-8 years the USSR and the United States will halve their nuclear armaments capable of reaching each other's territory. No more than 6,000 charges each will be retained on their remaining delivery vehicles.

Obviously, such a radical reduction is only possible if the USSR and the United States mutually abandon the creation [sozdaniye], testing, and deployment of space strike weapons. The creation [sozdaniye] of these weapons, as the Soviet Union has repeatedly warned, would cancel out the hope of reducing nuclear weapons on earth.

In the first stage, it is further intended to liquidate USSR and U.S. medium-range missiles — both ballistic and cruise missiles — in the European zone.

This would be the first step on the path of freeing the European Continent of nuclear weapons. Here, according to the logic of things, the United States must adopt a commitment not to supply its strategic missiles and medium-range missiles to other countries. Britain and France must undertake not to build up their own corresponding nuclear weapons.

In the second stage, which should begin no later than 1990 and last 5-7 years, the other nuclear powers are to begin to join in nuclear disarmament. The USSR and the United States in the same period are to continue the reductions negotiated in the first stage and carry out further measures to liquidate their own medium-range nuclear weapons and freeze their tactical nuclear means.

Following a 50-percent reduction of their corresponding weapons by the Soviet Union and the United States in the second stage, another radical step will be taken — tactical nuclear weapons are to be liquidated by all nuclear powers.

In the same period, the Soviet-U.S. accord banning space strike weapons should have become comprehensive, with obligatory participation by the leading industrial powers. All nuclear powers would halt nuclear weapon tests.

The third stage is to open no later than 1995. The liquidation of all remaining nuclear weapons is to be concluded. By the end of 1999 there are to be no more nuclear weapons left on earth. A universal agreement is to be elaborated to prevent the revival of these weapons ever again.

The Soviet proposals are large-scale, topical, and specific. Unlike the U.S. "star wars" plan, which envisages the creation [sozdaniye] of new space strike weapons using nuclear energy, our program is really a program to destroy nuclear weapons.

The practical approach to this great goal is confirmed by yet another important decision of the Soviet Union. As the CPSU Central Committee general secretary stated, we are extending our unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions, which expired 31 December 1985, by 3 months. This is a major new act of goodwill. The extension of the moratorium is not an easy decision for the Soviet Union. It cannot indefinitely display unilateral restraint as regards nuclear tests. But the stake is too high and the responsibility for the fate of peace is too great not to try out all possibilities for influencing the position of others by force of example. The United States is being given extra time to weigh up the Soviet proposals on halting nuclear explosions. The
peoples expect and demand a serious approach by Washington. The U.S. side's pursuit of
the chimera of military superiority is a fruitless and dangerous policy. The USSR
proposes embarking on the path of judicious and responsible decisions.

The talks on nuclear and space weapons being resumed in Geneva are of special importance
in this connection. During the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, it was resolved to speed
them up and this agreement cannot remain a declaration. A constructive approach by
the U.S. side is needed primarily on the question of space. Space must remain peaceful,
strike weapons must not be deployed there. Nor must they be created [sozdavatsya].
Preventing the spread of the arms race to near-earth space means opening the way for
an in-depth reduction of nuclear weapons.

The European aspect of the nuclear problem is very important. The security conditions
on the continent are becoming increasingly worse. It is time to put an end to this
development of events and cut this Gordian knot. The Soviet proposals to free Europe
of both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons remain in force.

The initial radical step in this direction has already been proposed by the Soviet
Union in the first stage of the program to liquidate nuclear weapons.

It is no accident that a considerable number of the new Soviet initiatives are
addressed precisely to Europe. It can perform a special mission -- the rebuilding
of detente.

As well as complete liquidation of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, the Soviet Union
deems it a perfectly realistic task to completely eliminate that barbarous means of mass
destruction, chemical means, by the same date also. Here, our country proposes liquida-
ting, on a mutual basis, the actual industrial base for the manufacture of chemical
weapons. The Soviet proposals in this sphere are of exceptional importance. They make
it possible to intensify the talks to conclude an effective international convention,
subject to verification, to ban chemical weapons and destroy their stocks, as was agreed
at the Geneva meeting.

The package of new initiatives put forward in the CPSU Central Committee general secre-
tary's statement encompasses all of the most important avenues and spheres of activity
devoted to the interests of disarmament, restoration of trust, and strengthening of
the prospects for a peaceful future and all peoples' progress. Important constructive
considerations have been expressed in respect to the Vienna talks on the reduction of
armed forces and armaments in central Europe. A key to the solution of outstanding pro-
blems at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security- and
Disarmament in Europe has been proposed. The implementation of the program for elimi-
nating nuclear and chemical weapons by the end of the current century would also raise
Asian security to a qualitatively new level and would represent a contribution to the
joint quest, alongside all Asian countries, for a common comprehensive approach to
shaping a system of security and lasting peace on the planet's largest and most densely
populated continent.

The Soviet program provides a counterbalance to the runaway nuclear arms race.
It is permeated by a bold, innovative approach to resolving outstanding prob-
lems. The Soviet stance in respect to monitoring the destruction and reduction
of arms, as set out in the statement, is of key importance in this context. The
USSR is prepared to adopt virtually any measures to strictly monitor whatever is
necessary, be it the absence of explosions, a ban on the creation [sozdaniye] of
space strike arms (including inspection of the relevant laboratories), or the reduction of conventional arms, and so forth. All this refutes the favorite excuse behind which the opponents of ending the arms race tried to hide. Monitoring is not a problem for the USSR: The problem lies in the political will and goodwill which the United States and other NATO countries which pay lip service to disarmament will have to prove.

The whole world sees that it is not the USSR which is holding matters up. Quite the reverse, it is purposefully seeking a solution to the cardinal problems of the present time and seeking by force of its own example, by force of constructive ideas and realistic, businesslike proposals based on the principles of equality and identical security and proceeding from the interests of strengthening peace, both in the world as a whole and in its individual regions. The notorious NATO rantings about the "Soviet military threat" have been utterly crushed. Only a state which truly affirms peace and security in the world can put forward such proposals and take such steps.

The new Soviet proposals are addressed not just to governments, but to all peoples, all public forces and antiwar movements, to all people of goodwill. That is understandable. Preserving peace and delivering mankind from the threat of nuclear war is a matter which concerns one and all. All forces which favor peace must be mobilized, united, and galvanized into action to ensure the success of this cause. The Soviet program for a nuclear-free world is in keeping with the aspirations of all peoples. Unquestionably, it will gain the ardent support of millions upon millions of people throughout the world.

The entire content of the statement is new concrete expression of the peace-loving foreign policy of our party and state. The constructive proposals that have been put forward are a practical embodiment of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum line which has been enshrined in the draft new edition of the CPSU Program; they are the embodiment of the policy of struggle for peace and social progress. The USSR's new steps are an expression of the Soviet people's single-minded desire to engage in creative labor and live in peace with all peoples. The Soviet people ardently approve and support the new resolute actions in defense of peace and for improving the entire international situation. They regard them as the expression of the spirit and flesh of our domestic and foreign policy and of their organic unity. By their labor they strengthen the cause of peace. The competition in honor of the 27th CPSU Congress is under way everywhere. Large-scale work to accelerate the country's socioeconomic development is in progress.

The Land of the Soviets is hoisting even higher the banner of peace, freedom, and humanism which Great October raised above the planet.

Reagan, Shultz Reactions

PM162015 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 86 Morning Edition p 4

["White House Reaction to M.S. Gorbachev's Statement" -- IZVESTIYA headline]
of reducing nuclear armaments. He points out that the United States, jointly with its allies, will carefully study the proposals of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Many elements contained in the Soviet documents, the President's statement says, "have not altered compared with the Soviet Union's previous positions." At the same time, it is noted further, the Soviet proposal contains other elements which it seems at first glance, can be constructive.

The President referred to various remarks on questions of strategic nuclear arms which he had made at various times. In this connection, attention is drawn to the fact that the White House document in question completely passes over the issue of not allowing the creation, testing and deployment [sozdaniye, ispytaniye i razvertyvaniye] of offensive space arms.

The President points out that the U.S. delegation in Geneva is charged with implementing the accord reached at the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Geneva with the aim of achieving very speedy progress in the matter of "achieving radical reductions of offensive nuclear arms and, in particular, concluding a provisional agreement concerning intermediate-range nuclear forces." The U.S. President notes that if the position formulated by the general secretary brings us closer to this aim, then this may be a constructive step.

At the same time the President's statement was made, U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz gave an interview to ABC television, in which, while avoiding discussion of the specific proposals submitted by the Soviet Union, he generally tried to demonstrate that the United States has previously been calling for the destruction of all nuclear arms and that this is the stance held by the President at the moment. In the same way as Reagan, Shultz failed to say a word about the interlinkage of the whole complex of space and nuclear arms -- strategic and medium-range.

To a direct question about the U.S. attitude toward the Soviet proposal about destroying medium-range missiles, Shultz went into arguments about "globalism," about the need for discussing this question, about defining the term "destruction" of this weapon more closely, and so forth, which prompted a remark from a correspondent that his reply sounded ambiguous. To this Shultz replied he was not trying to be ambiguous and repeated in general that the United States is in favor of the destruction of all types of nuclear arms.

Karpov Remarks

LD162015  Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Jan 86

[Text] Our correspondent has met the leader of the Soviet delegation in Geneva, Comrade Karpov. Here is what he said:

[Begin Karpov recording] Two months ago a meeting took place here in Geneva between the leaders of the USSR and the United States in the course of which specific directions for further efforts on the question of eliminating nuclear weapons were defined. Now in his statement for the first time during the nuclear era, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has formulated a concrete program for eliminating nuclear armaments everywhere on earth by the end of the century. The Soviet delegation will be absolutely guided in the negotiations with the United States by this statement.

Our negotiations are charged with great responsibility -- the responsibility for ensuring the first stage in the elimination of nuclear weapons. It would be a great achievement if the Soviet Union and the United States reached an agreement on reducing
their armaments by half. Through this they would be setting an example to other nuclear states. Proceeding from this, the delegation of the Soviet Union today began the negotiations with the U.S. delegation. [end recording]

Soviet Charge d'Affaires in Bonn

LD162008 Hamburg DPA in German 1829 GMT 16 Jan 86

[Text] Bonn, 16 Jan (DPA) -- Vladislav Teretskov, the Soviet charge d'affaires in Bonn, said at a news conference today on the subject of Gorbachev's proposals that the "removal" of all medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe suggested by the Communist Party leader does not only mean their withdrawal. What is involved is rather the actual destruction of this weapon potential.

Teretskov does not want Gorbachev's allusion to a mutual renunciation by the superpowers of the development, testing, and stationing of space weapons to be regarded as a "precondition" for realizing the Soviet proposals. It would, however, be nonsensical to begin the destruction of all nuclear weapons and at the same time, work on a new weapon system like SDI.

Teretskov would not comment on the negotiations between Bonn and Washington on a technological agreement. It must be left to the Federal Government what conclusions it draws from the new Soviet initiative. However, Teretskov drew attention to Gorbachev's assertion that it is the task of all states and not only the superpowers to prevent an arms race in space.

Soviet Envoy Discusses Proposal

DW170830 Hamburg ARD Television Network in German 2135 GMT 16 Jan 86

[Werner Schawer report in the "Tagesthemen" program]

[Text] The diplomats are receiving correspondents. Today it was the turn of the Russians. A week ago the U.S. ambassador invited the press and demanded measures against Libya. In the Soviet Embassy today, other dimensions were involved.

Envoy Terekhov expanded on the disarmament proposals of his general secretary, which appear to be nearly utopian. One of the first steps he proposes is aimed at the interests of many Europeans.

[Begin Terekhov recording] In this phase, a great step with regard to the intermediate-range weapons in Europe is possible as well, that is to say, the immediate, complete elimination of all Soviet and U.S. ballistic missiles and cruise missiles in the European zone. [end recording]

Elimination of the intermediate-range weapons, he explained in response to repeated questions, means their destruction. What primarily matters to the Soviet Union is the U.S. SDI antimissile system. This, he maintained, turns the strategic balance into strategic chaos. He preferred to answer questions in Russian.

[Begin recording Terekhov interpreter] The statement of the general secretary says that a new approach is required now, that it is necessary to replace the logic of confrontation and of the Stone Age -- in which everyone was endeavoring to have the heavier stone -- with the logic of cooperation and joint ventures. [end recording]
Terekhov stressed that the Soviet Union is receptive to on-the-spot verification of disarmament. The questions ceased after about 1 hour. He announced that he would invite the press again whenever new information was available.

Bogachev Notes Proposal's Aim

LD161821 Moscow TASS in English 1745 GMT 16 Jan 86

[Text] Moscow, January 16 TASS -- By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev.

Having adopted its "star wars" programme in 1983, Washington announced that the deployment of new ABM strike weapons in outer space would be, allegedly, the best way to make nuclear armaments "impotent and obsolete".

The U.S. Administration's goal of seeking to devitalize nuclear weapons in itself does not draw any objections. But serious doubts about the sincerity of American statements about the objectives of the "Strategic Defense Initiative" are generated by the fact that Washington suggests advancing towards disarmament over a comparatively limited area of the earth's surface through moving the arms race into a new sphere -- infinite space.

While promising to reduce nuclear armouries at some future date, the U.S. Administration is intensively building up its strategic offensive weapons. It is about to put into service MX intercontinental ballistic missiles, Midgetman and submarine-launched Trident-2 ballistic missiles, and is positioning Pershing-2 medium-range missiles in Western Europe.

Even the "defensive" ABM systems, currently developed in the United States under its "star wars" plan -- particle-beam weapons, nuclear-powered x-ray lasers and other devices -- are slated for deployment in outer space chiefly above Soviet territory. Washington is trying to convince the socialist countries that these armaments are intended solely for destroying missiles in flight.

Experts, however, while expressing their doubts as to the systems' ability to reliably hit flying objects in space, stress that they can be used much more effectively in a first strike at ground-based targets.

The point at issue, thus, is not only the development of an anti-ballistic missile defence system for the United States, which might generate the dangerous illusion of impunity in aggression, but also the deployment of an extremely destabilizing American "astrodome" complete with strike space weapons above the socialist countries.

The Soviet Union denounces the plans of spreading the arms race into outer space that can only enhance the threat of a devastating nuclear war. The Soviet Union counterposes a practical programme of ridding mankind of the fear of a nuclear catastrophe to the baseless American concept of disarmament through the militarization of space which provides, in fact, only for the militarization of outer space, but not for disarmament. The Soviet programme offers a step-by-step reduction and ultimately total elimination of nuclear arsenals within the next 15 years while keeping weapons out of space.

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has declared that no one will lose from the implementation of the programme, while everyone will benefit from it.
Once again the attention of the world is riveted to Moscow from where came an impassioned call for peace, for reversing resolutely the negative course of events, for ending the era of confrontation and entering an era of talks, an era of detente, for assisting to a maximum degree an improvement of the international situation. Discussing and commenting on the statement made by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, prominent political and public figures and the mass media in different countries stress that the statement is truly a milestone document in the consistent effort of the U.S.S.R. to safeguard and strengthen peace, to ensure that the world should approach the end of the 20th century under the sign of peace and nuclear disarmament which would meet the vital interests and aspirations of all people of the world.

And this is really so. Loyal to its principled Leninist policy of peace, the Soviet Union rejects the stake on force in politics, rejects such a course of action that can lead to confrontation. What is the most important element in the complex of wide-scale foreign policy initiatives and actions of principled character which underlie the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R.?

The backbone of these actions is doubtless a large-scale and concrete program for the elimination of nuclear arms the world over -- the program to be carried out over a definite period of time. Our country proposes a step-by-step and consistent process of ridding the earth of nuclear weapons, to be implemented and completed within the next 15 years, before the end of this century.

Our country is in favor of the U.S.S.R. and the United States reducing by one half the nuclear arms that can reach each other's territory -- as early as at the first stage of the realization of that program, that is, within the next 5-8 years -- naturally enough, given the mutual renunciation of the development, testing and deployment of space strike arms, for the production of such arms would blast every hope for a reduction of nuclear arsenals on earth. Our country wants to see the other nuclear powers joining in the process of nuclear disarmament at the second stage which is to start no later than 1990. Developing and deepening, that process is to enter the final third stage during which the elimination of all remaining nuclear weapons would be completed.

This is a large-scale realistic and truly impressive program which, if realized, would mean that this planet enters the third millenium without nuclear weapons! Is there any need to say that no one stands to lose from the implementation of such a program, that, on the contrary, everyone will benefit from it?

Of course, this is an open secret that in the present day world there exist forces which do not like the line toward the revival and consolidation of the process of detente. It is well known that a mighty military-industrial complex which was created in the West, primarily in the United States, today, like before, acts as a motive force of the relentless arms race, a generator of militarism. It is well known that speeches are still coming today from some of the highest rostrums in the West -- speeches aimed at dispelling the "spirit of Geneva" -- that new factor which favorably influences international relations today.
The reaction to the new, exceptionally important and constructive Soviet proposals, the readiness to transfer them to the level of practical actions will undoubtedly make it possible to find out more clearly and fully who is indeed striving sincerely and consistently to put an end to the threat of nuclear self-annihilation and who, paying lip service to peace, in actual fact would like to work in the opposite direction, trying not only to carry on with the nuclear arms race on earth, but also to project it to outer space. If the U.S. Administration, as it has repeatedly affirmed, is dedicated to the goal of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere, it now has a practical possibility really to engage in it.

The new Soviet peace initiatives and actions which the French newspaper L'HUMANITE with good reason describes as "an invitation to peace" is another powerful blow at the ill-intentioned lies, played up in some places in the West, about "Moscow's aggressiveness" and about the "Soviet threat" that does not exist in reality. It is clear to every unbiased person that such a wide-scale and constructive program, as the one formulated in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement, could come only from a genuinely peaceful state, only from a country which places the cause of strengthening peace and ensuring security of actions above everything else in its foreign policy. The Soviet Union is working towards the attainment of these lofty aims. The whole world can see now that the U.S.S.R. upholds even higher the banner of peace, freedom and humanism unfolded over this planet by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Shishlin Sees 'Concrete Program'

LD162154 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 16 Jan 86

[Text] Our permanent correspondent in Moscow, Stefan Babiak, asked prominent Soviet commentator Nikolay Shishlin how the latest [arms] initiatives are assessed in the USSR:

[Begin Shishlin recording in Russian fading into Czech translation] I think that such a wide and all-encompassing plan for settling crucial world problems has never existed before.

The ideas contained in the declaration by Mikhail Gorbachev further develop the joint line prepared at the Prague and Sofia sessions of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. However, I would like to stress the fact that this is not only a repetition of known facts. The CPSU general secretary's statement concentrates on the most important problem of our times: doing away with nuclear arsenals. The plan contained in Comrade Gorbachev's statement offers a concrete program of actions, the implementation of which would make the world into a more peaceful and more civilized place in which people could happily live and work. [end recording]

Differing Opinions Cited

LD162204 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Jan 86

[Excerpts] The statement by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has aroused worldwide interest. Foreign reaction to the document is discussed by our commentator Viktor Levin:

In the new comprehensive peace initiative of the Soviet Union, declared Pham Van Dong, member of the Vietnamese Communist Party Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, to TASS's Hanoi correspondent, the USSR is again displaying its high degree of responsibility for the destiny of present and future generations.
The U.S. mass media also refer to this responsibility, although they do not use that particular definition of it. That was how I understood a commentator of the U.S. television company ABC when he stressed that, for Moscow, the monitoring of nuclear explosions was not a problem. The Soviet Union is in favor of it. But in the United States, attempts are still being made to turn the problem of monitoring into a stumbling block. In a press statement, President Reagan welcomed the new Soviet initiatives and expressed hope that the Soviet proposals will be a useful further step in the process of reducing nuclear armaments. The President is in favor of giving them careful study. Secretary of State Shultz said there is a great deal in the statement made by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee that is of interest, but, on the whole, he defended the current U.S. position.

It seems to me that there could hardly have been any other initial reaction from official Washington. The whole question rests with the mood in which they will study the Soviet proposals. Will they strive to find points of contact or will they bend all their efforts toward playing up the differences and continuing with the "star wars" program? Naturally, there is as yet no answer to this question, but a great deal depends on it. As the Soviet document points out, the creation of offensive weapons for use in space cancels out the hope of reducing nuclear armaments on earth.

The Soviet Union has demonstrated that it approaches the most acute problems of modern times with a high level of responsibility. Not only we, but the whole world expects this of other states too.

Soviet Peace Group's Approval

LD162121 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT 16 Jan 86

[Text] Moscow, January 16 TASS -- The Soviet Peace Committee expressed complete approval of and strong support for the new peace initiatives advanced in the statement of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev. The statement adopted by the Presidium of the Soviet Peace Committee today, says that bold, far-reaching proposals of the USSR open up a real opportunity to put an end to the insanity of the arms race, to remove the threat of nuclear catastrophe forever.

The new Soviet peace initiatives are an evidence of lofty responsibility for the destinies of peace, a manifestation of new thinking and new policy determined by the realities of the nuclear age. They reflect numerous initiatives and proposals advanced by peace movements of different countries, they mean materialisation of the "Geneva spirit", the statement says. The Soviet Peace Committee turns to anti-war organisations and movements of the USA on which it largely depends now what direction the further developments will take.

Motivated by the striving to arrest and reverse the nuclear arms race, manifesting good will, our country extended for another three months the unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions introduced on August 6, 1985, the Soviet peace champions note. We expect and hope that this step will be duly appreciated, we believe in the common sense and peacefulness of the American people. While it is not too late, an end must be put to nuclear explosions in the USA and talks must be started on banning all nuclear tests everywhere.

The Soviet proposals give humanity a unique chance to arrest the sliding to the abyss of nuclear war, to guarantee mankind's survival. There must be no indifferent people when faced with the choice put by history itself, the statement says. We extend the hand to anti-war organisations and movements of all countries and continents and we call for launching together wide struggle so that mankind should usher in the year 2000 under the peaceful skies, the statement says.
[Editorial: "Into the 21st Century Under the Sign of Peace"]

The statement by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev is a document which, from the very first hours of its publication, became the focus of the whole planet's attention. For the will of the Soviet people which permeates it -- expressed in the words "We want 1986 to become not just a year of peace, but to make it possible to conclude the 20th century under the sign of peace and nuclear disarmament" -- is in accord with the most cherished aspirations of all the peoples of the world.

Freeing mankind from the fear of nuclear catastrophe is a task which until quite recently still seemed fantastically unattainable to many people. But on studying the document and pondering its utterly clear and utterly sincere formulations, you become imbued with the conviction that the complete elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world is no idealist's fragile dream, but a real possibility.

Mutual understanding was achieved 2 months ago at the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Geneva that "nuclear war must never be launched and there can be no winners in it." That notable acknowledgement, elevated to the level of an accord between the leaders of the countries which bear special responsibility for the state of affairs in the world, now tinges the international situation with favorable hues.

In reality the outlawing of nuclear war also marks a recognition of the danger and senselessness of the nuclear arms race. It is well known that nuclear charges equivalent to 3.5 metric tons of explosive have already been stockpiled for every inhabitant of the earth. No single human artifact is stored today on the earth in such a quantity per head of population as these means of mass destruction.

It is also well known that the simultaneous explosion of the nuclear arsenals existing on the planet will result in the disappearance, to say the least, of intelligent life on earth.

All this is well know. Our conviction that nuclear war must not be launched and that it can have no winner is also officially shared today by the U.S. President. But the "spirit of Geneva" has quite a few influential adversaries. The arms race continues, threatening to also inundate outer space at any moment and consequently, acquire an irreversible character.

We have already gone a long way down this path to nonexistence. Several years ago the following report, among others, appeared in the press: In just 18 months -- and in the United States alone -- there were 3,703 military alerts warning that the "enemy" was going over to combat actions against the United States. The overwhelming majority of them were immediately revealed to be false, but 152 of them were considered "sufficiently serious" for them to be regarded as a potential attack. Put into language understood by everyone, this formulation means that every 3-4 days the earth was close to catastrophe.

Not because someone wanted to launch a thermonuclear conflict, but "simply" because the fate of mankind at each of those times was in the hands of insensate, inanimate semiconductors which had gone through quality control, but which turned out to be unreliable.
We are still alive and well; nothing terrible has occurred yet. But what seer or genius can guarantee that "nothing terrible" will occur tomorrow! It is paradoxical, but a fact that in this situation the irreparable could occur even at that long-awaited moment when somewhere, at the "round table" of successfully completed talks, documents are being signed which are designed to deliver the world from a thermonuclear Armageddon once and for all. Equipment, unfortunately, for all its growing sophistication, is capable of breaking down occasionally, not coordinating its failures with those whom it should serve faultlessly. The arsenals of lethal armament are being improved and becoming more complicated and less and less time is left for prompt recognition that a nuclear alert is false and taking a salutary decision...

These are the realities of our time. Realities which cannot be disregarded. This is because these realities have not been instructed to fit in with our hopes and calculations. But there can and must be only one approach to such realities: removing once and for all the threat which has arisen and continues to grow only because over there, in the West, a few thousand, perhaps even a few tens of thousands of people live parasitically off the danger common to all mankind and in disregard of mankind.

We could have begun ridding ourselves of the danger of annihilation considerably earlier. In 1946, for example, when, still at the dawn of the nuclear age, the Soviet Union set before the peoples the question of banning the production and use of atomic weapons. But it is still not too late to start now. The comprehensive Soviet program for establishing peace which reflects the peoples' demands and which has been submitted to the peoples' verdict convincingly shows that it is necessary to start immediately.

It is still not too late to reach agreement on a specific plan of phased, practical steps leading to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons in the world. It is still not too late to block the way to the militarization of outer space — that common possession of mankind. It is still not too late to destroy the stocks of chemical weapons and the industrial base for their production and to ban the creation of non-nuclear arms based on how physical principles which, in terms of their destructive power, are capable of taking over from thermonuclear weapons... The new Soviet proposals not only outline paths leading to a reliable peaceful future, but also put forward specific, deeply reasoned proposals capable of ensuring unity of word and deed in this very important area of world politics.

Naturally, the major fundamental foreign political actions which we have proposed are in keeping with the interests of the Soviet State and the Soviet people. However, we, the citizens of the USSR, have never regarded ourselves as divorced from the rest of mankind. Therefore, our proposals take into consideration not only the potential danger of an uncontrolled arms race, but also the actual consequences of the arms race which hamper the progressive development of world civilization right now, which claim the lives of millions upon millions of people right now, and which right now deprive hundreds of millions of people of the opportunity of living as full members of civilized society.

In various parts of the planet, in various countries stifled by debts and poverty hunger claims 30 million lives a year, or one life every second. There is not enough money for bread. Yet, at the same time, heaps of money — $800 billion a year — are burnt up in the arms race. Eight hundred million people in the world are illiterate. There are not enough resources for building schools, for textbooks and teaching aids, and for training and paying teachers. Yet, at the same time, more money is spent on the U.S. Air Force alone than is allocated for the education of the hundreds of millions of children in the nonsocialist countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.
This is part of the price paid by peoples for the militarist strategy conducted by imperialism.

What a senseless and reckless waste of mankind's material and intellectual resources! However, this civilized barbarism will not disappear of its own accord. It can be overcome only by means of conscious, purposeful efforts on the part of all peoples and all governments. The implementation of our peace program for the third and subsequent millennia could block this dangerous extravagance within the next few years and begin to create the preconditions for the elimination of this "purely civil" threat which effects the planet simultaneously with the military threat.

There is not a grain of national egoism in our historical appeal to the government and peoples of the world, to all responsible political parties, public organizations, and every individual. The far-reaching specific proposals contained in the statement by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee do not encroach on anybody's rights or interests and do not undermine anybody's security.

On the contrary, the Soviet program for delivering mankind from the threat of nuclear catastrophe and the other initiatives put forward in this momentous document are based on the scientifically founded conviction that the right of life is mankind's common asset, that the elimination of the thermonuclear danger from our planet is in the common interests of all peoples and of every individual, and that the security of any state can be reliably ensured only if no one, under any pretext whatsoever, seeks to achieve military superiority over another state, let alone all other states.

In our plans there is no room for seeking this kind of superiority. The extension of the moratorium on all nuclear explosions announced in the statement graphically confirms this. During the entire period in which the Soviet Union abstained from nuclear explosions, the United States did not. It continued its nuclear explosions with the unconcealed aim of gaining ground in the race to achieve military superiority over our country, while at the same time building up the muscle of space strike systems.

We were aware of this. We knew it, but we showed restraint. Washington failed to reciprocate. Our response to the protracted "U.S. challenge" is different: It is the package of Soviet peace initiatives with its global approach to the problem of war and peace and its readiness to place the Soviet Union's entire prestige and the entire weight of Soviet foreign policy at the service of all the planet's peoples with whom our people are linked by the indestructible bonds of coexistence.

No, we are not feeble altruists, cowering in fear at the sight of the U.S. "star wars" program taking shape. The statement leaves no doubt on this account: "Our material and intellectual potential enables the Soviet Union to create any weapon if forced to do so." However, we see our mission and the meaning of our existence on earth as something else -- namely, availing ourselves of the potential provided by our system to achieve the aims revealed in the draft Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR Through the Year 2000.

In the next 15 years we intend to create an economic potential approximately equal in scale to the entire potential built up during all the preceding years of Soviet power and to almost double the volume of industrial production. During the same 15 years we are prepared to do our share to eliminate nuclear weapons throughout the world. Different programs, different aims, it would seem...But they are integral parts of one entity -- the creative, constructive policy of the CPSU, the forward-looking course of developed socialism.

It is possible that some people will try to see these aims as a new version of the notorious "Soviet threat."
However, if any real threat emanates from our peace program, it is directed only against those who by their actions and their plans have created and are creating a threat to all mankind, those who have hampered and are hampering us in building our house.

The statement by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee corroborates this with every line, with every paragraph, by translating into reality the ideal of Soviet Communists, the ideal of the Soviet people — namely, a world without wars and without weapons. Our country is striding toward the 27th CPSU Congress, toward a peaceful future for all mankind under the Leninist slogan "The socialist ideal is a world without wars and without weapons."

'Two Worlds, Two Policies'

PM171845 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 86 First Edition p 4

[Articles by political observer Vitaliy Korionov: "For a World Without War and Without Weapons"]

[Text] In the international comments on the statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, increasingly frequently you encounter the assessment that it is a program which realizes the peoples' dreams. Indeed, realistic, specific proposals are put forward for the complete abolition of nuclear weapons. Mankind, which is living under the Damoclean sword of the threat of nuclear war and groaning beneath the burden of the arms race thrust on it by imperialism, has opened up before it the prospect of not only making 1986 peaceful, but also greeting the year 2000 beneath a peaceful sky and outer space, without fear of annihilation, in an atmosphere of firm confidence in its own survival and the continuation of the human race.

The peoples' liberation from fear in the face of nuclear catastrophe is a task for all mankind. The Soviet Union has invariably advocated it since the very start of the nuclear era. Its stance is above national egotism and tactical calculations, disputes, and arguments. Our motto has been and remains that the discovery of human genius that is atomic energy should serve only peace, only the peoples' welfare.

The Soviet program for the total abolition of nuclear weapons is imbued with realism and constructiveness. Three stages are defined in resolving this complex, but urgent task and proposals have been clearly elaborated for specific steps at each of these stages for the Soviet Union, the United States and the other nuclear powers to implement in abolishing all types of nuclear weapons and preventing the creation of space weapons.

The adoption and implementation of the USSR's proposals by all nuclear powers would result in the accomplishment of a deed of unprecedented importance of which people can only dream right now: By the end of 1999 there would be no more nuclear weapons remaining in the world; a universal accord is being elaborated to ensure these weapons are never resurrected; the planet is to be freed of all types of mass destruction weapons.

This program is feasible if, of course, the other nuclear powers display a reciprocal, businesslike, and sensible approach. The prime prerequisite for this is the mutual renunciation by the United States and the Soviet Union of the creation [sozdaniye], testing, and deployment of space strike armaments. It is the "star wars" program which the United States is developing [razrabatyvayemaya] which has become the obstacle in the way of man's liberation from the nightmare of a nuclear auto-da-fe.
It is also very important to stop nuclear weapon tests. Naturally, the Soviet program also includes this priority question. Seeking to use every opportunity for influencing the position of the other nuclear powers by force of example, the Soviet Union is taking one more major step: It has extended, for a further 3 months, its unilateral moratorium on any nuclear explosions, which expired on 31 December last year. The whole world is now intently following Washington’s position: The extent to which it accords with its declaration of peace will be checked in practice.

It is well known that one of the main means by which U.S. militarist circles are directly opposing the solution of the problem of ending the arms race is the verification (kontrol) issue. They depict matters as follows: The United States is in favor of verification and the Soviet Union is against it. The Soviet initiative knocks this phony card from the hands of the opponents of disarmament. It should be obvious to every sensible person that the Soviet Union is in no way less interested than the United States in effective verification of the abolition of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union states very clearly: Verification is not a problem for us, we are prepared for it using national technical means and by means of on-site inspection tours [inspektsii], and we are prepared to agree to any other additional means of inspection [proverka]. This applies equally to verification of the prevention of the militarization of space, including opening up the relevant laboratories for inspection tours. But it must be said most clearly that it should not be a case of an inspection tour which verifies so-called research work in laboratories for the militarization of space, but of an inspection tour which prevents such work.

The Soviet proposals place the Soviet Union and the United States in an equal position. There is no room in them for attempts to outwit or beat the other side. To embark on the path of sensible, responsible decisions — this is the Soviet Union’s proposal to the U.S. side.

The detailed program of specific actions aimed at removing the threat of nuclear war provides further, very convincing confirmation of the purposefulness and persistence with which the CPSU and the Soviet State are implementing their peace-loving Leninist foreign policy course.

The CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum was a portentous milestone on this path. "Everything must be done to ensure that the forces of militarism and aggression do not prevail in international relations," it was pointed out at the plenum. To halt the process of material preparations for a nuclear conflict, to resolve disputed problems and conflict situations exclusively by political means; to seek paths leading to the smoothing of Soviet-U.S. relations; to find an opportunity to achieve mutually acceptable Soviet-U.S. accords — this was the line proclaimed by the plenum.

The period since the plenum has passed under the sign of the Soviet Union’s numerous initiatives in the international arena and which are directed toward one goal: to shift talk of peace to the plane of practical steps and actions which would lead to a real ending to the arms race on earth and its prevention in space.

Not only did the Soviet Union urge other countries, above all the United States and its NATO allies, to reinterpret their former stereotyped ideas about resolving international political problems — ideas which have evolved over years of "psychological warfare" — but it set an example of a profound, innovatory approach to resolving such questions. The Soviet peace initiatives implemented during this period received very active support from the fraternal socialist countries, young national states, communist parties, mass antiwar movements, and everyone who values the cause of peace.

In this way the path to the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Geneva was cleared step by step.
M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with R. Reagan gave an important boost to the normalization not only of Soviet-U.S. relations, but also of the entire system of international relations. But this normalization is by no means to the liking of certain influential U.S. circles. To block the accords reached and ensure that the "spirit of Geneva" dies out -- this is the task which the forces of the powerful U.S. military-industrial complex and their henchmen in the administration are now trying to resolve at any price. Let us not build illusions: A very stubborn and lengthy struggle lies ahead.

There is no shortage of declarations in the U.S. capital about a desire for peace. But if these statements are purged of rhetoric, it is revealed that things stand differently. The real program with which these circles would like to lead the United States toward the beginning of the third millennium is laid bare. Here is one of the "scenarios" for 1995-2005 drawn up by Colin (Grey), who stands out even in the Washington flock of "hawks": "1) to 'destroy Soviet nuclear forces'; 2) to 'dominate in escalation'; 3) to acquire potential for 'the homeland's defense and mobilization for victory under the conditions of this homeland concealed behind walls.'" This is the true purpose of the notorious "Strategic Defense Initiative" in the admission of one of its heralds.

At the same time as the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are elaborating peaceful, creative plans for the next 5 years and the longer term, the Pentagon is also planning its "5-year plan." It is formulated, in particular, in the secret document "Directives in the Defense Sphere for Fiscal 1985–1989," when it is planned to spend $1,958 billion on building up the U.S. military might. The military has also drawn up another document, which defines the "year 2000" model of the U.S. army. It provides, in particular, for the army to be equipped with a further 600 types of arms to which the latest scientific and technical achievements will be applied -- in this way they would like to lay the material and technical foundations so that even in future decades generations of Americans remain in the oppressive atmosphere of the arms race and continue to bear the heavy burden of militarism.

Yes, indeed: two worlds, two policies!

An end to wars, peace among the peoples, disarmament -- this was how V.I. Lenin defined socialism's ideal. Communists differ from other political parties in that they do not simply proclaim their ideals, but make their realization the norm of their activity.

"THE CPSU SOLEMNLY DECLARES: THERE IS NO WEAPON THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NOT BE PREPARED TO LIMIT OR BAN ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS WITH EFFECTIVE VERIFICATION" [kontrol] -- the draft new edition of our party Program states.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary's statement confirms once again that the Leninist party's words are not at variance with its deeds. The words which are now echoing in all ends of the planet elicit a very profound response in the hearts of people who thirst for peace: "The policy of peace and disarmament was and will remain the linchpin of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State. Actively implementing it, the Soviet Union is ready for broad cooperation with everyone who comes out from positions of reason, goodwill, and awareness of his responsibility for ensuring mankind's future -- without wars, without weapons."
Constructive Reply Required

PM171110 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 86 p 2

[Interview with TASS General Director S.A. Losev: "The Main News;" first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] What is the first reaction to the constructive Soviet proposals and the Soviet Union's major new foreign policy initiative? We put this question on 16 January to TASS General Director S.A. Losev. Here is what he said:

Our agency circulated the full text of the statement in 8 languages to subscribers in 115 countries. We have the first reactions today. Or, rather, they came yesterday evening -- all the leading foreign news agencies carried reports on the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's statement. On the basis of world public reaction it is possible to draw the following conclusion -- the USSR's proposal on eliminating nuclear weapons by the year 2000 has attracted a great deal of attention among official circles in the West and has been welcomed by the world's peace-loving public. Naturally, it has alarmed opponents of the relaxation of international tension.

For example, former leader of the U.S. delegation at the Geneva SALT negotiations Smith said in a CNN television interview that the important aspect of M.S. Gorbachev's statement is the proposal on the total elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles, both ballistic and cruise, in the European zone as the first step on the path to ridding the European Continent of nuclear weapons. It should not be forgotten, however, that the Soviet proposals are presented as a package and the United States cannot just select the bits that it likes.

The United States is particularly uneasy about the Soviet demand for a ban on the development, testing, and deployment of space strike weapons. Clearly it is no accident that the statement by R. Reagan and U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz ignores the part of the Soviet initiatives which stresses that a 50-percent first-stage cut in Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive armaments is possible only if both countries renounce the development, testing, and deployment of space strike weapons.

Judging by the reaction from Washington, the U.S. side intends to carefully analyze and study our proposals. This intention can only be welcomed.

There is no doubt that extreme right-wing circles in the United States, representing the interests of the military-industrial complex, will endeavor to place obstacles in the way of implementation of the Soviet initiative and will do everything they can to ensure that the U.S. side does not give a positive reply to the Soviet proposals. But the scale of the Soviet proposals and the comprehensive approach to the problem of limiting and eliminating nuclear weapons and preventing the militarization of space have taken opponents of improvement of the international climate by surprise. Western propaganda's usual practice is to immediately call Soviet initiatives propaganda. The fact that this has not been the reaction so far indicates the seriousness of the Soviet peace proposals. They cannot be brushed aside, they demand a constructive reply.
Space Weapons Ban Crucial

LD171947 Moscow TASS in English 1258 GMT 17 Jan 86

[Text] Moscow, January 17 TASS -- "The programme for complete elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere in the world, put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev, marks a new stage in mankind's development.

The proposals of the U.S.S.R. set forth by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, if implemented, would allow humanity to rid itself forever of the grave threat looming large over our globe," said Academician Yevgeniy Velikhov, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Mankind has piled up by now such a large quantity of nuclear weapons which brought about a highly dangerous situation in the world. To the question if mankind was able to survive in case a nuclear war is unleashed through the fault of imperialist quarters, a majority of scientists respond in the negative.

Academician Velikhov believes that a historic moment has come when mankind is finally to solve the question of how to rid itself of nuclear weapons which put in peril all life forms on earth. In this respect, the new programme of the USSR, to be carried through within the time-frame of 15 years, should become a guide for action. An accord on terminating all nuclear explosions between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. should be the first step on the road to its implementation. Speaking about the Soviet Union's decision to extend by three months the moratorium of any nuclear blasts, Academician Velikhov underlined that the importance of this step can hardly be overestimated. For a stop to nuclear tests securely blocks the channels for further upgrading these mass destruction weapons.

However, one cannot fail to consider that the Soviet Union, alone, is unable to solve the problem of putting an end to the arms race and of disarmament, the scientist went on. It requires reply steps from the United States and other countries in this direction.

The Soviet scientist stressed that the "new proposals of the USSR are prompted by the sense of immense responsibility to mankind. Our generation should come down in history as a generation which rid the world of nuclear weapons. This is our duty to the children, to those who will live in the upcoming 21st century".

Velikhov pointed out that a reduction in nuclear armaments is possible only if both the U.S.S.R. and the United States give up the development, testing and deployment of strike space arms. The development of strike space weapons dashes the hopes for a reduction of nuclear armaments on earth. It is absurd to destroy weapons on earth and deploy them above peoples' heads, Yevgeniy Velikhov emphasized.

Plan of Action for All

LD180011 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Jan 86

[Commentary by Academician Yevgeniy Pavlovich Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Science; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement, which put forward a complex of large-scale foreign policy initiatives, has evoked enormous interest throughout the country. Here is Academician Yevgeniy Pavlovich Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences:
Mankind finds itself at a turning point and a critical moment in human history. It is
a matter of whether there will be a future for mankind and whether there will be
descendants who will remember our generation as the generation that prepared the
greatest catastrophe in mankind's history or as a generation that saved mankind and
paved the way to its survival and to a happy future. The fact is that both scientists
and military specialists and those who know the real military plans of the Pentagon are
well aware, and are saying, that mankind's coexistence with nuclear weapons is
impossible. Either there will be a future for human civilization or else there will be
nuclear weapons. There cannot be both.

Therefore, the plan that has been proposed at the present time in Mikhail Sergeyevich
Gorbachev's statement is a plan for survival and a plan for a future. It is a plan
that should be perceived as a plan of action for everyone living on our planet.

U.S. Arguments 'Crumbling'

LD201327 Moscow TASS in English 1311 GMT 20 Jan 86

["Moscow's Realities and Washington's Illusions" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, January 20 TASS -- TASS military news analyst Vladimír Chernyshev
writes:

The world is discussing the major foreign policy actions of fundamental importance,
formulated by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in
his statement on January 15. The Soviet Union formulated the truly great goal of
entering the third millennium without weapons of mass destruction. This goal is not
merely proclaimed: The core of the Soviet peace initiatives is a program for the com-
plete elimination of nuclear weapons in the world with an accord on the prohibition
of the development of space strike weapons, a program with a clear time frame and
subdivided into concrete phases.

Washington, however, continues to insist on going ahead with its "star wars" program
and with the modernization of strategic weapons. It stubbornly claims meanwhile, that
the U.S. Administration stands for the total elimination of nuclear weapons.

Let us put aside for the time being the true goals of the development of space strike
weapons and the "modernization" of strategic offensive armaments. Let us assume that,
as Washington declares, SDI can make a major contribution towards the creation of a
world free from nuclear weapons. The official U.S. concept of the "elimination of
nuclear weapons" was presented by Paul Nitze, a special adviser to the President and the
secretary of state. It envisions three periods. During the first, which will last at
least ten years, deterrence will continue to rely on the threat of nuclear retaliation
and the United States will pursue research under its "Strategic Defense Initiative."
During a period of transition, which may last several decades, both sides will be
testing, developing, and deploying according to plan defenses capable of standing up
to a first nuclear strike. At the final stage, if the technological and political
circumstances are right, the United States expects to be in a position to go ahead with
reducing all nuclear weapons to zero.

As we see, even according to the official U.S. interpretation of this program, it will
take many decades to "eliminate nuclear weapons" while the end "result," in the right
technological and political circumstances, is far in the 21st century. The Soviet
Union, meanwhile, suggests that step by step consistent actions be taken to carry out and complete the deliverance of the world from nuclear weapons within the next 15 years, by the end of this century.

For ten years, the United States, according to the above concept, will continue work on developing space strike weapons under its "star wars" program. But under the Soviet program, the Soviet Union and the United States could halve their nuclear weapons capable of reaching each other's territories within the first 5-8 years and implement a decision on complete elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe.

The second phase under the Soviet program would begin not later that 1990. The Soviet Union and the United States would continue arms reductions they would have agreed to in the first phase, take further measures to eliminate their medium-range nuclear weapons, and freeze their tactical nuclear systems.

The second phase would continue for 5-7 years and all of the other nuclear powers would join the nuclear disarmament program by assuming the obligation to freeze all their nuclear weapons and to not have any such weapons in the territories of other countries. During that phase all the nuclear powers would eliminate tactical nuclear weapons upon the completion of a 50-percent cut in their corresponding systems by the Soviet Union and the United States.

According to the U.S. "concept," in about 10 years, around 1995, a period of transition lasting for several decades would begin, with both sides testing, developing, and deploying according to plan new armaments in space and on earth. But under the Soviet plan, 1995 could usher in the third phase of nuclear disarmament, in the course of which all the remaining nuclear weapons would be eliminated. There would be no nuclear weapons left on earth by the end of 1999 and a universal accord would be worked out to prevent those weapons from ever reappearing.

If the U.S. Administration is committed to the elimination of nuclear weapons completely and everywhere, as it has stated on more than one occasion, it has an opportunity to get down to business. Instead of spending the next 10-15 years on the development of new, very dangerous space weapons allegedly intended to make nuclear arms impotent, it seems more sensible to set about eliminating those arms and eventually reducing them to zero. The Soviet Union is offering precisely such a chance.

Now that the Soviet Union has proposed a concrete and realistic program for the elimination of nuclear weapons, Washington's illusions and its arguments that nuclear space weapons are needed to destroy ballistic missiles look especially groundless and are actually crumbling down. The latest Soviet peace initiative actually is a touchstone for Washington's desire for disarmament.
Meant for All States

PM221548 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Jan 86 First Edition p 1

[Nikolay Shishlin commentary under the rubric "Into the 21st Century Without Weapons": "What Europe Can Do" — first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The editorial bureau has just received the following dispatch:

Paris, 20 Jan TASS — The Paris newspaper LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS states that the Soviet proposals contained in M.S. Gorbachev's statement have attracted the attention of West Europeans and that the prime minister of Greece, which is a NATO member, has called them positive.

We asked Nikolay Shishlin, the well-known Soviet international journalist, to comment on this report.

Similar reports have recently been arriving from virtually all corners of the globe. After all, the statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was addressed not only to the countries of America and Europe, but essentially to the entire world. The tasks posed in it are problems for all mankind. However, it is understandable why pride of place is being given to the statement in Europe: This is a continent where neighboring countries have different sociopolitical systems, the line of confrontation NATO and the Warsaw Pact is drawn there, and gigantic stockpiles of weapons are accumulated there. By dint of precisely these circumstances, Europe has no right to play a passive role in the great cause of ridding the world of nuclear arms. The countries of the continent have come through the mincer of two world wars. But they have also been through the political school of the seventies, when the concept of detente was born in Europe.

The statement poses the most specific problem of the day -- the elimination of nuclear arms. What can Europe do here? If it is a question of strategic offensive arms, the lion's share is held by the Soviet Union and the United States. The same is true of medium-range means. But there is a substantial rider: Europe is the home of two other nuclear powers apart from the Soviet Union -- Britain and France. They will have their part to play too.

Europe also has to play its part in regard to the "Strategic Defense Initiative." It is no secret that the Washington creators of this idea are making considerable efforts to involve their allies in the implementation of the "star wars" program.

And if the European powers are imbued with a recognition of their responsibility for their own decisions and if the concept of the discipline of reason -- the discipline of the nuclear age, if you like -- replaces NATO discipline, this would naturally influence the strategic situation in the world.

It does not follow from M.S. Gorbachev's statement, as some people are trying to read into it, that the Soviet Union is trying to wrench Western Europe away from the United States and striving to split the NATO bloc. We approach the questions of the situation in Europe realistically. We take account of the existence of NATO and the "Common market" and of the close socioeconomic links between Western Europe and the United States. But the Europeans have common interests that do not necessarily run counter to the socialist countries' interests. These are primarily to reduce and destroy the heaps of weapons that have taken shape on the European Continent.
We could be reproached for repeating Reagan's notorious "zero option" in our proposal to eliminate medium-range means in Europe. However, the similarities are merely superficial. First, the Soviet Union sees the question of these arms in the context of the overall task of ridding the world of both strategic and tactical nuclear weapons. Second, Reagan's proposal left the British and French nuclear forces out of the equation altogether. But Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement speaks of the need to prevent their buildup and to eliminate them. The statement convincingly shows that we in the Soviet Union are thinking of security for all states -- large, medium, and small. It is in breaking down the old stereotype that see the world as an arena for struggle between the nuclear "superpowers" that Europe can play its own outstanding role.

Demonstrates Desire for Peace

LD212132 Moscow TASS in English 1836 GMT 21 Jan 86

[Text] Moscow, January 21 TASS -- Willpower and courage are needed so as to live in peace in our nuclear age disillusioned about oaths of peacefulness and corrupted by ever more vicious methods of homicide, Vladimir Lomeyko writes in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA today. What is also needed is the ability to rise above the contradictions of policy and ideas, to glance further than the differences characteristic of the present day in order to see new horizons and new shores of cooperation. What is greatly required here is rising above national selfishness, tactical calculations, differences and disputes, whose significance is nothing compared to the preservation of what is most valuable -- peace and a safe future.

The Soviet Union has not only proclaimed this but also demonstrated this in reality by addressing a call to all peoples and governments to embark as early as this year on the stage-by-stage ridding the earth of nuclear weapons.

Giving priority to the elimination of nuclear arms, the Soviet Union also declares that transfer of the arms race to space is impermissible, that it is necessary to eliminate chemical weapons in this century and to ban the development of non-nuclear weapons based on new physical principles whose destructive capacity is close to that of nuclear arms. Our civilisation must reject the philosophy of slaughter. The Soviet plan appeals to mankind's conscience, the author writes. The USSR suggests disarmament for development, and this means butter for the hungry, instead of cannons, this means new forests and pure lakes instead of missiles.

The Soviet Union's approach to the solution of global problems of the present is permeated with the confidence in human reason and solidarity. The common responsibility of people to the present and succeeding generations for the destiny of the earth requires a new level of thinking compatible with the swift changing of life.

Statements by U.S. Cause Concern

PM221815 Moscow Krasnaya Zvezda in Russian 23 Jan 86 First Edition p 3

["TASS commentary for Krasnaya Zvezda" by military observer V. Chernyshev: "Moscow's Realities and Washington's Illusions"]

[Text] The whole world is discussing the major foreign policy acts -- acts of tremendous, fundamental significance -- elaborated by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and set forth in the statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the
CPSU Central Committee. Bold, realistic, new in concept and radical in the measures proposed -- that is a summary of the assessment made of the large-scale Soviet program in statements by heads of state and government and prominent public figures.

The statement sets a truly great objective -- that of entering the third millennium without weapons of mass destruction. And this objective is not merely proclaimed. The pivot of the package of Soviet peace initiatives is a program -- timed and divided into specific stages -- for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world, accompanied by an accord for a ban on the creation of space strike arms. Indian Prime Minister R. Gandhi gave an accurate characterization of this program: "The program put forward by the Soviet Union is an alternative to the arming of space, a quest for real ways of freeing the earth from nuclear weapons."

Quite naturally, it should be Washington which gives the first response to the new Soviet foreign policy acts, since it is the Soviet Union and the United States which should set an example for the other nuclear powers and start the process of nuclear disarmament.

In a conversation with correspondents in the White House, U.S. President R. Reagan was asked a number of questions about the package of Soviet proposals. "We are very grateful for this proposal. We are studying it extremely carefully...This is practically the first time that the true elimination of nuclear weapons has been proposed," the head of the U.S. Administration replied.

Without doubt the wide scale and multifaceted nature of the Soviet initiatives mean that some time is needed to analyze their substance and elaborate a detailed attitude toward them. The statements by official Washington spokesmen to the effect that Washington is studying in detail the program proposed by the Soviet Union are therefore of considerable significance. But, even now evasion on the proposals for preventing the creation [sozdaniye], testing, and deployment of space strike arms and on ending nuclear weapons tests is cause for concern.

Neither the White House chief nor the U.S. secretary of state have said a single word about these vital aspects of the Soviet initiatives.

And other official representatives of the U.S. Administration, without waiting for the examination of the package of Soviet proposals to be completed, have basically already started coming out against some of the proposals. "The priority which we attach to the 'Strategic Defense Initiative' is well known and remains fully in force," Defense Secretary C. Weinberger stated. The U.S. President "is wholly committed to SDI," he was echoed by White House deputy press secretary L. Speakes.

Again according to Speakes, the idea of a moratorium of U.S. nuclear tests is "approached with suspicion." "We consider it important for us to continue tests according to plan...At present we are carrying out a modernization of our systems, since Congress has approved the provisions of the President's program for the modernization of strategic arms, and tests are one element of modernization," the Pentagon chief replied.

Thus, the continuation of work under the "star wars" program, known as SDI, and the continuation of the modernization of strategic arms -- that is what Washington continues to insist on. At the same time they stubbornly put forward the idea that the U.S. Administration supposedly "advocates the total destruction of nuclear arms."
"If the U.S. Administration, as it has repeatedly stated, is committed to the goal of completely eliminating nuclear weapons everywhere, it is being given a practical opportunity to actually do just that," the statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stresses. "Instead of spending the next 10-15 years creating new weapons in space, which are extremely dangerous for mankind and are allegedly intended to make nuclear arms unnecessary, is it not more sensible to tackle the destruction of these arms themselves -- and ultimately, reduce them to zero? The Soviet Union, I repeat, proposes precisely this course."

Throughout the world people have been drawing attention precisely to the fact that the large-scale Soviet program involves comprehensive measures designed to immediately begin halting the nuclear arms race, preventing the militarization of space, generally reducing the danger of war, increasing trust, and strengthening international security. The Soviet Union proposes that we enter the third millennium without nuclear weapons on the basis of mutually acceptable and strictly monitored accords, the U.S. newspaper LOS ANGELES TIMES has written. The proposals put forward by the Soviet leader offer a practical opportunity to actually set about doing this.

However, people in the world have also been drawing attention to something else. Administration staffers have been particularly worried, THE WASHINGTON POST has stressed, by the reiteration of the Soviet demand for a ban on the development [razrabotka], testing, and deployment of space strike arms. Soviet leader M.S. Gorbachev has issued a striking challenge to the United States, the U.S. NBC television company noted. He has proposed a phased plan aimed at the total elimination of nuclear weapons. He has stated that the Soviet Union will stop nuclear tests forever if Washington joins the moratorium.

The United States, however, the television company noted, is not ready to forsake the "star wars" program. Indeed, statements by Washington figures like Weinberger and Speakes thus far indicate that some people in the U.S. Administration are flatly opposed to abandoning "star wars." After all, Weinberger has repeatedly "explained" his creed: While creating [sozdavaya] a space ABM defense, the United States will also have a powerful "strategic triad" for delivering a crushing nuclear strike.

And the Pentagon chief's subordinates Perle and Cooper have "explained" Washington's military policy even more bluntly: Even after the creation [sozdaniye] of a large-scale ABM system with space-based elements, the "nuclear deterrent forces" will remain "the basis of security"; there is no "possibility of obviating the need for offensive missiles by implementing any ABM program" in the "foreseeable future." Thus, it is not in the least the destruction of nuclear weapons which concerns them. Quite the opposite. That is precisely why the Pentagon so needs to continue nuclear tests.

Now that the Soviet Union has proposed a concrete, realistic program for eliminating nuclear armaments, Washington's illusions and its "arguments" -- its claims that space nuclear weapons are needed to destroy ballistic missiles -- appear particularly groundless and completely fall apart. The Paris newspaper LIBERATION wrote the other day: "R. Reagan proposes removing the threat of nuclear arms by creating [sozdaniye] a space umbrella. M.S. Gorbachev answers him by proposing a much simpler and less costly solution -- the complete elimination of that kind of armament." The new Soviet peace initiative, the West German newspaper SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG has stressed, is essentially a touchstone testing Washington's desire for disarmament.
Supreme Soviet Commission Meets

PM211728 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 86 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "For the Sake of Peace and the Peoples' Security"]

[Excerpts] A joint session of the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities was held in the Kremlin 20 January. It examined the questions of the Soviet Union's participation in holding International Peace Year.

Taking part in the session were Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and chairman of the Soviet of the Union Foreign Affairs Commission; B.N. Ponomarev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities Foreign Affairs Commission; V.V. Kuznetsov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; M.V. Ziminin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; L.N. Tolkunov and A.E. Toss, chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers; and T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Ye.K. Ligachev conducted the session. Opening the session, he noted that International Peace Year has begun its countdown with an event of great and epoch-making importance — the statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on questions of disarmament. Our country has put forward a series of large-scale initiatives whose implementation is designed to help mankind enter the 21st century under conditions of peace, trust, and cooperation, without nuclear and chemical weapons.

The Soviet proposals are distinguished by their large scale and topical, specific nature. They will undoubtedly have profound and long-term beneficial influence on the course of international affairs.

The first world reaction to M.S. Gorbachev's statement admirably attests to the enthusiasm which our new initiatives have generated in broad circles of the peace-loving forces.

Today there is a lot of talk abroad about how the Soviet Union has demonstrated, not verbally but in deeds, an example of high responsibility for the destiny of all mankind. That is a correct assessment.

The U.S. Administration acknowledges the importance of the Soviet Union's peace initiatives. But the main thing now is that this acknowledgement should be followed by specific actions to build confidence and the peoples' security. After all, it is clear to every sane person that the Soviet Union cannot endlessly display one-sided restraint, including on the question of halting all nuclear explosions, the moratorium on which has been extended through 31 March 1986. Our peace proposals make it possible to reverse the advance from the threat of nuclear self-annihilation which has already visibly emerged on the path of man's development. It is now becoming increasingly clear who is who, who is for peace, and who is for war.

We are vigilantly following the development of the international situation and we believe that some people in the West have been frightened by the positive outcome of the summit meeting in Geneva. Influential forces in the United States are mounting an attack on the results of the meeting and have launched a broad campaign against the normalization of Soviet-U.S. relations.

On behalf of its people the Soviet leadership has frequently stated that we will never allow the United States to break the military-strategic equilibrium but we ourselves will not seek military superiority.

The peace-loving domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State are in organic, inextricable unity. Our country's working people are well aware that by strengthening their economic might through their labor in every way, they are thereby consolidating the Soviet Union's international position.

Our goal, Ye. K. Ligachev said in conclusion, is to render all-around support and assistance to the holding of International Peace Year and to make it the year of the adoption of important decisions in favor of peace and international security.

Deputy G.M. Korniyenko, USSR first deputy foreign minister, delivered a report "On the USSR's Participation in International Peace Year." M.S. Gorbachev's statement, he said, is a kind of manifesto of peace and disarmament whose implementation could complete the 20th century. The fundamental novelty of this program consists in the fact that it discusses not simply the ultimate goal whose attainment would be consigned to the indeterminate future but also specific measures geared to a visible, historically brief period — just 15 years — for the total and universal abolition of nuclear weapons with the simultaneous compulsory condition that space strike armaments are banned.
Speaking in the debates were deputies G.A. Zhukov, chairman of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace; Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Commission for Holding International Peace Year in the Ukrainian SSR; V.V. Tereshkova, chairman of the Committee of Soviet Women; I.V. Zakharov, leader of a team of assemblymen-fitters at the Leningrad “Kirovsky Zavod” production association; A.P. Biryukova, deputy chairman of the AUCCTU; RSFSR Supreme Soviet Deputy Ye.P. Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Committee of Soviet Scientists for the Defense of Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat; and V.M. Mishin, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee.

B.N. Ponomarev spoke at the conclusion of the session. The Soviet Union's commitment to the cause of peace, he said, was again vividly shown in the large-scale, historic new peace initiatives put forward in the statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, 15 January this year.

The statement contains an all-embracing program for reducing nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction to the point of their complete elimination, by its arms reduction program the Soviet Union indicates to the whole world that it is doing everything in its power to prevent war and save civilization.

The Soviet Union's decision to extend the unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions by 3 months is of fundamental significance. The implementation of the Soviet initiatives provides a way to overcome the deadlock in international tension and the arms race into which mankind has been drawn by imperialism's aggressive forces. These proposals represent the USSR's concrete and sound contribution to International Peace Year.

The Soviet people and all the peoples of the world expect a concrete response from the U.S. Administration to the vitally important questions posed in M.S. Gorbachev's general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, 15 January this year.

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The Soviet proposals are based on the principle of equal security for all. They infringe no one else's interests. Their mutually beneficial character is convincingly expressed in the “USSR Supreme Soviet Address to the U.S. Congress.”

Participation in the International Peace Year program provides an opportunity to demonstrate the highly humane character common to all mankind of the policy of peaceful coexistence pursued by our country together with the fraternal socialist countries. It is necessary to promote our concept of peace among wide political and social circles abroad and explain the need to elaborate a new way of thinking and a new policy taking account of the realities of the nuclear age which require, as M.S. Gorbachev emphasized in his statement, that people “...rise above national egoism, tactical considerations, disputes, and discord, which are insignificant in comparison with the preservation of the main asset — peace and a reliable future.”

After the reassuring beginning provided by the Geneva meeting, the world expects the further development of the international situation for the better and, above all, concrete deeds to curtail the arms race and reduce the nuclear threat.

The U.S. refusal to end all nuclear tests and join the Soviet moratorium is one of the most vulnerable points of U.S. policy. When taking the decision to extend the moratorium on nuclear explosions by another 3 months the Soviet leadership took account of the numerous appeals by foreign antiwar movements, political parties, and many public and political figures.

The plan of measures for the Soviet Union's participation in International Peace Year envisages the implementation of various actions and initiatives on our country's territory by state organs and departments and social organizations as well as the participation by Soviet representatives in bilateral and international events abroad.

An extensive field of activity and favorable opportunities is opening up before us for turning International Peace Year into a year of great changes for the better in international relations. Much serious work will have to be done for that, B.N. Ponomarev stressed.

The session participants adopted a statement of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities Foreign Affairs Commissions in connection with International Peace Year.

Zhukov Criticizes Speakes

PM202031 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 86 First Edition p 4

[Yuriy Zhukov “Political Observer's Notes": "What Do You Say When There Is Nothing To Say?" ]

[Text] When you read the pronouncements by U.S. officials who have the job of explaining things to the press, you begin to feel sorry for them: How can they say something, poor wretches, when there is nothing to say?
The main question they are being asked at the moment, of course, is that of Washington's attitude toward the new range of Soviet foreign policy initiatives aimed at eliminating all nuclear weapons, preventing the militarization of space, and eliminating all other means of mass destruction. Everyone is waiting for a reply from the U.S. Administration, which, in principle, welcomed the initiatives and promised to study them closely.

So here we have White House spokesman L. Speakes appearing before journalists once again. A question is fired at him immediately:

"Wasn't the latest, pretty comprehensive Soviet proposal a response to our proposals, so why don't we respond to this Soviet proposal now?"

The White House spokesman spent a good while beating about the bush in addressing the burning topic of the elimination of nuclear weapons, then he said:

"It is, as the secretary of state said, a very complex issue which demands a great deal of discussion. We are eagerly looking forward to this discussion."

A new question. What is the White House spokesman's comment on the Soviet proposal to eliminate all Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe? The journalists believe this proposal could be "attractive" to the U.S. allies. L. Speakes goes whole hog:

"The Russians," he says, "want to eliminate weapons on our (?) side, while at the same time they want to keep (!) their own weapons, which enable them to deliver a retaliatory strike and have the potential to deliver a first strike against Europe. Therefore I..."

The journalists, thinking that L. Speakes had gotten somewhat confused, since they knew that the Soviet proposals envisage the elimination of all -- U.S. and Soviet -- medium-range missiles in the European Zone, interrupted him:

"You mean the missiles deployed in Asia?"

"No, no," L. Speakes doggedly pursued his nonsensical theme. "My first impression (?) is that they want to keep all their armaments deployed in the European part of the USSR -- in Eastern Europe."

"Are you claiming," the stupefied journalists ask, "that according to the timetable drawn up by the Russians, NATO weapons are to be eliminated first and that this poses a problem?"

"Quite correct," declared the White House spokesman without blushing.

The correspondents wanted to further know how the White House assesses the Soviet proposal on verification of the elimination of nuclear arms. As is known, this issue was exhaustively covered in the 15 January statement by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: "The elaboration of special procedures is envisaged for the destruction of nuclear weapons and also for the dismantling, conversion, or destruction of delivery vehicles. The quantities of weapons to be eliminated at each stage, the sites where they are to be destroyed, and so forth, are to be agreed."
So what did the White House spokesman have to say in reply to this question?

"This problem has been raised," he said. "We regard this as a hopeful sign. But in my view it is necessary to be much more specific as regards verification of the observance of treaties."

(How much more specific can you get when the destruction of missiles -- as the statement says -- is to be carried out "on the basis of mutually acceptable and strictly verifiable accords." Yu.Zh.) "If the elimination of weapons means their destruction, then this must be verified..."

And what does the White House spokesman think about the Soviet proposal on the impermissibility of the militarization of space?

"Without question, we do not agree with them on SDI because, in our view, this program benefits both (!) sides."

How come?! The Pentagon wants to prepare for a strike against the USSR from space and we, it appears, should regard this as "benefiting" us!

Lastly, the journalists ask: Is the United States planning, in order to demonstrate "a climate of good feeling, to cancel in response to the Soviet statement any upcoming antisatellite or nuclear weapon test?"

"I don't think so," the White House spokesman declared drily, "there has been no change in the U.S. position on nuclear tests."

So this is how they brief the news media in Washington, while a specially established interagency commission is studying the new Soviet foreign policy initiatives which have been so warmly welcomed by the U.S. President.

Reagan Comments on Proposal

LD172057 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 17 Jan 86

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] The Soviet initiatives continue to remain the focus of attention for the U.S. public and press. It is reported that, commenting at the request of journalists on Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement, President Reagan stated: This is virtually the first time that the genuine elimination of nuclear weapons has been proposed.
The Soviet people, like the whole world public, are deeply impressed these days by the complex of new and far-reaching foreign policy initiatives which were set out in the statement by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Our country considers that a breakthrough for the better is needed in international relations, and so it has proposed a program of full elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 and has proposed a gradual and consistent implementation and completion of the process of freeing the earth from nuclear weapons over the next 15 years. I have enumerated, in a rather schematic way, the proposals put forward by our country. We asked Professor Radomir Georgiyevich Bogdanov, doctor of historical sciences, deputy director of the United States and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, to talk about the essence of some of these. Radomir Georgiyevich, the first question we ask you relates to the program put forward by our country for the total liquidation of nuclear weapons throughout the world. Wherein, please, do its constructive nature, realism, and advantage lie?

There are many in the world who possess nuclear weapons. Every state that possesses nuclear weapons conducts its own nuclear policy. Many contradictions have accumulated; many mutual fears and accusations have piled up. It is in taking account of all these circumstances that we propose a three-step program, whose realism consists in the fact that it takes account all these difficulties; it takes account of the accumulated and very heavy burden of mutual distrust between the nuclear states; and finally, it takes account of all the technical difficulties. Herein lies its realism; in this step-by-step program, the solution has been found to all problems of how to get rid -- really get rid -- of nuclear weapons.

I would like to draw our listeners' attention to an exceptionally important instance. I remind you that the far-fetched problem, but a problem nevertheless, of verification was an important obstacle on the part of the West in the way of an effective process of control, limitation and halting the arms race. It seems to me this problem has found, in the statement of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, a comprehensive solution. The document states that the monitoring of the weapons being destroyed and limited would be accomplished by both national technical means and also by means of on-site inspections. The USSR, the document states, is ready to come to agreement on any other additional monitoring measures. Thus, this problem, which has for many years poisoned and hindered the process of disarmament, has been resolved. Resolved, as everyone wanted. The document takes into account all the concerns and objections of the Western states, first and foremost of the United States, in this regard.

The nuclear disarmament program is also important for the following reason: It will lead to a turning point in the dangerous trend where the pace of the arms race outstrips the fruitfulness of negotiations. Now this is one very interesting phenomenon of our times. Negotiations are conducted for 5 years, 7 years, 10 years;
they start with limitation of the weapons systems existing at the time, and all of a sudden it turns out, somewhere in the middle of these negotiations or towards the end of the negotiations, that a new system of weapons appears which no one even dreamed of at the start of the negotiations, due to the development of technology, weapons which change the entire picture of the negotiations change the essence of them. In this sense, political negotiations sometimes cannot keep up with technology. This has become a very dangerous trend. Our document takes account of this, and it breaks this trend.

[Patsyuk] What significance is accorded in the Soviet program to the moratorium on all nuclear explosions?

[Bogdanov] Our document contains a very important section concerning the extension by 3 months of our unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions. The essence of our new proposal lies in the fact that such a moratorium will continue in force if the United States in its turn also halts nuclear explosions. We are once again proposing that the United States join in such an undertaking, the importance of which is obvious for literally everyone in the world. We proceed from the fact that merely cutting nuclear arsenals, without banning nuclear weapons tests, provides no way out of the dilemma of the nuclear threat. For the remaining part is modernized, and the possibility remains of developing increasingly refined and fatal nuclear weapons. There are opportunities for testing new variants of these on proving grounds. We are prolonging the moratorium in order to once again address common sense in the United States, to address the leaders of this country, in order to put an end and genuinely make a practical step toward total liquidation of nuclear weapons. In addition, we once again reiterate that a Soviet-American moratorium would be only a step in this direction. We advocate that a moratorium should become a multilateral action. We want to renew trilateral negotiations between the USSR, the United States and Britain on the total and universal ban on testing nuclear weapons. If the other side, which attempts to persuade us and asserts at many forums that they very much want to be rid of nuclear weapons and that they want to stop the nuclear arms race, if this is a sincere start -- if they really want this -- they have a magnificent foundation. And, incidentally, it is not very difficult for the United States to start a moratorium. They have tested, to date, a quantity of nuclear weapons that permits them, at any rate, to sleep soundly.

[Patsyuk] And now, please explain how our country regards the process of liquidation of chemical weapons, and what our proposals are on cutting conventional weapons and armed forces.

[Bogdanov] Well, it is said, rightly so, that our program is comprehensive in nature. Indeed, it is comprehensive because it encompasses all problems related to disarmament. And an integral part of this is the threat that hangs over mankind, a manifold threat; I might describe it as a seven-headed hydra -- that is, nuclear weapons, primarily nuclear weapons, in which the seeds of universal catastrophe are sown. It also includes chemical weapons, barbaric weapons of mass destruction. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's proposals set forth a very meaningful, far-reaching program of liquidation of these weapons. In addition, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement says that we are for the fastest possible, total liquidation not only of these weapons but also of the industrial base for manufacturing these itself. Furthermore, we are ready to ensure prompt declaration of the locations of enterprises producing chemical weapons and cessation of production. We are ready to start the
elaboration of procedures for destroying the relevant production base and, soon after
the convention on banning chemical weapons comes into force, to embark on eliminating
chemical weapon stockpiles. I underline, comrades, that all this would take place
under strict monitoring, including international on-site verification.

And further, one of the West's arguments -- one of the arguments that sows mistrust
in the Soviet side and which is very current in the West, is -- I quote -- that yes,
of course it would be good to liquidate nuclear weapons, but the Soviet Union
outstrips the West in conventional weapons, in the so-called conventional forces.
And, they say, we liquidate nuclear weapons, and the USSR will maintain its
superiority in conventional forces. So, they say, there the Soviet Union will get
all the advantages over the West. We take this circumstance into account. We are
familiar with this argument. Therefore, alongside taking weapons of mass destruction
out of the arsenals of states, we propose that conventional weapons and armed forces
should also be the subject of agreed cuts.

[Patsyuk] What can you say about the first reaction by U.S. officials to our proposals?

[Bogdanov] That is a very interesting question. What is the United States reaction
to this exceptionally important, without exaggeration, historic document. I will not
conceal the fact that I am following this matter very carefully, and I start every
working day by familiarizing myself with the materials in both the U.S. and Soviet
press, where light is shed on this reaction.

As far as the official U.S. reaction is concerned, however, I must say that the reac-
tion is positive in nature in the sense that the great potential of the Soviet proposals
is recognized. The promising nature [perspektivnost] of these proposals is recognized.
At the same time, acute issues are skirted -- issues raised in the general secretary's
statement and to which, of course, the American side will have to give answers. These
answers have so far not been given. A statement to the effect that the Soviet proposals
will be studied is all that has appeared so far.

[Patsyuk] The Soviet peace program is attractive, apart from everything else, by
virtue of the fact that it has a universal human aspect, being addressed not just to
governments but also to peoples and to all honest people on earth.

[Bogdanov] It seems to me that you have wholly and accurately defined this universally
human nature. Indeed, the first thing that strikes one is the universally human nature
of these proposals. Why universally human? Why, because the threat which impends over
all of us is also universally human in nature. The nuclear catastrophe is the sort of
catastrophe that presents an equal threat both to our countries and to that world. It
is for this reason that it is universally human in nature. It goes beyond the bounds
of continents and state borders. Therefore, a universally human solution to such a
threatening nuclear cloud must also be sought. The threat is a universal human one,
and the answer to it must also be universally human.
Zhukov Comments on Statement

PM191330 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 86 First Edition p 5

[Yuriy Zhukov "International Review"]

[Text] The week that has passed was marked by the proclamation of major foreign policy actions of enormous fundamental significance, elaborated by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the Soviet Government and expounded in the 15 January statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. These actions are now the subject of speeches by heads of state and government and leaders of foreign policy services. Eminent public figures are commenting on them. They are at the focus of the world public's attention.

New Thinking in Foreign Policy

Let us note first and foremost that the new large-scale package of Soviet peace initiatives, whose core is provided by a 15-year program for the total liquidation of nuclear arms all over the world given an accord to ban the creation of space strike weapons, is perceived everywhere as an embodiment of our party's precise and consistent line. This line was determined by the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, it was developed in the draft new edition of the party program, and is being approved in the course of the program's nationwide discussion.

As the draft new edition of the program says, our party proceeds from the premise that, no matter how great a threat to peace may be created by the policy of the aggressive circles of imperialism, there is no fatal inevitability of a world war. It is possible to prevent war and protect mankind against catastrophe. This is the historic vocation of socialism and of all progressive and peace-loving forces in our world.

On the basis of this fundamental stipulation, our party and state are increasingly expanding their peace offensive in the world arena. "The time has come when, under the threat of a universal nuclear danger, it is necessary to learn the great art of living together," M.S. Gorbachev said at the Geneva press conference on 21 November of last year.

"Both our Soviet people and -- I am profoundly convinced of this -- the American people are equally interested in this. All peoples in the world have an interest in this."

The starting point for an analysis of the prevailing situation, by which our party and government are guided in putting forward new, bold, far-reaching, but at the same time realistic, proposals, is as follows: Radical changes have occurred in the world during the last few decades, and these changes demand a new approach and a fresh look at many aspects of foreign policy. A new thinking in the policy of states and new approaches toward relations between states are needed today more than ever before.

It is well known that, as a result of the Soviet-American summit meeting, accords were reached that a nuclear war must never be unleashed, that there can be no victors in it, that any war between the USSR and the United States, both nuclear and conventional, must be prevented, and that neither side must pursue military superiority. Thus a start was made on a constructive dialogue between the two powers which bear particular responsibility in the cause of preserving peace.

37
But words alone, no matter how significant and weighty they may be, are not enough. They must be backed by deeds, especially in view of the fact that the participants in the summit meeting failed to reach specific accord on fundamental questions of terminating the nuclear arms race on earth and preventing it in space. This is precisely why it was decided there to speed up the work at the nuclear and space arms talks which, incidentally, resumed last week at the very same venue, in Geneva.

This is why the USSR's new foreign policy actions, dictated by a determination to overcome the negative trends of confrontation which have increased in the last few years, to clear the way to curbing the arms race, to reduce the danger of war, and to establish trust in international relations, were welcomed all over the world as an initiative of historic significance.

This is being said and written today everywhere -- from Tokyo to Washington, from Delhi to London, from San Francisco to Sydney. It is also only natural that the eyes of all people are now on Washington which, in the first place, must respond to the new Soviet foreign policy actions. Resorting to the terminology of sports, French television declared: "now the 'ball' is in the Reagan team's court, and the United States has to give an answer."

What Bothers Washington...

The U.S. Administration was informed in advance of the new Soviet actions, and it was given an opportunity for a fast initial response to them. As the U.S. secretary of state announced speaking on television, he had had "a lengthy discussion of the Soviet proposal with President Reagan on Wednesday," and that, in reply to his question about what he thought of the Soviet plan to liquidate nuclear arms by the year 2000, the president said: "Why wait until the end of the century?"

Fair enough, if Washington deems it possible to implement this plan more quickly, it is to be supposed that both the USSR and the rest of the world would welcome this. The talks that resumed in Geneva will show to what extent the U.S. side is prepared to cooperate in deed in the implementation of this task, which has a truly worldwide historic significance. So far, however, both Washington's official reaction and statements by responsible U.S. Administration spokesmen give no particular ground to expect fast specific decisions by the U.S. side.

The U.S. Administration has so far failed to give an official response to the USSR's proposals. According to administration spokesmen, the "preliminary (!) examination" of these proposals is not yet completed and "at present it is premature to speculate about when the U.S. response will be ready."

Even greater amazement is caused by the stance of some Washington politicians and other Western politicians who, without having properly studied the statement, are trying to claim that it apparently contains nothing new, that it repeats former Soviet proposals, and that it contains imprecisions, "tricks," and so on. There is nothing new in this stance by those who believe that everything originating from the Soviet is dubious. This stance is inconsistent, and it has failed the test of time and facts.

Of course, the White House statement to the effect that the Soviet proposals are welcome there is of considerable significance. It is, however, a disconcerting fact that, in their statements, the U.S. President and secretary of state totally avoided the fundamental provisions of our proposals -- about the impermissibility of the creation [sozdaniye], testing, and deployment of space strike weapons and the termination of nuclear weapons tests.
Attention in this connection was attracted by the sudden appearance of statements by administration officials, anonymous as a rule, that they are "alarmed" (?) by the new Soviet initiatives which, according to the U.S. press, caught them "unawares." Why should they worry if the U.S. Administration welcomes the Soviet actions and intends to study them thoroughly, declaring its readiness to even accelerate the liquidation of nuclear weapons?

THE WASHINGTON POST, in an attempt to answer this legitimate question, wrote on 16 January: "Administration officials were particularly disturbed (!) by the reiteration of the Soviet demand to ban the development [razrabotka], testing, and deployment of space strike weapons."

This report was officially confirmed the very same day. U.S. Secretary of Defense C. Weinberger declared at a press conference that he is "very, very disturbed" by the fact that the Soviet Union continues to link its arms reduction proposals with the termination of the U.S. program for "star wars" preparations, while White House spokesman L. Speakes told journalists that "the President is, like before, committed to his decision to support" this program.

...And What Alarms the Champions of Peace

The U.S. Administration's stubborn commitment to the "star wars" program naturally causes serious alarm among all sober-minded people, who are aware that to deadlock the solution of the question of the nonmilitarization of space means to block the termination of the arms race on earth.

So far the U.S. Administration has tried to justify the creation [sozdaniye] of space strike weapons by claiming that such weapons are necessary to destroy nuclear missiles. But this argument collapses totally now that the USSR has proposed the complete liquidation of all nuclear weapons. The Paris newspaper LIBERATION writes: "R. Reagan proposes to get rid of the nuclear arms threat by the creation [sozdaniye] of a space umbrella. M. S. Gorbachev offers in response a simpler and less costly solution: the complete liquidation of this type of weapons."

Thus, the program for the creation [sozdaniye] of space weapons now stands exposed before the whole world as a plan for preparation for aggression. Really, how can anyone dispute the simple and plain truth contained in the statement by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee:

"Instead of wasting the next 10-15 years on the creation [sozdaniye] of a new weapon in space, which is extremely dangerous for mankind and is supposedly meant to render nuclear arms unnecessary, would it not be more sensible to undertake the destruction of these actual arms, and ultimately reduce them to zero?"

Another disconcerting fact, reported by REUTERS, is that Washington intends to continue nuclear tests which, as officials spokesmen declare, will be largely devoted to tests with lasers for "star wars," activated by hydrogen bomb explosions.

When journalists bombarded the White House spokesman with questions about the reasons behind this intention at a time when the USSR, having terminated all nuclear explosions at the beginning of August, has extended its unilateral moratorium by 3 months, thus giving the United States one more chance to end the nuclear arms race, he uttered clumsily: "The Soviet Union does not need tests, while for us it is important to conduct tests."
It would be hard to find a more frank admission that those who are so stubbornly sticking to the customary "logic" of the arms race are captives of a fruitless and dangerous policy, a policy unworthy of the level of civilization attained by modern society. The time has already come, as the statement by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee says, to abandon the thinking of the stone age, when the main concern was to acquire a bigger stick of a heavier rock!

The Duty of Peace-Loving Forces

This atmosphere sharply increases the responsibility for the further development of events borne by the peace-loving forces whose activity and whose relative weight in the world community have increased considerably in the last decade. As the WPC noted in its address to all antiwar movements, the action program put forward by the USSR fully corresponds with the slogans and demands which have been persistently raised in recent times by peace-loving forces of all orientations — at the United Nations, within the Nonaligned Movement, and within the antiwar movements.

"Now," the WPC declares, "there is total justification to ask the U.S. Administration: What will be its answer not only to the Soviet Union but also to all mankind?"

This question is already being asked of Washington from all directions. It was asked in speeches by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme in Delhi. The Soviet proposals were supported by U.N. Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar. The Governments of Japan and the Netherlands, maintaining relations of alliance with the United States, addressed an appeal to Washington to pay attention to the new Soviet initiatives. The mounting and expanding struggle by the world public for immediate termination of the arms race acquires that much greater significance.

This week the ideas underlying the Soviet action program were at the focus of attention at the most varied international forums of nongovernmental organizations — the Warsaw congress of scientific and cultural figures in defense of the planet's peaceful future, the Bombay world congress of problems of science and religion, and the sessions on the independent commission on disarmament and security questions led by O. Palme. The Soviet initiatives will be examined at the international conference of nongovernmental organizations, devoted to the start of the international peace year proclaimed by the United Nations, which open tomorrow in Geneva.

Major antiwar movements come out in support of the Soviet initiatives. In the United States, for example, the nuclear weapons freeze campaign and the committee for a sane nuclear policy have sent President R. Reagan a message emphasizing that the USSR's proposals offer new opportunities to achieve effective disarmament, and called on him to respond positively to them.

The Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace is receiving telegrams from most diverse antiwar organizations abroad, expressing readiness to cooperate with us in the struggle to implement the new proposals put forward by the USSR. Such a telegram came even from far-off Australia, from the Australian Peace Committee.

The Soviet champions of peace, for their part, as PRAVDA has already reported, have decided to launch a mass campaign in support of the disarmament program proposed by the USSR. "In the face of the choice posed by history itself, there can be no impartial or indifferent people," the address to all antiwar movements on our planet, adopted by the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace Presidium 16 January, says. "We offer.
you our hand and call for the joint launch of the broadest struggle to ensure that mankind welcomes the year 2000 beneath peaceful skies and outer space."

The fighters for peace will spare no efforts for the sake of the attainment of this goal!

'Top Priority' Examines Initiative

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["Top Priority" program presented by Vladimir Posner with Dr Radomir Bogdanov and Dr Sergey Plekhanov of the U.S. and Canada Studies Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Excerpts] Hello, and welcome to "Top Priority." On the panel with me today as usual are Doctors Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov of the U.S. and Canada Studies Institute. This week "Top Priority" focuses on the statement of the General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev. Basically, what that statement says is that in three stages — that is by the year 2000 — we will do away with all nuclear weapons. We will have a nuclear-free world — of course, if we all do it together. Now, let's take a closer look at what that statement says. Now who'd like to begin? Dr Bogdanov?

[Bogdanov] You know, I would like to be very frank with you, Vladimir. I am very moved, even more, I am very touched. Why? You know last year was rather a difficult year and we have a lot of hopes for the next year. And some people say it's a tiger year, you know, year of happiness, year of success, year of many, many good things.

Now, I believe that the real events that happened really, is something very challenging for all of us [as heard]. What the general secretary suggests, what he proposes, is very challenging. It's a real and comprehensive plan for nuclear disarmament and the strongest point of that plan is that it takes into consideration all the worries of the other side, of America and Western Europe, and it settles a lot of problems which were stumbling blocks for disarmament for so many years.

Now, as I understand the statement, as I have studied it, you know, all these problems have been resolved in a very constructive, very productive way. What I mean by that — I would like to begin not with the beginning, but in the middle or in the end.

You know, now you hear a lot of hue and cry about verification, and people say that, you know, you may have very good ideas, you may have very good suggestions, but we cannot trust you, we cannot verify, we cannot do this and that. And you know, they were concentrating on practically one point — on-site inspection: If you don't allow on-site inspection then things will not move. Now, at every stage of the plan he has presented, you have on-site inspection. Rather, you have a more comprehensive set of verification measures: national means of verification; international — let me remind you — international control, and on-site inspection. So, you have a combination of very effective measures now to verify: To verify what? To verify the plan of nuclear disarmament, which consists of three stages.

We will discuss that, I believe, with our listeners not only once, but may be many times and we ask for, [word indistinct], we request you to come back to that if you
invite us another time to discuss it. We would like to discuss it many times really because it's a very, very, very moving, very touching, its very human [as heard]. And we would like to share with our American listeners our views on that, you know, how we perceive it, how we understand it, and all that. And what comes to my mind, you know, is, if you ask me, what is really striking in that, I would say, its realism. It's a realistic, a very realistic plan, you know, very realistic plan.

[Posner] Now, what the general secretary proposes, as we know, is to do away with nuclear weapons in three stages and by the year 2000. And some people might say that that is pie in the sky, that it is not realistic. And we might recall Einstein's famous quote to the effect that when we split the atom everything changed except man's way of thinking.

So I'd like to return to this idea of realism. Do you think that this can really be achieved, Dr Plekhanov?

[Plekhanov] I think that it must be achieved. You mentioned many plans for disarmament. (Well), in the first place the nuclear age is only 40 years old and in that age there have been, I think, two or three times when nuclear disarmament was proposed. Now we are at a situation when, number one, we have behind us a decade and a half of practical arms control -- two major agreements signed and several other agreements also in effect -- and that gives both sides enough experience to continue dealing with the subject on a bilateral basis. And at the same time it shows that something more radical is necessary than just constructing something to regulate the arms race. We must really stop it. Another important thing is that the nuclear parity now is very stable, there is no way that either side can hope to overturn it. No "star wars," no other program, new military program, that can be devised, can realistically upset the existing nuclear parity. And then I think another important factor is that the U.S. Government, in the last, maybe 2 years, for the first time accepted, if only rhetorically -- I hope that it's not just rhetorically -- the idea that doing away with nuclear weapons was a good idea. President Reagan thinks that he's all for liberating the earth from nuclear weapons. He wants to do it via SDI. We think that this is not a good way to do it, that it can only spoil the situation. But this is an argument over means. If President Reagan is in good faith then we show an agreement between two sides that we can do away with nuclear weapons.

[Posner] Now General Secretary Gorbachev has said that, why develop SDI as a means of doing away with nuclear weapons instead of simply doing away with nuclear weapons -- this is exactly what he proposes to do in three stages. Now, what strikes you, Dr Bogdanov, as the most or some of the most unexpected -- powerful, if you wish -- proposals that reflect what General Secretary Gorbachev said when he alluded to people having to rise above national egoism in this area of disarmament?

[Bogdanov] You know, I would like to call the attention of our listeners over there, that actually we have two plans. We should admit that there is an American plan how to deal with the nuclear weapons and my friend Sergey just mentioned that SDI -- Americans, or President Reagan claim -- is to get rid of nuclear weapons, build the first defense shield.


[Bogdanov] What is real pie in the sky [words indistinct] to make nuclear weapons obsolete. And General Secretary Gorbachev said: Why should [as heard] wait 10 or 15 years for building SDI, then, after 10 or 15 years when the (?thing is), just to go
ahead with getting rid of nuclear weapons? It's really illogical. It sounds very silly, I'm sorry to say that. If we can start it by real liquidation of nuclear arms, why we should first to spend not only time, but to spend billions of billions of dollars or rubles, whatever it is, on building this shield?

Number two [as heard]: Now, if you study our proposals, they're really striking and they're really going beyond national ego or, if you like, national interests. For instance, look at the solution we proposed for Western Europe. We proposed, what we suggest, is just to get rid of INF [Intermediate Nuclear Forces] from American and Soviet sides. For America it's a very different problem, INF in Europe. America is distanced from Europe by something like 10-12,000 km; for us INF is strategic weapon which can reach our cities, our capital in a couple of minutes. So, as a target for that we have all the right to worry; not only to worry, but to take countermeasures. We go beyond that. We say okay, we are ready to deal with that in a very revolutionary way. No INF for you, no INF for us. We have in mind medium-range missiles, you know.

[Posner] And we discount the French and English potential?

[Bogdanov] Oh yes, we say that; provided that French and English nuclear potential is not enhanced, is not increased, you know. So, if you come down to the whole history of nuclear weapons in Europe, how it was done, how we dealt with that — I mean both of us, we are Americans -- you will see that our proposal is a really revolutionary -- not only in the way of doing it, but in the way of thinking about it [sentence as heard]. You know, that's why I believe that this call for new thinking, for going beyond national egos has really been realized in that statement.

[Posner] Wouldn't you agree that, along the same lines, the decision to prolong our unilateral moratorium on all nuclear tests is also going beyond national egoism and perhaps even national interests?

[Plekhanov] Well, of course. The United States has tested more nuclear weapons than we have. And when we refrain from testing while the other side does, it's not an easy thing to do because there is a point beyond which, you know, forbearance ceases to be a virtue, as Edmund Burke once put it. So it is an important step and I'm all for it: I think it's a wise measure that we have extended our moratorium for another 3 months. It applies pressure to the Reagan administration, but pressure in a good way — not done in order to extract some unilateral concessions from the other side or to drive the other side into a corner. It's nothing like that, it's simply an invitation to really take a serious look at what's going on with this business of testing nuclear weapons. And of course it's going beyond the national ego: It's looking forward and looking after international interests.

[Posner] You know, I'm somewhat concerned, I must say in all frankness as a Soviet citizen, about one thing. Is there not a danger that this decision, this proposal, might be misread by Washington as a sign of weakness, as a sign of the Soviet Union's backing down on the subject? It might be misinterpreted and encourage the more hawkish right-wing element, hardline element in the United States to take a totally opposite kind of view and ultimately, action. What do you think about that?

[Bogdanov] You know, Vladimir, I'm of -- if you like -- of high opinion of our adversary or of our counterparts over this. I've been dealing with United States for the last 25 years professionally and I come to the conclusion that they have very smart people and there are smart people in this administration, people with real understanding what Soviet Union is up to and how we are really (strong). I mean

43
at the same time that, of course, there are people in this administration which may think along the lines you have mentioned just now. But, you know, if the other side is really (aiming) at achieving what our leaders talked about in Geneva, they have very good opportunity both ways. Number one, to make a real gesture to convince us and convince the public opinion in the world that they really mean it: the (peacefulness), peaceful (end). And number two, they understand, and on their professional and expert-like level, they understand that if a country is risking, if you like, to throw on the table such a comprehensive set of proposals with such far-reaching consequences (and results), first of all, it means that the other side is very well sure of itself, in the long [word indistinct] to produce such a set of proposals. That's the number one conclusion.

[Posner] You're saying that this is a sign of strength?

[Bogdanov] Oh yes, Vladimir, it's a sign of strength...

[Posner, interrupting] And self-confidence?

[Bogdanov] And self-confidence, because — and that's by the way [words indistinct] human relations — you know, weaker, you are more vocal, you are, you know...

[Posner] You're absolutely right.

[Bogdanov] So that's my point.

[Posner] Very good point, indeed. Well now, the basics of this proposal: nuclear disarmament in three stages, of course, a test ban on all nuclear tests, verification at all levels, ceasing the production of chemical weapons and then destroying them completely, and coming out of the next 15 years to a world that will be free of the danger of war and of weapons of mass annihilation. This kind of thinking obviously cannot but be attractive to any human being, any (living), normal human being. My question: Do you think this message is going to get through to the American people?

[Bogdanov] That's where I have my doubts, Vladimir, to be frank with you, you know, and my doubts are based on the previous experience. Let's come back to the moratorium business. You know, recently I met a number of my American friends and colleagues and they were really amazed how this very important fact was distorted by this administration (in the) way that they give all the (bad) just to influence the mass media under the pretext of the so-called national interest, just to kill this important news, you know. Because they were going [word indistinct] around and telling people in Washington and mass media in the other places that it's nothing but a propaganda ploy, propaganda ploy. So as far as I know, the American public opinion is not really informed about Soviet moratorium; Vladimir and Sergey, you will be amazed that even some American journalists in Moscow who are supposed to know all that, they don't know all that.

[Plekhanov] Well, at any rate I think that this is test for mass media in the United States. Right now they're confronted with a major, major development in the nuclear age. For the first time we have a real chance of moving towards complete nuclear disarmament. If they kill this news, if they underrate it, if they compromise it by, you know, a treatment like well, this is just a propaganda ploy, if they simply not, fail to report it objectively, then they will do a great disservice to the American people.
I think there's more to it than that. I would also think that any administration that would ignore or try to write off this offer risks becoming isolated internationally. I have that feeling. Now maybe I'm wrong, but I think that the people the world over will gradually -- would in that case -- gradually indeed come to see who is for what and who has what to offer. Would you like to say anything more on this issue, gentlemen?

Well, I would like to stress one point. One argument against nuclear disarmament has always been that the Soviet Union really has an edge in conventional armaments and so the United States cannot enforce nuclear disarmament. Now this point has also been taken into consideration and Comrade Gorbachev's proposal contains as one of its provisions a movement forward in the area of conventional arms reduction. Now as our listeners may know, there are talks in Vienna and on the mutual balanced force reduction in Europe. There has been some progress in those talks where the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries are represented. Those are not just bilateral talks. They are multilateral talks. And at the same time, there are some differences in approach and mostly they have to do with the problems of verification. And the Gorbachev proposal now marks a major movement forward in that area as well, so that in the year 1986 we could really conclude agreement on the mutual balanced force reduction in Europe and we are prepared to go further there to reduce the existing level. The Soviet Union has proposed repeatedly that we can reduce the existing level of conventional arms. So the problem of conventional arms cannot serve as an obstacle to nuclear disarmament. We must move on both fronts.

Before saying goodbye, I would like to sum up my feelings about what has happened.

I recall that shortly before the end of the year in our last program, we spoke about the outlook for 1986 and while we did voice hope, as we all do as human beings, we were also not so overboard with joy. We were thinking about a great many difficulties and how things indeed would develop. What with this particular statement by the general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, I think that humanity has good reason to look forward with a high measure of hope provided, of course, that this proposal is accepted and understood by the West. Having said that I would like to thank Dr Bogdanov, Dr Plekhanov; say goodbye to our audience until next week.
is probably unable to imagine that there would be not a single nuclear charge left on
the planet, not a single nuclear bomb, not a single missile; but this is possible.
This is realistic. Moscow has put forward a large-scale yet most specific plan for the
liquidation of nuclear weapons. The first question for our correspondents is how widely
have the people in your countries been able to acquaint themselves with the Soviet
leader's statement? Have all the most important aspects reached the public? First,
over to you, Vladimir Pavlovich.

[Dunayev] You know, by U.S. standards, an account [izlozheniye] has been sufficiently
widely published of Comrade Gorbachev's statement. I say by U.S. standards because, of
course, such a document has to be published in full in the newspapers, and this has not
been done by a single organ of the press here, but, very large excerpts and detailed
summaries, point by point, have been published in the more serious papers in the United
States, which we had not seen before Geneva at all. There have been no attempts to keep
it quiet. This is how it is for us.


[Glazunov] As for the bourgeois media, they have only provided an account, at times very
brief ones. UNSERE ZEIT, the communists paper, carried the full text of the statement
and for this prepared a special issue with the statement. Now this special issue is
being distributed in the streets of the towns and is literally being snatched up, so,
there is immense interest in the original statement.

[Zubkov] Several days have passed since the statement was published, let us try to sum
up the first results of the reactions to it. What has the reaction been in official
circles in the United States and West Germany?

[Dunayev] You know, the statement clearly took the administration and the White House
by surprise. This is being said and written about openly here now. The White House
described the statement as constructive, to be studied. I would like to note
Washington's particular apprehension, which the well-known observer Leslie Gelb has just
written about in THE NEW YORK TIMES. This week the United States has for the first
time found itself, he wrote, faced with a choice which they have avoided for many
decades. Do they want a world without nuclear weapons? This question has to be
answered, and Washington does not know how to answer it, because they clearly still
want to lean on the strength of nuclear weapons.

[Glazunov] One should say that the new Soviet peace initiatives are being appraised
positively in all political circles in the FRG, although the reaction is not unanimous.
One must say that attitudes to the new Soviet peace initiatives depend on attitudes to
the SDI.

[Zubkov] Thank you. In the statement, the Soviet Union addressed an appeal to the U.S.
President, to the Congress, and to the U.S. people. Vladimir Pavlovich, have you
lately met up with any U.S. Congressmen and what do they think about Comrade Gorbachev's
statement?

[Dunayev] Incidentally, the newspaper LOS ANGELES TIMES has just published an interview
with Gary Hart, a senator who is sufficiently well known and who was up for nomination
as a presidential candidate, who said that the exceptionally important initiative of
the Soviet Union has shown, so to speak, everyone who it is who is striving for peace
and disarmament, and that this must, compulsorily, so to speak, be responded to by the
Reagan administration, otherwise it will find itself in a very uncomfortable position.
[Zubkov] The Soviet Union has repeatedly warned that the development of nuclear space weapons will cancel out hopes for a reduction in nuclear weapons on earth. As is known, the movement in the United States protesting against the "star wars" program is getting bigger and, specifically, this kind of boycott has been proclaimed by very many U.S. scientists. What new facts do you have?

[Dunayev] At the moment there are already 1,700 eminent scientists, including 14 Nobel Prize winners, who are refusing, have announced their refusal, to take part in the research and development.

[Zubkov] A question for you, Viktor Mikhaylovich. It has been reported in the press that there now are not 108, as planned by NATO, but 156 Pershing-2 missiles in the FRG; i.e. they are getting 48 additional missiles.

[Galzunov] There was a question on this matter in parliament. No official statements on it saw the light of day, but one thing is clear: The United States has made ready very many Pershing-2's, something in the realm of 1,000. It is clear that Pershings are not needed on the territory of the United States — they are intermediate range missiles, (you do not fire them at the ocean).

So, they have to be sited nearer to the territory of the Soviet Union and its allies, and it is known that of the NATO countries on the FRG has agreed to the siting of Pershing-2's. Hence one can draw conclusions: Where is the center of attraction of (fire) of the U.S. Pershing-2's? As for the continuation of this process of deployment of missiles, the official deployment of Pershing-2's has been completed, and it is now the turn of the cruise missiles, and reports have appeared that the first batches of cruise missiles are already in the FRG.

[Zubkov] Now we have Geneva too. Vladimir Ivanovich, can you hear us?

[Dmitriyev] Yes, Moscow, I can hear you well.

[Zubkov] Fine. So, join in our conversation. The spirit of Geneva is a concept that today gives a noble color to international relations. Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons have been resumed in Geneva. What is the spirit of Geneva in Geneva itself?

[Dmitriyev] I would like to take the newspaper BERNER ZEITUNG. This newspaper is published in the capital of the country, in Berne, and on the front page there is a photograph of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the headline: Sämtliche Atomwaffen Vernichten. The headline means Destroy All Atomic Weapons. That is the proposal of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Other newspapers provide commentaries, extensive and detailed commentaries, and set out in very great detail all the stages, and set out our new peace initiatives. Here, they also think that it is an important step on the road to peace, on the road to peaceful prosperity for all people on earth. And, speaking of the spirit of Geneva, we must not fail to recall that important event which begins 20 January, that is Monday evening, more precisely from 2200 hours Moscow time an international conference of nongovernmental organizations opens. It is being held within the framework of peace year, and it should be stressed that here too, as this conference the center of attention will also center on our new peace initiative.

[Zubkov] Let us now use our television hookup to find out about some of the Sunday events in your countries, if there are such things.
[Dunayev] Well, let me start.

[Zubkov] Yes, do, please.

[Dunayev] A symposium in the Russian language on the prose of Pushkin is now under way here in Washington. It will be held throughout the week. U.S. Pushkin specialists have gathered here. Throughout the United States, naturally, they are preparing for tomorrow when Martin Luther King Day will be marked for the first time as a federal holiday. There are many events devoted to the memory of that outstanding fighter for civil rights. I would like to quote just one more detail: Americans, as is known, are a superstitious people, there are no houses numbered 13 nor 13th storeys here, and here we begin the week not from Monday, but from Sunday. So, here we already are in the new week, because Monday is a difficult day, so the television programs and the calendars here are printed so that the week ends on Saturday, and begins on Sunday.

[Zubkov] Bonn, please.

[Glazunov] Well, traditionally, the end of the week is free of any kind of business for the Germans, including domestic. But life has altered this tradition, too. For the struggle against the missiles, there are no weekends, and today, Sunday, as usual, at Heilbronn, at the U.S. base of Waldhilden, where Pershing-2's are deployed, and where a year ago one of the missiles blew up and a large-scale catastrophe was avoided only fortuitously, people stand in a symbolic blockade of this base.

On Sunday, today, in Frankfurt and Stuttgart, there have been conferences of peace supporters, and there they spoke of the struggle, about ways and means of struggling against the missiles, against SDI. They have discussed measures for the staging of the spring peace marches, which are to be held in March.

[Zubkov] Thank you, Washington. Thank you, Bonn. Thank you, Geneva. Thank you to our correspondents for this television hookup. All the best, and we now turn, from Studio 20 to our newsreaders.
U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

MOSCOW NOTES MORE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR GORBACHEV'S PROPOSAL

PRAVDA Rounds Up Reaction

PM171645 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 86 First Edition p 4

[Reports by own correspondents V. Gerasimov, V. Gan, Yu. Yakhontov, and A. Maslennikov under the general heading: "The Real Path to Disarmament and Peace. The World's General Public Is Eagerly Examining and Discussing the Soviet Land's Impressive New Initiatives"]

[Text] Budapest, 16 Jan -- "Entering the 3d Millennium Without Mass Destruction Weapons" is the headline used by NEPSZABADSAG for the full text of the Soviet disarmament program. All the other central newspapers also print this important document of our era in full and devote editorials and editorial articles to it.

"The Soviet package of proposals springs from today's realities," the MSZMP Central Committee organ writes in an editorial article. "The burden of responsibility for further steps rests on the shoulders of the United States and the other nuclear powers. It is simply impossible not to accent the Soviet proposals."

"The USSR's new initiative is fascinating to anyone who has a sense of responsibility for the future of mankind," Imre Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and general secretary of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front National Council, said. "CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev is speaking on behalf of the entire Soviet people and all people of good will. He presents promising prospects which offer the hope that nuclear and chemical weapons will be removed from military arsenals by the end of the century. There is another important fact. The new Soviet proposals also envisage cutting conventional armaments. These new initiatives express the Soviet land's confidence in its own strength and its commitment to peaceful building. If mankind is relieved of the arms burden it will open up unprecedented possibilities for the flourishing of people's creative abilities."

Belgrade, 16 Jan -- "Into the 21st Century Without Nuclear Weapons," "A Plan for the Total Elimination of Nuclear Weapons -- it is under these headlines that the leading Yugoslav papers today publish reports from Moscow on the range of new Soviet peace initiatives.

The paper POLITIKA gives a detailed account of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's statement, noting: The main aim of the Soviet disarmament program is that mankind should enter the 3d millennium without nuclear weapons, without fear of the nuclear bomb. The proposals published yesterday, POLITIKA continues, were essentially
a call for an immediate start on eliminating nuclear armaments. The paper BORBA, organ of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, names as the first step in the implementation of this program the USSR's decision to extend for a further 3 months the unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions, which gives the United States the chance to reassess its position.

The Yugoslav press highlights the statement's conclusion that the adoption of the Soviet program cannot do anyone any harm; in fact, everyone would benefit. The Soviet proposals place the USSR and the United States on equal terms. The paper pays special attention to the USSR's firm and consistent stance to the effect that the total elimination of nuclear weapons can only be achieved if the arms race does not spread to space.

Washington, 16 Jan -- Great was the Washingtonians' amazement when Russian suddenly started issuing from their radios today. The news speeding in from the USSR was so important that the capital's radio stations considered it their duty to include excerpts from the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's statement, read out on Soviet television, in their news bulletins. "The Soviet Union's great new plan," "Moscow has put forward a radical disarmament program" -- U.S. correspondents used these words to preface their accounts of the range of peace initiatives put forward by our country, unprecedented in its scope and depth and in terms of its significance for the whole of mankind. The reports from Moscow immediately overshadowed and took precedence over all other news. They were the lead items in the reviews of the most important events of the day on all three major national television networks in the United States. They are the lead stories in the top U.S. newspapers which have just been published.

The first official reaction from the U.S. Administration was on the whole one of approbation, although it caused some bewilderment. A statement by U.S. President R. Reagan, published by the White House, welcomed the Soviet proposals, expressing the hope that they marked a "further promising step in the process" of efforts to achieve the ultimate goal -- the elimination of nuclear weapons. "Together with our allies we will carefully study General Secretary Gorbachev's proposals," the statement points out.

At the same time, one was struck by the White House's obvious attempt to somehow limit the public response to the new Soviet proposals and to pretend that the United States, and not the Soviet Union, is leading the sincere and honest quest for general security and peace. For example, can the presidential statement's listing of old U.S. "initiatives," which have been assessed even by U.S. specialists as unacceptable to the USSR because they are unfair and one-sided, mean anything else?

Speaking on ABC television, Secretary of State G. Shultz took a similar line in assessing the new Soviet program. While, on the one hand, reiterating the President's words about the "constructive nature" of the proposals, he expressed so many reservations that the announcer was forced to remark: "You sound equivocal." In the end, under pressure of irrefutable arguments, the secretary of state saw fit to say: "We advocate the elimination of nuclear armaments. Therefore we welcome these proposals. It is a big and complex subject, and we want to study it carefully and discuss it at the Geneva talks. Our first response is that we welcome them."

In contrast to senior representatives of the administration, who often prefer the propaganda game to common sense and the demands of life, the Americans your correspondent has talked with today were unequivocal in their opinions and assessments. "It is a step in the right direction, it is the approach we want. The movement of U.S. peace-loving forces wholly supports this action program," (D. Kestetter), national coordinator of the Washington peace center, said. (J. Wells), executive director of the well-known
"Physicians for Social Responsibility" organization, expressed profound satisfaction. "The declared aims deserve every support and it is to be hoped that the talks are successful," she noted.

Bonn, 16 Jan — Late last night FRG radio and television were informing the country's populace about CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev's statement.

The capital's GENERAL-ANZEIGER, regarded as the semiofficial organ of the Bonn Foreign Ministry, and the FRANFURTER ALLGEMEINE, which has the backing of big industrial and financial capital, contain accounts of the Soviet leader's statement. It is published on the front pages under big headlines.

GENERAL-ANZEIGER prints in boldface the main proposals contained in the statement. The paper gives a detailed account of the part of the document about the stage-by-stage destruction of nuclear weapons and Soviet and U.S. mutual renunciation of the development [sozdaniye], testing, and deployment of space strike weapons.

Both papers draw attention to the USSR's willingness to do everything necessary to implement appropriate verification of the reduction and elimination of nuclear arsenals and of the prevention of the militarization of space.

This morning your correspondent got in touch with the FRG Foreign Ministry to ask the minister, H.-D. Genscher, to give his first impressions of M.S. Gorbachev's statement. A ministry press department aide replied that, since the document contains a large number of important proposals, they are currently being studied both by the minister and by the ministry apparatus. As soon as the study is complete the Foreign Ministry's viewpoint will be announced.

London, 16 Jan — The USSR's concrete and comprehensive program to rid the earth of nuclear weapons is the main topic of foreign policy commentaries in the British press. Giving front-page accounts of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's statement, local papers point out that it provides a concrete and chronologically clearly defined plan to deliver mankind from the threat of nuclear destruction.

On the eve of the start of a new round of Geneva talks, THE GUARDIAN writes, the Soviet Union has again taken the initiative and put forward a 15-year program envisaging a state-by-stage, consistent process to rid the planet of nuclear weapons.

"CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev," MORNING STAR foreign department editor R. Trask writes in the paper, "has put forward a bold program for the elimination of all nuclear weapons over the next 15 years." This new Soviet initiative will have great significance for the success of the Geneva nuclear arms talks.

At the same time, nearly all the papers draw attention to the places in the Soviet leader's statement where he speaks of the need for a comprehensive approach, observance of the principle of reciprocity, and active participation by all nuclear powers to solve the problems of eliminating nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons.
PCF's Marchais Praises Proposals

LD231413 Moscow TASS in English 1354 GMT 23 Jan 86

[Text] Paris, January 23 TASS -- Appearing in the Antenne-2 TV program "Hour of Truth," Georges Marchais, general secretary of the French Communist Party, spoke highly of the latest Soviet peace initiatives, formulated in a statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and said that France should make a contribution towards world disarmament. Touching upon the domestic situation in France, he stressed that the Communists would make every effort to block the right forces at the elections to the National Assembly in March. The leader of the French Communists pointed out that the pursuit of a progressive political course in France was impossible without the Communist Party, which is one of the leading political forces of the country. He noted in this context that the Communist Party was prepared to cooperate with the other left-wing forces which agreed to pursue a policy in the interests of the mass of the working people. However, Marchais warned, the Socialist Party could not count on the Communists' support for the course which is currently being pursued by the socialists' government and which has already pushed up unemployment and worsened the living standards of the population.

Greece's Papandreou

LD271800 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT 27 Jan 86

[Excerpt] New Delhi, January 27 TASS--Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou highly appraised the proposals contained in the statement of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev. Speaking at a press conference here today, he noted that "The new initiatives of the USSR constitute one of the most positive steps that could be taken in this situation". The head of the Greek Government, on an official visit in India, said that the problems of war and peace had been in the focus of attention during his talks with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. There has been the discussion of the role that the six countries, signatories to the Delhi declaration, must play in the development of their efforts toward disarmament, particularly in the light of the new Soviet proposals.

In these conditions the six countries must consider their steps. We have complete accord on the question of great importance of the Soviet initiative, he said.

The Greek prime minister expressed the confidence that the developing countries, above all the Non-aligned Movement, can play an important role in the implementation of the tasks set in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement.

Romania's Ceausescu

LD272336 Moscow TASS in English 2306 GMT 27 Jan 86

[Text] Bucharest, January 27 TASS -- Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, spoke here on Sunday to express gratitude to the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, State Council and the Government of the
Socialist Republic of Vietnam for congratulations upon his birthday. Nicolae Ceausescu, specifically, touched upon the problems of the international situation, having described it as "very serious".

The Romanian leader highly appraised the new proposals advanced by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev for the reduction of nuclear arms and elimination of all nuclear potentials by the year 2000. Romania regards these proposals as very important, Nicolae Ceausescu said. Their implementation will, no doubt, be of much importance for entire international life, will remove the danger which threatens very life on earth. Therefore, it is necessary to firmly support this programme and press resolutely for its implementation, the speaker said.

Meanwhile, we must intensify the activity in matters of universal disarmament, reduction of conventional armaments and troops, since it is only in this way that the overall lessening of tension can be achieved and the danger of outbreak of new wars can be removed, he said. We must act in this spirit in Stockholm, at the disarmament conference in Geneva, at the talks in Vienna, must do everything to create a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans. At the same time we witness new manifestations of the policy of force and threat with force in the Mediterranean, the speaker went on. This indicates that it is necessary to do everything to achieve an overall change of the international situation, to arrest the arms race, above all that of nuclear arms, to ensure that the policy of force or threat of force, of interference in the affairs of other states is abandoned, said the leader of the Romanian Socialist Republic.

Bulgaria's Zhivkov

LD280013 Moscow TASS in English 1920 GMT 27 Jan 86

[Text] Sofia, January 27 TASS -- The State Council and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the entire Bulgarian people, warmly welcome and fully support the statement of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev, said Todor Zhivkov, the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. He delivered a speech here today at the regular session of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Boldness and scope, realism of the proposals advanced in the Soviet document strengthen our confidence that the will of peoples can stop those who are pushing the world into the abyss of nuclear catastrophe, the Bulgarian leader stressed. The Soviet Union's initiatives consolidate our confidence in the strength of socialism, in the future of peace and progress.

The statement of the Soviet leader is a document of historic importance, since it sets a clear task of eliminating nuclear arms, of ridding humanity of nuclear threat, the speaker said. The statement sets out concrete initiatives, whose aim is to enable humanity to usher in the 21st century under peaceful skies, without wars and armaments. And this aim can be achieved. It reflects the vital interests of all people.

Mikhail Gorbachev's statement requires not generalised assurances of the striving for peace, but concrete deeds. The whole world is now able to see what stance is assumed by some or other statesman, where he is carrying the world -- to life or to perishing. This is why all peaceful peoples welcome the Soviet proposals with approval and optimism, Todor Zhivkov said.
Prague, 27 Jan -- The Czechoslovak people express full support for the peace-loving Soviet proposals put forward in the statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. These constructive initiatives, aimed at eliminating the arsenals of nuclear weapons within this century, meet our vital interests, G. Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, said when addressing a report and election party conference in Brno.

The Soviet program for ridding the planet of nuclear weapons, preventing the militarization of space, and achieving peaceful cooperation among the peoples, he said, is producing a great response in the world and finds broad support among progressive and democratic forces and all realistically minded people.

We assess realistically, the CSSR leader continued, the correlation of forces in the world, the aggressive nature of international imperialism, and the interests of the multinational monopolies, which would receive fabulous profits from a new round of the arms race and are pressuring Western public opinion for selfish aims. Thus the struggle to implement the Soviet Union's peace-loving proposals requires tremendous efforts from people of good will, coordinated action from the socialist countries, and cooperation among all who value peace. The GDR will continue to take an active part in the struggle for peace and progress, the prevention of the threat of war, and disarmament, the speaker stated.

CSSR's Foreign Minister Chnoupek

Prague, 23 Jan -- "I consider the statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to be an extremely important and unique initiative," Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR foreign minister, said in an interview with your correspondent. "The statement convincingly demonstrates the USSR's sincere interest in and readiness to consistently implement measures ensuring a life in the third millennium free of the threat of nuclear destruction. This highly humane plan, one which is utterly specific in terms of time and content, puts forward an effective and, as I would like to stress in particular, realistic program for resolving the fundamental questions of the present day. Its implementation, the ending of the arms race on earth, its prevention in space, the elimination of all types of nuclear weapons, and the improvement of the international situation would be of tremendous benefit for all the peoples.

Just a few days have passed since this policy statement was issued and it has become a mobilizing factor for all peace-loving, antiwar, democratic, and realistically-minded forces.
The world public's paramount attention is inevitably focused on the balanced three-stage program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, a program whose implementation would undoubtedly be a major landmark on the path of mankind's peaceful development. As a nuclear and space power the Soviet Union, guided by a high sense of responsibility for mankind's fate, counters the "star wars" danger by putting forward large-scale proposals on cooperation in the peaceful use of space and on freeing the world of nuclear weapons. The Soviet proposal's aim -- the peaceful use of nuclear energy and space -- are clear and meet the aspirations of the peoples in all countries regardless of their political system.

By putting forward these proposals, the Soviet Union has given the disarmament process a qualitatively new scale. This exceptional opportunity must not be missed. The attitude toward the Soviet proposal will also be an accurate barometer of the sincerity of statements concerning the interest in preserving peace.

I would like to take this opportunity to assure PRAVDA readers and all Soviet people that our people also welcome and fully support this mobilizing program, which gives new strength to all who strive to safeguard security and peace in our nuclear and space age. It also meets our vital needs and aspirations and strengthens our conviction that under conditions of peace we will be able to focus our efforts on fulfilling the complex tasks that will be put forward by the 17th CPCZ Congress.

As the official statement by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government stresses, Czechoslovakia is utterly determined to most actively promote the implementation of the Soviet Union's proposals so as to enable the tremendous opportunity offered to mankind to be used and to enable the peoples to enter the new millennium with confidence, and without fear for their existence.

The main point now is that this inspiring plan offering a real prospect of peace without nuclear weapons has also found a positive response from the other side. One may agree with those realistically-minded political circles in the West and the public at large who demand that the new Soviet proposals be discussed most seriously and implemented consistently. Much now depends on the positive response of those to whom they are addressed because they should understand with the highest sense of responsibility that this will be a test of state maturity and wisdom.

Argentina's Caputo

LD282025 Moscow TASS in English 2005 GMT 28 Jan 86

[Excerpt] Moscow, January 28 TASS--Talks between member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Religion of the Argentine Republic Danta Mario Caputo opened here today.

Topical problems of world politics have been discussed in a constructive spirit. It has been noted that the USSR and Argentina, holding coinciding or close stands on important international matters, declare for the consolidation of peace, for the curbing of the nuclear arms race and effective measures in the sphere of disarmament.
Eduard Shevardnadze set out in detail the Soviet concept of a world without nuclear arms advanced in the statement of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and stressed that the implementation of the program of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere with preventing the emergence of space strike arms would lead to a radical improvement of the international situation on a long term and stable basis.

Dante Caputo described the new Soviet initiative as the most important proposal advanced in the sphere so far and noted that it is consonant with the stand of the Government of Argentina. He spoke highly of the Soviet Union's decision to extend the operation of its unilateral moratorium on any nuclear explosions, the Soviet stand on matters of effective control to ensure that there is no nuclear testing.

The Soviet side noted Argentina's vigorous activity on the international arena, its contribution to the lowering of international tension, the struggle for nuclear disarmament, for the ending of nuclear tests.

India's Reaction

PM281408 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jan 86 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "USSR Supreme Soviet Delegation Visit to India"]

[Excerpts] A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by V.V. Kuznetsov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which is on an official visit here, has been received in the presidential palace by President Zail Singh of India.

The friendship between our two countries is based not just on close bilateral relations but also on the proximity of our views on topical international problems, above all in the sphere of the struggle for peace, Zail Singh noted. This is why the recent statement of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, containing specific proposals for nuclear disarmament was welcomed in India with great satisfaction. The Indian people fully support these USSR proposals because they are dictated by a concern for peace on earth.

V.V. Kuznetsov thanked the president for the warm words addressed to the Soviet people. The relations between our countries, he noted, are developing and expanding upward. The Soviet Union will continue to consistently steer a course toward the expansion and deepening of relations with India in every way and in all spheres. We have gathered from the meetings that have been held here that the Indian side is also interested in an even more effective development of our relations.

The high appraisal of the latest peace initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union which was expressed by the president is evidence of India's firm adherence to its positions of preserving and strengthening peace and eliminating the threat of nuclear war, the head of the Soviet delegation said. In the current complex international situation we must pool all efforts in order to prevent a nuclear catastrophe and do everything we can to protect peace on earth.
The Soviet parliamentarians paid a call on Vice President R. Venkataraman of India. Addressing him, V.V. Kuznetsov emphasized that the friendship between India and the USSR is a factor of stability in Asia and throughout the world. The current complex international situation demands even more vigorous efforts from our states in the international arena especially as regards maintaining peace. The aim of the new Soviet peace proposals put forward in M.S. Gorbachev’s statement is precisely the preservation of peace on earth and the elimination of the nuclear threat once and for all. The struggle for peace is the most important problem of the present time. For this reason our countries’ parliaments must intensify their joint efforts in this sphere, the head of the Soviet delegation noted.

R. Venkataraman declared in turn that India supports all the USSR’s efforts aimed at achieving nuclear disarmament. We cordially welcome the Soviet leader’s proposals, whose implementation would open up a new era in the history of mankind and lead to the elimination of nuclear weapons. In fact, specific proposals of this kind, providing for a stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear arms, have been put forward for the first time in the world. We believe that the USSR’s new proposals are a step in the right direction. We also support the Soviet Union’s appeal to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to space because this would present a lethal threat to all mankind.

The Soviet parliamentarians met with H.K.L. Bhagat, minister for parliamentary affairs and tourism. Our countries’ parliaments have an important role to play in the struggle for peace, which represents the most important task of the day, the head of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation said during the meeting. In this context he drew attention to the latest USSR peace initiatives contained in M.S. Gorbachev’s statement and aimed at eliminating nuclear weapons. This document reflects the vital interests not just of the Soviet people but of all the world’s peace-loving people.

Urgent measures must be adopted to revive detente in the world and to give it practical content. All the world’s peoples stand to gain from this.

H.K.L. Bhagat declared that the Soviet Union is India’s true friend. It has always been on its side in difficult times. We highly value the proposals put forward by M.S. Gorbachev. They are topical proposals which have already met with a widespread response throughout the world. The Indian people support these proposals, which are aimed at preserving what is most sacred on earth, namely life, he noted.

Bal Ram Jakhar, speaker of the House of the People, gave a reception in honor of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation. The reception was attended by members of parliament and prominent Indian politicians and public figures. V.N. Rykov, USSR ambassador to India, was among those present.

B. Jakhar warmly welcomed the Soviet guests.

The struggle for peace and disarmament is one of the cornerstones of India’s foreign policy. Proceeding from our conviction that the nuclear powers must sincerely seek to end the nuclear arms race, we welcomed the meeting of the leaders of the two superpowers in Geneva. We have welcomed many initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union in recent years with a view to disarmament and, of course, we welcome also the latest proposals made by the Soviet leader, he said.

V.V. Kuznetsov emphasized in his reply speech that exchanges of visits at various levels have become a good and useful tradition in Soviet-Indian relations.
There is unrest in the world. Aggressive circles, primarily aggrandizing their interests, are seeking to dispel the "spirit of Geneva" and make the needle of the barometer indicating the international climate swing to cold. Unwilling to take the legitimate interests of others and the political realities of the present-day world into consideration, they are continuing their perilous pursuit of the chimera of military superiority on earth and are trying to extend it to space.

Aware of its responsibility to mankind, the Soviet Union recently put forward new, far-reaching initiatives in the sphere of disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament, which are designed to bring about a decisive turn toward detente and a normalization of the international situation.

I would like to emphasize that this is a question of a problem which concerns mankind as a whole and which can and must be resolved jointly, by pooling the efforts of all states and peoples. And the sooner the submitted proposals are translated into practical deeds, the stronger will be the guarantees of peace and security on our planet.

As for the efforts to end the arms race, prevent it from spreading to space, and revert to detente in international relations, the USSR and India are working essentially toward same goal. Special importance here attaches to the intensification of our countries' joint actions in the cause of resolving the world's most burning problem, that of averting nuclear war.

**DRA Support**

LD231546 Moscow TASS in English 1403 GMT 23 Jan 86

[Text] Kabul, January 23 TASS — The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan has expressed unanimous support for the new Soviet initiatives contained in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement. These initiatives according with the interests of all peoples of the world demonstrate the peaceful character of the USSR's foreign policy, open up new and realistic prospects on the way to peace and preventing the danger of nuclear war, said Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, addressing a meeting of the political Bureau. The Afghan leader stressed that the USSR's readiness for purposeful and constructive talks, the constructive Soviet proposals, if the Western countries display a responsible approach to them, would contribute towards creating an atmosphere of confidence and trust the world over.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan has expressed support for the USSR's principled stand that regional conflicts should not be an obstacle for taking disarmament measures and stressed the history-making character of the USSR's new initiative concerning the most important problems of the present.

**International Peace Group**

LD231508 Moscow TASS in English 1359 GMT 23 Jan 86

[Text] Geneva, January 23 TASS — A meeting has been held today of the members of the Soviet delegation at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons with a delegation of representatives of the current international conference here of non-governmental organizations devoted to the International Year of Peace.
Viktor Karpov, head of the Soviet delegation, stressed the enormous fundamental significance of the statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, containing a broad and concrete programme for the total elimination everywhere of nuclear weapons by the year of 2000 on condition of a ban on the development of space strike weapons.

It was said that the Soviet side will be invariably guided at the talks with the U.S. delegation in Geneva by that history-making document with the aim of the speediest attainment of mutually acceptable agreements on issues under discussion, proceeding from the conviction that it is precisely the USSR and the USA that should set an example for the other nuclear powers.

The representatives of non-governmental organizations said the participants in the conference treated with much attention both the results of the Soviet-American summit (and the) new Soviet proposals contained in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of January 15. In their opinion, the Soviet Union's new peace initiative gives a powerful mobilising impetus to the intensification everywhere of the struggle waged by world public for putting an end to weapons race on earth and preventing it in outer space, for eliminating the threat of a nuclear catastrophe hanging over mankind.

The day before, a numerous group of delegates to the conference visited the USSR permanent representation to the U.N. office in Geneva. They were briefed by Viktor Israelyan, head of the USSR delegation at the Geneva Disarmament Conference, on the Soviet Union's policy in the field of disarmament and the new Soviet peace initiatives.

Peace Physician

LD172348 Moscow TASS in English 1801 GMT 17 Jan 86

[Text] Moscow, January 17 TASS -- The statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which formulates a program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons in the world, has been characterized as an initiative of mankind's good hopes by Academician Mikhail Kuzin, a co-founder of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

The Soviet Union suggests that the process of ridding the world of nuclear weapons be carried out stage by stage and consistently and completed over the next 15 years. By the end of this century, the Soviet scientist said. This measure is needed by the world. Medical scientists in different countries point out on the basis of accurate scientific data that nuclear weapons are weapons of genocide because they subvert the very foundations of human existence, of all life on earth. Mankind should take a realistic look at facts. According to the estimates of U.N. experts, there are more than 50,000 nuclear warheads in the world. Their yield is equivalent to the yield of more than one million bombs like the one dropped on Hiroshima. And we should remember that the people of Hiroshima continue to die from the effects of the atomic blast even today, 40 years later.

We do not exaggerate when we point out the extreme danger of universal nuclear catastrophe, Kuzin continued. It has been estimated that about 2.5 billion people simultaneously can fall victim to it. The rest will suffer from the tragic aftermath, such as diseases, lack of food, drinking water, power, housing, health care, and also from a "nuclear winter." The global ecological effects of nuclear war are
unpredictable. The international movement of physicians today unites more than 145,000 medical people from over 50 countries. They stand for the prevention of nuclear war and therefore are opposed to nuclear weapons. The motto of the next congress of the movement, due to take place in Cologne next spring, is "To live together or to die together." To live together is the keynote of International Year of Peace announced by the United Nations in 1986. The new Soviet peace program, which formulates the only dependable possibility to preserve life in the present-day situation, that is, to destroy nuclear weapons, also is a call for living together. This is the command of reason.
U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

SPANISH DAILIES COMMENT ON ARMS PROPOSAL

PM271033 [Editorial Report] Newspapers published on 17 January carry editorials on CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's latest disarmament proposal.

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish on 17 January publishes on page 10 an editorial which says that "the fact that both Soviets and Americans today no longer defend 'balance' or 'parity' but have an end to nuclear weapons as the decisive goal is a coincidence transcending the propaganda level." It continues: "In specific terms, there are two aspects in which Gorbachev has taken steps in a positive direction: First, the 3-month extension of the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests, which in principle should have expired 31 December. This is a gesture of goodwill, acknowledged as such by U.S. circles without any liking for the USSR: it should allow a more thorough examination of the issue. The second aspect concerns medium-range missiles, which includes the SS-20's, Pershing-2's, and cruise missiles. The joint declaration of the Geneva summit already contains an allusion to a possible interim agreement on these missiles. What is new in Gorbachev's remarks is that in the first stage of disarmament he proposes not a reduction but the elimination of both the Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles deployed in Europe. The first U.S. reaction to this proposal pointed out that there is some similarity to previous suggestions made by the United States.

"What stands out in this point in the USSR's latest proposal is the desire to meet a fundamental concern of European governments; in specifying that in the first stage France and the United Kingdom would freeze their arms (their reduction will come later), Gorbachev takes into account what has always been argued by those two states.

"Comparing Gorbachev's plan with the stances repeatedly expounded by the United States, the greatest remaining obstacle is 'star wars': The United States regards it as nonnegotiable, and accuses the Soviets of having already begun the militarization of space; the USSR says that it precludes any progress in disarmament. Gorbachev has not changed this view. It was decided at the Geneva summit that this point will be under discussion at future summits. The next summit will take place on the occasion of Gorbachev's visit to the United States, in June or in the fall. Until then the Geneva negotiations will remain circumscribed by that fundamental disagreement."

Barcelona LA VANGUARDIAN in Spanish on 17 January publishes on page 6 an editorial which says "that Moscow's current plan coordinates a whole series of previous initiatives into a coherent and gradual whole which frees it from the appearance of expedient opportunism, with broad scope for imprecision. Not because everything is clear, well-defined, and explicit -- something that could hardly be the case when what is involved is a plan as comprehensive as that now proposed by Gorbachev -- but because of the seriousness of its formulation. For this very reason the reaction both in Washington and in the
capitals of Western Europe has been one of willingness to study thoroughly the possibilities of the Soviet plan. Of course, it will be at the recently resumed Geneva disarmament conference that Moscow's proposals will be analyzed and discussed in depth."

It concludes:

"For the present it is clear that Gorbachev is prepared to go very far in his aim of imparting credibility to his disarmament proposal. This does not mean that Moscow's proposal is free from political intentions. There are two specific aims: One, that of placing the United States in embarrassing circumstances for going ahead with its aim of creating the 'space shield'; the other, more far-reaching but persistent in Soviet diplomacy, that of fostering disagreements between the United States and its European allies, both in the event of Washington not finding a point of agreement with the USSR in Geneva, and if 'star wars' emerges as an obstacle to preserving the hopes entailed by Gorbachev's current proposal."

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CSO: 5200/2603
INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES

D'66 PARTY WILLING TO IMPLEMENT CRUISE MISSILE PACT

Amsterdam DE TELEGRAAF in Dutch 2 Dec 85 p 3

[Article: "Van Mierlo: 'D'66 Will Participate Loyally in Treaty with the United States on Cruise Missiles"]

[Text] Breda, Monday -- The listhead of the D'66 [Democrats '66], Mr Hans van Mierlo, wants his party to participate loyally in the implementation of the treaty with the United States concerning the stationing of cruise missiles in our country, as soon as parliament has approved that treaty.

"D'66 is very firm about the principle that once treaties have been approved they should be implemented, even if there is criticism about their enactment. Once treaties have been approved, they must be honored."

According to Van Mierlo his party would be willing to renegotiate the treaty with the United States -- which the PvdA [Labor Party] has requested -- as long as the United States is willing to do so too. Moreover, there can be question of renegotiations only if the participating parties are willing to make concessions.

Willingness

The importance of the availability of the PvdA as a government party is so great that it would not be expedient to cut off this road beforehand. But it does depend on the willingness of the PvdA to make concessions.

"I cannot quite see how renegotiations can be carried out if the PvdA maintains the position that it will never and under no circumstances accept the responsibility of deploying even a single cruise missile," said Van Mierlo.

He spoke Saturday at a very well attended meeting of his party in Breda, where parliamentary party President M. Engwirda stressed that his fraction will vote against the deployment of cruise missiles. He also rejected the PvdA's negative stand in this matter. "That only helps to establish a CDA/ VVD [Christian Democratic Appeal/People's Party for Freedom and Democracy] administration."

During an NCRV [Netherlands Christian Broadcasting Association] radio broadcast, Minister of Defense J. de Ruiter said that he was not interested at all in governing with the PvdA on the basis of a built-in cabinet crisis, for example by giving the PvdA beforehand the right to leave the administration if the cruise missiles enter our country. This was recently suggested by opposition leader Den Uyl.

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CSO: 5200/2590
Canada's conservative government conceals the scope of its military cooperation with the
United States and other NATO countries.

According to the CTV television network, Canada, the United States and Britain signed a
secret memorandum in April 1980 on research into and production of chemical and
bacteriological means of warfare. At the same time, a spokesman for the National
Defense Ministry claimed only last month that Canada's official policy does not allow
the country to develop, test, produce or stockpile chemical or bacteriological weapons.

Lloyd Exworthy, a Liberal Party member of Parliament, expressed serious concern over
Canada's involvement in the development and production of chemical and germ weapons.

The CTV obtained a paper enumerating 44 military agreements which the government
concealed from the Parliament. Among them are, in particular, a document allowing the
United States to test torpedoes in the Strait of Georgia off British Columbia, and an
accord providing for the deployment of American nuclear weapons in Goose Bay and
Stephenville (Newfoundland Province).

The facts cited by the CTV show yet another time that the Canadian Government
deliberately hides from the public the scale of the country's participation in U.S.
militarist programmes for fear of an upsurge in anti-war protests.
Washington, January 22 TASS — The Pentagon has spent almost a million dollars in the past three years on a propaganda campaign meant to get the U.S. Congress to abandon its opposition to the programmes to produce new types of chemical weapons. Writing about this today, THE WASHINGTON POST cites excerpts from the report of the consulting firm "Burdeshaw Associates, Ltd." with a roster of more than 170 retired generals and officers. The Pentagon resorted to the services of this firm to justify the programme for the modernization of its huge chemical weapons arsenal.

To the Pentagon order, a group of experts from "Burdeshaw Associates" ran a nine-month "study" with a view to pressurizing congressmen and mustering their consent to the release of funds in the current fiscal year for the production of nerve gas, a chemical weapon of new generation and of enhanced danger. The U.S. military-industrial complex, which has already built on taxpayers' funds a plant to produce chemical arms in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, has been awaiting this consent with impatience. To achieve their aims, staff members of "Burdeshaw Associates" were not ashamed of resorting to such methods of "brainwashing" lawmakers as juggling with facts and slander.

Senior Pentagon officials are now refuting the fact that they attempted to put pressure on congressmen. They in the U.S. military establishment are eager to conceal the fact that in pursuit of its selfish ends the military-industrial complex breaks laws prohibiting the use of funds to influence congressional action on any legislation pending before Congress. The article in THE WASHINGTON POST is graphic evidence that laws for the Pentagon are not mandatory when the point at issue is modernization of military programmes promising new profits for the military-industrial complex.

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CSO: 5200/1238
ROMANIAN-BULGARIAN APPEAL TO UN—New York, January 15 TASS—A declaration—appeal by President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania and chairman of the State Council of Bulgaria Todor Zhivkov calling for the establishment in the Balkans of a zone free from chemical weapons has been distributed here as a document of the U.N. General Assembly. The document points out that the implementation of the proposal would become an important step towards totally ridding Europe of this extremely dangerous type of armaments, would facilitate the efforts towards achieving its universal and total prohibition, and could help deepen confidence and expand cooperation between states. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 2035 GMT 15 Jan 86 LD] /6091

CSO: 5200/1238
Stockholm, Jan 28 (AFP) -- The Conference on Disarmament in Europe (CDE) opened its third year of talks here today, with French External Relations Minister Roland Dumas insisting that the problem of conventional arms should not take second place to nuclear weapons negotiations.

He and West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher were attending the session to push the 35 participating nations -- all of Europe, except Albania, plus the United States and Canada -- to draw up a code to restore East-West confidence prior to the next Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Vienna next September.

The last session here closed December 20 without making concrete progress in guidelines aimed at reducing the risk of conventional warfare in Europe.

Both ministers today commented on proposals by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to destroy all nuclear and space weapons in three stages over 15 years.

Mr Dumas, in the first official French response to the proposal, said security remained the heart of the problem and it was "insufficient" to treat only the elimination of nuclear armaments. "You cannot forget, at the same time, the conventional and chemical forces present in Europe, which also threaten our countries," Mr Dumas said, adding that France "cannot accept that the problem of conventional armaments be given second priority to nuclear negotiations."

France, has so far refused to join any U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms talks, but Mr Dumas said Paris would participate provided three conditions were met: that U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals were sufficiently reduced to decrease the current disparity with the arsenals of other nuclear powers, the non-reinforcement of defensive systems, the elimination of the imbalance in traditional forces, and the elimination of the chemical warfare threat.

Mr Genscher, meanwhile, said the Soviet proposals could "give new, major impetus" to disarmament negotiations, particularly if effective verification measures were outlined. While noting the importance of a provision renouncing the use of force -- which the Eastern bloc has been promoting here, he urged delegates to go further by drawing up "concrete arrangements likely to eliminate mistrust and contribute to military stability."
Western delegates at the CDE have been pushing for a package of measures involving the exchange of information on military structures and the notification of military maneuvers and troop movements.

Moscow and its allies, however, have so far balked at entering into details, calling instead for a pledge on the non-use of force.
NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

TASS HITS WEINBERGER'S COMMENTS AT PRESS CONFERENCE

Weinberger Call for Testing Continuation

LD171843 Moscow TASS in English 1818 GMT 17 Jan 86

[Text] Washington, January 17 TASS -- Addressing a press conference here, U.S. Defence Secretary Weinberger commented on the latest Soviet peace proposals which envision, inter alia, the mutual renunciation of space strike weapons by the Soviet Union and the United States. Weinberger stated that the priority given by the USA to the Strategic Defence Initiative is common knowledge and that it remained in effect. The Pentagon chief called for the continuation of nuclear testing by the United States and pointed out that he considered continued tests according to plan very important.

The apologists of the "star wars" program in the U.S. Congress press for the intensification of the development of an extensive partially space-based ABM system. Republican Senator Pressler (South Dakota) has announced his intention to submit to the Congress a draft bill on measures in the educational system in connection with the Strategic Defence Initiative. The document envisions the expansion of those research programs in U.S. universities and colleges which "meet the needs of SDI." In particular, funds are going to be made available to higher educational establishments to buy advanced computers and other measures are planned for the "technological updating" of SDI-related projects.

The senator said at a press conference that the "star wars" should be given top priority among all military programs and stressed that it was necessary already now to train personnel for operating SDI strike systems.

Testing Shows 'Contempt' for Geneva

LD211836 Moscow TASS in English 1810 GMT 21 Jan 86

["How To Make Nuclear Weapons Impotent and Obsolete" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, January 21 TASS -- TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev writes:

U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger maintains that the United States cannot join in the Soviet moratorium on nuclear weapon tests as long as there are nuclear weapons in the world. Addressing a regular press conference in Washington, the chief of the Pentagon said: "We feel that it is important for us to continue doing testing on a planned basis because, unfortunately, there are nuclear weapons in the world".
Having tailored to the Pentagon liking the wise British proverb, C. Weinberger claims that it is possible to stop tasting nuclear pudding only after it is banished by itself [sentence as received].

Washington officials are touting their striving to make nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete" and express "regret" over their existence on our planet. At the same time, they reject the ban on nuclear explosions, stating that this measure will hinder their efforts to develop more powerful mass destruction systems using the latest achievements in science. So, what is the true purpose of the present U.S. Administration -- impotent or powerful nuclear weapons, obsoletion or perfection of mass destruction systems?

Washington's negative reaction to the Soviet Union's appeal to the United States to join in the moratorium on nuclear blasts under rigorous international control, using if need be on-site inspection, gives a clear-cut and unambiguous answer to this question.

Banning nuclear explosions is a very effective and at the same time the most simple step towards making nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete" not only in words but also in deed. The attitude of one or another government to banning nuclear blasts is a touchstone which makes it possible to determine with high precision its stand on the entire range of arms limitation and reduction problems. Without halting tests it is impossible to stem the qualitative perfection of mass destruction systems which can appear to be many times more dangerous to mankind than their simple quantitative build-up.

By setting off new nuclear devices, Washington demonstrates contempt to the commitment formalised in the joint Soviet-U.S. statement following the November summit meeting, namely, not to strive for military superiority.

In the nuclear age, in conditions when mankind has approached the fatal brink of universal catastrophe, Washington should discard the customary arms race "logic" and give up the thinking of the Stone Age. The U.S. consent to terminating all nuclear explosions and resuming talks on their comprehensive ban could become the present U.S. Administration's first step on the road of passing over from confrontation to normal international relations.
NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

NUCLEAR TESTING BAN SEEN AS 'FIRST STEP' BY MOSCOW

LD232036 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 23 Jan 86

[Political observer Nikolay Shishlin commentary]

[Text] As is known, at the center of the announcement by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is the problem of the elimination of nuclear arms by the start of the 21st century.

But what has been said about the time table for the realization of a large-scale, comprehensive Soviet plan for peace and disarmament does not mean that establishing calmer, more reasonable relations between states must be postponed until some distant date. First of all, there is the possibility of taking practical steps toward nuclear disarmament even in these coming years which should, of course, be facilitated by a clear binding accord on the nontransferral of the arms race into space. Secondly, the international atmosphere will improve practically without delay if agreement can successfully be reached between the USSR and the United States and then, between all nuclear states on a full halt to nuclear tests. As you know comrades, on 1 January 1986 the time allotted for the unilateral Soviet moratorium expired. And if the USSR acted in keeping with established stereotypes than guided by the interests of its own security it could probably resume testing immediately; such actions would be justified. But too much is at stake today to act in keeping with the usual pattern born from the logic of military confrontation. The USSR has chosen a different path, a different type of action. The Soviet moratorium on any nuclear explosions has been extended until 31 March 1986.

What would the halting of all nuclear tests give in the military-technical sense? First of all, the channels for further improving nuclear arms would be blocked. The accumulated nuclear arsenals would start to become morally obsolete and their significance would gradually become worthless. However, it is even more essential that, on the political level, a halt to nuclear tests would have a beneficial effect immediately, both on USSR-U.S. relations and on international relations as a whole. This would be a breakthrough of confidence. Right now as we examine the first reactions of the United States to this important point in the announcement of the Soviet leader it is impossible not to say that a great deal makes us wary. Washington prefers to create more and more new fairy tales about the imaginary U.S. lag behind the USSR, including in the nuclear field, and they are in no hurry to carefully analyse the Soviet proposals and reply to them with the same goodwill which the USSR demonstrated. The road to freeing the earth from nuclear arms begins with the first step. And it is the deep conviction of the USSR that such a first step could indeed be a halt to all nuclear tests.

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CSO: 5200/1241
NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

IZVESTIYA EDITORIAL URGES NUCLEAR TEST BAN

PM231649 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 86 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "No Nuclear Tests!"]

[Text] The logic of events has brought to the fore the problem of banning all nuclear tests as one of the most urgent and important problems in terms of safeguarding our planet's peaceful future.

Nuclear tests are, as it were, constantly adding grist to the mill of the leading imperialist countries' military-industrial complexes. Is that not why, despite the Soviet Union's urgent appeal, Washington did not consent in 1963 to a total ban on all nuclear tests, but left itself some leeway in the shape of underground explosions? The treaty signed that year in Moscow by the Soviet Union, the United States, and Britain is a partial one, envisaging the prohibition of such tests in the atmosphere, in space, and underwater.

But it was a success for the peace-loving forces. As a result, it was possible to considerably reduce the scale of the ruinous effect of these "experiments" on people's health in all countries and to prevent serious environmental pollution.

The struggle for a radical solution to the problem of prohibition of nuclear tests goes on and on. Trying to do all it can to promote the cause of disarmament, the Soviet Union is making a consistent effort to ensure that a complete ban on nuclear weapon tests is the starting point for curbing the mass destruction weapon production race. The wide-ranging new Soviet proposals on a range of disarmament issues give prominence to the cessation of nuclear weapons tests.

The Soviet Union is extending by 3 months its unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions, which was announced on 6 August last year and lasted until 1 January 1986. The moratorium will continue to operate in the future if the United States also stops its nuclear tests.

It was not an easy decision. Is it possible to go on indefinitely displaying restraint in a sphere affecting vital security interests? But the stakes are too high, the responsibility is too great for us not to explore every opportunity to influence others by force of example.

The world community, in the shape of the United Nations at the last session of the General Assembly, has demonstrated its opposition to nuclear tests with renewed force by adopting a resolution calling for an immediate general test ban. The only dissenters were the United States, Britain, and France -- powers which are continuing these tests.
Responding to the new Soviet proposals, U.S. President Reagan advocated the elimination of mass destruction weapons. A complete nuclear test ban would be a good start. So why is the U.S. Administration opposing such a step? At first Washington tried to mislead the public by giving the impression that the USSR had some kind of "advantage" over the United States in the sphere of nuclear tests. A rudimentary comparison of the facts reveals how false these claims are: The United States has conducted more nuclear tests than the USSR.

Subsequently, they changed their tune across the ocean and began to plead "difficulties in verifying" the observance of a complete ban on such tests. A few months ago, President Reagan declared that ending nuclear tests would be acceptable to the United States if measures of inspection and on-site verification were feasible.

However, what was presented as some kind of "obstacle" by the official agencies across the ocean does not exist in practice. Only people who want neither inspection, nor verification, nor a nuclear test ban as such are likely to try to cloud this issue.

The Soviet Union has confirmed and is confirming in the most unequivocal terms its readiness for effective verification, including international verification, for the sake of imposing an effective ban on all nuclear tests. There has been a great international reaction to the readiness expressed by the Soviet Union also to come to an agreement with the United States on measures of on-site verification -- if a mutual moratorium on nuclear explosions is established now -- so that possible doubts about the observance of such a moratorium are eliminated.

The U.S. military's obsession with nuclear weapon tests with a view to improving the "technology of mass destruction" is becoming increasingly obvious now. This is admitted by Pentagon representatives themselves. They also admit that the Pentagon needs these tests for work on space arms.

But what the transatlantic militarist circles regard as "meaningful," the world community regards as an evil that must be eliminated by means of vigorous action.

On the initiative of the Soviet side the problem of a complete nuclear test ban occupied a prominent place during the Soviet-U.S. summit in Geneva. A positive solution of this problem would affect the whole situation very favorably, would greatly change it for the better, and would contribute to the strengthening of trust between the USSR and the United States. After all, Washington's official representatives themselves have pointed out the importance of this trust for the elaboration of joint accords at the Geneva talks.

The Soviet Union will not allow the parity that has been achieved, the equality in the military sphere to be disrupted, and it is capable of upholding its vital interests and the interests of its allies.

There is one sensible solution. It is prompted by life itself: working toward accords which would make it possible to maintain the existing equilibrium in the military sphere at considerably lower levels rather than towards a continued buildup of the most dangerous arms. Nobody stands to lose from this. Everyone will gain. A complete nuclear test ban would be an important step in this direction, a tangible contribution to the realization of mankind's noble dream of a world without wars and without weapons.

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CSO: 5200/1241

73
U.S. CRUISE MISSILE TESTS IN CANADA ASSAILED BY USSR

Preparations for Test

LD200725 Moscow TASS in English 0707 GMT 20 Jan 86

[Text] Ottawa, January 20 TASS — Four flight tests of American cruise missiles will be carried out over Canadian territory this year. According to a communiqué by the command of the Canadian Armed Forces, the first testing will be held tomorrow. The missile will be fired from a B-52 bomber above the Sea of Beaufort and, after flying about 2,500 kilometres, is to land at the cold lake test site in Alberta Province.

During the testing, fighter planes of the Canadian Air Force will simulate an interception attempt in order to check the missile's ability to overcome the enemy's air-defences. American fighter aircraft are slated for use during the following three tests.

The Pentagon chose Canadian territory for testing cruise missiles because its geographical and climatic conditions are similar to those of Soviet territory. Four tests of air-to-ground cruise missiles, which are being developed by the American Boeing company, were conducted last year.

The testing sparked off protests by Canadian peace campaigners who stressed their provocative character. A spokesman for the Canadian section of the international Greenpeace conservationist organization announced that the Canadian peace activists will time fresh protest actions to coincide with the Pentagon-scheduled tests.

U.S. Continues Pursuit of Superiority

LD210007 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1840 GMT 20 Jan 86

[By TASS observer Leonid Ponomarev]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Jan (TASS) — The United States is again starting a series of tests of nuclear-capable cruise missiles on the territory of Canada. According to a report from the Ministry of National Defense of Canada, the first such test will take place tomorrow, 21 January. A further three, planned by the Pentagon for this year, will follow. The route chosen for the cruise missile's flight is over the northwest parts of the country from the Beaufort Sea to the Canadian testing site at the Cold Lake Air Force base in Alberta province. As UPI notes, the U.S. command chose the area of northern Canada for testing cruise missiles because "this locality is similar to the terrain of Siberia."
These are the actions on stepping up the pace of the arms race by which the Washington administration is starting 1986, a year which has, by the way, been declared a year of peace by the UN Organization.

A representative of the Canadian environmental protection organization "Greenpeace Foundation of Canada" stated to UPI that the cruise missile being tested by the U.S. Air Force in Canada is so small (about seven meters) that it can be hidden in a truck, ship or plane. According to him it is impossible to locate the deployment of such missiles.

All this confirms the view that Washington is conducting the development [razrabotka] of weapons which will permit the exclusion of any detection and consequently the setting up of monitoring over them. This also means that the American leaders are continuing to follow the path of the arms race in pursuit of the illusion of military superiority.

The Soviet Union proposes another path — the gradual elimination, over a period of 15 years, of all nuclear weapons on earth and a start to the third millennium liberated from the threat of nuclear catastrophe. In the context of the program proposed by the USSR, the gradual elimination of all nuclear weapons on earth will be achieved by a whole complex of specific measures envisaged, including the elimination of the USSR and U.S. medium-range missiles in the zone of Europe, both ballistic and cruise, as the first step on the path of freeing the continent of Europe from nuclear weapons. It is not the creation and testing of increasingly new nuclear missiles, but their complete elimination which is the position and aim of the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

Test Fails

LD240851 Moscow TASS in English 0830 GMT 24 Jan 86

[Text] Ottawa, January 24 TASS -- The testing of an American cruise missile in Canada on January 22 ended in a failure. The missile plummeted to the earth tens of kilometres short of the aim in the proving range in the area of the Cold Lake base (Alberta Province). In view of this failure the Pentagon was forced to cancel the second cruise missile test scheduled for today. Jean Chretien, Canada's former external relations minister and parliament member from the Liberal Party, urged the conservative government to examine the issue of putting an end to the testing of American cruise missiles in Canada.

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NUCLEAR TESTING AND FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

BRIEFS

NATO HEAD REJECTS MORATORIUM--NATO Secretary General Lord Carrington has rejected the moratorium ceasing any nuclear tests that has been proposed by the Soviet Union. Speaking in Brussels to the International Association of Students, he explained this categorical rejection by the need for defense of the countries of the West. [From "The World Today" program presented by Igor Kudrin] [Text] [Moscow Television Service in Russian 1955 GMT 20 Jan 86 LD] /6091

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