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Mikhail Gorbachev addresses plenum of CPSU Central Committee

THE reorganisation currently under way in the Soviet Union has spread to all spheres of the life of Soviet society and demands a serious perfection of personnel policy, Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, pointed out in a report at the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee which opened in Moscow on January 27.

On the plenum agenda is the issue 'On Reorganisation and the Party's Personnel Policy'.

The political strategy worked out by the April (1985) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 27th CPSU Congress (1986) stirred to action all healthy forces of society, noted the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

"A new atmosphere is developing in the country, reassessment of values is under way. Openness is asserting itself on a growing scale. Discussions have been started on ways to reorganise the economy, the social and cultural spheres."

The measures that were being carried out would not bring about immediate results. But some results had already been achieved, Gorbachev said.

The national income grew by 4.1 per cent over the past year, the mean annual growth in 1981-1986 being 3.6 per cent. Industrial production growth reached its highest mark in the past nine years. Improvement in the development of the agrarian sector was obvious. Grain production increased by nearly 30 million tonnes in 1986 (17 per cent growth). But the main work was still ahead.

The speaker dwelt on questions of developing democracy. He recalled what had lately been done in this direction and considered steps that were to be undertaken.

Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out, in particular, that the law on state enterprises, currently being drawn up, would give extensive powers to work collectives. It was planned to submit the draft for nationwide discussion.

Speaking on the Soviet electoral system, Gorbachev pointed to the need "for more effective and real participation of voters in all stages of the pre-election and election campaigns".

Proposals were coming in, he said, that as a rule several nominations be discussed at pre-election meetings, while voting would be held in bigger electoral districts with several deputies to be elected from each of them (at present, one candidate stands for election in each district).

The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee came out in favour of making changes

to the electoral system and suggested that they be published for nationwide discussion.

The report raised the question of changing the order of electing heads of district, city, regional and republican organisations of the CPSU. It was suggested that secretaries, including first secretaries, be elected by secret vote at plenums of the corresponding Party committees. Members of the Party committee would have the right to put on the voting ticket any number of candidatures (at present, Party committee heads are elected by show of hands).

Mikhail Gorbachev pointed to the need for promoting more actively youth and women to leading posts in bodies of authority, in the national economy. He described as an important direction in the democratisation of social life the promotion of non-Party people to leading jobs.

Having analysed in detail the past errors in work with the cadres, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said that it was necessary to "seriously renovate personnel policy, rid it of deviations and shortcomings, make it truly modern, more vigorous and purposeful, inseparably linked with key directions of the struggle to accelerate socio-economic development".

Gorbachev said that the cadres' attitude to reorganisation was the decisive criterion in personnel policy.

The report paid much attention to nationalities policy.

Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at Central Committee conference

A CONFERENCE held at the CPSU Central Committee on January 23 discussed the tasks of the Party organisations, local government bodies and economic agencies stemming from the CPSU Central Committee's decision on urgent measures to raise worker productivity in agriculture by introducing rational forms of labour organisation and economic accountability.

The conference was opened by Mikhail Gorbachev who said:

Comrades,

We have invited you to the CPSU

Central Committee to discuss issues of what I would call paramount importance, which we have been dealing with as the drive for change has been gaining momentum.

Our position generally is that there should be fewer and fewer conferences of any kind and we have recommended the national and republican-level departments, now that the results of the country's performance last year are being summed up and lessons drawn from the experience of work in the first year after the Congress, to do all this at grass-roots level, at their factories, first of all where things aren't going well.

We have recommended meeting with the people and taking counsel with the shopfloor and production specialists, especially as this January our whole economy has embarked on the demanding work of mastering new economic management methods.

And yet we have found it essential in this situation to call this meeting here, at the Party's Central Committee.

The change we are working in the country cuts across all aspects of our society's life. We consider it the key to expediting social and economic development, which is the strategic task set by the April plenum of the Central Committee and the 27th Party Congress.

This policy must be pursued consistently,

unswervingly and, I would say, with greater application than we have shown so far. Today we are convinced of its being indispensable even more than yesterday.

I don't want to anticipate the discussion at the forthcoming plenum of the Party's Central Committee that will consider changes also in our cadre policy. The plenum will open on January 27. I'll say now only that we shall stress there once again the need for maintaining the policy charted by the Congress and our responsibility to the Soviet people and the entire socialist world for effecting it.

However, the process of change, which encompasses all spheres of life — economic, social and cultural — as well as the Party itself and the entire political system, involves also such problems as take priority. Everything that we want to accomplish must ultimately make this country stronger economically, politically and socially and bring about further improvements in the living standards of the people.

This is where I get right to the topic of our conference today. The matter is that now, while we are at the re-organisation stage, there are several vital problems we must dispose of first of all.

These include the food problem. They also include the housing problem and the issues of providing the people with adequate social, medical and consumer services and meeting their demand for goods, among others.

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Mikhail Gorbachev's reply to President of Nigeria

President Ibrahim Babangida of the Federal Republic of Nigeria has addressed a message to Mikhail Gorbachev, expressing high appreciation of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Reykjavik, held on the initiative of the USSR, and urging its participants to carry on the dialogue on the fundamental issues of the present-day international situation, arms control and nuclear disarmament.

In his reply address to the President of Nigeria Mikhail Gorbachev reaffirmed the Soviet Union's preparedness for a further dialogue in the interests of ensuring the world's peaceful future, improving the international situation and developing a system of general security and cooperation worthy of contemporary human civilisation. The package of compromise proposals put forward by the Soviet Union at the Reykjavik meeting makes it possible to open the door into a new epoch, in which the term 'weapons race' would disappear for ever from all languages of the world, and outer space would become a field of co-operation solely for the benefit of peace. Under new conditions incomparably greater opportunities would have appeared to divert a part of the material resources thus released to all-round economic and financial aid to the developing countries.

The message stresses the need to preserve and develop what has been achieved at Reykjavik,

the need for a constructive approach on the part of the US Administration to disarmament issues, an active stand on these affairs by the peoples and leaders of all states. In that connection satisfaction was expressed with the positive role played by the Non-Aligned Movement, whose active member in the international arena is Nigeria. The message points out that the stands of the Soviet Union, Nigeria and other African states are close on issues of disarmament and strengthening peace, total elimination of colonialism and racism on our planet, a just settlement of regional conflicts and crisis, of overcoming economic and social backwardness, of restructuring international economic relations and resolving other topical world problems.

(Moscow, January 23.)

Meeting of Political Bureau of CPSU Central Committee

THE Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, at its meeting on January 22, examined the implementation of the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on accelerating the development of machine-building.

It was noted at the meeting that as a result of Party and government measures, the development of machine-building branches was on the whole dynamic and was being accompanied by considerable restructuring in production and management.

The plan assignments of the growth of output and labour productivity were overfulfilled last year. The renovation of production was carried out at a higher pace, the use of production facilities became more effective.

The national economy received more computers, instruments, modern machinetools, forging-and-pressing machines and other types of equipment. Transition to work on a completely self-supporting basis and conditions of repayment was being carried out in a number of machine-building ministries and many enterprises.

At the same time, the Political Bureau drew attention to the fact that reconstruction in the machine-building complex on the whole did not as yet proceed at the rates required by the current period. The development and production of new machines and instruments were slow. No radical change was achieved in observing the discipline of deliveries. The funds allocated for construction, modernisation and retooling of enterprises were not fully used.

Stressing that the fast growth of machine-building determined to a large extent the pace of restructuring in the entire national economy, the Political Bureau instructed the appropriate Party and state bodies to concentrate their efforts on rectifying the existing drawbacks, unconditionally fulfilling plan assignments aimed to achieve the fast development of the machine-building complex and all-round enhancement of the technical standards and quality of products.

A resolution was passed on measures to further improve the activity of state arbitration bodies and enhance their role in tightening laws and contractual discipline in the national economy. The resolution lays down guidelines for the reorganisation of the work of those

bodies, for broadening their powers and for strengthening their influence in protecting the interests of enterprises and organisations at a time when full cost-accounting and self-financing are being introduced. The central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, and the Party committees in territories, regions and cities are called upon to enhance Party guidance of the work of state arbitration bodies, improve the selection, deployment and education of cadres for those bodies and make more stringent demands on them in strengthening contractual discipline at every level of our economic machinery.

The CPSU Central Committee, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions adopted a resolution on further improvements in services to the elderly and the disabled. It envisions the expansion of the construction of boarding houses for war and labour veterans, the provision of advanced equipment and modern furniture and utensils for them, and improvements in health, cultural, communal and other social services to that group of citizens. The attention of Party, government, economic management and trade union organisations is called to the need to resolutely remove the existing shortcomings and substantially to improve the work of social insurance bodies.

The Political Bureau took into account that the Council of Ministers of the USSR would shortly draft and adopt measures to drastically improve material provisions for orphans and children deprived of parental care and looked after in orphanages, boarding houses and infant care centres, and also to improve the material and technical base of those institutions.

Having reviewed the draft statute of the Secondary General Educational School, prepared in accordance with the resolutions of the 27th Congress and the Guidelines for the Reform of Public Education, the Political Bureau decided that important document should be submitted for discussion by broad sections of educationalists and parents and for review at educationalists' congresses in the union republics and at the national congress of educationalists scheduled for this summer.

Having discussed the results of the visit of Nikolai Ryzhkov to the Finnish Republic, the Political Bureau noted that the visit and talks with President Mauno Koivisto and Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa had reaffirmed the high level and stability of the relations of good-

neighbourliness, mutual understanding and trust between our countries and the proximity of their positions on a number of outstanding problems of world politics. The Political Bureau stressed that the fruitful and dynamic development of Soviet-Finnish relations demonstrated the viability of the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and constituted an important factor for strengthening peace in the north of Europe.

Confidence was expressed that the agreements signed during the visit would help further broaden and improve mutually advantageous commercial, economic, scientific and technological co-operation between the USSR and Finland, to deepen it and enrich it with new forms.

The Political Bureau approved the results of the working visit to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan by Comrades Eduard Shevardnadze and Anatoli Dobrynin and of their talks with Afghan leaders.

Those meetings, which were held in the spirit of the Moscow negotiations between Comrades Mikhail Gorbachev and Najib, bore out once more a desire by both countries to maintain an unwavering and consistent policy of continuing to strengthen friendly, good-neighbourly relations between them.

After noting the success in realising Soviet-Afghan plans for co-operation, the Political Bureau voiced support for the policy of national reconciliation, proclaimed by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, and the decisions taken by an emergency plenum of the PDPA Central Committee and a session of the DRA Revolutionary Council.

Special stress was laid on the importance of the call, made by the Afghan leadership, for a cease-fire and the significance of that step to restoring peace on Afghan soil.

The Political Bureau again stressed that the Afghan Government's desire for an early political settlement of the situation concerning Afghanistan is in the fundamental interests of all countries in the region, the interests of peace and security in South-West Asia and the Near East.

The Political Bureau at its meeting also examined some other issues of home policy. Party building, and co-operation with the fraternal communist and workers' parties in efforts for peace and social progress.

Nikolai Ryzhkov meets Saudi Arabia's Minister of Petroleum

NIKOLAI RYZHKOV, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on January 21 received in the Kremlin Saudi Arabia's Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources Hisham Nazer, who is on a working visit to the USSR.

The minister informed Nikolai Ryzhkov of the results of the latest session of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) that adopted an important decision on measures to

overcome negative tendencies in the world oil market. He expressed hope that the Soviet Union would display a favourable attitude to this step.

Nikolai Ryzhkov said that the Soviet Union respected the interests of developing countries, their desire to strengthen their national economies and was giving them invariable support in this. The USSR approves of OPEC's constructive efforts and takes them into consideration.

The Soviet Union comes out for the development of normal relations and equal cooperation with all states, including with Saudi

Arabia, and proceeds from the premise that a reliable basis for this could be provided by the principles of the Delhi Declaration signed recently by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and the Prime Minister of India Rajiv Gandhi.

The Soviet Union comes out for the development of mutually advantageous ties with Saudi Arabia, including in the fields of trade, science and culture.

Hashim Nazer expressed his gratitude for the warm reception accorded him in the Soviet Union.

Meeting of USSR Council of Ministers

A MEETING of the USSR Council of Ministers was held on January 21. It studied how the state plan for the country's economic and social development and the state budget of the USSR for 1986 were fulfilled and also the tasks to fulfil the plan for the current year.

It was noted that measures to restructure the economy, to assert new approaches to the solution of social and economic problems were consistently implemented. The rates of growth in almost all branches of social production have increased for the first time in many years. Moreover, along a number of key directions they reached the average annual level stipulated by the five-year plan.

The produced national income increased by 4.1 per cent as against the planned 3.9 per cent and as compared to 3.5 per cent in 1985. The increment of industrial output was 4.9 per cent as compared to the planned 4.3 per cent. The 1986 assignment for the overall marketing of output was fulfilled by 101 per cent. Products worth nine billion roubles were marketed over and above

plan. State capital investments increased by eight per cent.

The average monthly wages and salaries of industrial and office workers went up by 2.7 per cent and the remuneration of the labour of collective farmers increased by four per cent.

State purchases of grain, potatoes, vegetables, fruit and basic animal husbandry products have increased. The volume of production in agriculture surpassed the 1985 level by 5.1 per cent.

The productivity of social labour went up by 3.8 per cent as against 3.2 per cent in 1985. Plans to increase labour productivity were overfulfilled in industry, construction and railway transport.

At the same time the Council of Ministers of the USSR noted that the attained results do not yet meet the demands made by the Party at the present stage. The process of restructuring is slow in a number of branches of the national economy and union republics and does not reach out to indepth processes.

Last year 27 per cent of the amalgamations and enterprises did not fulfil their contractual delivery obligations. The assignment to commission fixed assets was fulfilled by only 93 per cent. The solution of social questions was not

given proper attention in a number of branches and regions.

The USSR Council of Ministers demanded that the USSR ministries, agencies and the councils of ministers of the union republics take immediate measures to prevent any breakdowns whatsoever in the supply of heat and electricity to the population and in the work of the national economy, and to fulfil the plan assignments for January 1987.

The Council of Ministers of the USSR demanded that the heads of ministries and agencies, of the councils of ministers of the union republics take measures to organise the effective functioning of the system of state output quality control.

The Council of Ministers of the USSR also studied the question of measures to raise the efficiency of using production capacities and in this connection to switch industrial and other organisations to work in two and three shifts with a corresponding readjustment in the work of the service sector.

The meeting was addressed by Nikolai Ryzhkov.

RESOLUTION OF USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

ON January 13, 1987, the USSR Council of Ministers passed a resolution on setting up joint enterprises with the participation of Soviet organisations and firms of capitalist and developing countries on Soviet territory and their activities.

The resolution is aimed at further developing trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation with capitalist and developing countries on a stable and mutually advantageous basis.

It establishes that joint enterprises of Soviet organisations and firms from capitalist and developing countries are set up on Soviet territory with the permission of the USSR Council of Ministers on the basis of treaties concluded by the participants of such enterprises.

Ministries and departments, of which the Soviet participants of a joint enterprise are part, by creating these enterprises aim more fully to fulfil the country's requirements in certain types of industrial output, raw materials and food products, to attract into the national economy advanced foreign technology, managerial expertise, additional material and financial resources, to develop the country's exports base and reduce irrational imports.

The resolution defines the participants, property and the rights of joint enterprises. In particular, it establishes the share of the Soviet side in the ownership capital of a joint enterprise at not less than 51 per cent.

Joint enterprises are legal entities according to Soviet law. They have their own balance and operate on the basis of full cost-accounting, repayment and self-financing.

By Soviet law the joint enterprise effects ownership, utilisation and disposal of its property in accordance with the aims of its activities and the type of property. Its property is not liable to requisition or confiscation by administrative order.

Branches of joint enterprises, created with the participation of Soviet organisations on the territory of other countries, are open on Soviet territory in the order established for setting up joint enterprises. The supreme body of a joint enterprise is a board consisting of persons appointed by the sharers. The daily activities of a joint enterprise are overseen by management formed from among Soviet and foreign citizens. The chairman of a board and the general director of an enterprise are Soviet citizens.

The joint enterprise drafts and endorses on its own the programmes for its economic activities. The state agencies of the USSR neither set

compulsory plan targets nor guarantee the marketing of the products of a joint enterprise. It gains the right to carry out independent export and import activities needed for its economic operations, including those in the markets of the CMEA member countries. All foreign currency expenditure of the joint enterprise, including income and other sums due to foreign sharers and specialists must be paid by the joint enterprise from the export earnings on the foreign market.

The marketing of products on the Soviet market and deliveries to a joint enterprise of equipment, raw materials, accessories, fuel, energy and other products from this market are carried out through corresponding Soviet foreign trade organisations, with the payment made on contract prices in roubles with an eye to the prices on the world market.

The foreign sharers of a joint enterprise are guaranteed the transfer abroad of foreign currency sums due to them as a result of sharing the earnings of an enterprise.

Joint enterprises pay taxes of 30 per cent of the part of incomes left after deductions.

Joint enterprises are exempt from paying income taxes in the first two years of their operation.

If a treaty between the USSR and a (Continued on Page 33)

Yegor Ligachev's speech at conference at CPSU Central Committee

"THE unanimous support of the whole people for the course of the Party shows that Soviet people do not wish to live in the old way, to tolerate stagnation. A renewing, actually revolutionary work is under way in the country," said Yegor Ligachev, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He was speaking on January 23 in the CPSU Central Committee at the conference of leaders of Party organisations, government and economic bodies, devoted to matters of agriculture.

"Materialisation of the Party's political course is not an easy matter." Yegor Ligachev noted. "A multitude of problems remain to be resolved in the agro-industrial complex. However, assessing objectively the results of its development, we have a right to say that a number of heartening positive tendencies have started there."

"First, the growth of the output of animal husbandry has assumed a certain stability. The output of meat increased these years by 12 per cent, of milk by eight per cent, of eggs by 12 per cent. The plans for purchases of animal husbandry products have been fulfilled for four years now. The biggest increment was in 1986.

(Continued from front page)

As to the food problem, comrades, we really must heave it off the ground. We dawdled all too long and literally stuck fast in these matters.

The whole of the 11th five-year plan period was a wheelspin. We kept stalling from 1972, especially from 1975, when we slaughtered a large number of cattle, until the CPSU Central Committee's plenum in May 1982.

It is only after it that headway has begun in animal husbandry and the production and procurement of livestock products has started growing.

Over the eight years before the plenum, however, both the population and effective consumer demand grew. The people want to spend the extra money they have enjoyed through pay rises.

This is an issue that brooks no delay whatsoever. It is inadmissible to let this problem take further years upon years to solve.

We are laying blunt emphasis on the food issue and urging its early resolution because there already are vast assets and capabilities available in the agrarian sector. There is also a cadre corps which is capable of converting the agro-industrial sector to new methods of management. Finally, practical experience gained over recent years makes it possible effectively to tackle the basic issues involved in solving the food problem.

Proceeding from this, at the Central Committee's Political Bureau we drew the conclusion that we should take major, farreaching decisions to encourage new approaches and a new level of worker productivity so as to make a determined and vigorous push in the agro-industrial sector and fulfil the Food Programme sooner.

How can this be done? What shall we focus on? What should we adopt for use, what should we strongly renounce and what should we overcome? These are the questions on the agenda of our business meeting today.

"Second, intensive technologies are being applied ever more widely in agriculture and in livestock breeding. A substantial effect of this factor was manifested in the fact that over 210 million tons of grain was harvested in the USSR in the past year. A milk yield of 3,000 kilogrammes per cow was achieved in 24 regions, territories and autonomous republics in 1986, while there were only eight such territories in 1982.

"Third, the economic state of collective and state farms has been strengthened. The number of economies operating at a loss has dropped to less than one third since the May plenary meeting of the Central Committee (1982).

"Fourth, the investment policy in rural areas has changed toward a greater social trend. While 28 billion roubles, or 17 per cent of the total volume of capital investments, was channelled into the non-productive sphere in the four years before the May plenary meeting, over 41 billion roubles, or nearly 23 per cent of the total volume of capital investments, was channelled into this sphere after the plenum.

"Positive trends have just been manifested. The task is to consolidate and develop them, to make them irreversible.

"The Central Committee of the Party," Yegor Ligachev noted, "is constantly paying great attention to the activity of the agro-industrial complex, to the setting up of food stocks for the country. In the recent period alone, the Central Committee reviewed the work of Party organisations of the Ukraine, Kazakhstan and the Voronezh Region for ensuring a speedy and

stable development of agriculture and livestock breeding.

The resolution adopted by the CPSU Central Committee notes that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and the Republic's Council of Ministers are readjusting with intolerable slowness the management of the agro-industrial complex in accordance to the Party's requirements. Matters went so far that the Ukraine, which was a supplier of grain to the state reserves, has turned into a grain consumer. The republic's supplies of animal husbandry products to the state started declining. Animal husbandry in Kazakhstan decayed. It is conducted in Kazakhstan in an extensive way. There were numerous failures and retreats. The productivity of the dairy herd in 1985 did not surpass the level of 1970.

Yegor Ligachev dwelt in detail on the main ways of bringing into greater play the human factor in the agro-industrial complex and the tasks of Party committees in this connection. One of the main and permanent directions of the work of Party committees in this respect is developing in working people the sense of being a master.

"It is necessary to discard arguments — and such arguments are being advanced — that economic methods in themselves resolve all organisational and educational tasks," Yegor Ligachev said. "This is clearly erroneous reasoning. It is particularly important now to combine economic methods of management with broad ideological and educational work, with persuading people and developing their political awareness."

New features in the wage organising system

THE restructuring of wages and salaries in the USSR and the introduction of new conditions for the remuneration of labour have been prompted by the need to raise sharply the stimulating role of wages and salaries and to strengthen their direct dependence on the end results of work, maintains Leonid Kunelsky, member of the Collegium of the USSR State Committee for Labour and Social Affairs. He has contributed an article in issue No. 2 of the journal Kommunist.

He pointed out that the current wages and salaries or their established average amounts do not correspond to the labour inputs by industrial and office workers.

Enterprises which have attained a high level of labour productivity and the workers who make greater contribution to the development of production find themselves, as a rule, at a disadvantage because the amounts of pay at backward enterprises and for negligent workers are unfoundedly raised at their expense.

Such a state of affairs is at variance with the socialist principles of distribution. It is still more intolerable under the conditions of the intensification of production and transition to new methods of management.

The introduction of new conditions for the remuneration of labour in the current five-year plan period (1986-1990) covers key branches of the national economy: industry, construction,

agriculture, transport, and communications, which employ almost two-thirds of all workers and employees engaged in the USSR's national economy.

The salaries of directors and other executives of amalgamations, enterprises and organisations in the production sphere, which have remained unchanged for several decades, will increase.

The new conditions for the remuneration of labour are being introduced at the expense and within the limits of the wage funds existing at enterprises. The accumulation of resources and funds to increase wage rates and salaries is of particular importance in this respect.

At the same time responsibility of both workers and executives for their activities increases. For example, in cases of flagrant violation of technological discipline, deterioration of the quality of output, workers may have their qualification ratings lowered for a period of up to three months. To have them restored subsequently, workers will have to confirm their qualification grade.

The executives of production sub-divisions should undergo certification at least once in three years. On the strength of the results of the certification, decisions are to be made on raising or lowering salaries, introducing, diminishing or cancelling allowances, as well as on relieving a worker of his position if he does not do properly his production duties.

The tasks of switching the economy over to the track of intensification and enhancing the effectiveness of the social policy have predetermined an urgent need to abandon the obsolete forms and methods of the stimulation of labour, the article says.

Programme for Soviet-Polish co-operation

THE programme for the development of ideological co-operation between the CPSU and the Polish United Workers' Party for the period up to the year 1990 was agreed on January 24 at the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, during a meeting between Jan Glowczyk, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Henryk Bednarski and Andrzej Wasilewski, secretaries of the PUWP Central Committee, and Alexander Yakovlev, Anatoli Dobrynin, Vadim Medvedev, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, who are now staying in Warsaw.

The programme envisages the stepping up of interaction in exchanging the experience of socialist construction, in developing in the working people of both countries a high level of conscientiousness and initiative in the ideological, political, scientific, technological, production and social spheres. Special importance is attached to using the potential of direct ties in the

framework of co-operation between enterprises and research, cultural and educational institutions and organisations, and to further upgrading and expanding human contacts.

Ways were charted for the intensification of joint scientific analysis of the most important processes taking place in the world today, and deepening co-operation between the academies of sciences and party educational institutions of the USSR and Poland.

Considerable widening of co-operation in the mass media and among publishers is planned for mutual all-round familiarisation with socio-political life and with the development of the economy and culture. It is planned, specifically, to bring out a series of books and booklets about the achievements of the Soviet and Polish peoples in science, culture and technology.

The radio and television of the USSR and the Polish People's Republic will increase the number of joint programmes under the heading "Brotherhood-in-Arms—Brotherhood-in-Work". The practice of holding television bridges and round-table television conferences with the participation of Soviet and Polish specialists and journalists will be developed further. Favourable opportunities are opening for a considerable increase in joint production of

films and television films.

Much attention is being paid to the ideological, political and artistic level of functions held under the plan of cultural and scientific co-operation for 1986-1990. The introduction of a number of new forms of mutual familiarisation with cultural levels is envisaged. They include, specifically, the holding of festivals of Polish songs and Polish drama in the USSR, and meetings of masters in arts at joint enterprises and construction sites. Measures are planned for the broadening of co-operation in sport, and other contacts between the youth of the two countries.

The geography of co-operation of the Soviet Union's republics and regions with wojwodships in Poland will be widened. Priority importance is attached to enhancing the effectiveness of local ties, bringing closer the peoples of the two countries.

Much importance is attached to joint functions devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the 43rd anniversary of the formation of the Polish People's Republic and to other remarkable anniversaries.

Other functions in the sphere of scientific, cultural and ideological Soviet-Polish co-operation are envisaged under the programme.

Conference of central committee secretaries

A CONFERENCE of secretaries of the central committees of the fraternal parties of socialist countries on international and ideological questions was held in Warsaw on January 22 and 23.

In the course of the exchange of views the means, methods and forms of co-operation of socialist states were studied from the viewpoint of making maximum use of the reserves which each of them has. Special emphasis was laid on the importance of resolute and effective measures to fulfil the long-term programmes and agreements on economic co-operation and the Comprehensive Programme of the Scientific and Technological Progress of CMEA Countries to

the Year 2000.

The need was stressed to show more convincingly the policy and achievements of socialist countries in the field of human rights and freedoms, perfecting socialist democracy, national relations and expanding the participation of citizens in administering all of society's affairs.

The participants in the conference condemned the information and propaganda aggression by reactionary imperialist forces, their attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of socialist countries, in particular to implant nationalistic, chauvinistic sentiments under the guise of protecting human rights, religious and national freedoms. In this connection special emphasis was laid on the active interaction of socialist countries in the interests of objective and extensive dissemination of truthful information, and of giving coverage to the historic achievements of their peoples and the problems that are being solved by them.

When foreign policy questions were discussed it was noted that the efforts taken by the socialist countries throughout the International Year of Peace and directed at struggling against the nuclear threat, at creating an all-embracing system of international security are exerting a favourable impact on changes in the political climate in the world and the sentiments of the international public.

At the same time no noticeable change has yet taken place in the world situation, it was noted at the conference. The international situation continues to remain complex and serious. Participants reiterated the resolve of their parties and countries to make — in co-operation with other socialist countries, with all countries regardless of their social systems, with all anti-war forces — a weighty contribution to further strengthening the potential of peace, reason and goodwill.

Having discussed questions connected with the situation in Central America, South Africa, South-East Asia and the Middle East the participants in the conference expressed solidarity with all peoples struggling against imperialism, racism and neocolonialism.

They noted the destabilising nature of the policy pursued by imperialism, first of all American imperialism. They also stressed the importance of resolving conflicts existing in various regions by way of talks, on the basis of respect for the sovereignty and independence of states, and the right of each people to shape its destiny without foreign interference.

Peace and disarmament are unbreakably linked with development, the global solution of problems of underdevelopment, the external debt of developing countries, and the establishment of a new international economic order.

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The joint enterprise may be liquidated in conditions and order stipulated by constituent documents, as well as by decision of the USSR Council of Ministers if its activities run counter to the aims and tasks envisaged by these documents.

Reykjavik: Restoring the Truth

THE newspaper Pravda carries a signed article headlined Reykjavik: Restoring the Truth. The article deals with the collected papers and materials issued by the Novosti Press Agency, which, as the newspaper underlines, "restore and assert the truth about the Soviet-American meeting in the capital of Iceland."

"Asserting the truth of what happened in Reykjavik," *Pravda* says, "is a task that is more than urgent, since statesmen of the USA, a number of other Western countries, and, from their prompting, the bourgeois mass media continue distorting the stands of the sides and the very essence of the talks held there. Wishing to confuse the public, the overseas 'interpreters' of the outcome of Reykjavik are making zigzags: from unsuccessful attempts at ascribing the

'peace-making initiatives' at the meeting to the US President, they have swiftly jumped back to political renegade tactics. Washington's 'hawks' would even like to 'close Reykjavik' today."

The collected papers include the full text of the Soviet draft directives to the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs and the US Secretary of State on drafting agreements in the field of nuclear disarmament. That document was handed over by the Soviet leader to the US President in the course of the talks.

The point at issue in it was the preparation of three draft agreements: in the field of strategic weapons, in the field of medium-range missiles, and on a treaty to limit anti-ballistic missile defence systems and to ban nuclear testing.

The Soviet leader handed over to the President also a table of comparative data on the number of strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the USA. The newspaper cites that table.

"It can be easily seen," *Pravda* says, "that these figures bring to naught the myth about the 'Soviet nuclear superiority', being propagated by the Western propaganda services, which, as is claimed, makes the White House insist on the implementation of the pseudo-defensive 'strategic initiative'. Moreover, they are evidence of an almost fifty per cent advantage of the USA as regards the number of nuclear warheads in strategic delivery vehicles.

"The documents and materials contained in the collected papers issued both in Russian and several foreign languages," *Pravda* says, "will enable many people abroad to evaluate objectively and at its true worth the outcome of Reykjavik. On the whole, the collected papers are convincing evidence of the persistent efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet State to save our planet from nuclear catastrophe."

(Pravda, January 23.)

Data on Strategic Offensive Weapons of the USSR and the USA (as of October 11, 1986)

	USSR	USA
intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) launchers	1,398	1,018
launchers of ICBM's armed with multiple independently targetted re-entry vehicles (MIRV)	820	550
submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM) launchers including:	922	672
MIRV'ed SLBM launchers	352	640
Total number of ICBM and SLBM launchersincluding:	2,320	1,690
launchers of MIRV'ed ICBM's and SLBM's	1,172	1,190
heavy bombersincluding:	160	518
heavy bombers fitted out to carry cruise missiles	53	127
Total number of ICBM and SLBM launchers and heavy bombers	2,480	2,208
launchers of MIRV'ed ICBM's and SLBM's and heavy bombers fitted out to carry cruise missiles	1,225	1,317
total number of warheads carried by strategic delivery vehicles	10,000	14,800

Destinies of peace

IS it possible to halt mankind's slide towards the nuclear abyss? The new concept of international security advanced by the Soviet Union offers the way out, Lev Tolkunov points out.

Writing in the latest issue of the journal Kommunist, the Chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet observed "the world cannot exist eternally on piles of weapons."

"The development of new weapons—unprecedented by their force of destruction—calls for fundamental changes in the previous traditional notions about conditions for preserving peace," he said.

"A new approach, new concepts are necessary. The existing balance in the military-strategic forces in fact ensures what is no longer equal security but equal danger to every country.

"The logic of the arms race creates a situation when even parity ceases to be a dependable factor of military-political deterrence.

"The Soviet concept rests on the principle of equal security for all by way of reducing arms and achieving disarmament to include the total elimination of all types of weapons of mass annihilation."

Tolkunov pointed out "Mikhail Gorbachev's January 15, 1986 Statement constitutes the core of the USSR's diverse initiatives.

"The philosophy of the Statement is the philosophy of life in all its diversity. It is the philosophy of negating the fear of nuclear war, of negating the balancing on this fear. Specific actions make the nucleus of the Statement. It contains a clear-cut programme for the total elimination of nuclear weapons by the turn of the century.

"It is practice which is the criterion of sincerity, of the good intentions of political leadership. It shows that at a time when the USSR has honoured its unilateral moratorium on nuclear blasts for about 18 months, the US has continued nuclear testing, disregarding world public opinion

"Millions of people are coming to realise that the point at issue is the self-preservation of mankind, which calls for urgent and resolute actions," Tolkunov concluded.

USSR honours treaties

THE Soviet Union has not violated the Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT-2) by launching two ballistic missile submarines, a spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry said at a briefing at the Press Centre of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on January 22.

Those submarines, he explained, are not yet undergoing sea trials and it is from the moment sea trials begin that the launchers are to be counted under the Treaty. So there is still time to dismantle the surplus, if any. The Soviet side continues to guide itself by the Statement of the Soviet Government of December 5 last year, which says that, in view of the great importance of this issue to the whole of humanity, it is necessary to keep the key to the limitation of the arms race. The Soviet Union is so far refraining from overstepping the limits set by the SALT-1 and SALT-2 treaties.

On the night of January 16-17 severe frost caused a short circuit that started a fire at one of the three stations monitoring the non-conduct of nuclear explosions in Bayan-Aul (Kazakhstan). carried out within the framework of the joint Soviet-American experiment.

The fire destroyed the auxiliary premises in which the instruments recording data of equipment monitoring the non-conduct of nuclear explosions were kept, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said on January 22. The servicing personnel also used these premises but there was no loss of life. The equipment installed in shafts is intact. To continue the experiment it is necessary to replace the recording instruments.

In the event of the origination of dangerous situations for the passage of Soviet merchant ships in some part of the world the Soviet Union does not rule out the possibility of providing them with an escort, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing at the ministry's Press Centre on January 22. Of course, he added, all legal norms related to such situations will be observed.

STATEMENT by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of CPSU Central Committee January 15, 1986.

Available from Soviet Booklets, 3 Rosary Gardens, LONDON, SW7 4NW. Free.

Speech by Soviet representative at IPDC session

Here follows a summary of Anatoli Krasikov's speech at the 8th Intergovernmental Council Session of the International Programme for the Development of Communications (IPDC), held last week in Paris. He headed the Soviet delegation to the Session.

Our activities gave rise to the hopes of the third world countries. The hopes that new independent states will be able not only to listen to what others say but also in their turn to be heard. The United Nations General Assembly has highly appraised our activities.

But we should all be aware that realisation of our hopes depends to a large extent on the material means which will be furnished to those who need them.

For the period since the establishment of the IPDC Intergovernmental Council and up till now 68 developing countries, among them 24 of the least developed countries, have benefited from the assistance provided through the IPDC special account. We have given our support to 44 regional and 13 interregional projects.

The special account is the main source for financing the overwhelming majority of projects. Thirty-five countries contributed to it. But three-quarters of the donors are the developing countries themselves, i.e. those for whom the IPDC assistance is intended. The industrialised countries make up only one quarter of the contributors to the special account.

The four biggest donors — Norway, the Soviet Union, Japan and France, together assure 80 per cent of the special account's funds.

The rest of the donors taken together contribute only 20 per cent of the resources going into the special account, and among them India takes the first place. By contributing half a million dollars it has left far behind the Western developed countries which follow it on the list. It is interesting to note that when it comes to

distributing the special account's funds the same developed countries that have not given a penny or make only symbolic contributions are most outspoken. They are trying to impose their point of view on the world community by all means.

One striking example is the position of some members of the Western group in regard to the periodic report on the state of communication in the world. The decision to prepare such a report was taken by the UNESCO general conference and by our council. We need this report to give us better guidance in our activities, to avoid mistakes in the decision-making concerning assistance. But somebody doesn't like the word 'study'. Somebody would like to force us to work without guidance, to provide assistance blindfolded without knowing all aspects of the present situation in the field of world mass communication. They want us to act by ignoring the interests of the majority, by ignoring in some cases the official position of their own governments.

It could be argued that the special account is an important but not exclusive form of assistance within the framework of the IPDC. We have two other forms: the funds-in-trust and the aid-in-kind

I would like to add that in principle the USSR is disposed to offer funds-in-trust as well.

Fund raising in the IPDC has never been an end in itself. The purpose is quite different. It has been set by the decisions of the international community, taken long before the establishment of our programme. In 1978 the United Nations and UNESCO unanimously spoke out in favour of the establishment of a new international information order, which would be more just and more effective. The same purpose is indicated in

the IPDC basic documents. These documents had been unanimously adopted and supported by all governments without a single exception.

But evidently not all governments were sincere in acting like this. Some still persist in an old way of thinking which was formed many, many years ago. Not all are ready to give disinterested assistance to the developing countries without imposing some political conditions or without reckoning to make enormous profits out of the others' poverty. This is the real reason for our present difficulties. That is why efforts are being undertaken to transform our programme into a kind of appendage to the transnational corporations.

My government intends to continue supporting the activities of the IPDC. And it intends to give its support not only in words but also in practice. The USSR's next contribution to the IPDC in 1987 will amount to 300 thousand roubles, as it was in the previous year, and of this sum of money 150 thousand roubles will be in convertible currency. The way this contribution will be paid is to be determined by eventual arrangements to be reached between the Soviet IPDC Committee and the Programme director.

In concluding my statement I would like to put forward one particular proposal which does not only concern my country. It is noted with satisfaction in paragraph 269 of the political declaration of the recent conference of heads of state and government of non-aligned countries that application of lower tariffs for the telecommunication services had been carried into practice by a number of developing countries. The Soviet Government, following the recommendations of UNESCO, has decided for its part to apply a reduced tariff D-P-B-S (200 dollars a month) specifically for the news and information agencies of developing countries. I appeal to other developed countries to act likewise.

Greetings to Organisation of Islamic Conference

ON behalf of the peoples of the Soviet Union the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has sent a message of greetings to participants in the Fifth Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Member-Countries of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference.

The congratulatory telegram published in Moscow on Monday notes that "it is now needed as never before to pool the efforts of all states and peoples, large and small, to preserve our main common boon — peace and life on Earth. It depends on this whether humanity will survive, advancing to ever new summits of development and progress. In questions of war and peace the Soviet Union has made without hesitation its political choice in keeping with the realities of the nuclear-space age."

The Soviet Union, the message says, shares the profound concern of the participants in the Conference over the preservation of the seats of military tension and regional conflicts, above all the Middle East conflict, which pose a serious threat to international peace and security and affect the interests of many states, among them member-countries of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference. Durable peace, a reliably guaranteed right to national sovereignty, safe

existence and development must be ensured for peoples of the Middle East.

The fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq continues causing serious concern, the message notes. "The Soviet Union uses every opportunity in an effort to convince the warring sides to end this tragic conflict and settle it by peaceful political means. It is important to continue international efforts, also through the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, toward an early achievement of this aim."

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet stated: "We are for a fresh, unbiased view, not imposed from the outside, of how to untie the knot of problems around Afghanistan, whether this refers to the lawful interests of the Afghan people or its neighbours. The USSR does not intend to keep for long in Afghanistan the troops it sent to that country at the request of its government. And the Soviet Union has already confirmed this by returning home part of its limited contingent. We are prepared to speed up the return home of the remaining units if a political settlement is achieved."

The message expresses the hope that the decisions of the Fifth Conference of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference will become a tangible contribution to the consolidation of international peace and universal security, of equitable political settlement of regional conflict situations.

Congratulations to India's leaders

THE Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government have cordially congratulated the Indian leaders on the occasion of the 37th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of India. A telegram published in Moscow on January 25 points out that the Soviet people sincerely rejoice at the Indian people's impressive achievements and wish them new great breakthroughs on the road of socio-economic and scientific and technological progress.

"People in the Soviet Union set great store by the traditional relations of friendship, mutual respect and equitable co-operation that have formed between our countries and peoples.

"The interaction between the USSR and India on the international scene, which grows stronger, is becoming an increasingly weighty factor of world politics and demonstrates the inexhaustible opportunities for peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems."

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government stressed that the Soviet-Indian summit meeting in New Delhi took co-operation between the USSR

(Continued on next page)

Afghanistan: not to miss unique chance to achieve peace

By Boris Gan, Novosti's own correspondent in Afghanistan

THE decision of the alliance of seven Afghan counter-revolutionary groups to reject the government-proposed programme of national reconciliation has evoked public indignation in the country.

The Chairman of the National Fatherland Front Council of Nangarhar Province, Colonel Kuhat Bridwal (ret.) of the Royal Army of Afghanistan, who had taken part in the work of the 2nd Congress of this the biggest public organisation in Afghanistan, said: "The leaders of the Afghan counter-revolution have again demonstrated before the whole world that they have nothing in common with the Afghan people, that the dreams of ordinary Afghans about peace in their land mean nothing to them. The programme for national reconciliation is the only reasonable way to end the fratricidal war. People have grown tired of war and destruction. It is no accident that the appeal for national reconciliation has found support among many of those who are against the war.

"Several big armed groups discontinued the struggle soon after the reconciliation was announced. This process is going on throughout the country, and I'm sure it will continue despite the decision of the seven.

"Having rejected the clear-cut programme of national reconciliation, the leaders of the Afghan counter-revolution want to drag out the war which is bringing woe, death and destruction to our nation. Apparently, they have again demonstrated their dependence on the United States. This decision was dictated to them from Washington which had instantly rejected the proposal of the Afghan Revolutionary Council

on a cease-fire and national reconciliation. We also know that the decision of the seven was taken in Peshawar under the control of the White House's special emissary M Armacost. America intends to continue the war in Afghanistan, following its criminal principle — to fight until the last Vietnamese, Afghan, or Nicaraguan in order to try and achieve its 'vital interests'." My interlocutor is now leader of the extraordinary commission on national reconciliation in Nangarhar Province.

I also talked with prominent Afghan religious figure M Salem Alami. He said: "The people heaved a sigh of relief when the programme of national reconciliation was published. They hoped that the leaders of the so-called alliance of Islamic parties would heed the voice of reason, and take part in the restoration of our common homeland, but this was not the case. Having decided to continue the fratricidal war, they are acting against the will of Allah and the behests of the Koran which teach all Moslems to live in peace."

The decision of the seven was also sharply denounced by Mohammad Karim, a leader of a big armed group which had laid down their arms in Herat Province shortly before. I talked with him in Kabul's Intercontinental Hotel, where he had arrived to meet foreign journalists who were in Kabul during the work of the Second Congress of the Fatherland Front. "We decided to lay down our arms when the cease-fire was proclaimed," he said. "For six years we had been fighting, lost many people and killed many ourselves. When we learnt about the Revolutionary Council's declaration and non-harrassment for earlier political activities, we convened a council of elders to discuss the government's proposals. We decided to stop the

struggle and co-operate with the authorities. Now we protect 42 kishlaks in the Herat Province. I think that the process of national reconciliation will continue despite the decision in Peshawar."

This decision was also disappointing for foreign journalists who took part in the 2nd Congress.

Dr Sami Amara, a correspondent for the Egyptian magazine Sabah Al-Kheir, learnt with bitterness that the proposals of Kabul had been rejected. He said: "I think that the terms laid down in Peshawar are unacceptable. It is well known that the PDPA does not claim to monopolise power and suggests setting up a coalition government of national unity. I hope that the Peshawar decision will be reconsidered, for the Afghan people are the hardest hit by the war. All countries should help the warring parties to find a common language."

UPI chief correspondent in Moscow Jack Redden, who can hardly be suspected of sympathy for the people's government in Afghanistan, stressed the need to find a political solution to the problem. "Those who are trying to establish the composition of the would-be government even before negotiations are doomed to failure," he said.

(Kabul, January 19, 1987.)

Meeting of Commission on National Reconciliation in Afghanistan

A REGULAR meeting of the Supreme Special Commission on National Reconciliation in Afghanistan was held in Kabul on January 25. The Bakhtar News Agency reported that the President of the Commission's Presidium, Abdul Rahim Hatef, delivered a report in which he dwelt on the results of the first week that has passed since the ceasefire by the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

He said reports coming from the provinces indicate that the majority of Afghanistan's population met with satisfaction the proclamation of the course at national reconciliation. A considerable number of Afghans residing abroad declared in support of this policy. Special commissions for national reconciliation were set up in all provinces and in most regions and districts of Afghanistan. They were formed of elders and tribal chiefs, representatives of the National Fatherland Front, clergymen, and heads of armed groups that have taken the side of the state.

After the initial meetings the commissions embarked on practical steps. Specifically, messages are sent to warring groups. Representatives of the population enjoying esteem, tribal chiefs, relatives of those who oppose the country's authorities are sent for talks.

Abdul Rahim Hatef said that 15 armed groups have taken the side of the state, talks are under way with 21 groups, while six groups agree to reconciliation, provided their terms are met. He said that in the past period the Pakistani and Iranian authorities jointly with Afghan counter-revolutionaries resorted to activity to intimidate refugees in order to prevent their return to Afghanistan. Despite the obstacles created, as many as 895 Afghan families returned home within a week.

The meeting discussed holding days of voluntary work to collect funds for compatriots returning home from abroad. \Box

Statement by Najib in L'Unita

THE national reconciliation process in Afghanistan has started successfully. In recent days more than 3,000 representatives of the opposite side in Herat province and individual small and big groups in other provinces have joined in the national reconciliation policy, Najib, General Secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee, has said in an interview with the newspaper L'Unita.

The main cause of the war and fratricide in the DRA is interference in her home affairs by the imperialist forces, in the first place of the USA, with the assistance of their allies in the region. This has resulted in enormous losses of human life and serious material damage.

(Continued from previous page)

and India to qualitatively new frontiers both in bilateral relations and in international affairs.

The telegram expresses confidence that the relations between the USSR and India resting on the solid foundation of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation will year after year be filled with new content, and contribute towards asserting in international life the principles proclaimed by the leaders of our countries in the Delhi Declaration.

Najib described as "short-sighted and irresponsible" the stand of the armed groups from Peshawar (Pakistan), which refuse to support the national reconciliation policy. "Yet we know," he pointed out, "that this is an answer which does not mirror the real situation. These groups are not unanimous and among the ranks of each of them there are people sick and tired of war."

The Afghan leader went on to say that the chiefs of more than 500 armed groups are expected to arrive in Kabul soon. They have accepted the cease-fire proposal and will be arriving to discuss the situation. "I can say on the whole that the scope of military operations has considerably reduced since the time of the proclamation of cease-fire. I am speaking not of the operations which have ceased (we retaliate only when we are attacked), but the military operations of the opposite side.

"We wish our people to know," Najib continued, "that the Soviet Government will do everything possible to return home the limited contingent from Afghanistan and support any measures that will make it possible to resolve the problem politically. Thus if external interference is ended, then the armed struggle in the country will not be the cause of the continuing stay of the Soviet contingent in Afghanistan. There are no differences between the USSR and Afghanistan. My meetings with Mikhail Gorbachev have demonstrated the complete identity of viewpoints, full understanding and support for our initiative," Najib said in conclusion.