

Mikhail Gorbachev's speech to Indian Parliament

Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on November 27 made the following speech to the Indian Parliament:

Esteemed Mr Vice-President,
Esteemed Mr Prime Minister,
Esteemed Mr Speaker,
Esteemed Members of Parliament,

You have accorded me the honour of speaking from India's main rostrum. This rostrum remembers Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi, and other great leaders elected by the Indian people. In the minds of mankind the teachings of peace and non-violence that have been preached here for several decades now are identified with the country itself and the philosophy of life espoused by this ancient nation.

On behalf of my country I would like to share with you our vision of the world, bridging it with the thoughts and aspirations of millions of people in your country.

I shall speak of things that are equally cherished by our two peoples and of things that are equally disturbing to them. And since our two great nations make up a substantial portion of mankind, I would like to believe that this time, too, what I am going to say from this rostrum will be heard not only in India.

Joint action and co-operation between the Soviet Union and India constitute a significant factor in world politics and perform a constructive function in the system of international relations.

The proximity of the positions held by the Soviet Union and the great India on the fundamental problems of our time is indisputable, as is their commitment to peace and equitable co-operation, to disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war.

Nor is there any doubt that at this alarming juncture in the life of mankind we are equally determined to work persistently for saving peoples of the Earth from a nuclear apocalypse, for building a world order that would rule out *diktat* or violence and enable every people to choose freely its own road of development.

To me personally, it is quite obvious that much of what we call new political thinking manifested itself internationally for the first time in relations between the Soviet Union and India. And the fact that differences in socio-political system and

ideology, and in our national, cultural and other distinctions, have not hampered our dialogue is extremely important as a guiding example for others.

Without yielding the smallest bit of its national pride, its values and interests, every people and every country today must be able to channel them towards the main goal, that of saving human civilisation.

In this respect, I trust, we are of one mind. And so I am pleased to recall the wise Indian saying that truth makes friends closer. The truth of our times is the truth of our responsibility to achieve equal security for all. This is what makes us close as never before.

The truth of the nuclear and space age urges all of us, whatever our political allegiance, ideological belief or religion, whatever our other differences, to reflect on the problem common to all mankind, the problem of survival, and act accordingly.

It is from this obvious reality that we draw our optimism. And although this reality is not yet quite indisputable to the leaders of some countries, we are not discouraged. Sooner or later they will have to reckon with this truth and this reality. What is important, however, is that their awakening should not come too late.

Our ancestors "travelled across three seas" to reach India to reveal to their countrymen the treasures of India's soul and mind. Today we come to India to reinforce the principles of our diversified bilateral co-operation and open up new vistas for it. A new agreement on economic and technological co-operation, the largest in the history of Soviet-Indian relations, has been signed. We have come here in order to promote, together with the leaders of India, the reaffirmation of the concept of peace as the supreme and universal human value.

The declaration of principles for a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world signed this morning by the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, and myself serves this noble purpose. Yes, it does serve this purpose since our two great powers are not merely proclaiming the principles of a world free from nuclear weapons or violence but are already implementing those principles in practical international action.

The Soviet programme for a phased elimination of all nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction before the end of this century, announced on January 15, the concept of building a comprehensive system of international peace and security, our moratorium on nuclear explosions, our various other peace initiatives—all this, as we see it, is consistent with the positions of the Delhi Six and with India's belief in the power of common sense and the possibility of ensuring peace and progress for the present and future generations.

What the world saw six weeks ago in Reykjavik was not a mirage of a nuclear-free world looming on the horizon, but a reality within reach, which the two sides could attain even tomorrow, if they have the will and act responsibly.

A great deal was accomplished in Reykjavik for building the bridge of an historic accord.

Regrettably, that did not prove possible—the

Strategic Defense Initiative' stood in the way.

I do not think, however, that mankind will accept this.

Whatever the situation may appear now, the fact remains that in one year we have made a huge step forward in our thinking and in our perception of what is necessary, what is realistic and what is possible.

This year has been marked by our two meetings with the Prime Minister of India, Mr Rajiv Gandhi. Our discussions with him, the ideas and information we shared make us confident that a breakthrough can be made and that the nuclear threat can be removed.

We highly appreciate the position taken by the Government of India on the issue of the complete cessation of all nuclear weapons tests. Both on its own and in the group of Six first convened in Delhi, India supported the Soviet moratorium on all nuclear explosions.

We are gratified to note that the Soviet Union and India share the same approach to the idea of establishing a comprehensive system of international security. The Delhi Declaration is a new step in promoting this concept of a durable, assured peace, a peace with a new quality.

To us it is an indivisible and integral whole, which also implies that conflicts and explosive situations in any given region must be settled in the interests of the entire international community. The fact is that a fuse smouldering in one part of the globe might cause an explosion that would tear our planet apart.

Universal peace for every nation begins at the threshold of one's home. That is why stability and security in Asia are a common concern for both India and the Soviet Union.

Let me emphasise—for the Soviet Union too. Over one third of Asia's territory is in the Soviet Union, and important sea lanes that link the East and the West of our country stretch across the Indian Ocean.

Peace in Europe and peace in Asia are of equal significance in our policy. In this context the title of Rabindranath Tagore's remarkable novel 'The Home and the World' conveys an apt image to describe our actions. For our national homes to be strong they need peace, and for peace in the world to remain undamaged we must reinforce all the supports on which a house is built.

India is an acknowledged leader of the Non-Aligned Movement; what is more, it is a member with high standing in the world community.

Therefore today we intend to make some suggestions here, addressing them both to India as a major world power and to most other countries which want to bring international affairs to a more constructive level.

First. In the nuclear age, when the threat to people's lives has become universal, when the realisation of interrelationship and mutual responsibility is becoming vitally important for everyone, international institutions and organisations, such as the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organisation of African Unity, the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation and others, acquire great significance. And, obviously, in these circumstances the work of the United Nations becomes even more important.

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Lately the community of nations has grown, in the United Nations the voice of independent states, which have matured and gained experience, has become more firm and independent and the attempts to tell them how to vote and what to support are largely no longer successful, while arbitrary international behaviour is being unequivocally condemned.

Some people find this not to their liking, and talk is now being heard about the UN being "in crisis". What is more, they are acting in order to actually hamper the normal functioning of the organisation. But our view is that, on the contrary, the role of the United Nations is bound to increase due to the significant growth of its membership and the independent attitudes of its members.

We are convinced that in the nuclear and space age the United Nations, which comprises 159 member states, can and must increase its contribution to strengthening peace, as envisaged at the time it was founded, and for this purpose contribute above all to shaping new political thinking and behaviour.

The Soviet Union wants the potential of this universal international organisation to be used more effectively than in the past, which must be achieved, *inter alia*, by making its proceedings and its main bodies more democratic.

Specifically, we support the proposal of the UN Secretary-General to set up within the organisation a multilateral centre for reducing the risk of war.

We consider it also important to work for the full use of all the methods of peaceful settlement of disputes between states which are provided in the UN Charter—through negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements.

In general, we are in favour of enhancing in every way the authority of the United Nations, of strengthening its political, legal and moral standing. The Soviet Union will do all it can to help the organisation overcome its financial problems.

Second. Outer space above the Earth surrounds the whole of mankind and no one should be indifferent to how it is used. It is our profound conviction that space, this common property of mankind, should be exclusively peaceful and that what we need is Star Peace and not Star Wars. We are prepared to co-operate with any country in exploring outer space. We can, for that matter, co-operate with the United States, with which we have recently negotiated a draft bilateral agreement to that effect, calling for the implementation of 16 specific projects that can bring invaluable benefits to mankind. The Soviet Union has already submitted to the United Nations a proposal to launch, jointly by all its member states, a programme for Star Peace, a programme for peaceful exploration and use of outer space. This should not be a prerogative of the developed countries alone.

We think that the developing countries, with their authority, their desire to co-operate in coping with these tasks and their interest in putting space exploration on the track of peace and broad-based international co-operation, are to play an important role in this endeavour. Therefore today we make a proposal to establish, with the help of the leading space powers, an international centre to carry out joint research and develop space technologies at the request of developing countries, for example satellites to explore natural resources. A part of such a centre would be a school for the training of specialists from developing countries, including cosmonauts, and it would also have a facility for launching spacecraft.

If India were to express readiness to host such a centre in its territory, we would welcome it.

Third. As you know, the Soviet Union and India support the United Nations decision to

convene, not later than 1988, an international conference for the purpose of implementing the United Nations declaration on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. Demilitarisation of the Indian Ocean must finally get under way.

Calling for enhanced military and political stability in the Indian Ocean area, the Soviet Union is prepared:

—at any time to begin negotiations with the United States, and other non-littoral states which have naval vessels on a permanent basis in the Indian Ocean, on substantially reducing the size and activities of naval forces there;

—to hold negotiations with the United States and the Asian countries concerned on confidence-building measures in the military field related to Asia and the adjacent waters of the Indian and Pacific oceans. In particular, we have in mind notification of transfers and exercises of ground (amphibious), naval and air forces of those countries;

—to take part in multilateral negotiations involving all states which are maritime users of the Indian Ocean, in order to work out guarantees of the safety of sea lanes, including the Persian Gulf and the straits of Hormuz and Molucca, as well as guarantees of the sovereignty of littoral countries over their natural resources;

—to take part in working out a long overdue multilateral agreement on the safety of air traffic over the Indian Ocean;

—to participate in drafting, and to become a party to, an international convention to combat terrorism on the seas and in the air.

Of course, this is not an exhaustive list of problems related to ensuring peace in the Indian Ocean area, and we are prepared to discuss proposals of other countries to this effect. But the implementation of our aforementioned proposals would undoubtedly contribute to an improvement of the situation in the region.

Distinguished Members of Parliament.

The peoples of our two countries have much that brings them closer together. But among the reasons for this noble mutual attraction I would specially single out the continuous and profound search for the meaning of existence, which is common to our spiritual cultures. The question of what a human being should be like is not a trivial one. Reflections on man's mission and on the right path to take in life, on the individual's quest for perfection have dominated the thinking of the great men of genius in our two countries. In their popular traditions the search for the meaning of life formed the eternal triad: human being—humanism—humanity. It may be for this reason that creeping pragmatism is not typical of our people's national character.

A high degree of humanism is also evident in the policies of our two countries: both the Soviet and the Indian people tend to think not only in terms of their own security or interests, but also to relate to universal security and the aspirations of the whole of mankind.

And today, when we are working to abolish nuclear weapons and to build a non-violent world, we regard the well-being of man as the primary and pre-eminent objective in the evolution of our civilisation.

Today, the danger of war means more than heavy stress, a burden injurious to mental health. The arms race diverts enormous material, intellectual and various other resources and consequently denies people the necessary means to improve their existence, and hence limits their ability to enrich society through creative work.

If the life of billions of people is to be changed for the better in a most radical way, the resources required for this should be derived from what is now spent on the military. In other words, it is necessary to pare down the material wherewithal for the arms race and to channel resources to development.

We cannot fail to recall in this context that Indira Gandhi, the great daughter of the Indian

people, was among the first political leaders who realised that this is the way to meet the global challenges facing mankind. The Soviet Union too has been consistently emphasising that disarmament would lead not only to a more secure world, but also to a higher standard of living.

Our positions on this matter coincide with the positions of India and of the Delhi Six. We support an early convening of the UN conference on the relationship between disarmament and development. Regrettably, it has not yet been possible to hold this conference because of the opposition essentially of one country, which spends on the arms race more than any country in the world.

Only the elimination of nuclear arms, a ban on space weapons, the destruction of chemical weapons, and the principle of sufficiency in defence needs would provide the necessary resources for improving the life of nations.

Should this be achieved, it would be possible in the life-time of the present generations to come to grips in a practical way with the task of abolishing hunger, poverty, illiteracy and other social and economic ills.

When millions of people suffer, when they are deprived of the essentials of life, one cannot go on living as if this is not one's concern.

Ending the arms race would also effectively promote the implementation of the idea of a new world economic order. It would also make it easier to solve the problem of foreign debt, which for many countries is not only a grave economic challenge but also has political consequences.

Therefore, the problem of disarmament has many dimensions, each of them accentuating the need for its solution. But what is particularly unacceptable is replacing the race in some types of weapons with a race in other weapons. If we were to disarm in one area only to build up weapons of mass destruction in another area, that would not be disarmament but a fraud.

I am referring to the SDI which, according to world-famous experts, threatens to leave yet another enormous hole in the pockets of people in many countries. World public opinion is being told that besides being a defensive programme the SDI also stimulates the development of non-military economies and would bring about higher employment and even greater prosperity. This is not the place to engage in polemics. I would just say that the cynical proponents of this programme make no secret that with the help of the SDI they not only intend to dictate to other countries how they should live but also want to increase their national product by impoverishing others.

May I in conclusion once again turn to Soviet-Indian relations. They rest on the reliable foundation of our Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation.

The Treaty has not just opened broad prospects for a steady development of mutually beneficial ties and contacts.

Its supreme meaning lies in the reciprocal commitment to act should a complicated situation arise for one side or both.

Such situations did arise. Both the Soviet Union and India have remained faithful to their commitments and acted in accordance with the spirit and the letter of our Treaty.

Friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of India have stood the test of time. Instrumental in this have been the ties and contacts between our parliaments, which should be further developed. I am saying this on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"The greatest victory is one in which nobody is defeated and all can share in that victory." (Jawaharlal Nehru quoted these words of Buddha in his September 1961 speech at the meeting in Moscow.) This great maxim, which was proclaimed on Indian soil more than two and

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Mikhail Gorbachev addresses Indo-Soviet friendship meeting

Mikhail Gorbachev addressed the activists of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society and the Friends of the Soviet Union society in New Delhi on November 27. He said:

Dear Friends,

All of us from the Soviet Union who are present here are deeply moved by this meeting with you. Our people know well how much you have done to develop and strengthen the ties of friendship and affection between our peoples, which have now become unbreakable. I thank you for your kind welcome and for the joyful atmosphere in this meeting.

For Soviet people India is a land of ancient culture and rich spiritual life, which has given the world many great and inspiring ideas. The deep interest towards India, the sentiments of affection and friendliness are part of our people's historical memory.

And, I would say, that is quite appropriate and natural. The bonds that unite us span many centuries and long distances. You may have heard of Afanasi Nikitin, a Russian who travelled to India as early as the 15th century. Our famous historian and writer Nikolai Karamzin, who early in the last century discovered the diary of Nikitin's travels to India, wrote: "... at a time when Vasco da Gama was just contemplating the possibility of finding a way from Africa to Hindustan, our man from the town of Tver was already on the Malabar coast."

Our relations are deeply rooted in history. However, the 20th century has revealed a new important feature in the affinity between Russia and India. The Great October Revolution of 1917 and India's independence played a crucial role in this.

The initial Soviet-Indian ties of the new era were formed in the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism. At their source stood the champions of India's freedom and her national leaders, who hailed the victory of the October Revolution. At their sources also stood Lenin.

The young revolutionary Russia made its policy choice once and for all, resolving to support the peoples in their efforts to combat imperialist oppression and in their pursuit of independence and national and social renaissance.

The Soviet people welcomed India's independence and statehood. They stood behind India when it began the arduous and great work to rid itself of the consequences of colonial rule. They supported India when it firmly resisted the attempts to infringe on its sovereignty and make it abandon its independent foreign policy of peace.

We also worked together when India was laying the foundations of its own national economy.

The fruits of our economic, scientific and technical co-operation are there for everyone to see and our joint projects have become symbols of Soviet-Indian friendship.

And, of course, we are profoundly gratified to see today that in the efforts, the virtual battle, now under way to prevent nuclear war and ensure the survival of mankind, the Soviet Union and India are making their indispensable, major contribution to this noble cause.

In the rich fabric of our relationship, sealed by the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation, summit meetings are a crucial element and a long-established tradition. Soviet

people, both old and young, recall the visits to the Soviet Union of Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. Our predecessors worked together to build Soviet-Indian friendship. It is due to their wisdom and far-sightedness that the first stones were laid in the foundation of this building of Soviet-Indian friendship and fruitful co-operation.

The Soviet people will never forget the contribution Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi made to this historic endeavour. Yesterday we visited the memorials associated with India's outstanding personalities.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi and I have taken over from the statesmen of that generation to carry on their precious cause, to build on and give new substance to what was achieved over the decades. Our relations with the leader of today's India are sincere and trustful. The nature and content of our dialogue are determined by the level of our responsibility to our peoples and by the complexity of the problems of world development.

New important documents have just been signed following the Soviet-Indian talks held over these days. They will be published and you will be able to read and analyse them. But the main point is this: we were talking as friends—frankly, sincerely, instantly understanding each other. The dialogue with your Prime Minister is always an enriching experience, reassuring that Indo-Soviet relations are in reliable hands.

We have emphasised once again that the 1971 Treaty is fully consistent with the national interest of both countries and serves as an instrument of peace and stability in Asia—and beyond it. It is an example of how relations in the entire Asian-Pacific region could be developed.

We have noted with satisfaction that our economic, scientific and technical co-operation is going ahead in a dynamic manner. It is mutually beneficial, it is steadily expanding and diversifying. As a result of this exchange we stated that scientific and technological co-operation have great prospects.

Spiritual ties between our two peoples will also expand. I have in mind, in particular, the forthcoming cultural festivals—the Festival of Indian Culture in the USSR and the Festival of Soviet Culture in India, dedicated to the 40th anniversary of India's independence and the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution and the formation of the Soviet State. Mr Rajiv Gandhi and myself assumed the duties of honorary chairmen of these festivals.

We have discussed with Mr Rajiv Gandhi and other Indian leaders a broad range of major international problems. We have seen once again that we have much in common in our attitudes towards those problems and in the search for their solution. The fundamental importance of the fact that the Soviet Union, a socialist state, and India, one of the founders of the Non-Aligned Movement, have such a high degree of mutual understanding and trust can hardly be overestimated.

What does that fact imply for us, for the whole world, and for the future? It implies that by virtue of their example our two countries promote the principles of peaceful coexistence, pave the way to international security, resist the tendencies that may result in a nuclear catastrophe and demonstrate that it is indeed possible to counter imperial claims and ambitions and to thwart the selfish neo-globalist schemes. The high degree of interaction between the USSR and India makes

for greater potential of the forces of peace and for a more secure future in the world.

Today no international task is more important or more urgent than that of abolishing the nuclear danger.

We are not idealists. We understand that the obstacles we will have to overcome are truly enormous. At the same time we firmly believe that this is a realistic goal, that it can be attained. It is in this that we see the significance of the Reykjavik meeting.

We brought to Reykjavik new, far-reaching proposals. At the very first session with the US President we put before him the entire package—and I emphasise this, the entire integral package of interrelated measures concerning strategic arms, medium-range missiles, the ABM Treaty and nuclear testing. The same day—to be precise I want to say this, too—the text of those proposals, translated into English, was handed over to the US side. They formed the basis for the negotiations.

We reached agreement on the 50 per cent reduction of all strategic offensive nuclear arms within five years, that is by 1991, as well as on their total elimination in the subsequent five years. As you of course understand, this would be a tremendous achievement in the main area of the entire process of disarmament.

Within the package we proposed, we made some very important concessions. We agreed not to include American medium-range missiles in the category of strategic arms, although they can reach our territory, as well as the US forward-based forces.

With respect to medium-range missiles, we accepted "the zero option" that calls for the elimination of American and Soviet missiles in Europe, without regard for the nuclear arsenals of Britain and France. Agreement was reached on limiting to a very low level the medium-range missiles to be retained in the Asian part of the Soviet Union and in US territory.

It was not easy for us to decide to make such major concessions. But we were guided by an honest desire to break the deadlock at the Geneva negotiations, to pull them out of the quagmire of endless and sterile arithmetic, with all those limits, sublimits, levels and sublevels in which the negotiations themselves have bogged down.

I will say without any exaggeration that our new, simple and easily understandable proposals opened the way to agreement. Unfortunately, everything stumbled on the SDI or, to be more precise, on the unwillingness of the US administration to accept our proposal on strengthening the ABM Treaty, instead of undermining it.

I may recall that we proposed that both sides assume a mutual obligation to observe it strictly for the period of ten years required to eliminate nuclear arms, so that during that period SDI-related activities should not go beyond laboratory research and testing. And then, following that ten-year period, the entire problem would have to be considered in negotiations to decide what to do next.

I have had on more than one occasion to describe our attitude towards the SDI. A few days ago I explained to your journalists why we regard that programme and nuclear disarmament as incompatible. Nevertheless the issue is so important that I feel I have to address it in my remarks to you.

We have no doubt that the SDI is a

manifestation of the fallacious concept of power politics. However, the arrogance of power is known to result inevitably in political sterility. Indeed, those who rely on power politics are reluctant to seek solutions to complicated problems, are totally opposed to compromises and are unwilling to treat seriously their partners' interests.

SDI as a concept is fundamentally inhumane and anti-human. It is the main obstacle to disarmament. If implemented, it would extend the arms race to a new sphere, initiating another spiral in the arms race with extremely dangerous and unpredictable consequences. It would destabilise the military strategic situation.

It undermines trust in international relations, diminishing rather than enhancing security, including that of the United States itself. SDI frustrates efforts to improve the situation in the world. It is a destructive policy. We ought to declare that in a straightforward way, out loud, for the entire world to hear. The world should know, all people should know, what is concealed in fact behind SDI.

Many people everywhere are legitimately wondering why, and by virtue of what right, the whole world should be held hostage to the SDI.

Of all militaristic projects, the SDI is the most voracious monster. One may ask where will the United States, with its two-trillion dollar national debt, obtain the resources to finance it. From the wallets of ordinary Americans—but not only from there. In the final analysis, both Western Europe and the developing countries would have to foot the bill for that wasteful programme, to the tune of hundreds of billions of dollars. This is intolerable. This, too, should be known to the peoples.

SDI is the reason why the meeting in Reykjavik failed to live up to the expectations of the world public. However, we have enough political will, perseverance and patience to continue to seek far-reaching, radical agreements on the reduction and elimination of nuclear arms. But the agreements we have in mind must ensure mutual stability and equivalent security.

Let me now address the subject of regional problems and conflicts. All of us are now witnessing the emergence on the national and international arenas of hundreds of millions of people, with their own identities, diverse interests and abilities, different historic and spiritual backgrounds, their own merits and flaws.

Having won political independence, the peoples naturally want to strengthen their economic independence as well and to place under their control the resources they possess—human and natural. But this affects the interests of those who for decades, for centuries capitalised on the exploitation of others, on the use of the resources of the peoples that have embarked on the path of independent development. Naturally, this path, this choice of the peoples is in their interests. And no one is capable of denying them this choice. But that does not suit those who exploited the resources of these countries like robbers—to use a tough expression. These forces cannot put up with the independence of states and peoples. They do not want to admit the reality that the world has changed. It is totally different. It is not what it was at the beginning of the century. It is not what it was 40 years ago.

The unwillingness to acknowledge these realities is the root and main cause of the so-called regional problems. The peoples want to follow their own path, they have made the choice, while the previous masters—let us call them robbers again—do not want to put up with this choice. Prattling about the work of the "hand of Moscow" or some other hand constitutes an attempt to conceal the true causes of the conflicts.

We gave this problem much thought prior to the 27th Congress of our Communist Party and set forth our views in the political report.

Basic to these views is respect for every people's right to independent economic and political choice. If there is no recognition of this basic principle, then I cannot imagine on what basis it is possible to build present-day international relations. If the principle is discarded, if it is not used in building present-day international relations—they are in for chaos.

We do not conceal what our positions are and where our sympathies lie. We—the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community—are on the side of the peoples and nations that defend their right to independent, sovereign and equitable participation in world politics and in world affairs.

It is my conviction, and this is what our philosophy teaches us, that every people will itself ultimately find and pursue its own path to a better future, even if it has to overcome decades of resistance.

The peoples themselves will decide how to live, what to learn from other peoples and what to reject, how to use the experience of other nations, and how to build relations with them generally. Huge, tremendous and dramatic difficulties exist now, and are bound to arise, along this path of independence and progress.

There may be conflicts, even armed conflicts, as we see even now. There may be—and there are—reverses, delays and dead ends in this movement, in this struggle. This also is natural. However, they can and will be overcome. Social and political forms consistent with national conditions are evolving or will be found, as will the parties, organisations and leaders capable of discerning what people need, reckoning with their will and living up to their hopes.

But there is one central point that bears repeating: there should be no interfering with the people's right to choose their own way, to search for, test and uphold their chosen goals and their options.

And what do we see now? Let us put things bluntly, and I am going to do so here. Imperialism is doing everything to impede this process. It is for this purpose that the concept of neo-globalism has been devised. In fact, it epitomises the policy of modern colonialism and militarism, which relies on the activities of transnational corporations—its prime movers. This is a mechanism through which the developed capitalist countries pump national wealth and resources out of the developing nations. What is more, it is a policy that stops at nothing.

It pits some nations against others, fuels emerging conflicts and launches military actions and acts of state terrorism against unwanted regimes. It is a policy that includes the training, arming and financing of every stripe of "contras", separatists and terrorists, economic blockades and debt bondage, all sorts of political and ideological subversion and intrigue—you mentioned this in your speeches here as well—interference in domestic politics and other attempts to undermine progressive regimes from within.

We are witnessing all this in Central America, in South America, in the Middle East, and in South-East and South Asia. This is also being done against the front-line states in southern Africa and against the small states of the Pacific and Indian oceans. You in India are well aware of all these methods and devices. This is neo-globalism in its original form. All the rest is ideological packaging.

Whether the younger states succeed in developing rapidly enough, in overcoming the difficulties inherited from the past and in tackling emerging challenges depends to a large extent on their ability to adequately resist neo-globalism—the principal evil standing in the way of global progress. Similarly, finding a solution to the global problem of disarmament and development hinges on this, as do the prospects for realising the idea of a new world economic order.

The United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and regional organisations in Asia, Africa and Latin America, with their tremendous international potential, as well as other progressive groups, forums and forces capable of mobilising the peoples' civic and political energy and duty-bound to protect their rights and defend their sovereignty, should all play their role in this process.

As for the prospects of the vast developing world, we have no doubt that its capabilities are enormous and that its contribution to world development will grow, and grow inexorably. We in the Soviet Union welcome such a trend and will continue to act on the basis of our principles.

At this meeting it is natural that I wish to speak on the problems of Asia and the Pacific even though I have already discussed them this summer in Vladivostok. India, however, is the place where I should mention this again.

Of course, we do not have a universal quick remedy that would rid this massive portion of humanity inhabiting a vast region of our planet of its problems. But I would guess that no one has this magic key. That is why we call upon all peoples of Asia and the Pacific to join their efforts in a search for peace, revival and prosperity.

Evidently, this work should proceed in many areas, including economic relations placed on a new basis. But the principal obstacle is the build-up of nuclear and conventional arms in the region. That growing trend is not only fraught with military and political dangers but would also have an economic impact, with its inevitable social consequences. For this concerns states which are just building up their economies, and any burden of launching military programmes will tell upon the social processes in these countries.

We believe that radical improvement of the situation in Asia is not just necessary—it is possible through the reduction of arms, including nuclear arms, through limitation of naval activities in the Indian and Pacific oceans and through devising and implementing confidence-building measures. I will address this subject in a few hours when speaking before your parliament.

The peoples and governments of Asian countries have their own experience—the five principles of "panch sheel" and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference.

Of special importance for overall Asian security are bilateral relations between the nations of this continent. In fact, they provide the initial and highly effective approach to addressing international problems too. The Soviet Union is prepared to co-operate on an equal footing and constructively with any state, strictly observing the principles of equality and mutual interest. It is prepared to make its contribution to the overall process. Indeed, this is the political essence of the philosophy outlined in the Vladivostok address. It is an invitation to a common quest and to equitable co-operation.

Let me also emphasise that we do not seek improved bilateral relations with anyone at the expense or to the detriment of our relations with other countries.

In the context of Soviet-Indian relations I have already said that for us they represent an important asset in their own right, and that we shall not make a single step in our foreign policy that could damage India's real interests. I would like to reiterate this once again, speaking here before you, dear friends.

Soviet people are well aware of the efforts that the people and the Government of India have to make to defend their sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. But one thing is noteworthy in this respect. The louder India's voice in the world, the more attractive the example of its independent foreign policy which rejects imperialist *diktat* and interference, the higher its

standing in the Non-Aligned Movement, the more vicious become the attacks against it.

The Soviet Union strongly condemns all these intrigues and plots against your country, as well as all attempts to undermine India's integrity and unity.

We are deeply convinced that no one will be able to question, let alone diminish, India's real and tremendous contribution to the contemporary development of Asia and of world civilisation.

The Non-Aligned Movement was among the major subjects we discussed with Mr Rajiv Gandhi. I listened with great interest to his account of the Harare Conference.

I would like to note that we in Moscow regard this forum as an event of world significance.

We attach special importance to the fact that more than ever before the call of the non-aligned countries to end the arms race and to eliminate nuclear weapons was heard loud and clear, and that those countries established a strong link between disarmament and development. In my reply to the Harare Appeal I have already had an opportunity to speak highly of that conference.

The Non-Aligned Movement represents a unique force in modern times. A great deal of credit for this belongs to India and its leaders, to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

We know very well and duly appreciate that India was one of the architects of the doctrine and the policy of non-alignment.

At this meeting I have elaborated not only on Soviet-Indian matters but also on very important problems of international affairs. I did so intentionally, for it is my conviction and belief that friendship and links between our countries and peoples effectively serve today and will serve in the future the cause of peace and security, of preventing a nuclear catastrophe.

I regard it as my duty to say to you, close friends of the Soviet people, a few words about the present life of the Soviet people.

Our Party Congress, held earlier in the year, approved a programme for profound reorganisation of our society, of all its spheres—economic, social, intellectual and political, in the sphere of democracy, government and economic management. This is a programme for a renewal, a perfection of socialism on the basis of what has been achieved over the nearly 70 years since the October Revolution.

Perestroika—reorganisation—is the word on everyone's lips now. In the West they do not even translate that word but borrow it from the Russian using latin letters. What is the meaning of that word?

What is the meaning of our reorganisation if one is to put it in the most simple terms?

We want every Soviet citizen to feel more strongly that he is in charge everywhere—at the factory, in the office, in his town, settlement, village, region and republic, to feel that he is in charge of the country. It is for this that the revolution was made, it is for this that people fought for socialism and defended it in pitched battles.

This is our system. Everything that we have is the fruit of our efforts.

We wish our economy to operate even more effectively, and produce even better results. It is vital in order to resolve many of our social problems, completely resolve the housing problem by the year 2000, meet the reasonable demands of the population for foods, clothing, footwear, various consumer services, conditions for leisure time entertainment and education, and satisfy the cultural requirements. In a word, the point at issue is everything that goes to make up human life and determines the mood of people and how they feel. Also involved here is human dignity. This is also needed for the family.

It might seem to be simple, and that the point at issue is simple things. Yet, certainly, this is an objective of tremendous importance. Hence our policy. We are proceeding in two directions. The first is to combine our socialist planned economy with the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution. Now we have for that a tremendous scientific and technological potential. Our people are well-educated. We have a good personnel of scientists, engineers and specialists in all branches of the economy. This enables us to saddle the restive horse of the scientific-technical revolution. We have not only drawn up, but are also implementing programmes in the field of progress in science and technology. The whole country is busy doing this.

The second direction is that we should invigorate the civic spirit, the deeds of the person himself—through his or her consciousness, through the democratisation of the whole of our society.

Highly acute questions are those of social justice. We put them as follows: in the socialist society there must be only one approach—on the basis of man's labour contribution to building socialism. And this should determine his or her position in the society, his or her political and social conditions. Everything should be built according to the quantity and quality of the person's labour.

Our society has been set in motion. Many discussions are under way in our country. Not everything goes smoothly in such periods. I have

already said more than once: "reorganisation", "acceleration", "democratisation" are no walk on a smooth asphalt road in sports shoes. They are more like ascending a steep mountain with obstacles, when the climbing takes both strength and skill. Everything should be calculated in this: strength, breathing, and not losing sight of the goal. This is the process through which the whole of our society is going now. It is proceeding in a no easy manner.

The most difficult thing is that reorganisation should be effected in the minds, mentality should be reshaped. This concerns everybody: senior executives, the workers and engineers. It is an interesting time. A difficult but an interesting time.

The policy that has been advanced by the Congress has met with tremendous support from the people. This can be confirmed by every unbiased person: a tourist or a guest of our country, wherever he may go now. Since this policy has the support of the main, decisive force—the people—we are sure that, even if there are difficulties and even blunders as regards particulars, we have embarked on the right path in correctly resolving the main issues. And we will make long strides on that path. Our society will benefit by this. It will take it towards new gains in economic and social development. It will strengthen its might and prestige, and thus also have a positive effect on international developments, taking into account the weight carried by the USSR in international relations.

I think that although India and her people are confronted with their own tasks, and Indian society has come into motion, perhaps you have no fewer problems. Possibly, the problems you are resolving today, we resolved yesterday. You have to forge ahead so that India should strengthen through the efforts of her people and turn into a highly developed modern state. We are your friends, and we sympathise with you in all of that and will co-operate with you.

Before saying good-bye I would like to wish all those present here, those who give the concept of Soviet-Indian friendship a concrete, substantive, comprehensive and rich meaning, those who dedicate all their energy, intellect and the warmth of their hearts to the strengthening of this friendship, and through them to wish all Indians—from the snow-covered foothills of the Himalayas to the evergreen fields of Kanniyakumari, from the scorched sands of Rajasthan to the coast of the Bay of Bengal—to wish the entire people of the great friendly India happiness and every success. And in the first place to wish you peace.

Good-bye. □

Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at Soviet Embassy reception for Rajiv Gandhi

Mikhail Gorbachev gave a dinner in honour of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in the Soviet Embassy in New Delhi on November 27. He made the following speech:

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister,
Esteemed Mrs Gandhi,
Dear Indian Friends,
Comrades,

I wholeheartedly greet you here at the Soviet Embassy. These three eventful days have flown by. Our visit is drawing to a close. I think that already now it is possible to sum up certain results and share evaluations and impressions.

To begin with, I want to express gratitude to

the Government of India and personally to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi for the attention and hospitality accorded to our delegation.

We felt ourselves to be at the home of good and true friends. And on these days India has actually been our home. Peace and wellbeing to it!

Leo Tolstoy wrote in one of his short stories: "If you go from the middle of Russia straight towards the winter sunset to a distance of about ten thousand versts, and cross the world's highest snow-capped mountains, then you will enter the land of India. . . ."

Nowadays this road can be covered within a space of several hours.

Scientific and technological progress has

reduced distances and turned mankind into an interconnected community. But it has also brought on new dangers and threats which are common to everyone. The main danger is posed by thermonuclear destruction of our civilisation.

The situation imperatively calls for a new approach to the solution of security issues and a new thinking in politics. Whatever the contradictions which divide East and West, North and South, a common human interest has now moved to the fore for all states and peoples.

We are destined to survive or die only together in the nuclear-space age. Anyone's imperial ambitions, nationalist egoism, political die-hardism or adventurism should not be

allowed to push civilization into the "black hole" of space non-existence.

My colleagues and I are deeply satisfied with the meetings and conversations with the Indian leadership. The talks were wide-ranging, frank and substantive, with an eye to a long-term period ahead.

A realistic view of the present-day world and its problems, mutual trust and a sincere desire to broaden and deepen co-operation helped us to inform each other better of our vision of the present and of the future.

For quite understandable reasons, we representatives of the two great states gave paramount attention to international problems, among them the problem which is the main one for all peoples and countries, large and small, irrespective of their systems: namely, how to remove the nuclear threat, end the arms race on Earth, prevent its spreading over to outer space, relieve tensions and unblock conflict situations.

The recognition of the right of each people to follow the path of economic, social and spiritual development chosen by them is the decisive condition for active participation of all of them in the accomplishment of this common task.

The Soviet Union and India are two large Asian states. Therefore it was natural that discussion of the situation in Asia and in the Indian and Pacific ocean areas adjacent to it should figure prominently at the talks.

The two states, each from its own side, make efforts to undo the tangles of conflicts, to remove

the acuteness of military confrontation in the region and thereby to help to create prerequisites for fruitful and free co-operation.

In this connection I must say that we highly appreciate the responsible positions and concrete steps of the Indian leadership to improve the political climate in South Asia. Nothing can compensate for the advantages given by good relations with neighbours.

India produces unforgettable impressions. People from all over the world admire the famous iron pillar near Kutb Minar. For fifteen centuries it has defied rains and winds but to this day rust has not affected it.

Our peoples, as we understand it, have a common desire and striving for Soviet-Indian relations to be immune to any rust so that they would never be darkened by anything.

On these days we have come to see what a good service is being rendered to our states by the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between the USSR and India.

Using the experience gained and relying on the common desire to raise the level and broaden the scope of co-operation in all fields, we agreed on substantial development of economic, scientific and technical contacts.

The signed agreement juridically seals the accords reached on that score.

We agreed on new forms of economic contacts, and on inviting small and medium-sized firms to participate in them.

We reaffirmed that the holding of festivals to

mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 40th anniversary of India's independence is of immense importance for Soviet-Indian friendship.

I would like specially to point out the declaration which Mr Gandhi and I signed together and referred to as the 'Delhi Declaration'.

In that declaration, on behalf of the two peoples we call on all countries and peoples to realise the dangers which hang over the world and to do everything necessary for a radical improvement of the international situation.

We hope that our call will be heard and will find a broad response in the world.

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister,

Dear Indian Friends,

Allow me in conclusion to assure you that the Soviet Union wants wholeheartedly to see friendly India a mighty, prosperous and modern power.

Peace-loving and independent India may continue to count on the Soviet Union's support and understanding.

Thank you once again, Mr Prime Minister, for your kind co-operation on these days. We shall be looking forward to meeting you in Moscow.

Allow me to wish good health and successes to you, to Mrs Gandhi and to all Indian statesmen and party leaders, and to wish progress and prosperity to the great people of India, the strengthening of Soviet-Indian friendship and, of course, lasting peace. □

INDO-SOVIET JOINT STATEMENT

AT the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, and the Government of India, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Mr M S Gorbachev paid an official friendly visit to India from November 25 to 28, 1986.

The distinguished Soviet guest and the persons accompanying him were accorded a cordial welcome testifying to the feelings of sincere friendship and regard of the people of India for the people and leadership of the USSR.

The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Mr M S Gorbachev, called on the President of the Republic of India, Giani Zail Singh, and had a friendly discussion with him.

Talks were held between the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Mr Mikhail S Gorbachev, in which the participants were:

From the Soviet side:

Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR; Anatoli Dobrynin, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Vladimir Kamentsev, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; Anatoli Chernyayev, assistant to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergei Akhromeyev, Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR and First Deputy Minister of Defence of the USSR; Yuli Vorontsov, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR; Vasili Rykov, the Ambassador of the USSR to India.

From the Indian side:

Narayan Dutt Tiwari, Minister of External Affairs; P V Narasimha Rao, Minister of Manpower Resources; Vishwanath Pratap Singh, Minister of Finance; Arun Singh, Minister of State for Defence; Natwar Singh, Minister of

State for External Affairs; A P Venkateshwaran, Secretary for External Affairs of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs; Triloki Nath Kaul, the Ambassador of India to the USSR.

Mr M S Gorbachev had, in addition, separate discussions with Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU received the Minister of External Affairs of the Republic of India.

The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Mr M S Gorbachev, addressed the members of the Indian Parliament (who listened to him with great interest and attention).

All the meetings and discussions were held in an atmosphere of friendship, cordiality and mutual understanding.

During his stay in New Delhi, Mr M S Gorbachev paid homage to the memory of the outstanding leaders of India, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Shrimati Indira Gandhi by laying a wreath at Rajghat and visiting the Nehru Memorial Museum and the Indira Gandhi Memorial.

1.

The meetings covered a wide range of issues concerning Indo-Soviet bilateral relations and perspectives of their further comprehensive development. Both sides expressed their profound happiness at the relations of close friendship and wide-ranging co-operation between India and the Soviet Union which are characterised by mutual respect, warmth and trust between the peoples and leaders of the two countries.

The stable and high level of these relations in the political field are complemented by wide, deep, multi-faceted and mutually beneficial co-operation in economic, commercial, scientific, technological, cultural and other fields. Relations between India and the USSR are a model of peaceful co-existence between states with differing socio-economic systems based on the principles of equality, mutual respect, strict

observance of sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Indo-Soviet friendship and co-operation constitute a factor of peace and stability in Asia and throughout the world.

Both sides noted with deep satisfaction the successful passage of over fifteen years of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between India and the USSR, which symbolises the strong bonds of friendship between their governments and peoples. The Treaty contributes significantly in all spheres towards strengthening and deepening their mutual trust and confidence in the context of the changing world situation and characterises their common commitment to international peace and co-operation.

Both sides highly assess the dynamic development of mutually advantageous economic, commercial, scientific and technological co-operation between India and the USSR on a planned and long-term basis. The agreement on basic directions of economic, trade, scientific and technological co-operation for the period up to the year 2000, as well as the agreement on economic and technical co-operation signed on 22nd May, 1985 have enriched their co-operation with new form and content and have further strengthened their ties.

Noting the significant progress made by the organisations of the two countries in implementing these agreements, both sides emphasised the need for timely fulfilment of mutual obligations and the identification of further possibilities for expanding industrial, scientific and technological co-operation.

Determined to sustain and enhance mutually beneficial ties, the two sides signed a new agreement on economic and technical co-operation in New Delhi under which the Soviet Union has agreed to render assistance to India in the following projects: (I) construction of the Tehri hydro power complex, (II) reconstruction and modernisation at Bokaro steel plant, (III) the setting up of four underground coking coal mines in the Jharia coal field, and

(IV) intensive and integrated on-shore exploration for hydrocarbons in West Bengal.

Both sides expressed their desire for growth and improvement of Soviet-Indian trade, for further increasing its effectiveness, for diversifying its structure and expanding the range of commodities exchanged by making use of all existing opportunities. Implementation of the new long-term trade agreement for 1986-1990, which envisages continuation of the high momentum of growth of bilateral trade, will help achieve these goals.

India and the USSR attach ever-growing importance to the further strengthening of bilateral scientific and technological ties, in order to impart the necessary momentum for accelerating the development of their economies for the prosperity and well-being of their two peoples. The two sides believe that there exists a sound basis for dynamic, long-term co-operation till the end of this millennium and beyond, particularly in frontier technologies. They expressed their determination to take effective measures to realise this objective.

The two sides positively assessed the role of the inter-governmental Soviet-Indian commission on economic, scientific and technological co-operation in laying down guidelines for developing multi-faceted co-operation between the two countries. They expressed satisfaction with the outcome of the tenth session of the joint commission held in New Delhi in April, 1986.

The USSR and India expressed their determination to continue to develop and strengthen co-operation in the fields of culture, health, education, mass media, tourism and to intensify ties in sports.

The two sides stressed that the forthcoming festivals of the USSR in India and of India in the USSR to be held in 1987-1988 have a major role to play in the development of Soviet-Indian relations, and in further strengthening understanding and friendship between their countries and peoples. Conscious of the special significance of these events, the two sides agreed that the Prime Minister of India, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Mr Mikhail S Gorbachev, would be the honorary chairmen of the respective national organising committees of the festivals in their countries.

The two sides expressed the hope that the new Soviet-Indian consular convention would facilitate further development of relations between the two states.

The Indian side expressed its appreciation of the role of the Soviet Union in strengthening the economy and in accelerating the scientific and technological progress in India, which is aimed at self-reliance. The Soviet side emphasised that a USSR is pursuing a consistent policy of developing co-operation with peace-loving and independent India in all areas.

2.

An extensive exchange of views on a wide range of international issues once again demonstrated the coincidence or similarity in the positions of India and the USSR on major world issues.

The two sides reiterated their conviction that relations between all states should be based on such universally recognised and fundamental principles as renunciation of the threat or use of force, mutual respect for sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, inviolability of borders and non-interference in internal affairs. Disputes between states should be resolved through peaceful means.

India and the Soviet Union are of the firm conviction that the most important objective facing mankind is to strengthen peace and remove the threat of a nuclear catastrophe.

Proceeding from this conviction and determined to contribute towards the realisation of this great objective, the Prime Minister of India

and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU signed the Delhi Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World. The two leaders commend it to all nations of the world and urge them to do their utmost in the interests of nuclear disarmament and universal peace.

The two sides expressed grave concern over the deterioration in the international situation, the continuing escalation of the arms race, especially in nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, the growing danger of its being extended to outer space, as well as the persistence of existing hotbeds of tension and emergence of new ones. They were convinced that all states, irrespective of their size and regardless of differences in their socio-economic systems, have a role to play in the search for realistic solutions that would halt and reverse the nuclear arms race and reduce tensions in the world.

The Soviet side drew attention to its programme for the complete phased elimination of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction by the end of this century. The Indian side welcomed this major initiative. In accordance with the Delhi Declaration signed by the leaders of the two countries, both sides called for an early conclusion of the convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

The two sides stressed the importance of a freeze on nuclear arsenals on a global basis beginning from a specific date and under effective verification. This should be followed by a substantial reduction in nuclear arsenals. They called for early prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons, and for the prohibition of the development and production of new types of weapons of mass annihilation.

The USSR and India supported the immediate suspension of all nuclear weapon tests and the speedy conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. The Indian side positively noted the Soviet Union's readiness to sign such a treaty at any time and at any place, and welcomed the unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing till 1987 by the USSR.

India and the USSR considered important in this context the initiatives taken by the heads of state or government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania, which are aimed at the termination of the production and deployment of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems, prevention of an arms race in outer space and the cessation of all nuclear testing, and making the Soviet unilateral moratorium at least a bilateral one.

The USSR and India are convinced that given political will, the elaboration of a reliable system of verification of the cessation of nuclear testing does not present any serious difficulties. Such a system could be based in particular on the recommendations of the eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Harare and the relevant proposals by the countries participating in the six nation initiative.

The Soviet side informed the Indian side about the outcome of the Soviet-American meeting in Reykjavik at the highest level, where proposals aimed at complete liquidation of nuclear weapons were put forward by the Soviet Union. These proposals remain on the table. The USSR and India were of the opinion that the experience of the Reykjavik summit demonstrated that, given a constructive and realistic approach, far-reaching agreements for nuclear disarmament could be achieved.

The two sides called for the transfer of resources currently directed to military expenditures to meet the needs of socio-economic development. A part of the funds which will be released in the process of disarmament should be channelled towards rendering assistance to developing countries.

The Soviet Union and India emphasised the necessity for an early elimination of hotbeds of

tensions in the world and for the prevention of the emergence of new ones. They believed that given goodwill, acceptable solutions can be found on the basis of such principles as respect for sovereignty and independence of nations, and right of peoples to an independent choice of ways of development. To this end the two sides are prepared to make their contribution to the peaceful settlement of conflict situations.

The Soviet Union and India expressed their grave concern over the escalation of acts of terrorism, including state terrorism. They resolutely condemn all terrorist activities, whether committed by individuals, groups or states and believe it necessary to counter them by every legal means.

The Soviet side drew attention to the proposal put forward by the Soviet Union concerning the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security. The Indian side noted that this proposal is an expression of the need for new political thinking in the nuclear era.

In the course of discussions in New Delhi special attention was paid to the situation in the Asian continent, in the Indian Ocean and its adjoining areas where the process of militarisation and military threat is mounting.

The two sides noted the urgent need to improve the political climate in the Asian continent and its adjoining areas, and to search for ways of ensuring lasting peace, stability and the development of economic co-operation. Progress in this direction could gradually be made, in particular, through normalising the situation, creating an atmosphere of confidence and constructive co-operation at bilateral and regional levels.

In this connection the Soviet side explained in detail the Soviet Union's concrete programme for maintaining peace and security and establishing co-operation and interaction in the Asian-Pacific region. The Indian side elaborated on its consistent policy of reducing tensions and promoting good-neighbourliness with all countries in the region, and the steps taken by India along with other countries in building co-operation at the regional level through the South Asia Association of Regional Co-operation without outside interference.

The two sides expressed their concern over the tense situation in the Middle East as a result of Israel's expansionist policies, and condemned the continued occupation of Arab territories and acts of aggression by Israel in the region which pose a grave threat to international peace and security. The two sides emphasised the urgent need for a just, comprehensive and durable settlement of the Middle East problem, based on the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories and the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people—whose sole legitimate representative is the Palestine Liberation Organisation—including the right to self-determination and the right to establish their own sovereign state on the basis of existing UN resolutions, as well as ensuring the right of all states in the region to independent existence. They strongly supported an international peace conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation of all parties concerned including the PLO on an equal footing. The convening of such a conference could be facilitated by setting up an appropriate preparatory committee.

The two sides declared that it is necessary to preserve the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon, and to ensure the complete and immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from southern Lebanon.

The USSR and India expressed their serious concern at the hostilities between Iran and Iraq, and urge the leaders of these countries to put an end to the fratricidal war and to settle the conflict by peaceful political means.

The two sides expressed serious concern over

the continuation of the hot-beds of tension in South-West Asia and reaffirm their conviction that the problems of the region demand peaceful political solutions paying full respect to the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of the countries of the region. They called upon the countries of the region to expeditiously terminate the armed conflicts, to exercise restraint and co-operate constructively for reducing tension and restoring peace. India and the Soviet Union reiterated their opposition to all forms of outside interference in the internal affairs of the countries of the region. They are confident that negotiated political solutions alone can guarantee a durable settlement of the existing problems of the region.

The two sides expressed their concern at the persisting tensions in South-East Asia. They reaffirmed their conviction that a solution to the problems of South-East Asia should be found by the states of the region themselves on the basis of full respect for their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, and without outside interference in their internal affairs. They support the desire of these states for normalisation of the situation in the region and for making it an area of durable peace, stability, good-neighbourliness and co-operation.

The Soviet Union and India expressed their concern over the further aggravation of the situation in the Indian Ocean, and called for dismantling all foreign military and naval bases in the area and for preventing the creation of new ones. Both sides condemned the attempts to build up foreign military presence in the Indian Ocean. They called for speedy implementation of the 1971 UN declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, and supported the decision of the United Nations General Assembly to convene, without delay, an international conference for this purpose. They noted that this conference has been inordinately delayed and believed that it is necessary to ensure that it is held at the earliest possible date, and no later than 1988.

The two sides reiterated their support for the just demand of Mauritius concerning the restoration of its sovereignty over the Chagos archipelago, including Diego Garcia.

The Soviet Union and India strongly condemned the racist South African regime for its obnoxious policy and practice of apartheid and condemned the state terrorism being conducted by it against the frontline and other African states. Both sides demanded that South Africa scrupulously respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of these states, and demanded an end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, and the unconditional withdrawal of its troops from that country. They called for full and prompt implementation of all the relevant UN decisions on granting indepen-

dence to Namibia, including Security Council Resolution 435. The two sides reaffirmed their abiding support for the just and heroic struggle of the people of Namibia under their authentic, sole and legitimate representative, SWAPO. The Soviet Union and India resolutely support the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist South African regime and welcome the relevant initiatives of the non-aligned countries taken at Harare.

The two sides expressed their support for a just, political settlement of the situation in the region of Central America and the Caribbean, especially around Nicaragua, based on ensuring the security of all states of the region and on respect for their sovereignty, national independence and right to self-determination without outside interference in their internal affairs. The Soviet Union and India called for the cessation of all forms of external pressure and acts of aggression against the independent and non-aligned countries situated there. They voiced their support for the constructive initiatives of the non-aligned countries and the efforts of the Contadora Group towards a negotiated settlement of the situation in that region.

The two sides called for the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and equitable basis and the establishment of a new international economic order. The solution of this pressing task would serve the interests of all mankind, especially of the developing countries. They condemned manifestations of the policy of neo-colonialism and discrimination, coercion and blackmail in interstate economic relations. Both sides favoured the ensuring of fair and equitable prices for the exports of developing countries and the dismantling of artificial trade barriers.

The Soviet side noted that it regards economic security as an integral part of a comprehensive system of international security, under which it would be possible to establish a fund of assistance to developing countries and to elaborate, under United Nations auspices, a global programme of scientific and technological co-operation. The Indian side stressed the importance of an integrated approach on the part of the international community on the key interrelated issues of money, finance, trade, commodities and development.

The Soviet Union and India were unanimous that the movement of non-aligned countries has evolved into an influential force for the relaxation of international tensions, and for promotion of peace, disarmament and peaceful co-existence. They took note of the movement's vitality in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, aggression, racism and apartheid, interference and hegemony

and for the realisation of the new international economic order.

The Soviet Union reaffirmed its high evaluation of the Non-Aligned Movement and of the constructive role played by India in that movement and in the international arena in general, and of its efforts to improve the international situation and ensure equitable political and economic co-operation among states.

Both sides reaffirmed their abiding commitment to the United Nations, to preserving and strengthening this organisation as an effective instrument of peace and security and of peaceful settlement of international disputes and crises, and to the objectives and principles enshrined in its Charter. They expressed their readiness to take necessary steps in order to ensure that the just and democratic principles on which the United Nations was founded become firmly rooted in the practice of international relations.

3.

The Soviet Union and India highly value the well established tradition of maintaining regular contacts between their leaders. These contacts have become an important mechanism for nurturing and strengthening the relations of friendship, mutual understanding and confidence between the two countries. The two sides affirmed their determination to continue to further develop contacts and have consultations between them at the political and other levels, and to expand further and strengthen their bilateral co-operation in various fields. Both sides are convinced that relations of close friendship and co-operation between India and the USSR enhance the effectiveness of their efforts for the preservation and consolidation of peace and security in the world.

The two sides expressed their profound satisfaction at the results of the official friendly visit of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Mr M S Gorbachev, to India. This visit is a new landmark in the development of friendship and fruitful co-operation between the Soviet Union and India. It has further strengthened both mutual trust between the leaders and the ties of close friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

Mr M S Gorbachev expressed sincere gratitude to the leadership and people of the Republic of India for the warm welcome accorded to him and his party. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Mr M S Gorbachev, extended an invitation to the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, to visit the Soviet Union. The invitation was accepted with gratitude. □

Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi give joint news conference

Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi held a joint news conference in New Delhi on November

28. Opening it, Rajiv Gandhi said:

Mr General Secretary,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Friends,

I feel that this visit of General Secretary Gorbachev to India has been a major landmark in our bilateral relations. It has reaffirmed the strong friendship between our two countries.

We have had very wide-ranging discussions for almost, I think, ten hours between just the two of

us. They have been held in an atmosphere of warmth, of confidence and trust. Other talks have been going on at ministerial and at other levels between the two delegations. The outcome of this visit will be significant for our bilateral ties, for regional stability and perhaps most of all for world peace.

During this visit we have talked about many areas where we have common interest, most especially peace, nuclear disarmament and development. Yesterday the General Secretary and I signed a number of agreements and perhaps the most important is the Delhi Declaration. It

lays out principles for a nuclear weapon-free and non-violent world.

We have signed agreements on economic and technological co-operation, a new consular convention, and a protocol on holding festivals in each other's country, and at the end of this visit a joint statement will be issued.

These agreements are a testimony to the strength, maturity, stability and dynamism that Indo-Soviet friendship has come to mean.

The Delhi Declaration is an historic document and its international significance will only be seen

in time. It embodies a comprehensive new framework for international relations based on freedom, equality and non-violence and is a major contribution to co-operative and peaceful world order.

The economic agreement that we have signed is the largest that we have signed between our two countries. It covers new projects, including coal and oil. There are two new elements in this economic agreement: the local cost financing and the turn-key approach.

We have also agreed to increase our trade by about two and a half times by 1992. We would be looking at new areas and new modes of economic co-operation; our finance minister and Vladimir Kamentsev, a Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, will be talking about this further.

We have also decided to give a qualitative thrust to our science and technology co-operation. We shall perhaps take an utterly new approach to this sphere, doing joint research projects together in frontier technology areas and then moving from that stage to the production stage of those technologies. The General Secretary has agreed to our proposal to send a delegation to India led by Gury Marchuk, President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, to go into all these aspects and we will follow from there.

Lastly, let me say once again that this visit has been very satisfying and very heart-warming for us. I hope that it means a major increase in the level of Indo-Soviet relations.

I now call upon General Secretary Gorbachev to speak to you. This is his first visit to India. Unfortunately, he has not been able to see very much of India. We look forward to inviting him back to see a little bit more of our country.

Mikhail Gorbachev then addressed the press conference:

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister,
Esteemed Ladies and Gentlemen,
Comrades and Friends,

I must say that you, Mr Prime Minister, have made my task both easier and more difficult. You have already said the main thing. I could limit myself to just a few remarks, even a few words, by saying that I fully agree with you. But I think our colleagues at this meeting—the journalists—would not be satisfied with just this.

I would like to tell you first about the atmosphere of this visit. It has been good, friendly and sincere. The conversations have been in a spirit of candour and profound mutual understanding. This has enabled us to discuss a wide range of problems which are of interest both to the Soviet Union and to India.

This visit has been a landmark in the long-standing and fruitful co-operation between the Soviet Union and India. It would seem that this is all clear and that there has been nothing out of the ordinary, for our ties have been constant and ever deepening.

But this visit has had its peculiarities and I would like to mention them. These peculiarities are connected, first of all, with the domestic development of our countries. Both the Soviet Union and India have entered a period in their historical development where they have set themselves major goals, major tasks. Naturally enough, this also makes different demands on our co-operation. We should take account of each other's concerns, as is customary with friends, and we are long-standing friends and partners.

From the standpoint of our countries' domestic development there has also been another peculiarity: there has been a change of leadership in both the Soviet Union and India. Mr Prime Minister and I have a common opinion: we see our task not only in preserving what was created in our relations by the preceding generations but also in trying and making our own contribution, advancing our relations further, deepening them

and reaching new forms of co-operation.

This visit has had yet another peculiarity which has been connected with the current international situation. We have expressed our opinions and judgements about it over these days and you know them. The world situation is of a kind that makes it essential for such a powerful factor of tremendous international significance as Soviet-Indian co-operation to assume an even greater role in the world.

We have felt our responsibility these days not only to our peoples but also to the peoples of all countries and to the whole world for the policy we have been pursuing and for the further steps we shall be taking either in co-operation or independently, in the interest of strengthening peace and averting nuclear war, just as it has been so far.

I think that the peculiarities I have just mentioned make it possible to understand why the visit has been planned in this way and how it has passed.

We have spent these days mostly talking with people. We have had no opportunity to tour India and I think this is a shortcoming which ought to be overcome in the future. Life is marching on, co-operation is broadening and contacts getting closer. Our relations will keep growing more dynamic and there will be more meetings.

I agree with the Prime Minister that this visit has been distinguished by an extremely busy programme of meetings and conversations. The talks have involved the full complements of the two delegations, with their members conducting talks separately, each with his own partners and within their specific areas of responsibility.

We have worked hard with the Prime Minister and now that the visit is drawing to a close and we are summing up the results, I think that our efforts have not been wasted.

We have indeed spent many hours just between the two of us and this has enabled us to take a careful look at all areas of our co-operation and all issues related both to our bilateral relations and to international and regional problems. It has been a real, substantive dialogue which has covered the most fundamental questions of world development and bilateral ties between our countries.

Let me say once more: an immense, vast amount of work has been done. I agree with the Prime Minister that this has enabled us to reach important accords both in politics, in economic, scientific and technological links, and in the cultural field.

The main result of the visit is that it has made it possible, I would say, to build up the potential of friendship and co-operation between the USSR and India.

During this visit we have felt both the significance of Soviet-Indian relations today and our responsibility to our peoples and to the entire world. Their significance stems, above all, from the fact that they are relations between states with different social systems, with different histories and with a wide variety of national and cultural traditions all of their own. It is the decades of mutually advantageous and straightforward co-operation that have created this major, distinctive phenomenon of the times, which has become an important factor in international politics.

Today's relations between India and the Soviet Union are the fullest embodiment of the principles of peaceful co-existence. For this reason alone, they deserve careful attention.

As far as we, the leaders of these countries, are concerned, our task is to make certain that their relations at this new stage in world history be in even fuller accord with the principles of peaceful co-existence. Of course, these should be applied to practice. It is not enough to abide by political principles, it is important to demonstrate them in practical action. We are proud of this stand. And

why shouldn't we be? There are politicians that find other, very dubious reasons to plume themselves with. We have every reason to be proud of the policy of peaceful co-existence. But this also means to feel responsibility.

The high level of our relations has made it possible to issue such a document as the "Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World". I fully agree with the wide-ranging and convincing arguments given here by Mr Gandhi when revealing the meaning of this important political document. It is a truly extraordinary document indeed, a document of great international significance. It reflects the role of the Soviet Union and India in world affairs and their moral right to make such an address to all mankind.

Yes, we are convinced that we have had the moral right to issue such a document as the Declaration. It encapsulates a point of view, ours and India's, on the most vital problems of the present-day world. This document gives the world community an opportunity to see the thrust of our thoughts, our real intentions and goals.

A joint statement has been issued on the results of the visit. It also is unusual for its wide coverage of problems and for the similarity it shows of the two countries' views and approaches to the pressing issues of international politics.

An agreement on economic and technological co-operation has been signed. I would like to repeat here what the Prime Minister has said: this is the largest agreement in this field in the entire history of our relations.

A protocol on festivals in India and in the Soviet Union has been signed. These will be devoted to two memorable dates in the histories of our countries: the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and the 40th anniversary of India's independence. Their scope and content will correspond to the significance of these events. I trust that this will bring our peoples even closer together.

Speaking of the documents signed as a result of this visit, it is important to point out the following: despite the richness of their contents, what has emerged in the process of the talks themselves goes far beyond the bounds of these documents and holds a promise of even more tangible results for both our countries.

It goes without saying that measures to deepen interaction so large in their scale mean heavy workloads on everybody who will be involved in their practical implementation. But I am positive that since there is the political will and trust, the atmosphere of unprejudicedness and the mutual desire to take account of each other's interests, help each other and co-operate, everything that has been projected and contemplated here in New Delhi can and—I would like to add at once—is to be carried out. At any rate, the Prime Minister and I are deeply committed to this goal.

I have been very impressed by the way the Soviet Union's envoys have been received in the Parliament of India. This has been a remarkable act, which will remain in the history of our two countries.

We have had an opportunity to meet with public figures belonging to the friendship society and the society for cultural relations with the USSR. To greet the delegation from the Soviet Union, they came from all parts of India, from different states—well-known, respected, honoured people. Through their emotional, friendly words, they have sought to convey to us the profound feelings of friendship and sympathy entertained by the Indian people towards the Soviet Union, to our people. It has been a moving, memorable meeting and we shall carry the feelings expressed there to our people.

Taking this opportunity, I would like to thank the citizens of India and all organisations that have contributed to the visit's success for the warmth and consideration which have surrounded us all these days, for the generosity with which the Indians have shared with us their

ideas and concerns.

Here in India, my comrades and I could not but feel how close and consonant the spiritual aspirations of our peoples are. Our countries both have had difficult historical lots. There have been many bitter pages both in the history of India and in the history of my country. This is perhaps why the compassion for another's pain, the desire for justice and the will for peace and freedom are so strong in the Soviet and Indian peoples.

Returning to the contents of the talks during this visit, I would like to say that there has not been a single meeting that has not focussed on the most urgent issues of international life. Mr Gandhi and I are unanimous that the Soviet Union and India consider it the task of tasks to deliver the world from nuclear weapons, overcome tension, and cool the hot spots of the planet. All this has been among the problems we have talked about.

We believe that this cannot be done, cannot be achieved through confrontation and enmity, through an absurd build-up of strength. The position of strength, and I have already said this once before, is meant to bend others' will, infringe upon others' interests or even suppress the undesirables.

We are deeply convinced that this position has no future, while its present day is most unenviable or even disgraceful.

The routes to the future lie through affirming new political thinking, through understanding the realities of the nuclear and space age, through realising the inter-dependence of all countries, and through becoming convinced that the building of peace and reliable security should involve all countries, all peoples, all states.

In conclusion, I would like to say that both in Moscow before this visit and here, in New Delhi, I have received hundreds of telegrams and letters from Indian organisations and citizens. They have been permeated with heartfelt feelings of affection for the Soviet Union, for our people. There have been many invitations to visit many places in India. I thank the Indian citizens, public organisations and the press with all my heart for the warm words, good wishes and feelings of affection for my country.

I would like to convey special words of greeting and gratitude to the Indian youth, young students and pupils, whom I have only seen this time, alas, from my car. I appreciate the feelings they have shown to our delegation and to the Soviet people in general these days.

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Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi then answered questions from journalists.

QUESTION to Mikhail Gorbachev: You have just said that regional problems were discussed in the talks. What is your view of the militarisation of Pakistan by the United States?

ANSWER: We—the Soviet Union, India and Pakistan—are all neighbours. And I think that neighbours should always live in peace and help one another to build their relations in the spirit of understanding. We stand for good, hearty relations with the Pakistani people and approaches should be worked out to achieve such relations. Other ways lead to unpredictable consequences and we should all remember this. I think that this fully applies to the Pakistani Government.

QUESTION to Rajiv Gandhi: There was voiced in the address to Parliament the idea of broadening co-operation between the USSR and India in the peaceful uses of space and in establishing an international centre to train cosmonauts. Do you think this idea feasible?

ANSWER: I think it's a very good idea. But we'll have to go into more details to see exactly how it can be implemented. We have not gone into those details yet but I am sure we will.

QUESTION to Mikhail Gorbachev: Your

excellency has done a great deal towards improving relations with China in your speech at Vladivostok. We wish you well in this effort but I want to ask you a question which is of some concern to people in this country. That is, as you try to normalise your relations with China, there could be a possibility of military and other pressures being stepped up on our country, which also has a very long-drawn-out border dispute with China. The General Secretary must have been aware of certain recent steps taken by China which constitute a turn round on the position that they have already taken. What can be done to prevent this and not to turn the milk of Indo-Soviet friendship sour?

ANSWER: As for the latest wish, I have already commented on it. What we are doing to improve relations with China will not detract from our relations with India. Our steps in that field will never harm her. We will expand our relations with India and the current visit is proof of that.

As for the rest of your speech (*laughter*). I can say that the better that relations in the Asian region become, between all countries, and the better that relations between the USSR and China become, the better will be the overall atmosphere in that part of the world. And when the atmosphere improves and co-operation broadens, understanding will grow and there will be more trust.

QUESTION to Rajiv Gandhi: Making statements these last days and at the press conference today, you characterised the latest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution as a new promising area of Indian-Soviet co-operation. The space centre has already been discussed here. In what other areas and new forms can this co-operation develop in your view?

ANSWER: Let those who know a little bit more about technical and scientific subjects, like Academician Marchuk and our scientists, go into much more detail and then we will come out with the specific areas of co-operation.

QUESTION to Mikhail Gorbachev: How do you view the Chinese intrusion on our north-eastern border and what is the Soviet stand on this?

ANSWER: I could have left it at what I have already said. I think that both sides have a desire to settle border disputes in the spirit of mutual understanding, through a political process. This is a very correct approach and we for our part welcome it.

QUESTION to Mikhail Gorbachev: Mr General Secretary, there are five million Afghan refugees in Iran, Pakistan, and India. Now that you have signed the Delhi Declaration, do you think the Soviet troops are going to withdraw from Afghanistan to allow the Afghan refugees to return home?

ANSWER: This problem has already been covered in my interview with the Indian journalists. We stand for a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. The sooner accord is reached on precisely such an approach to the problem, the better for Afghanistan and its neighbours. This also holds true for the problem of refugees. I will only take issue with your view that it is linked to the withdrawal of Soviet troops. We are committed to a political settlement, we'll take an active stand on it and invite every party involved in the problem to participate and co-operate. I want to say anew that there are prospects for the settlement of this problem in the not too distant future. This is our view of the situation and we will act proceeding from this view.

QUESTION to Rajiv Gandhi: The Indian Ocean is being militarised. Symptomatically, there are no littoral nuclear powers and all weapons have been introduced from outside. A conference on the establishment of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean is scheduled to convene shortly. What resolutions could it pass?

ANSWER: The Indian Ocean has already been declared a zone of peace by the United Nations. Unfortunately, the conference which should

have taken place has not yet taken place and we feel that it is being blocked by certain nuclear-weapon states that have a vested interest in blocking it. We feel that the Indian Ocean must be a zone of peace free from nuclear power rivalries and it should not be such that it puts pressures, especially military pressures, on the littoral and hinterland states. But the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace is only one part of the world. We must look for the whole world to be a zone of peace.

QUESTION to Mikhail Gorbachev: My question deals with your relations with China. Recently we feel that they have been improving. If there is military conflict between China and India which side will you take?

ANSWER: If relations in the Asian region as a whole and between the great powers in Asia, which I think primarily are China, India and the Soviet Union, keep improving, a very different situation will emerge and your forecasts will never come true. This is my conviction. And no one will have to take someone's side. I think that the tendency I am talking about will gain momentum, the tendency for normalisation and better relations in Asia, including relations between such countries as China, India and the USSR.

QUESTION to Mikhail Gorbachev: As you know, the United States this week exceeded the limits of the SALT-2 agreement by arming an additional B-52 bomber with launch cruise missiles. What will the Soviet response be and what effect will this have on arms negotiations?

ANSWER: I learned the news you talk about from the press. I have not yet read the official White House statement. This decision, if it has really been taken, is contrary to the entire logic of the talks in Reykjavik and even to the statements made by the American side since Reykjavik to the effect that it remains committed to disarmament talks. At the same time, it demonstrates its disregard for such an important document as SALT-2 along with the ABM Treaty. We think that if such a decision is taken, it will be a bad error. It will complicate the search for and approaches to disarmament.

I would like to add also that these actions should add to the energy of all those who realise the need for disarmament and the abolition of nuclear weapons. They show anew that we in the Soviet Union are right in appealing to all the peoples to act and act together before it is too late.

QUESTION to Mikhail Gorbachev: What can be done for a political solution in Afghanistan? Our Prime Minister described you yesterday as personifying innovation and daring. Do you think a small non-aligned group would help a speedy solution of the Afghanistan problem?

ANSWER: Everything that can contribute to a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan merits attention. I have already answered questions like the one just asked and can hardly add anything. But I understand the worry in your question.

QUESTION to Mikhail Gorbachev: Mr General Secretary, apparently it was because of security considerations that you could not see so much of India this time. In this context, what could you say about terrorism and its implications?

ANSWER: My movements in New Delhi were fully in accord with the programme drawn up by us. The purpose of the visit was to use every opportunity for talks and exchanges of views. We felt a need for them and proceeded from it and I think we did right to shape up the visit in this way.

As for terrorism, our position of principle is known to the whole world: we are absolutely against it. It is a position of principle and we take guidance from it in our domestic and external affairs.

I repeat, we are resolutely opposed to terrorism in any form, especially state terrorism. **QUESTION to Mikhail Gorbachev:** You have expressed the hope for an early settlement of the Afghanistan problem. What is the basis of your hope? You have spoken about an

Asia-Pacific security plan. How does Pakistan fit into it and in what way? What are your suggestions for improving an understanding between the Soviet Union and Pakistan and what irritants do you think have prevented good-neighbourly friendly relations?

ANSWER: As for our proposals on establishing a zone of peace and security in the Indian Ocean, they are close to the views of the Indian Government presented by the Prime Minister here.

We are ready to participate in a process which would lead to security for all the littoral states, including Pakistan. This would meet the interests of the entire Indian Ocean community, the interests of development and co-operation.

As for the sources of our optimism about the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, I think there are new developments both in the Cordovez mission and in the striving of other states, including the Soviet Union, to have this problem settled. I will draw the line at this remark because this subject should not be discussed in public when the process of search is under way. It may interfere.

Lastly, relations between the Soviet Union and Pakistan. We are known to have always co-operated with Pakistan and made our contributions, even in difficult times, to lessening tension in that part of Asia. We are ready to act in this manner today as well. We hope that Pakistan, too, will think over its position with an eye to the general interest in a normalisation of the situation in the region.

QUESTION to Rajiv Gandhi: You have expressed hope that India and China can resolve their differences. How can this be done when China continues to sit on thousands of square miles of Indian territory and helps Pakistan make things difficult for us? What is your position on the disputed territory? You said in Bangkok that you would discuss the Kampuchean problem with Mr Gorbachev. Have you done this and with what results?

ANSWER: We did talk about the Kampuchean problem. The basic problem—and in this we have not changed our position right from the beginning—is that there can be no solution that involves anyone from the old Pol Pot regime. During my visits to Indonesia and Thailand I thought that a similar view was also held by those countries. We have discussed this, and it will perhaps require much longer discussions at a different level and we will try and

continue the exercise.

Mikhail Gorbachev: The problem of Kampuchea indeed was a subject of exchanges of views, joint analysis and note-comparing. We agreed to continue the discussion. Everyone knows how the Kampuchean problem arose and it has to be resolved in the interests of the Kampuchean people, who sustained great losses because of well-known causes.

As for border disputes between India and China, I think that both countries have everything it takes to resolve them on the basis of trust and realities. I think a correct solution will be found. This problem will be tackled by China and India.

QUESTION to Mikhail Gorbachev: Twenty years ago in Tashkent your country made efforts to bring India and Pakistan together. What are the chances of your playing a role in trying to bring India and China together? Was this question raised in the talks with China or would you like to raise it yourself so that there can be qualitative improvement in the situation in this part of the world?

ANSWER: There are contacts between India and China and they are being used to clarify all problems of mutual interest.

QUESTION to Mikhail Gorbachev: You said that Afghan refugees did not leave Afghanistan because of the Soviet presence. What settlement do you prefer and do you consider the proposals of the Afghan Government realistic? And are the Soviet troops essentially trapped in Afghanistan by the Mujaheddin?

ANSWER: In today's world situation, ever new peoples are emerging on to the scene as independent history-makers. They are making political and social choices and deciding what road to follow. We find this in different parts of the world.

What attitude should be taken to this phenomenon? We think that if we deny the right of choice to people, there can be no normal international relations. Only people of one country or another have the right to decide what road to follow, what ideology to profess and what forms of political organisation to use. It is their sovereign right. Most states have made this choice, the one you represent here (Canada), the US, the Soviet Union and India. Why then is the right to choice recognised in one case and not, or only belatedly, recognised in another? The United States, for instance, recognised the Soviet Union 17 years late, though Russia had

recognised American independence from the start. Naturally, the USSR recognised the right of the Indian people to make their choice when they proclaimed independence.

Can the right to choose be denied to anyone? This is the general premise in the understanding of the causes of conflicts. They arise when the initiative of the people to exercise their lawful right is blocked from outside.

Afghanistan is our neighbour. We have had excellent relations with it under all regimes. We co-operated with kings and prime ministers and are co-operating with today's Afghanistan, which arose from revolutionary developments in that country. It is up to the Afghan people to decide what system to have, to make their choice and to give an impetus to the development of their society, which is considerably behind others.

We sent a limited troop contingent to Afghanistan at the invitation of its government when the independent choice of the Afghan people had been jeopardised by foreign intervention. And we will leave Afghanistan. It is farthest from the thoughts of the Soviet leadership to have Soviet troops stay in Afghanistan. We believe in the friendly people of Afghanistan.

We stand for a non-aligned, independent, sovereign Afghanistan which would be the master of its resources and of everything that belongs to it, and for a neutral Afghanistan. What kind of regime will be there is up to the Afghan people.

QUESTION to Rajiv Gandhi: Mikhail Gorbachev suggested in his Vladivostok speech a broad dialogue on security in Asia and in the Indian and the Pacific Ocean. What contribution was made to this dialogue by the Soviet-Indian talks in New Delhi?

ANSWER: As I mentioned in one of my speeches, the idea of Asian co-operation for peace is not new. It was put forward by Jawaharlal Nehru almost 40 years ago. I have always felt that for true peace we have to move our foreign relations, not just as India but in the world, up from the red level of *realpolitik* or politicking to a meaningful relationship between countries which goes deeper than just present convenience or pragmatism. And this can only happen if there is enough understanding and exchange between countries. Asia is a good region to start with.

The press conference is over. Thank you. □

USSR and India against the nuclear threat

By Rear-Admiral A. Pushkin

"POLICIES that seek superiority by some over others must be renounced. The expansion of nuclear arsenals and the development of space weapons undermine the universally accepted conviction that a nuclear war should never be fought and can never be won." So says the historic Delhi Declaration signed by the Indian and Soviet leaders on November 27.

The Declaration is inspired by humane ideals that represent the interests of people everywhere. It is clearly consonant with the hopes and aspirations of most nations in the Asia-Pacific region.

Asia was the first to be afflicted by atomic weapons, Hiroshima and Nagasaki being obliterated.

A classic example of the danger before today's world can be found in Asia, and in the Pacific Ocean adjacent to that immense continent. For the meantime that region is not as militarised as Europe is. But the risk of militarisation is truly great, given the lack of international agreements and a forum to unite all the region's states and uphold their common interests.

Even today there are thousands of nuclear weapons at US bases in Asia, and aboard US ships, submarines and strategic bombers in the region. Suffice it to say that the density of nuclear weapons in South Korea is 4 times that in the NATO countries.

The USA persists with the 'Strategic Defense Initiative' and looks to deploy elements of SDI in Asia and the Pacific Ocean. The Delhi Declaration, however, and the other Indo-Soviet summit material stress space as a common property of all humanity which must not be militarised. The same thought was clearly evident at the Harare Non-Aligned Conference and in the Mexico Declaration of the Delhi Six.

Before going to New Delhi, Mikhail Gorbachev told Indian journalists of the danger of SDI, and what SDI deployment would mean for humankind. He repeated these warnings in Delhi. The USSR is not afraid of SDI as such and, if need be, will find effective counter-measures. The point is, though that the 'Star Wars' ambitions, if realised, would multiply a thousand times the risk of nuclear conflict. Decision making would become computerised, with man

an onlooker. New weapon systems would go out into orbit, and nuclear weapons, far from disappearing, would grow in power and number.

SDI does more than make the peoples of Asia and the Pacific into nuclear hostages. It is a catalyst for the nuclear and conventional arms race. Neo-colonialist exploitation of the developing countries will grow as the United States tries to make them pay for its neo-globalism and hegemonism.

Delhi sounded a resounding "no" to those who would hold the world at gunpoint with space weapons, and who would knock humanity into the nuclear abyss. Prime Minister of India Rajiv Gandhi highly commended the Soviet proposals at Reykjavik and told the Indian Parliament: "In the interests of humanity, all nuclear-weapon countries must come together in a binding compact to eliminate nuclear weapons and prevent the spread of confrontation to outer space."

The call for peace issuing from India's capital should be heard. There is no other way to peace. □

Novosti Press Agency

DELHI DECLARATION

On Principles of a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World

Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi signed on November 27 the following Delhi Declaration on the principles of a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world:

TODAY humanity stands at a crucial turning point in history. Nuclear weapons threaten to annihilate not only all that man has created through the ages, but man himself and even life on Earth. In the nuclear age, humanity must evolve a new political thinking, a new concept of the world that would provide credible guarantees for humanity's survival. People want to live in a safer and more just world. Humanity deserves a better fate than being a hostage to nuclear terror and despair. It is necessary to change the existing world situation and to build a nuclear-weapon free world, free of violence and hatred, fear and suspicion.

The world we have inherited belongs to the present and future generations and this demands that primacy be given to universally accepted human values. The right to every nation and every person to life, freedom, peace and the pursuit of happiness must be recognised. The use or threat of use of force must be abandoned. The right of every people to make their own social, political and ideological choices must be respected. Policies that seek to establish the domination by some over others must be renounced. The expansion of nuclear arsenals and the development of space weapons undermine the universally accepted conviction that a nuclear war should never be fought and can never be won.

On behalf of the more than one billion men, women and children of our two friendly countries who account for one-fifth of mankind, we call upon the peoples and leaders of all countries to take urgent action that would lead to a world free from weapons of mass destruction, a world without war.

Conscious of our common responsibility for

the destinies of our two nations and of mankind, we hereby set forth the following principles for building a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world:

1. Peaceful coexistence must become the universal norm of international relations:

In the nuclear age it is necessary that international relations are restructured so that confrontation is replaced by co-operation, and conflict situations resolved through peaceful political means, not through military means.

2. Human life must be recognised as supreme:

It is only man's creative genius that makes progress and development of civilisation possible in a peaceful environment.

3. Non-violence should be the basis of community life:

Philosophies and policies based on violence and intimidation, inequality and oppression, and discrimination on the basis of race, religion or colour, are immoral and impermissible. They spread intolerance, destroy man's noble aspirations and negate all human values.

4. Understanding and trust must replace fear and suspicion:

Mistrust, fear and suspicion between nations and peoples distort perceptions of the real world. They engender tensions and, in the final analysis, harm the entire international community.

5. The right of every state to political and economic independence must be recognised and respected:

A new world order must be built to ensure economic justice and equal political security for all nations. An end to the arms race is an essential prerequisite for the establishment of such an order.

6. Resources being spent on armaments must be channelled towards social and economic development:

Only disarmament can release the enormous additional resources needed for combatting economic backwardness and poverty.

7. Conditions must be guaranteed for the individual's harmonious development:

All nations must work together to solve urgent humanitarian problems and co-operate in the areas of culture, the arts, science, education and medicine for the all-round development of the individual. A world without nuclear weapons and violence would open up vast opportunities for this.

8. Mankind's material and intellectual potential must be used to solve global problems:

Solutions must be found to global problems such as shortage of food, the growth of populations, illiteracy and environmental degradation through the efficient and appropriate uses of the resources of the Earth. The world's oceans, the ocean floor as well as outer space are the common heritage of mankind. A termination of the arms race would create better conditions for this purpose.

9. The "balance of terror" must give way to comprehensive international security:

The world is one and its security is indivisible. East and West, North and South regardless of social systems, ideologies, religion or race must join together in a common commitment to disarmament and development.

International security can be guaranteed through the adoption of integrated measures in the field of nuclear disarmament using all available and agreed measures of verification, and confidence building; just political settlement of regional conflicts, through peaceful negotiations; and co-operation in the political, economic and humanitarian spheres.

10. A nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world requires specific and immediate action for disarmament:

It can be achieved through agreements on:

—complete destruction of nuclear arsenals before the end of this century;

—barring of all weapons from outer space, which is the common heritage of mankind;

—banning of all nuclear weapons tests;

—prohibition of the development of new types of weapons of mass destruction;

—banning of chemical weapons and destruction of their stockpiles;

—reducing the levels of conventional arms and armed forces.

Pending the elimination of nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union and India propose that an international convention banning the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons should be concluded immediately. This would constitute a major concrete step towards complete nuclear disarmament.

Building a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world requires revolutionary transformation of outlook and the education of people and nations for peace, mutual respect and tolerance. The propaganda of war, hatred and violence should be forbidden and hostile perceptions with regard to other nations and peoples abandoned.

Wisdom lies in preventing the accumulation and aggravation of global problems which, if not solved today, would require even greater sacrifices tomorrow.

The danger that threatens mankind is grave. But mankind has the power to prevent a catastrophe, and to pave the way to a nuclear-weapon-free civilisation. The gathering strength of the coalition for peace, embracing the efforts of the Non-Aligned Movement, "The Six-Nation Five-Continent Initiative for Peace and Disarmament", all peace-loving countries, political parties and public organisations, gives us reason for hope, and optimism. The time for decisive and urgent action is now.

M Gorbachev
General Secretary
of the
CPSU Central Committee

R Gandhi
Prime Minister
of the
Republic of India

November 27, 1986. □

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a half thousand years ago, turns out to be even more relevant today. In the age of nuclear arms the only possible victory is the victory of reason. Let us jointly work for it!

Distinguished Members of Parliament, I wish you success as you apply your minds and efforts for the benefit of the Indian people and for the sake of universal peace.

Let friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and India grow further! □

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