

Mikhail Gorbachev meets the British Prime Minister

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV's meetings with Margaret Thatcher have become an indispensable and important element of modern world politics. The meeting on June 8 was a special one: first, the British Prime Minister came to the Soviet Union on the occasion of a memorable event in the history of Soviet-British relations – the Days of Britain in the USSR, and, second, it was held at a very important period of world development.

The Soviet President told Mrs Thatcher about his visits to Canada and the United States. They both pointed to the importance of the talks held there, and not only of their results, but also of the co-operation potential formed in the process, which is so necessary today for a positive development of Europe and the world.

President Gorbachev recalled his two principles: there can be no security if it is not equal for all, and nothing in the world will develop in a proper way without Soviet-American co-operation and mutual understanding. This is why US military presence in Western Europe is expedient for some time, although its linking with a united Germany's membership in NATO is not quite convincing.

The Soviet President told Mrs Thatcher about the recent meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee. They stated with satisfaction the new character of the meeting

and the principled importance of the intention, announced by its participants, to bring the Warsaw Treaty Organisation into line with new conditions. Gorbachev pointed out that now Warsaw Treaty member states have every reason to expect reciprocal steps from NATO, from the forthcoming NATO Council meeting in London. The two alliances in the process of transformation, could organise co-operation and play a positive role in working out new structures of all-European security.

During the conversation much attention was devoted to the German problem and external aspects of reunification. Gorbachev said that it was unacceptable to see the future German state only as a NATO member, especially in view of the fact that no one knows the opinion of the German nation on this subject. The West German Government cannot speak on behalf of the whole of a future sovereign Germany. He expressed some ideas taking into account the interests of all countries.

The German problem is too important and complicated. It requires an original approach. One should not be afraid that, at first sight, this or that way to settle it might seem unrealistic. The experience of recent years showed that the ideas that seemed to be a utopia turned into real processes several years later. Gorbachev believes that it is possible to find a way that would not undermine processes that began in Europe recently. Something great has begun, which will determine the development of events throughout the world.

When looking for a solution, one should take

into account several interdependent processes developing in Europe. Besides, a transition period is unavoidable, in the course of which it would be possible to work out a solution acceptable both for Germany and for the whole of Europe, using the 'two-plus-four' mechanism and ensuring the participation of all parties concerned. This solution could promote the formation of a single European economic, legal, cultural and information space, as well as a single security space.

So far as the Vienna talks are concerned, both leaders proceed from the assumption that the agreement on conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe can and should be signed this year at the all-European summit, of course, if external aspects of the German problem are settled in a favourable way, Gorbachev pointed out.

It has become customary for President Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher to discuss perestroika during their meetings. This time they also focused their attention on this subject, especially on the solution of its fundamental problems.

Mrs Thatcher asked Gorbachev about the Lithuanian problem and the situation in the Baltic region in general. She displayed a good knowledge of the historical and modern aspects of the problem. Gorbachev told her about its complexity and contradictory nature and set forth his well-known approach: it is necessary to act in accordance with the Constitution and the law, in the spirit of perestroika. □

Gorbachev's speech at dinner in honour of British Premier

"WE cannot imagine present-day international relations without active Soviet-British co-operation. It can and should play its indispensable role at the turning point in European and world history," Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev said at a dinner in honour of the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, in Moscow on June 8.

"The visit by the Prime Minister of Great Britain to our country is the first meeting with a Western leader since the Soviet-Canadian and Soviet-American summit meetings," Gorbachev said.

"Until recently, relations between the USSR and the United States were a source of tension in the world. At present, they are becoming a factor of international stability.

"Conditions are being created for the transition of Soviet-American relations to co-operation on the basis of partnership.

"Orwell's anti-utopia about the state of permanent hostility between super powers has proved to be wrong.

"The results of the Soviet-American summits belong to the entire international community," Gorbachev said. "This accomplishment would be unthinkable without a positive contribution from other powers."

Dwelling on the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee's session on June 7, Gorbachev said that "an important understanding was reached to transform profoundly this international organisation and impart to it a political character.

"It would be good if the process evoked a positive response in NATO and was synchronised by the sides," he said.

"The German problem and its external aspects have moved to the foreground of European politics," Gorbachev said. "Today, no sol-

ution has yet been found that would suit all peoples."

The President said that "further search is required, it is necessary to work jointly on options and thoroughly study all arguments" in order to resolve this complicated problem.

"We live at a very dynamic time," Gorbachev remarked. "This time dictates its own pace of international politics. No imbalance should be allowed in the status of a new German state, since the all-European system will lose the historically established balance of interests of all

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Soviet-British documents signed

SOVIET-BRITISH documents were signed in Moscow on June 8 during British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's visit to the USSR.

The documents comprise a programme for the development of Soviet-British economic and industrial co-operation from 1991-2000, an agreement on the creation and the activity of cultural centres of the USSR and Britain, and a programme for co-operation in training management personnel.

The documents were signed by Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzkhov and Margaret Thatcher. □

Mikhail Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher hold joint news conference

"I REGARD the meeting with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher within the context of the active political dialogue that has marked recent weeks and months," Soviet President Gorbachev said in his opening remarks at a joint news conference held in Moscow on June 8.

The British Prime Minister was on a working visit to the USSR.

Gorbachev said that his talks with the British Prime Minister had lasted several hours.

He pointed out that contacts between the leaders of the two countries have been linked by long-standing traditions and co-operation.

The Soviet President and the British Prime Minister discussed what Gorbachev described as "major and topical problems of the day," focusing "on the assessment of the latest Soviet-American summit in Washington."

"The British Prime Minister and I attach great importance to what happened in the United States," Gorbachev said. "We both think of what is important not only for implementing the agreements reached there, but also for continuing the planned interaction and partnership."

Noting that during the meeting with Thatcher they discussed in detail the place of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO in the European process, and especially in connection with the German issue, including its external aspects, Gorbachev said:

"We see the possibility of shaping new relations between the two blocs in the course of their transformation in connection with progress in disarmament and the elimination of military confrontation in Europe."

On the basis of his conversation with Thatcher, Gorbachev drew the conclusion about "the possibility of interaction between these two

military-political organisations in preparing new structures of all-European security."

Stressing that the two paid great attention to the German problem, Gorbachev said that he set out in detail Soviet "arguments and concerns."

Mrs Thatcher reaffirmed that she understands the need to take the Soviet opinion into account as fully as possible, he said.

"Central to my considerations is the idea that one should not limit oneself to one option alone, which will inevitably be prejudiced," Gorbachev remarked.

"An intensive exchange, intensive search for and comparison of views and proposals are required in order to find the optimal option that would satisfy all and, which is especially important, would contribute to the development and consolidation of positive processes in Europe and the world at large."

Both sides reaffirmed the right of the Germans to live in one state, Gorbachev said. At the same time, he observed, the final summing-up of the results of the war is not up to the Germans alone. The "two-plus-four" mechanism should fully play its role, he added.

Gorbachev said that the British Prime Minister was interested in the current situation in the Soviet Union. "I appreciate Mrs Thatcher's invariable interest in our perestroika and her stance on this issue," Gorbachev said.

"I regard this interest not only as an expression of human solidarity with our people and country, but also as her profound understanding of the Soviet Union's role in today's world and the immense significance of what is happening in this vast country within the framework of its renewal for civilisation and universal peace."

On the question of Soviet Jews settling in Israel both agreed that Israel should not settle

Soviet immigrants on the occupied Arab territories.

"I have said at the meeting of the Board of Jewish Deputies and in other speeches that I think it is wrong that people who leave the Soviet Union should be placed in the occupied territories which we really regard as belonging to someone else and not to the state of Israel" Thatcher stressed.

"We should see that those people do not reside in the occupied territories which basically do not belong to the state of Israel. And we shall continue to make that view clear," she added.

At the same time the British Premier noted that London did everything possible to secure the right of emigration from the USSR to Israel for a greater number of people. "President Gorbachev has given it," she said.

Thatcher said that some Arab countries had "blamed" President Gorbachev and she had responded vigorously to this suggestion.

For his part, the Soviet President reaffirmed the position expressed in his statements on that score during the recent visit to the US and stressed that "it is all very serious." Having expressed satisfaction with Margaret Thatcher's statement at the current news conference, the Soviet leader expressed the hope that "in Israel they will heed what has been said" during his visit to Washington, where "everything is taken seriously."

According to Gorbachev, if Israel pays heed, "then in accordance with Soviet legislation, this process (emigration of Soviet Jews - Ed) can proceed as usual, normally."

"We will have no need to make adjustments," he added. "If the situation develops in such a way that one will have to respond, then, I must say, we will have to use our sovereign rights and our competence in order to exert influence." □

Soviet President's BBC interview

"SOVIET-BRITISH relations are a very important area of our politics. We value them. As a result of joint efforts they have now gathered momentum and become increasingly effective and substantive. I think matters are proceeding towards mutual advantage," President Mikhail Gorbachev told Jonathan Dimbleby of the BBC in an interview.

The interview, which was circulated in Moscow on June 9, was given in view of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's visit to the Soviet

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states, and the all-European home will not have a solid foundation."

He emphasised that "real guarantees of non-disruption of strategic stability in Europe are required, and they can only be found in the close interconnection between German unification and the all-European process."

Speaking of the Days of Britain in the USSR, Gorbachev expressed the hope that the festival will enable Soviet people to know more about that country with its rich history and culture and its outstanding accomplishments.

"The festival will serve well the consolidation of mutual understanding, confidence and co-operation between the peoples of the USSR and Britain," Gorbachev stressed in conclusion. □

Union.

"What these relations give us politically and economically now, under conditions of perestroika, is beneficial," Gorbachev said.

The Soviet President described the current stage of perestroika as the "most decisive phase," because "we have approached closely fundamental changes in the economic system, in the political process, political reform, inter-ethnic relations, and in the life of the federation."

"The most important thing I must say today is that we are on the right road and our choice is correct. Over the past five years no one has been able to offer a substantive alternative to perestroika," the President pointed out.

In response to a question about relations with Boris Yeltsin, the Soviet President said: "If the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin acts constructively, in the spirit of perestroika, and if he conducts affairs precisely in this way at the Congress and in the Supreme Soviet, I think that this will meet with the centre's support and that he may count on co-operation."

Touching upon the question of the Soviet Union's present system of things, Gorbachev said he takes an optimistic view of the future union as a federation. "But only provided this union of sovereign states fundamentally changes and reforms itself," he added.

Gorbachev announced that a session of the Council of the Federation would for the first time debate a time-frame, forms and methods to realise

ideas about reforming the union.

"I think that we shall get a sound federation which will combine independence and sovereignty of the republics with an efficiently acting centre possessing the rights delegated to it by the republics themselves and sealed in the constitution. This will signify success for all our peoples."

As far as Lithuania is concerned, this is a special case, the President said. This is an attempt to bypass the constitutional process, an attempt which in general does not square with perestroika.

"By the way, this attempt was made by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, not through a nationwide referendum. Such issues should be necessarily decided by a people's referendum."

The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet "chose an anti-constitutional and, I would say, stealthy path which has led to a situation which we are now finding difficult to resolve," the President said.

"Nevertheless, we are looking for a way out. We are committed to bringing the process back into the constitutional channel and to resolving this problem within the framework of this process."

The future Soviet Union, Gorbachev emphasised, "will have a multi-mode economy and political plurality. This will be a democratic state oriented towards the people, a state in which matters of social justice and protection of people will figure prominently and be tackled together thoroughly."

"I think that these will be approaches to a fuller realisation of the socialist idea as its founders saw it and as we see it now." □

Soviet and West German foreign ministers meet

A WORKING meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his West German opposite number Hans Dietrich Genscher was held in the Soviet city of Brest on June 11.

The meeting dealt with a wide ranging discussion of the external aspects of the building of German unity, i.e. the items that are on the agenda of the 'two-plus-four' negotiating mechanism.

The two foreign ministers stated that their meeting in Brest is of profoundly symbolic importance not only because it brought to mind the tragic pages of the history of relationships between the two countries but also emphasising their steady resolve to finally draw a line under the past and open up a new chapter in these relations, devoid of fears and accorded with genuine good-neighbourliness and mutually beneficial co-operation.

During a candid and direct exchange of views, which continued for more than six hours, the two sides expressed conviction that a reunited Germany should become a factor for peace and stability in Europe, and that a settlement of the external aspects of building German unity should help the all-European process forward and give further impulse to beneficial trends that are gathering momentum on the European continent.

In the light of the decision of the Moscow

session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (WTO) member-states and the NATO Council session at foreign ministers' level in Scotland, much attention was devoted to the conceptual exchange of opinions on the transformation of relations between WTO and NATO.

The Soviet side set out a number of specific considerations on that score, which were regarded with understanding in principle, although a substantive study will, of course, take time and require consultations among NATO allies.

Having discussed the military-and-political status of a reunited Germany, the two ministers expressed confidence that the positive evolution of the overall situation facilitates a solution to this highly complex issue.

The two ministers reviewed problems of European politics with an eye to the CSCE summit scheduled for the end of this year. It was pointed out that while the basic premises concerning a whole number of specific matters coincide, mutually acceptable solutions are yet to be found.

Shevardnadze and Genscher described contacts between the Soviet and West German sides at various levels as highly useful and reaffirmed the intention to continue them intensively and in the constructive spirit.

The two ministers laid wreaths at the eternal flame at Brest fortress where the Soviet Army had engaged in stout defence against the Nazi invaders in 1941.

Shevardnadze and Genscher hold joint news conference

SOVIET Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze told a news conference that his working meeting with West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher on June 11 was very useful, productive and necessary.

Summing up the results of the meeting, Shevardnadze told the news conference he held jointly with the West German Foreign Minister that he had invited Genscher to Brest, a border town burned into the history of Soviet-German relations, as a symbolic gesture.

"Brest reminds us of our common past on the one hand and manifests our will and intention to draw the final line under that past, under the results of World War II and open a new page in the history of relations between the two states," Shevardnadze said.

The minister stressed that meetings like this one were not for decision-making but for looking for options which could lead to mutually acceptable solutions.

According to Shevardnadze, while discussing external aspects of German unification, he and Genscher focused on the problem of Germany's military-political status. The minister noted that was the most important question and the sides were currently exploring the possibility of achieving an agreement on principles of mutual relations between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, which forms the first group of problems.

The second group of problems related to the reduction of the level of military confrontation in Europe at the talks of twenty-three in Vienna, Shevardnadze said.

The third group of problems concerns the dynamics of the European-scale process.

During the working meeting in Brest, Eduard Shevardnadze noted, the sides declared that

their high-priority task was to set up European centres for the prevention of conflicts.

The talks re-confirmed the desire of the two sides to closely co-operate in the development of projects of the relevant security structures for Europe. The Soviet Foreign Minister said that it would take time to implement their understandings.

Hence the need to work out the regulations for the transition period and identify measures which should be taken during this period. In this respect the Brest meeting helped clear up numerous problems.

West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher agreed with the description of his meeting with Shevardnadze as useful and constructive. "Shevardnadze informed me of the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee in Moscow and I told him about the session of the NATO Council in Scotland, Genscher said.

He said that the Western alliance highly appraised the results of the Political Consultative Committee's meeting in Moscow and in turn, at its meeting in Turnberry, extended the hand of friendship and co-operation to the Soviet Union, and other East European countries which testified to changes in relations between the two alliances.

The two ministers noted that much attention had been given during their meeting in Brest to the discussion of bilateral relations and their prospects.

Responding to journalists' questions, the ministers stressed the constructive nature of their talks and a trustful atmosphere in the spirit of mutual understanding and interaction.

Asked about the problem of the Polish-German border, the West German Foreign Minister noted that it would be solved with the united Germany, and that "nobody intended to

Gorbachev on NATO and Germany

IN his speech to the Supreme Soviet on June 12 the Soviet President made the following remarks:

"We could agree to a united Germany's NATO membership if the United States accepts associative membership and the principle of rapprochement of (military) blocs in combination with the German unification process, during which the obligations of West and East Germanies would not change, and if the blocs themselves were reformed along with this in accordance with the Vienna and all-European processes.

"We regard with full understanding the Germans' urge to live in a single state but German unification has foreign aspects – the border issue, a united Germany's status and the rights of the four victorious states."

It is clear that a transition period cannot be evaded, Gorbachev said. Germany could announce that during such a period it observes all obligations inherited from West and East Germany. The West German Army is subordinated to NATO and East German – to a new Germany's government.

At the same time, Soviet troops could stay on East German territory. If the United States decides that the Soviet Union is attempting to infringe upon their interests, it could renounce the agreement. □

Visit to Brest Fortress memorial

AT the close of a brief working meeting and a joint news conference in Brest on June 11, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his West German counterpart Hans-Dietrich Genscher visited the Brest Fortress memorial complex which is sited within the city boundaries.

This citadel played a heroic role on the first days of the Great Patriotic War. Among hundreds of defenders of the fortress who gave their lives at the very outset of the Nazi invasion was Senior-Sergeant Akaki Shevardnadze, deputy commander of a company of the 333 Rifle Regiment, elder brother of the now Soviet Foreign Minister.

He died valiantly in the defence of Brest on the first day of the war. His name is among the names of servicemen who died now carved on the slab of the sacred acropolis.

Shevardnadze and Genscher laid wreaths at the eternal flame of the Brest Fortress and honoured by a minute's silence the memory of the servicemen who perished here.

Later on Shevardnadze and persons accompanying him visited the Pamyat Ilyicha collective farm in Brest district. □

infringe on that border." He stressed the great constructive significance of the two-plus-four mechanism for the decision of the border issue.

The ministers agreed to continue their discussion in Berlin on June 22. □

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Warsaw Treaty — Declaration

A MEETING of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states was held in Moscow on June 7. It discussed prospects of the all-European process and the formation of new structures of the security and consolidation of stability in Europe. The meeting adopted the following declaration:

I

Modern development in Europe creates conditions for overcoming a bloc security model and the division of the continent. This development is becoming irreversible. It meets the interests of nations wishing to live in mutual harmony, without artificial barriers and ideological hostility. Participants in the meeting favour the formation of a new, all-European security system and the creation of a single Europe of peace and co-operation.

The states represented at the meeting are taking an active part in this process. This is why they find it necessary to reconsider the character and functions of the Warsaw Treaty. They are sure that only in this case the Warsaw Treaty will be able to reach new topical targets during the transition period, dealing with disarmament and the creation of an all-European security system.

Participants in the meeting are unanimous in their opinion that the ideological enemy image has been overcome by mutual efforts of the East and the West, while the East and West nations are again acquiring their purely geographical meaning. They believe that danger could come only from those who would threaten the security of countries in any form, including the threat or use of force, no matter who resorts to it. Con-

frontation elements contained in documents of the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, that were adopted in the past, are no longer in line with the spirit of the time.

In this new situation the states represented at the meeting will begin to review the character, functions and activities of the Warsaw Treaty, and will start its transformation into a treaty of sovereign states with equal rights, formed on a democratic basis. With this in view they created a provisional commission of government representatives, which will present to the political consultative committee proposals on this subject before the end of next October. The proposals will be examined by the Political Consultative Committee before the end of November. Warsaw Treaty member states want to contribute in this way to the consolidation of peace, security and stability in Europe and to the development of the Helsinki Process.

The meeting reiterated the readiness for constructive co-operation with the North Atlantic Alliance, its member states, neutral and non-aligned countries of the continent on a bilateral and multilateral basis in the interests of European stability and disarmament, confidence-building and the firm establishment of the defence sufficiency principle.

Participants in the meeting believe that consistent and all-round institutionalisation of the Helsinki Process is an important stage of these developments. This is the purpose of proposals submitted recently by some countries — participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Participants in the meeting expect the first important decisions on this problem to be taken at the forthcoming summit of European countries, the United States and Canada.

Warsaw Treaty member states positively as-

sess some of the steps taken recently by NATO. They expect the new trend of changes in NATO to be accelerated and deepened and to be matched by corresponding changes in the activities of this alliance.

II

Warsaw Treaty member states went on record in favour of a successful termination of the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces and on confidence — and security-building measures in Europe, so that corresponding agreements could be signed at a meeting of leaders of the states — participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe late in 1990.

So far as external aspects of Germany's reunification are concerned, they expressed their unanimous conviction that it should be carried out in the context of the all-European process and on the basis of its principles, should stimulate and deepen its development, take into consideration lawful security interests of Germany's neighbours and all other states and ensure firm guarantees of the inviolability of European borders.

The states represented at the meeting will actively promote the creation of a European economic and legal space, as well as full implementation of the basic human rights and freedoms.

Participants in the meeting pointed out that the agreements reached at the Soviet-American summit promote a further advance towards disarmament and the improvement of the international situation.

Warsaw Treaty member states express their conviction that all the states — participants in the Helsinki Process fully realise their responsibility that the history-making chance to create a Europe without blocs and hostility is not to be missed. □

Briefing on results of Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee meeting

"THE Warsaw Treaty will be subjected to radical changes," Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuli Kvitsinsky told a briefing in Moscow on June 7.

The briefing was devoted to the results of the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee.

Speaking about ways to transform the pact, Kvitsinsky noted that greater emphasis would be laid on the political consultative aspect and some obsolescent structures will be altered.

Stressing that measures devised by the meeting are expected to be taken in coordination with the development of the Helsinki Process, Kvitsinsky said that they are aimed at transforming the Warsaw Treaty into an alliance of sovereign, equitable states based on democratic principles.

It was decided to create a provisional commission, including government officials, which is expected to come up with specific proposals for the transformation before the end of October this year. The proposals will be submitted to an extraordinary session of the Political Consultative Committee, which is expected to consider the proposals before the end of November.

"Common confidence was voiced," Kvitsinsky said, "that German unification should proceed and on the basis of its principles, it should stimulate and deepen the process, taking into account the legitimate security interests of Germany's neighbours and all other countries, and ensure firm guarantees of the inviolability of European borders."

The prevailing opinion among the participants in the meeting was that a united Germany should have a military-political status which would preclude it being turned into a "power tool on the side of any one bloc."

Kvitsinsky told the briefing that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev addressed participants in the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee. His lengthy speech contained an analysis and a concept of the Warsaw Treaty's new tasks. Gorbachev spoke of his vision for Europe's future development and prospects for the transformation of the alliance. He presented a detailed account of his meetings with President George Bush of the United States of America and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada. His presentation was received by participants in the meeting with great interest, the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister told the briefing.

Responding to questions, Kvitsinsky stressed that during the meeting, he had heard no statements whatsoever concerning any country's desire to withdraw from the alliance. On the contrary, speakers at the meeting stressed that the Warsaw Treaty had a role of its own to play. The organisation should be transformed and improved to become consistent with the new circumstances. Membership in the treaty had its political and other usefulness for its member-states, it was stressed.

It was also stressed during the meeting that the Warsaw Treaty is part of the existing structures, whose disruption would lead to imbalances and change the very basis of current talks,

including in Vienna.

Touching upon prospects for NATO-Warsaw Treaty relations, the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister said that participants in the meeting expected NATO to make its own contribution to the establishment of contacts between the two alliances. He pointed out that "confrontational elements, contained in the documents of the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation adopted in the past, were no longer consistent with the spirit of the times." □

THE SOVIET ECONOMY

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Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at luncheon for leaders of Warsaw Treaty

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV warmly greeted the heads of delegations from the Warsaw Treaty member-states during a luncheon in their honour in Moscow on June 7.

The Soviet President noted that good-neighbourliness and co-operation are acquiring special importance during the present phase of European development.

"We now have a historic chance to overcome the post-war rift and build a flourishing Europe free from fear, where all people and countries could co-operate for mutual benefit," Gorbachev said.

The movement along this path has begun, the Soviet President continued. But, he pointed out, many complicated issues are still awaiting solution, including the securing of a steady balance while reducing the arms, the creation of new Europe-scale security structures, and paving the way towards broad interaction in the fields of ecology, economy, culture, science and human rights.

The Warsaw Treaty alliance, transformed in the spirit of the times, can play a constructive role in all these processes, Gorbachev said.

He noted especially that "neither our countries, nor Europe as a whole" could do without "mutual trust".

"In the final account the source of such trust," Gorbachev stressed, "lies in deep, free from time-serving and ideological prejudice understanding of the objectively coinciding and close vital interests of our peoples."

Gorbachev meets Romanian President

ON June 7 Mikhail Gorbachev had a talk with President Ion Iliescu of Romania, who was in Moscow to attend the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states. The committee meeting opened the same day.

Gorbachev congratulated the Romanian President on his convincing victory at the elections, the free and democratic nature of which opens the way for the country's revival on the basis of social consensus.

Iliescu expressed gratitude for the Soviet Union's moral and political support to the Romanian revolution, the triumph of which was promoted by processes ushered in by Soviet perestroika.

The two sides agreed that it is possible to make Soviet-Romanian relations truly equal and mutually beneficial, clearing them of past negative tendencies.

The two presidents' talk revealed the proximity of the two countries' approaches to major international problems. The two presidents reaffirmed their interest in reorganising the activities of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and in turning them into institutions actively promoting international stability.

The Soviet President invited Iliescu to pay an

official visit to the Soviet Union. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Nikolai Ryzhkov and Petre Roman took part in the meeting.

Gorbachev and Jaruzelski

SOVIET President Mikhail Gorbachev met Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski to discuss Soviet-Polish co-operation.

The two presidents reaffirmed their conviction there is a need for and good prospects for comprehensive, equal Soviet-Polish interaction in the interests of the peoples of the two countries, a lasting peace and stability in Europe.

The conversation passed in a constructive spirit and was characterised by openness and understanding.

Gorbachev meets Lothar de Maiziere

SOVIET President Mikhail Gorbachev on June 7 met Lothar de Maiziere, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic.

Gorbachev emphasised that German unification can proceed successfully as part of the common European process leading to stronger peace and stability on the continent, to structures guaranteeing reliable security in Europe.

The Soviet Union is not going to hinder the process of German unification. On the contrary, the President stressed, the Soviet Union wants the unification to be genuinely solid and reliable, to incur no one's suspicion, and to take full account of the long-term interests of the Germans themselves, their neighbours, all participants in the Helsinki Process. One should and can find such decisions.

Any other approach to the German unification issue would amount to undermining the nascent positive changes which could eventually allow Europe and its peoples to live without fear for their future, in conditions of mutual trust and broad, free and fruitful co-operation.

Lothar de Maiziere said his government wanted to put the unification processes between the GDR and the FRG into a regulated channel. This will make it possible to take fuller account of and defend the legitimated interests of GDR citizens, the responsibility for which is borne by his government.

It was agreed to continue consultations at various levels on matters relating to the external aspects of German unification and bilateral relations.

The conversation passed in a sincere and constructive atmosphere.

Gorbachev receives Pyotr Mladenov

SOVIET President Mikhail Gorbachev and Bulgarian President Pyotr Mladenov met on June 7. They exchanged information and views on the public and political processes of a democratic nature in the two friendly countries and on problems connected with the transfer to a regulated market system.

Touching upon prospects of the development of relations between the two countries, they reaffirmed their mutual interest in the consistent consolidation and improvement of equitable, mutually advantageous co-operation between the USSR and Bulgaria on the basis of continuity and renewal of traditional Soviet-Bulgarian relations.

Gorbachev's meeting with Jozsef Antall

LATER the same day Mikhail Gorbachev met Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall.

Gorbachev favoured preserving Soviet-Hungarian good-neighbourliness and co-operation. The consistent transition of the two countries' relations to a mutually advantageous basis will make it possible to preserve valuable elements that have accumulated over the past decades and, undoubtedly, make them more effective.

Antall reaffirmed his government's commitment to develop well-balanced, proper and equal relations with the USSR, which have special significance for Hungary.

It was agreed that problems of restructuring Soviet-Hungarian relations at a high political level will be considered in the near future.

Czechoslovak President praises results of meeting

"WE all agreed that the Moscow meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states was of historic importance because this was the most important meeting in the entire history of its existence," President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia told journalists on June 7 upon his return to Prague.

"The meeting gave an impulse to transforming the Warsaw Treaty Organisation into an instrument for disarmament and integration and to a certain extent for the stability of Eastern Europe," he said.

Relationships between Warsaw Treaty countries are now based on full equality, Havel emphasised.

The next meeting of the Political Consultative Committee will be held in Prague in November this year, the Czechoslovak President said. □

The Requirements of Common Sense

by Stanislav Kondrashov
Stanislav Kondrashov (b. 1928), a graduate of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, is a political analyst with the newspaper *Izvestia*. His specialities are Soviet-American relations and life in the United States, where he spent many years as an *Izvestia* correspondent. Stanislav Kondrashov has written numerous books, essays, feature-stories, and articles, including, to mention just a few, *Martin Luther King*, *A Long Look at America* and *People Across the Ocean*.

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Central Committee working group holds session

A PROGRAMME document of the Soviet Communist Party, which is to be submitted to its 28th Congress, is aimed at accumulating the collective intellect of the nation and serving as a reliable basis for the consolidation of Soviet society. This was stated at the second session of the working group of the commission of the CPSU Central Committee for preparing the congress of Soviet communists, held in Moscow on June 8.

The session was chaired by Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Vadim Medvedev. He pointed out that much had been done since the first session. A new, revised text of the programme document was prepared. It includes many remarks and proposals, contained in letters and appeals of communists, newspaper articles and alternative platforms.

Pointing to the new elements in the structure and content of the revised document, Medvedev suggested that participants in the session focus attention on the key problems which should be taken into account at the final stage of preparations. Specifically, attention was called to the need for analysing in a more profound and comprehensive way the questions raised most keenly in the discussion preceding the congress — about the Party's role and place in perestroika, about its social basis, its policy with regard to the economic reform, the character and causes of the crisis of our society and ways to overcome it.

Speakers at the session pointed out that many things remained unclear concerning the Party's priority objectives, modern understanding of socialism and the communist perspective. Some speakers warned against the simplification of the situation and urged to explain objective laws governing the development of society.

Many speakers criticised the draft programme document for the lack of clarity on the Party's stand and suggested that it be considerably reduced. □

Soviet Finance Minister on cuts in state expenditure

EXTRAORDINARY measures have to be taken to cut state expenditure, including budgetary spending, Soviet Finance Minister Valentin Pavlov said in an interview published by the newspaper *Izvestia* on June 7.

He also said urgent measures were also necessary to raise revenues.

Pavlov said that the state budget was not receiving revenues from profits in full revenue because of the drop in production. "Over the past four months the federal budget had a shortfall of an expected three billion roubles," the minister said. "If this tendency continues, the losses will have reached 10 to 12 billion roubles by the end of the year. The high priority task is to step up the struggle against losses and wastefulness."

The Finance Ministry believes that one way to do it is to make the rouble's value consistent with its real purchasing power as currency from July 1, 1990, without waiting for new wholesale prices to be fixed. This can be done by establishing the actual exchange rate of the rouble against freely convertible currencies.

"We intend to push for a revision of the deposit interest rate policy," the minister said

Preparation for Russian Party conference discussed

A JOINT session of the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the preparatory committee of the Russian Party Conference was held on June 9 under the chairmanship of Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the Chairman of the Russian Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, to consider the main questions for the work of the forthcoming forum of the communists of the republic.

"The forthcoming Party Congress will be a turning point, because it must consolidate everything that has been gained with such difficulty and not only by the Party but by the whole of society as well as to assess the experience of the five years of perestroika in order to make serious generalisations and forecast the immediate prospects for the Party's activities in new conditions," Gorbachev said in his remarks at the session.

"The Russian Party Conference acquires special importance in pre-congress activities of the CPSU," he emphasised. "The creation of a communist party of the Russian Federation will be one of major subjects the delegates to the conference will consider."

"There should be no delay in founding a communist party of the Russian Federation in the light of the existing situation and social expectations."

"At the same time one should act in a well thought-out way so that this step would not make for the development of centrifugal trends but would be aimed at consolidating the CPSU and the whole of society," Gorbachev said.

During the discussion, in view of the importance of the creation of a communist party of the Russian Federation, members of the Russian Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and the preparatory committee deemed it advisable to recommend that Gorbachev deliver a report at the conference. □

★ Leningrad Party conference adopts political statement

AFTER two days of keen discussions, the second phase of the joint conference of the Leningrad regional and city organisations of the Soviet Communist Party ended in Tauride Palace, Leningrad on June 9. The conference adopted a political statement by Leningrad communists for the CPSU's 28th Congress.

The statement comprises a multitude of Party members' proposals on ways to renew the Party and get Soviet society out of crisis.

As the immediate goal determining a minimum programme, the Leningraders suggested to build a humane, democratic socialism, to turn the CPSU into a consolidating force of society in the dramatic period of its reorganisation.

Delegates emphasised that it was essential to abandon confrontational methods and to work to overcome inevitable and natural theoretical differences.

The delegates adopted important suggestions for introduction to the draft rules of the CPSU, discussed the results of the analysis of the state of affairs concerning privileges and benefits in the regional Party organisation, and elected delegates from the Leningrad Party organisation to the CPSU's 28th Congress to fill vacancies following elections in district and city Party organisations. □

USSR unilaterally reduces nuclear weapons

By Vladimir Chernyshev, TASS writer on military affairs:

THE Soviet Union has taken another step towards ridding Europe of nuclear weapons. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, speaking in Copenhagen at the Second Human Rights meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, announced that by the autumn of next year the Soviet Union will unilaterally eliminate in Central Europe 60 tactical missiles launchers and more than 250 units of nuclear artillery and will withdraw 1,500 nuclear charges. Altogether 140 missile launchers and 3,200 artillery nuclear guns will be reduced by the end of this year.

This Soviet initiative is aimed above all at creating favourable conditions for starting talks with NATO on tactical nuclear armaments in Europe.

The USSR has long been proposing to eliminate these armaments, including the nuclear component for dual-purpose means, as well as nuclear delivery vehicles. At the summit in

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Europe: a shape of things to come

By Eduard Shevardnadze, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR

THE changes which have taken place in Europe set the following question before politicians: What next?

The danger of confrontation between the two military-political blocs, the high price the Europeans have to pay for the cold war and the need to overcome the split of the continent, achieve the unity of Germany, further the Helsinki Process and strengthen security and co-operation have been discussed for decades.

Now that all these issues present themselves in a different light and different dimensions, this opens up unprecedented prospects, on the one hand, and creates new problems, on the other.

Small wonder that in the flow of euphoric pronouncements, appraisals and comments also voiced is the fear that we should return to the old road leading to a revival of confrontation between national statehoods and a repetition of mistakes which more than once inflicted tragedies on Europe in the past.

I think all this will not happen if we don't forget the past and remember our obligations and duty to think and work so as to prevent a disruption of our joint movement forward and utilize in full measure the opportunities which history has offered us.

I am sure that this won't happen if politicians are capable of realistically and critically analysing the situation and realising the urgent need to revise many of their old concepts on the foundations of European security and co-operation.

There should be no marking time, especially in the light of the processes connected with the creation of a united German state.

As Gorbachev stressed in his interview with *Time* magazine, the alternative is clear: it is institutionalization of European development and the creation of altogether new structures on the European basis, naturally, with the active participation of the United States and Canada.

It would be naive to presume that the old political and organisational instruments would be sufficient in the current new conditions. There is no doubt that we will have to create a new structure to confront the forces that are striving to break the European community, which is very fragile yet.

Luckily, elements of such a structure are already available. They are the Final Act of the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) and the agreements, rules, procedures and standards arising from it.

The Helsinki package of principles and agreements, is a living political organism with a tremendous potential of evolutionary development.

Its main strength lies in the principle of consensus – a working, rather than merely declared, principle. In difficult periods European countries managed to find mutually acceptable variants in practically all fields of inter-state relations.

Consensus is the only basis on which collective (in our terminology) or co-operative (in the terminology of some of our partners) structures of European security can be created. With such an approach nothing can be imposed on anyone and no one's interests may be impaired or ignored.

It is not easy to honour the principle of consensus, for this takes truly new thinking. But observing it makes it possible to reach a reliable solution which will be honoured by all the sides.

No other way of handling international affairs is possible in the new conditions when the high standards of democracy are being asserted.

Why do we need a common European structure of security? Because the bloc system was based on face-to-face confrontation of the sides' armed forces at a gradually increasing level of the

means of mutual destruction.

There has always been a different reality behind the claims about the defensive character of the blocs – the orientation of their armed forces to the ability to carry out offensive hostilities.

The emergence of the blocs was the immediate projection of the cold war. They cannot remain what they were now that the cold war has become a thing of the past. The Warsaw Treaty was the first to react to a changed situation by major unilateral force reductions, conversion to a defensive doctrine and restructuring of its armed forces on the principles of non-offensive defence and reasonable sufficiency.

The same process is developing in the West. According to the communique the NATO Military Planning Committee adopted on May 23, the North Atlantic bloc decided to revise its military strategy, bringing its defence tasks in line with the developing situation doctrines.

The North Atlantic bloc has given up the idea of increasing its military spending by 3 per cent per annum, adopted measures to reduce the fighting efficiency of some of its permanent forces, cancelled its programme for the modernization of American tactical nuclear missiles in Europe and expressed readiness to enter into negotiations on the limitation and reduction of this type of armaments.

It goes without saying that we will closely watch how these intentions are translated into NATO's practical policy. Another objective need arises, however. We are to see once again whether there is a possibility of establishing partnership between the two blocs. They can't continue confronting each other forever, after all.

The question of security guarantees for those European countries which are not, and will not be, members of military alliances is posed in a new light under the obtaining new European security structures.

The present situation in Europe prompts the need to start settling all the aspects of the problem of security, disarmament and build-up of trust at forums in which all the 35 CSCE countries should participate.

Two other major components of European security are the talks of the 23 and of the 35 nations in Vienna. They cannot proceed in an active and productive way without proper attention to them at the political levels.

All this explains the need for the establishment of political institutions of the all-European process.

In our opinion, such institutions could include: The Council (Assembly) of Greater Europe: a forum of the top leaders of all states participating in the CSCE. It would examine the cardinal questions of European policy and work out fundamental policy guidelines and concrete decisions on the basis of consensus.

Sessions of the Council (Assembly) would be held no less than once in two years.

The Committee (Council) of ministers of foreign affairs. It would prepare questions for the examination at summit meetings and monitor the implementation of their decisions. The ministers would also attend to the management of other bodies which could be established later.

It is obvious that between the meetings of the top leaders and ministers' conferences problems and situations can arise, calling for their examination at political levels.

They could be dealt with by "committee of three" (former present and future chairmen) of the leaders and ministers empowered to conduct emergency consultations.

For the everyday needs it would be advisable to agree on the work of a consultative mechanism comprising the ambassadors of the 35 nations in a capital where the permanent secretariat of the CSCE with a minimum necessary

number of experts and specialists would be based.

In our opinion, it is important to set up as the first module of the future security structures a centre for ensuring politico-military stability in the whole of Europe. It could consist of two bodies, one of which would attend to the questions associated with the gathering and propagation of information on the military activities of states and would contribute to their greater transparency. Its functions would also include questions of coordination of the inspections, clarifications of confused and controversial situations and preparations of appropriate reports and recommendations for the foreign ministers' committee.

The second body would concentrate its attention on the settlement of crises. It could send missions of good offices, mediate between the conflicting sides and contribute to the easing of tensions and frictions.

Of course, the performance of this centre should be coordinated with the already existing Stockholm Agreements on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and with the other verification procedures agreed upon at the talks in Vienna.

We are in favour of the centre for the prevention and settlement of conflicts to be based in Berlin. This would have an important symbolic meaning.

In our opinion, the question of the establishment of such a centre could be discussed in the course of the preparations for the all-European summit meeting where the formation of this body could be announced.

As you all know, there is agreement already of all the participants in the future summit meeting on that it will examine in a broad context the questions of the future Helsinki Process.

It is obvious that the leaders of the states participating in the CSCE process will resolutely speak up in support of the principles of democracy, free elections, political pluralism and multi-partisanship and will place emphasis on association and on other humanitarian and legal issues.

We hope that a special group will be set up at the summit meeting at the end of the year to draft recommendations on the coordination of the work of the already existing organisations dealing with economics, ecology, communications and exchanges of information and people.

Some new institutions will apparently have to be set up here, too, though the most important thing is to use to the maximum extent the potentialities of the Council of Europe, the European Community, of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and its bodies, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the European Free Trade Association, the Nordic Council and of other European associations and organisations both in the East and West.

It is understandable that for us the points of special importance will be the synchronization and inter-dependence of the institutionalization of the Helsinki Process with the construction of a united Germany.

As agreed, the main questions pertaining to the external aspects of German unity will be examined within the framework of the 'two-plus-four' mechanism specially designed for this purpose. It is already working and everyone agrees that it is doing so quite well. The results of its work and the agreements achieved under its auspices will be presented to the meeting of the top leaders of all European states.

(Continued on next page)

TASS comments on NATO Council session

By Vladimir Bogachev,
TASS military news analyst:

IT will be no exaggeration to say that not a single communique of sessions of NATO leading bodies ever abounded in such a large number of optimistic forecasts and conclusions as the final document of the NATO Council session which ended on June 8.

Perhaps, not a single official document of NATO contained such a limited number of allusions to "military might". It is also noteworthy that the presentation of these allusions by NATO ministers has become much less tough, and this is a sure sign of changes that have taken place in the world since 1985.

One can only welcome the NATO Council's statement about the readiness of the members of the Western alliance to make "reasonable compromises" at the Vienna talks and about instructions to their delegations in Vienna to develop new approaches towards achieving mutually acceptable solutions, specifically over aircraft, tanks and verification procedure, evaluation of the importance of the latest Soviet-American

summit and NATO's intention to change its military strategy.

It happened that NATO Council's two-day session in Turnberry, Scotland, at foreign ministers' level was held simultaneously with the Moscow meeting of the Political Consultative Committee (PCC) of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (WTO) attended by the heads of state and government of Warsaw Treaty countries.

The leaders of the two alliances' member countries at these two sessions discussed similar problems. Naturally, one is tempted to compare — digressing from the style of the two final communiqués — the actual positions of the sides on major problems connected with European security and to identify still remaining differences of their approaches.

The Warsaw Treaty countries at the PCC meeting stated that conditions are now ripe for overcoming the bloc-type system of security and in this connection decided to begin to review the character, functions and activities of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

The NATO ministers, for their part, again emphasised the invariability of the fundamental properties of the alliance. In this respect one can

note a more dynamic response by WTO countries to the rapid changes in the world and their readiness to more vigorously bring their military and political guidelines into conformity with realities.

WTO and NATO representatives, both in Moscow and Turnberry, supported the idea of institutionalising the Helsinki Process.

Participants in the PCC meeting emphasised that the realisation of this idea would be an important contribution to strengthening European stability.

The NATO Council session, however, pointed out that the North Atlantic Alliance should remain the "cornerstone" in building a new European order while CSCE functions should only supplement NATO's functions.

The PCC declaration says that "the confrontational elements contained in the WTO and NATO documents of the past years no longer accord with the spirit of the times."

The quite reasonable statement on that score made by NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner at the close of the session in Turnberry was noteworthy. He said that if NATO wants adequately to respond to the challenge of the times, it itself should change. □

(TASS, Moscow, June 9)

(Continued from previous page)

The Six are, of course, faced with very difficult problems such as the future politico-military status of Germany. The views of the Soviet leadership on this problem were outlined recently by Mikhail Gorbachev at a joint press conference in Moscow with the President of France.

A variant acceptable for all and taking into consideration the interests of both Germany and the Soviet Union and of other nations will have to be sought here.

I would like to make the following point in this connection. We don't think that this question should be dealt with only from the position of the present-day realities. The situation here

(continued from page 194)

Washington, the Soviet President made a call to start talks on this problem in the autumn of next year.

It should be noted that there are at present certain positive changes in the stand of the North Atlantic Alliance which has been rejecting proposals for negotiations over a long time.

In May NATO abrogated the programme of modernisation of US nuclear tactical missiles in Europe and expressed the readiness to start talks on the limitation and reduction of these armaments. The United States intends to withdraw part of its nuclear artillery from West German territory.

Favourable conditions are thus taking shape for a dialogue on this problem between the two military-political alliances. True, NATO is not yet exhibiting much effort in striving to fully eliminate tactical nuclear armaments in Europe. In Western capitals there is only talk about decreasing nuclear confrontation. But the main thing is to begin such a bilateral process. The advance to the final goal should be made stage-by-stage. At the first period, as the Soviet Union proposed, it would be expedient to discuss substantial cuts in tactical nuclear arsenals in Europe. As the USA and NATO are not fully prepared to eliminate nuclear arms, the Soviet Union suggested last year the idea of joint definition of parameters of the "minimum nuclear deterrence", including tactical nuclear weapons. □

will not remain static. That is why the final settlement formula must be oriented more to the future than to the present, far less to the past.

Our position will be contingent upon several important factors. First, the pattern of change in NATO's concepts and strategic doctrines, and the degree of the bloc's transformation from a military and political organisation into a political and military one.

Second, the rate and scope of the European disarmament process and, naturally, of the Bundeswehr's military parameters.

Third, the speed and scale of progress in creating pan-European structures and institutions, above all, in the field of security.

We would like to think that in the near future we will be able to have a clearer idea of what we will be able to expect in these three areas.

Should the process of constructing German unity happen to fit perfectly and duly in the multi-dimensional context of European security, a solution to its aspects which appear hard at the present time could be found without infringing on anybody's interests.

The need for creating pan-European structures and institutions is contiguous to the problem of German unity in only one important respect.

An immeasurably more meaningful goal of this large-scale undertaking concerns future stability and predictability of the European situation, preventing a new split and fragmentation of Europe.

Undoubtedly, all states are interested in this, because this, in the final count, is at the core of peace, tranquility and mutually advantageous co-operation, economic and environmental collaboration.

I wish to emphasise that the posing of the question of institutionalising the European process and of creating new security structures in the framework of this process enjoys broad-based backing.

Already the nucleus of practical and conceptual attitudes has been in the making. It's truly gratifying to see that our proposals on that score are in harmony with the ideas of other countries, that many components are consonant and similar.

We liked the ideas of a European confederation advanced by President Francois Mitter-

and, of a single democratic Europe by President Bush of the United States, of a new peaceful order in Europe by Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, of a European confederative community by Foreign Minister Mark Eyskens, of a European co-operation council by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, of a European security commission by Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, and so on. Despite some nuances and differences, these ideas are permeated with concern for a peaceful future of Europe.

And all of them are in active political circulation.

We have discussed European construction with James Baker, the US Secretary of State, and Foreign Ministers Hans-Dietrich Genscher of West Germany, Roland Dumas of France, Douglas Hurd of Great Britain, Gianni de Michelis of Italy, and some colleagues.

Their response is positive and inspiring. At a working level, we have conferred with representatives of several other states of Western and Eastern Europe and have achieved understanding.

I must admit that politicians of other countries, too, have advanced quite a few unorthodox ideas about ways to develop and improve the Helsinki process. They contain some valuable, rational elements and far-reaching considerations.

An understanding has been achieved that experts of all the 35 states participating in the CSCE are to begin to confer on all of these issues in the second half of July.

Our delegation will work actively and constructively in the overall drive for consensus.

I would like to suggest one more idea before I finish my statement. The United Nations Organisation was propelled into being after the end of World War II. The task facing contemporary diplomacy is to draw a line under the cold war by laying a strong foundation for a future European home.

(Izvestia, May 29. In full.)

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