

Mikhail Gorbachev's Red Square speech

PRIOR to the military parade and civilian demonstration in Red Square on November 7 to mark the 73rd anniversary of the 1917 Great October Socialist Revolution, President Mikhail Gorbachev gave a speech of greetings, congratulating compatriots, Muscovites and the servicemen of the Soviet Armed Forces on the holiday.

"Every historical event has its own fate. Some recede into the past forever, lose their significance for posterity, while others, on the contrary, make a profound and indelible print on people's life," he said.

"Such was our October Revolution – the greatest revolution of the 20th Century, unequalled in scope and impact on people's destiny. The values that the socialist revolution carried the masses of people away with are everlasting.

"They are deeply rooted in the minds of the working people. Freedom, equality and justice found embodiment in the slogans of those days: factories to workers, land to peasants, peace to ethnic groups, and self-determination to nations.

"Nowadays, we recall with gratitude all those who with clear conscience joined the revolution and courageously bore its banner. We pay tribute to our grandfathers, fathers and mothers and millions of Soviet people whose selfless labour and boundless courage served to build the Motherland.

"We pay tribute to those who fought to the last against fascism and won the most sanguinary war, upheld the independence of their own country and other states.

"Today we shall also recall those compatriots who had their honour, dignity and life itself taken away from them without any guilt on their part. This terrible lesson should serve as an eternal reminder. The righteous goal cannot be attained by unjust means. Human rights and respect for human dignity must be recognised as the highest value in society.

"We are the successors of those who accomplished the revolution and dedicatedly sought to realise its ideals. We cannot allow ourselves to humiliate them by forgetting them, still less by bringing in an unfair verdict.

"The past generations are not to blame for the fact that the goals they dreamed of were not

achieved or that the ideals which inspired people to assault the old system were subsequently seriously distorted," Gorbachev said.

"We make an utterly honest estimate of our history. However stringently everything connected with Stalinism and with the distortion of the socialist idea is judged, this cannot and should not eclipse what has been accomplished by the people over the past threequarters of a century," Gorbachev went on to say.

"Our attitude to the past is now expressed not only in words. We have resolutely broke away from lies and injustice, strove to see and understand things in their true light and made a radical turn towards government by the people, economic freedom, a state committed to the rule of law and civil society.

"It is with good reason that we refer to perestroika as a new revolution the purpose of which is to emancipate the human being, overcome his alienation from property, power and culture, and to assert the value of human life and personality.

"Freedom and democracy, the rights of the citizens, sovereignty and self-government of the people, material well-being based on the results of one's own labour, health care within even-

ryone's reach and education at up-to-date level, care for the aged and children, protection of the environment, the preservation and growth of culture, national traditions and mastering all achievements of world civilisation – all are the things that are embodied in the socialist idea as we now understand it.

"This is at the same time the revival of the values of the October Revolution at the current stage of domestic and world history.

"The historic turn that has now been launched on the initiative of the Communist Party was understood and accepted by the people. Over the period that has passed since, the country has gained a new aspect.

"Genuine government by the people, the freedom of thought and action, and active involvement of millions of people in tackling the vital problems of society have become an irreversible achievement of perestroika.

"Perestroika dealt a crushing blow against the totalitarian, command and bureaucratic system that constrained society and stifled people's initiative. But the renewal process turned out to be much more painful and dramatic than could be expected.

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ANATOLI LUKYANOV ADDRESSES FESTIVE GATHERING

ANATOLI LUKYANOV, Chairman of the Soviet Parliament, described the Great October Socialist Revolution as "a landmark that started the complex, arduous and contradictory path of socialist transformations, the basis of which are the ideas of people's power, democracy, humanism, justice and internationalism."

The path opened by the October Revolution, Lukyanov noted, was hard, linked as it was with great upheavals, deformations and human sacrifices. But it remains true that the October Revolution was the embodiment of working people's aspirations, the creation of the popular masses and their response to the age long thirst for social justice.

Lukyanov said that the current restructuring was a continuation of the October Revolution, "a necessary revolutionary process, renewing society on truly democratic, humanitarian principles.

"Perestroika ushers in not simply a new political situation," he said, "it takes the people's power to a higher level."

Lukyanov stressed the important role of soviets (councils) formed on the basis of free, democratic elections that are to become the chief institute of civil accord and dialogue capable of working out long-overdue solutions to social problems.

According to Lukyanov, perestroika symbolises the creation of a new economic mechanism and economic relations, which call for extraordinary measures aimed at normalising

the economy and the consumer market, strengthening contract and financial discipline and monetary circulation, and further perfecting foreign economic activity.

Restructuring reaffirms principles proclaimed in October 1917 – equality and sovereignty of all nations and nationalities, their right to self-determination and the free development of ethnic minorities, Lukyanov said. However, he noted, "this process will be hard to accomplish, because it has prompted not only an understanding of new realities, but also the cold wind of inter-ethnic strife, separatism and nationalist chauvinism, the tragedy and sufferings of refugees."

Lukyanov called on the Soviet people to display good sense and preserve fraternity and friendship. The principle of sovereignty, according to him, should go hand in hand with the preservation of the union of Soviet republics.

Social tension, inter-ethnic conflict and economic instability are all components of any revolutionary epoch, any transitional period, Lukyanov said. However, there is only one way to overcome these difficulties – through rallying all patriotic forces. This is the only safeguard of the success of the perestroika revolution, of keeping its peaceful, Lukyanov stressed.

The rally was then addressed by representatives of the Soviet public: scientists, cultural figures, workers and a student. All speakers said that the traditions of the October Revolution were alive in the minds and hearts of the people. Soviet people have always observed anniversaries of the October Revolution as the birthday of the Soviet State, as a great date in the world's revolutionary renewal. □

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Mikhail Gorbachev's speech on signing treaty in Bonn

The following is the text of President Mikhail Gorbachev's speech during the signing of the Treaty on Good-neighbourliness, Partnership and Co-operation in Bonn on November 9, 1990:

Respected Federal Chancellor,
Ladies and Gentleman, Comrades,
Today is a special day in the age-old history of our countries and, I believe, in the European history.

By signing this document, which it was hard even to imagine a short time ago, we have drawn an official line under an entire historical process and marked a deep perspective which we and you have in common.

The way towards such a treaty is measured not by weeks of text preparation but by years and decades of joint efforts to overcome the past and search for new quality relations between the Soviet Union and Germany.

It is with deep satisfaction that I note Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's substantial contribution to this great cause: during our first contacts we arrived at the conclusion that relations between our peoples were ripe for major

changes.

At this moment, I would like to pay tribute to the initiators and architects of the Eastern Policy, and first of all to Mr. Willy Brandt and Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

We responded to the call of the times, we received it on the eve of a new century as a duty before our own nations and before Europe as a whole.

We would have been unable to begin to act if we had not been satisfied that lessons, stemming from the 20th Century's tragic past history, have been learned and have taken deep root in consciousness and political life.

I must say that we'd not have succeeded, if substantial improvements had not occurred by that time in Soviet-American relations.

We also pay their due in this respect to France and Great Britain, their peoples and governments.

Progress was accelerated due to the stormy

processes of internal transformations in East Germany, which destroyed the wall that separated the German nation. There should be no period of uncertainty and vagueness between the realisation of the will of Germans for unification and the transition to a new level of Soviet-German relations.

This was realised in good time by responsible politicians on all three sides, who had, from the very outset, to regulate this process of principles of peace and concord.

It is most important that the Treaty of Good-neighbourliness, Partnership and Co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany was drawn up together with the treaty on the final settlement around Germany, signed in Moscow two months ago.

I am confident that we made the right choice. We made a deeply thought-out decision consistent with the long-term vital interests and the time-honoured traditions of both our nations and states.

I am also confident that the great – as it has already been described – Soviet-German treaty will not be an isolated episode but a constant component of a new peaceful order which is being created by the efforts of all participants in the European-scale process.

The Soviet German treaty is not directed against anyone. Our concord and co-operation make parts of the load-carrying structures of the common European home, in which security for each will mean security for all, and in which universal human values and the spirit of respect, solidarity and good-neighbourliness will triumph.

Our treaty does not stand in isolation. The Soviet Union has recently signed a treat of concord and co-operation with France and a political declaration of co-operation with Spain, and earlier with Finland and Italy, with which, incidentally, an agreement had been reached to sign a treaty of friendship.

It seems we are not far away from reaching an agreement on signing a Soviet-British declaration.

All these acts, as well as other potential bilateral agreements organically fit into the building of common European structures, which await approval at the forthcoming Paris summit, a truly epoch-making event.

Addressing today citizens of a united Germany, I want to stress once again the significance of what is taking place for all of us.

A new vision of the world is triumphant.

The epoch of confrontation is over.

The image of Europe and the world is changing.

Our treaty is a strong and healthy child of all these changes. As it matures and gains strength, it will play an ever greater role in the lives of our nations and in the entire European development in keeping with criteria of a new epoch.

Goethe's prophetic words "mankind is above nations" are being filled nowadays with concrete political substance.

Our treaty is remarkable for the clarity of positions and intentions, its orientation towards the future and openness to all who wants to take part in building a new Europe on a new basis.

Let us, without delay and doubt, make good-neighbourliness, partnership and co-operation daily, habitual things in the communication between our great nations.

May the Soviet-German treaty, concluded for 20 years, turn into a treatise on "eternal peace".

Thank you.

Gorbachev-Kohl meetings

SOVIET President Mikhail Gorbachev, on his first visit to the united Germany, and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl met several times on Friday, November 9, before and after they signed the treaty on good-neighbourly relations, partnership and co-operation.

These meetings were marked by mutual confidence, frankness, a candid manner of raising questions and the profound understanding of the interdependence of both states' problems.

These factors had played an exceptional role in raising Soviet-German relations to the present-day level, and they made it possible to achieve the main goal of the current visit, namely to boost relations between the two peoples and states at the new stage in European and world development.

Kohl showed much interest in the situation in the Soviet Union. He explained his interest by the desire to "know precisely what and when he should do to promote success of perestroika, with which current positive changes in Europe and the world are connected."

The Chancellor was given explicit and frank answers to his questions and an analysis of measures being taken by the Soviet leadership to

solve basic problems connected with reforms in the Soviet economy and the entire state structure of the Soviet Union.

Kohl received with understanding the information that the coming 10 to 18 months would be most difficult for the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev said that during these months support for the transition to the Soviet economy to market relations would be "particularly desirable" as regards the provision of the population with essential goods and the accommodation of the Soviet economy to the world economy.

Gorbachev and Kohl emphasised the need to achieve concrete, practical results of Soviet-German co-operation for both countries in the near future.

They discussed German supplies of foodstuffs for the coming winter and medium-term periods in the transition to a market economy with a view to maintaining the provision of major industrial centres with foodstuffs.

They also discussed the sale of surplus foodstuffs and industrial goods in European Community countries to the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev and Kohl discussed the fate of the property of Soviet military organisations, possibilities for setting up joint ventures, including the participation of third countries, and the fate of armaments that belonged to the former East German Army.

The two leaders also discussed problems of Soviet ethnic Germans.

Gorbachev and Kohl focused on European developments and the role of the Soviet Union and Germany in them. They pointed to the existence of great reserves for increasing the two countries' contribution to all-European co-operation.

The two leaders analysed the situation in the Persian Gulf. They showed complete mutual understanding on this issue, emphasising that UN resolutions on the Gulf must be fulfilled unconditionally.

The good personal relations between the two leaders, their solidarity and comprehensive approach to each issue under discussion have made it possible to fill this brief visit with much content, useful for both countries, and map out prospects for developing large-scale co-operation and a friendly partnership between the two great nations. □

LEONID BREZHNEV: The Period of Stagnation

Roy Medvedev (Historian), Fedor Burlatsky (editor, Literary Gazette), Andrei Brezhnev (diplomat) and Melor Strua (journalist) analyse the experience of Leonid Brezhnev's 18-year leadership

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Gorbachev and Kohl: joint news conference in Bonn

PRESIDENT Mikhail Gorbachev expressed satisfaction with the signing of the Treaty of Good-neighbourliness, Partnership and Co-operation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal Republic of Germany in Bonn on November 9.

He told a joint news conference that this and other important documents signed in Bonn opened a new page in Soviet-German relations.

Gorbachev, who spoke after Helmut Kohl's opening address at their joint news conference, noted that while signing the treaty and when exchanging opinions, "we stressed that what is happening on this day is of great historic significance for the fate of the German nation, for Soviet-German relations and for Europe as a whole.

"We see a new role for our two great powers in this rapidly changing world," Gorbachev said, "in a world which has great potential for restructuring international relations to meet the challenge of the times and dangers, because no sharp turn is ever danger-proof."

That is why, the President added, "without procrastination, we, within the framework of political discussions and exchange of opinions between the leaders of the Soviet Union and former West Germany, found it necessary and possible to begin preparing new basic regulatory enactments to regulate our relations at a new stage in the development of Europe."

The "unique character" of Soviet-German relations on the present stage consists in the fact that a large Soviet military contingent will remain for some time on German territory, the Soviet President pointed out.

Gorbachev praised the stand of German President Weizaecker, Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher, who "urged the German people to regard Soviet soldiers, staying here in accordance with certain decisions and treaties, as representatives of a friendly army."

Mikhail Gorbachev said that during the talks held in the course of the current visit much attention had been devoted to the analysis of the situation in the Gulf area. The Soviet leader stressed that the two sides realise the need for "acting firmly, consistently, in line with the views and resolutions of the United Nations Organisation and the UN Security Council."

He again warned against attempts to split and upset this unanimous stand of the world community. "If we prove incapable of acting in a new peaceful period, of resolving the emerging problems, then it is fraught with very serious consequences for us. We must be united," Gorbachev stressed.

Assessing at the request of journalists the progress made in countering Iraqi actions in the Gulf, Gorbachev said: "I think that all we have done by acting together, within the framework of the UN Security Council is a tremendous victory."

In the first place, we are acting together in this tense situation for the first time ever, perhaps for the first time in history, in the spirit of unity and understanding of responsibility before the world community, within the UN framework, which was created to protect and maintain peace, the Soviet leader pointed out.

We denounced the aggressor, Gorbachev continued. We took resolute measures and are implementing them, and all attempts to upset this unity ended in failure and are doomed to failure in the future.

"And, finally, we are preserving peace. This region, which is a source of energy for the world

community, is functioning, which means that the world economy is functioning in the interests of the whole of the world community," the Soviet President said.

Gorbachev pointed out that the United Nations Organisation, using its instruments, would decide what to do in the future. He warned against "planning some operations" by anybody. He also expressed confidence that the UN "will act consistently, using co-operation and analysis," and its resolutions will be implemented.

German Chancellor Kohl described the talks with President Gorbachev as the continuation of their earlier talks in Moscow and the Caucasus.

In his opening address to the joint news conference he stressed that "good work" had been done during this visit.

It is important, the Chancellor said, that the mutual personal trust that exists between himself and the Soviet President had proved its worth once again - "we discussed our future co-operation in greater detail today," he said, noting that special attention was focussed on economic relations.

The sides were at one, Kohl pointed out, that Germany would support the present stage of Soviet economic reform with advice and action.

"We shall do it both in Soviet-German co-operation, and where Germany is able to act at an international level," he added. "With this in mind, the Federal Government will form a group of leading specialists to help implement Soviet reform."

Kohl was positive in his attitude towards the realisation of extensive exchange programmes, especially in the field of "training and retraining Soviet specialists and economic leaders."

Much attention was given to problems of Soviet ethnic Germans, Kohl told the news conference. The new Soviet-German Treaty guarantees these people's rights to preserve and develop their language, culture and traditions. "We shall help them in this," the German Chancellor promised.

When discussing international problems, Gorbachev and Kohl focused on the situation in the Persian Gulf. "It was noted with great concern," Kohl said, "that the Iraqi leadership was still reluctant to meet the world community's demand that it free all hostages of all nationalities

and pull out all its troops from Kuwait."

He described international solidarity "against aggression and violence" as inspiring. He said this world reaction had found reflection in ten Security Council resolutions.

"Today, we were at one in our belief that the UN Security Council, and especially its permanent members, should continue and step up their efforts to use international law and order to resolve the conflict," Kohl said, with Gorbachev agreeing.

"I do not regard anybody as an enemy of the Soviet Union," President Gorbachev said, responding to the question: whom does the Soviet Union regard as its potential military adversary? "There are no nations or countries, who we could suspect of preparing a war against us," the Soviet leader stressed.

"This is how the Soviet leadership regards the modern world. On the basis of this analysis it adopted a defensive doctrine, which was followed by the restructuring of the Soviet Armed Forces ... We shall soon start a major reform of the armed forces, the blueprint of which has already been submitted to the government and will be submitted later to the Supreme Soviet," Gorbachev said.

The Soviet President believes that "a unique opportunity opened up today for building new economic relations on the basis of disarmament." In this connection he praised the talks, which are drawing to a close in Vienna, on the reduction of the armed forces and armaments in Europe, as well as the talks on a 50 per cent reductions of strategic offensive armaments, which are nearing completion. In his opinion, this progress is evidence of profound changes in the policy pursued in the international arena by the main characters and by the world community in general.

"Our goal is a nuclear-free non-violent world," Gorbachev stressed. He urged the stopping of the senseless arms race, which "poisoned international relations and impoverished even such rich countries as the Soviet Union and the United States."

Asked whether the treaty will ensure the preservation and further development of the Soviet Union's links with the eastern part of united

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Gorbachev's meeting with German Finance Minister

SOVIET President Mikhail Gorbachev met German Finance Minister Theodor Waigel, Chairman of the Christian Social Union, a party closely involved in developing German-Soviet relations at their new stage, on November 10.

Gorbachev spoke with satisfaction about the trust that had formed in bilateral relations, which can ensure their truly large-scale development.

Co-operation between Germany and the Soviet Union has a great future if the two countries do not yield to time-servig considerations and constantly bear in mind their colossal resources, he said.

Those investing in perestroika at its crucial juncture think in genuinely historical terms, Gorbachev said. "That is why I highly appreciate the position of the Chancellor and Finance Minister," Gorbachev said.

He said that the Soviet Union and Germany were heading for tremendous achievements because it was hard to find a better blend of various elements - economic, intellectual, historical, geographical and others - which, in combination, could produce unusually good results. It is important not to fall hostage to speculative claims about the "break-up" of the Soviet Union or the "incompatibility" of the power of the centre and republican sovereignty.

Great appreciation was expressed during the meeting of the fact that the agreement on transitional measures was signed by the German Finance Minister. That document is an important practical contribution to reconciliation between the two nations.

Waigel shared specific ideas about organising supplies of goods that are now badly needed on the Soviet market, especially deliveries under former agreements between the USSR and East Germany.

He said he saw his involvement in the economic support of perestroika as "a contribution to solidarity as part of international responsibility."

President Gorbachev's meeting with James Baker

SOVIET President Mikhail Gorbachev met on November 8 US Secretary of State James Baker. Their two-hour conversation was held in an atmosphere reflecting the new level of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, permitting detailed and candid discussion of any problem.

President Gorbachev told Baker about the peculiarities of the phase through which the country was now passing – complex and contradictory while also rich in potential developments.

During the celebration of revolution day, Gorbachev said, we were convinced of the major-

ity's commitment to the good sense and desire for consolidation. This majority made its presence felt everywhere with its powerful support for perestroika.

Democracy, the Soviet President said, does not rule out, but in effect presupposes discipline, order and stability.

"We shall act proceeding from this understanding when taking decisive steps on the road to a market economy and a new union treaty in the next few months," Gorbachev said.

"We are fully aware of our responsibility before the people and before the whole world. We believe that all people must be interested in the success of our transformations," Gorbachev went on.

James Baker supported the idea. Transforma-

tions in the Soviet Union, he said, require much courage and "we wish the Soviet leadership success."

Gorbachev and Baker scrutinised the Gulf situation. They stressed that the Soviet-American dialogue since the beginning of the crisis has repeatedly stressed the need for unanimity of all countries, especially UN Security Council members, their categorical rejection of the aggression and their common unconditional demand that Iraq should withdraw its troops from Kuwait.

No one, Gorbachev stressed, should count on cracks to appear in this coordinated stance. He praised the US leadership's readiness to hold consultations about the situation and its potential development.

Baker presented a number of considerations on behalf of the US President which will be carefully studied by the Soviet side.

Gorbachev and Baker discussed some other problems of mutual interest to the Soviet Union and the United States. □

Shevardnadze and Baker hold joint news conference

TALKS with US Secretary of State James Baker focused on the Gulf situation, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told a joint news conference in Moscow on November 8.

The same issue was examined in detail during the conversation between President Gorbachev

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Germany, the Soviet President told the news conference that apprehensions of this kind largely stemmed from the agenda and were "removed to a considerable degree by the treaties and other documents which we have already signed and an understanding reached on a political level, the summit level, that we should take realities into account and act in such a way as to make earlier relations serve as a good bridge for the development and expansion of relations with entire Germany."

Nevertheless, Gorbachev found it necessary, as he said, "to make public the Chancellor's assurances." "This is also reflected in the documents," he added, "that we intend to facilitate as best we can the preservation of these multiple relations, and moreover, that they should be used in such a way as to extend their use to the united Germany."

Helmut Kohl, in turn, said that the situation is improving for the Soviet Union as regards economic and trade relations with the united Germany, because economic relations between the Soviet Union and the united Germany are at the same time relations with a country belonging to the European community, "which "as can be foreseen, will shortly acquire a still greater economic dynamism."

On behalf of his government, Kohl wished success to the Soviet reform policy associated with the name of Mikhail Gorbachev. "We want this to be clear in the days to come: there is a chance for peace in Europe, for achieving concord. Anything that contributes to peace in Europe by far transcends the boundaries of the region," he said. □

and Baker, he added.

During the talks, Shevardnadze said, the sides stressed the high level of their interaction in the search for the settlement and confirmed their readiness for concerted actions in future to implement the UN Security Council resolutions.

Shevardnadze pointed out that the Soviet Union and the United States preferred peaceful, political methods to settle the conflict and there was no difference between the positions of the two sides. He added that he and Baker would continue discussing the issue later in the day.

Shevardnadze noted nevertheless that while giving preference to political methods, the possibility of using force could not be fully ruled out.

"A situation may arise," he said, "which will call for such a solution," the Soviet Foreign Minister said.

Shevardnadze stressed, however, that decisions of this kind should be made within the framework of the UN Security Council, the United Nations and the whole world community.

US Secretary of State Baker said that it was necessary for Iraq to implement Security Council resolutions and rejected the possibility of partial solutions.

Baker praised Soviet-American co-operation in the search for a solution to the Gulf crisis from the moment it began and stressed Washington's readiness to continue interaction.

Baker also favoured the political settlement of the conflict without ruling out the possibility of the use of force.

Shevardnadze told the joint news conference that working groups were discussing various problems within the framework of the present Soviet-US talks.

He noted that experts had achieved hopeful results while discussing the yet-unsolved problems associated with the preparation of an agreement on cuts in conventional arms in Europe.

Progress has also been achieved in the work of the group considering the preparation of a Soviet-America strategic arms reduction treaty, the Soviet Foreign Minister said.

The two foreign ministers also discussed aspects of the settlement in Afghanistan. The positions of the sides, Shevardnadze noted, are drawing gradually closer to each other. He and Baker also discussed the situation in southern Africa, the Horn of Africa and some other regions.

Shevardnadze told journalists that during the meeting between President Gorbachev and Baker some aspects of bilateral co-operation had been discussed. □

Shevardnadze-Baker talks

TALKS between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and visiting US Secretary of State James Baker began early on Thursday, November 8, and ended late at night, covering an extensive range of international problems.

Experts participated in the discussion on disarmament issues, including the reduction of conventional arms in Europe and of strategic offensive arms in possession of the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

The Persian Gulf crisis figured prominently. Looking for ways to overcome the crisis, the sides agreed that a peaceful solution was preferable. They stressed the necessity to fully implement the UN Security Council's resolutions and expressed satisfaction with the level of Soviet-American interaction in this complex and volatile situation. The sides expressed readiness to continue to interact in the future.

The discussion of regional problems – in Afghanistan, southern Africa and in the Horn of Africa – was permeated with the mutual desire to help resolve chronic painful conflicts.

The constructive character of the Soviet-American dialogue provides ground for hope that practical results can be achieved in this field in the nearest future.

The detailed discussion of some specific aspects of conventional arms reduction in Europe was aimed at ensuring the timely preparation of a treaty which is due to be signed during the Paris summit on November 19. Headway has been made on key points. This treaty, as well as other documents which are expected to be approved at the Paris meeting, will make the Paris summit a major event in the European and world politics.

Shevardnadze and Baker noted with satisfaction the progress made at the Geneva strategic arms reduction talks, although a number of complex military technical problems have yet to be decided in order to finalise the strategic offensive arms treaty before the end of this year.

Some headway was also made in other directions, including such a complex problem, as the non-omission of the prospective strategic offensive arms treaty.

On the whole, the Shevardnadze-Baker talks in Moscow were notable for the desire of both sides to make maximum use of the positive potential of Soviet-American relations. □

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CPSU Central Committee Secretariat discusses future union treaty

THE problem of the future union seems to be the most topical and acute one today, says a report on a regular session of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, circulated in Moscow on November 12.

The session, chaired by Deputy General Secretary Vladimir Ivashko, discussed the number of issues dealing with the Party's stand on the preservation of the integrity of the renewed union, the formation of civilian society and the consolidation of the law-governed state.

Passions in society are running high about the new union treaty, whose early conclusion is supported by the supreme authorities or some union republics and national-territorial entities, speakers at the session pointed out. With all the variety of viewpoints on this problem, most people regard the union treaty as the only way to prevent a further escalation of tension in inter-ethnic relations, to create conditions, necessary for deepening democratic changes.

Participants in the session described the protection of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country, the ensurance of its security, the organisation of defence and the management of the armed forces as priority responsibilities of the union. Since the threat of armed conflicts continues to exist, the country needs strong defences, speakers at the session stressed. They expressed concern over anti-army actions in some regions.

It was pointed out at the session that regional branches of some political parties in West European countries, primarily socialist and social democratic parties, are now expressing the desire to establish and expand co-operation with local branches of the Soviet Communist Party. New leaders of territorial branches of the renewed parties in East European countries are also showing interest in resuming contacts with their traditional partners in the USSR, that were suspended in 1989. International ties of local branches of the Soviet Communist Party are of long standing. However, the development of these relations in line with new political thinking, radical transformation in the Soviet Union's political superstructure and a new role and functions of the Soviet Communist Party require major changes in the organisation and content of local Party ties, Central Committee secretaries stressed in their reports.

The Secretariat discussed this problem and decided to transfer the functions of planning and organising co-operation to local branches, in line with resolutions of the 28th Party Congress about the expansion of self-government of Party organisations and the independence of communist parties of union republics integrated into the Soviet Communist Party. Now local Party committees will be given extensive rights both in choosing partners from among territorial organisations of political parties, with which the Soviet Communist Party is maintaining official contacts, and in selecting forms and methods of co-operation with them. □

Presidential Council member on new union treaty

By Andrei Orlov, TASS correspondent:

"THE draft of the new union treaty of the USSR will be published in the press before November 15," Soviet Presidential Council member Grigori Revenko told Soviet and foreign journalists in Moscow on November 6.

Asked by TASS to comment on the draft's structure, Revenko said that the treaty would consist of three parts. The first concerns rules for entering the union, on voluntary and equitable principles, and also citizenship issues. The rights and freedoms of man, irrespective of the place of his residence, are put to the fore.

The second part deals with the union's powers as a sovereign state, and the third - with the mechanism of power based on the separation of the three powers - legislative, executive and judicial.

A voting system that takes into account the number of residents in every republic is envisaged in the union. For instance, Russia will receive the number of votes corresponding to the number of its residents. It is important for republics to decide on how they will adopt the new treaty -

through supreme soviets or through a referendum.

Asked about the future structure of the country's armed forces, Revenko said that "none of the republics has yet claimed a strategic defence. Rather at issue are interior troops." He believes that the union army can be formed on the basis of quotas for each union republic.

The new treaty defines the USSR as "a union of sovereign republic-states." Revenko said it was too early to speak about whether the union would be a federation or confederation, as it depended on the powers delegated by republics to the union as a sovereign state.

If a republic does not sign a union treaty, it nevertheless can obtain a special status within the union. This will be specified by way of talks. Talks to settle all disputable issues will precede full secession from the union.

In Revenko's view, the need for the Congress of USSR People's Deputies will become obvious after the union treaty is concluded. "We really need a normally functioning supreme soviet. You may call it parliament, congress or kneset, as you wish," he said.

The draft also envisages the national election of the President and Vice-President of the USSR and the formation of the Council of Ministers. The question of the expedience of the cabinet of ministers chairman post remains open.

Asked if the new union treaty will replace the Union Constitution, Revenko said it would rather become its second part. The first part of the document will be a "human rights Bill declaring the USSR's full commitment to all international covenants on human rights." □

Gorbachev-Yeltsin meet

By Andrei Orlov, TASS:

THE talks between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin on Sunday, November 11, their second in three months, hit the headlines in the Soviet Union.

This was their first meeting after weeks of disagreement.

The two leaders seemed to be "doomed" to co-operation, irrespective of their personal likes and dislikes and their political rivalry.

In early August, Gorbachev, who personifies centrist forces, and Yeltsin, who leads the radicals, agreed to co-ordinate measures to implement economic reforms in the country.

However, their alliance proved short-lived, which largely told on the reforms and the situation in the country. Negative tendencies in the economy and centrifugal tendencies in constituent republics strengthened. The country approaches the brink of an abyss.

Yeltsin realised that radical reforms were impracticable in Russia without Gorbachev's support, as was Gorbachev's radical transformation of Soviet society without Russia.

The meeting on Sunday offered the two leaders one of the last chances to stabilise the situation in the country.

An official report on the meeting said Gorbachev and Yeltsin discussed a new union treaty. Russia's position on this treaty will largely determine its fate, as well as the fate of the whole union.

A clear-cut distribution of powers between the centre and republics, above all Russia, would be the first step to eliminating the vacuum of power at various levels.

It would help remove the dangerous uncertainty in relations with other countries and give a fresh impetus to economic reforms. □

Moscow's first stock exchange

By Georg Mikhailin, TASS:

THE Soviet capital's first stock exchange was founded by 187 Soviet enterprises and banks on November 12.

The exchange will run up to 25 per cent of shares held by major joint-stock companies and banks of the country.

The parliament and government plans to give the exchange the right to allow its members to buy and sell securities from and to foreign companies and banks.

The exchange's interests abroad will be represented by an international broker company, which asked not to be named for "commercial considerations".

This company plans to equate the rouble with the dollar in estimating the currency exchange value of shares, Eduard Tenyakov, head of the Fininvest Investment Company, said.

The Moscow Stock Exchange plans to open offices in the world's major stock exchanges in New York, Frankfurt, Tokyo and Singapore. □

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Soviet Defence Minister meets NATO military leaders

SOVIET Defence Minister Dmitri Yazov met General Vigleik Eide, Chairman of the NATO Military Committee, and General John Galvin, NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Europe, in Moscow on November 12. The two generals are currently in the Soviet Union on an official visit.

"The time has come when meetings between high-ranking representatives of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (WTO) and NATO are held practically every month," Yazov said.

This, in his view, is not only a manifestation of mutual respect but also an illustration of the policy being pursued by the Soviet Union, the United States and many other countries to establish relations of peace and co-operation.

"The word peace has now become not simply a symbol but a necessity for which one must work," Yazov emphasised. He voiced satisfac-

tion that the military are also involved in this work for peace.

The WTO and NATO have started to build their relations "on new principles, including solutions to complex issues connected with the settlement of conflict situations," Yazov said.

"The growing military contacts between East and West are opening the way for the signing of a European conventional force reduction treaty," Yazov said.

He believes that changes taking place in Europe have augmented opportunities to ensure security by political means. "The elimination of the unnatural division of the continent is an important direction of these changes," Yazov said.

Chief of the Soviet General Staff Mikhail Moiseyev also met generals Eide and Galvin on that day.

The NATO military leaders visited the Taman Motorised Rifle Division in the Moscow region. They familiarised themselves with the life and combat training of the servicemen. □

GORBACHEV'S RED SQUARE SPEECH

(continued from front page)

"At present, all of us are seriously concerned over the unsettled nature of life – the scarcity of goods, long queues, high prices, and the slackening of law and order. Ethnic discord also causes anguish.

"But one should not panic, still less call for a reversion to the old ways.

"Free people will be able to do everything and to overcome any difficulties. For this we now need primarily to utilise to the full the potentialities inherent in democracy, to establish a firm social order based on consciousness and strengthen legality and state discipline at all levels.

"Perestroika is an intense and profound political process which is taking place in a complicated and dramatic manner. New structures of power in the union, the republics and at the local level are being built virtually anew in an atmosphere of rapid politisation," he said.

"An earnest of success is in drawing every person and all people into political creative activity. Acting in concert, it is essential to overcome the weakness of the new executive power and ensure its effective functioning," the Soviet President went on to say.

"We are on the threshold of concluding a new union treaty that would be of immense importance for transforming the Soviet multi-ethnic state. Thereby the task of self-determination and self-government of all peoples, the development and strengthening of their further co-operation in a renewed union will be accomplished.

"We visualise the revival of all Soviet republics along the lines of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance, and not along the lines of isolation and alienation. Each people should make their inimitable contribution to the renewal of our multi-ethnic Motherland. The role and responsibility of the Russian people and all Russia in this great cause are unique.

"We have all the essentials to achieve success by proceeding along the charted road.

"Our country has literally inexhaustible natural resources. Our people do not want of industriousness and talent. We now have a well thought out programme to stabilise situation in the economy and move to a market economics.

"We shall succeed in attaining the goals if we rise above discord and implement the projected measures in the economy and politics through

joint efforts and dedicated work and restore respect for law.

"At the hour of trial, every true patriot must discard everything petty and extraneous and come to realise his or her responsibility for the destiny of the Motherland. I believe in the people's reason. The people's common sense and the sense of responsibility will inevitably prevail.

"Our perestroika has been welcomed with great sympathies abroad. The peoples and governments of many countries wholeheartedly support the goals that we have proclaimed," Gorbachev continued.

"Acting in the spirit of new thinking and at one with other countries, we have stopped the slide to a nuclear disaster literally on the verge of a precipice. The cold war recedes into the past.

"We are prepared, in co-operation with the international community, to do everything for mankind to enter a new, peaceful period of development. And we are aware of our role and responsibility in this major, historic turn.

"Dear Comrades,

"Marking the revolution anniversary, we are well aware that what has been done by history is irreversible. It is as important to understand that misapprehensions and errors are rectifiable if they have been recognised and if due lessons have been drawn from them.

"Let today's holiday serve as a reminder of those lofty goals for the sake of which our grandfathers and fathers launched an assault on the Winter Palace.

"Let today's holiday impel each of us to ponder once again – calmly and honestly – over the past and future. Let it help us achieve civil peace and accord, tolerance and creative endeavour.

"We all now stand a real chance to transform our society into a normal, healthy, just and, ultimately, prosperous society through the second great revolution. This was actually the ideal that inspired Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

"To achieve success we need the unity of democratic forces, firmness with regard to any extremist designs, and honest co-operation among all genuine supporters of perestroika.

"I congratulate all of you, dear comrades, on the holiday. Let it invigorate us in our aspiration to do everything for the sake of revival of the Motherland and proceed along the road of socialist renewal," Gorbachev said. □

★

Shevardnadze meets NATO leaders

SOVIET Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met NATO Supreme Allied Commander John Galvin and NATO's Military Committee Chairman Vigleik Eide in Moscow on November 12 to discuss the establishment of a new peaceful order in Europe and the overcoming of confrontation and cold war legacy.

During the meeting, both sides pointed to the need to make the current positive changes in the world irreversible.

They expressed conviction that efforts by all states to strengthen security and stability on the continent were needed to consolidate the transition to post-confrontation politics and a civilised partnership.

The fundamental importance of the forthcoming Paris summit of countries participating in the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe and a treaty on conventional armaments in Europe, to be signed at the summit, was emphasised.

The sides discussed prospects for the European disarmament dialogue. They pointed to the importance of the continuation of the Vienna talks, at which further steps to reduce armed forces and armaments would be negotiated, and the importance of the discussion of military doctrines.

It was pointed out that the range of negotiated subjects should be extended. Above all, they should include the problem of tactical nuclear armaments, about which the negotiating sides had already reached an understanding in principle.

Shevardnadze presented arguments in favour of the inclusion of naval forces in the negotiating process. □

Mikhail Gorbachev's meets Soviet servicemen

PRESIDENT Mikhail Gorbachev met military servicemen, who have been elected to various Soviet legislatures, in Moscow on November 13.

The meeting, continuing in Moscow's Soviet Army Theatre, is being attended by more than a thousand servicemen-turned-lawmakers from across the country, Defence Minister Dmitri Yazov said in his opening remarks.

This is Gorbachev's fourth meeting with the military. The forum will discuss army conscription and Soviet defence capability in the light of the doctrine of reasonable defence sufficiency.

The meeting is expected to focus on ways to boost the prestige of military service and the Soviet Armed forces and measures to protect the honour and dignity, life and health of servicemen and their families. □

AFGHANISTAN:

On the Road to Peace

by
Vladimir Avakov

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Building a future together

Vladimir Markov, *Novosti's* diplomatic correspondent, reporting from Bonn:

THE Soviet Union and the united Germany have announced that from now on they consider each other to be partners in all fields without exception. Having signed in Bonn a 20-year treaty on good-neighbourliness, partnership and co-operation, President Gorbachev and Chancellor Kohl have thereby laid the foundation for a principally new relationship between their countries. This relationship could become a model of partnership for the whole of Europe.

I have discovered that upwards of 80 per cent of the Gorbachev-Kohl one-to-one talks dealt with the further development of bilateral co-operation. The issue at hand was the need to find the most optimal ways of utilising the currency which Germany is to provide in accordance with an earlier signed agreement on transition measures – 15,000 million marks, including a 3,000-million-mark interest-free credit. The question of new credits did not arise. As the two leaders noted, it is important to more actively tackle the solution of official problems arising in connection with the Soviet troop withdrawal from the territory of the former German Democratic Republic, which is to be completed by 1994. Such problems include the retraining of servicemen and an accelerated construction of housing for them.

According to members of the Gorbachev team, the conversations between the Soviet President and Chancellor Kohl were characterised by “an exceptionally good personal contact and mutual understanding.” The two leaders have accumulated an appreciable capital of trust. Now conditions are available for fruitful co-operation.

Upon the completion of their talks I had an opportunity interview both of them simultaneously.

MARKOV: Mikhail Sergeevich, when signing the so-called big treaty with Germany you said that it was not an isolated document. You mentioned the already available and possible future agreements with West European countries which organically blend in with the moulding of common European structures. How do you see the role of the united Germany and Soviet-German relations in the construction of a new Europe?

GORBACHEV: I think that this role is determined by the historic way and specificities of our two states. A glance at their history shows that precisely the state of relations between these two states often determined the situation in Europe as a whole. And that today an economically strong united Germany and such a power as the Soviet Union act as partners and stand ready for the closest possible co-operation will undoubtedly influence the political climate in Europe and the rates of the construction of the common European home. Partnership between the Soviet Union and the united Germany will contribute to the creation of a new security structure based on inter-action among

all the European nations. I therefore assume that the real weight of our two states determines the specific role they have to play in Europe.

Mr. Federal Chancellor, for many years the government you lead rejected the very notion “partnership” with respect to the Soviet Union and other East European countries. This was all the more true in the field of security. Now the USSR and Germany have signed a partnership treaty. How far are you prepared to go in this direction and, in particular, in the field of security?

KOHL: I think that we are making a radical turn on this issue. The decisions of last summer's NATO Council session, which was held at summit level, and the new military doctrine of the Soviet Union show that the world has changed. Of course, not everything has changed yet. But the recent changes are of fundamental character. And we shall continue to consolidate this positive development. During our talks with President Gorbachev we agreed that as the united Germany's head of government I will next year visit the Soviet units stationed in the territory of the former German Democratic Republic. I intend to meet soldiers and talk with them. We also agreed to hold meetings between Soviet and Bundeswehr soldiers. This would be just unthinkable only a short while ago. I think that our talks with President Gorbachev have contributed exceptionally much to building up mutual trusts.

The times of confrontation in German-Soviet relations and in Europe as a whole are gone for ever. From now on we shall build the future together. Including in the field of security. □

TASS COMMENT:

Soviet-German economic relations

By Alexander Antisiferov, TASS political analyst:

PRAISE lavished in the West on the results of the Soviet President's visit to Germany, in particular as regards prospects for the development of economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and Germany, is clearly somewhat one-sided.

Western reaction stresses the Soviet Union's exclusive interest in arranging and strengthening these relations, while Germany is portrayed as a kind of sponsor, seeking to thank a partner for

assistance in German unification, without hurting his feelings.

I believe that this approach, wittingly or unwittingly, ignores the fact that East Germany's integration into a single German state confronted the German leadership with problems, which are largely, if not completely, like those the Soviet Union is itself facing.

The transition to a market economy and related processes in eastern Germany entail the same consequences as in the Soviet Union: traditional links between producers are being disrupted, supply and demand are unbalanced and there is a slump in production.

In this respect, it can be said that Germany is going through its own restructuring, connected with Soviet perestroika not only historically but also economically.

It should be remembered that East Germany used to be the Soviet Union's biggest foreign trade partner among the Warsaw Treaty member-countries, just as West Germany was its leading partner among NATO countries.

This circumstance largely determined the structure of export-import relations between the Soviet Union and the two German states, exercised a substantial influence on the international division of labour and engendered and strengthened the interdependence of the partners' economies.

In this situation, paradoxically, German unification changes little. The disruption of existing links would have most negative consequences both for the Soviet Union, and, to a lesser degree, for Germany, which is facing the problem of selling products manufactured at en-

terprises of the former Germany Democratic Republic.

Millions of people in eastern Germany will be affected by unemployment this year, and it is predicted that up to 20 per cent of able-bodied Germans will lose their jobs.

Caused by economic concerns and announced in advance, higher rents and higher prices for electricity and communal services will surely be painful for east Germans, while western Germans will surely have to put up with the growth of taxes – tax hikes seem unavoidable, taking into account that, according to the parliamentary budget commission, German unification will cost 350-400 billion marks, an immense sum even for a rich country.

The situation is further exacerbated by the fact that there has been no expected influx of investments into the east German economy from European community countries, on which Bonn counted so much. No increase of investment is likely to occur in the near future.

It is clear that it would be most unwise and unreasonable in this situation to ignore co-operation with the Soviet Union, which is a great stabilising factor from the economic viewpoint. Otherwise, Germany will have to limp on its eastern foot for a long time to come.

The conclusion prompts itself that Germany is vitally interested in a flourishing Soviet Union. In this context, German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's words, spoken in a recent interview, acquire special significance: he said that when helping the Soviet Union to accomplish its reforms, Germany thinks not of any gifts to the East, but of investment into a joint future. □

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Last hurdle on the road to Paris cleared

By Alexander Ignatov, *Novosti* political analyst:

THE last hurdle on the road to Paris has been cleared by Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker who settled 80 per cent of disputed issues related to a treaty on conventional force reductions during their talks in Moscow November 7-9.

It seems that the national holidays are no longer celebrated in Moscow. At any rate, this is true of those who are professionally linked with diplomacy: US Secretary of State James Baker accompanied by a large group of experts arrived in the Soviet capital on November 7, the 73rd anniversary of the October Revolution. Talks began on the same day in a mansion in Alexei Tolstoy Street, once the home of millionaire industrialist Savva Morozov and now the Foreign Ministry's banquet hall. They resumed the next day at 9am and lasted for more than 12 hours (minus the interval for a visit to the Soviet President).

What did the foreign ministers discuss and what results did they achieve? In my view, the most important point is that linked with preparations for the 34-nation conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to be held in Paris November 19-21. In the run-up to the Moscow talks, Soviet experts compiled a list of differences. There were 46 of them.

On the night of November 8, Eduard Shevar-

dnadze told a small group of Soviet media people that 80 per cent of the problems were resolved. In other words, no one can call into question the Paris summit meeting due to open in eleven days' time (as of November 8). The most difficult matter, in the words of General of the Army Mikhail Moiseyev, Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, who took part in the talks, was the solution linked with the Kiev military district.

The point is that a future treaty limits personnel strength in every military district. However, the Soviet Union can station military depots and units arriving from Eastern Europe precisely in the area of Kiev. The issue could be approached from a political standpoint and a formally legal angle of view. US generals, however, solidarised with their Soviet colleagues – the problem of the Kiev military district was resolved jointly without any losses not counting fatigue and plate loads of sandwiches.

What else did the parties discuss? Certain aspects of inspections to monitor troop cuts and the destruction of military hardware. As well as the issue of payment for those same inspections. Any country may have several inspecting groups visiting its territory at the same time, they have the right to stay for several days at the expense of the host country. Since the Soviet Union is to destroy more military equipment than other nations, we will have to cough up the necessary

amount of cash. Counting that one 'group-day' costs some 2,500 dollars and 60,000 roubles, the total may reach a staggering sum of one billion. An acceptable solution must be found here.

It would be wrong to assume, however, that a Vienna treaty on conventional force reductions was the only topic discussed. Military experts also examined the progress of the Geneva negotiations on 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive arms of the USSR and the US which is to be signed in Moscow in late 1990 or early 1991 (for that purpose the US President will visit the Soviet capital).

Of the political subjects discussed, the Gulf crisis quite predictably claimed the most time. We did not hear anything new either at a brief improvised news conference or during private conversations with the minister. The visiting Baker team did bring new proposals along. They will be studied. Which ones exactly, the minister did not say.

The Arab-Israeli conflict was examined closely, he noted. Certain headway was made in the discussion on Afghanistan. It seems one may expect a joint statement from Moscow and Washington demonstrating the mutual desire to become disengaged from the civil war and offer the warring parties a procedure for peaceful settlement. The situation in southern Africa, in the Horn of Africa, and bilateral relations were also discussed. Eduard Shevardnadze stressed that James Baker had assured Mikhail Gorbachev again that the US firmly supported the process of perestroika.

On the whole, the minister described the talks as successful and General Moiseyev used the word "good" when he referred to their results.

"As soon as we emerge from one round of the talks we go straight into another," Deputy Foreign Minister Alexei Obukhov said with a smile. "Although it seems that we are used to this constant strain." The schedule of future talks confirms his remarks: another meeting with Baker in Paris confirms his remark: another meeting with Baker in Paris in ten days which is to be followed by a meeting in the US in early December to examine a treaty on strategic offensive arms, and that's not all.

Leaving the mansion in Alexei Tolstoy Street, I noticed military caps in the cloak room – experts continued to work through the night. □

Development of CSCE process

By Albert Balevanov, *TASS* political analyst:

ANALYSING the Treaty of Good-neighbourly Relations, Partnership and Co-operation signed by the USSR and Germany in Bonn on November 9, political observers conclude that it is one of a new type of international legal act.

They appeared with the signing of the Soviet-Spanish political declaration and the Treaty of Concord and Co-operation between the USSR and France.

These documents focus on the development of the process initiated by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE).

They stress the need for bilateral and collective efforts to overcome Europe's division and to help establish a system of relations in tune with the aspirations of world nations and traditions of European civilisation.

Moreover, this focus on the future is the main component of the above documents.

This is quite logical, since European states have a common desire to achieve the continent's unity based on the strict observance of law and democracy.

Indicative in this context is a provision in the first article of the Soviet-German Treaty, in which both sides stress that "they centre on man with his dignity and rights in their policies as well as care for mankind's survival and the preservation of the natural environment of his habitat."

The concept of building a future Europe, a home common for all Europeans, is based on these principles.

This concept concentrates on stronger peace,

stability and security, the turning of Europe into a single region governed by law, democracy and co-operation in politics, economy, culture, information, and so on.

This concept also presupposes the establishment, within the CSCE framework, of permanent consulting and co-ordination agencies and bodies. There should also be agencies to control the implementation of decisions and signed agreements.

It is planned that the forthcoming summit in Paris on November 19-21 will concentrate on these issues.

No serious discussion of long-term co-operation on the continent is possible without settling the key issue of European security.

The outlines of a new structure of collective security in Europe, which have developed, inspire hope, since they lay the foundations for mutual trust.

These are plans to set up a centre for prevention and solution of conflicts, the establishment of a pan-European parliamentary assembly and the formation of a mechanism for regular political meetings and consultations at various levels.

It is also planned to prioritise the following principles in relations between European states: respect for sovereignty, inviolability of national borders, non-use or threat of force.

There are now two processes which help to build European unity: on the one hand, bilateral treaties between all CSCE partners, and on the other, collective actions.

The two processes supplement and are unthinkable without each other. This is evidence of the growing interdependence of the world. □

Russian Prime Minister has discussions on defence industry conversion

RUSSIAN Prime Minister Ivan Silayev met with more than 280 senior executives of Russian defence industry enterprises in Moscow on November 12 to discuss the industry's conversion in conditions of a transition to a market economy.

Opening the meeting, Silayev pointed out the importance of conversion in Russia, because the aggregate volume of products put out by Russian defence industry enterprises reached about 55 per cent of all industrial products in the republic.

Silayev said the Russian Government intends to promote economic independence of enterprises.

Participants in the meeting spoke about problems faced by defence industry enterprises and the need for the social protection of workers in conditions of a market economy. □