

## Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the White House

THE US and Soviet presidents George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev made speeches at the official welcoming ceremony at the White House on May 31.

In his speech Mikhail Gorbachev said:

Mr President,  
Mrs Barbara Bush,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,  
Comrades,

Thank you for this welcome. May I also greet all Americans on behalf of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

My present visit to the United States is confirmation that Soviet-US relations are acquiring greater stability, clarity and predictability.

I am convinced that both Soviet and American people approve of such changes. I think that they are also properly appreciated throughout the world.

Therefore it is the great responsibility of the President and myself to make sure that the capital of trust and co-operation, accumulated in recent years, is protected and constantly increased.

I remember vividly my first visit to the United States, not only because I saw America for the first time then. During those days in December

1987, President Reagan and I signed the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate Range Missiles.

That was truly a watershed, not only in our relations but in modern history. It was the first step taken together by two powerful countries on the road leading to a safe and sensible world.

Since then our two great nations have travelled a long way towards each other. Thousands of American and Soviet citizens, dozens of agencies, private companies and public organisations are involved in political and business contacts, humanitarian exchanges, scientific and technological co-operation.

In the same years the world around us has also changed beyond recognition.

Mr President, this generation of people on Earth may witness the advent of an irreversible period of peace in the history of civilisation. The walls which for years separated the peoples are collapsing. The trenches of the cold war are disappearing. The fog of prejudice, mistrust and animosity is vanishing.

I've come to the United States with the impressions, still fresh in my mind, of how our people celebrated the 45th anniversary of the victory over Nazism and of my meetings with war veterans.

I recently had many meetings with my coun-

trymen. They all understand the importance of Soviet-US relations. They look upon their improvement with hope that the tragedies of the 20th Century, those horrible wars, will forever remain a thing of the past.

I think this is what the Americans want too.

Mr President, living up to these hopes of our two nations is your mission and mine. This meeting is part of it.

My colleagues and I have come to do serious work in order to make a decisive step towards an agreement reducing the most dangerous arms, which are increasingly losing their political significance, and to provide further impetus to interaction between our two countries and, of course, co-operation in solving international problems, in trade, scientific, technological and humanitarian fields, in cultural exchanges, in expanding information about each other and in people-to-people contacts.

We want progress in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

I am looking forward to meetings with Americans and, to the extent possible, getting to know better your great country.

On behalf of Mrs Gorbachev and myself and of all those who have come with me to your nation's capital I thank once again President George Bush and Mrs Bush and all those present here for this warm welcome. □

## Soviet President's speech at reception

"THE Soviet Union does not regard the United States as its foe," President Mikhail Gorbachev said in Washington on May 31. He was speaking at a dinner given in his honour by US President George Bush.

"We have firmly embarked on the course of moving from mutual understanding to interaction through co-operation," Gorbachev stressed. He voiced confidence that, as a result of the present summit, the USSR and the United States would reach a new level of interaction.

Even today, relations between the two countries have changed enormously as compared to

what they were before the Geneva meeting of 1985, Gorbachev said. This is the fruit of our joint work.

The improvement of Soviet-US relations diminished the threat of war, Gorbachev went on. This is the all-important achievement of those years. About 20 bilateral agreements were concluded in a variety of areas. People-to-people exchanges from schoolchildren to scientists and economists were immeasurably expanded, which is especially valuable.

"I think that our joint work with President Bush these days can be assessed as one more step towards a more humane and just world," Gorbachev said.

Speaking about recent changes in the world, Gorbachev noted that the world had "significantly advanced towards a new and truly peaceful period in its millenium-old history. Global unification is a chance for civilisation to survive in conditions of the nuclear, ecological and other threats."

"But mankind cannot be only a community of survival. It should be a community of progress. Progress for all - east, west, north and south, for the industrialised and for as yet dispossessed."

Meanwhile, the very idea of progress, too, needs recomprehension, Gorbachev went on. Mankind's ascent to the implementation of the concept of its history should proceed without unrepairable damage to the environment, without exploitation of man and whole peoples, without irreversible moral and spiritual losses.

"We representatives of a country, in which more than a hundred peoples live together, possibly, know this better than anyone else," Gorbachev said. "Our own home needs over-

haul and fundamental restructuring along the lines of reason and justice. We give ourselves an account of the scope of this undertaking which is unequalled to anything mankind has ever known."

Judging by how the rest of the world responded to perestroika, one may conclude that it is the necessary and wishful element of mankind's political and philosophical potential. "Therefore, in rethinking them and reshaping ourselves, we consider that we are making a contribution to the cause of global development and human unification," Gorbachev said.

"The building of a sound democratic system in our country has not been completed as yet," Gorbachev noted. "But I am convinced that the reserve of public energy already committed to implementing this great cause is enough to bring it to completion."

"I can firmly say that we will act proceeding from our values. We will act with determination but cautiously. Our platform aims to enable our society to reach a new quality. This will allow us to be both predictable participants in the international process and partners of all those who aspire for a reliable, just and free world. In building it, we hope for long-term co-operation with the United States of America."

The all-important thing in relations between the USSR and the United States and in world politics in general is yet to come, Gorbachev said. It is important not to lose sight of the goal, not to succumb to the temptations to gain unilateral advantages. We should advance towards it by overcoming the present and future difficulties and roadblocks, by working in co-operation and interaction. □

### IN THIS ISSUE

Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush sign agreements .....	p182
Soviet President meets American intellectuals.....	p183
Soviet President's speech at Stanford University.....	p185
Soviet President's meeting with Canadian Premier.....	p186
Shevardnadze and Clark hold press conference .....	p186
Boris Yeltsin's news conference.....	p187
Sovereignty for Russia .....	p188
Agreement on chemical weapons reached.....	p188



# Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush sign agreements

"WE'RE about to sign agreements concerning many areas of vital interest to our countries and to the world," US President George Bush said at the signing ceremony on June 1.

He emphasised that much of the agenda agreed upon at the Malta summit had been completed for this week's summit. "We've made great progress in the last six months and in the last two days."

Bush mentioned particularly a bilateral agreement on chemical weapons "that will for the first time eliminate the great majority of the chemical weapons that our countries have stockpiled over the years."

"And let this landmark agreement quickly lead to a global ban on chemical weapons," Bush said.

Other documents signed at the White House included:

- Protocols to the Soviet-American threshold test ban treaty (1974) and the peaceful nuclear explosions treaty (1976) which provide for "unprecedented improvements" for their on-site verification,

- A new agreement that updates and expands the 1973 agreement on the peaceful uses of atomic energy,

- A Soviet-American trade agreement,

- A joint statement recording major agreed provisions of a strategic arms reduction treaty as well as a joint statement on future nuclear and space arms negotiations.

President Bush also mentioned a statement on the conventional armed forces in Europe which commits the sides to intensify the pace of the Vienna negotiations and to reach rapid agreement on all outstanding issues. "We agree that a CFE treaty is an indispensable foundation for the future of European security," Bush said.

The sides also signed an agreement to establish a US-Soviet nature park across the Bering Straits, that will preserve the unique, natural environmental and cultural heritage of the Bering Sea region of Alaska and Siberia, and an agreement on student exchanges.

US Secretary of State James Baker and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze also signed agreements concerning maritime boundaries, ocean studies, civil aviation, maritime transport and long-term grains agreement.

Bush said he was very gratified by what he and Gorbachev had accomplished over the last few days and was determined to build on this solid foundation. He urged Gorbachev "to make new strides to build a relationship of enduring co-operation."

President Mikhail Gorbachev described the signing of the Soviet-American agreements as "an event of momentous importance, not only for our two countries but the world."

"We do not just declare our commitment to moving toward a healthier international environment, toward better international relations, toward a non-violent world."

Gorbachev said that the agreements signed during the visit were a confirmation that justifying the hopes of peoples the Soviet Union and the United States are also taking practical steps.

"The important steps that we are taking today illustrate the degree of agreement between our two countries, despite the fact that there are things on which we disagree. But that area of disagreement is being narrowed in the course of our work together," he emphasised.

Gorbachev also said that the agreements and documents that were signed were the best demonstration of the two countries' readiness to participate at the level of their responsibility in building a new civilisation.

"There are still many difficult challenges

awaiting us. It is evident that to dismantle that monumental artifact of the cold war, the accumulated arsenals of mutual destruction, is not at all a simple or even an entirely safe thing to do. The slightest imbalance, undue haste, or lack of equilibrium in this process may dangerously destabilise the overall international situation," Gorbachev went on to say.

"But I am sure that if we take a balanced and responsible approach, if we take into account the concerns and positions of each other even when we disagree, if we do all that, I am sure that we will be able to move ahead more resolutely and more vigorously."

Speaking about the Malta summit, Gorbachev said that he was pleased to note that the turbulent developments of recent months after Malta have not led the two leaders astray from the goal they set together. "I believe that we have passed the first test."

"Let me reaffirm to both our peoples that the Soviet Union is committed to the objective set at Malta, completing before the end of this year, the preparation of the START Treaty. I believe that this goal is obtainable even though it is difficult."

Gorbachev also confirmed that during the current summit he and President Bush had agreed to do everything to seek a treaty and accords at the Vienna talks. "I mean that a European security meeting will take place this year. Anyway I think we already have good results and a good potential to work," Gorbachev said.

Turning to Bush, Gorbachev said "I believe that this is all possible as a result of the efforts of both sides over the past few years, including the efforts in which you, sir, have participated vigorously and actively and with great foresight in order to expand our relations and to build on the capital of trust in our relations." □

## Soviet-American accords signed in Washington

SOVIET-AMERICAN agreements were signed at the US State Department on June 2 on establishing culture and information centres of the two countries in Washington and Moscow, on co-operation between customs services and increasing the circulation of the government magazines *Soviet Life* and *America*.

Under the accords signed within the framework of Mikhail Gorbachev's state visit to the United States, the sides will open their culture and information centres in their respective capitals in order to provide more diverse information for American and Soviet people about life in each others countries.

In addition, the accords envisage broader interaction between the Soviet and American customs services, especially in curbing drug trafficking.

The circulation of the monthlies *Soviet Life* and *America*, published on a parity basis in the United States and the Soviet Union, will grow considerably.

The agreements signed at the Soviet Embassy by representatives of the American business community and several Soviet ministries marked another important step towards broader mutually beneficial co-operation.

The two sides signed an agreement on broadening co-operation between the Soviet fo-

reign economic and American trade consortia, including accords on setting up a joint venture with Chevron to develop Kazakhstan's Tengiz oil and gas field and on the delivery of 13,000 personal computers to Soviet schools by IBM World Trade.

Richard Matzke, President of Chevron Overseas Petroleum, said the documents are designed to deepen trade and economic co-operation between the two superpowers.

Yuri Maslyukov, member of the Soviet Presidential Council, described the accords as "very important and promising."

"Today's project can be justly described as project No. 1 among all the major ventures we are going to undertake together with the American side," he said.

"The project will form a solid basis for the further development of business relations between the USSR and the United States and facilitate the USSR's integration into the world economy."

Dwelling on the implementation of the joint Soviet-American programme for the introduction of information technology in schools, Michael Armstrong, President of the IBM World Trade Corporation, praised the qualifications of Soviet specialists.

"We are going to learn together with them and from them. We believe that our co-operation will be lengthy and successful."

Yuri Ryzhov, Chairman of the Soviet Parliamentary Committee for Science, Public Edu-

cation and Culture, said: "The signing of the documents became possible thanks to the transition to long-term and firm co-operation proclaimed by the leaders of our two countries."

"These accords give a fresh impetus not only to the development of relations between our countries, but also to the perfection of the USSR's education system."

All this is extremely important at the current crucial stage of world development when a global information and communications system is being created, he said. □

### Joint Soviet-US statement on Ethiopia and Horn of Africa

*THE Soviet Union and the United States adopted a joint statement on Ethiopia and Horn of Africa at the summit talks between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and US President George Bush which ended in Washington on June 3.*

*Here follows the full text of the statement:*

The US and USSR discussed relief requirement and the prospects for the political solution to Ethiopia's internal conflict. They welcome the Ethiopian Government's agreement to permit relief food to enter northern Ethiopia through the port of Massawa under a UN-sponsored relief effort, and they believe that such operations would not compromise the unity and territorial integrity of Ethiopia.

*(continued on next page)*



# Soviet President meets American intellectuals

VISITING Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev called for expanding "the degree of accord and co-operation" between the Soviet and American people, he was speaking to American intellectuals at the Soviet Embassy in Washington on May 31.

Those present included Allan Bromley, assistant to the US President for science, Henry Kissinger, Professor Stephen Cohen, prominent black leader Jesse Jackson, leader of the anti-war movement Susan Eisenhower, pianist Van Cliburn, writer Isaac Asimov and other prominent American representatives of science and culture, as well as public leaders.

Gorbachev said that "each nation is strong through its best people and talents." And a nation dies if people's gifts are not realised, if the nation cannot express or explain what is taking place within it, this concerns everyone. Gorbachev said that the USSR tries to enable those willing and able to accomplish something important and significant for their people to do so.

Speaking about Soviet-American relations, Gorbachev stressed that "the two powerful states and the two great nations must stand together during this crucial period in the life of civilisation, when the world is drawn into deep changes. Let us think about what the word 'together' means."

He also called for moving from "confrontation to co-operation and from co-operation to partnership."

According to the President, the Soviet and American people on the whole will be friends and will co-operate. "Today, it is very important that the chance, which we have again, is not missed," he stressed.

Gorbachev said that in Soviet-US relations "we have never had better chances than today."

"At the present watershed, this turning point," he continued, "we are better prepared for it - politically, historically, in terms of experiences during the Second World War, the horrible losses it brought, the cold war that brought us to the brink of an abyss, and, of course, in terms of concern over global problems."

"For all the differences, we are one civilisation - and I see differences not as a liability but as an asset, because they are a basis for discussion, for changes. They help bring a higher level of knowledge," the President continued. "I would like to invite you to co-operate, to join forces, and most importantly to understand one another."

"We in the USSR know that US intellectuals show great interest in the developments in our country. We welcome different forms of co-

*(continued from previous page)*

They also welcomed the agreement expressed by the Ethiopian Government to have UN representatives present in the course of the negotiations between the Ethiopian Government and the Eritreans.

In addition, to deal with the growing problems of starvation, the US and the USSR are prepared to work together and combine their assets. US food will be transported on Soviet aircraft to demonstrate our joint commitment to responding to this tragic humanitarian problem.

Recognising the continuing political and military conflicts that exacerbate the problems of starvation and recognising also the lack of momentum on peace talks, the US and USSR will support an international conference of governments under the auspices of the UN on settlement of conflict situations in the Horn of Africa. □

operation and exchanges. We can see that ideological arguments are increasingly being replaced in our meetings by quests," he stressed.

Speaking about perestroika and democratisation in the Soviet Union, the President stressed that five years of search, doubts, and gaining experience - and all these things have come to a head now - showed that "there is simply no other way, just as there is no way back."

"Today we have reached a critical stage on the chosen road," he continued. "Therefore, as never before we want to be understood. I would not want people to panic upon observing deep changes in our country."

Finally, Gorbachev stressed that he counted on co-operation between the Soviet Union and the US, especially at the present time of great hopes and expectations. Much depends in the future on what actions the two countries take and how well they understand each other.

Henry Kissinger, former US national security adviser and member of the Global Economic Group 1989, said he had great confidence in the Soviet President's approach to the new organisation in Europe. "I think that with the attitude that you have shown and with the historic changes, you have already brought, that you will certainly lead our country, as I hope our president will lead our country, towards an international order in which we don't think of ourselves as adversaries, but in which, in progressive meetings, we can plan more and more what we can do together to achieve those objectives."

Afro-American leader Jesse Jackson assured

## Gorbachev meets leaders of the US Congress

THERE are grounds to see the current Soviet-US summit meeting in Washington as an important, generally positive event, which can bring results acceptable to both the Soviet Union and the US, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev said in his opening remarks at a meeting with the leaders of US Congress at the Soviet Embassy in Washington on June 1.

He said that on the basis of the current summit a general statement on the main elements of the future Soviet-US agreement to halve strategic offensive weapons will be signed.

The Soviet leader said that both the US Congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet "must with all their might join in the fabric of this treaty." He stressed that the Soviet Union "proceeds in this case, as in other cases, from the mutual benefit" of the two countries.

Speaking about the military-political status of a reunified Germany in the context of yesterday's talk with the US President, Gorbachev said he told Bush that regardless of the structure the Soviet side proceeds from the fact that at this stage of radical changes in Europe "all of us are interested in preserving stability in this region."

If the process flounders in Europe, you and we will have reason to be apprehensive, Gorbachev said. "I am convinced that we will find it difficult to move in all directions. The security of the US and the USSR is indivisible. It represents two sides of one coin - improving relations and the general situation in the world," he added.

Speaking about the situation in the Baltics and, particularly, in Lithuania, Mikhail Gorbachev said the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet's decision to secede from the USSR was "ill-conceived, adventurist, and separatist." It pro-

Gorbachev that many Americans welcomed the Soviet initiative to move from confrontation to unruly competition to co-operation. He said perestroika initiated in the Soviet Union will make it possible to carry out perestroika throughout the world and foster co-operation in addressing the problems of the Middle East and southern Africa. Jackson said the agreements that Gorbachev and Bush will sign will have great significance to all other regions of the world.

Sarah Harder, an activist in the United States women's movement, said that in subsequent decades it is important to ensure the full participation of women at all levels of decision making. She urged uniting "to implement a comprehensive test ban treaty, to demilitarise our societies, to convert from military to socially responsible societies, to halt destruction of the environment, to implement a global action plan for environmental restoration, to respect human rights and to recognise that human rights include women's rights and they also include economic, political rights for all people." She supported UN measures in various fields.

Van Cliburn, renowned pianist and winner of the 1st international Tchaikovsky competition, said he was grateful to Russia and the Soviet Union for preserving glorious masterpieces, for the great history of famous and fabulous musicians who have enriched the world, including Tchaikovsky, whose 150th birth anniversary has been widely celebrated recently.

Other speakers at the meeting included well-known religious leaders, economists, writers, doctors and artists. □

voked a sharp reaction in society.

Gorbachev said the decision did not take account of the fact that Lithuania now has a population of some 800,000 non-Lithuanians, the Soviet State border passes through its territory, and military facilities crucial for ensuring the country's security are located there.

He recalled that shortly after the Lithuanian parliament adopted a declaration of independence, the Byelorussian Supreme Soviet demanded the return of six Byelorussian regions handed over to Lithuania in 1940. Residents of the port city of Klaipeda, which was integrated into the USSR after the Second World War, opposed the decision of the Lithuanian Parliament.

Gorbachev said that he, as President, has a mandate from the Third Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR to restore constitutional order. At the same time he said that the Soviet leadership would try to use all possibilities in order to avoid "extreme" measure and to solve this issue "within the framework of the constitutional process."

"We have a lot of good will," he stressed.

Speaking about ways out of the current situation, he pointed out that the USSR Constitution stipulates the right of republics to self-determination and a law was adopted to regulate secession from the USSR. He spoke in favour of returning to the framework of the constitutional process, and holding a referendum in the Lithuanian Republic in order to address the secession issue. He stressed that central authorities are prepared to act as the Lithuanian population decides.

The Soviet leader said the unwillingness of Lithuanian leaders to follow this road is explained by the fact that they do not believe that the people of the republic will support the decision to secede from the USSR. □



## Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at Soviet Embassy

SOVIET President Mikhail Gorbachev described the current Soviet-American summit as a major step aimed at immense restructuring of Soviet-American relations.

Assessing the results of the Washington talks at a dinner given in honour of President Bush at the Soviet Embassy on June 1, Gorbachev said that the talks had demonstrated the further strengthening of Soviet-American relations and, therefore, the movement towards deep positive changes that are taking place in the world.

Gorbachev said that the discussion of the problems and prospects of the European process had, undoubtedly, been useful. It revealed more clearly the views and positions of the sides, and advanced new arguments for consideration and search of acceptable solutions.

Naturally, the discussion was dominated by the external aspects of German unification. "As we understand, two processes are to be completed – the final settlement of the results of World War II and the solution of internal issues related to the merger of the two parts of Germany into one state. In our opinion, this is the essence of the transitional period that will end the rights of the four victor powers and will lead to the emergence of a new sovereign state."

"At the same time," Gorbachev went on to say, "the discussion has not been completed. It continues and may continue in several variants. All of them should be considered jointly with the allies. The eventual variant to be found by this joint effort should not damage the sides' interests or undermine the general process of positive changes in Europe and the whole world. This process is the major gain of recent years and the main result and heritage of growing trust and increasing awareness of the unity of human civilisation."

Gorbachev said that another important result of the current summit was the signing of agreements and also some official statements.

According to him, they demonstrate that the joint line towards switching the Soviet-American relations from constructive understanding to constructive interaction has produced first results.

The agreements reflect the two countries' readiness to deeper interrelationship through closer contacts, to co-operation in major spheres and the expansion of the legal-treaty basis of Soviet-American relations.

The package of new agreements also reflects the specific role of the Soviet Union and the United States is spanning the bridges of trust and understanding between the East and West.

Gorbachev mentioned specifically the Soviet-American trade agreement. He emphasised that it had been signed at the turning point in the Soviet economic changes that may determine the fate of perestroika.

The Soviet President said he was convinced that the Soviet people would appreciate the decision, designed to normalise trade relations with the USSR, taken by the United States and its president at such a crucial moment for the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev said the sides still had considerable differences over the optimal structure of Soviet-American relations, but mentioned that disagreements were narrowing, while the sphere of accord and co-operation was expanding.

Gorbachev said that the revision of the role of military force in the national security started by the two sides indicated the sincerity and seriousness of their intentions.

"Perestroika in the Soviet Union is an important contribution to creating a new world. We believe that having overcome all the difficulties on the path that we have chosen, we will not only advance to new positions in the national history, but will also help create a new peaceful civilisation. We are ready to do it together with the United States," Gorbachev said in conclusion. □

## Joint news conference

PRESIDENT Mikhail Gorbachev described the recent Soviet-American summit as an event of great significance to bilateral relations and world politics at a joint news conference in Washington on June 3.

The Soviet leader said that in his talks with President Bush, both of them considered their Malta meeting as a point of a reference.

"The Malta meeting imparted new dynamism to the process through which differences are overcome, building a new relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States. The atmosphere of the present summit and its results, he said, make it possible to describe the headway made as "a transition to a new phase of co-operation."

Gorbachev noted that the constructive approach of his talks with the American President and the sense of responsibility with which each and every issue was discussed contributed to the success of the talks. "This success is important because it exercises a stabilising influence on the entire international situation at a moment when the solution of fundamental issues in modern civilisation is on the agenda," Gorbachev stressed.

The Soviet President singled out as the most important of the documents signed during the summit the provisions for the Treaty on the Reduction of Strategic Offensive Weapons. "I hope that we shall approach the signing of the treaty before the end of this year," the Soviet

President said. He added that he and Bush had agreed to make efforts to complete the Vienna talks and prepare an agreement on conventional weapons in order to sign the agreement at the European summit at the end of this year.

On talks concerning the European process and external aspects of German unification, the Soviet President stressed he could not say agreement had been reached. But this does not mean that our efforts were futile. During the discussion, many new arguments and many new points of view emerged, and the positions were clarified.

He said the Soviet Union was prepared to seek a mutually acceptable solution to the problem which would fit into the general positive tendency of change in Europe and the world, strengthening security, not undermining or lessening it.

Gorbachev specifically emphasised the importance of the one-on-one meeting at Camp David, appraising it as a new phase in strengthening mutual understanding and trust between the leaders of the two countries. The dialogue embraced essentially all world problems, he said. "We adjusted our political clocks," he said.

On bilateral relations, the Soviet President said an array of Soviet-American economic agreements created a solid base for political dialogue and made it more dependable and steadfast.

The Soviet President expressed profound satisfaction with his joint work with President George Bush and stressed that he highly valued

## Gorbachev-Bush on Camp David talks

PRESIDENTS Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush spoke to reporters upon completion of their talks at Camp David on June 3.

"I think today's talks with President Bush were as fruitful as the talks we held in the previous two days," Gorbachev said.

"Without this day this would have been quite a different visit. There is ample opportunity for co-operation even though there are some real problems to which neither the President nor myself turned a blind eye to."

Gorbachev spoke highly of his co-operation with President Bush, which he said helped establish a personal contact between them.

"We bear great responsibility to our peoples and the peoples of other countries, and our good personal relationships allow us to approach all problems quicker and to achieve a concrete balance," he went on.

Speaking about German unification, Gorbachev said "there is one point which has to be kept in mind. For all the importance of our positions and responsibilities, we should remember that six nations are part of this process."

"There are the interests of other European countries as well, and I think that the President and I have taken this into consideration."

Bush said his assessment of the talks were close to those of Gorbachev.

"He pointed out there are some differences and I'll point out there are some differences," the US President said. "I see this glass not half empty but half full and more. I think the point is that we've been able to discuss these differences and the common ground in a very civil way."

"Some will argue that we haven't solved all the problems, but that's not the point. The point is we have an awful lot of common ground."

Bush said that, despite differences between the two countries over Lithuania, they signed a trade agreement, agreements on sea transportation and grain supplies, and many others including arms control agreements. □

Bush as a statesman, capable of conducting dialogue and seeking ways towards agreement with a great sense of political responsibility.

Gorbachev said he invited the US President to pay an official state visit to the Soviet Union.

### FROM UTOPIA TO REALITY

## THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND PERESTROIKA

Scholars discuss a new model for the development of Soviet society

price 30p from:  
Soviet Booklets (SN),  
3 Rosary Gardens,  
London SW7 4NW.



# Soviet President's speech at Stanford University

THE audience responded with applause to President Mikhail Gorbachev's call "to think of ways to end military-political rivalry as soon as possible" in order to avoid finding ourselves on the sidelines in the Pacific Ocean as well as in Europe. The Soviet President was addressing Stanford University students and staff on June 4.

The Soviet leader was in California on the last day of his tour of North America before departing for home.

Gorbachev invited participants in the meeting to think over the fate of the world. "Let us think about the future. Our two countries have more than enough reasons to become partners in the building of a future world, in forming new security structures in Europe and the Asian-Pacific region and in building a truly universal economy, more than that - in the building of a new civilisation," Mikhail Gorbachev said.

"I have no illusions about immediate rapprochement, or a convergence of our two societies - they are different enough and have developed along diverging lines for a long time," he continued. "They will never, I believe, become identical. This incidentally, is not needed at all."

## Gorbachev meets Reagan in San Francisco

SOVIET President Mikhail Gorbachev, touring the United States after his official visit to Washington, spent Monday, June 4 in San Francisco.

In the morning Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev met ex-president Ronald Reagan and his wife Nancy.

Gorbachev and Reagan recollected warmly their meetings in Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington and Moscow which marked the beginning of the search for better relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. They noted the importance of personal contacts in modern international politics.

Gorbachev presented to Reagan a commemorative medal and a diploma from the Armenian Republic in appreciation of Armenian relief aid after the earthquake.

The meeting took place in a sincere and well-meaning atmosphere.

The Soviet President then left for Stanford to meet students and staff of the famous university.

### Materials of the Special Third Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR

#### A DISCUSSION ON THE DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE LITHUANIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC ON MARCH 10-12, 1990

From a stenographic report of the sittings held on March 13 and 15, 1990

price 70p from:  
Soviet Booklets (SN),  
3 Rosary Gardens,  
London SW7 4NW.

"It is important to see the main line towards a world without wars, a world of equality and freedom. In our co-operation to build a better future I will tackle as a point of departure the fact that the cold war is behind us and let us not wrangle over who won the cold war." These words by the Soviet President were received with applause.

"There can be no winners in cold wars just as in nuclear wars."

Gorbachev then said that speculations about cold war benefits were nothing but political jugglery and irresponsibility. "Our countries, which shouldered the burden of the arms race in those years, know it particularly well. This is what fed our political thinking, considerations and political analysis and, eventually, the political choice which led us to a new summit meeting and to new unprecedented decisions, which open a broad path for co-operation between the two great nations and two great states."

Noting that each of the two countries - the Soviet Union and the United States - take "their share of responsibility for the fact that the post war period in the history of mankind assumed the character of exhausting and dangerous confrontation," the Soviet President said, "it is logical to say that now our common responsibility is to make sure that the mechanisms of East-West military confrontation are dismantled as soon as possible."

Gorbachev described a military economy as "a dead end even from the standpoint of practical benefit." He expressed hope that as Soviet-American relations improved, military procurement and participation in the arms race would become things of the past for the Soviet Union and the United States.

Stressing the major role played by science in the arms race, Gorbachev noted that science was the first to speak out against this folly and to look for a way out.

"Without a scientific analysis taking into account all factors - economic, political, theoretical, military-technical and military-political - it is impossible to make the right decisions on fundamental issue of nuclear and conventional arms reductions," Gorbachev said.

He stressed that estimates by the scientists of our two countries "helped us to arrive at major political decisions, including those adopted over these days in Washington."

The Soviet President described as promising the "area in our relations, including contacts between representatives of both countries' defence industries on the problem of conversion."

"New steps in disarmament require major restrictions on the development of advanced weapon systems," he noted. "Soviet and American scientists will have a lot of work to do in this area, too, in order to identify the borderline between permissible modernisation and a qualitative arms race."

This should be kept in mind to make sure new generations of weapons are not developed to replace nuclear weapons "because new weapons will still be weapons of mass destruction."

Speaking about the involvement of scientists in tackling disarmament issues, such as the chemical weapons ban, the Vienna and short-range nuclear weapons talks, Gorbachev noted that "President Bush and I had to note that it is not at all easy to abolish those weapons and destroy them even after the decision had been made to scrap them."

"We need technologies for destroying those dangerous weapons and I think here, too, we have to work together in order to make sure that there is no damage done to the environment and

to people's health."

Listing a number of promising directions of theoretical and practical co-operation between the Soviet Union and the United States, Gorbachev said "we are in favour of wide-ranging co-operation of free and forceful minds aware of their responsibility for our common future and open to joint creative efforts and a free and unimpeded exchange of their results."

"We are witnessing an evolution of international relations towards increasingly open and mass-scale human communication," he went on to say.

"And this greatly increases the role of creative and positive policies. But equally, it raises the price of mistakes, the price we must pay for adherence to outdated dogmas, routine and the old thinking."

"Tolerance is the alpha and omega of a new world order," Gorbachev said. "Without tolerance and respect for one's partner, without understanding each other's concerns and problems, we are bound to fail," he stressed.

"And that calls for the development of a new approach to the structures of security, co-operation and even alliance-building. The very principle of alliance-building must become different - it should mean unity to create conditions for a life worth of a human being, to protect the environment, combat hunger, diseases, drug abuse and ignorance." □

## Gorbachev meets South Korean President

ON June 4 Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev met briefly with South Korean President Roh Tae-Woo in San Francisco before leaving for the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev said the meeting had become possible "in the context of current changes in the Asia-Pacific region."

The Soviet President reiterated the Soviet Union's "principled positions on the peaceful reunification of North and South Korea" and welcomed the establishment of economic and cultural relations between South Korea and the Soviet Union.

He said these relations "have a considerable potential for development, taking into consideration the sides' mutual interest."

Speaking about the possibility of establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries, Gorbachev said "this issue may arise as bilateral ties develop and in the context of the general improvement of the political situation in the region and on the Korean Peninsula." □

### Expert Opinion

#### WITHOUT CULTURE THERE CAN BE NO DEMOCRACY Vasily Zakharov

price 40p from:  
Soviet Booklets (SN)  
3 Rosary Gardens,  
London SW7 4NW.



## MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S VISIT TO CANADA

### Soviet President's meeting with Canadian Premier

THE central event of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Canada was a one-to-one meeting between him and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

During the meeting, which continued for more than two hours, they noted the direct connection between the first Soviet-Canadian summit in Moscow last year and this one, and a successful development of relations between the two countries on the principles which received a detailed substantiation in the joint political declaration last year.

This conclusion was confirmed by the comparison of the two sides' positions on major matters concerning bilateral relations and international problems. Such comparison was made independently by each side on the eve of the visit.

Informing each other of this, Gorbachev and Mulroney found that the positions were close and even coincided on many points.

This is an illustration of the growing mutual understanding and trust which is particularly valuable and essential during the current turning point of world development, Gorbachev said.

Much attention during the conversation was devoted to European problems within the context of the fact that the Soviet Union and Canada were World War Two allies. Later on they were divided, just as the entire West and East, be decades of confrontation, recriminations, the arms race and abnormal forms of contacts.

"We lived through a difficult period, following diverging courses," Gorbachev said. "Only now due to perestroika and new thinking it has become possible to get closer together, relying on growing awareness of the integrated nature of

civilisation. This sound process is the main one while all others, although very important, too, are of subordinated nature."

"It is from these positions that we approach the external aspects of German reunification," Gorbachev said. "It is necessary to find such a version which, even if it does not suit to some extent the one or the other side, would not upset the strategic balance, would take into account concerns, and rule out suspicions. Such is the choice."

"Therefore a striving to prove that reunited Germany's NATO membership will not be of detriment to the Soviet Union - and the Canadian Prime Minister also tried to do this - is not convincing.

"The very fact that insistence is made on only this version is already suspicious. The Soviet Union believes that the discussion of the external aspects of German unification is not yet over while NATO countries proceed from the assumption that it has already been completed. Such an approach is at variance with the world's main positive trend which presupposes the building of trust."

The Soviet President and the Canadian Prime Minister discussed some matters pertaining to bilateral trade and economic contacts, especially those concerning food, and Canada's participation in the implementation of big economic projects, specifically the reconstruction of Leninograd.

Gorbachev invited Brian Mulroney to visit the Soviet Union again.

The Soviet President regarded favourably Mulroney's suggestion that he participate in the world summit for children. □

(TASS, Ottawa, May 31)

### Gorbachev and Mulroney speak to the media

SOVIET President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Canada was very important from the viewpoint of both bilateral relations and international politics, Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney told a joint news conference on May 30 before Gorbachev's departure for the United States.

Mulroney voiced the opinion that relations between Canada and the Soviet Union have considerably improved as a result of the visit.

The German question and the role of NATO in the situation that has developed on the European continent figured importantly during the talks, Mulroney said. The exchange of views was deep and constructive, he added.

Gorbachev expressed satisfaction with the results of the visit. "I attach much importance to this visit," he said. "It seems to me that we have been able to deepen our dialogue and I saw once again that the understanding and trustful atmosphere which is taking shape and growing stronger in our relations and the personal contacts that become regular and steady make it possible to discuss any issues openly, directly and thoroughly."

The visit was brief but very substantive, Gorbachev went to say. "I would consider it to be among the very important events of world politics."

In answer to a question about the situation in the Baltic republics, in Lithuania in particular, the President of the USSR said that the Lithuanian Parliament when adopting a declaration of independence did not take into account a number of serious problems, including the fact that about 800,000 citizens of non-Lithuanian nationalities now live in the republic.

In a period when the federation has entered a phase of deep transformations, adventurists have turned up at the head of the republic, Gorbachev said.

He recalled that he as the President of the Soviet Union has a mandate from the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR to restore constitutional order. Possible steps do not rule out "the use of the most extreme methods" but the leadership of the country wants "to avoid that," the Soviet President emphasised.

Touching upon the German question, Gorbachev said that it is essential to find such a version of a solution to the German question which would strengthen and promote positive processes on the European continent.

Speaking of prospects for the disarmament process in the light of the forthcoming Soviet-American summit, he said that the Soviet Union and the United States were close to tangible measures for the elimination of chemical weapons and had made "great progress" as regards a 50 per cent cut in strategic offensive arms. □

### Shevardnadze and Clark hold press conference

SOVIET Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Canadian counterpart Joe Clark had two rounds of talks in the course of President Gorbachev's state visit to Canada. They held a joint press conference on May 30 after the negotiations.

The ministers told journalists about the problems they discussed. They said the talks revealed both differences and similar approaches and views. This refers to the European process, the formation of an all-European security structure, the acceleration of the Vienna talks and some other key European issues.

Then the ministers answered questions. They both admitted that there were still differences between the USSR and Canada on the military-political status of a united Germany. "Solutions must be sought," Shevardnadze said, "which would meet the interests of the German nation, the interests of the West and of Eastern Europe and, naturally, of the Soviet Union".

Asked about the possibility of all the European nations joining NATO, Shevardnadze said: "there is such a version and it is perfectly legitimate. Let's discuss it. There is also another version, namely of inviting a united Germany to join the Warsaw Treaty Organisation."

Clark was asked about the discussion of the Lithuanian situation. "We realise the delicacy of the Lithuanian issue for the Soviet Union," he said, "and we sincerely hope it will be settled by political means ... Canada was reassured by the meeting between Lithuanian Prime Minister Prunskiene and President Gorbachev and hopes it will help solve the problem through negotiations."

Journalists asked Shevardnadze's view on Yeltsin's election as President of the Russian Supreme Soviet and the recent clashes in Armenia.

"I don't think Yeltsin's election is anything extraordinary," Shevardnadze said. "We cannot be surprised by such things in conditions of democracy and glasnost and in the light of the processes now occurring in the Soviet Union. We respect the will of Russia's deputies."

As to the events of Armenia, Shevardnadze described them as "tragic". "However," he stressed, "we shall do everything possible to avoid the use of force. This is our principle." □

In the series **Perestroika**  
**PERESTROIKA**  
as seen by a  
**Political Scientist**  
**Andranik Migranyan**

★ ★ ★

**PERESTROIKA**  
**Through the Eyes of**  
**a People's Deputy**  
**Sergei Stankevich**

at 30p each from:  
Soviet Booklets (SN),  
3 Rosary Gardens,  
London SW7 4NW.

**For the Peaceful  
and Safe Use  
of the Atom**

price 50p from:  
Soviet Booklets (SN),  
3 Rosary Gardens,  
London SW7 4NW.



## Boris Yeltsin's news conference

THE First Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation is working democratically, with enthusiasm and for the first time not according to a pre-planned scenario, Boris Yeltsin, Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, said in Moscow on May 30. Yeltsin was speaking at his first news conference as the republic's supreme executive.

Speaking about the need to consolidate the work of deputies, Yeltsin spoke of the efforts in the past few days of conciliation commission, comprising some 200 people's deputies representing 26 deputy groups, national territorial entities and territories (administrative regions). The commission selected candidates for senior posts in the Russian Parliament. He praised the activity of the conciliation commission, set up for the first time in the history of the Russian Parliament, and noted that the selection of candidates is being done "on a coalition basis."

Many questions were asked about Yeltsin's future relations with President Gorbachev.

"True, we have differences," Yeltsin replied. "They existed three years ago, beginning in 1987, and concerned the tactics and approaches to perestroika, the role of the Communist Party (CPSU), a multi-party system, and the abrogation of article 6 of the USSR Constitution. Some problems disappear after being solved," the Supreme Soviet Chairman continued, "but a number of questions still remain. I think that

relationship with the country's President must be business-like, based on dialogue, talks, and principle, not to the prejudice of the sovereignty and problems of Russia."

"I sweep aside everything personal in these relations, both past and present."

Asked to talk about his plans for "the first 100 days", Yeltsin said the top priority tasks of the Russian Parliament included selecting the leadership and the government, passing a law on the status of people's deputy of the Russian Federation, giving "our own interpretation" to laws on land, property, and the independence of enterprises.

Replying to a question by a TASS correspondent, Yeltsin said he would step down as the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Construction and Architecture.

Asked about his vision of the foreign economic activity of the Russian Federation, Yeltsin said the republic foreign ministry "should take from the USSR Foreign Ministry what belongs to the Russian Federation and gradually become fully in charge of these issues."

In this connection he did not rule out establishing Russian consulates and groups at embassies at the initial stage. The Russian Federation Chairman made a point of emphasising the prospect of fostering relations with neighbouring countries.

Replying to another question, Yeltsin favoured the participation of the Russian Federation in the UN but considering that "this participation will call for significant spending," he said Russia should ask the world community for permission to have its representative at the United Nations.

## Plenary meeting of the Moscow City Party Committee

A PLENARY meeting of the Moscow City Communist Party Committee, held on May 30, concluded that the Party needed radical reforms. The plenum was attended by representatives of the club of delegates to the forthcoming City Party Conference.

"The point in question is our Party's political future," Yuri Prokofyev, First Secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee, told the plenum. "The all-Moscow Party debate was the focal point of the pre-congress campaign in the city. Key political decisions were drafted from bottom up for the first time in many years. Many communists took part in this work."

The plenary meeting approved a draft document on the Moscow Party organisation's stand. It notes that there were certain positive changes against the background of a general economic, political and social crisis. Our economic system, unreceptive to scientific and technological progress, proved unable to ensure for the Soviet people a good life. The regime is noticeably losing the trust of the people. The Party's political prestige is declining. There are also growing anti-communist sentiments.

The document analyses in detail the reasons

for the crisis and ways to overcome it. According to Moscow communists, it is necessary to ensure social stability and embark upon the road of radical reforms in the state and in the Party, to consolidate public movements and groups upholding the vital interests of the working people. They propose to promote fundamental human rights and liberties, the rights of peoples and nations, to harmonise the interests of individuals and society and to promote social justice. The economic policy must be aimed to release economic initiative and enterprise, stimulate honest highly productive labour.

The section devoted to Party reform stresses that on the question of ideology, a renovated CPSU should renounce its dogmatic views about society that proved to be incorrect, should enrich Marxism by modern achievements of civilisation and elaborate a new concept of socialism and of the communist perspective. The Moscow Party organisation believes there should be no factions within the Party. It believes any artificial division of communists is extremely dangerous.

The plenary meeting also approved the proposals of the Moscow Party organisation on the draft CPSU rules, which will be submitted to the 28th Congress.

It passed a resolution on the government's concept of a regulated market economy. Recognising the need for this step, the plenum demanded that a final decision on this question should be taken after a nation-wide referendum. It deems it necessary to discuss the Party's policy in conditions of the market economy at the 28th CPSU Congress.

The plenum called on deputies of the Moscow City Council and district councils to stop their confrontation and concentrate on the solution of urgent and acute problems facing the city. □

## Soviet Parliament discuss bill on parties

THE two chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet – the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities – today approved the first reading of two bills: On Public Associations, and Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organisations.

The bill on public associations gives a legal basis for a multi-party political system, which is now being set up in the Soviet Union (since the Communist Party gave up its monopoly on power, several dozen political parties have emerged).

Under the bill, all-union associations are registered by the USSR Ministry of Justice, and registration of republican associations is subject to republican legislation. The application for the registration of the rules of the all-union association is considered by the justice ministry within two months. Any refusal to register can be appealed in court.

Registration can be denied only if the rules of an association contradict the constitution and legislation.

The bill bans "the creation and activity of public associations which aim to forcefully overthrow or change the constitutional system, to break the unity of the USSR, union and autonomous republics, to advocate war, violence and cruelty, to incite social, national and religious strife, or to commit other criminal acts."

The bill gives public associations the right to take part in the formation of bodies of state power and authority, to elaborate decisions, to take legislative initiative, and to represent and protect the legitimate interests of their members in state and public bodies.

The bill on freedom of conscience and religious organisations stipulates people's right to decide on their own attitude to religion, the equal status of religions, as well as the equality of citizens in all spheres of life, irrespective of their attitude to religion. It establishes the responsibility of officials and citizens, guilty of breaching the law on freedom and conscience.

Presenting the document on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee on Legislation, Deputy Andrei Sebentsov stressed that it lifts the old bans on the performance of religious rites and public worship. We expressed hope that the bill "will help consolidate society and raise the prestige of the country abroad."

The bill sets out the rights of religious organisations, their property relations, and their relationship with state bodies. It was pointed out that the state does not interfere in the activity of religious organisations if the latter does not run counter to the law. For their part, religious organisations do not perform state functions. The bill clearly defines the powers of a state body concerned with religious affairs. □

### Expert Opinion

## The Supreme Goal of the Soviet Armed Forces is to Prevent War

by  
Dmitri Yazov

at 40p from:  
Soviet Booklets (SN),  
3 Rosary Gardens,  
London SW7 4NW.

### The October Revolution and Perestroika

### The 'Honour of the Uniform' or The Honour of the Army?

price 30p from:  
Soviet Booklets (SN),  
3 Rosary Gardens,  
London SW7 4NW



# Sovereignty for Russia

By Vladimir Reznichenko, political analyst:

THE question of sovereignty of this major constituent republic is high on the agenda at the First Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation in Moscow. Though the deputies unanimously included it into the agenda, the discussion revealed most different approaches to the notion "sovereignty".

While some want Russia to withdraw from the federation, just as the Baltic republics have done, others advocate a more moderate concept of sovereignty within the USSR. Dictionaries define sovereignty as a state's full self-government and independence in foreign affairs. But how can this full independence be combined with the provision of certain powers to national bodies? Will this independence be full or partial?

Two basic approaches were demonstrated during the discussions. One of them, which is close to the official position, lays emphasis on economic, social and cultural independence, while the other, more radical approach requires political sovereignty as well.

Addressing the Congress, Boris Yeltsin spoke of the independence of foreign trade relations,

## Soviet Parliament adopts law on enterprises

THE Soviet Parliament on June 4 adopted a law on enterprises in the USSR. The law provides equal conditions for economic activities by enterprises of various types – state-run, lease-holding, collective, co-operative, and individual.

The law will come into force on January 1, 1991.

Speakers pointed out that this legal act aims to broaden substantially the independence of enterprises, which is utterly essential during the transition to market relations.

The legal act introduces a generalising indicator of the results of economic activity by all types of enterprises – profit – and envisages a single channel for allocations to the state budget.

Profit-based settlements with ministries and departments are ruled out. A single system has been established for the founding of an enterprise, registration, the endorsement of a statute, reorganisation and liquidation.

In accordance with this law, enterprises have the right to sell their produce at prices established independently or on a contract basis. This fixing of prices by a state agency is allowed only for the output of enterprises that hold a monopoly position on the market.

Co-operation with managerial bodies is established on a contract basis. The practice of obtaining funds by issuing shares and bonds is gaining in scope. Emphasis is being laid on market relations in matters of material and technical support.

The law extends the rights of work collectives to establish new plants and to overcome monopolism. Work collectives have been granted equal rights with representatives of the owner in managing the property of the enterprise.

On June 5 the Soviet Parliament will consider a bill on the taxation of enterprises, which has already been discussed several times, and amendments to the law on co-operatives. □

the minting of Russian coins and the priority of the republic's legislation over the national one. This would naturally weaken the first part of the formula "union – republic" and, moreover, subject the very formula to inversion.

To understand the issue better, one has to bear in mind that the Russian Federation, being the backbone of the USSR, has a similar structure with it. Like the USSR, it occupies a vast territory (three-quarters of the total), is inhabited by many ethnic groups (over 100 nationalities besides the Russians) and hence is difficult to manage.

The federation comprises 16 autonomous republics, 5 autonomous regions, 10 autonomous districts, 6 territories and 49 regions. The ethnic territorial division is based on the same principle as a matryoshka – a wooden doll in peasant dress with successively smaller ones fitted into it. An autonomous region, for example, is part of a territory, which is part of a republic, which, in its turn, is part of the Russian Federation.

This hierarchy of ethnic and state structures causes the discontent of many ethnic groups within the federation, which demand an equal status. If this demand is compiled with, there be over 30 equal ethnic-territorial entities formed on the regional-economic basis and inhabited primarily by Russians – for example, South Russia, the Urals or the Far East – within the Russian Federation. The question is whether these entities will stay within the republic or join the USSR independently. Anyway, the course of the discussions shows that the issue of the

republic's sovereignty cannot be solved without giving thought to the historical destinies of all native peoples of Russia.

Russia is often called a metropolitan country abroad, while the other constituent republics are compared to colonies. But Russians themselves frequently feel they are donors helping all the rest free of charge.

They suffered no less (if no more) than other peoples from the totalitarian regime. Exercising their rule over the distant areas and guided by political and ideological considerations rather than by economic benefit, the former governments pushed "the number one republic" to the lowest place in living standards.

Today Russia, unwilling to be identified with the centre which has discredited itself in the eyes of many people, is looking for new ways to stability and prosperity. If the most radical version of the Russian sovereignty idea is realised, the whole concept of the union will have to be revised.

A great deal, of course, will depend on the implementation of the projects which are being drawn up today, because the transfer of power from national to republican bureaucrats will not solve a single problem and the attainment of genuine independence is impossible without a stage-by-stage democratisation of every sphere of life. Sovereignty can become reality only if the individual's interests are met and his political, economic and social rights honoured. □

(Novosti)

## Agreement on chemical weapons reached

THE Soviet-American agreement on chemical weapons has been signed at the Washington summit. Without waiting for the conclusion of a multilateral convention, the Soviet Union and the United States pledged themselves to start reducing these weapons of mass destruction and to eliminate the biggest part of chemical weapons stockpiled over the many years of military rivalry.

Chemical weapons' stockpiles will be reduced by 80 per cent. Only 5,000 tons, that is approximately 20 per cent of the United States present arsenal of chemical weapons, will remain. Their elimination will be started in 1992, so that there should be time to prepare special facilities for destruction.

The importance of this event can hardly be overestimated. Justifiably, they said in the House of Representatives of the US Congress that if only this agreement was signed at the meeting, this alone would be reason enough to describe the Washington summit as a success.

It should be noted that the Soviet-US calls for arms reduction are borne out by specific practical deeds. What is important is not only the obligation to destroy the biggest part of the arsenals of chemical weapons, but also the United States decision to terminate the production of this kind of arms. Without doubt, this constructive change in Washington's attitude merits attention. In the past, the United States refusal to assume this commitment was a serious obstacle to the working out of a Soviet-American agreement.

The agreement signed in Washington shows that the two powers have achieved a definite

state of mutual confidence. It also shows how much the two countries can do to satisfy the real needs in the area of security in the process of transition from 'deterrence' towards co-operation.

Speaking in the White House President Bush described the Soviet-American agreement on chemical weapons as epoch-making and expressed the hope that it will be followed by a universal ban on chemical weapons.

Indeed, a large-scale joint Soviet-American document, the practical example shown by the USSR and the USA will be a catalyst for multilateral talks under way many years in Geneva to work out a comprehensive convention.

This is of extreme importance since chemical weapons are spreading. By all indications, not only industrialised countries but also some developing countries are already in possession of chemical weapons. It is quite clear that tomorrow there will be a need for efforts to convince all states to give up these weapons of mass destruction. The fact that the Soviet Union and the United States have already taken this road should be important in ridding the globe of chemical weapons. □

## The Family and Society

by Leonid Zhukhovitsky

price 50p from:  
Soviet Booklets (SN),  
3 Rosary Gardens,  
London SW7 4NW.