

VISIT

of

Mikhail

GORBACHEV

to

CHINA

May 15 - 18,

1989

DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS

VISIT
of **MIKHAIL**
GORBACHEV,
General Secretary
of the **CPSU Central**
Committee, Chairman
of the **Presidium**
of the **USSR**
Supreme Soviet,
to the **PEOPLE'S**
REPUBLIC OF
CHINA

May 15-18, 1989

Documents and Materials



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ВИЗИТ М. С. ГОРБАЧЕВА В КИТАЙ

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From May 15-18, 1989 Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, paid an official visit to the People's Republic of China.

On May 15, Yang Shangkun, President of the People's Republic of China, and other officials met Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife Raissa Gorbachev at the plane's gangway at Beijing airport.

On the same day Mikhail Gorbachev and Yang Shangkun held a talk in the building of the National People's Congress. The President of the People's Republic of China gave a dinner in honour of Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife. Mikhail Gorbachev and Yang Shangkun spoke at the dinner.

On May 16, Mikhail Gorbachev talked with Deng Xiaoping, Chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee and the Central Military Commission of the People's Republic of China. During the talk both sides stated the normalization of relations between the USSR and the PRC, and between the CPSU and CPC.

Mikhail Gorbachev also talked with Zhao Ziyang, General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, and conducted negotiations with Li Peng, member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

On May 17, Mikhail Gorbachev met members of the Chinese public in the conference hall of the National People's Congress. The audience listened to the Soviet leader's speech with great attention. On the same day he gave an interview to China's Central People's Television Broadcasting Section and to Radio Beijing, and answered journalists' questions at a press conference.

The programme of the Soviet leader's stay in the People's Republic of China included getting to know the history, culture and arts of China. Mikhail Gorbachev, Raissa Gorbachev and the accompanying Soviet officials visited the Great Wall. On May 18, the Soviet delegation visited Shanghai, the largest city in the People's Republic of China. Tens of thousands of Shanghai residents warmly greeted Mikhail Gorbachev. The Soviet guests saw the sights of the city, laid flowers at the monument to the Russian poet Alexander Pushkin and visited a plant producing modern lifts and escalators.

On May 18, an official farewell ceremony was held for the Soviet leader at the Diaoyutai government residence.

**MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S
STATEMENT
at the Welcoming Ceremony at Beijing
Airport**

May 15, 1989

First of all, I would like to convey to the friendly Chinese people cordial greetings and best wishes from the peoples of the Soviet Union. We wish the people of Beijing every success and prosperity.

We have arrived in China in the pleasant spring time. Spring is the blossoming of nature and the awakening of new life. Everywhere in the world people associate it with a time of hope and renewal.

This is also consonant with our mood. We hope that the meetings and talks we are about to have with Chinese leaders will be of crucial importance for Sino-Soviet relations and their further development on the basis of commonly recognized principles of inter-state intercourse and good-neighbourliness.

Such a development of Sino-Soviet relations, we believe, would adequately reflect the basic interests of both countries and fit in harmoniously with the positive changes that have begun to take shape in the world.

We in the Soviet Union follow the transformations that are going on in China with great interest and attention. Nothing, however, can replace one's personal knowledge of the country and direct contacts with its leaders and people.

This is my first visit to China and I hope I shall manage to gain first-hand knowledge of this great country, a country of an ancient and original culture, which has made a tremendous contribution to the development of human civilization, and of the achievements of the Chinese people during the 40 years of socialist development.

SPEECH BY MIKHAIL GORBACHEV **at the Dinner in the Building of the** **National People's Congress**

May 15, 1989

Distinguished President Yang Shangkun,
Distinguished Comrades,
Friends,

First of all I would like to thank the leaders of the People's Republic of China for the invitation to visit your country, for the cordiality and hospitality which we have felt from the very first hours of our stay in Beijing.

The Chinese capital is now witnessing an event which is momentous by any standards—the relations between two of the world's major countries, sharing a common 7,500-kilometre-long border, are now being put on a solid, sound basis. Moreover, this is the first meeting between the leaders of our two socialist states in three decades.

The road to this meeting was not an easy one; it demanded from both sides wisdom, responsibility and perseverance in removing the negative phenomena and prejudices that marred our relations for so many years.

Today we have every right to say that these relations are entering a qualitatively new stage—both because our two countries have changed and because the world around us is now different. The current decade has unveiled China's new image to the world. Soviet people appreciate and understand the enthusiasm that motivates your country in its desire for modernizing all spheres of public life.

The strides towards industrialization, the transformation of agrarian relations, the release of the people's consciousness and initiative, and the enrichment of the spiritual culture of Chinese society—all this has been brought about by bold and far-reaching reforms which are being followed with keen interest all over the world.

We wish the leaders and the people of China every success in resolving the problems they face along this path and in ensuring the steady progress of their socialist motherland.

As you know, great changes are also taking place in the Soviet Union.

The processes which are under way in our society are best

reflected by the concept of perestroika. We are dismantling everything that slowed down or impeded our development and distorted our objectives and ideals. At the same time, new state and social mechanisms are being formed, which are designed to speed up our progress and considerably improve the Soviet people's quality of life.

The radical transformations which were launched at the initiative of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have now become of vital concern to the working class and all the working people of our country. This is something that makes perestroika irreversible and reliably guarantees that our great cause, the cause of socialist renewal and of revealing socialism's humanitarian and democratic potential, will be crowned with success.

So, both our countries have been set in motion. However, a remarkable feature of the current situation is that other socialist countries are also undergoing renewal. Socialism is entering a new stage of development, in which full use will be made of its creative potential.

We also see that the process of change is spreading to an ever wider range of countries and gradually embracing the sphere of international relations. The current generations are faced with a very difficult and at the same time noble task—the building, step by step, of a new international order.

Mankind will run into numerous obstacles along this road. The changes which have taken place in the world in recent years and decades are far from simple.

True, encouraging trends have appeared in many spheres of international life. Its inalienable, and most important element today is the continuing political dialogue, particularly on a multilateral basis, in which the general public at large is now also involved. In other words, people's diplomacy is actively assisting and complementing official diplomacy.

The first steps have been taken in disarmament and in initiating the process of political settlement of regional conflicts. These were among the main sources of international tension for decades, and more than once brought the world to the brink of disaster.

In international relations there is a growing measure of trust and willingness to cooperate in the interests of solving acute global problems.

But it is no less true that the world remains fragile and vulnerable. Military arsenals still exist and in some respects are even growing. The modernization of weapons has not yet

stopped, so it is still possible that new, even more lethal types of weapons will emerge. The risk of an ecological disaster is growing, since nature is no longer capable of neutralizing the waste of the technological civilization and needs urgent help.

There remains the extremely acute problem of eliminating hunger and poverty, of overcoming the economic underdevelopment of many countries.

One of the main themes of ancient Chinese philosophy and, indeed, the philosophies and epic literature of many other peoples, is the struggle between light and darkness, between good and evil. We can say that these two opposing forces are now engaged in a particularly fierce battle.

Humanity is now at a crossroads. The next few years will be critical in determining whether humanity will be able to travel along the road to light and to curb the looming threats, or whether civilization will slide towards its end.

We believe in a happy outcome, in a better future. And this is not just wishful thinking; it reflects our confidence based on our assessment of the real processes under way in the international arena and the vast potential of the political and social forces that stand for peace.

One can appreciate the measure of responsibility shouldered by every individual and, in the first place, by those who are entrusted with the task of leading states and shaping their policies.

Against this background, all countries and all peoples are reassessing their place in the world. We initiated such an in-depth analysis four years ago, and along with perestroika emerged what is now generally known as new political thinking.

The main concepts in this thinking are familiar to our distinguished Chinese comrades. We are prepared to put them into practice in our relations with China.

On this occasion I would like to use your country's traditional political lexicon to present my approach to the development of Sino-Soviet relations by making three statements.

First, we say "yes" to such generally recognized principles of international relations as mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.

We say "yes" to economic and cultural cooperation, to

intensive political dialogue at all levels and in all areas, both governmental and public. We are convinced that such cooperation will benefit both peoples and will help them more successfully attain the large-scale objectives they have set themselves.

Finally, we say "yes" to the interaction of our two countries in looking for solutions to urgent international problems. Of course, both the Soviet Union and China are independent in terms of decision-making, each has its own priorities and our views are not always identical. Yet there exists a broad area in which such interaction is both possible and appropriate. This, first of all, applies to our joint contribution to solving present-day global problems and to strengthening peace and security on the Asian continent.

These three statements, from which we proceeded in preparing for this meeting, vividly show that the improvement of Sino-Soviet relations is not directed against any third country. In the final analysis, the entire world community stands to gain from this improvement.

These are the points of departure that we have brought here, to Beijing. It is certainly premature to predict what issues may arise in the course of discussions. In any event I wish to emphasize that the Chinese side may count on our benevolent and unbiased approach to discussing any problem.

Comrades, our visit to China is relatively short and, naturally, most of our time will be devoted to political talks. Yet, to be frank, my wife and I have come here with a great desire to gain first-hand knowledge of one of the most ancient and original civilizations of the world and to get the feel of life in your country.

Today we have already been able to see some examples of architecture and drive through the streets of the capital. And what impressed us most was its residents' openness and friendliness towards us, Soviet people. We saw this in the way they greeted us.

I think this best testifies to the fact that the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations meets with a warm response on the part of the Chinese people. I wish to assure you that the Soviet people entertain the same feelings and sentiments.

I wish to propose a toast to the good health of Comrade Yang Shangkun and the other Chinese leaders present here!

To good-neighbourly relations between our two countries and to friendship between our great peoples!

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S ADDRESS to Representatives of the Chinese Public

May 17, 1989

Comrades and friends,

We are meeting practically right after the first Sino-Soviet summit in thirty years.

My colleagues and I spent the entire day yesterday in talks with comrades Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang and Li Peng. The day before yesterday we had a meeting with comrade Yang Shangkun. We thoroughly discussed fundamental issues and the prospects for developing relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and exchanged views on problems of world politics.

Of course, we have yet to make a comprehensive analysis of the wide range of ideas, various viewpoints and proposals put forward and considered during our discussions. But we can say even now that we are pleased with the results of the talks.

First of all, there is mutual agreement that good-neighbourly relations and equitable mutually beneficial cooperation are in the long-term interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples. The agreements we have reached lay a solid political foundation for the development of our relations in accordance with the generally recognized principles of international law.

The history of Sino-Russian and, subsequently, Sino-Soviet relations has left us a rich and varied legacy, and we want this historical record to be free of blank spots. We are for an objective and impartial evaluation of all its episodes, even the most difficult ones.

The broader historical perspective, however, leaves no doubt that the positive trend in our relations far outweighs the legacy of mistrust and conflicts. Economic and cultural

ties between our countries and contact between the two outstanding and unique civilizations created by our peoples have greatly benefited them both.

In the hearts and minds of millions of people on both sides of the Sino-Soviet border there has always been a genuine and abiding interest in each other, and our profound mutual affinity has never waned.

And, of course, the social kinship of the two greatest revolutions of this century, the 1917 Revolution in Russia and the 1949 Revolution in China, was of particular significance. Time will never erase from the book of history or the memory of the living generations the fine examples of the solidarity of the working class and the labouring masses who embarked on the construction of a new society.

We can rightly regard this Sino-Soviet summit as an important milestone. The long period of mutual alienation is now behind us. Ahead lies a future to be built together. What are the philosophical and political lessons that should be drawn from the past?

The first conclusion, in my opinion, is that it is unfortunately far easier to sour or destroy relations between countries than to build and consolidate those relations and make them fruitful. A few erroneous decisions taken without regard for a partner's interests, attempts to impose on him one's own views, and the escalation of mutual grievances, possibly to a political level, as well as elevating ideological disputes and disagreements to the point of confrontation between states may result in dividing former friends with a wall of suspicion and animosity.

This highlights the importance of safeguarding good relations between countries, multiplying this tremendous national and international heritage and passing it on from generation to generation.

Let me express confidence that the leaders and people of our two countries will make sure that such errors, so difficult to correct, are not repeated. And, most important of all, this lesson should be learned by the Soviet and Chinese youth, in whose hands lies the future of our relations.

Perhaps all of us should now think of possible ways to make sure that the tradition of normal, good relations between our nations is passed on from generation to generation. Particularly since it is the young people who will have to continue and successfully complete the renewal of socialist society begun by the veterans.

Another conclusion to be drawn is that the differences between the two countries' policies and methods of action must be viewed with understanding. Naturally, the Soviet Union and China each have their own approaches to problems and their own opinions of events. This should not be considered to be a stumbling block to cooperation. The only sensible approach is to seek acceptable solution with regard for each other's views and positions. It is in this spirit that our two countries have approached this landmark meeting, and each side has covered its part of the road.

Another point is that Sino-Soviet relations do not exist in a vacuum, they are part and parcel of the complex and diversified structure of international relations. They can become truly strong and benefit both countries, provided they are in harmony with the international system and the spirit of positive change currently under way within that system.

From the very outset one thought invariably present in our talks with the Chinese leaders was that improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations is not directed against anyone and does not require from China or from the Soviet Union that they relinquish existing ties with third countries—whether socialist or capitalist, developing or developed, Western or Eastern.

Furthermore, normal Sino-Soviet relations are in the interests of the entire world community and consistent with the prevailing trends in international development.

Let me now outline the prospects for our relations as we see them.

Greater mutual understanding and trust will allow our two countries to give more attention to peaceful, constructive work and increase our material and intellectual resources in order to address the problems that we face in conditions of a solidly guaranteed, stable peace.

In recent years both sides have taken measures to reduce the level of military confrontation along the Soviet-Chinese border. As you know, since 1985 we have reduced our armed forces in the Soviet Far East and unilaterally undertaken not to increase land-based and air-based nuclear systems.

In accordance with the Soviet-US agreement, 436 intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in the eastern USSR will be destroyed. In 1989-1990 Soviet troops deployed there will be reduced by 200,000 men, including 120,000 in the Soviet Far East. I can inform you that the ground forces will be reduced by 12 divisions, 11 airforce regiments will be

disbanded and 16 warships will be removed from the Pacific Fleet.

In May we began a new stage in the reduction of our forces deployed in Mongolia. In 1989-1990 three full-strength divisions, including two armoured divisions, and all air units will be withdrawn.

We have begun restructuring our forces deployed along the Soviet-Chinese border to bring them fully in line with the principle of reasonable defence sufficiency. We are prepared to work for the withdrawal, on terms to be agreed with China, of military units and armaments from the border areas, leaving only the personnel required for performing routine border duties.

Demilitarizing the Soviet-Chinese border and turning it into a border of peace and good-neighbourliness is a noble goal which could be attained through joint efforts.

Vast prospects for mutually beneficial cooperation open up in the economy, the main sphere of human activity. Trade exchanges between our two countries have grown over the past years, yet both their volume and their dynamics fall far short of the existing potential.

Seen against the backdrop of integrational processes, greater international division of labour, and rapidly expanding cooperative arrangements, Soviet-Chinese trade, with a volume of less than two billion roubles, presents a poor picture. And yet, we have two countries with tremendous resources. Moreover, we are neighbours who share the longest common border in the world and therefore have exceptionally favourable conditions for cooperation.

The potential for economic cooperation is many times greater than what we have at present. Of course, however much both sides might want to do so, this potential cannot be realized in one attempt. What needs to be done is to identify the promising areas, settle the complex problems of pricing and help enterprises find suitable partners. It will also take some time to train personnel and to accumulate the experience that to a large extent was lost over the years when our economic relations were virtually curtailed.

However, without setting unrealistic goals for ourselves we could, I think, ensure an early and substantial increase in Sino-Soviet economic ties which would be mutually beneficial for both countries. And this could be done both in the traditional areas, such as the exchange of raw materials and manufactured goods and assistance in building power gene-

rating facilities, as well as in the development and use of advanced technologies.

In regard to the methods of cooperation, in addition to the expansion of trade, we could promote the establishment of direct ties between enterprises, design offices and research institutes, and set up joint firms and industrial enterprises, including those with the participation of third countries.

When preparing for this visit to Beijing, our experts expressed the view that a highly effective area for Sino-Soviet cooperation might be the construction of a "liquid coal" pipeline. Incidentally, this is one of the promising avenues for the development of the modern power industry which draws attention throughout the world.

The joint development of a new "silk way" from China to Europe, i.e. the Beijing—Urumchi—Alma-Ata—Moscow railway, a major stretch of which will be completed within the next few years, holds great prospects.

Inter-regional cooperation placed on a long-term basis could provide substantial potential for developing business ties—between various areas and regions of the Soviet Far East and Siberia and provinces of North-Eastern China; between Kazakhstan and Soviet republics in Central Asia and provinces and autonomous regions in North-Western China.

We also view the expansion and deepening of Sino-Soviet trade and economic ties in the context of the emerging Asian economic integration. We are paying close attention to the Chinese experience of open economic policies and are considering the establishment of joint-venture zones, including those in some areas which border on the People's Republic of China.

In this hall are many prominent representatives of Chinese science and culture as well as Soviet scientists and artists who have come with us. I think that their mission to promote mutual understanding between our two peoples is of particular importance now that the Soviet Union and China are, so to speak, re-discovering and getting to know each other.

Contacts between and joint research by Soviet and Chinese scientists hold the promise of great benefit. Recently an agreement was signed between the Soviet and Chinese academies of sciences on basic guidelines for cooperation. I am sure that scientists will be able, by pooling their efforts, to substantially enhance their contribution towards accelerating the socio-economic development of our countries.

In the sphere of culture we possess the truly invaluable

capital of spiritual communication. This applies primarily to the traditional exchanges in the area of literature and art.

Lu Hsin, who is widely known and highly esteemed in our country, wrote: "I feel that a link exists between China and Russia. Their cultures and history have something in common." We appreciate the effort of the contemporary Chinese men of letters and translators who give Chinese readers access to Russian and Soviet literature.

In the Soviet Union there is great interest in the unique and ancient culture of China. Exhibitions of Chinese art are becoming a permanent feature in Moscow museums and in Leningrad's Hermitage. Traditional Chinese medicine enjoys popularity and the forty-volume anthology of Chinese literature, which is being published in the Soviet Union, is warmly welcomed by Soviet readers.

Contacts between private citizens, cultural figures, artists and scientists, i.e. broad-scale people-to-people contacts, will impart more vitality to our relations and, what is no less important, will make them open and democratic.

Opportunities for mutually beneficial cooperation are also opening in such areas as the exchange of experience in implementing economic, social and political reforms.

In China, radical economic reforms were launched earlier than in the Soviet Union. We follow their implementation with great empathy. One has to respect the courage of the Party and the people who have embarked on a profound transformation of their social mechanism in order to modernize their vast country which has the difficult legacy of centuries of isolation and semi-colonial backwardness.

We are aware of your major accomplishments on this road as well as of the difficulties you face. As your friends, we sincerely wish you, comrades, steady progress towards your primary goal—turning the People's Republic of China into a developed, modern, socialist state.

Generally speaking, the status and potential of a country should not be judged only by its per capita production and consumption or its performance in comparison with world leaders. No less important is the direction it takes in its development or, figuratively speaking, the direction in which the road is being paved for further advance.

As for difficulties, they are only natural in a complex undertaking such as the creation of a new social system. We know this well from our own experience.

The economic, scientific and technological potential of our

country as well as its social achievements are common knowledge. However, the rate and quality of our development began to decline in the 1970s. And our analysis shows that the main cause of this lay not in some individual shortcomings or errors, although they too played a negative role.

The primary cause was the flaws inherent in the bureaucratic command system which took shape in our country during the late 1920s and early 1930s. It was only by dismantling that system and completely restoring Lenin's ideals and socialist principles to their true status that the country could be led out of stagnation and the imminent crisis averted. In this way the idea of revolutionary perestroika was conceived.

Speaking of this now, I am drawing on the knowledge and experience gained in the four years following the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. These realities, however, were not immediately recognized. The Party and the people have been approaching their "moment of truth" step by step, gradually going up the stairs, as it were.

We began by setting ourselves the goal of strengthening elementary discipline in labour, production and finance. But we quickly discovered that such measures alone could not accomplish much. Genuine progress can only be achieved if the alienation of workers from property is overcome, if workers become real masters at their factory or plant, at their collective or state farm, their institute or research laboratory.

Life itself has led us to the conclusion that we need a radical reform of our entire economic system, placing enterprises on the basis of full cost-accounting, self-financing and self-management, creating conditions for the development of cooperatives and widely using market incentives.

An optimum balance between the prerogatives of central and local authorities is of special importance in restructuring the system of economic management. We are seeking to radically enhance the economic autonomy of the Union republics and expand the economic powers of local Soviets along with increasing their responsibility in meeting the needs of the people. Of course, we do not intend to weaken the coordinating and regulating functions of central authorities. No modern state can develop successfully without these functions.

The problem of overcoming wage-levelling and consistently implementing the socialist principle of distribution according to one's work is also an urgent item on the agenda.

Highly productive and high-quality work, competence and skills should be duly rewarded. At the same time we think it necessary to strengthen the social protection of Soviet citizens and to guarantee every worker a subsistence wage.

Shortly after a series of laws were enacted to provide for a transition to the new conditions of economic management, it became clear that the economic reform would not work unless supported by a radical transformation of the political system.

The working people will truly feel that they are co-owners of the national wealth if they are able to influence the adoption of managerial decisions and participate in the election of leaders at various levels and if we are able to achieve an organic harmony between socialism and democracy. This is the main conclusion which was drawn at the 19th Party Conference last summer. And less than a year after that we held a truly democratic election—the first one in many decades.

As you may know, comrades, in a week's time the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR will convene in Moscow to form a new Supreme Soviet and Government and to determine the basic guidelines for the Soviet state's domestic and foreign policies in the coming years and, in effect, to breathe new life into the operation of our entire state mechanism.

Equally important tasks will have to be addressed during the next stage of our political reform in order to harmonize the relations between nationalities. The formula for the development of the Soviet federation, a strong centre and strong republics, has met with general support.

In comprehensively democratizing our political system, we act on the assumption that this also implies greater responsibility on the part of all members of society for its healthy development and socio-political stability. A normal process of change is inconceivable without this. For this reason we attach great importance to the strengthening of law and order and legality, and to the creation of all the other conditions for building a socialist state based on the rule of law.

It would be untrue to say that all these changes are proceeding smoothly and without complications.

Consider the dialectics of this process. The social mechanisms which are being created are designed to account for the interests of all segments of our society—the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, as well as those of the

Union and autonomous republics and the numerous ethnic groups in our country. But those mechanisms have not yet taken definitive shape and have not yet begun to operate at full strength. In the meantime, glasnost and pluralism of views have exposed problems, which accumulated and remained unsolved for decades. People's aspirations often run ahead of the reforms.

We are not overdramatizing the situation and we understand the legitimate desire of the working people to see the process of change yield tangible results sooner. We are doing our utmost to speed up the transformation of all aspects of state and social affairs. But we must realize the fact that social processes, just as natural ones, require a certain amount of time. Much as we might wish to do so, we cannot achieve in a year what takes three to four years of most vigorous efforts to accomplish.

It is well known that attempts to accelerate history prove costly. But we cannot let things drift out of control either in politics or in the economy. Once a mechanism is well tuned, it will operate on its own. Setting it in motion, however, will take a lot of effort.

In a word, we need a well-considered and balanced strategy for change. Under such circumstances the role of the Party is particularly important.

It was the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that initiated perestroika, and it has not been afraid to resolutely and uncompromisingly expose the past deformations of socialism. It has developed and proposed to our society a concept of radical reforms of the economic and political system, and today it is the one uniting force that is capable of bringing socialist renewal in our country to a successful conclusion.

In reshaping itself the Party is simultaneously reshaping its relations with the state along the lines of Leninist principles, increasingly showing itself to be the political vanguard of our society.

To conclude this account of our home affairs, let me emphasize that the whole concept of perestroika is based on loyalty to the socialist choice, for which our people opted in October 1917.

It is no secret that people in the West, who show tremendous interest in perestroika, the reforms in China and similar processes in other socialist countries, are now wondering to what extent those processes represent a development of socialism, and to what extent they constitute a retreat from it.

Some are not hiding their hopes that the introduction of cost-accounting, market incentives, glasnost and democracy will lead, if not to the restoration of capitalism, then to some mixed form of social order.

Such expectations are based on the mistaken assumption that economic incentives and democracy belong exclusively to capitalism. In reality these are merely methods for regulating social relations developed by mankind over the centuries. They may be used in various social systems, with due regard, of course, shown for their specific characteristics.

We are convinced that socialism can, and indeed will, ensure the harmonious combination of economic and political democracy, the social protection of man and his freedom. It is such a goal that we have in mind in all our efforts to renew our society.

Let me now touch on another fundamental issue related to perestroika.

We see this process as our own national undertaking, and we have no intention at all of imposing it on anyone else. It is precisely the attempt to impose or copy one model, that was, itself, far from flawless, that in the past caused many complications in the development of world socialism.

We have learned this lesson well, and we are building our relations with all other socialist countries on the basis of full respect for their independence and their sovereign right to choose the forms and methods of their social development.

Our Party is guided by the same principles in its relations with the communist and workers' parties. On this strictly equitable basis, we have agreed with our Chinese comrades to develop ties between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China.

In a number of socialist countries, processes similar in substance and sometimes even in form to perestroika are currently under way. This adds another argument in favour of a more active exchange of experience and the need to learn from each other, of putting to creative use that which is best in world socialist practice and at the same time avoiding the repetition of mistakes.

Soviet perestroika, the reforms in China and changes in many other socialist countries dispel mistaken perceptions of socialism as something uniform and immutable, demonstrating its capacity for progressive development and self-improvement.

The 20th century has vividly demonstrated how difficult it

is to fulfil man's dream of a better future. Building a new society has proved a more formidable task than was thought in the 19th century, when socialism was just beginning to evolve from a utopian concept into a science.

But today, we have invaluable practical experience to draw upon. Overcoming illusions, discarding dogmas and distortion, socialism today, at the end of this century, is undergoing a process of comprehensive renewal. Enriching socialism—an inherently progressive social system—with the best of what world civilization has to offer in the areas of economics, culture, science, technology, politics and law is indeed a noble and inspiring goal.

Comrades,

The renewal of socialism is taking place against the background of worldwide historic change. Mankind, which has always considered itself to be immortal, is for the first time confronted with the problem of survival.

The very right to life has taken on new meaning and has become a problem that calls for a global solution. The typhoon of nuclear war cannot be avoided by taking cover behind national borders. We cannot keep the air clean, ward off AIDS and secure protection from terrorism by taking action only within national boundaries.

What naturally follows from these self-evident propositions is one general conclusion, namely, that in the modern inter-dependent world isolated development in a self-restricted national environment is no longer possible. The survival of the human race and the progress of the civilization it has created can only be achieved through the joint constructive efforts of all countries and peoples.

One may wonder how this proposition can be combined with another currently powerful social trend, namely, the assertion by individual nations of national self-consciousness, of their unconditional right to choose their own road freely.

The world is integrating, becoming, figuratively speaking, "more tightly knit", and at the same time it is diversifying, expanding, so to speak. Herein lies one of the real contradictions of our time, which cannot be ignored. We would be running a grave risk if we tried to remove this contradiction through the use of force, by imposing upon peoples a certain social system, or by forcing on them the rules of conduct devised by some high council of great powers.

Our time's Gordian knots cannot be cut. They ought to be carefully untied.

In the contemporary multi-dimensional world, it is only through a balance of interests and equitable partnership that real contradictions can be resolved. Never before have politicians and diplomats been confronted with such daunting tasks. At stake are the interests of more than 150 states that find themselves at different phases of development in world history.

But as we see it there is no other way to proceed. It is only through a consensus established by truly independent countries that a really stable system of interdependence, so badly needed in the contemporary world, can be built.

I think that this is felt particularly acutely in the vast Asia-Pacific region—an area which is the “meeting place” of different social systems and epochs, where the traditions of the most ancient civilizations live side by side with technological breakthroughs into the 21st century.

In Asia there are numerous areas of military tension that could ignite in an instant. At the same time, it was in Asia that Zhou Enlai and Jawaharlal Nehru formulated the Pancha Shila principles. Combined, the traditional Indian concept of non-violence and the Ancient Chinese humanistic philosophy of “ren” proved consonant with the quests and concerns of the modern world.

It would, perhaps, be no exaggeration to say that for reasons of its geography and history the Asian continent, which is the home of most of the planet’s inhabitants and a place where heterogeneous forces are at work, was destined to become a gigantic “melting pot”. The ongoing developments in Asia to a large degree shape the destinies of the entire human race.

Is it possible to view these developments from the angle of different systems, ideologies and civilizations as being inherently incompatible and doomed to confrontation? I think such an approach would be self-destructive.

It is our conviction that there is a real opportunity and need to find a common denominator for the numerous interests and positions that exist in Asia. This requires above all that any bids for hegemonism or power politics be avoided and any interference in internal affairs ruled out.

It is obvious that no state is capable of assuming the role of “guarantor” of strategic, socio-economic or political security in Asia, the Pacific and the Indian Ocean. It is only through the efforts of all countries present here that genuine security and stability can be ensured.

In Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, we launched an appeal to explore together ways to restructure relations among states in Asia and the Pacific so as to prevent the region from becoming an area of dangerous military confrontation. That appeal was an invitation to reflect jointly on ways of settling regional conflicts, preventing nuclear arms proliferation, limiting naval activities, reducing armed forces and working out confidence-building measures.

Needless to say, success in accomplishing our common tasks is contingent, to a great extent, on the state of bilateral relations between countries. From this perspective, we attach great importance to developing friendly relations between the Soviet Union and all the countries in Asia and the Pacific.

And, of course, the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations has become a most important recent development. In recent years our relations with India have continued to strengthen. The Soviet-Indian declaration on a nuclear-free and non-violent world, signed by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and myself, met with a wide response in international political and public circles.

We have also expanded our ties with other regional states with whom we already had well-established good relations. We have re-invigorated dialogue with those states with whom we used to maintain only correct, diplomatic contacts. We have taken steps towards those with whom there was until recently a shortage of mutual understanding.

This refers, specifically, to Japan. We have profound respect for this country and would like to have full relations with it. I think real opportunities for this exist. Soviet-Japanese cooperation would be very effective for both countries and serve as an important positive factor for peace and development in Asia. Conditions for this have been accumulating recently, but both sides will have to work hard to put them into effect.

People know about the changes that have taken place in Soviet-US relations. There is no need to prove that this meets with the interests of the entire international community and that it is opening additional opportunities for solving urgent problems in the Asia-Pacific region. US President George Bush and I have agreed to act in the spirit of continuity and consolidate the constructive achievements that have been made so far. The recent talks in Moscow confirmed this mutual intention. We want the positive trends towards a turn

from confrontation to cooperation to forge ahead and to establish themselves and prevail everywhere.

Our desire to promote the elimination of the conflicts and centres of tension existing in Asia is prominent in our Asian policy.

Three months have already passed since the Soviet Union withdrew its troops from Afghanistan. Yet the situation in that country is becoming ever more threatening. The attempts of the Pakistani military to launch what is in effect open aggression against a neighbouring country can only be described as irrational.

We believe that the time has come for the world community to take a more vigorous stand concerning this conflict which threatens to "sing" neighbouring regions. Whatever one says of the present regime in Afghanistan, it is clearly up to the Afghan parties in the conflict to work things out for themselves. The future of Afghanistan must be decided solely by the Afghan people.

For a decade now the situation around Kampuchea has been one of the sore spots of the Asian continent; it is a welcome development that a light is now visible at the end of the tunnel.

It would, of course, be inappropriate to run ahead of events. A Kampuchean settlement will still require strenuous political and diplomatic efforts. But following the complete withdrawal next September of Vietnamese troops, a qualitatively new situation will emerge and practical conditions be created for this old conflict finally to be settled.

We have discussed these issues with Kampuchean and Vietnamese comrades and, yesterday, with the leaders of your country. Our impression is that a Kampuchean settlement is gradually taking on a realistic shape.

As to the main principle on which it can and must be based, this is the same and the only just principle of national self-determination. Only the Kampucheans and no one else can find the formula of agreement and of the future political structure of their country.

As for the Soviet Union, it is ready to take part in the appropriate international guarantees and to respect any choice of the people of Kampuchea and their country's course of independence, neutrality and non-alignment.

I wish once again to reaffirm our unwavering support for the efforts of the DPRK aimed at the peaceful and democratic reunification of Korea. This, obviously, requires the

defusing of tensions on the peninsula and the withdrawal of US troops: any arguments favouring the continued presence of those troops in the region have long ceased to be justified.

The region of Asia and the Pacific has not yet produced established negotiating structures or a mechanism for regular multilateral consultations. Therefore the question arises: is it not time for all interested states, acting with the assistance and support of the United Nations, to give an impetus to what could be called an all-Asian process?

This idea has not yet been met everywhere with a positive response. Some states believe that its time has not yet come, that it is necessary to lay down the groundwork and, in the first place, to extinguish the smoldering scenes of conflict. But, in our view, such a task of cardinal importance both for Asia and for the entire world can much more easily be accomplished precisely through collective efforts.

Surely, this is the conclusion to be drawn from the prospects of a Kampuchean settlement, which is becoming possible largely because practically all countries of Asia and the Pacific, and not they alone, have been doing what they can to promote that process.

That is only natural. After all, Asia is not isolated from other continents: its links with those continents are acquiring ever new dimensions, ranging from economic exchanges to mutual cultural enrichment.

For our part, due to the Soviet Union's geography, we are particularly responsive to contacts between Asia and Europe: the "bridges" that link the civilizations of both continents span, so to speak, both the land mass and the spiritual life of our country.

On the other side, in the east, the Pacific is no longer a barrier separating Asia from America; rather, it serves as a type of link. Consequently, the problem of security in Asia is an integral part of universal, global security.

Along with the problem of peace, the problem of development is felt more acutely in Asia and Africa than anywhere else. Vast zones on these continents are plagued by hunger, poverty, illiteracy and epidemic diseases. It is no secret to anyone that the tragic plight of hundreds of millions of people is rooted in colonialism and neo-colonialism, in the gulf that today separates the developed and the developing countries. Despite all the efforts so far, this gulf continues to widen largely as a result of the huge debt keeping debtor countries in its deadly grip.

It should be stressed that this gulf exists not only in national per capita income, that is to say in the ratio of wealth versus poverty. The enormous difference in the levels of technological development is no less disturbing. After all, this difference actually denies those lagging behind a chance to catch up with those striding ahead, thereby perpetuating, as it were, the division of prosperous and disinherited nations.

We believe it necessary to make the entire world and every individual realize that such a situation cannot continue indefinitely. The situation is, in fact, no less dangerous than the nuclear and ecological threat and is similarly fraught with potential explosion.

How should this most pressing problem be approached? We believe it is necessary first of all to reject extremes. It is unrealistic to hope for a redistribution of wealth, for the introduction of a kind of international egalitarianism. Equally groundless are the hopes of the rich to sit it out comfortably in the citadels or buy off the poor with handouts. If catastrophe comes, it will affect everyone.

The only equitable and reasonable solution should be sought through greater collective effort to promote development. Voluntarily internationalized effort to address glaring social problems is possible and necessary on the basis of respect for independence and the nations' right to self-determination.

We fully support the programme of ideas proposed in this context by the Non-Aligned Movement. Many political movements have recently launched useful initiatives along the same lines.

And, of course, we as Communists committed to the ideas of international solidarity of the peoples view our participation in this noble endeavour as a matter of conviction and duty.

In our view, an idea notable among other development-promoting initiatives is the establishment of a world advanced technologies bank which would be based on a simple principle. All countries, as well as companies, organizations and individuals would make their voluntary contributions to the bank. Again, all of them could use, free or for a small charge, this treasure trove of know-how and expertise for development.

This cannot be said to be an absolutely new idea. The world already has quite a number of foundations operating on the same principle. The point is, however, to impart to this endeavour a global character.

This idea appears to fit in well with the concept of a new international political order, which was a subject of our substantive discussion with the Chinese leaders.

Comrades,

Reflecting on the complicated problems of today's world, we come to the conclusion that our civilization has never before had such immense opportunities for progress and for a breakthrough to new heights. At the same time the danger that humanity could regress or even cease to exist as such has also never been so grave.

In this situation it is imperative that all states and governments, political parties and social movements demonstrate the utmost sense of responsibility in their decisions and actions. We simply must use the historic chance we have for the benefit of present and future generations.

I would like to express the hope and confidence that in this struggle for the future the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China will actively cooperate, and our two countries will make a worthy contribution to the resolution of the problems facing the world community.

We wish success and prosperity to the friendly Chinese people and happiness and well-being to every family.

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S INTERVIEW to China Central Television and to Radio Beijing

May 17, 1989

Correspondent: First of all, Mikhail Sergeyevich, I would like to thank you for finding time in the very busy programme of your visit for this interview. Your visit is a major event which is being followed by the whole world and, of course, by all Chinese people. May I ask you to say a few words to our TV viewers?

Mikhail Gorbachev: Thank you. I thank Chinese television for this opportunity to address the TV viewers of China. I would like to use it to convey, first of all, feelings of affection and warm greetings from all the peoples of the Soviet Union to the Chinese people. And, of course, I would like to convey on my own behalf feelings of friendship to all our Chinese friends.

I may not get a better opportunity, so I would like to say this now: I have recently received many letters from China, and here, at the Embassy, I have been handed many good, warm and friendly letters from your people inviting me to come to their cities and to visit their families. I have also received here, at the Embassy, a letter from Chinese students. I have read it and found it very warm, expressing support for perestroika and for the great struggle which our people are waging to renew socialism. This is what is drawing our peoples even closer together. In general, I want to thank everyone for the feelings expressed.

And now I would like to move on to another subject. I have felt over the past few days that not only have the seeds sown by Lenin and Sun Yatsen produced sprouts, but that this tree of friendship has also struck deep root. I want to tell the whole nation that our people entertain very deep feelings of respect for the Chinese people. But, you know, I am even more pleased that these feelings are shared by the Chinese

people. It seems to me that this has made us feel comfortable during our stay in Beijing, for all the strain, and enabled us to get a lot done. I hope wholeheartedly that these deep traditions and feelings of friendship, which unite our peoples and which time has failed to devalue or weaken, will grow stronger. I would also like to use this opportunity to let everybody know that what we are doing now in the Soviet Union under our programme of perestroika, implementing our profound revolutionary reforms which embrace the economy, politics and the intellectual sphere, and what is happening now in China within the framework of reforms which likewise envelop all spheres, draws us even closer together.

I have felt over the past few days that we have many things to tell each other. I think that the friendly atmosphere which we have maintained will enable us to benefit from each other's experience and thus avoid errors. Even more importantly, it may enable us to help each other. Maybe this should be a subject for special discussion—and we have talked about this in the course of the meetings and discussions with the Chinese leaders—but I am very optimistic about the future of our relations and cooperation between our peoples. I would like to wish the Chinese people fortitude, for I know how much it is needed. The Chinese are hard-working people, they are just as devoted to socialism as the Soviet people, and I believe that both perestroika and your reform will succeed, though it won't be easy. I think that in the long run the hopes of both the Soviet and the Chinese people will come true.

Correspondent: Mikhail Sergeevich, you are the first Soviet top leader to have visited China for the past thirty years. You have had a dialogue with the leaders of our country on the normalization of relations between the two countries and on international issues of interest to both sides. What is your view and evaluation of these meetings and talks?

Mikhail Gorbachev: First of all, it is certainly bad that this is the first meeting in thirty years. But I think that we have now put an end to that past, as we agreed yesterday. Comrade Deng Xiaoping used the following expression: "Let this all be scattered away by the wind." I agree with him. We must look ahead. As for my evaluation of the talks, let me be brief about this. The present visit and the negotiations between the leaders of our two countries within its framework are a milestone event. I am very pleased with the atmosphere in which the meetings have been held. It was open and friendly.

You know, I don't have the feeling that we haven't met for thirty years. I spoke about this yesterday. I am also much satisfied with my first discussion with comrade Yang Shangkun, who is my host in accordance with his state post. Even so, yesterday was a special day. Discussions were held with Comrade Deng Xiaoping and with Comrades Li Peng and Zhao Ziyang. I think that both you and we can say with great satisfaction that the results of these talks are tremendous. We are moving on to a new stage, we have agreed to let bygones be bygones, and there are great opportunities for cooperation opening up for us. We were principled and we were frank, which allowed us to exchange views on a large number of issues. On a philosophical plane, we considered the problems before the modern world and the challenges that the times have brought for all the politicians and all nations to deal with. Indeed, we agreed that nowadays no single nation can fail to consider the great changes under way in the world. The world is small and it is interrelated; we all depend on one another, and we are faced with great dangers. These are the nuclear threat and the ecological problems. All nations, both developed and developing, are faced with similar problems in terms of adjusting to the modern times. In a nutshell, we now depend heavily upon each other, which means that it is on this basis, taking account of the current specifics and realities, that we should build our relations. We have said that we are in need of a new way of thinking. The Chinese side has spoken in favour of a new political order. Much similarity has been revealed in our views of the world around us, something that has enabled us to discuss many issues very fruitfully.

We also concentrated on the current problems of the modern world socialist system. And we were optimistic on this score. Some people tend to believe that the current problems being dealt with by the socialist countries, each working according to its own specific features and conditions, are little short of a crisis, almost the death of socialism. No, of course, this is not so. Some may want to see socialism retreat from the historical scene. But I think that we can now speak of a situation where socialism, through change and reforms—and, I repeat, with due consideration for the national specific features and the specifics of the particular stage of development in every individual country—will start gaining second wind. I believe that the effort now being made by the socialist countries is exceptionally important for their peoples, and, given socialism's tremendous international weight, important

for the fate of the world as well. In this latter area we noted a great similarity of views during the negotiations. We can probably speak of unanimity of views on many issues, perhaps on most of them. This is so although each of us spoke from independent positions, on an equal basis, and each presented his own understanding of the issues. And I believe such an atmosphere even enriches meetings and talks.

Naturally, Sino-Soviet relations were the prime subject. We discussed them with Comrade Deng Xiaoping, and especially with Comrade Li Peng and with the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Zhao Ziyang. We stated that what is happening is good. But the opportunities available to our parties, our people, our science and technology are not being used to the full, moreover, they are used only to a very minor extent. And today, we are being guided in our negotiations by our mutual understanding and our agreement on the fact that real steps need to be taken to impart dynamism to our relations once again. This concerns political dialogue as well. Now that our relations are back to normal, opportunities are opening up for a broad exchange of views on all issues. And this, I believe, can do us good. Considering the international prestige of the Soviet Union and China, this is also of interest to the rest of the world.

I think that dialogue between the leaders of the Soviet Union and China is now necessary because the world is crammed with problems that people are concerned about, and we must search for ways of solving them. This is the first point.

We devoted much of our time to finding approaches to economic cooperation. Commerce is commerce. It has its own limits. Economic cooperation is a different thing. In order for it to be beneficial for both countries and nations, for it to be able to help solve problems sooner and improve the living standards in the Soviet Union and China, it needs to be discussed in detail. Commerce alone can't solve these problems. We agreed that we have vast opportunities and outlined a number of areas where economic cooperation may very soon acquire large proportions and be effectively carried out. These are power engineering, iron-and-steel industry and transport. We already have cooperation in farming and in the light and food industries, and it is already yielding good results, but they could be even better.

I think our two nations are especially looking forward to



The welcoming ceremony at the airport.





*During their talks
Mikhail Gorbachev and
Deng Xiaoping announced
the normalization of
relations between the Soviet
Union and China, and
between the CPSU and the
Communist Party of China.*



*A dinner given by Yang Shangkun in honour of
Mikhail and Raissa Gorbachev.*

*Mikhail Gorbachev and
Zhao Ziyang exchanged
opinions on future relations
between the CPSU and the
Communist Party of China.*





The talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Li Peng.



Mikhail and Raissa Gorbachev saw the sights of Beijing and visited the Great Wall of China.



In Beijing, Raissa Gorbachev visited the Sino-Soviet Friendship Society.






Mikhail Gorbachev talking to Jiang Zemin, first secretary of the Shanghai City Committee of the Communist Party of China and a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, in Shanghai.

A trip to Minghang, Shanghai's satellite town.



A black and white photograph showing two men in suits shaking hands. The man on the left is older, with thinning hair, wearing a dark suit and tie. The man on the right is younger, wearing glasses and a light-colored suit. A third person is partially visible behind them.

Hu Sheng, President of the Academy of Social Sciences of China, welcoming Mikhail Gorbachev at a meeting with Chinese public figures.

Becoming acquainted with the people of Shanghai.





*The farewell ceremony at the Diaoyutai residence
for distinguished visitors.*

more active cultural contacts. We used to have such contacts once, but they slackened after a while. Recently Soviet workers, farmers, intellectuals, scientists and artists have toured China. They were greeted with immense hospitality and great interest. And they really appreciated it. Today, too, there is a large group of cultural workers here with us. They have made public appearances, they have had meetings, and they have amassed a wealth of impressions. And they are fervent advocates not only of reviving good traditions but also of giving them new dimensions. There are more opportunities these days. We will welcome such cooperation in every field.

In the economy, we can start setting up joint ventures and make co-production arrangements. We can go as far as forming joint research organizations and doing research together.

Correspondent: So you've begun the dialogue, and it can be continued, is that correct?

Mikhail Gorbachev: Yes, this is what we have agreed upon. We've decided to create working mechanisms in the main areas of our agreements. So, as you can see, these are not merely plans, they will be put into action as well.

Correspondent: You visited the Great Wall of China today. What impression did this symbol of the ancient Chinese civilization make on you?

Mikhail Gorbachev: The first thing I had to say, and everyone who was present there, that is, not only the Chinese and Soviet representatives but also the press and tourists, also agreed with me, that there should be fewer walls left dividing peoples, and more cooperation. That's the first thing. Speaking more generally, when you stand on the Wall, when you find out how and when it was built, you begin to realize what a great history lies behind the great Chinese people. I hope that a great future also awaits this people. We hope that the plans advanced and campaigned for by the Chinese people under the guidance of their Party will be implemented. We cordially wish you all success.

Correspondent: I hope that the majority of Chinese reciprocate.

Mikhail Gorbachev: You know, I'm convinced, judging by the limited contacts I have had so far, that they do indeed.

Correspondent: What in your opinion needs to be done in the future to establish a new type of inter-state relations between China and the USSR? How do you see the future of Sino-Soviet relations?

Mikhail Gorbachev: This we have discussed, and reached a general agreement. These should be relations between states that are equal and respect each other, relations based on cooperation and non-interference, respect for each other's values and culture and the right to decide upon and bear responsibility for all internal affairs. To sum up, they should be based on generally-accepted principles of peaceful coexistence. These are principles, which, having been enriched by new experience, the experience of today, have demonstrated their vital strength. This is how we intend to act in the future. If differences are revealed on certain issues, then that is no great problem. There have also been some during the negotiations. However, we have tried to broaden our outlook on every question, and thus to gain a deeper understanding of it.

We have decided that our relations are not going to return to the way they were in the 1950s, but at the same time we are going to rid them of the confrontation tendencies of the 1960s and 1970s. We have emphasized the enormous possibilities we have here, and first of all have spoken in favour of the border between our two states becoming a border of friendship; in favour of pursuing demilitarization to the stage when our 7,500-kilometre border becomes a border of friendship and cooperation. Both on our side and yours the people are urging us to establish border contacts more quickly. Incidentally, some contacts have already been established; people are meeting each other, and this will also enrich our relations. It is my opinion that China and the Soviet Union will make a great contribution to the common cause of nations, as they both work independently on the basis of their responsibility not only for the benefit of their own state but also of world processes as well. And this will not be to the detriment of third countries, since neither we nor the Chinese leadership have demanded that ties and agreements with other countries be re-considered. Here, I believe, we have understood each other perfectly.

I would like once again to thank our Chinese friends for their hospitality. I am heartened by the limited contacts that I have had time for, especially with the young people during my visit to the Great Wall. I like the way your young people view perestroika and reforms, and are striving with all their hearts for rapid change. Perhaps they want more than can be done at once. The main thing, though, is that they are committed to the renewal of socialism, and to socialism itself. And to friendship between our countries.

PRESS CONFERENCE in Beijing

May 17, 1989

Addressing his audience, **Mikhail Gorbachev** said:

Our visit to the People's Republic of China is drawing to a close. During these days we have had intensive, businesslike negotiations with the Chinese leaders, saw places of interest in Beijing and had meetings, contacts and talks with working people.

We are satisfied with the negotiations, and I want to stress this from the beginning. It would be no exaggeration to call them a landmark in Sino-Soviet relations.

The meeting with Comrade Deng Xiaoping was the key event of this visit. We had all-round, philosophical-conceptual discussions on the pivotal aspects of our bilateral relations and the global situation. We also had substantive talks with Comrades Zhao Ziyang, Yang Shangkun and Li Peng. We all share the opinion that this Sino-Soviet summit opens a new stage in the relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

It promotes the fundamental interests of our two peoples, is in keeping with their aspirations and, we are certain, has great significance for improving the entire international situation.

We discussed in detail the prospects for Sino-Soviet relations and agreed that they will rest on universal principles of interstate relations, the principles of peaceful coexistence. We proceeded from the premise that normalized relations between our two countries were in keeping with the present tendencies in world development, were not directed against any third countries and did not encroach upon the interests of any other side. In other words, neither the Soviet Union nor China will have to reconsider their relations with other

countries after these negotiations. Moreover, steady and wholesome progress in Sino-Soviet relations will itself encourage beneficial trends in the international community. Both the Soviet and Chinese sides hold this viewpoint.

Our two countries pursue peaceful policies on the international scene, and do not aspire to hegemony in whatever form. Both see peace and progress as the pivotal issues of our time. The Soviet Union has the utmost respect and understanding for China's independent foreign policy. Chinese comrades have similar attitudes to the fundamental principles of Soviet foreign policy.

We reached understanding on many issues, and I say this with satisfaction. Evidently, we owe this mutual understanding to the similarity in our philosophical approaches to the world situation. I am referring to Comrade Deng Xiaoping's idea of a new world political order and the new political thinking in the Soviet Union. We want this dialogue to continue at many levels and in many forms. A mechanism is already taking shape for such a dialogue. Two great powers like the Soviet Union and China have, surely, many things to discuss, and no differences on specific issues can be allowed to hamper such discussions.

We shall, first of all, discuss such burning global issues as peace, development, curbing the arms race and the prevention of an environmental disaster. We have some points of contact on regional issues. For instance, in regard to the situation in the Korean Peninsula, the Soviet and Chinese leaders hold similar positions on the necessity to reduce tension there and take the edge off the North-South military confrontation. These goals would be promoted by the encouragement of an extensive inter-Korean dialogue and by normalized relations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, on the one hand, and the United States and Japan, on the other. Furthermore, foreign troops must be withdrawn from South Korea. There are no logical reasons for a continued foreign military presence there.

We also exchanged opinions on the prospects for a Kampuchean settlement. As I see it, the fairly intensive exchange, present in all our meetings with the Chinese leaders, also led to a better understanding of each other's positions on this issue. We agreed that our dialogue will continue.

I don't need to make a special point of the fact that good-neighbourliness and the demilitarization of Sino-Soviet fron-

tiers are essential for our relations. Both sides agreed to work towards a reduction of the armed forces in the frontier areas to the lowest possible level, and to establish a working mechanism for negotiations on that topic. We thoroughly discussed the frontier settlement effort and decided to give it a new impetus. For this, we envisage the opportunity of discussing the most important issues at the Foreign Minister level.

The need to utilize the vast opportunities created by Soviet-Chinese economic links was discussed during virtually every meeting. Comrade Li Peng and myself agreed that cooperation should develop on a long-term basis and become lasting and that its up-to-date forms should be used on a wider scale, notably, direct contacts between producers, co-production arrangements, joint ventures, research and development organizations, etc. The list of promising areas mentioned included the power industry, metallurgy, transport and the production of consumer goods. Comrades Maslyukov and Tian Jiyun, who are co-chairmen of the Soviet-Chinese Commission for Economic, Trade, Scientific and Technical Cooperation, today continued to exchange views. Yuri Maslyukov told me that he had discovered new possibilities in all areas of bilateral cooperation.

Both the Chinese leaders and we share the view that cooperation in the fields of scientific research, culture, public health and education is desirable. It is already acquiring new dimensions and new dynamics. However, at present it corresponds neither to the possibilities of the two great, unique cultures nor to the requirements of the Chinese and Soviet peoples. The same view is held by our prominent scientific and cultural workers, including those who have accompanied us on this visit and who have had numerous meetings with members of the Chinese scientific and creative intelligentsia. To the best of our knowledge, the Chinese intellectuals also show a lively interest in our culture and in the processes unfolding in our country.

The normalization of relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China should be considered to be a major result of the visit. This was observed during the meetings with Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Zhao Ziyang. Our parties are the ruling parties and the political vanguard in their respective countries, and links between them will, naturally, promote the development of Soviet-Chinese relations as a whole. Acting on the basis of full independence and equality, we can exchange experience in

the area of Party work and compare our approaches to the theory and practice of socialism. I should say that my first meeting with the General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee made me more optimistic, because from the very start we began an in-depth examination of these problems.

We exchanged with the Chinese leaders information about the current situation in our countries. The conversation proved to be informal and substantive. The Soviet Union is now at a turning point. You know that one week after we return from China the Congress of People's Deputies will be held in the Soviet Union and that it will elect a new Supreme Soviet. This will, in essence, bring to a close the first phase of the political reform. However, we must still do a great deal of painstaking work to harmonize inter-ethnic relations, carry through the reform of the judicial and legal system, promulgate many important laws and tackle other tasks of perestroika.

Chinese leaders in turn told us about the tasks currently tackled by the Party and the people. This enabled us to better understand the results of the economic reform in China. Both sides spoke frankly about the difficulties encountered on the path of socialist renewal in China and the Soviet Union. Our joint conclusion is as follows: all problems can be coped with in the course of deep-running reforms. The important thing is to seek the optimal forms and methods of economic management, of developing socialist democracy and bringing out the humanitarian possibilities of socialism.

Of course, our brief stay here was devoted mainly to talks, this being the main purpose of the current visit. And still we have had the opportunity to get acquainted with the ancient, unique culture of this great country and to feel the dynamic pulse of its public life. Even the short meetings and dialogues in Beijing, including the two conversations we had today with young Chinese, when we made a trip to one of the sections of the Great Wall of China, showed us that the attitude towards the Soviet people is warm. We appreciate this a great deal. Our conversations on all subjects were so open and friendly that it seemed to me that there had been no thirty years of alienation. This is gratifying.

Question: Have you met any students? What do you think of their demands?

Mikhail Gorbachev: I have seen students and even talked with some of them. I have received a letter from them. In my interview on Chinese television I thanked all the well-wishing

Chinese who had sent many letters to me and the delegation both before the visit and in the past few days, and I heartily thanked the students for their very warm and interesting letter. They warmly welcome the visit which brings the relations between our two great peoples and states to a new stage. They welcome what the Soviet people are doing in the areas of perestroika, democratization and glasnost, their efforts to cope with revolutionary tasks of revamping socialist society. I appreciate this support.

Question: Your meeting with Zhao Ziyang signalled the re-establishment of relations between the Parties. What will be the main areas of cooperation between the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and China?

Mikhail Gorbachev: We are interested in the development of cooperation between our Parties. This is made imperative by the fact that both the Chinese people and the Soviet people are dealing with revolutionary tasks in the process of reform. They face difficult, and largely similar, problems. Of course, we want our perestroika and China's reforms to reach their objectives at the lowest possible costs, and the sharing of experience should be instrumental in this. In this respect, the common assessment of what has been reached and the scientific forecasting of the new quality of socialism, for which we are striving, moves to the foreground. In this sense, our social scientists have a great deal to do, and we agreed that this must be a top priority.

Finally, we agreed that it is necessary for Party ties to include not only the upper level, but also the regions and the Party organisations at enterprises where the process of reform is under way. In my opinion, the use, in Party exchanges, of the experience amassed by Party organizations and workforces will allow both Parties to enrich their experience and to see more clearly the positive and negative aspects of their work.

Question: Can this be described as relations of a new type between the CPSU and the Communist Party of China, in comparison with other Communist Parties?

Mikhail Gorbachev: The results of yesterday's meeting with the General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee allow me to say that there is the possibility of broad cooperation, covering all the issues which we are discussing today, with other Communist Parties as well. I think the common factor will also include what is now firmly established in the relations between Communist Parties. This will be cooper-

ation on the principles of equality and respect for the views of each, and non-interference in internal affairs. These will be the principles which have evolved through bitter experience and which we know so well.

Question: You express the aspirations of the Soviet people, who have long wanted Sino-Soviet relations to be normalized. What would you like to say in regard to this to the Soviet people?

Mikhail Gorbachev: I would like to say that I have seen and felt the same in China. Sino-Soviet friendship has struck deep root in China. And as we know its roots are also deep in Soviet society, this can only please us. And another thing. In my television address to the Chinese people today, I said I was indeed very happy to see the authentic, lively and sincere interest of Chinese young people in what is taking place in the Soviet Union. They even said, and I take it as referring to me, that relations should have been normalized and upgraded earlier. So I want to say to the Soviet people that we have many—millions of good friends in China.

Question: When you met with the Chinese leaders, you mentioned that China and the Soviet Union have a great deal to learn from each other. When you now look at Beijing and see hundreds of thousands carrying slogans, some of which are directed against Deng Xiaoping, what lesson for the Soviet Union can you draw from this?

Mikhail Gorbachev: In this case, I would urge respectful attitudes to the Chinese people. I would not assume the role of a judge and assess everything that is now taking place in China. This is a task for the Chinese themselves and their Party. I know that a difficult political dialogue is under way between the leadership, young people and the public. And it seems to me that we should welcome the fact that it is exactly a dialogue. My only desire is that solutions will be found which will enable China and its people to make further, successful progress along the road they have embarked on—tapping the full potential of socialism in the interests of the Chinese people.

Question: You discussed the Kampuchean issue with Deng Xiaoping. Could you tell us what were the main differences of opinion on this problem?

Mikhail Gorbachev: I do not think that a political settlement of this issue should have taken place during these talks. It was discussed seriously, responsibly, comprehensively and with due consideration of all realities. I believe that we have

much in common in the assessment of the situation and even its prospects. We understand, above all, that there can be only a political solution of this issue. Any other approach is dangerous—it can lead the developments in a dangerous direction. Furthermore, a qualitatively new situation has emerged due to the fact that Vietnam has declared that it will withdraw all its troops before the end of September 1989. We agreed that the political process at this new stage and under these new conditions will, if all the sides participate in this process, continue auspiciously in the interests of Kampuchea, all countries of the region and the world community. As you see, there is great similarity in our positions.

Both we and the Chinese Communists hold the view that international control can play an important role. The main task at present is to make use of the opportunities opened by the new situation. Apparently, the most correct answer is that the question should be finally resolved by the participants in the process in Kampuchea. In my view, the Soviet Union and China will do everything within their power, but they cannot resolve the issue without the Kampuchians. I believe that this is also clear.

Question: As Deng Xiaoping said yesterday, your Vladivostok speech gave an impetus to the movement of our countries to meet each other halfway. What role, in your view, can the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations play for the prospects of the Asian process of which you spoke today during the meeting with the representatives of the Chinese public?

Mikhail Gorbachev: Thank you for this good question. Do you know why it is good? In this region the destinies of our civilization will, to a considerable extent, be decided. The direction of the world's development will largely depend on the direction of the processes here. Any step by any state or group of states in a direction which will help improve the situation, ease tensions and contain the arms race should be welcomed in this regard.

The general Asian, Pacific process is only beginning to emerge. And if the normalization of relations between two big and peaceful states, which pursue a responsible international policy, is taking place at this important time, they are making a major contribution to the improvement of the processes in the area.

Question: Is the de-ideologization of relations between the

Soviet Union and China only a prospect or already a reality, to a certain extent?

Mikhail Gorbachev: In my opinion, it is both a reality and a prospect. By and large, Soviet-Chinese relations are a broad concept which also embrace the spheres of inter-Party relations where the questions of theory, ideology will certainly be discussed. This interests us and the Chinese comrades very much because we are talking not about an idle curiosity but about our destiny. At the same time, in the sphere of international relations we will strictly adhere to our understandings and the principles of peaceful coexistence, recognizing and respecting everyone's choice, the forms of the organization of society's life.

Question: The Soviet Union and China are members of the UN Security Council. Did you speak about this with the Chinese leaders and do you envisage any forms of permanent cooperation?

Mikhail Gorbachev: I would say that we discussed this problem at a different level and from the following standpoint: the present reality requires a greater cooperation between states and due consideration for the balance of interests. We are now witnessing the internationalization of processes, and in this context the role of the United Nations will increase. The Soviet Union and China understand this, and hence, in my view, will act accordingly.

Question: What effect will the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations have on the development of the world situation?

Mikhail Gorbachev: It can only have a positive effect.

Question: Did you come to an agreement on the complete withdrawal of both sides' troops from the border, for what is the point of keeping troops on the border if relations are normal?

Mikhail Gorbachev: This problem was discussed at the talks. The Soviet Union spoke in favour of a radical change in the situation on our borders, including their complete demilitarization. To make this process businesslike, we decided that it was necessary to create an appropriate working mechanism.

Question: This morning you spoke about cooperation between Soviet and Chinese scientists. Is it possible to envisage a flight of Chinese cosmonauts aboard the *Mir* station?

Mikhail Gorbachev: We did not discuss this question specifically, but I do not see any obstacles in this respect. If I were

asked I would welcome such a flight. But no such request has been made so far.

Question: Have you discussed the question of a united China with the Chinese leaders? Does the Soviet Union intend to increase trade with Asian states, and what is your attitude to trade between the Soviet Union and Taiwan?

Mikhail Gorbachev: We have touched upon this issue. The Soviet side has reaffirmed its principled position. We regard Taiwan as an inseparable part of China.

As for trade with the Asian region, not only are we in favour of this in principle, but we are also doing a lot towards developing positive processes in that direction. We've recently been looking very optimistically at the prospects of trade and economic exchanges with Asian countries. This will not mean any explosion or disruption of the economic links existing there. I think that it will be an organic and natural process. We can see that our goods are needed there; and we'll find a use for the products of those states, too.

Question: I wasn't fully satisfied with your answer to one of the questions, so I would like to raise it once again. In Beijing today, about two million people are taking part in demonstrations. You yourself have spoken of socialist renewal as something that proceeds not without pain. Do you think we will see such painful events here or in the Soviet Union?

Mikhail Gorbachev: I will answer the second part of the question, since I have already answered the first half—and I will give an exhaustive answer, though this does not mean that it will be to everybody's liking. For one thing, this is a confirmation of the fact that the processes taking place in the socialist countries are of a profound nature. These are not cosmetic repairs but changes affecting all spheres of public life. Some have perceived this as a crisis of socialism, but I am convinced that we are witnessing a serious turn in the development of world socialism. These processes are unfolding with varying degrees of intensity, in keeping with the specific features of each particular country, accompanied by transformations of a varying depth, which depends on the specific situation. All of them, however, are aimed at releasing the potential inherent in this system. Socialism is a system of the working people. That is why the chief protagonist in these changes is Man. The economy is turning towards Man, and the political process is developing in the direction of further democratization and the involvement of the people in

decision-making. These are very promising changes. It must be added, that there are very deep processes under way in the sphere of intellectual development, which, in the long run, is the most important thing, for we evidently come to this world not to consume, but consume in order to live and realize the potential of our personality.

Since these are profound processes, they can't go smoothly or easily and often assume a painful character, though in the long run they will lead us to a new stage of development and will give socialism a fresh burst of energy. In any case, we have embarked on the road of deep revolutionary changes and will proceed along this road confidently and resolutely. If anyone thinks that this road is leading us to the ash-heap of history, I believe that he will be strongly disappointed once again.

Question: How would you react if such events happened in Moscow, or do you think that that will never happen?

Mikhail Gorbachev: I think that we have at last abandoned uniform models and uniform approaches to all developments of life, and this is a great accomplishment. Nevertheless, you want me to give some sort of advice now to the Chinese people as to how they should act in a particular situation, and are thereby pushing us once again to some common model. This is applicable to mass production—of shoes, for example. Pre-set models are all right there, but in the case of political processes concrete analysis of the situation is required, along with politically responsible and well-considered assessments and decisions. So, should these or similar problems emerge in the Soviet Union, we will consider them as they arise and will seek political methods of resolving them in order to settle the problems emerging within the framework of the political process on the basis of democracy and glasnost, preserving the main values which we have sworn allegiance to.

Question: In China the economic reform is running ahead of the political one, whereas in the Soviet Union it is the other way round. What conclusions have you drawn regarding the pace and the order of implementing the reform, as a result of your visit to China?

Mikhail Gorbachev: I don't think that you are right in assuming that in the Soviet Union the political reform is running ahead of the economic one. To be exact, chronologically, the first problems that we had to tackle in our country were economic ones. What's more, we first of all decided to

approach this task by considering the numerous pressing problems, but when we paid closer attention to them, we realized that the roots of those problems were much deeper. We became convinced that it was impossible to carry out a successful economic reform without dismantling the administrative-and-command system, and this task cannot be accomplished without a political reform and the involvement of the people in this process. This can be achieved only through the expansion of democracy and democratization and by adding dynamism to the political institutions, public organizations and popular movements. This is how we have logically proceeded to the present day.

Of course, the political process is going faster, though I wouldn't say that everything there is running well and smoothly. Our weaknesses and losses are felt more strongly where we lag behind in comprehending the unfolding processes and in finding valid solutions along the road of perestroika.

Question: The presence of troops on the Soviet-Chinese border is a major issue in relations between the two countries. The Soviet Union has already announced that it will withdraw 75 per cent of its troops from Mongolia. Will it ever pull out the remaining troops? If so, when will it happen?

Mikhail Gorbachev: It has been stated during the talks with the Chinese leaders that we shall discuss this question with our Mongolian friends with a view to finding a solution to it.

Question: Is the Soviet Union ready, in order to facilitate the signing of a peace treaty with Japan, to return to it one or two of the Kurile islands?

Mikhail Gorbachev: There is a dialogue under way with the Japanese side. We have developed a Soviet-Japanese mechanism to deal with problems connected with the peace treaty; it is functioning, and interesting ideas are emerging on this score. In the final analysis, we shall succeed in improving and adding dynamism to Soviet-Japanese relations.

Question: You have made a historic visit which has taken place at the peak of demonstrations. Have these affected the visit? How will the programme for your stay be carried out?

Mikhail Gorbachev: Throughout my stay in China and during all the talks and contacts with political leaders, scientists, artists, workers and young people, I have never heard anyone expressing negative thoughts concerning this visit and its importance for Sino-Soviet relations and the

destiny of peace. Therefore, I think we have a complete consensus of opinion here between the Soviet and Chinese peoples. Our programme will be carried out in the context of real situations.

Question: Like the Soviet Union, China is a nuclear power. Have the questions of nuclear disarmament and the possibility of China joining in this process at some stage been discussed during the talks?

Mikhail Gorbachev: This problem was discussed during major talks with Comrade Deng Xiaoping. Here, we also have a common approach: nuclear disarmament and the continuation of the Soviet-US talks on a 50-per-cent reduction in nuclear potentials are desirable so as to enable the process of disarmament to gain appropriate momentum. In this sense, our positions were identical. As far as the specific aspects and all the details of the matter are concerned, they have not been discussed.

Question: The whole world has waited 30 years for the Soviet leader's trip to China to materialize. What length of time should pass before the next meeting takes place?

Mikhail Gorbachev: I am convinced that it should be shorter. Now that Sino-Soviet relations have been normalized, the dialogue will be invigorated. And in this we agree with the Chinese leadership on all points. This means that summit meetings will be held whenever necessary. At least, in normal conditions.

Question: You have been the Soviet leader for more than four years now. Looking back, what, in your view, has been done wrongly, what mistakes have you made and what is the major problem you are now facing?

Mikhail Gorbachev: I shall give answers to many of these questions back at home. Nevertheless, I shall try to answer them here as well, albeit briefly.

I am convinced that we are on the right road, and this is not only my firm belief. Our people demonstrated this conviction at the recent elections. These were in fact a nation-wide referendum on questions of perestroika. One has to consider that the elections took place in a situation that was far from simple from the point of view of the country's domestic development. What do I mean? The reform has had an impact on all sections of society, on its every structure. It effects the vital interests of all sections of the population. If one adds to this the lack of a balanced market, the food problem, the difficulties in resolving the housing problem and many other

things, then I must say that the elections have given us a real cross-section of public sentiments. They have enabled us to draw a major conclusion concerning our people's attitude to perestroika. They link with it their own destiny, the future of the country, every family and every work collective. But they want perestroika to proceed more effectively, to bring in better results and improve the people's quality of life. One cannot help agreeing with the opinion people expressed in the elections. We should all continue to promote perestroika and do our jobs better.

Question: What is the purpose of the all-round democratization of economic affairs in the USSR? Does glasnost concern openness in the activity of Party and state cadres? What is the role of law-making in the political reform in the Soviet Union?

Mikhail Gorbachev: This is a question for three whole papers. I would answer the first one as follows: perestroika won't work without the democratization of the economic sphere. We want to make the work collective the main motive force in the economic sphere, too, through cost-accounting, economic independence and self-management. Respectively, we are modifying our approaches in economic planning and management. The main direction here is decentralization.

To democratize the economy we have decided to heed the public opinion, and first of all that of the Union republics, and agree to the introduction of cost-accounting on republican and regional levels. Moreover, we have given the work collectives vast democratic rights in solving personnel questions. We consider this a very important element of the reform, though opinions differ as to whether or not managers should be elected. If we want to make workers accountable for the results of their work and if we want to make the wages and the quality of life of the work collectives dependent on the results of their labour, through the introduction of cost-accounting and the extension of their rights, we must enable them to decide in a democratic way whom they want to have as their managers in such conditions.

Now for the second part of the question concerning glasnost. If we want to reveal and harmonize diverse interests within a one-party system, we need democracy and openness as constant factors. Moreover, we need them like air. This is both a means of finding out real interests and working out correct solutions.

As for the limits to democracy and glasnost, they are

dictated by the interests of the struggle for socialism and the utilization of all its potentials so that everything that takes place in society serves its members and elevates the dignity of man. We must welcome everything that promotes this aim and reject everything that runs counter to our choice and harms society. Nothing will move us on this point. A socialist system has great possibilities, and the opportunities for democracy and glasnost it offers are equally great. But democracy and glasnost go side by side with responsibility, political culture and discipline.

Finally, the last question is about law-making, about the laws. We have resolutely embarked upon the path of building a socialist rule-of-law state. All institutions, political and economic, every person and every collective must abide by the law. This requires a lot of effort in the context of law-making. And the forthcoming Congress of People's Deputies can and must do a great deal in this respect.

Question: What is the role of the mass media in the process of democratization? How should the Party ensure its leading role in the field of literature and the mass media?

Mikhail Gorbachev: Democratization and glasnost in our country began precisely with a reassessment of the role of the mass media in society. These are the most potent weapons of glasnost and democracy and we highly value their contribution to the perestroika drive. We appreciate the openness and critical attitude of our press and we also appreciate the sense of responsibility characteristic of most publications and statements. However, they still cannot do without occasional surprises and "sensations". Our press must be accountable to the people. A law on the press is to be discussed by the new highest bodies of state authority. Our press is gaining in cultural experience and competence. It is also a living organism which has its merits but which is not immune to unhealthy symptoms. Like political leaders and economic managers, the media people also realize that they cannot only boast of achievements but that they also have problems and shortcomings.

Question: Have the negotiations and many meetings you have had in China, including your meetings with ordinary people, changed anything in your vision of that country? Has there been anything new, maybe surprising?

Mikhail Gorbachev: I feel you are asking this question because your own encounter with China has also somewhat changed your vision of the country. It is the same with me.

The meetings I have had here have greatly added to my knowledge of present-day China and its plans for the future. I am particularly pleased with the fact that the traditions of Sino-Soviet friendship have survived not only among older people but have also struck root among young people. This was a very pleasant discovery for me.

I would like to thank the journalists covering the meeting. I think that our delegation, all of us, will have enough time to ponder over what has happened here, in Beijing. I assure you that this is something that deserves serious analysis. Moreover, those are events that one must think over calmly and unhurriedly, after some period of time, for it is better to look at big things from a distance.

SPEECH BY MIKHAIL GORBACHEV **at the Lunch in Shanghai**

May 18, 1989

On behalf of all who accompany me on this important visit to China, I express my heartfelt satisfaction with the chance to see Shanghai, the largest city of the People's Republic of China, which is well known far outside the country and which holds an honourable place among the other leading world centres of industry and culture.

We looked forward to seeing Shanghai. Our information about it comes not only from geographical reference books. Shanghai is connected to many episodes of the Chinese working people's rich revolutionary past, the difficult fights waged by China's proletariat, and the founding of the Communist Party of China.

My friends, I thank you for the reception you are giving us, for the open and friendly atmosphere of our meetings and talks. We see it all as manifestation of the old friendship and deep respect which have for long connected our two nations.

Stability and good-neighbourly relations between our countries do not only respond to the hopes and aspirations of our two great nations, but also promote Asian security and help improve the entire international situation. So we have every reason to claim that the events of these few days of the Soviet delegation's visit to the People's Republic of China were of tremendous importance and will have a positive impact on our two countries and nations, and on the world as a whole.

Dear comrades, when four years ago the Soviet Union embarked on the course of perestroika in all spheres of the life of Soviet society, and of renewing socialism, we re-evaluated many things which were formerly considered absolute truths.

Now practical matters have come into the foreground. The policy of perestroika is tested by practice.

Our short visit to China showed to us the enormous change it has undergone in the forty years since the establishment of the People's Republic of China. I want to wish the Chinese people new success in its reforms aimed at raising their living standards.

Our two countries have enough achievements to show to each other and experience to exchange. We hope for a new dynamism in our relations and want our contacts to extend to the fields of inter-Party and inter-state relations, to culture and science. We would especially welcome contacts between cities, enterprises, work collectives and families.

Shanghai and Leningrad are a hopeful example in this respect. We hope that it will be followed by other Soviet and Chinese cities.

These days have shown that it is not only the older Chinese generations which have retained feelings of friendship towards the Soviet Union. The young people of China also heartily greet the normalization of our relations. We hope that contacts between youth organizations and individual young men and women of the Soviet Union and China will also grow, thereby promoting the friendship between the two nations.

To the wellbeing of the people of Shanghai! To lasting friendship, cooperation and good-neighbourly relations between the Soviet and Chinese peoples!

Sino-Soviet Joint Communiqué

1. At the invitation of Yang Shangkun, President of the People's Republic of China, Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, paid an official visit to the People's Republic of China on May 15-18, 1989.

On May 16 a meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping took place in Beijing. The two leaders exchanged opinions on Sino-Soviet relations and discussed international problems of concern to both nations.

Mikhail Gorbachev had meetings and talks with Yang Shangkun, Zhao Ziyang, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Li Peng, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

2. The leaders of the USSR and the People's Republic of China believe that the exchange of opinions on Sino-Soviet relations was productive. Both sides expressed the opinion that the Sino-Soviet summit meeting testifies to the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China, meeting the fundamental interests and aspirations of the peoples of the two countries and helping maintain peace and stability throughout the world. The normalization of Sino-Soviet relations is not directed against third countries nor does it infringe upon the interests of third countries.

3. Both sides declare that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People's Republic of China will develop their relationships on the basis of the universal principles of inter-state contacts: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in the

internal affairs of each other, equality and mutual advantage, and peaceful coexistence.

4. Both Soviet and Chinese sides are prepared to solve all controversial issues between the two countries by way of peaceful negotiations and will not resort to force or threat of force against each other in any form, including using for the purpose the territory, territorial waters and air space of third countries having common borders with the other side.

The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China take the view that strict compliance with these provisions will make for stronger mutual trust and friendly and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries.

5. The leaders of the USSR and the People's Republic of China reiterated the statement made by the foreign ministers of the two countries (on February 6, 1989) concerning the Kampuchean problem and conducted, with regard for the subsequent course of events, an all-round and in-depth exchange of opinions on a settlement to the Kampuchean problem.

The sides take note of the decision concerning the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea by the end of September 1989 under effective international supervision.

The Soviet and Chinese sides express interest, and consider it essential, that after the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops a civil war should not break out in Kampuchea. They proceed from the premise that Kampuchea will be an independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned country. With this aim in view, the sides favour national reconciliation in Kampuchea with the participation of the four Kampuchean sides.

The Soviet side holds that Kampuchea's internal problems, including the preparation for and holding of general elections under international supervision, should be solved by the Kampucheans themselves. It welcomes the intensification of the inter-Khmer dialogue and expresses readiness to support any agreements on various aspects of settlement, elaborated by the Kampuchean sides.

The Chinese side favours the formation in Kampuchea, in the transitional period following the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and prior to the completion of the general elections, of a provisional four-party coalition government led by Prince Sihanouk.

The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China will

respect the results of the general elections conducted by the Kampuchean people under international supervision.

They hold that, as Vietnamese troops are being withdrawn from Kampuchea, all states concerned should gradually cut, and eventually halt, military aid to any of the Kampuchean sides.

The USSR and the People's Republic of China advocate the convocation, at the earliest possible date, of an international conference on the Kampuchean problem.

The Soviet and Chinese sides confirm that they will continue to make every effort to facilitate a fair and rational settlement of the Kampuchean problem by political means. They agreed to continue the discussion of the questions of the Kampuchean settlement, including those areas where differences between them still exist.

6. Both sides agreed to take measures to reduce armed forces in the area of the Sino-Soviet border to a minimum level in line with normal and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries, and also to apply efforts to build up trust and preserve tranquility in the border areas.

The Chinese side welcomes the announcement by the Soviet side of the withdrawal of 75 per cent of its troops stationed in the Mongolian People's Republic, and expresses the hope that the remaining Soviet troops will be fully withdrawn from Mongolia within a relatively short period of time.

7. Both sides favour solving the remaining border issues between the Soviet Union and China fairly and rationally, on the basis of the treaties on the present Sino-Soviet border, in accordance with the universally accepted standards of international law, and in the spirit of equitable consultations, mutual understanding and mutual concessions.

In keeping with the aforementioned principles, the leaders of the USSR and the People's Republic of China agreed to intensify their consideration of those parts of the Sino-Soviet border on which agreement has as yet not been reached, so as to work out mutually acceptable solutions regarding the eastern and western parts of the border simultaneously. They entrusted the two countries' foreign ministers with holding, if need be, a special discussion on border issues.

8. The Soviet Union and China will develop active relations in economic, trade, scientific, technological, cultural and other fields in a planned manner on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual benefit, and help improve

mutual understanding and further contacts between the people of the two countries.

9. The sides consider it useful for the two countries to exchange information and experience in the field of building socialism, restructuring and reform, as well as opinions on issues of mutual interest that concern bilateral relations and the international situation. Disagreements on these or other matters should not prevent the development of relations between the two states.

10. The Soviet and Chinese sides have agreed that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China will pursue contacts and exchanges in keeping with the principles of independence, full equality, mutual respect and non-interference in domestic affairs.

11. The Chinese side reaffirms: Taiwan is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. It is strongly opposed to any attempts to create "two Chinas", "one China and one Taiwan" or "independent Taiwan".

The Soviet side supports this position held by the Government of the People's Republic of China.

12. The Soviet side declares that in its foreign policy it proceeds from a vision of peace as the supreme value, consistently seeks genuine disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, believes that the security of no state can be ensured at the expense of others, favours the priority of universally shared values and the peaceful competition of different socio-economic systems in conditions of the freedom of choice and balanced interests.

The Chinese side reaffirms that the People's Republic of China follows an independent foreign policy of peace and firmly abides by the principled position of not forming alliances with any country.

13. Both sides declare that neither the Soviet Union nor China lay claims to hegemony in any form in the Asia-Pacific region or in any other part of the world. International relations should be free from actions and attempts by any state to impose their will on others and to seek hegemony in any form anywhere.

14. Both sides believe that peace and development have become the two most important issues of the times. They welcome a relaxation in the international situation which has remained tense for a long time, and take a positive view of steps by different nations to reduce arms and scale down military confrontation, as well as of progress achieved in

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settling regional conflicts. Both the Soviet Union and China have expressed readiness to continue applying efforts in these fields.

The Soviet and Chinese sides call for increasing the authority of the United Nations Organization and for it to play a more active role in world affairs, disarmament, the resolution of global issues and the settlement of regional conflicts. All states—big and small, strong and weak—have the right to take part in international life on an equal basis.

15. Both sides show concern over the economic situation in the world, primarily over the worsened economic situation in developing countries, the growing gap between North and South and the acute foreign debt problem. They stress the urgency of establishing a new international economic order based on a consideration of the interests of peoples of various countries, equality and mutual benefit.

16. The sides believe that the solution of global economic, social, demographic and ecological problems is crucial for preserving and developing world civilization, for the quality of life. They state the need for the world community, the United Nations and other international forums to pay more attention to these problems, to seek ways of cooperation to alleviate and solve them.

17. The USSR and China believe it necessary to work for a radical improvement in the world situation. For these purposes the Soviet side favours establishing new political thinking in international relations, the Chinese side—establishing a new international political order on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. The above-mentioned positions and concepts of each side reflect its perception of the nature of current international relations.

18. Both sides attach great importance to contacts and dialogue between the leaders of the two countries and intend to continue them in future.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership Mikhail Gorbachev extended invitations to Comrades Deng Xiaoping, Yang Shangkun, Zhao Ziyang and Li Peng to pay official visits to the USSR.

The Chinese side expressed gratitude for the invitations.

Beijing, May 18, 1989



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