



European Communities

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

SESSION DOCUMENTS

English Edition

1988-89

18 July 1988

SERIES A

DOCUMENT A 2-0155/88

REPORT

drawn up on behalf of the Political Affairs Committee
on political relations between the European Community and
the Soviet Union

Rapporteur : Mr K. HÄNSCH

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Resolution adopted at the Sitting of 15 September 1988 annexed.

EN(88)1756E

PE 119.475/fin.
Or. En.

- A Series: Reports - B series: Motions for Resolutions, Oral Questions, Written Declarations, etc. - C Series: Documents received from other Institutions (e.g. Consultations)*
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|-----|---|------|--|
| * | = Consultation procedure requiring a single reading | **II | = Cooperation procedure (second reading) which requires the votes of the majority of the Members of Parliament |
| **I | = Cooperation procedure (first reading) | *** | = Parliamentary assent which requires the votes of the majority of the current Members of Parliament |

By letter of 8 May 1985, the Political Affairs Committee requested permission to submit a report on the political relations between the European Community and the Soviet Union.

By letter of 26 June 1985, the committee was authorised to submit a report on this issue.

At the sittings indicated below, the European Parliament referred to the Political Affairs Committee as the committee responsible, pursuant to Rule 63 of the Rules of Procedure, the following motions for resolutions:

- on 10 July 1985, the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr MATTINA on relations between the European Community and the Soviet Union (Doc. B 2-558/85) (also asked for an opinion: the Committee on External Economic Relations),
- on 11 November 1985, the motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs BOOT and others, on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Group), on the situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union (Doc. B 2-1041/85),
- on 13 January 1986, the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr PORDEA and others, on Romanian territories annexed by the Soviet Union (Doc. B 2-1198/85).

On 19 November 1985, the committee appointed Mr B. FRIEDRICH rapporteur.

On the latter's death, the committee appointed Mr HANSCH rapporteur on 4 November 1987.

The committee considered the draft report at its meetings of 26 November 1987, 26 January, 25 February, 24 March, 25 and 26 April and 25 May 1988. On 12 July 1988, it adopted the motion for a resolution as a whole unopposed with 8 abstentions.

The following took part in the vote: Mr Ercini, Chairman; Mr Planas and Sir Peter Vanneck, Vice-Chairmen; Mr Hansch, rapporteur; Mr van Aerssen (deputizing for Mr Penders), Mr Baillot (deputizing for Mr Piquet), Lord Bethell, Mr Beyer de Ryke (deputizing for Mr Gawronski), Mr Boesmans (deputizing for Mrs van den Heuvel), Mr De Gucht, Mr Delorozoy (deputizing for Mr Santana Lopez), Mr Ephremidis, Mr Estgen, Mr Falconer (deputizing for Mrs Charzat), Mr Ford, Mr Graziani (deputizing for Mr Galluzzi), Mr Habsburg, Mr Hindley (deputizing for Mr Zagari), Mr van der Lek, Mr McMahon (deputizing for Mr Glinne), Mr Maceratini, Mr D. Martin (deputizing for Mr Lomas), Mr Medeiros Ferreira (deputizing for Mr Amadei), Mr Mertens (deputizing for Mr Klepsch), Mr Miranda da Silva (deputizing for Mrs Trupia), Mr Nord (deputizing for Mr Bettiza), Mr Perez Royo, Mr Perinat Elio, Mr Pflimlin, Mr Pirkl (deputizing for Mr Blumenfeld), Mr Plaskovitis, Mr Pons Grau (deputizing for Mr Moran Lopez), Mr Prag (deputizing for Mr Fraga Iribarne), Mr Rothley (deputizing for Mr Newens), Mr Saby, Sir James Scott-Hopkins (deputizing for Lord Douro), Mr Seefeld, Mr Sierra Bardaji (deputizing for Mr Verde I Aldea), Mr Toksvig, Mr Topmann (deputizing for Mr Walter), Mr Tzounis, Mr von Uexküll, Mr Welsh and Mr Wohlfahrt.

The Committee on External Economic Relations decided not to deliver an opinion.

The report was tabled on 15 July 1988.

The deadline for tabling amendments to this report will appear on the draft agenda for the part-session at which it is to be considered.

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The Political Affairs Committee hereby submits to the European Parliament the following motion for a resolution, together with explanatory statement:

A

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

on political relations between the European Community and the Soviet Union

The European Parliament,

- having regard to the following motions for resolutions:
 - motion for a resolution tabled by Mr MATTINA on relations between the European Community and the Soviet Union (Doc. B 2-558/85),
 - motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs BOOT and others on the situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union (Doc. B 2-1041/85),
 - motion for a resolution tabled by Mr PORDEA and others on Romanian territories annexed by the Soviet Union (Doc. B 2-1198/85),
 - having regard to its resolution on relations between the European Community and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (OJ No. C 343, 31.12.1985, p.92),
 - having regard to its resolution on relations between the European Community and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and the Eastern European member states of the CMEA (OJ No. C 46, 23.2.1987, p. 71),
 - having regard to its resolutions on human and civil rights violations in the Soviet Union and, in particular, to its resolution on human rights in the world in 1985/86 and on Community human rights policy (OJ No. C 99, 13.4.1987, p. 157),
 - having regard to its resolution on the consequences for the European Community of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (OJ No. C 190, 20.7.1987, p. 64),
 - having regard to its resolution on the implementation of the Helsinki Agreement and the role of the European Parliament in the CSCE process (OJ No. C 190, 20.7.1987, p. 67),
 - having regard to the report of its Political Affairs Committee (Doc. A2-155/88),
- A. aware of the major importance of the Soviet Union in the shaping of the future of Europe, because:
- as a European power (in part), events within that country may, despite its enormous size, also affect the Community directly, as the nuclear accident that occurred at Chernobyl in April 1986 demonstrated, since the effects of modern technology have made the world seem smaller,

- as a protagonist in European history, it made a decisive contribution to the destruction of national socialism and fascism in Europe in the Second World War, which the Nazi regime in Germany had forced on its European neighbours to the east and west, fighting alongside the Allies and making an enormous sacrifice in terms of human life and property, and as one of the four signatory states to the four-power agreement of 3 September 1971, it has rights and responsibilities in respect of Berlin and consequently also within the area in which the Community treaties apply, in Berlin (West),
 - as one of the centres of an ideology which is part of the political and cultural history of Europe, but which degenerated during the Stalin era into a regime of despotism and terror and is rejected in a free vote by an overwhelming majority of the nations of Europe and North America, it has contributed in its power politics to the division of Europe and is seen by the nations of the Community as a threat and a reason for adopting a defensive attitude,
 - as the leading power in the Warsaw pact, it denies its allies freedom and self-determination and continues to treat them according to the principle it laid down of 'limited sovereignty', whereby the limits of sovereignty are not determined freely but imposed by the Soviet Union,
 - as the ideological and military rival of Western Europe's ally, the United States of America, it is not only an adversary but also a negotiating partner and contracting party with the USA in the concept of global mutual nuclear deterrence, so that the success or failure of efforts to achieve disarmament and détente and to promote development in the world depends on its attitude,
 - as a power which had no scruples in claiming to incorporate formerly independent states, it continues to occupy Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania,
 - as a European superpower, it has influence and security interests on the European continent which exist independently of the social system in the Soviet Union and which must be taken into consideration,
- B. having regard to the Preambles of the original treaties and of the Single European Act, according to which the Communities were created as 'the basis for a broader and deeper community among peoples long divided by bloody conflicts' (ECSC Treaty), to 'lay the foundations of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe' (EEC Treaty) and 'together make their own contribution to the preservation of international peace and security' (SEA),
- C. convinced that the Community therefore has a duty to activate, extend and consolidate relations with the Soviet Union in all sectors,
- D. regretting that, more than thirty years after the founding of the Community, there are still no official relations between the Community and the Soviet Union because, for a long period, on ideological and political grounds, the Soviet Union was not prepared to recognize the Community either as an economic or as a political reality,

- E. whereas initial attempts to improve relations between the Community and the Soviet Union were hampered by violations of human and civil rights in the Soviet Union and by its military intervention in Central and Eastern Europe and the Third World, as evidenced most recently in 1968 in Czechoslovakia and in 1979 in Afghanistan,
- F. hoping that the Soviet Union will give effect to General Secretary Gorbachev's intimation to the then President-in-Office of the Council, Mr Craxi, that the Soviet Union is ready to seek a dialogue with the Community on practical international issues;
- G. resolved to establish normal relations with the Soviet Union through its own constructive policy and to use every opportunity for cooperation to further mutual interests, promote self-determination for the peoples of Europe, establish human rights and thereby secure peace in Europe,

I. As regards the political background to the normalization of relations

1. Notes that the basis for the normalization of relations between the Community and the Soviet Union has improved:
- (a) firstly, because of changes in the international climate, especially as a result of:
- the fact that, in view of the development of armaments in the nuclear age, war in Europe would mean the end of European civilization as we know it,
 - the increasing clout of regional powers and new groupings of states and the inherent likelihood of regional conflicts, which are reducing the significance of the polarization in East-West relations of recent decades,
 - the innovation brought about by modern technologies which rapidly change economic and social structures in the industrialized nations, have positive and negative implications and increase the interdependence of nations and of Europe in particular,
- (b) secondly, because of incipient political reforms in the Soviet Union, thus enabling the Soviet Union to attempt to match the economic performance of the Western nations, which aim:
- internally:
- to create the conditions required for greater efficiency and competitiveness in the Soviet economy and to overcome stagnation in the economy and society by new management methods, including market-oriented features and the stepping up of scientific and technological progress, and
 - at the same time, to overcome the ossification of the system by opening up society, promoting private initiatives and individual responsibility, greater democratic participation in the appointment of leaders in the party and the production process and greater transparency and openness in public life and greater scope for freedom of opinion,

externally:

- to adapt Soviet policy to new realities (Gorbachev) and to regard security in Europe as common and indivisible, in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the 27th Soviet Communist Party Congress;
- 2. Pays tribute to the efforts of the Soviet leadership to implement its programme of economic and political reform but will not base its policy on any naive belief that rapid and fundamental changes will take place;
- 3. Is aware, in particular, that the Soviet leadership does not intend to diverge from or dilute Marxist-Leninist ideology but that its objectives and principles are to remain valid;
- 4. Is aware also of the internal problems encountered in the implementation of the reform programmes, especially the cumbersome nature of the Soviet political system, the stiff resistance in the Soviet Communist Party based on fear that the system will collapse and personal advantages be jeopardized, and the lack of practice of most Soviet citizens in dealing with the risks and opportunities of freedom;
- 5. Notes that a number of improvements have been made in the field of human and civil rights but nevertheless takes the view that the Soviet Government in no way fully respects these rights;
- 6. Calls on the Soviet Union to adopt the legislation required by its constitution to guarantee the human rights specified in the CSCE Final Act as well as the human rights listed in the United Nations Convention;
- 7. Appeals to the Soviet authorities to release all political prisoners and to allow those citizens who have expressed such a wish to leave the country;
- 8. Believes that there is a need in the context of the CSCE process to set up a mechanism for considering and resolving specific cases of human rights and assumes that the Soviet Union will make a constructive contribution towards putting this proposal into practice;
- 9. Notes that thoroughgoing legal reforms are being prepared in the Soviet Union as part of perestroika, the declared aim of which is to bring Soviet legislation into line with and up to the standard of international law, in particular to provide stronger guarantees of Soviet citizens' rights under the law, to facilitate entering and leaving the country considerably and to restrict the imposition of the death penalty;
- 10. Will assess further developments in the Soviet Union on the basis of the concrete progress made to secure peace for all the nations in Europe, irrespective of their social system, of respect for basic human and civil rights, as enshrined in the CSCE Final Act, and of the increase in freedom for the Central and Eastern European allies of the Soviet Union which actually results from the Soviet reform policy;

11. Considers that the presence of the Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia is the result of the military intervention in August 1968 against the movement of reforms going in the same direction as the present reform of Gorbachev in the USSR today and therefore asks the USSR to reassess its 1968 position and to withdraw its troops from Czechoslovakia;
12. Recognizes from certain features of the reform, covered by the terms 'Glasnost' and 'Perestroika', that dynamic forces have been set in motion which allow long suppressed and taboo issues to be addressed and also increase freedom of action for non-governmental groups and individuals;
13. Realizes that the process of reform in the Soviet Union has only just begun and that it will not be possible to make a definitive political assessment of it for some time to come; recognizes therein, nevertheless, a number of positive elements in the willingness to improve relations with the Community on a broad basis, to overcome the self-imposed isolation of the Soviet Union from the world economy and make it less unattractive as a trading partner and to cooperate with the Community and the countries of the Western Alliance in tackling security and humanitarian issues;
14. Is convinced therefore that the gradual changes set in train by the Soviet Leadership may also be in the interests of the Community and its Member States if they actually result in an opening up of the Soviet system internally and externally;
15. Calls on the Community and its Member States to take every opportunity resulting from the Soviet reform policy to secure peace and improve relations with a view to achieving closer cooperation and greater mutual confidence;
16. Is convinced that, in the nuclear age, East and West bear joint responsibility for preventing the outbreak of war and that, in the long term, peace in Europe is based on the premise that all nations may exercise their right to self-determination and thus, albeit with different social systems, live in security;
17. Emphasizes, in this connection, that security is not merely based on a military balance between states and alliances but also on the stability of social relationships within those states, and that there can be no stability where freedom is oppressed internally and the balance between nations constantly procured afresh with another round in the arms race;
18. Recalls, in this context, the undertakings entered into both by the Soviet Union and the Community and its Member States in the CSCE Final Act;

19. Recalls the decision on the achievement of Political Union and on the political dimensions of a European security strategy, whereby European security policy must be based simultaneously on defence and détente, i.e.:

on the one hand, on further disarmament, including asymmetric reduction of conventional forces, the elimination of chemical weapons and the balanced reduction of nuclear arsenals, whereby the objective is for each side to maintain a defensive strength no greater than that required to act as a deterrent,

and, on the other hand, on the development of broadly-based cooperation in the fields of economics, science and technology, environmental protection and culture in order to create a network of mutual dependencies which supports security through the interdependence of mutual interests and makes it reliable;

20. Takes as an encouraging sign of readiness to reach agreement on the central issues of security and co-existence of the nations of Europe the statements made at the 27th Soviet Communist Party Congress that, in view of modern technology, European security is 'indivisible';
21. Considers that, to this end, use should be made of both bilateral cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Community and its Member States and cooperation under multilateral agreements and conventions and all other fora in which both sides participate;

II. As regards the improvement of relations

in the field of trade, technology and environmental protection:

22. Advocates the conclusion of a comprehensive cooperation and trade agreement between the Community and the Soviet Union and points out that it would regard such an agreement as a significant international agreement within the meaning of Rule 34 of the Rules of Procedure and hence wish to participate in the negotiations on its conclusion;
23. Stresses that the Community should also conclude comprehensive trade and cooperation agreements with other European states apart from the Soviet Union belonging to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON);
24. Is aware that the export of certain goods from the Community is subject to restrictions, endorses as wide as possible a trade in the field of advanced technology and supports export restrictions only on goods of real strategic importance;
25. Welcomes the decisions taken in Paris in January 1988 to cut the COCOM list and calls on the Commission and the governments of the Member States to use their influence to ensure that COCOM lists are further shortened and, in conjunction with this, that there is greater transparency for companies and more effective verification of compliance with the restrictions;

26. Points out that, to date, trade with the Soviet Union has also been hampered by that country's poor range of competitive manufactured goods and by certain foreign trade structures which originate in the Soviet economic and social system;
27. Recognizes, in the economic reforms introduced so far, signs of greater flexibility, decentralized decision-making and technological innovations but considers that more far-reaching measures are necessary to facilitate international trade, e.g. the convertibility of the rouble;
28. Hopes for cooperation in all areas of joint interest which fall within the Community's sphere of activities and urges that, once official relations have been established, a comprehensive list should be drawn up of possible areas of cooperation and specific problems, such as the financing of East-West commercial transactions, and mutual information on the potential for and limits of economic cooperation thereby extended;
29. Stresses above all the Community's great interest in improvements in environmental protection measures in the Soviet Union, since it is affected by many instances of environmental pollution, regards closer cooperation in the field of advanced environmental protection technology as essential and calls on the Soviet Union, on the basis of the existing Convention on long-range transboundary air pollution (ECE Geneva) and the Convention on the Protection of the Ozone Layer (Vienna) to step up its cooperation with the Community and its Member States on environmental issues, for example in maintaining the ecological balance in the Baltic;
30. Welcomes the Soviet Union's readiness, after the nuclear accident in Chernobyl, to increase the exchange of information and cooperation in the peaceful use of atomic energy, recognizes in the IAEA Convention on rapid information and assistance in the case of nuclear accidents initial examples of specific cooperation which must still be considerably expanded;
31. Recognizes the enormous potential for the Community and its Member States on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other to cooperate in research and welcomes the cooperation initiated in the development of a nuclear fusion reactor for electricity generation (ITER) under the auspices of the IAEA as an important step forward;

In the field of security:

32. Points out that, since 1973, the Community and European Political Cooperation have contributed to the CSCE process and recalls its explicit support for that process;
33. Considers negotiations on more far-reaching confidence-building and security-promoting measures in Europe to be just as urgent and important as negotiations between the USA and the USSR on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons systems and expects the European countries to be more heavily involved therein;
34. Welcomes the INF Agreement signed on 6 December 1987 by the USA and the USSR as the first commitment to achieve the abolition, with on-the-spot verification, of an entire class of weapons which were principally designed for use on European territory;

35. Recalls, however, its repeated demands for further disarmament measures in Europe, in particular,
- an agreement on short-range nuclear weapons, combined with the abolition of the imbalance in conventional weapons and the achievement of a balance at the lowest possible level of armament,
 - a ban on and the destruction of chemical and biological weapons;
36. Regards the offer made by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact in May 1987 on the mutual clarification and adaptation of the military doctrines of the two alliances as encouraging and believes that its seriousness should be tested by a corresponding Western proposal;
37. Calls on the Community and its Member States within the Western alliance not to reject outright or react defensively to the many security and disarmament policy options put forward by the Soviet leadership but to test the seriousness of their intentions by presenting practical counter proposals;

III. As regards cooperation on international issues and with the Third World

38. Is pleased to note that the Soviet Union has finally begun to withdraw its intervention troops from Afghanistan in accordance with the timetable agreed under the Geneva Accord of April 1988;
39. Welcomes the clearly increased interest of the Soviet Union in taking part in multilateral cooperation to solve world trade problems, in supporting an active role for the United Nations, in making a contribution to the campaign against hunger and underdevelopment in the world and in cooperating with the West in the settlement of regional conflicts, such as the war between Iran and Iraq and in southern Africa;
40. Welcomes the willingness of the Soviet Union, which has hitherto provided hardly any aid, to cooperate in drafting guidelines for making available for development projects in the Third World the resources released as a result of disarmament, recalls its positive opinions on a policy of that nature and calls on the Member States and on European Political Cooperation to give similar support; is aware, however, that fewer weapons may mean just as much devastation and more money does not automatically mean improved development potential;
41. Stresses the great importance it attaches to the development of normal relations as equal partners between the European Community and the Soviet Union;
42. Takes the view that the basic conditions for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Community exist;
43. Assumes that the Soviet Union now unconditionally recognizes the reality of the Community, and that this includes the application of Community law to Berlin (West);

44. Calls on the Foreign Ministers of the Community Member States meeting in European Political Cooperation (EPC) to establish as part of their foreign policy a regular and wide-ranging political dialogue with the Soviet Union on the development of relations and maintaining peace in Europe; considers it appropriate for this dialogue to be held within the same framework as contacts with other important third countries and groups of states and calls on the Soviet Union to take up the dialogue at a high political level;
45. Confirms its resolution of January 1987 to the effect that, once official relations are established between the Community and the Soviet Union, it will establish independent relations with the Supreme Soviet and takes the invitation issued to its President to pay a visit to the Supreme Soviet as a sign that the latter, too, is interested in such relations;
46. Welcomes the Soviet Union's willingness to hold a detailed exchange of views with the European Parliament on humanitarian and other issues, in particular in connection with and in preparation for discussion of human rights issues at the CSCE Conference, and calls on its Bureau to make arrangements for such a dialogue once official relations have been established with the Supreme Soviet;
47. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the Council, the Foreign Ministers of the Member States meeting in European Political Cooperation and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet in the Soviet Union.

B

Explanatory Statement

The rapporteur undertook a fact-finding mission in Moscow from 3 to 13 May 1988. While there, he met the following for political talks:

State and Party:

M. Gorbachev *	General Secretary of the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union)
A. Dobrynin*	Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU
L. Tolkunov	Chairman of the Union Soviet
W. Sagladin*	Deputy Head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU
S. Achromeyev*	Marshal of the Soviet Union, Head of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces
I. Ivanov	Deputy Chairman of the State Committee for International Economic Relations in the Presidium of the Council of Ministers
A. Kovalev*	First Deputy Foreign Minister
Y. Busyken	Special Ambassador in the Secretariat of the Foreign Minister, responsible for negotiations on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the European Community and the USSR
G. Petrov	Deputy Head of the Section for Trade and Economic Relations with the developed capitalist countries
S. Zotov	Deputy Head of the CSCE Section in the Foreign Ministry
W. Sajkin*	Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet
J. Silin	Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation

Political and scientific institutes

Institute for the Economy of the Socialist World System at the USSR Academy of Sciences: Professor O.F. Bogomolov, Director; Professor W.J. Dashichev.

International Institute for World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO)
at the USSR Academy of Sciences: Professor I.E. Guriev, Deputy Director;
Professor W. Lashichev; Professor V. Pankov; Dr V. Zuev; Dr W. Baranovski;

Institute for State and Law at the USSR Academy of Sciences:
Professor V.S. Vereshchetin, Deputy Director; Dr A. Larin;
Professor Kartashkin; Dr I. Krylova; Professor Lukashuk; Dr I. Baturin;

Europa Institute at the USSR Academy of Sciences: Professor V.N. Shenayev,
Deputy Director; Dr A.V. Tsimailo.

Other eminent figures

Metropolitan Filaret*, Metropolitan of Kiev, Member of the Holy Synod of the
Russian Orthodox Church; E. Grigoriyev, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of Pravda; V.A.
Korotish, Editor-in-Chief of the weekly magazine 'Organyuk'; L. Timofyev,
Editor of the dissident periodical 'Referendum';

also: Mayer-Landruth, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany,
representing the Council Presidency.

* Talks held in the company of the leader of the German Social Democratic
Party (SPD), Hans-Joachim Vogel.

I. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE SOVIET UNION IN THE PAST

This is the first report drawn up by the European Parliament on relations between the Community and the Soviet Union - more than 30 years after the establishment of the European Community and almost 10 years after the first direct elections to the European Parliament. It marks the end of a paradoxical situation where the world power on the European continent and the world's major trading power officially ignored each other and yet had to take account of each other in their daily lives; thus it was that Soviet Communist territorial aspirations in Europe boosted the unification of Western Europe over many years, while the success of the Community demonstrated the fallacy of the Soviet doctrine that competitive anarchy between national economies in the advanced stage of capitalism would lead to their mutual destruction.

Simply because of its political and military power, the Soviet Union influences and defines relations between the states throughout Europe. The Community, as 'the basis for a broader and deeper community among peoples long divided by bloody conflicts' (Preamble to the ECSC Treaty) has as its task to 'lay the foundations of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe' (Preamble to the EEC Treaty) and 'together make their own contribution to the preservation of international peace and security' (Preamble to the SEA). The policy of the Soviet Union and the events in that country were always important for the Community, its Member States and its citizens. Events in Western Europe, domestic and foreign policy developments in the Member States and the process of integration in the Community were always of special importance to the leadership and the citizens of the Soviet Union.

The USSR is, in part, a European power. Its enormous size does not prevent internal events, such as the nuclear catastrophe at Chernobyl in April 1986, from directly affecting the Community. The effects of modern technology have made the world seem smaller. The Soviet Union has become a neighbour of the Community, even though there is no common frontier between them.

The USSR is part of European history. It made a decisive contribution to the destruction of fascism in Europe in the Second World War, which the Nazi regime in Germany had forced on its European neighbours to the east and to the west, fighting alongside the Allies and making an enormous sacrifice in terms of human life and property. It emerged as one of the four victorious powers which, under the four-power agreement of 3 September 1971, has direct rights and obligations in Berlin, including West Berlin, part of the territory of the Community.

The USSR is one of the centres of an ideology which is part of the political and cultural history of Europe but which was freely rejected by the nations of Western Europe and North America. Its power politics, which are the practical expression of that ideology, contributed substantially to the division of Europe. They are regarded by the broad majority in the nations of the Community as a threat and grounds for adopting a defensive attitude.

The USSR is the leading power in the Warsaw Pact in which it continues to treat its allies according to the principle it laid down of 'limited sovereignty', whereby the limits of sovereignty are not determined freely but are imposed by the Soviet Union.

