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AUGUST 1, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Helsinki, Finland)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE
CONFERENCE ON SECURITY
AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

FINLANDIA HALL

10:03 A.M. (Helsinki Time)

Mr. Chairman, my distinguished colleagues:

May I begin by expressing to the governments of Finland and Switzerland, which have been superb hosts for the several phases of this Conference, my gratitude and that of my associates for their efficiency and hospitality.

Particularly to you, President Kekkonen, I must convey to the people of the Republic of Finland, on behalf of the 214 million people of the United States of America, a reaffirmation of the long-standing affection and admiration which all my countrymen hold for your brave and beautiful land.

We are bound together by the most powerful of all ties, our fervent love for freedom and independence, which knows no homeland but the human heart. It is a sentiment as enduring as the granite rock on which this city stands and as moving as the music of Sibelius.

Our visit here, though short, has brought us a deeper appreciation of the pride, industry and friendliness which Americans always associate with the Finnish nation.

The nations assembled here have kept the general peace in Europe for 30 years. Yet there have been too many narrow escapes from major conflict. There remains, to this day, the urgent issue of how to construct a just and lasting peace for all peoples.

I have not come across the Atlantic to say what all of us already know -- that nations now have the capacity to destroy civilization, and, therefore, all our foreign policies must have as their one supreme objective the prevention of a thermonuclear war. Nor have I come to dwell upon the hard realities of continuing ideological differences, political rivalries and military competition that persist among us.

MORE

(OVER)

I have come to Helsinki as spokesman for a nation whose vision has always been forward, whose people have always demanded that the future be brighter than the past, and whose united will and purpose at this hour is to work diligently to promote peace and progress not only for ourselves, but for all mankind.

I am simply here to say to my colleagues: We owe it to our children, to the children of all continents, not to miss any opportunity, not to malingering for one minute, not to spare ourselves or allow others to shirk in the monumental task of building a better and a safer world.

The American people, like the people of Europe, know well that mere assertions of good will, passing changes in the political mood of governments, laudable declarations of principles, are not enough. But if we proceed with care, with commitment to real progress, there is now an opportunity to turn our people's hopes into realities.

In recent years, nations represented here have sought to ease potential conflicts. But much more remains to be done before we prematurely congratulate ourselves.

Military competition must be controlled. Political competition must be restrained. Crises must not be manipulated or exploited for unilateral advantages that could lead us again to the brink of war. The process of negotiation must be sustained, not at a snail's pace, but with demonstrated enthusiasm and visible progress.

Nowhere are the challenges and opportunities greater and more evident than in Europe. That is why this Conference brings us all together. Conflict in Europe shakes the world. Twice in this century we have paid dearly for this lesson; at other times, we have come perilously close to calamity. We dare not forget the tragedy and the terror of those times.

Peace is not a piece of paper. But lasting peace is at least possible today because we have learned from the experiences of the last 30 years that peace is a process requiring mutual restraint and practical arrangements.

This Conference is part of that process -- a challenge, not a conclusion. We face unresolved problems of military security in Europe; we face them with very real differences in values and aims. But if we deal with them with careful preparation, if we focus on concrete issues, if we maintain forward movement, we have the right to expect real progress.

MORE

The era of confrontation that has divided Europe since the end of the Second World War may now be ending. There is a new perception and a shared perception of a change for the better, away from confrontation and toward new possibilities for secure and mutually beneficial cooperation. That is what we all have been saying here. I welcome and I share these hopes for the future.

The postwar policy of the United States has been consistently directed toward the rebuilding of Europe and the rebirth of Europe's historic identity. The nations of the West have worked together for peace and progress throughout Europe. From the start, we have taken the initiative by stating clear goals and areas for negotiation.

We have sought a structure of European relations, tempering rivalry with restraint, power with moderation, building upon the traditional bonds that link us with old friends and reaching out to forge new ties with former and potential adversaries.

MORE

In recent years, there have been some substantial achievements. We see the Four-Power agreement of Berlin of 1971 as the end of a perennial crisis that on at least three occasions brought the world to the brink of doom.

The agreements between the Federal Republic of Germany and the States of Eastern Europe and the related intra-German accords enable Central Europe and the world to breathe easier.

The start of East-West talks on mutual and balanced force reductions demonstrate a determination to deal with military security problems of the Continent. The 1972 treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union to limit anti-ballistic missiles and the interim agreement limiting strategic offensive arms were the first solid breakthroughs in what must be a continuing long-term process of limiting strategic nuclear arsenals.

I profoundly hope that this Conference will spur further practical and concrete results. It affords a welcome opportunity to widen the circle of those countries involved in easing tensions between East and West.

Participation in the work of detente and participation in the benefits of detente must be everybody's business -- in Europe and elsewhere.

But detente can succeed only if everybody understands what detente actually is.

First, detente is an evolutionary process, not a static condition. Many formidable challenges yet remain.

Second, the success of detente, of the process of detente, depends on new behavior patterns that give life to all our solemn declarations. The goals we are stating today are the yardstick by which our performance will be measured.

The people of all Europe -- and I assure you the people of North America -- are thoroughly tired of having their hopes raised and then shattered by empty words and unfulfilled pledges. We had better say what we mean, and mean what we say, or we will have the anger of our citizens to answer.

While we must not expect miracles, we can -- and we do -- expect steady progress that comes in steps, steps that are related to each other that link our actions with words in various areas of our relations.

MORE

Finally, there must be an acceptance of mutual obligation. Detente, as I have often said, must be a two-way street. Tensions cannot be eased by one side alone. Both sides must want detente and work to achieve it. Both sides must benefit from it.

Mr. Chairman, my colleagues, this extraordinary gathering in Helsinki proves that all our peoples share a concern for Europe's future and for a better and more peaceful world, but what else does it prove? How shall we assess the results?

Our delegations have worked long and hard to produce documents which restate noble and praiseworthy political principles. They spell out guidelines for national behavior, and international cooperation, but every signatory should know that if these are to be more than the latest chapter in a long and sorry volume of unfulfilled declarations, every party must be dedicated to making them come true.

These documents, which we will sign, represent another step -- how long or short a step only time will tell -- in the process of detente and reconciliation in Europe. Our peoples will be watching and measuring our progress.

They will ask how these noble sentiments are being translated into actions that bring about a more secure and just order in the daily lives of each of our nations and its citizens.

The documents produced here represent compromises, like all international negotiations, but these principles we have agreed upon are more than the lowest common denominator of governmental positions.

They affirm the most fundamental human rights: liberty of thought, conscience and faith, the exercise of civil and political rights, the rights of minorities.

They call for a freer flow of information, ideas and people, greater scope for the press, cultural and educational exchange, family reunification, the right to travel and to marriage between nationals of different States, and for the protection of the priceless heritage of our diverse cultures.

They offer wide areas for greater cooperation: trade, industrial production, science and technology, the environment, transportation, health, space and the oceans.

MORE

They reaffirm the basic principles of relations between States: nonintervention, sovereign equality, self-determination, territorial integrity, inviolability of frontiers and the possibility of change by peaceful means.

The United States gladly subscribes to this document because we subscribe to every one of these principles.

Almost 200 years ago, the United States of America was born as a free and independent Nation. The descendants of Europeans who proclaimed their independence in America expressed in that declaration a decent respect for the opinions of mankind and asserted not only that all men are created equal, but they are endowed with inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The founders of my country did not merely say that all Americans should have these rights, but all men everywhere should have these rights, and these principles have guided the United States of America throughout its two centuries of nationhood.

They have given hopes to millions in Europe and on every continent.

I have been asked why I am here today. I am here because I believe and my countrymen believe in the interdependence of Europe in North America, indeed in the interdependence of the entire family of man.

I am here because the leaders of 34 other Governments are here -- the States of Europe and of our good neighbor, Canada, with whom we share an open border of 5,526 miles, along which there stands not a single armed soldier, and across which our two peoples have moved in friendship and mutual respect for 160 years.

I can say without fear of contradiction that there is not a single people represented here whose blood does not flow in the veins of Americans and whose culture and traditions have not enriched the heritage which we Americans prize so highly.

When two centuries ago the United States of America issued a declaration of high principles, the cynics and doubters of that day jeered and scoffed. Yet, 11 long years later our independence was won and the stability of our Republic was really achieved through the incorporation of the same principles in our Constitution.

MORE

But those principles, though they are still being perfected, remain the guiding lights of an American policy and the American people are still dedicated, as they were then, to a decent respect for the opinions of mankind and to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all peoples everywhere.

To our fellow participants in this Conference, my presence here symbolizes my country's vital interest in Europe's future. Our future is bound with yours. Our economic well being, as well as our security, is linked increasingly with yours.

The distance of geography is bridged by our common heritage and our common destiny. The United States, therefore, intends to participate fully in the affairs of Europe and in turning the results of this Conference into a living reality.

To America's allies: We in the West must vigorously pursue the course upon which we have embarked together, re-enforced by one another's strength and mutual confidence. Stability in Europe requires equilibrium in Europe. Therefore, I assure you that my country will continue to be a concerned and reliable partner.

Our partnership is far more than a matter of formal agreements. It is a reflection of beliefs, traditions and ties that are of deep significance to the American people. We are proud that these values are expressed in this document.

To the countries of the East: The United States considers that the principles on which this Conference has agreed are part of the great heritage of European civilization, which we all hold in trust for all mankind.

To my country, they are not cliches or empty phrases. We take this work and these words very seriously. We will spare no effort to ease tensions and to solve problems between us, but it is important that you recognize the deep devotion of the American people and their Government to human rights and fundamental freedoms, and thus to the pledges that this Conference has made regarding the freer movement of people, ideas, information.

In building a political relationship between East and West, we face many challenges.

Berlin has a special significance. It has been a flashpoint of confrontation in the past. It can provide an example of peaceful settlement in the future.

MORE

The United States regards it as a test of detente and of the principles of this Conference. We welcome the fact that, subject to Four Power rights and responsibilities, the results of CSCE apply to Berlin, as they do throughout Europe.

Military stability in Europe has kept the peace. While maintaining that stability, it is now time to reduce substantially the high levels of military forces on both sides. Negotiations now underway in Vienna on mutual and balanced force reductions so far have not produced the results for which I had hoped.

The United States stands ready to demonstrate flexibility in moving these negotiations forward, if others will do the same. An agreement that enhances mutual security is feasible -- and essential.

The United States also intends to pursue vigorously a further agreement on strategic arms limitations with the Soviet Union. This remains a priority of American policy.

General Secretary Brezhnev and I agreed last November in Vladivostok on the essentials of a new accord limiting strategic offensive weapons for the next ten years. We are moving forward in our bilateral discussions here in Helsinki.

The world faces an unprecedented danger in the spread of nuclear weapons technology. The nations of Europe share a great responsibility for an international solution to this problem. The benefits of peaceful nuclear energy are becoming more and more important. We must find ways to spread these benefits while safeguarding the world against the manace of weapons proliferation.

To the other nations of Europe represented at this Conference: We value the work you have done here to help bring all of Europe together. Your right to live in peace and independence is one of the major goals of our effort. Your continuing contribution will be indispensable.

To those nations not participating and to all the peoples of the world: The solemn obligation undertaken in these documents to promote fundamental rights, economic and social progress and well being, applies ultimately to all peoples.

MORE

Can we truly speak of peace and security without addressing the spread of nuclear weapons in the world, or the creation of more sophisticated forms of warfare? Can peace be divisible between areas of tranquility and regions of conflict?

Can Europe truly flourish if we do not all address ourselves to the evil of hunger in countries less fortunate than we; to the new dimensions of economic and energy issues that underlie our own progress; to the dialogue between producers and consumers, between exporters and importers, between industrial countries and less developed ones; and can there be stability and progress in the absence of justice and fundamental freedoms?

Our people want a better future. Their expectations have been raised by the very real steps that have already been taken -- in arms control, political negotiations and expansion of contacts and economic relations. Our presence here offers them further hope. We must not let them down.

If the Soviet Union and the United States can reach agreement so that our astronauts can fit together the most intricate scientific equipment, work together and shake hands 137 miles out in space, we as statesmen have an obligation to do as well on earth.

History will judge this Conference not by what we say here today, but what we do tomorrow; not by the promises we make, but by the promises we keep.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

END (AT 10:30 A.M. HELSINKI TIME)

Office of the White House Press Secretary
(Helsinki, Finland)

THE WHITE HOUSE

TEXT OF THE REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
BEFORE THE CONFERENCE ON
SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

FINLANDIA HALL
HELSINKI, FINLAND

Mr. Chairman, my distinguished colleagues:

May I begin by expressing to the governments of Finland and Switzerland, which have been superb hosts for the several phases of this Conference, my gratitude and that of my associates for their efficiency and hospitality.

Particularly to you, President Kekkonen, I must convey to the people of the Republic of Finland, on behalf of the 214 million people of the United States of America, a reaffirmation of the long-standing affection and admiration which all my countrymen hold for your brave and beautiful land. We are bound together by the most powerful of all ties, our fervent love for freedom and independence, which knows no homeland but the human heart. It is a sentiment as enduring as the granite rock on which this city stands and as moving as the music of Sibelius. Our visit here, though short, has brought us a deeper appreciation of the pride, industry and friendliness which Americans always associate with the Finnish nation.

The nations assembled here have kept the general peace in Europe for thirty years. Yet there have been too many narrow escapes from major conflict. There remains, to this day, the urgent issue of how to construct a just and lasting peace for all peoples. I have not come across the Atlantic to say what all of us already know -- that nations now have the capacity to destroy civilization, and, therefore, all our foreign policies must have as their one supreme objective the prevention of a thermonuclear war. Nor have I come to dwell upon the hard realities of continuing ideological differences, political rivalries and military competition that persist among us.

I have come to Helsinki as spokesman for a nation whose vision has always been forward, whose people have always demanded that the future be brighter than the past, and whose united will and purpose at this hour is to work diligently to promote peace and progress not only for ourselves, but for all mankind.

I am here simply to say to my colleagues:

We owe it to our children, to the children of all continents, not to miss any opportunity, not to mangle for one minute, not to spare ourselves or allow others to shirk in the monumental task of building a better and a safer world.

The American people, like the people of Europe, know well that mere assertions of goodwill, passing changes in the political mood of governments, laudable declarations of principles, are not enough. But if we proceed with care, with commitment to real progress, there is now an opportunity to turn our people's hopes into realities.

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The process of negotiation must be sustained, not at a snail's pace, but with demonstrated enthusiasm and visible progress.

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The postwar policy of the United States has been consistently directed toward the rebuilding of Europe and the rebirth of Europe's historic identity. The nations of the West have worked together for peace and progress throughout Europe. From the start we have taken the initiative by stating clear goals and areas for negotiation.

We have sought a structure of European relations, tempering rivalry with restraint, power with moderation, building upon the traditional bonds that link us with old friends and reaching out to forge new ties with former and potential adversaries.

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The 1972 treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union to limit anti-ballistic missiles, and the interim agreement limiting strategic offensive weapons, were the first solid breakthroughs in what must be a continuing, long-term process of limiting strategic nuclear arsenals.

(MORE)

I profoundly hope that this Conference will spur further practical and concrete results. It affords a welcome opportunity to widen the circle of those countries involved in easing tensions between East and West. Participation in the work of detente and participation in the benefits of detente must be everybody's business -- in Europe and elsewhere. But detente can succeed only if everybody understands what detente actually is.

First, detente is an evolutionary process, not a static condition. Many formidable challenges yet remain.

Second, the success of the detente process depends on new behavior patterns that give life to all our solemn declarations. The goals we are stating today are the yardstick by which our performance will be measured.

The people of all Europe and, I assure you, the people of North America are thoroughly tired of having their hopes raised and then shattered by empty words and unfulfilled pledges. We had better say what we mean and mean what we say, or we will have the anger of our citizens to answer.

While we must not expect miracles, we can and do expect steady progress that comes in steps -- steps that are related to each other and that link our actions with our words in various areas of our relations.

Finally, there must be an acceptance of mutual obligation. Detente, as I have often said, must be a two-way street. Tensions cannot be eased by one side alone. Both sides must want detente and work to achieve it. Both sides must benefit from it.

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But every signatory should know that if these are to be more than the latest chapter in a long and sorry volume of unfulfilled declarations, every party must be dedicated to making them come true.

These documents which we will sign represent another step -- how long or short a step only time will tell -- in the process of detente and reconciliation in Europe. Our peoples will be watching and measuring our progress. They will ask how these noble sentiments are being translated into actions that bring about a more secure and just order in the daily lives of each of our nations and its citizens.

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- They affirm the most fundamental human rights: liberty of thought, conscience and faith; the exercise of civil and political rights; the rights of minorities.
- They call for a freer flow of information, ideas and people; greater scope for the press, cultural and educational exchange, family reunification, the right to travel and to marriage between nationals of different states; and for the protection of the priceless heritage of our diverse cultures.

(MORE)

- They offer wide areas for greater cooperation: trade, industrial production, science and technology, the environment, transportation, health, space and the oceans.
- They reaffirm the basic principles of relations between states: non-intervention, sovereign equality, self-determination, territorial integrity, inviolability of frontiers and the possibility of change by peaceful means.

The United States gladly subscribes to this document because we subscribe to every one of these principles.

Almost 200 years ago, the United States of America was born as a free and independent nation. The descendants of Europeans who proclaimed their independence in America expressed in that declaration "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind" and asserted not only that all men are created equal, but that they are endowed with inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The founders of my country did not merely say that all Americans should have these rights, but all men everywhere should have these rights. And these principles have guided the United States of America throughout its two centuries of nationhood.

They have given hope to millions in Europe and on every continent.

I have been asked why I am here today.

I am here because I believe, and my countrymen believe, in the interdependence of Europe and North America -- indeed in the interdependence of the entire family of man.

I am here because the leaders of 34 other governments are here -- the states of Europe and of our good neighbor, Canada, with whom we share an open border of 5,526 miles along which there stands not a single armed soldier, and across which our two peoples have moved in friendship and mutual respect for 160 years. And I can say without fear of contradiction that there is not a single people represented here whose blood does not flow in the veins of Americans and whose culture and traditions have not enriched the heritage which we Americans prize so highly.

When, two centuries ago the United States of America issued a declaration of high principles the cynics and doubters of that day jeered and scoffed. Yet eleven long years later our independence was won and the stability of our republic was really achieved through the incorporation of those same principles in our Constitution.

But those principles, though they are still being perfected, remain the guiding lights of American policy, and the American people are still dedicated, as they were then, to a decent respect for the opinions of mankind and to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all peoples everywhere.

To our fellow participants in this Conference, my presence here symbolizes my country's vital interest in Europe's future. Our future is bound with yours. Our economic well-being as well as our security is linked increasingly with yours. The distance of geography is bridged by our common heritage and our common destiny. The United States therefore intends to participate fully in the affairs of Europe and in turning the results of this Conference into a living reality.

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To America's Allies: We in the West must pursue the course upon which we have embarked together, reinforced by one another's strength and mutual confidence. Stability in Europe requires equilibrium in Europe. Therefore I assure you that my country will continue to be a concerned and reliable partner. Our partnership is far more than a matter of formal agreements. It is a reflection of beliefs, traditions and ties that are of deep significance to the American people. We are proud that these values are expressed in this document.

To the countries of the East: The United States considers that the principles on which this Conference has agreed are part of the great heritage of European civilization which we all hold in trust for all mankind. To my country, they are not cliches or empty phrases. We take this work and these words seriously. We will spare no effort to ease tensions and solve problems between us. But it is important that you recognize the deep devotion of the American people and their Government to human rights and fundamental freedoms and thus to the pledges that this Conference has made regarding the freer movement of people, ideas and information.

In building a political relationship between East and West, we face many challenges.

Berlin has a special significance. It has been a flashpoint of confrontation in the past; it can provide an example of peaceful settlement in the future. The United States regards it as a test of detente and of the principles of this conference. We welcome the fact that, subject to Quadripartite rights and responsibilities, the results of C. S. C. E. apply to Berlin, as they do throughout Europe.

Military stability in Europe has kept the peace. While maintaining that stability, it is now time to reduce substantially the high levels of military forces on both sides. Negotiations now underway in Vienna on mutual and balanced force reductions so far have not produced the results for which I had hoped. The United States stands ready to demonstrate flexibility in moving these negotiations forward, if others will do the same. An agreement that enhances mutual security is feasible -- and essential.

The United States also intends to pursue vigorously a further agreement on strategic arms limitation with the Soviet Union. This remains a priority of American policy. General Secretary Brezhnev and I agreed last November in Vladivostok on the essentials of a new accord limiting strategic offensive weapons for the next ten years. We are moving forward in our bilateral discussions here in Helsinki.

The world faces an unprecedented danger in the spread of nuclear weapons technology. The nations of Europe share a great responsibility for an international solution to this problem. The benefits of peaceful nuclear energy are becoming more and more important. We must find ways to spread these benefits while safeguarding the world against the menace of weapons proliferation.

To the other nations of Europe represented at this Conference: We value the work you have done here to help bring all of Europe together. Your right to live in peace and independence is one of the major goals of our effort. Your continuing contribution will be indispensable.

To those nations not participating and to all the peoples of the world: The solemn obligation undertaken in these documents to promote fundamental rights, economic and social progress and well-being applies ultimately to all peoples.

Can we truly speak of peace and security without addressing the spread of nuclear weapons in the world, or the creation of more sophisticated forms of warfare?

Can peace be divisible between areas of tranquility and regions of conflict?

Can Europe truly flourish if we do not all address ourselves to the evil of hunger in countries less fortunate than we?

- To the new dimension of economic and energy issues that underlie our own progress?
- To the dialogue between producers and consumers, between exporters and importers, between industrial countries and less developed ones?
- And can there be stability and progress in the absence of justice and fundamental freedoms?

Our people want a better future. Their expectations have been raised by the very real steps that have already been taken -- in arms control, political negotiations, and expansion of contacts and economic relations. Our presence here offers them further hope. We must not let them down.

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History will judge this Conference not by what we say today, but what we do tomorrow -- not by the promises we make but by the promises we keep.)

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AUGUST 19, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Minneapolis, Minnesota)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
AMERICAN LEGION CONVENTION
MINNEAPOLIS CONVENTION CENTER

10:34 A.M. CDT

Thank you very, very much, Commander Wagonseller, Governor Anderson, Senator Humphrey, Congressman Quie, Congressman Hagedorn, Mrs. Kubby, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

As a fellow Legionnaire of 30 years and as a Member of the Furniture City of Post Number 258, I am proud to be here with all of you as a fellow Legionnaire. I am proud of the organization, locally, nationally and otherwise.

I strongly commend the American Legion for its constant patriotism in peace as well as in war. This great organization has given life and meaning to our motto, "For God and Country".

As President, I salute you and say for all Americans, "Hang in there".

I am very, very happy to have this opportunity to talk with you, my fellow Legionnaires, about two things which the American Legion has always held dear -- freedom and peace for our country and for the world.

Freedom always comes first. Let there be no doubt about that. Patrick Henry answered that question for all of us some 200 years ago. The Marines, the Seamen and the Airmen who rescued the MAYAGUEZ gave the same clear answer which was heard 'round the world.

All Americans are terribly proud of their success. But in today's world of technological terror, with weapons of awesome sophistication and destructiveness, it is difficult to see how freedom, as we know it, could survive another all-out war. It is even questionable whether a free society such as ours could survive an all-out unrestricted arms race.

We are, therefore, confronted with this dilemma that has faced the American people and their Government since the post-war Administrations of Presidents Truman and Eisenhower. The question is this: How do we preserve, protect and defend our freedom and that of our allies? How do we advance the cause of freedom worldwide? And how do we at the same time preserve the general peace and create conditions that reduce the chances of war? How do we control the tremendous cost of maintaining the capabilities required for a potential major war.

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(OVER)

These are exceedingly difficult questions to answer. At times we have come perilously close to a major military confrontation. We have suffered some serious setbacks, and we are still unable to resolve some dangerous conflicts festering on nearly every continent in the world.

But we have prevented World War Three. We have preserved civilization. Few who remember the immediate post-war period after World War II would say that the world is not calmer and better off today than it was.

The Free World, as we define it, is essentially intact after 30 years of uneasy peace between the super powers, instability in former Colonial areas and sporadic outbreaks of local and regional violence. And three decades of imperfect peace have permitted unprecedented gains in productivity and economic progress for much of mankind, including the United States.

Some fundamental lessons were learned in this period. They must not be forgotten. First, the military might, the material strength and moral purpose of the United States were absolutely essential to achieve the present level of international stability. They remain absolutely essential. We are still the principal defender of freedom throughout the world.

Second, our enormous defense capability and its economic base have been reinforced by the growing resources of our allies in Europe and in the Pacific --and by the increasing interdependence of industrial democracies in both military and economic areas. They must continue.

Third, the policies of five American Presidents before me for a strong national defense, for reduction of East-West tensions and the threat of thermo-nuclear war, and for the bolstering of our essential allies that have the unswerving and nonpartisan support of the Congress and the American people, I will continue to seek that support.

But today I ask you, my fellow Legionnaires, to help me achieve that objective, and I know that I can count on your support.

We share a very deep concern over the cracks now appearing in the foundations of essential national unity on defense and foreign policy. Without a clear consensus among 214 million Americans, the role of the United States as the champion of freedom and peace throughout the world would be crippled, crippled very seriously, if not fatally.

The ability of a President to carry out his constitutional duties would be dangerously diminished. The temptation to potential adversaries to take advantage of any apparent weakness, disunity and indecision could become irresistible. With your support and that of other Americans, my Administration will give them no such temptation.

George Washington, our first President, said the best way to preserve peace is to be prepared for war. In one way or another, each of President Washington's successors has repeated that truth.

Unfortunately, we have historically ignored it. We have abruptly demobilized after war, and the next generation -- the next generation of Americans -- paid very dearly for this folly.

I see some danger signs of our doing it again, with the stakes infinitely higher than ever before. That is why I say to you, I am determined to resist unilateral disarmament. I am equally committed to keeping America's defenses second to none.

Now that Americans are no longer fighting on any front, there are many sincere -- but in my judgment shortsighted -- Americans who believe that the billions for defense could be better spent for social programs to help the poor and disadvantaged.

I am convinced that adequate spending for national defense is an insurance policy, an insurance policy for peace we cannot afford to be without.

It is most valuable if we never need to use it, but without it, we could be wiped out.

Certainly the most important social obligation of Government is to guarantee all citizens, including the disadvantaged, sufficient protection of their lives and freedoms against outside attack.

Today, that protection is our principle hope of peace. What expense item in our Federal Government is more essential?

This is one place where second best is worth nothing. The proportion of Federal spending for national security and the proportion of our Gross National Product going for defense requirements have declined in recent years. The dollar figures in the Federal budget is but simply because of inflation. The weapons we can purchase and the personnel we can afford have declined.

During the Vietnam War, defense spending concentrated -- and properly so -- on current combat requirements, shortchanging our long-range research and development efforts. If our technological lead is not rapidly recovered, this could be fatal to our qualitative superiority in the future.

Scientific progress in the Pentagon must be an equal partner with the best in personnel and the best in weapons in maintaining peace and deterring war.

MORE

Our potential adversaries are certainly not reducing the levels of their military power. The United States, as a result, must be alert and strong, and it will be.

The defense budget, which I submitted for fiscal year 1976, represents, under these circumstances, the bare minimum required for our national security. I will vigorously resist all major cuts in every way I can, and I hope I have your help.

For the next fiscal year -- 1977 -- I honestly and sincerely hope to hold down our spending on nuclear forces. This tentative judgment is conditioned on real progress in SALT II, but the Congress and the American people must realize that unless agreement is achieved, I will have no choice but to recommend to the Congress an additional \$2 billion to \$3 billion for strategic weapons programs in current and coming fiscal years.

In recent weeks, there has been a great deal said about the subject of detente. Today, let me tell you what I personally think about detente.

First of all, the word itself is confusing. Its meaning is not clear to everybody. French is a beautiful language, the classic language of diplomacy, but I wish there were one simple English word to substitute for detente. Unfortunately, there isn't.

Relations between the world's two strongest nuclear powers can't be summed up in a catch phrase. Detente literally means easing or relaxing, but definitely not -- and I emphasize not -- the relaxing of diligence or easing of effort. Rather, it means movement away from the constant crisis and dangerous confrontations that have characterized relations with the Soviet Union.

The process of detente -- and it is a process -- looks toward a saner and safer relationship between us and the Soviet Union. It represents our best efforts to cool the cold war, which on occasion became much too hot for comfort.

To me, detente means a fervent desire for peace, but not peace at any price. It means the preservation of fundamental American principles, not their sacrifice. It means maintaining the strength to command respect from our adversaries and provide leadership to our friends, not letting down our guard or dismantling our defenses or neglecting our allies. It means peaceful rivalry between political and economic systems, not the curbing of our competitive efforts.

MORE

Since the American system depends on freedom, we are confident that our philosophy will prevail. Freedom is still the wave of the future. Detente means moderate and restrained behavior between two superpowers, not a license to fish in troubled waters. It means mutual respect and reciprocity, not unilateral concessions or one-sided agreements.

With this attitude, I shall work with determination for a relaxation of tensions. The United States has nothing to fear from progress toward peace.

Although we have still a long way to go, we have made some progress -- a defusing of the Berlin time-bomb, the ABM treaties, the first SALT agreement, and progress on SALT II, the start of mutual and balanced force reductions in Europe and other arms control agreements regarding space, the seabeds and germ warfare.

We have established the basis for progress toward detente and cooperation in Europe as a result of the summit meeting in Helsinki of some 35 nations, but the principles we adopted there must now be put into practice. The principles, I should say, will be put into practice.

We cannot raise the hopes of our people and shatter them by unkept promises. We are now carefully watching some serious situations for indications of the Soviet attitude toward detente and cooperation in European security.

The situation in Portugal is one of them. We are deeply concerned about the future of freedom in Portugal, as we have always been concerned about the future of people throughout the world.

The reality of the Portuguese situation is apparent to all. The wishes of the moderate majority have been subverted by forces more determined than representative.

We are hopeful that the sheer waste of numbers, the 80 percent of the Portuguese people who support the democratic process will prevail in this conflict of ideology. But they must find the solution in an atmosphere that is free from the pressures of outside forces.

So far, my meetings with General Secretary Brezhnev in Vladivostok and Helsinki have been constructive and helpful. Future success will, of course, depend on concrete developments.

Peace is the primary objective of the foreign and defense policies of the United States.

MORE

It is easy to be a cold warrior in peacetime, but it would be irresponsible for a President to engage in confrontation when consultation would advance the cause of peace.

So, I say to you -- as I said to Mr. Brezhnev and the leaders of other European nations in Canada and Helsinki -- peace is crucial, but freedom must come first.

Those who proclaimed American independence almost 200 years ago asserted not merely that all Americans should enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but that all men everywhere are endowed by their creator with such inalienable rights.

I told the leaders of Europe that these principles, though still being perfected, remain the guiding light of American policy, that the American people are still dedicated to the universal advancement of individual rights and human freedom implicit in the Helsinki declaration.

It gave me great pride, as the spokesman of the United States at Helsinki, to say to both East and West -- My country and its principles of freedom have given hope to millions in Europe and on every continent, and still does.

On the other hand, I emphasize that we are tired of having our hopes raised and then shattered by empty words and unkept promises.

I reminded all there in Helsinki that detente must be a two-way street because tensions cannot be eased with safety and security by one side alone.

Through detente, I hope that we are on a two-way street with the Soviet Union.

But, until I am certain of real progress, I must reserve final judgment about the defense budget, and particularly our plan for strategic nuclear forces.

We will, therefore, continue to seek meaningful arms agreement, but this will be possible only with sufficient and credible strength of our own, in concert with our allies. Moreover, any agreement we reach must be verifiable for our security. To put it very practically; that is, we must possess the means of making sure that they are being honored.

MORE

The time has not yet come when we can entrust our hopes for peace to a piece of paper. Thus, another essential element of any real arms limitation, whether of strategic systems or conventional forces, is our own intelligence capability. Sweeping attacks, overgeneralization against our intelligence activities jeopardize vital functions necessary to our national security. Today's sensations must not be the prelude to tomorrow's Pearl Harbor.

I certainly do not condone improper activities or violations of the constitutional rights of Americans by any personnel or any agency of the Federal Government. On the basis of the comprehensive studies of our intelligence agencies by the Rockefeller Commission and the Murphy Commission on the conduct of foreign policy, I will take administrative action and recommend legislation to the Congress for whatever must be done to prevent future abuses.

Intelligence in today's world is absolutely essential to our national security, even our survival. It may be even more important in peace than in war. Any reckless Congressional action to cripple the effectiveness of our intelligence services in legitimate operations would be catastrophic. Our potential adversaries and even some of our best friends operate in all intelligence fields with secrecy, with skill and with substantial resources.

I know and I know you know that what we need is an American intelligence capacity second to none.

Finally -- and this relates both to our vital intelligence installations and to the imperative need to strengthen key alliances such as NATO--let us now consider our relations with our friend and ally of many years--Turkey. How do you explain to a friend and ally why arms previously ordered and paid for are not being delivered? How do you explain to your other allies in the potential damage that this may cause to the NATO Alliance? How do you justify to the American people the loss of strategic intelligence data with its attendant effect on our national security that this action has caused?

I don't know because I am at a loss to explain it myself. As a man of the Congress, and proudly so, for 25 years, the last thing I seek is confrontation with my friends, my former colleagues on Capitol Hill, both Democrats and Republicans.

Obviously, I am troubled that the House of Representatives has refused to permit the shipment of arms to Turkey. But I respect their sincerity and the motives of those who support this position. However, I know when the bottom line of any issue is the ultimate security of the United States -- which it is in this case -- the Congress and the President always found a way to close ranks and to act as one.

MORE

This does not mean that one side or the other capitulates blindly. Let us put this issue on the table and once again debate it, not in a climate of fire and fury, but in a reasoned approach based on what is right and what is best for America.

I am convinced from my personal talks last month with the leaders of Greece and Turkey and Cyprus and that their differences can be settled peacefully.

We can help -- the Congress, the President and the American people. We can help cool the passions that have caused so much heartbreak in the Mediterranean.

The American political system is one of checks and balances, but it works best when the checks do not become roadblocks. As President, I need the cooperation and the full support of the Congress which I know is as concerned as I am about our Nation's security.

Just as important, your representatives in the Congress need to know where you stand. They have to realize that you place America's security above personal and political consideration.

This morning I am deeply honored to have had this great opportunity to meet with you here in the heartland of America and to share some of my deep concerns and some of my personal thoughts on the future of our Nation.

But talk is only the starting point, and so I ask each of you, as well as this great organization, to join with me in the commitment that I have made for the reinforcement of lasting peace and the enlargement of human freedom.

I ask this not only for ourselves but for our posterity and for all peoples who pray that the torch of liberty will continue to burn bright.

God helping us, freedom and peace will both prevail.

Thank you very much.

END

(AT 11:05 A.M. CDT)

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSETEXT OF REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE AMERICAN LEGION

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

August 19, 1975

I commend the American Legion for its constant patriotism in peace as in war. You give life and meaning to our motto "For God and Country." As President, I salute you and say for all Americans: Hang in there! I am glad to have this opportunity to talk with my fellow Legionnaires about two things which the American Legion has always held dear: freedom and peace -- for our country and for the world.

Freedom always comes first. Let there be no doubt about that. Patrick Henry answered that question for us two hundred years ago. The Marines, Seamen and Airmen who rescued the Mayaguez gave the same clear answer -- which was heard 'round the world. All Americans are proud of their success.

But in today's world of technological terror, with weapons of awesome sophistication and destructiveness, it is difficult to see how freedom as we know it could survive another all-out war. It is even questionable whether a free society such as ours could survive an all-out, unrestricted arms race.

We are, therefore, confronted with the dilemma that has faced the American people and their government since the post-war Administration of Presidents Truman and Eisenhower. How do we preserve, protect and defend our own freedom and that of our allies? How do we advance the cause of freedom worldwide? And how do we, at the same time, preserve the general peace and create conditions that reduce the chances of major war? How do we control the tremendous costs of maintaining the capabilities required for a potential major war? These are exceedingly difficult questions to answer. At times, we have come perilously close to a major military confrontation. At times, we have suffered serious setbacks. And we are still unable to resolve some dangerous conflicts festering on nearly every continent in the world. But we have prevented World War Three. We have preserved civilization. Few who remember the immediate period after World War Two would say that the world is not calmer and better off today than it was.

(MORE)

The Free World, as we define it, is essentially intact after 30 years of an uneasy peace between the super powers, instability in former Colonial areas, and sporadic outbreaks of local and regional violence. And three decades of this imperfect peace have permitted unprecedented gains in productivity and economic progress for much of mankind, including the United States.

Some fundamental lessons were learned in this period. They must not be forgotten.

First, the military might, material strength and moral purpose of the United States were absolutely essential to achieve the present level of international stability. They remain absolutely essential. We are still the principal defender of freedom in the world.

Second, our enormous defense capability and its economic base have been reinforced by the growing resources of our allies in Europe and the Pacific -- and by the increasing interdependence of the industrial democracies in both military and economic areas. This must continue.

Third, the policies of five American Presidents before me for strong national defense, for reduction of East-West tensions and the threat of thermo-nuclear war, and for the bolstering of our essential allies have had the unswerving and nonpartisan support of the Congress and the American people. I will continue to seek that support. Today, I ask you, my fellow Legionnaires, to help me achieve that objective.

We share a deep concern over the cracks now appearing in the foundations of essential national unity on defense and foreign policy.

Without a clear consensus among 214 million Americans, the role of the United States as the champion of freedom and peace in the world would be crippled seriously if not fatally. The ability of a President to carry out his constitutional duties would be dangerously diminished. The temptation to potential adversaries to take advantage of any apparent weakness, disunity and indecision could become irresistible. With your support and that of other Americans, my Administration will give them no such temptation.

(MORE)

George Washington said the best way to preserve peace is to be prepared for war. In one way or another, each of President Washington's successors has repeated that truth. Unfortunately, we have historically ignored it. We have abruptly demobilized after every war -- and the next generation of Americans paid dearly for this folly. I see some danger signs of our doing it again -- with the stakes infinitely higher than ever before.

That is why I say to you today -- I am determined to resist unilateral disarmament.

I am committed to keeping America's defenses second to none.

Now that Americans are no longer fighting on any front, there are many sincere but short-sighted Americans who believe that the billions for defense could be better spent for social programs to help the poor and disadvantaged. But I am convinced that adequate spending for national defense is an insurance policy for peace we cannot afford to be without.

It is most valuable if we never need to use it. But -- without it -- we could be wiped out.

Certainly the most important social obligation of Government is to guarantee all citizens -- including the disadvantaged -- sufficient protection of their lives and freedoms against outside attack. Today, that protection is our principal hope of peace. What expense item in our Federal budget is more essential?

This is one place where second-best is worth nothing. The proportion of Federal spending for national security and the proportion of our Gross National Product going for defense requirements have declined in recent years. The dollar figures in the Federal Budget go up because of inflation. But the weapons we can purchase and the personnel we can afford have declined.

During the Vietnam War, defense spending concentrated on current combat requirements, short-changing our long-range research and development efforts. If our technological lead is not rapidly recovered, this could be fatal to our qualitative superiority in the future. Scientific progress in the Pentagon must be an equal partner with the best in personnel and weapons in maintaining peace and deterring war.

(MORE)

Our potential adversaries are certainly not reducing the levels of their military power. The United States must be alert and strong. The defense budget which I submitted for fiscal year 1976 represents under these circumstances the bare minimum required for our safety. I will vigorously resist all major cuts in every way I can.

For the next fiscal year -- 1977 -- I hope to hold down our spending on nuclear forces. This tentative judgment is conditioned on real progress in SALT II. But the Congress and the American people must realize that, unless agreement is achieved, I will have no choice but to recommend to the Congress an additional two to three billion dollars for strategic weapons programs in the current and coming fiscal years.

In recent weeks, there has been a great deal said about the subject of detente. Today, let me tell you what I think about detente. First of all, the word is confusing. Its meaning is not clear to everybody. French is a beautiful language -- the classic language of diplomacy. But I wish there were one simple English word to substitute for detente. Unfortunately, there isn't. Relations between the world's two strongest nuclear powers can't be summed up in a catch phrase. Detente literally means "easing" or "relaxing" -- but definitely not the relaxing of diligence or easing of effort. Rather, it means movement away from the constant crisis and dangerous confrontation that have characterized relations with the Soviet Union. The process of detente -- and it is a process -- looks toward a saner and safer relationship between us and the Soviet Union. It represents our best effort to cool the cold war which on occasion became much too hot for comfort. To me, detente means a fervent desire for peace -- but not peace at any price. It means the preservation of fundamental American principles -- not their sacrifice.

It means maintaining the strength to command respect from our adversaries and to provide leadership to our friends -- not letting down our guard or dismantling our defenses or neglecting our allies.

It means peaceful rivalry between political and economic systems -- not the curbing of our competitive efforts. Since the American system depends on freedom, we are confident that our philosophy will prevail. Freedom is still the wave of the future. Detente means moderate and restrained behavior between two super powers -- not a license to fish in troubled waters.

It means mutual respect and reciprocity -- not unilateral concessions or one-sided agreements.

With this attitude, I shall work with determination for relaxation of tensions. The U. S. has nothing to fear from progress toward peace.

Although we still have a long way to go, we have made progress: a defusing of the Berlin time-bomb, the ABM Treaty, the first SALT agreements and progress on SALT II, the start of mutual and balanced force reduction negotiations in Europe, and other arms control agreements regarding space, the seabeds and germ warfare.

We have also established the basis for progress towards detente and cooperation in Europe as a result of the summit meeting of 35 nations in Helsinki. But the principles we adopted there now must be put into practice. We cannot raise the hopes of our people and shatter them by unkept promises.

We are now carefully watching some serious situations for indications of the Soviet attitude towards detente and cooperation in European security. The situation in Portugal is one of them. We are deeply concerned about the future of freedom in Portugal -- as we have always been concerned about the freedom of people throughout the world.

The reality of the Portugese situation is apparent to all. The wishes of a moderate majority have been subverted by forces more determined than representative. We are hopeful that the sheer weight of numbers -- the 80 percent of the Portuguese people who support the democratic process -- will prevail in this conflict of ideologies. But they must find the solution in an atmosphere that is free from the pressures of outside interests.

So far, my meetings with General Secretary Brezhnev in Vladivostok and Helsinki have been constructive and helpful. Future success will depend on concrete developments.

Peace is the primary objective of the foreign and defense policies of the United States. It is easy to be a cold warrior in peacetime. But it would be irresponsible for a President to engage in confrontations when consultations would advance the cause of peace. So I say to you -- as I said to Mr. Brezhnev and the leaders of other European nations and Canada in Helsinki -- peace is crucial but freedom must come first.

(MORE)

Those who proclaimed American independence almost 200 years ago asserted not merely that all Americans should enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but that all men everywhere are endowed by their Creator with such inalienable rights.

I told the leaders of Europe that these principles, though still being perfected, remain the guiding lights of American policy; that the American people are still dedicated to the universal advancement of individual rights and human freedom implicit in the Helsinki declarations.

It gave me great pride as the spokesman for the United States at Helsinki to say to both East and West: my country and its principles of freedom have given hope to millions in Europe and on every continent and still does.

On the other hand, I emphasized that we are tired of having our hopes raised and then shattered by empty words and unkept promises.

I reminded all that detente must be a two-way street because tensions cannot be eased with safety and security by one side alone.

Through detente, I hope that we are on a two-way street with the Soviet Union. But until I am certain of real progress, I must reserve final judgments about the defense budget and particularly our plans for strategic nuclear forces.

We will, therefore, continue to seek meaningful arms agreements. But this will be possible only with sufficient and credible strength of our own and in concert with our allies. Moreover, any agreements we reach must be verifiable for our security. That is, we must possess the means of making sure that they are being honored. The time is not yet come when we can entrust our hopes for peace to a piece of paper.

Thus, another essential element to any real arms limitation, whether of strategic systems or conventional forces, is our own intelligence capability. Sweeping attacks, overly generalized, against our intelligence activities, jeopardize vital functions necessary to our national security. Today's sensations must not be the prelude to tomorrow's Pearl Harbor.

(MORE)

I certainly do not condone improper activities or violations of the constitutional rights of Americans by any personnel or agency of the Federal government. On the basis of the comprehensive studies of our intelligence agencies by the Rockefeller Commission and by the Murphy Commission on the conduct of foreign policy, I will take administrative action and recommend legislation to the Congress for whatever must be done to prevent future abuses.

Intelligence in today's world is absolutely essential to our Nation's security -- even our survival. It may be even more important in peace than in war. Any reckless Congressional action to cripple the effectiveness of our intelligence services in legitimate operations would be catastrophic. Our potential adversaries and even some of our friends operate in all intelligence fields with secrecy, skill and substantial resources. I know -- and you know -- that what we need is an American intelligence capacity second to none.

Finally, and this relates both to our vital intelligence installations and to the imperative need to strengthen key alliances such as NATO, let us now consider our relations with our friend and ally of many years, Turkey. How do you explain to a friend and ally why arms previously ordered and paid for are not being delivered? How do you explain to your other allies the potential damage this may cause to the NATO Alliance? How do you justify to the American people the loss of strategic intelligence data with its attendant effect on our National security that this action has caused?

I don't know -- because I am at a loss to explain it myself. As a man of the Congress for 25 years, the last thing I seek is confrontation with my friends and colleagues on Capitol Hill. Obviously, I am troubled that the Congress has refused to permit the shipment of arms to Turkey -- but I respect the sincerity and the motives of those who support this position. However, I know that when the bottom line of any issue is the ultimate security of the United States, the Congress and the President have always found a way to close ranks and act as one.

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The American political system is one of checks and balances. But it works best when the checks do not become roadblocks. As President, I need the cooperation and support of the Congress which I know is as concerned as I am about our Nation's security.

Just as important, your representatives in the Congress need to know where you stand. They have to realize that you place America's security above personal and political considerations.

This morning, I am honored to have had this opportunity to meet with you here in the heartland of America and to share some of my concerns and some of my thoughts on the future of our Nation.

But talk is only the starting point -- and so I ask you to join with me in the commitment I have made -- for the reinforcement of lasting peace and the enlargement of human freedom. I ask this not only for ourselves but for our posterity and for all peoples who pray that the torch of liberty will continue to burn bright.

God helping us, freedom and peace will both prevail.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

JANUARY 19, 1976

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
OF
PRESIDENT GERALD FORD
TO A JOINT SESSION OF THE CONGRESS

THE HOUSE CHAMBER

9:00 P.M. EST

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of the 94th Congress, and distinguished guests:

As we begin our Bicentennial, America is still one of the youngest Nations in recorded history. Long before our forefathers came to these shores, men and women had been struggling on this planet to forge a better life for themselves and their families.

In man's long upward march from savagery and slavery -- throughout the nearly 2,000 years of the Christian calendar, the nearly 6,000 years of Jewish reckoning -- there have been many deep, terrifying valleys and also many bright and towering peaks.

One peak stands highest in the ranges of human history. One example shines forth of a people uniting to produce abundance and to share the good life fairly and with freedom. One Union stands out the promise of justice and opportunity for every citizen. That Union is the United States of America.

We have not remade paradise on earth. We know perfection will not be found here. But, think for a minute how far we have come in 200 years. We came from many routes, and we have many branches. Yet, all Americans across the eight generations that separate us from the stirring deeds of 1776, those who know no other homeland and those who just found refuge among our shores, say in unison, "I am proud of America and I am proud to be an American. Life will be a little better here for my children than for me."

I believe this not because I am told to believe it, but because life has been better for me than it was for my father and my mother. I know it will be better for my children because my hands, my brains, my voice and my vote can help make it happen.

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Full

It has happened here in America. It has happened to you and to me. Government exists to create and preserve conditions in which people can translate their ideas into practical reality. In the best of times much is lost in translation, but we try. Sometimes we have tried and failed. Always we have had the best of intentions.

In the recent past, we sometimes forgot the sound principles that guided us through most of our history. We wanted to accomplish great things and solve age-old problems, and we became overconfident of our abilities. We tried to be a policeman abroad and the indulgent parent here at home.

We thought we could transform the country through massive national programs, but often the programs did not work. Too often they only made things worse. In our rush to accomplish great deeds quickly, we trampled on sound principles of restraint, and endangered the rights of individuals. We unbalanced our economic system by the huge and unprecedented growth of Federal expenditures in borrowing, and we were not totally honest with ourselves about how much these programs would cost and how we would pay for them.

Finally, we shifted our emphasis from defense to domestic problems while our adversaries continued a massive build-up of arms.

The time has now come for a fundamentally different approach -- for a new realism that is true to the great principles upon which this Nation was founded. We must introduce a new balance to our economy, a balance that favors not only sound, active Government, but also a much more vigorous, healthier economy that can create new jobs and hold down prices.

We must introduce a new balance in the relationship between the individual and the Government, a balance that favors greater individual freedom than self-reliance.

We must strike a new balance in our system of Federalism, a balance that favors greater responsibility and freedom for the leaders of our State and local Governments. We must introduce a new balance between the spending on domestic programs and spending on defense, a balance that insures we will fully meet our obligations to the needy while also protecting our security in a world that is still hostile to freedom.

MORE

In all that we do, we must be more honest with the American people, promising them no more than we can deliver and delivering all that we promise.

The genius of America has been its incredible ability to improve the lives of its citizens through a unique combination of governmental and free citizen activity.

History and experience tells us that moral progress comes not in comfortable and in complacent times, but out of trial and out of confusion. Tom Paine aroused the troubled Americans of 1776 to stand up to the times that try men's souls because the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph.

Just a year ago I reported that the State of the Union was not good. Tonight, I report that the State of our Union is better -- in many ways a lot better -- but still not good enough.

To paraphrase Tom Paine, 1975 was not a year for summer soldiers and sunshine patriots. It was a year of fears and alarms and of dire forecasts, most of which never happened and won't happen.

As you recall, the year 1975 opened with rancor and with bitterness. Political misdeeds of the past had neither been forgotten nor forgiven. The longest, most divisive war in our history was winding toward an unhappy conclusion. Many feared that the end of that foreign war of men and machines meant the beginning of a domestic war of recrimination and reprisal.

Friends and adversaries abroad were asking whether America had lost its nerve. Finally, our economy was ravaged by inflation, inflation that was plunging us into the worse recession in four decades. At the same time, Americans become increasingly alienated from all big institutions. They were steadily losing confidence, not just in big Government, but in big business, big labor and big education, among others.

Ours was a troubled land. So, 1975 was a year of hard decisions, difficult compromises and a new realism that taught us something more important about America. It brought back a needed measure of common sense, steadfastness and self-discipline.

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Americans did not panic or demand instant but useless cures. In all sectors, people met their difficult problems with restraint and with responsibility worthy of their great heritage.

Add up the separate pieces of progress in 1975, subtract the setbacks, and the sum total shows that we are not only headed in a new direction, a direction which I proposed 12 months ago, but it turned out to be the right direction.

It is the right direction because it follows the truly revolutionary American concept of 1776, which holds that in a free society the making of public policy and successful problem solving involves much more than Government.

It involves a full partnership among all branches and all levels of Government, private institutions and individual citizens.

Common sense tells me to stick to that steady course. Take the state of our economy. Last January, most things were rapidly getting worse. This January, most things are slowly but surely getting better.

The worse recession since World War II turned around in April. The best cost of living news of the past year is that double-digit inflation of 12 percent or higher was cut almost in half. The worst -- unemployment remains far too high.

Today, nearly one million seven hundred thousand more Americans are working than at the bottom of the recession. At year's end, people were again being hired much faster than they were being laid off.

Yet, let us be honest. Many Americans have not yet felt these changes in their daily lives. They still see prices going up far too fast, and they still know the fear of unemployment.

We are also a growing Nation. We need more and more jobs every year. Today's economy has produced over 85 million jobs for Americans, but we need a lot more jobs, especially for the young.

My first objective is to have sound economic growth without inflation. We all know from recent experience what runaway inflation does to ruin every other worthy purpose. We are slowing it. We must stop it cold.

MORE

For many Americans, the way to a healthy, non-inflationary economy has become increasingly apparent. The Government must stop spending so much and stop borrowing so much of our money. More money must remain in private hands where it will do the most good.

To hold down the cost of living, we must hold down the cost of Government. In the past decade, the Federal budget has been growing at an average rate of over 10 percent a year. The budget I am submitting Wednesday cuts this rate of growth in half.

I have kept my promise to submit a budget for the next fiscal year of \$395 billion. In fact, it is \$394.2 billion.

By holding down the growth of Federal spending, we can afford additional tax cuts and return to the people who pay taxes more decision-making power over their own lives.

Last month I signed legislation to extend the 1975 tax reductions for the first six months of this year. I now propose that effective July 1, 1976, we give our taxpayers a tax cut of approximately \$10 billion more than Congress agreed to in December.

My broader tax reduction would mean that for a family of four making \$15,000 a year, there will be \$227 more in take-home pay annually. Hard-working Americans caught in the middle can really use that kind of extra cash.

My recommendations for a firm restraint on the growth of Federal spending and for greater tax reduction are simple and straightforward. For every dollar saved in cutting the growth in the Federal budget, we could have an added dollar of Federal tax reduction.

We can achieve a balanced budget by 1979 if we have the courage and the wisdom to continue to reduce the growth of Federal spending.

One test of a healthy economy is a job for every American who wants to work. Government -- our kind of Government -- cannot create that many jobs. But, the Federal Government can create conditions and incentives for private business and industry to make more and more jobs.

Five out of six jobs in this country are in private business and industry. Common sense tells us this is the place to look for more jobs and to find them faster. I mean real, rewarding, permanent jobs.

MORE

To achieve this, we must offer the American people greater incentives to invest in the future. My tax proposals are a major step in that direction. To supplement these proposals, I ask that Congress enact changes in Federal tax laws that will speed up plant expansion and the purchase of new equipment.

My recommendations will concentrate this job creation tax incentive in areas where the unemployment rate now runs over 7 percent. Legislation to get this started must be approved at the earliest possible date.

Within the strict budget total that I recommend for the coming year, I will ask for additional holding assistance for 500,000 families. These programs will expand housing opportunities, spur construction and help to house moderate and low income families.

We had a disappointing year in the housing industry in 1975. But, with lower interest rates and available mortgage money, we can have a healthy recovery in 1976.

A necessary condition of a healthy economy is freedom from the petty tyranny of massive Government regulation. We are wasting literally millions of working hours costing billions of taxpayers and consumer dollars because of bureaucratic red tape.

The American farmer, who now feeds 215 million Americans, but also millions worldwide, has shown how much more he can produce without the shackles of Government control.

Now, we badly need reforms in other key areas in our economy: The airlines, trucking, railroads and financial institutions.

I have submitted concrete plans in each of these areas, not to help this or that industry, but to foster competition and to bring prices down for the consumer.

This Administration, in addition, will strictly enforce the Federal antitrust laws for the very same purposes. Taking a longer look at America's future, there can be neither sustained growth nor more jobs unless we continue to have an assured supply of energy to run our economy.

Domestic production of oil and gas is still declining. Our dependence on foreign oil at high prices is still too great, draining jobs and dollars away from our own economy at the rate of \$125 per year for every American.

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Last month I signed a compromise national energy bill which enacts a part of my comprehensive energy independence program. This legislation was late, not the complete answer to energy independence, but still a start in the right direction.

I again urge the Congress to move ahead immediately on the remainder of my energy proposal to make America invulnerable to the foreign oil cartel.

My proposals, as all of you know, would reduce domestic natural gas shortages, allow production from Federal petroleum reserves, stimulate effective conservation, including revitalization of our railroads, and the expansion of our urban transportation systems, develop more and cleaner energy from our vast coal resources; expedite clean and safe nuclear power production, create a new national Energy Independence Authority to stimulate vital energy investment and accelerate development of technology to capture energy from the sun and the earth, for this and future generations.

Also, I ask, for the sake of future generations, that we preserve the family farm and family-owned small business. Both strengthen America and give stability to our economy. I will propose estate tax changes so that family businesses and family farms can be handed down from generation to generation without having to be sold to pay taxes.

I propose tax changes to encourage people to invest in America's future and their own, through a plan that gives moderate income families income tax benefits if they make long-term investments in common stock in American companies.

The Federal Government must, and will, respond to clearcut national needs for this and future generations, Hospital and medical services in America are among the best in the world, but the cost of a serious and extended illness can quickly wipe out a family's life savings.

Increasing health costs are of deep concern to all, and a powerful force pushing up the cost of living. The burden of catastrophic illness can be borne by very few in our society. We must eliminate this fear from every family.

I propose catastrophic health insurance for everybody covered by Medicare. To finance this added protection, fees for short-term care will go up somewhat, but nobody, after reaching age 65, will have to pay more than \$500 a year for covered hospital or nursing home care, nor more than \$250 for one year's doctor bills. We cannot realistically afford Federally dictated national health insurance providing full coverage for all 215 million Americans. The experience of other countries raises questions about the quality as well as the cost of such plans.

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But I do envision the day when we may use the private health insurance system to offer more middle income families high quality health services at prices they can afford and shield them also from their catastrophic illnesses.

Using resources now available, I propose improving the Medicare and other Federal health programs to help those who really need protection -- older people and the poor. To help States and local Governments give better health care to the poor, I propose that we combine 16 existing Federal programs, including Medicaid, into a single \$10 billion Federal grant.

Funds would be divided among States under a new formula which provides a larger share of Federal money to those States that have a larger share of low income families.

I will take further steps to improve the quality of medical and hospital care for those who have served in our Armed Forces.

Now, let me speak about Social Security. Our Federal Social Security system for people who have worked and contributed to it for all their lives is a vital part of our economic system. Its value is no longer debatable. In my budget for fiscal year 1977 I am recommending that the full cost of living increase in Social Security benefits be paid during the coming year.

But I am concerned about the integrity of our Social Security Trust Fund that enables people, those retired and those still working who will retire, to count on this source of retirement income. Younger workers watch their deductions rise and wonder if they will be adequately protected in the future. We must meet this challenge head on. Simple arithmetic warns all of us that the Social Security Trust Fund is headed for trouble. Unless we act soon to make sure the Fund takes in as much as it pays out, there will be no security for old or for young.

I must, therefore, recommend a three-tenths of one percent increase in both employer and employee Social Security taxes effective January 1, 1977. This will cost each covered employee less than one extra dollar a week and will insure the integrity of the Trust Fund.

As we rebuild our economy, we have a continued responsibility to provide a temporary cushion to the unemployed. At my request the Congress enacted two extensions and two expansions in unemployment insurance which helped those who were jobless during 1975. These programs will continue in 1976.

In my fiscal 1977 budget, I am also requesting funds to continue proven job training and employment opportunity programs for millions of other Americans.

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Compassion and a sense of community -- two of America's greatest strengths throughout our history -- tell us we must take care of our neighbors who cannot take care of themselves. The host of Federal programs in this field reflect our generosity as a people.

But everyone realizes that when it comes to welfare, Government at all levels is not doing the job well. Too many of our welfare programs are inequitable and invite abuse. Too many of our welfare programs have problems from beginning to end. Worse, we are wasting badly needed resources without reaching many of the truly needy.

Complex welfare programs cannot be reformed overnight. Surely, we cannot simply dump welfare into the laps of the 50 States, their local taxpayers or their private charities, and just walk away from it. Nor is it the right time for massive and sweeping changes while we are still recovering from the recession.

Nevertheless, there are still plenty of improvements that we can make. I will ask Congress for Presidential authority to tighten up the rules for eligibility and benefits.

Last year I twice sought long overdue reform of the scandal riddled Food Stamp program. This year I say again: Let's give Food Stamps to those most in need. Let's not give any to those who don't need them.

Protecting the life and property of the citizen at home is the responsibility of all public officials, but it is primarily the job of local and State law enforcement authorities.

Americans have always found the very thought of a Federal police force repugnant, and so do I, but there are proper ways in which we can help to insure domestic tranquility as the Constitution charges us.

My recommendations on how to control violent crime were submitted to the Congress last June with strong emphasis on protecting the innocent victims of crime. To keep a convicted criminal from committing more crimes, we must put him in prison so he cannot harm more law-abiding citizens. To be effective, this punishment must be swift and it must be certain.

Too often criminals are not sent to prison after conviction but are allowed to return to the streets.

Some judges are reluctant to send convicted criminals to prison because of inadequate facilities. To alleviate this problem at the Federal level, my new budget proposes the construction of four new Federal facilities.

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To speed Federal justice, I propose an increase this year in the United States Attorneys prosecuting Federal crimes and the reinforcement of the number of United States Marshals.

Additional Federal judges are needed, as recommended by me and the Judicial Conference.

Another major threat to every American's person and property is the criminal carrying a handgun. A way to cut down on the criminal use of guns is not to take guns away from the law-abiding citizens, but to impose mandatory sentences for crimes in which a gun is used; make it harder to obtain cheap guns for criminal purposes and concentrate gun control enforcement in high crime areas.

My budget recommends 500 additional Federal agents in the 11 largest metropolitan high crime areas to help local authorities stop criminals from selling and using handguns.

The sale of hard drugs is tragically on the increase again. I have directed all agencies of the Federal Government to step up law enforcement efforts against those who deal in drugs.

In 1975, I am glad to report, Federal agents seized substantially more heroin coming into our country than in 1974.

As President, I have talked personally with the leaders of Mexico, Columbia and Turkey to urge greater efforts by their Governments to control effectively the production and shipment of hard drugs.

I recommended months ago that the Congress enact mandatory fixed sentences for persons convicted of Federal crimes involving the sale of hard drugs. Hard drugs, we all know, degrade the spirit as they destroy the body of their users.

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It is unrealistic and misleading to hold out the hope that the Federal Government can move into every neighborhood and clean up crime. Under the Constitution, the greatest responsibility for curbing crime lies with State and local authorities. They are the frontline fighters in the war against crime.

There are definite ways in which the Federal Government can help them. I would propose in the new budget that the Congress authorize almost \$7 billion over the next five years to assist State and local Governments to protect the safety and property of all their citizens.

As President, I pledge the strict enforcement of Federal laws, and by example, support and leadership, to help State and local authorities enforce their laws. Together, we must protect the victims of crime and insure domestic tranquility.

Last year I strongly recommended a five-year extension of the existing revenue sharing legislation which thus far has provided \$23.5 billion to help State and local units of Government solve problems at home. This program has been effective with decision-making transfers from the Federal Government to locally elected officials.

Congress must act this year or State and local units of Government will have to drop programs or raise local taxes.

Including my health care program reforms, I propose to consolidate some 59 separate Federal programs and provide flexible Federal dollar grants to help States, cities and local agencies in such important areas as education, child nutrition and social services.

This flexible system will do the job better and do it closer to home.

The protection of the lives and property of Americans from foreign enemies is one of my primary responsibilities as President. In a world of instant communications and intercontinental ballistic missiles, in a world economy that is global and interdependent, our relations with other nations become more, not less, important to the lives of Americans.

America has had a unique role in the world since the day of our independence 200 years ago, and ever since the end of World War II we have borne successfully a heavy responsibility for insuring a stable world order and hope for human progress.

MORE

Today, the state of our foreign policy is sound and strong. We are at peace, and I will do all in my power to keep it that way.

Our military forces are capable and ready. Our military power is without equal, and I intend to keep it that way.

Our principal alliances with the industrial democracies of the Atlantic community and Japan have never been more solid. A further agreement to limit the strategic arms race may be achieved. We have an improving relationship with China, the world's most populous nation.

The key elements for peace among the nations of the Middle East now exist. Our traditional friendships in Latin America, Africa and Asia continue. We have taken the role of leadership in launching a serious and hopeful dialogue between the industrial world and the developing world.

We have helped to achieve significant reform of the international monetary system. We should be proud of what America, what our country, has accomplished in these areas, and I believe the American people are.

The American people have heard too much about how terrible our mistakes, how evil our deeds, and how misguided our purposes. The American people know better.

The truth is we are the world's greatest democracy. We remain the symbol of man's aspiration for liberty and well being. We are the embodiment of hope for progress. I say it is time we quit downgrading ourselves as a Nation.

Of course, it is our responsibility to learn the right lesson from past mistakes. It is our duty to see that they never happen again. But, our greater duty is to look to the future. The world's troubles will not go away.

The American people want strong and effective international and defense policies. In our constitutional system, these policies should reflect consultation and accommodation between the President and the Congress. But, in the final analysis, as the framers of our Constitution knew from hard experience, the foreign relations of the United States can be conditioned effectively only if there is strong central direction that allows flexibility of action.

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That responsibility clearly rests with the President.

I pledge to the American people policies which seek a secure, just and peaceful world. I pledge to the Congress to work with you to that end.

We must not face a future in which we can no longer help our friends, such as Angola, even in limited and carefully controlled ways. We must not lose all capacity to respond short of military intervention.

Some hasty actions of the Congress during the past year, most recently in respect to Angola, were, in my view, very shortsighted. Unfortunately, they are very much on the minds of our allies and our adversaries.

A strong defense posture gives weight to our values and our views in international negotiations. It assures the vigor of our alliances and sustains our efforts to promote settlements of international conflicts.

Only from a position of strength can we negotiate a balanced agreement to limit the growth of nuclear arms. Only a balanced agreement will serve our interests and minimize the threat of nuclear confrontation.

The defense budget I will submit to the Congress for fiscal year 1977 will show an essential increase over the current year. It provides for real growth in purchasing power over this year's defense budget, which includes the cost of the all-volunteer force.

We are continuing to make economies to enhance the efficiency of our military forces, but the budget I will submit represents the necessity of American strength for the real world in which we live.

As conflicts and rivalry persist in the world, our United States intelligence capabilities must be the best in the world.

The crippling of our foreign intelligence services increases the danger of American involvement in direct arms conflict. Our adversaries are encouraged to attempt new adventures while our own ability to monitor events and to influence events short of military action, is undermined.

MORE

Without effective intelligence capability, the United States stands blindfolded and hobbled.

In the near future, I will take actions to reform and strengthen our intelligence community. I ask for your positive cooperation. It is time to go beyond sensationalism and ensure an effective, responsible, and responsive intelligence capability.

Tonight I have spoken about our problems at home and abroad. I have recommended policies that will meet the challenge of our third century. I have no doubt that our Union will endure, better, stronger and with more individual freedom. We can see forward only dimly -- one year, five years, a generation perhaps. Like our forefathers, we know that if we meet the challenges of our own time with a common sense of purpose and conviction; if we remain true to our Constitution and to our ideals, then we can know that the future will be better than the past.

I see America today crossing a threshold, not just because it is our Bicentennial, but because we have been tested in adversity. We have taken a new look at what we want to be and what we want our Nation to become.

I see America resurgent, certain once again that life will be better for our children than it is for us, seeking strength that cannot be counted in megatons and riches that cannot be eroded by inflation.

I see these United States of America moving forward as before, toward a more perfect Union where the Government serves and the people rule.

We will not make this happen simply by making speeches, good or bad, yours or mine, but by hard work and hard decisions made with courage and with common sense.

I have heard many inspiring Presidential speeches but the words I remember best were spoken by Dwight D. Eisenhower.

"America is not good because it is great," the President said. "American is great because it is good."

President Eisenhower was raised in a poor but religious home in the heart of America. His simple words echoed President Lincoln's eloquent testament that "right makes might." And Lincoln in turn evoked the silent image of George Washington kneeling in prayer at Valley Forge.

MORE

So all these magic memories which link eight generations of Americans are summed up in the inscription just above me.

How many times have we seen it? -- "In God We Trust."

Let us engrave it now in each of our hearts as we begin our Bicentennial.

END (AT 9:55 P.M. EST)

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE BRIEFING FOR
REPRESENTATIVES OF MILITARY-
ORIENTED ORGANIZATIONS

THE EAST ROOM

5:30 P.M. EST

Secretary Clements, General Brown, General Scowcroft, members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, distinguished guests:

It is awfully good to see you all and to welcome you to the White House. I know that Secretary Kissinger and Secretary Clements and others have briefed you very fully on the elements of our new defense budget and the policies of their respective departments.

Actually, foreign policy and defense policy are both part of a single national policy, the policy that carries out the first duty of the Federal Government, which is to make the United States and its people safe and secure in a very dangerous world.

Throughout our 200 years of independence, we have become the strongest Nation in the history of mankind and, as President, I intend to keep our military strength certain and our powder dry.

But, our world has also become much more dangerous. It is also my duty to do all that I can to reduce the level of danger by diplomatic means, so my policy for national security can be summed up in three words -- peace through strength.

I believe it is far better to seek negotiations with the Soviet Union based on strength than to permit a runaway nuclear arms race and risk a nuclear holocaust.

Under my Administration, the United States is at peace. There are no Americans in battle anywhere in the world today. We have greatly strengthened our essential alliances with Western Europe and with Japan.

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(OVER)

The United States has taken a strong and very forthright stand in the United Nations on behalf of our own national interest. We challenged the Soviet Union and Cuba in their intervention in Angola, and if the Congress had stood with us, we could have preserved the opportunity to let the Angolans settle their future among themselves.

We have worked to achieve an unprecedented increase in United States foreign trade, which has insured hundreds of thousands of American jobs. The United States has used its unique position, its position of confidence, on both sides to accomplish a historic breakthrough in peace negotiations between Egypt and with Israel, and continues to seek a just and lasting peace throughout the Middle East.

A strong military presence and decisive action by the United States coupled with the elements of our Pacific doctrine have stabilized international relations in Asia and the Far East. I believe -- and believe very strongly -- that \$112 billion 700 million requested in my fiscal year 1977 defense budget represents the best way to deter war and to keep our country secure.

By maintaining unquestioned military strength, we will negotiate from strength, not from weakness. We will not prevail in this protracted struggle with the enemies of freedom, big or small, by warming over the old rhetoric of the cold war or by fast and fancy gunplay with weapons that can destroy most of the human race.

We will win this struggle, and we are winning it by the patient and painstaking pursuit of our own national interest through continuing my present policy of peace through strength.

Anyone who has ever been in the Armed Forces, especially in wartime, knows that the final objective you gain from that experience, the continuing mission you take with you when you leave the service, is to work for a peaceful world for your children and your grandchildren.

The veterans of all nations will tell you just that. But, as Americans, we have an extra responsibility. We did not seek it, but it was thrust upon us. We cannot escape it, and we will not. Circumstance, destiny, fate, or whatever you call it, the fact is the United States of America is today the world's best and perhaps its only hope of peace with freedom.

Upon our strengths, upon our power, upon our prudence and our perseverance rests mankind's best hope for a better world. Whatever chance there is for permanent peace depends upon America's resolution and national leadership.

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I am committed to such a firm and steady course.
I am greatly encouraged and pleased by your strong and
steadfast support.

I thank you very much.

END (AT 5:35 P.M. EST)

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE USSR

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LEONID BREZHNEV ON THE WORLD SITUATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY OF THE CPSU

Moscow. February 24. TASS. Follows the section dealing with the world situation in the Report to the 25th CPSU Congress by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee:

1. Further strengthening of friendship and co-operation with Socialist countries. The historic successes of the Socialist world, growth of its might and influence

Comrades,

In the present conditions our Party's activity on the international scene is exceptionally broad and varied. In shaping our foreign policy we now have to reckon, in one way or another, with the state of affairs in virtually every spot on the globe. But, naturally, the closest to us Communists, to our minds and hearts, is that part of the world where Communist ideals--freedom from exploitation and oppression, full power of the working people, development of socialist democracy, flowering of culture and uplift of the well-being of the broad masses, equality and fraternity of all peoples and nationalities--are being embodied in practice. It is natural, therefore, that our Party's Central Committee and the CC Political Bureau have throughout the period under review, as before, devoted attention first and foremost to relations with the Socialist states. There has hardly been a Political Bureau sitting that did not deliberate questions related to strengthening the unity and developing co-operation with the fraternal countries, and consolidating our common international positions.

And these positions are growing stronger from year to year. No impartial person can deny that the Socialist countries' influence on world affairs is becoming ever stronger and deeper. That, comrades, is a great boon to mankind as a whole, to all those who aspire to freedom, equality, independence, peace and progress.

In the Socialist countries, the past five years have seen steady progress and confident advance to developed socialist society, to Communism. Along with their further political consolidation, there has been rapid growth of social production and of their peoples' material and cultural standards.

The ties between the Socialist states are becoming ever closer with the flowering of each Socialist nation and the strengthening of their sovereignty, and elements of community are increasing in their policy, economy, and social life. There is a gradual levelling up of their development. This process of a gradual drawing together of Socialist countries is now operating quite definitely as an objective law.

Of course, much depends on the policy of the ruling parties and their ability to safeguard unity, to combat isolation and national exclusiveness, to honour the common international tasks, and to act jointly in performing them.

Thanks to their unity, solidarity and mutual support, the Socialist countries have succeeded in fulfilling major tasks in the past five years, achieving what they had long been working for.

First of all, mention must be made of the victory of the Vietnamese people. Imperialism's biggest post-Second World War bid to destroy a Socialist state by armed force and crush a national liberation revolution suffered failure. The heroism and selfless dedication of the Vietnamese people, compounded by unremitting support from the socialist countries and the world's progressives, proved stronger than the armies of interventionists and their henchmen. The cause of freedom and independence triumphed.

The Soviet people take pride in having rendered considerable aid to Vietnam in its struggle against the imperialist invaders. Having won independence and national unity at a stiff price, the people of Vietnam are now working arduously to restore their country and build the Socialist future. Vietnam's victory has opened new horizons for all of Southeast Asia. It was a glorious victory, and will be inscribed forever in the history of the peoples' struggle for freedom and socialism.

In Vietnam's wake freedom was won by Laos and Cambodia. We, Soviet people, send our most ardent fraternal greetings to the Communists, patriots and all working people of these countries, and wish them further success in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

The worldwide recognition of the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic, its entry into the United Nations, and the international confirmation of the inviolability of the Western frontiers of the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia are an outstanding result of the concerted efforts of the Socialist states. Now the Munich diktate has been invalidated once and for all in legal terms as well. The most important results of the liberation struggle of the European peoples during and after the Second World War have been formalised. Conditions have been created for stable peace and good-neighbour co-operation in Europe and beyond it.

Socialism has taken deep root in Cuban soil. The efforts of US imperialism, still clinging to its policy of diplomatic and economic blockade, have been to no avail. On the contrary, Cuba's international situation has improved and her prestige has grown. The Cuban Communists' Congress, the Party's Programme platform and the country's new Constitution show that the first Socialist state in the Western hemisphere is making steady progress. We rejoice fraternally over the achievements of our Cuban comrades and heartily wish them complete success in their efforts to assure the flowering of the Socialist Republic of Cuba.

In its relations with the Socialist countries, the CPSU firmly follows the tested rule of dealing in the spirit of true equality and interest in each other's successes, of working out decisions that meet international, as well as national, interests. No matter what problems arise, we believe that they must be resolved in the spirit of strengthening friendship, unity and co-operation. That is now we shape our relations with the fraternal Socialist states - Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

The main basis of our close co-operation, its soul and the guiding, organising force, is the indissoluble militant alliance of the COMMUNIST PARTIES OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, the identity of their world outlook, their aims and will. The Central Committee, its Political Bureau, we can say with assurance, have all these years devoted unflinching attention to strengthening our fraternal friendship with these parties. And we can say with deep gratification that the fraternal parties do likewise.

Today, the ties between the fraternal parties present an impressive picture of deep, varied and systematic contacts between thousands upon thousands of fighters for the common cause, builders of Socialism and Communism - from party leaders to functionaries of local party committees and party branches at factories and collective farms. These ties are a vehicle of valuable exchanges of experience, help us to advance more effectively, and add to our common strength. It is one of our Party's most important tasks, the CC holds, to assure their continued all-round expansion.

I report to the Congress with deep satisfaction that the leaders of the Communist parties of the Socialist Community maintain continuous contact. There have been many friendly multilateral meetings of Central Committee General and First Secretaries in recent years. Three of them took place in the Crimea. There have also been meetings during Party Congresses, in particular last year in Budapest and Warsaw. Systematic multilateral and bilateral meetings enable us to consult on all major problems that arise, to share in each other's joys and sorrows, as the saying goes, and jointly chart our further advance.

On the whole, complete unity and fruitful co-operation are the hallmark of our relations with most parties of Socialist countries. A few parties, as we know, have particular views on a number of questions, but the overall tendency

is unquestionably characterised by growing cohesion. We value this tendency highly, and shall, as before, promote it in every way. This requires joint efforts by the fraternal parties on the basis of the tested principles of Marxism-Leninism, socialist internationalism, equality and comradely co-operation.

The Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee is an important form of co-operation by leaders of our parties and countries. The Treaty dependably serves the interests of peace and socialism. The significance of the initiatives advanced by our Political Consultative Committee in recent years is self-evident. Many of them have been the basis for decisions taken by major international forums or are reflected in a number of important bilateral international acts.

We are firmly opposed to the world's division into opposite military blocs and to the arms race. Our attitude on this score is well known. But we must make it clear that as long as the NATO bloc continues to exist and as long as militarist elements continue their arms drive, our country and the other signatories of the Warsaw Treaty will continue to strengthen this political-military alliance.

Comrades, the Socialist countries are playing an ever more prominent part in the world economy as well. The Socialist Community has now become the world's most dynamic economic force. In the past five years the industry of its member countries grew four times as swiftly as that of the developed capitalist states. In 1975 the industrial output of the countries of our Community was more than double that of the Common Market countries.

Our Central Committee devoted unremitting attention to questions of ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION with the Socialist states, to its further development on the basis of mutual advantage and socialist internationalism. There have been many new developments in this field in the past five years.

The CC Political Bureau attaches special importance to the long-term Programme of socialist economic integration adopted by us jointly with other CMEA countries in 1971. This Programme, comrades, raises co-operation among the Socialist countries to a much higher level than ordinary promotion of trade. For example, it means joint development of natural resources for the common benefit, joint construction of large industries planned for many years ahead. Implementation of this comprehensive Programme has already considerably deepened our economic interaction, and made our economies more mutually complementary to the considerable advantage of all concerned.

Trade, too, is growing at a good rate. Our turnover with the CMEA countries has more than doubled in five years. At present it has climbed to an impressive annual 26,000 million rubles.

From what has been achieved we can now take the next step. The present priority is to work out and fulfil special long-term programmes. Their purpose is

to meet by common effort the rapidly growing needs in energy, fuel, and basic primary materials, and to satisfy more fully the demand in food products and manufactured consumer goods, to raise the level of engineering, and expedite growth of transport. Those are our immediate common objectives.

Of course, there are bound to be difficulties in such a big and new undertaking. We have repeatedly discussed these questions at our Central Committee plenary meetings and in the Political Bureau. The matter is not only one of considerable mutual economic advantage, but also of tremendous political significance. It is a matter of strengthening the material basis of our Community. This is the angle from which the CC Political Bureau approaches it. We hold that strict and precise fulfilment of the measures collectively planned by the fraternal countries, of our commitments to them, is the sacred duty of the state planning committee, the ministries, administrations, amalgamations and enterprises, and of all those involved in this domain. Let me express my confidence that our comrades will treat these matters with the due sense of responsibility and with complete understanding of their extraordinary importance for the Socialist Community and the successes of world socialism.

Our IDEOLOGICAL CO-OPERATION with the parties of the fraternal countries has expanded substantially in recent years. Our parties' leading workers engaged in ideological and international activities meet at regular intervals, and not from time to time. Many scientific trends are now being developed by the collective effort of scholars of Socialist countries. There is also useful co-operation between the mass information media—radio, television and the press. This is helping us to raise the level of each of our parties' ideological and educational work and to act more successfully in the ideological confrontation of the two social systems. This is highly important in the present conditions, because problems of the ideological struggle are acquiring ever greater prominence, and the truth about socialism is a mighty weapon in this struggle.

Already today socialism exercises a tremendous influence on the minds and feelings of hundreds of millions of people all over the world. It assures working people freedom, truly democratic rights, well-being, the broadest possible access to knowledge, and a firm sense of security. It brings peace, respect for the sovereignty of all countries and equal interstate co-operation, and is a pillar of support to peoples fighting for their freedom and independence. And the immediate future is sure to provide new evidence of socialism's boundless possibilities, of its historical superiority over capitalism. Along with the other fraternal parties, the CPSU will continue to do everything in order to enhance the appeal of the example of victorious socialism.

The RELATIONS WITH CHINA, of course, are a special and separate question. The policy of its present leaders is openly directed against the majority of the Socialist states. More, it merges directly with the position of the world's most extreme reaction — from the militarists and enemies of detente in the Western

countries to the racists of South Africa and the fascist rulers of Chile. This policy is not only entirely alien to socialist principles and ideals, but has also, in effect, become an important potential for imperialism in its struggle against socialism.

Peking's frantic attempts to torpedo the detente, to obstruct disarmament, to breed suspicion and hostility between states, its efforts to provoke a world war and reap whatever advantages may accrue, present a great danger for all peace-loving peoples. This Peking policy is deeply contrary to the interests of all peoples. We shall continue to repulse this incendiary policy, and to protect the interests of the Soviet state, the Socialist Community, and the world Communist movement. Now it is far too little to say that the Maoist ideology and policy are incompatible with the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

In its relations with China, our Party firmly adheres to the course charted by the 24th Congress. This course has been proved correct by the facts. We shall continue the struggle against Maoism, a principles struggle and irreconcilable struggle.

At the same time, we should like to repeat once again that in our relations with China, as with other countries, we adhere firmly to the principles of equality, respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and non-use of force. In short, we are prepared to normalise relations with China in line with the principles of peaceful coexistence. What is more, we can say with assurance that if Peking reverts to a policy truly based on Marxism-Leninism, if it abandons its hostile policy towards the Socialist countries and takes the road of co-operation and solidarity with the socialist world, there will be an appropriate response from our side and opportunities will open for developing good relations between the USSR and the People's Republic of China consonant with the principles of socialist internationalism. The matter rests with the Chinese side.

2. Greater co-operation with the liberated countries. Their greater role in world development.

Comrades, the Soviet Union's ties with countries that have liberated themselves from colonial dependence or, as they are also called, the developing countries, have multiplied and grown stronger in the period under review. Particularly important is the fact that the political content of our ties has grown richer.

The more vigorous co-operation with the developing countries was doubtlessly facilitated by serious changes in their home affairs and international policy.

What main trends of change have there been in many of the liberated countries in recent years? Shifting of the centre of gravity in industrial development to the state sector, abolition of feudal landownership, nationalisation of foreign enterprises to assure the young states' effective sovereignty over their natural resources, and formation of their own personnel. In short, far-reaching progressive changes are taking place in that part of the world, despite the difficulties. This is certainly a process of historic importance.

A complicated process of class differentiation is under way in many liberated countries, with the class struggle gaining in intensity. It is taking different forms. New progressive changes have occurred in the economy and the political life of the socialist-oriented Arab, African and Asian countries. But there are also countries where development follows the capitalist way.

Some regimes and political organisations that proclaimed socialist aims and carry out progressive changes, have come under strong pressure from home and foreign reaction. The recent rightist campaign against the government of Indira Gandhi, and the attempts to undermine the social and political gains of the Egyptian revolution are examples of this course of events.

Or take the People's Republic of Angola. Barely constituted, this progressive state became an object of a foreign intervention, the handiwork of imperialism and the South African racists, the mortal enemies of independent Africa, and also of those who undertook the unseemly role of their henchmen. This was why Angola's struggle for independence was supported by the world's progressive forces, and its success testified once again that nothing can crush the people's aspirations to freedom.

The Soviet Union's attitude to the complicated processes within the developing countries is clear and definite. The Soviet Union does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples. It is a constant principle of our Leninist foreign policy to respect the sacred right of every people, every country, to choose its own way of development. But we do not conceal our views. In the developing countries, as everywhere else, we are on the side of the forces of progress, democracy and national independence, and regard them as friends and comrades in struggle.

Our Party supports and will continue to support peoples fighting for their freedom. In so doing, the Soviet Union does not look for advantages, does not hunt for concessions, does not seek political domination, or exact military bases. We act as we are bid by our revolutionary conscience, our Communist convictions.

Glancing at the picture of the modern world one cannot help noticing the important fact that the influence of states that had only recently been colonies or semi-colonies has grown considerably.

It may definitely be said about the majority of them that they are defending their political and economic rights against imperialism with mounting energy, striving to consolidate their independence and to raise the social, economic and cultural level of their peoples.

The foreign policy of the developing countries has become visibly more active. This is seen in many domains - the political course of the non-alignment movement, and the activity of the Organisation of African Unity and of the various economic associations formed by the developing countries. It is quite clear now that with the present correlation of world class forces, the liberated countries are quite able to resist imperialist diktate and achieve just - that is, equal - economic relations. It is also clear that their already considerable contribution to the common struggle for peace and the security of the peoples is quite likely to become still more substantial.

From the rostrum of our Congress we again emphasise that the Soviet Union fully supports the legitimate aspirations of the young states, their determination to shake off all imperialist exploitation, and to take full charge of their own national wealth.

A few words about our relations with the ARAB COUNTRIES. Good mutual understanding has arisen between us and Syria in the past five years. We act in concert on many international problems, first and foremost that of the Middle East. The Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation we have concluded with Iraq, on which our relations are based, is an important development. Our co-operation with Algeria and South Yemen is expanding and growing deeper. Significant steps have been taken to build up Soviet-Lybian ties. The friendly contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organisation have grown stronger.

Of late, certain forces are making persistent attempts to undermine Soviet-Egyptian relations. As concerns the USSR, we remain faithful to the fundamental line of strengthening them. This is reflected in the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation between the USSR and Egypt, which we regard as a long-term basis for relations conforming with the interests not only of our two countries, but also the entire Arab world.

All these years, the Soviet Union has consistently supported the Arab peoples' struggle to eliminate the consequences of the Israeli aggression. Our country helped - and effectively, as the October 1973 war showed - to build up the military potential of the countries opposing the aggressor, that is, Egypt, Syria and Iraq. We supported the Arab political struggle in and out of the United Nations.

There is no war in the Middle East at present. But neither is there peace, let alone tranquility. And who would venture to guarantee that hostilities do not erupt anew. This danger will persist as long as Israeli armies remain in the occupied territories. It will persist as long as the hundreds of thousands of Palestinians driven from their land are deprived of their legitimate rights and live

in appalling conditions, and as long as the Arab people of Palestine is denied the possibility to create its national state. For Middle East peace to be lasting, the security of all the states of the region, their right to independent existence and development, must also be guaranteed. Is it not clear how serious a responsibility is assumed by those who, in pursuance of egoistic aims, are making a Mid-East settlement the object of political manoeuvre and use separate partial agreements to delay, or even entirely place in question, genuine solutions.

As concerns the Soviet Union, its position is constructive and based on principle. As the co-chairman of the Geneva Conference, the USSR is prepared to co-operate in all efforts to reach an effective settlement of the conflict. We are prepared to participate in international guarantees of the security and inviolability of the frontiers of all Middle East countries either in the UN framework or on some other basis. Since we are on the subject, it is our opinion that Britain and France, too, could participate in such guarantees along with the USSR and the USA. This would only benefit matters.

We are for creating conditions to facilitate the development of our relations with all Middle East countries. We have no prejudices against any of them. Finally, we are also prepared to participate in searching for the solution of such a problem as ending the arms race in this region. But it stands to reason that this must be tied in closely with a general settlement in the Middle East. To tackle the problem before such a settlement is reached would place the aggressor on a par with his victims.

In the period under review the Central Committee devoted much attention to developing normal, and wherever possible also friendly, relations with the Asian states.

To begin with, a few words about our multi-sided co-operation with INDIA. We attach special importance to friendship with that great country. In the past five years Soviet-Indian relations have risen to a new level. Our countries have concluded a Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation. And even this short period has clearly shown its tremendous significance for our bilateral ties, and its role as a stabilising factor in South Asia and the continent as a whole.

Close political and economic co-operation with the Republic of India is our constant policy. Soviet people appreciate and, more, are in solidarity with India's peace-loving foreign policy and the courageous efforts of her progressive forces to solve her difficult socio-economic problems. We wish the people and government of India complete success in these efforts.

The events showed that the Soviet Union's approach to the problems of South Asia was correct. We welcomed the termination of the India-Pakistan armed conflict in 1971 and the important moves that occurred then towards normal relations between the states of that part of the world. We are pleased to note that we were to some extent able to contribute to this positive process.

Speaking of our relations with the Asian states in general, we must mention our good neighbour, Afghanistan, with which we recently extended the almost half-century-old treaty of neutrality and mutual non-aggression. Let me also mention Turkey, co-operation with which is gradually spreading from the sphere of chiefly economic to political question.

The Soviet Union intends to continue its active participation in the search for ways of consolidating peace and security on the Asian continent, and of developing equal co-operation there as well. We shall work for this through bilateral contacts, and also on a multilateral basis. We have repeatedly set forth our views on this score and stressed our readiness to treat with the utmost attention any proposals prompted by concern for lasting peace and security in Asia, and for assuring them by collective effort.

Much has also been done in the period under review to further friendly ties with the AFRICAN STATES. In the first half of the Seventies that continent saw the concluding phase of the downfall of the colonial system. The Soviet Communists warmly acclaim the victory of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde islands, Mozambique and Angola, which crowns many years of heroic struggle for independence. The CPSU has always sided with these peoples and rendered every possible support to the embattled patriots. And today we are pleased that our interstate relations with these countries are also imbued with the spirit of sincere friendship and mutual understanding.

Ties with our long-time friends, such as the Republic of Guinea and the People's Republic of the Congo, continued to grow closer in recent years. Our close relations with the Somali Democratic Republic were sealed still more dependably by a Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation. And our good relations with Nigeria, one of Africa's biggest countries, have expanded.

We are doing and will continue to do everything to extend and strengthen friendship with those who really want it. We are brought together with the vast majority of the states that arose on the ruins of the colonial system by our deep common allegiance to peace and freedom, and aversion to all forms of aggression and domination, and to exploitation of one country by another. This community of basic aspirations is rich and fruitful soil on which our friendship will continue to grow and flourish!

3. Development of relations with the capitalist states

Struggle to consolidate the principles of peaceful coexistence, to assure lasting peace, to reduce, and later also to eliminate, the danger of another world war was, and remains, the main element of our policy towards the capitalist states. It may be noted that considerable progress has been achieved in this area in the past five years.

The passage from cold war, from the explosive confrontation of the two worlds, to detente was largely connected with changes in the correlation of world forces. But much effort was required for people - especially those responsible for the policy of states - to become accustomed to the thought that not brinkmanship but negotiation of disputed questions, not confrontation but peaceful cooperation, is the natural state of things.

A big part here was played by the fact that our Party succeeded in accurately defining the main practical tasks of consolidating international security, and presenting them at its 24th Congress in the Peace Programme. The very first foreign-political actions of Soviet power based on the platform of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems showed the peoples of the world, as Lenin put it, "the only correct way out of the difficulties, chaos, and danger of wars" (Collected Works, Vol. 33, p. 357). Invariably mindful of this platform and acting on Lenin's behests and the half-century's experience of its foreign policy of peace, our Party advanced the Peace Programme at its 24th Congress. This Programme showed the realistic way to end the cold war and set clear objectives in the struggle to replace the danger of wars with peaceful cooperation.

The facts have borne out the Programme's timeliness and realism. And though world peace is by no means guaranteed as yet, we have every reason to declare that the improvement of the international climate is convincing evidence that lasting peace is not merely a good intention, but an entirely realistic objective. And we can and must continue to work tirelessly in the name of achieving it.

Permit me to dwell on the concrete directions of the work done by our Party to put the Peace Programme into practice.

First of all about EUROPE. Here the changes towards detente and more solid peace are probably especially tangible. And, of course, this is not accidental. It is in Europe that Socialism's positions and the impact of the agreed policy of the Socialist states are the strongest. The 24th Congress set the objective of assuring European security through recognition of the territorial and political realities that resulted from the Second World War. And that was the direction in which our CC worked.

The cooperation of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries with FRANCE developed successfully on this basis. Since the negotiations with President de Gaulle, Soviet-French summit talks have become a tradition. In the course of a series of meetings - first with President Pompidou and then with President Giscard d'Estaing - the positions of the two countries drew closer on a number of foreign-political questions, and the diverse Soviet-French ties and contacts became more active. This was broadly supported by the French people, the majority of the French political parties. We highly value our relations with France and are prepared to extend the areas of accord and co-operation.

A significant shift occurred in USSR-FRG relations on the basis of the 1970 Treaty. They have become normal, and this on the only possible basis - abandonment of pretensions to tear down the existing European frontiers. Now, the FRG is one of the major partners in our mutually beneficial business co-operation with the West. Our talks with Chancellor Brandt in Oreanda and Bonn, and likewise the negotiations in Moscow during the visits of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and President Walter Scheel, paved the way to better mutual understanding and enabled us to expand co-operation with the FRG in the economic and other fields.

The settlement with regard to WEST BERLIN was one of the complicated questions. It will be recalled that crises upsetting the situation in Europe erupted over that city. But the Four-Power Agreement concluded in the autumn of 1971, compounded by agreements and understandings reached on a number of issues by the governments of the GDR and FRG and the West Berlin senate have, essentially, relieved the tension. We value the co-operation achieved in the matter with the United States, France and Britain. Conditions have been created to turn West Berlin from a source of disputes into a constructive element of peace and detente. All sides must only show true respect for the agreements reached. Unfortunately, some of their signatories are doing far too little in this respect. We shall insist on strict and complete observance of all understandings. The Soviet Union favours a tranquil and normal life for West Berlin.

On the whole, our relations with the West European countries may be described as positive. This also concerns our relations with Britain and Italy. We value and also want to develop and enrich our traditional good-neighbour relations with Finland, and our ties with the Scandinavian countries, Austria, Belgium and other West European states. The restoration of relations with Portugal and improved relations with Greece were, of course, a reflection of the big and welcome changes in the political climate on the continent. By and large, no state in the West of Europe has stayed out of the broad process of normalising relations with the Socialist countries.

Comrades, in the interests of detente and lasting peace in Europe the 24th Congress of the CPSU called for the convocation and success of a EUROPEAN CONFERENCE. Now this has become reality. Last August in Helsinki the leaders of 33 European states and those of the United States and Canada signed the Final Act of the Conference, whose work had lasted two years, and the political preparations for which took ten years.

The results achieved are well worth the expended energy. The participants in the Conference have collectively reaffirmed the inviolability of the existing frontiers. A set of principles has been worked out for interstate relations conforming fully - in letter and spirit - with the requirements of peaceful co-existence. Favourable conditions have thus been created for safeguarding and consolidating peace on the entire continent.

In many ways, the results of the Conference are projected into the future. Perspectives for peaceful coexistence have been outlined in a large number of fields - economy, science, technology, culture, information, and growth of contacts between people. Some other measures, too, have been defined to further confidence between states, including the military domain. The main thing now is to put all the principles and understandings reached in Helsinki into practical deeds. This is exactly what the Soviet Union is doing and will continue to do. Recently we made certain proposals for expanding all-European co-operation in a number of important spheres. We shall continue to apply our efforts in this direction, and expect the same approach from all the other participants in the European Conference.

Thus, there are gains, and substantial ones, in the matter of arranging peaceful relations in Europe.

But neither can we overlook the negative aspect. There still exists in Europe such a complex and dangerous source of tension as the Cyprus problem. We are convinced that sensible consideration for the interests and rights of both communities in Cyprus will - given unconditional respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and barring attempts to impose outside solutions alien to Cypriots - pave the way to a settlement of this acute problem to the advantage of peace, security and tranquility in Europe.

There are also difficulties of a kind in our relations with a number of European capitalist states. They evidently derive from the reluctance of influential circles in these states really to shake off the cold war psychology and consistently follow a policy of mutually beneficial co-operation and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

In the FRG, for example, the course of normalising relations with the Socialist countries is being attacked by rightist forces who in substance cling to revenge-seeking positions. And, evidently, their pressure is affecting certain aspects of Bonn's government policy. Far from promoting mutual confidence and international co-operation, a considerable section of the mass media in Western countries is inciting suspicion and hostility towards the Socialist countries. Certain quarters are trying to emaculate and distort the very substance of the Final Act adopted in Helsinki, and to use this document as a screen for interfering in the internal affairs of the Socialist countries, for anti-communist and anti-Soviet demagogy in the cold war style.

In short, much persevering effort has still to be applied to achieve truly lasting peace in Europe and to make the detente irreversible. The Soviet Union will apply these efforts in close co-ordination with the fraternal Socialist states, with all the peace-loving and realistic forces in Europe. Before us, Comrades, is the great aim of making lasting peace the natural form of life for all the European peoples.

Comrades, the turn for the better in our relations with the United States of America, the largest power of the capitalist world, has, of course, been decisive in reducing the danger of another world war and in consolidating peace. This has beyond question contributed to the improvement of the international climate in general, and that of Europe in particular. Acting in complete accord with the guidelines set by the 24th Congress, we have devoted very great attention to the objective of improving relations with the United States.

As a result of the negotiations with US President Nixon in Moscow and Washington, and later of the meetings with President Ford in Vladivostok and Helsinki, important and fundamental mutual understanding has been reached between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States on the necessity of developing peaceful equal relations between the two countries. This is reflected in a whole system of Soviet-US treaties, agreements and other documents. Unquestionably the most important of these are "The Basic Principles of Mutual Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America", the "Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War," and the series of strategic arms limitation treaties and agreements. What is the main significance of these documents? Cumulatively, they have laid a solid political and juridical foundation for greater mutually beneficial co-operation between the USSR and the USA in line with the principles of peaceful coexistence. To a certain extent they have lessened the danger of nuclear war. Precisely in this we see the main result of the development of Soviet-US relations in the past five years.

There are good prospects for our relations with the United States in future as well - to the extent in which they will continue to develop on this jointly created realistic basis when, given the obvious difference between the class nature of the two states and between their ideology, there is the firm intention to settle differences and disputes not by force, not by threats or sabre rattling, but by peaceful political means.

In recent years our relations with the United States have been developing in many areas. There is a lively exchange of delegations, including parliamentary, and cultural exchanges have become more active. Many Soviet-US agreements have been concluded, envisaging expansion of mutually beneficial co-operation in a variety of economic, scientific, technical and cultural areas. Most of them have already come into force and are being put into practice with obvious benefits for both sides, and, more important still, for the mutual understanding of the Soviet and US peoples.

The essentially positive development of Soviet-US relations in recent years is, however, complicated by a number of serious factors. Influential forces in the United States that have no stake either in improving relations with the Soviet Union or in international detente as a whole, are trying to impair it. They portray the policy of the Soviet Union in a false light and refer to an imaginary "Soviet threat" to urge a new intensification of the arms race in the USA and in NATO. We may recall that there have also been attempts to interfere in our internal affairs in connection with the adoption of US discriminatory measures in the field of trade. Naturally, we could not and will not suffer that sort of thing, that is not the kind of language one can use with the Soviet Union. By now, I think, this is clear to all.

It is no secret that some of the difficulties stem from those aspects of Washington policy which jeopardise the freedom and independence of peoples and constitute gross interference in their internal affairs on the side of the forces of oppression and reaction. We have opposed and will continue to oppose such actions. At the same time I want to emphasise once more that the Soviet Union is firmly determined to follow the line of further improving Soviet-US relations in strict accordance with the letter and spirit of the agreements reached and commitments taken, in the interests of both peoples and peace on Earth.

Our relations with Canada are ever richer in content. We hold that their prospects are good. Ties with the Latin American countries have expanded visibly. We support their wish to consolidate political and economic independence, and welcome their greater role in international affairs.

The development of our relations with Japan follows a generally positive direction. The Soviet Union trades extensively with that country. A number of mutually beneficial economic agreements have been concluded. The contacts between political and public personalities have become much more active, and our cultural ties are growing. However, in connection with questions relating to a peace settlement, certain quarters in Japan are trying - sometimes with direct incitement from without - to present groundless and unlawful claims to the USSR. This, of course, is no way of maintaining good-neighbour relations. As we see it, good-neighbourliness and friendly co-operation should be the rule in Soviet-Japanese relations, and that is what we are working for. I should like to express the hope that Japan will not be induced to take the road onto which those, eager to reap advantages from Soviet-Japanese differences, would like to push her.

The sounder international climate has created a favourable atmosphere for invigorating economic, scientific, technical and cultural co-operation.

Soviet economic and scientific-technical ties with the capitalist countries have expanded considerably and changed in quality during the period under review. I shall later deal with this at greater length.

The volume of our cultural exchanges with other countries has increased approximately 50 per cent in the past five years.

All that, Comrades, is a materialisation of the detente, an important area of joint work by our Party in developing peaceful ties among the peoples.

Efforts to end the arms race and to promote disarmament are and remain - as the Peace Programme requires - one of the main trends in the foreign-political activity of the CC CPSU and the Soviet Government. Today, this objective is more vital than ever. Mankind is tired of sitting upon mountains of arms, yet the arms race spurred on by aggressive imperialist groups is becoming more intensive.

The main motive for the arms race given by its advocates is a so-called Soviet threat. They invoke this motive when they want to drag through a larger military budget, reducing allocations for social needs, and when new types of deadly weapons are being developed, and when they try to justify NATO's military activity. In fact, of course, there is no Soviet threat either in the West or in the East. It is all a monstrous lie from beginning to end. The Soviet Union has not the slightest intention of attacking anyone. The Soviet Union does not need war. The Soviet Union does not increase its military budget, and, far from reducing, is steadily augmenting allocations for improving the people's well-being. Our country is consistently and staunchly fighting for peace, and making one concrete proposal after another aimed at arms reductions and disarmament.

The Soviet Communists are proud of having undertaken the difficult but noble mission of standing in the front ranks of the fighters striving to deliver the peoples from the danger of the continuing arms race. Our Party calls on all the peoples, all countries, to unite their efforts and end this perilous process. General and complete disarmament was and remains our ultimate goal in this field. At the same time, the Soviet Union is doing all it can to achieve progress along separate sections of the road leading to this goal.

An International Convention on Banning and Destroying Bacteriological Weapons, based on a project submitted by the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, was drawn up, signed and has entered into force. In effect, it is the first real disarmament measure in the history of international relations. It envisages removal of a whole category of highly dangerous mass annihilation weapons from the military arsenals of states.

The sphere of operation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons has expanded. Recently, additional large states, including the FRG and Italy, have become party to it. Yet further effective measures to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons are still a most important objective. The USSR is prepared to co-operate with other states on this score.

Let me refer specifically to the current Soviet-US negotiations on further strategic arms limitation. We are holding them in an effort to effectuate the 1974 Vladivostok understanding and to prevent the opening of a new channel for the arms race, which would nullify everything achieved so far. An agreement on this issue would obviously be of very great benefit both for the further development

of Soviet-US relations, for greater mutual confidence, and for the consolidation of world peace. We attach the utmost importance to the whole of this problem, we have persistently and repeatedly offered the United States not to stop at just limiting the existing types of strategic weapons. We thought it is possible to go farther. Specifically, we suggested coming to terms on banning the development of new, still more destructive weapons systems, in particular, the new Trident submarines carrying ballistic missiles and the new strategic B-1 bombers in the United States, and similar systems in the USSR. Deplorably, these proposals were not accepted by the US side.

But we have not withdrawn them, And need we say how beneficial their implementation would be for mutual confidence. Furthermore, both sides would be able to save considerable resources, and use them for productive purposes, for improving people's life.

Let me add one more thing. Of late, pronouncements have been proliferating in many countries against any of the powers setting up military bases in the region of the Indian ocean. We are in sympathy with these pronouncements. The Soviet Union has never had, and now has not intention whatever of building military bases in the Indian ocean. And we call on the United States to take the same stand.

Certainly, the time will come when the inevitable association of other nuclear powers with the process of strategic arms limitation will arise on the agenda. And those which refuse would assume a grave responsibility before the peoples.

On our country's initiative the UN General Assembly has in recent years adopted a number of important resolutions on the questions of restraining the arms race and banning development and manufacture of new types of mass annihilation weapons, of new such weapons systems.

The task is to have these resolutions implemented. Frankly, this is not easy to achieve, because a number of major states are still obviously reluctant to end the arms race. The opponents of detente and disarmament still dispose of considerable resources. They are highly active in different forms and from different angles. Though imperialism's possibilities for aggressive action are now considerably reduced, its nature has remained the same. This is why the peace-loving forces must be highly vigilant. Energetic action and unity of all forces of peace and goodwill are essential.

Therefore, special importance attaches to the proposal supported by the vast majority of UN Member-Countries to convene a World Disarmament Conference.

Political detente needs to be backed up by military detente. The Peace Programme advanced a clear aim: to reduce armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. The Vienna negotiations on this score have already been going

on for more than two years. However, there has been no visible progress. For only one reason: the NATO countries refuse to give up trying to use the negotiations to secure unilateral military advantages. For some reason the West wants, even demands, concessions prejudicial to the security of the Socialist countries. Yet we have not noticed any inclination on the part of the NATO block to make similar concessions to the other side.

Recently, the Socialist states submitted new proposals in Vienna in an effort to get matters off the ground. For a start, we are prepared to accept a reduction of only Soviet and US troops in the course of this year, while the strength of the armed forces of the other participants in the negotiations remains "frozen" and not subject to reduction until the second stage in 1977-1978. We have also made perfectly concrete proposals concerning reduction by both sides of the number of tanks, nuclear-missile-carrying planes and missile launchers along with a definite quantity of nuclear war-heads for them.

Our proposals are based on the only realistic approach of preserving the existing relations of strength, in substance one of equilibrium, in the centre of Europe. Their implementation will not prejudice the security of either side. And it is to be hoped that all this will win due response of the Western countries and it will, at last, be possible to go from discussion to actual measures reducing armed forces and armaments.

The 24th Congress set this objective: renunciation of the use and threat of forces in settling questions in dispute must become the rule in international relations. Later, this principle was reflected in a number of treaties concluded by the USSR with other countries. It is contained in the Final Act of the European Conference. To make the danger of war recede still farther and to create favourable conditions for progress towards disarmament, we now offer to conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. Its participants, naturally including the nuclear powers, would undertake to refrain from using all types of weapons, including nuclear, in settling disputes that may arise between them. The Soviet Union is prepared to join other states in examining practical steps leading to the implementation of this proposal.

A great role and responsibility devolve on the public mass movement in consolidating peace. The past five years saw such milestones in the growth of this movement as the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow, the Brussels Assembly of Representatives of Public Opinion for European Security, and the World Congress of Women in Berlin. Our Party and the public in our country took an active part in all these actions. In future, too, we shall not spare strength in drawing the broad popular masses into the efforts of consolidating peace.

In its foreign policy, the Soviet Union intends to search patiently and consistently for more new ways of expanding peaceful mutually advantageous cooperation between states with different social systems, and more new ways leading to disarmament. We shall continuously augment our effort in the struggle for lasting peace.

4. Programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation, and for the freedom and independence of the peoples.

Comrades, assessing our country's international situation and world conditions, the Party's Central Committee considers that further struggle for peace and the freedom and independence of the peoples now first of all requires fulfilment of the following vital task:

- while steadily strengthening their unity and expanding their all-round co-operation in building the new society, the fraternal Socialist states must augment their joint active contribution to the consolidation of peace;

- work for the termination of the expanding arms race, which is endangering peace, and for transition to reducing the accumulated stockpiles of arms, to disarmament. For this purpose:

a) Do everything to complete the preparation of a new Soviet-US agreement on limiting and reducing strategic armaments, and conclude international treaties on universal and complete termination of nuclear weapons tests, on banning and destroying chemical weapons, on banning development of new types and systems of mass annihilation weapons, and also banning impairment of the natural environment for military or other hostile purposes;

b) launch new efforts to activate negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. Following agreement on the first concrete steps in this direction, continue to deepen the military detente in the region in the subsequent years;

c) work for a switch from the present continuous growth of the military expenditure of many states to the practice of their systematic reduction;

d) take all measures to assure the earliest possible convocation of the World disarmament conference;

- concentrate the efforts of peace-loving states on eliminating the remaining seats of war, first and foremost on assuring a just and durable settlement in the Middle East. In connection with such a settlement the states concerned should examine the question of helping to end the arms race in the Middle East;

- do everything to deepen international detente, to embody it in concrete forms of mutually beneficial co-operation between states. Work vigorously for the full implementation of the Final Act of the European Conference, and for greater peaceful co-operation in Europe. In accordance with the principles of

peaceful coexistence continue consistently to develop relations of long-term mutually beneficial co-operation in various fields - political, economic, scientific and cultural - with the United States, France, the FRG, Britain, Italy, Canada, and also Japan and other capitalist countries:

- work for Asian security based on joint efforts by the states of that continent;

- consider as crucial the international task of completely eliminating all the vestiges of the system of colonial oppression, encroachments on the equality and independence of peoples, and all seats of colonialism and racism;

- work for removing discrimination and all artificial barriers in international trade, and eliminating all manifestations of inequality, diktate and exploitation in international economic relations.

Those, comrades, are the main tasks, the attainment of which, as we see it, is essential at present in the interests of peace and the security of peoples, and the progress of mankind. We consider these proposals an organic projection and development of the Peace Programme advanced by our 24th Congress, a programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation, and for the freedom and independence of the peoples. We shall centre our country's foreign policy on achieving these tasks, and shall co-operate in this with other peace-loving states.

Permit me to express confidence that the lofty aims of our policy on the international scene will be received with understanding and win the broad support of all the peace-loving, progressive forces, and all decent people on Earth.

5. The CPSU and the world revolutionary process

Comrades, this is an epoch of radical social change. Socialism's positions are expanding and growing stronger. The victories of the national liberation movement are opening new horizons for countries that have won independence. The class struggle of the working people against monopoly oppression, against the exploiting order, is gaining in intensity. The scale of the revolutionary-democratic, anti-imperialist movement is steadily growing. Cumulatively, all this signifies growth of the world revolutionary process.

Such is the mighty impact of history. New generations and social strata, new parties and organizations are joining the revolutionary process. We are witnessing precisely what Lenin wrote about in his time: "As man's history-making activity grows broader and deeper, the size of that mass of the population which is the conscious maker of history is bound to increase" (Collected Works, Vol. 2, p. 524).

Development of the Socialist countries, their greater might, and the greater beneficial influence of their international policy - this is now the main direction in mankind's social progress. Socialism's power of attraction has become greater still against the background of the crisis that has erupted in the capitalist countries.

Our Party's 24th Congress stressed that adaptation to the new conditions does not mean capitalism's stabilisation as a system. The general crisis of capitalism is continuing to deepen". The developments of recent years bear this out convincingly.

It was precisely during these years that an economic crisis erupted in the capitalist world, the intensity and sharpness of which even bourgeois politicians admit to be comparable only with the crisis of the early thirties. It spread simultaneously to all the main centres of the capitalist world economy. It is characteristic that a crisis of such force should afflict the highly developed state-monopoly economy which emerged in the postwar period. Capitalism did its utmost, so to speak, to keep in step with the times, to apply various methods of economic regulation. This made it possible to stimulate economic growth, but, as the Communists foresaw, it could not remove the contradictions of capitalism. The sharp cutback in production and the growing unemployment in most of the capitalist countries intertwine with such serious convulsions of the capitalist world economy as the monetary, energy and raw-materials crisis. Inflation has made the crisis processes especially acute. Impelled by the continuously growing military expenditures, it has attained dimensions unprecedented in peace-time.

Inter-imperialist rivalries and discord in the Common Market and NATO have grown sharper. The greater power of the international monopolies has made the competitive struggle still more ruthless. The governments of the capitalist countries are making repeated attempts to moderate the contradictions and come to terms on joint anti-crisis measures. But the nature of imperialism is such that each endeavours to gain advantages at the expense of others, to impose its will. The differences surface in new forms, and contradictions erupt with new force.

This shows that the present crisis is unusual. Now everyone can see that one of the main myths created by reformists and bourgeois ideologists has collapsed - the myth that present-day capitalism is able to avert crisis. The instability of capitalism is becoming more and more apparent. Promises to make capitalism "sounder" and to create a "welfare society" within its framework have obviously failed. A heavy burden has fallen on the masses. The rising cost of living is inexorably reducing people's real incomes. Even according to official UN figures more than fifteen million people in the developed capitalist countries have been flung out of factories and offices, and subsist with their families on allowances. In addition, millions are compelled to work a short day or two- three days a week.

The working class retaliates in the proletarian spirit by intensifying the struggle against big capital, the main culprit of social calamities. The strike wave, which involves diverse sections of working people, has risen to the highest level of the past several decades. The strength and prestige of the working class are greater, and its rôle of vanguard in the struggle for the interests of working people, the true interests of the nation, has increased. A leftward shift is witnessed in the trade unions. In a number of countries unity of action by workers' and other democratic parties is shaping steadily, and their positions are stronger.

The politico-ideological crisis of bourgeois society is more acute. It afflicts the institutions of power and bourgeois political parties, and impairs elementary ethical standards. Corruption is increasingly candid, even in the top echelons of the state machinery. The decline of spiritual culture continues, and the crime rate is rising.

It is farthest from the Communists' minds to predict an "automatic collapse" of capitalism. It still has considerable reserves. Yet the developments of recent years forcefully confirm that capitalism is a society without a future.

Powerful blows were struck at some of the seats of international reaction in the past five years. There were revolutions in Chile and Portugal

during this period, the revolutionary liberation forces in Peru achieved important success, the fascist military government in Greece fell, and the Franco regime in Spain began to totter.

The Portuguese revolution wiped out one of the last fascist regimes of our time and caused the collapse of the last of the colonial empires. It was forcefully confirmed once more that revolution is a mighty lever of social renovation, that it releases the vast energies of the people. And though today the interlacement of political forces brought into motion by the anti-fascist revolution still presents a gaudy, often contradictory picture, one thing is absolutely clear: the people of Portugal are for laying dependable foundations for the country's democratic development, for social progress.

The Soviet Union is categorically opposed to all interference in Portugal's internal affairs. Like any other people, the people of Portugal have a right to take the road of their own choice. Permit me from this rostrum to express the heartiest solidarity of the Soviet Communists, of all Soviet people, with the revolutionary people of Portugal, its Communists, and all democrats.

The revolution in Chile was a striking expression of its people's ardent desire to liberate themselves from the oppression and exploitation of their own bourgeoisie and foreign monopoly. It was headed by people of impeccable honesty and great humanism. It has rallied the broad masses to building a new life. But the conspiracy of Chilean reaction, planned and paid for - as is now well known - by foreign imperialism, caught the revolution unawares. The fascist military dictatorship drenched the country in blood. Tens of thousands of the working people's finest and most loyal sons and daughters have been killed, tortured to death, or imprisoned. A dark night of terror has descended upon the country. But the temporary defeat of the Chilean revolution does not detract from its historic achievements, from the significance of its experience.

The Chilean tragedy has by no means invalidated the Communist thesis about the possibility of different ways of revolution, including the peaceful, if the necessary conditions exist for it. But it has been a forceful reminder that the revolution must know how to defend itself. It is a lesson in vigilance against present-day fascism and the intrigues of foreign reaction, and a call for greater international solidarity with all those who take the road of freedom and progress. Here, at our Congress, on behalf of all Soviet people we again demand: "Freedom for Luis Corvalan! Freedom for all prisoners of the fascist junta!"

The recent experience of the revolutionary movement provides graphic evidence that imperialism will stop at nothing, ending all pretence at any kind of democracy, if a serious threat arises to the domination of monopoly capital and its political agents. It is prepared to trample upon the sovereignty of states and upon all legality, to say nothing of humanism. Slander, duping the public, economic blockade, sabotage, organising hunger and dislocation, bribes and threats, terrorism, assassination of political personalities, and fascist-style pogroms - such is the armoury of present-day counter-revolution, which always operates in conjunction with international imperialist reaction. But all this is ultimately doomed to failure. The cause of freedom and progress is unconquerable.

THE GROWTH OF THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD is an auspicious development of the past five years. Their numerical strength has grown by nearly one million, including almost 400,000 in Western Europe. People voting for Communists in parliamentary and local elections have greatly increased in numbers.

The successes of the world Communist movement are borne out by the fact that many items of the programme of anti-imperialist actions advanced by the 1969 meeting have been fulfilled. Along with the Communist parties of other countries, we can now say that the road and main objectives of the struggle had been defined correctly, and that joint work for the good of the peoples has evoked a broad response among the masses and is yielding useful results.

Communists of different countries follow each other's work with interest and understandable attention. Differences of opinion and approach to some question may arise among them from time to time. Hostile propaganda has repeatedly sensationalised this. But Marxists-Leninists approach such questions from internationalist positions, concerned about strengthening the unity of the whole movement, and discuss the arising problems in a true comradely spirit in the framework of the inviolate standards of equality and respect for the independence of each party. Certainly, there can be no question of compromise on matters of principle, of reconciliation with views and actions contrary to the Communist ideology. This is ruled out. Doubly so, because both right and ultra-left revisionism is by no means idle, and struggle for the Marxist-Leninist foundations of the Communist movement and against attempts to distort or undermine them is still the common task of all.

In their struggle, Communists act upon the common laws and regularities governing the development of the revolution and the building of socialism and Communism. Reflected in the theory of Marxism-Leninism and confirmed in practice, these laws and regularities were collectively and comprehensively formulated at international conferences of fraternal parties. Deep understanding of these common laws and regularities, and reliance on them in combination with a creative approach and with consideration for the concrete conditions in each separate country, were and remain the inalienable and distinctive feature of the

Marxist-Leninist. And we can say this with assurance: a concession to opportunism may sometimes yield some temporary advantage, but will ultimately be damaging to the party.

We should like to lay special emphasis on the importance of proletarian internationalism in our time. It is one of the main principles of Marxism-Leninism. Unfortunately, some have begun to interpret it in a way that, in effect, little is left of internationalism. There are even people who openly suggest renouncing internationalism. In their opinion the internationalism substantiated and promoted by Marx and Lenin is outmoded. But as we see it, to renounce proletarian internationalism is to deprive Communist parties and the working-class movement in general of a mighty and tested weapon. It would work in favour of the class enemy who, by the way, actively co-ordinates anti-Communist activity on an international scale. We Soviet Communists consider defence of proletarian internationalism the sacred duty of every Marxist-Leninist.

In the period under review our Party has extended its ties with the fraternal parties. We have built up an extensive exchange of delegations with them, and participated in inter-party conferences on political and theoretical problems.

Regional conferences of Communists play a significant role. And there were many of those in the past several years. Special mention should be made of the Havana Conference of the Communist parties of Latin America and the Caribbean, also attended by the Communist parties of the USA and Canada. The Communist parties of Europe are also preparing for their conference. Many parties are calling for a new world conference of Communist and workers' parties. The CPSU supports this idea in principle. But when and how it is to be put into effect will, of course, be decided by common consent.

Having gathered at our Congress, we Soviet Communists send militant greetings and wishes of success to our comrades and likeminded people abroad. And first and foremost we address our word of solidarity to Communists fighting in difficult underground conditions. We salute all fighters for the working people's cause, all those who expose their lives to danger each day and, defying all trials, remain faithful to their ideals and duty. Hundreds, even thousands, of freedom fighters are held in prisons and concentration camps in Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Indonesia, Brazil, Guatemala, Haiti, South Africa, and other countries. Many Communists have laid down their lives for the revolutionary cause.

We should like to make the following proposal at our Congress: to erect a Monument in Moscow to the heroes of the world Communist and Workers' movement, selfless fighters for the people's happiness who fell at the hands of the class enemy. This will symbolise our Party's unfailing loyalty to the great cause of proletarian internationalism.

In accordance with the guidelines of the 24th Congress we continued to extend our ties with PROGRESSIVE NON-COMMUNIST PARTIES - revolutionary-democratic, and also left-socialist. Our contacts with the socialist and social-

democratic parties of a number of countries, including Finland, Belgium, Japan, Britain and France, have expanded. We appreciate the progress made in this domain, and shall continue to work in the same direction.

Certainly, there can be no question of any ideological convergence between scientific Communism and the reformism of the social-democrats. There are still too many among the social-democrats who base their entire activity on anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism. There are even parties which discipline their members for communicating with Communists. We shall combat these things, because they play into the hands of none but reaction.

However, we can be and are united with social-democrats conscious of their responsibility for peace, and all the more with social-democratic workers, by common concern for the security of the peoples, the wish to contain the arms race, and to repulse fascism, racism and colonialism. It is precisely on this plane that we displayed and will continue to display initiative and goodwill.

Now that detente has become reality, the question of how it influences the class struggle arises often in the international working class movement, and among its opponents.

Some bourgeois leaders affect surprise and raise a howl over the solidarity of Soviet Communists, the Soviet people, with the struggle of other peoples for freedom and progress. This is either outright naiveness or more likely a deliberate befuddling of minds. It could not be clearer, after all, that detente and peaceful coexistence refer to interstate relations. This means mainly that disputes and conflicts between countries are not to be settled by war, by the use or threat of force. The detente does not in the slightest abolish, and cannot abolish or alter, the laws of the class struggle. None should expect that because of the detente Communists will reconcile themselves with capitalist exploitation or that monopolists become followers of the revolution. On the other hand, strict observance of the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other states and respect for their independence and sovereignty, are one of the essential conditions of detente.

We make no secret of the fact that we see detente as the way to create more favourable conditions for peaceful socialist and Communist construction. This only confirms that socialism and peace are indissoluble. And when we are rebuked for this, we can hardly help thinking that those who rebuke us are not sure that capitalism can survive without resort to aggression and threats of force, and without encroaching on the independence and interests of other peoples.

As for the ultra-leftist assertions that peaceful coexistence is the next thing to "helping capitalism" and "freezing the socio-political status quo", our reply is this: every revolution is above all a natural result of the given society's

internal development. What is more, life itself has refuted the inventions about the "freezing of the status quo". Suffice it to recall the far-reaching revolutionary changes in the world in recent years.

That is now things stand with the relationship between detente and the class struggle. Faithful to the revolutionary cause, we Soviet Communists are fighting and will continue to fight for peace, that greatest of all boons for all peoples and that important condition for the progress of mankind in our time.

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Comrades, summing up, the Central Committee is entirely justified to report to the Congress that the international situation of the Soviet Union has never been more solid. We have entered the fourth decade of peace. Socialism's positions have grown stronger. The detente has become the leading trend. That is the main outcome of the Party's international policy, and Soviet people can be proud of it.

The international activity of the CPSU involves the whole people. It reposes on the economic and defensive might of the country, on its spiritual potential, and on everything created by the labour of the Soviet people. Behind its successes are the experience and knowledge, the spiritual energy and strenuous work of many representatives of the Party and the state: Members and alternate Members of the Political Bureau, CC Secretaries, Members of the CC, a large number of staff workers of the Central Committee apparatus, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the State Committee for foreign economic relations, of other ministries and departments, leaders and workers of Party Central Committees of the Republics and territorial and regional committees, comrades from city and district committees, and primary party organisations in towns and villages. I think I shall not be wrong in saying that most of the delegates to our Congress have in one way or another worked in the international sphere. Our parliamentarians and the local and central elective organs, the trade unions, public organisations, workers in science and culture, and, of course, the press, radio and television, are doing important work in this domain. Thousands of Soviet people are doing work abroad - as staff members of embassies and other missions, geologists and builders, doctors and teachers, metallurgist and chemists, transport workers and other specialists.

To all these comrades the Central Committee expresses its sincere appreciation for their lofty understanding and conscientious performance of their internationalist duty.

Proceeding from what has been achieved, we are now determining the new objectives in international affairs. We draw confidence in the success of the projected programme from the entire Soviet people's support of the Party's line. That is the main guarantee of success of our policy. This policy serves the basic interests of all peoples. Such a policy has a sure future!