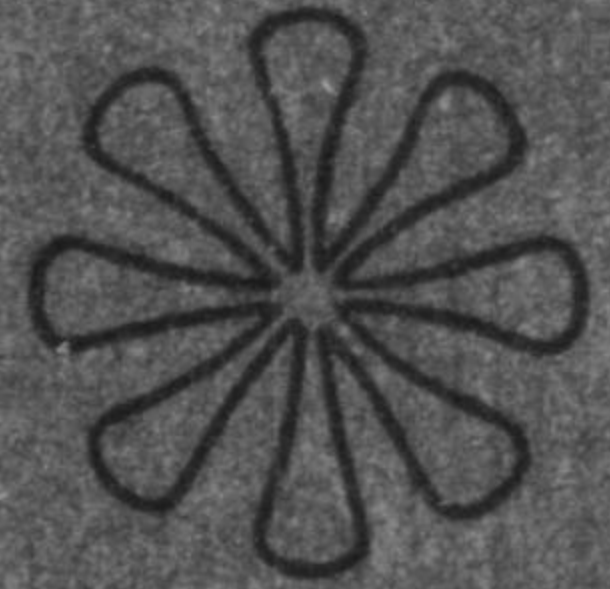


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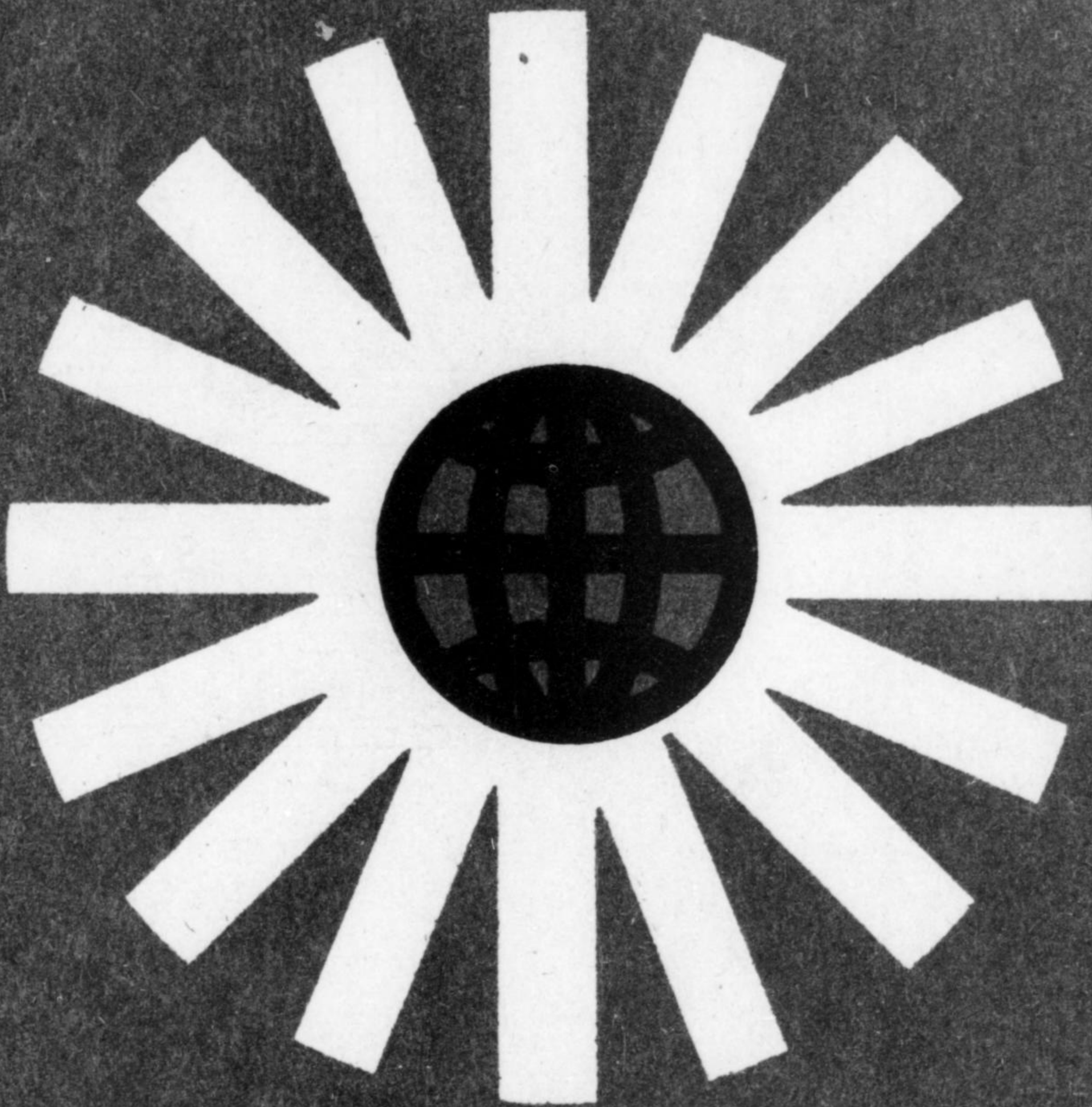


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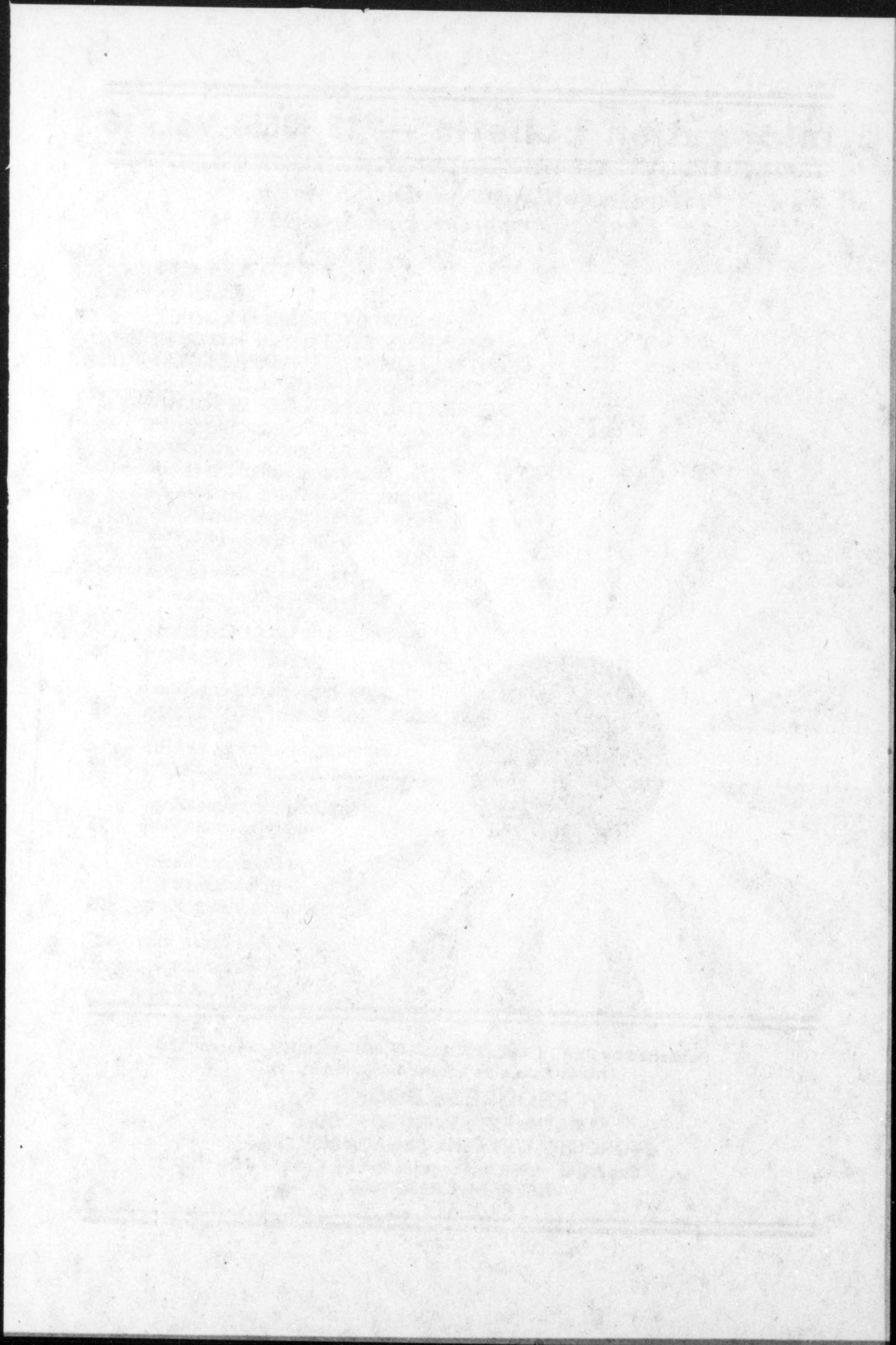
**WORLD MARXIST
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**BREZHNEV
VISIT TO
THE FEDERAL
REPUBLIC
OF GERMANY**

13

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**VISIT BY LEONID BREZHNEV,
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU
CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND
PRESIDENT OF THE USSR
SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM,
TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC
OF GERMANY**

In the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR — on the results of the visit.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR approve fully and completely the work done by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, in the course of his visit to the Federal Republic of Germany and the results of this politically important visit. The negotiations with leading state and public figures of the FRG on a wide range of European and international problems and questions of bilateral relations, as well as the documents adopted as a result of Leonid Brezhnev's visit, constitute a major step in furthering the cause of détente, good neighborliness and the consolidation of peace.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR express the conviction that the Joint Declaration and the Agreement on the Development and Deepening of Long-Term Cooperation between the USSR and the FRG in the Sphere of Economy and Industry shall impart greater stability and scope to the relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic, and that due to them the positive processes, which have begun in international relations, particularly as a result of the Treaty of August 12, 1970, concluded between the USSR and the FRG, will be consolidated and deepened. This Treaty retains all its fundamental importance for relations between the two states, has been and re-

mains one of the determining factors in ensuring the easing of international tension, and the consolidation of security in Europe.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR note with satisfaction that documentally confirmed and recorded during the visit was the mutual understanding of the fact that peace is the supreme asset on which the political actions of both states, just as the efforts of other states, must be orientated.

The fruitful work done during the visit was aimed at promoting in every way concrete, effective efforts that must be exerted both unilaterally and bilaterally, as well as multilaterally, to deepen the process of détente in complete conformity with the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, to exploit all the opportunities and means to stop the arms race, both nuclear and conventional, to limit armaments, to carry out concrete measures in the sphere of disarmament. Achievement of real progress in this sphere would meet the vital interests of all the peoples.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR attach great importance to the results of Leonid Brezhnev's visit in the economic sphere. The expansion, on the basis of the signed documents, of commercial, industrial and technical cooperation between the USSR and the FRG will strengthen substantially the material foundation of détente, will promote the systematic, stable and mutually advantageous growth of good-neighborly relations to the benefit of the peoples, for the welfare of the working people of both states. Corresponding Soviet organizations must do everything in their power to give concrete content to the mutually advantageous agreement, to carry out efficiently, in proper time and with due initiative the assumed commitments, striving for a considerable expansion of trade and for the implementation of the joint large-scale projects. It goes without saying that positive results here can be achieved if the West German side acts likewise.

Having discussed the results of the visit, which proceeded in the spirit of mutual understanding, frankness, and growing confidence, the Soviet leadership expresses its firm will to go on acting in this spirit with a view to raising further the quality and level of bilateral relations, turning them into a factor of stability and good-neighborliness in Europe and in the international arena as a whole.

Leonid Brezhnev's visit to the FRG proved to be a big event of international scope, yet another substantial contribution to the

implementation of the foreign policy line of the 25th CPSU Congress, the Leninist peace-loving policy of our party and state. It marks a stage in the development of political détente, in the creation of prerequisites for its extension to the military sphere. Realization of all the opportunities contained in the results of the visit for strengthening peace and international security requires further persistent efforts by both sides.

The Soviet people ardently support the results of the visit to the Federal Republic of Germany, highly assess the extensive work done by Leonid Brezhnev to ensure the success of the visit. The visit has met with the approval and the acknowledgment of the progressive, peace-loving forces of all the world.

LEONID BREZHNEV'S REPLIES TO QUESTIONS FROM VORWÄRTS, WEEKLY OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY

Q. In connection with your visit to the FRG we would like to know how to appraise the present state of relations between our two countries and the prospects for their development.

A. I believe that the relations between our countries are developing successfully along many channels. We maintain that the prospects are good, provided, of course, that they do not run into artificial obstacles.

As regards your question, I cannot help recalling the treaty between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic signed in Moscow in August 1970. For both our peoples, the past was far too tragic to underestimate the daring turn taken then.

The treaty was a major event of international scope. It laid a cornerstone in the edifice of détente. It gave impetus to the positive development that had long been expected. Several other agreements followed it, including multilateral ones.

A long road has been covered since then. The FRG concluded important treaties with the Polish People's Republic, with the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Relations between the USSR and the FRG are now qualitatively different. Cooperation is a norm. There is definite confidence in each other's words and in the signatures on joint documents. Members of government, parliamentarians, political and public figures meet; many dele-

gations travel back and forth. There are cultural and tourist exchanges being organized. Briefly then, a great deal of experience in different relations has been accumulated.

It is understandable that summit meetings had and continue to have a determining part in building up and strengthening fruitful relations between the USSR and the FRG. Each time they provide something new, something positive, help untangle difficult problems, and take decisions which signify further progress. So it is not surprising that there is now a great deal of interest in your country and in others in our coming talks in Bonn with President Walter Scheel and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. I will be pleased to meet Chairman Willy Brandt, with whom we began clearing the road to good relations between both countries.

Relations with the FRG are a part of the Soviet Union's many-faceted, and essentially worldwide relations. But they are an important part. Even in European affairs, a great deal depends on the positions of our two countries and on their understanding; in a wider context, the state of relations between the FRG and the USSR is a sensitive indicator of international détente, of peaceful coexistence in Europe and not only in Europe.

I want to make the point once more: the policy of good-neighborly and mutually beneficial relations with the Federal Republic is a fundamental long-term policy of our party and state.

Can it be said that there are no problems, no difficulties in relations between the USSR and the FRG? Of course not. Problems do exist, though they are not all of the same character.

First there is the objective aspect — the very fact that we live in countries that have different social systems gives rise to many complexities in different areas of our relations. But it is necessary to learn to live in peace and to cooperate, because there is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence between states.

However, there are difficulties and obstacles of a different type. They are deliberately created by forces which are aggressively hostile to socialism, and which yearn for the cold war period. These are the forces who, using concocted pretexts, regularly organize anti-Soviet campaigns, provoke complications, attempt to interfere in our internal affairs, and try and stir up the arms race. The actions of these forces, which are rather influential in the FRG, obstruct the smooth progress of relations between our two countries, and lessen the possibilities of our cooperation in international affairs.

We are confident that today all problems of interstate relations can

be resolved if they are approached calmly and prudently, with a desire to understand the partner, to avoid passions building up, and differences being aggravated. Given goodwill on both sides, one can view the future with optimism.

Q. Some people in the FRG make statements suggesting that commercial relations with the USSR have "reached the ceiling." What is your opinion on this question?

A. I do not think this is so. Take the figures describing the growth of trade between the USSR and the FRG. They make a rather impressive picture. Trade in 1977 was 2.5 times greater than in 1973 and 5.5 times greater than in 1970. The FRG is our leading trade partner among the capitalist countries. We have many mutually advantageous agreements. A good example is the contract for the export of Soviet natural gas to the FRG in exchange for pipes. It is important not only because of its proportion, but because it is calculated for a long period of time — to the year 2000. It can be said to symbolize our two countries' mutual desire for stable and solid economic relations.

In the USSR West German companies are helping build the Oskol Electrometallurgical Combine, the world's biggest of its kind, and Sheremetyevo Airport. Some time ago I visited the Baikal-Amur Railway area — truly the "construction project of the century." Trucks bought in the FRG are doing good work there. Many of your people like the Lada automobile built at the Volzhsky Motor Works. And there are many more examples.

But to say that we are completely satisfied with the state of economic relations with your country would not be the truth. Everything in the relations between FRG companies and our organizations does not always go the way we would like it to go. We realize this, and on our part, are doing our best to take the necessary measures in good time. We hope that the Federal Republic will help surmount the difficulties we encounter. For instance, we expect that the restrictions on imports of Soviet goods will at long last be lifted, and a more favorable customs policy established.

I have had occasion to say that the economies of our two countries could in some respects supplement each other. The growing international division of labor opens up great opportunities for all countries, and also holds great potential for the steady progress of our economic relations in our mutual interest. As well, we can go beyond existing forms of economic relations, we can seek new forms, and show enterprise which is naturally founded on prudent calculations and on the idea of mutual benefit.

Soviet exports to the FRG make up 0.09 per cent of the overall social product of the USSR. West German exports to the USSR make up 0.6 per cent of the gross social product of the FRG. So it is impossible to agree that "the ceiling has been reached" in commercial relations between our two countries.

Q. What opportunities do you see for concrete steps toward further détente in Europe?

A. Further détente in Europe depends in many ways on progress in resolving ripe, urgent questions of military détente. It can be even put in the following way: we have reached a point at which the process of political détente should merge with the process of military détente. That is why the most important thing now is to take practical measures to reduce the arms race, to curb this race.

It is known that the Soviet Union has proposed a platform of measures for military détente. These include the renunciation of being the first to use nuclear weapons, the non-admittance of new members to existing military groups and limits on the strength of troops involved in military exercises.

Of course, the political aspect of the question cannot be overlooked for a minute. The climate in Europe which favors military détente is built on the foundation of a comprehensive development of relations among states, the strengthening of confidence among their leaders, respect for concluded treaties, and consistent observance of agreements reached at the Helsinki meeting.

Many people in the West favor our suggestions for all-European congresses on cooperation in environmental protection, transport and energy. It would appear that it is possible to get down to business, but unfortunately even here our Western partners are slow and inconsistent.

Another point. We also do not want West Berlin to remain a white spot on the map of European détente. So far we have often come up against attempts to circumvent the quadripartite agreement. There have been actions showing a real unwillingness to accept that the city is not a part of the FRG. This all contradicts the spirit of détente and complicates the international situation. We cannot make any other appraisal.

So there are many factors determining the destiny of détente. One would like to hope that only those which facilitate its consolidation come into play.

Q. There are — and not only in the FRG — apprehensions that the Soviet Union is building up its military strength qualitatively and

quantitatively, systematically and consistently, to an extent surpassing defense requirements. Don't you also believe that détente calls for agreements in the military field as well — based on a balance?

A. To begin with, allow me to make the main point: the apprehensions you allude to are totally ungrounded. A Soviet military threat to Europe or any other part of the world does not and cannot exist.

First, let us look at the purely factual aspect of the matter.

Regarding Europe. The Western press and certain Western politicians and military figures often claim that in Europe, the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries have created "military superiority" for themselves over the NATO countries and are still building up their armed forces there.

To put it mildly, these claims are biased and misleading.

First of all, for a number of years now the Soviet Union has not expanded or built up its armed forces in Central Europe, that is, in the area which is now the subject of the Vienna negotiations. Moreover, we and our allies have persistently suggested to the Western side that an agreement should be reached there that both sides directly commit themselves not to build up their armed forces and armaments in Central Europe while the Vienna talks are going on. Unfortunately, so far the Western countries have not accepted this proposal, and, by their practical actions, are pushing in the opposite direction.

As for "superiority," at the said Vienna negotiations, the sides have exchanged official statistics from which it can be clearly seen that there is no "superiority" or "disproportion." Both the West and the Warsaw Treaty countries maintain approximately equal numerical strength in Central Europe — something a little more than 980,000 men on each side.

Obviously, this equilibrium is not completely identical; each side has its own way its armed forces are structured. On our part, the ground troops are our chief missile carriers, for instance, while in the NATO bloc the air forces are the main carriers of missiles with nuclear warheads, etc.

It should be added to all this that Western politicians and top-ranking military often repeat the assertion about the qualitative superiority of, as they believe, Western armaments. The question arises: where, then, is the logic in the claim by these same circles of the imaginary "threat from the East"?

On the whole, there is certainly a military equilibrium in Europe, where the principal forces of the two military and political groups confront each other at closest range. The question is whether this

equilibrium should be maintained at the present high level, or whether it is possible to lower this level without upsetting the equilibrium in anyone's favor. We in the Soviet Union are firmly convinced that this level can and must be lowered.

As for the global balance of forces between the biggest powers — the participants in the two military political groups, that is, the Soviet Union and the United States — an approximate parity, i.e., the equilibrium of strategic forces, has evolved and is being maintained, as both sides have officially admitted. This parity underlies the 1972 Soviet-American agreements on limiting strategic offensive arms and the one now being prepared.

I can add to this that the total numerical strength of the Soviet armed forces by no means presents any "military threat" to the West, although it is quite sufficient for dealing, if necessary, a retaliatory blow against an aggressor — wherever he might be — in the West or in the East. By the way, objective observers, including those in the American press, are very well aware of this and admit it.

And now about our Navy. First I would like to remind you of a simple fact: the Soviet Union's sea frontiers stretch more than 40,000 km. In a situation where the NATO countries possess powerful offensive weapons at sea, we also have to think about the appropriate defense in this sphere. We have built up our ocean Navy which is in a position to meet the tasks of this defense. This Navy does not have a greater fighting capacity than that of the Western countries, and structurally, it is obviously defensive. It is no accident, for instance, that we do not have, and are not building, attack aircraft carriers.

Another pet topic of those who enjoy holding forth about the "Soviet military threat" is the civil defense measures taken in the USSR. It sounds incredible, but it is a fact that specialists in anti-Soviet slander manage to interpret even these measures, aimed at ensuring the safety of the civilian population in the event of war, as a sign of "aggressiveness," intimating that the USSR is preparing to deal "the first blow" while hoping to take cover from retaliation in shelters.

It really takes a pathologically distorted imagination to turn things upside down to such an extent! Do any normal people really believe such inventions?

We do not want war, and we are not preparing for war. But the Soviet people know from their own bitter experience what enormous losses to the population the aggressor's actions can cause.

And we only too often hear claims made by the other side about a readiness to deal "powerful, destructive, pre-emptive blows," etc., to take no defense measures. It is only the out and out slanderers who can interpret this as preparations for attacking anyone.

The callous quantitative approach popular in some other countries to the prospects of nuclear war — an approach according to which a certain percentage of civilian casualties is declared "permissible" — is alien to us. We are not at all overjoyed at the predictions one can hear in the West that a world nuclear war will kill "a mere ten per cent" of the planet's population and that this is supposedly not so terrible, not the end of the world. We do not want anyone, not a single person, to be among those "ten per cent."

As for the Soviet Union, our country, I repeat, does not think in terms of "dealing the first blow." On the contrary, it is well known that we have made an official suggestion to all those who took part in the All-European Conference, including the USA, to sign an agreement on not being the first to use nuclear weapons against each other. It is also known that the NATO countries reject this proposal, making it rather transparent that they do not wish to abandon plans of dealing the first blow against our country. So who is threatening whom?

This is the actual state of affairs.

Let us now deal with the political side of the question.

The Soviet Union is truly a mighty state; it is powerful politically, economically and militarily. But the Soviet Union is a peaceful state. Its love for peace stems from the very nature of our society, whose supreme goal, proclaimed by laws and by decisions at the highest political levels, is ensuring the steady growth of the people's material well-being and culture. There is not a single task which we intend to carry out by military means. There is not a single state against whom we have made territorial or any other claims that could result in a military clash. Besides this, the Soviet people — the Soviet leaders included — know very well and remember from their own experience what the contemporary image of war is like. People of the older generation living in the Federal Republic of Germany also have an idea of what this image is like, and perhaps they understand better than, let us say, people living in the United States, the Soviet people's ardent wish to live in peace.

Attributing some sort of sinister intentions to the Soviet Union because of its military capability is the main "argument" in Western discourses on the overused "Soviet war threat." One example of this

card-shffling is the speculation about how many hours it would take the Soviet Army to reach the shores of the English Channel.

But the Soviet Union has no intentions of attacking any country either in the West or in the East, in the North or in the South. The Soviet Union has no intentions whatsoever of "conquering" Western Europe. And our General Staff is not busily working on a time schedule for "reaching the shores of the English Channel." The scope of any Soviet military buildup is determined by the limits of necessary defense. And when assessing the USSR's defence needs, we should also remember our country's geographical position. The Soviet Union's genuine intentions are clearly stated in official party and state documents. One can also judge them by the entire moral and political atmosphere in which the Soviet people live and are brought up. Propaganda of militarization, calls for preparing for war and fanning mistrust of and hostility toward other nations are alien to this atmosphere.

The history of the Soviet state provides many examples of its love for peace. It also speaks eloquently of the real causes and sources of the danger of war. It also speaks of why we have to give serious attention to problems of the country's defense. When, in the initial post-October Revolution days, our state called for the establishment of peace, all the belligerent powers, the Western countries, responded with collective hostile intervention. When in the 1930s the USSR spoke from a high international rostrum in favor of collective security in Europe, the answer was the Munich agreement and the ensuing Hitler aggression. When the aggressor had been routed and the USSR began to rebuild its war-ravaged economy, the West launched the cold war against us and started to blackmail us with atomic weapons — apparently counting on the fact that the USSR, weakened by the war, would obey diktats from outside. And when now the USSR makes practical, realistic and far-reaching proposals for curbing the arms race, and for disarmament, the reply is the brandishing of neutron weapons.

By the way, anyone who knows postwar history will easily remember that the arms race developed according to the principle of "action-counteraction:" the West made the challenge and the Soviet Union had to accept it. It has been this way throughout — from the first A-bomb to today. And the beginning of each new spurt in the arms race had been inevitably accompanied by a new wave of cries about the "Soviet threat."

I would like the esteemed readers of your newspaper to remember

one other thing. It was not us, but the United States of America, which established dozens of military bases, with bombers and submarines carrying both nuclear and other long-range weapons, stretching in a sinister chain along the boundaries of the USSR and of our allies in the South and in the North, in the West and in the East. I would like to propose that those who today spread far-fetched fears and hysteria about the USSR's natural defense measures, as well as those who believe these panic-mongers, imagine themselves if only for a short time in the place of the Soviet people. You see, these bases have surrounded our country for several decades now. It would be interesting to know what these nervous gentlemen would feel in a similar situation.

But the Soviet people have strong nerves. They will never panic, as they have never done before, but are only taking the necessary measures for defending the country from the threat that has appeared, and are carrying on a persistent, consistent struggle for a lasting peace, for lowering the level of military confrontation, first of all in Europe.

Frankly speaking, it seems to me that those who are busy fanning the far-fetched campaign in the West over the "Soviet military threat" really have other things in mind. They do not want to accept the approximate equilibrium that has evolved in the two sides' military forces, but want superiority. And even that is dangerous, because that kind of approach would promote a new and unbridled race in arms production and carries the threat of military ventures. But it is time these people should finally realize one thing — the Soviet Union has always found the answer to any military challenge and, you can rest assured, will also find the appropriate answer in the future.

For its part, the Soviet Union believes that the approximate equality and parity is sufficient for defense needs. We have not set ourselves the task of achieving military superiority. We also realize that the concept itself loses meaning with the existence of today's huge arsenals of stockpiled nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them.

The Soviet Union is solidly opposed to the "balance of terror." We favor the balance of trust. It is exactly because of this that we have so persistently proposed to develop détente in depth, to raise the level and enrich the content of international cooperation, to perseveringly seek an effective road first to end the arms race and then move on to disarmament.

We are prepared at any moment to sign an agreement in Vienna on reducing the level of armed forces and armaments of the sides in

Central Europe by five, ten, 20, or 50 per cent, if you so desire. But let us do this honestly — in a way that does not upset the existing correlation of forces, that does not give benefits to one side and bring damage to the other. Let us take the steps that are already realistic and acceptable to both sides, and let us not try to use the talks for gaining unilateral military advantages.

This is my answer to your question.

Q. What personal expectations do you have for your visit, also remembering your first visit in 1973?

A. I remember with pleasure my first trip to the Federal Republic, the meetings and talks with statesmen and representatives of parties, trade unions and the business community.

I hope that this time these favorable impressions will be even stronger, and, most important, that it will be possible to do something useful and necessary for both peoples, for the cause of peace.

In conclusion, I would like to cordially greet the readers of your newspaper and extend my good wishes to them and to all citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany.

SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV AT A DINNER ON MAY 4 GIVEN IN HIS HONOR BY FRG PRESIDENT WALTER SCHEEL

It is gratifying to once again meet with the statesmen, political leaders, parliamentarians and businessmen of your country. Particularly with those with whom eight years ago we undertook the far from easy task of effecting a sharp turn toward mutual understanding and good-neighborliness in the relations between our countries.

The Moscow Treaty mentioned here by Mr. Scheel was indeed a major event. It enriched the Soviet Union and the FRG, and all the peoples of Europe; enriched them with faith in a peaceful present and the attainability of a peaceful future.

Our bilateral cooperation over the past years has yielded substantial results. This is evidenced by the extensive political contacts, broad and steadily expanding economic ties, and the growing contacts between people.

I am not saying that the time has come to sit back and admire our handiwork. History in its time left us a generous legacy of problems. Then they were multiplied and aggravated by the cold-war policy, which fortunately has as a whole receded into the past.

But plenty of worries remain. Problems still keep cropping up. And not for all of them have we got to hand a patented cure, a readymade clause in an agreement. But we must continually move forward. We are committed to this by the memory of our past experience and our sense of responsibility for the future. That is my approach to our past and future meetings. And I presume that our partners are likewise inclined.

As the saying goes, a person gets used to almost anything. In war — to danger, in good times — to well-being, and even to good health, until he becomes ill. For more than 30 years Europe has lived in peace. This has never been the case until now. And people are getting used to peace, taking it for granted, as though détente did not have to pass through immense trials.

This penetration of peace into the fabric of everyday life is the best reward to all who have worked without let-up for détente. But it serves simultaneously as a warning. The most dangerous thing is to become complacent and let things take their own course. I repeat once again with the full force of my conviction: peace has to be fought for, détente must be consistently deepened and made irreversible. In this question there should be no onlookers, no hangers-on. It concerns all of us equally.

Peace will become truly stable when it becomes the key target and criteria of the policy of all states, when not fear of one's neighbor, but a conscious striving to honestly cooperate with each other, to reach agreement without prejudicing anyone's security will determine the governments' approach to emerging problems. Fear is a poor adviser, suspicion does not serve peace.

We are well aware that in the FRG, as in other Western countries, millions of people, including prominent statesmen and politicians, sincerely want a stable peace and good cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries.

But we are equally aware that there are opponents of détente in the West in general, and even in our country. Some hold that their state policy should be based on a fear of and ill will toward the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, even at the risk of increasing the threat of a new war. Others have simply been deluded, taking at their face value the words of those who ascribe to the Soviet Union evil intentions that are totally alien to it.

The stickiest swamp is the swamp of prejudice. The most difficult barrier is the barrier of distrust. Let us surmount it and humanity will

acquire unprecedented strength and a means of establishing a more stable peace than has even existed before.

Distrust feeds such an enormity of present-day international life as the race to produce mass destruction weapons. It is senseless race in which there is no winner. But it is easy enough to destroy humanity. The time to stop is now.

So let us put a stop to it. Let us not pile up any more armaments. Let us begin to take real steps toward reducing armed forces and armaments on a world scale and in Europe, particularly in Central Europe. Let us agree to renounce the production and deployment of new systems of mass destruction weapons. By mutual commitment let us rule out the appearance of the neutron weapon, which is being offered to the peoples of our continent like the sinister gift of the Danai.

The Soviet Union has recently put forward a set of proposals aimed at totally stopping the quantitative and qualitative growth of armaments and armed forces of states possessing an enormous military potential. We are convinced that the most urgent and imperative task now is to close up all channels of the arms race, both nuclear and conventional. We call on all states, all people of peace and good will including of course our esteemed partners and friends in the Federal Republic of Germany, to cooperate in the solution of this task.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen,

Judging by our first talks in Bonn, we can say with justifiable optimism that the meetings of leaders of our two countries will serve well our peoples and the cause of a stronger peace, will provide new spheres for exerting joint efforts and will set in motion new, hitherto untapped reserves and opportunities.

Ours is a huge country, stretching across two continents. It is inhabited by dozens of nations and nationalities, forming a single close-knit family. This is a peaceful and industrious family of talented and good-willed people. It does not covet what belongs to others. Its intentions are noble. It is prepared to live in peace and accord with all peoples, including yours.

Permit me on this spring day to wish the citizens of your country well-being and prosperity!

SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV ON FRG TELEVISION

When leaving for Bonn this time, Leonid Brezhnev said in his speech, we saw our task in defining, on the basis of the 1970 Moscow Treaty, together with the leaders of the FRG, the main lines of further bilateral cooperation between our countries for the years ahead, and also to map out the ways we can interact in strengthening peace and international détente. In my opinion a great deal has been achieved in this direction during the visit. There are grounds to hope that its results will give relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union greater stability and broader scope.

We are now at a very responsible juncture in international developments. The Soviet Union and the FRG are in a position to do a great deal to eliminate the difficulties which détente has come up against as it develops. It largely depends on our countries whether or not the positive processes which began in international relations in the first half of the 1970s are consolidated and deepened.

It is no secret that these processes have slowed down somewhat today. I shall not refer to all the reasons, of which there are quite a few. But the main reason is that the monstrous arms race has not yet been curbed. This is extremely alarming; after all, this race cannot go on endlessly. It is relentlessly eroding the edifice of political détente, and if not stopped, can jeopardize the very future of the human race.

So our country, the Soviet Union, considers that its most important task in international affairs is to prevent mankind from drifting toward war, to uphold and strengthen peace — universal, just and lasting. This is our constant policy. It has nothing to do with short-term expedients; it is formalized in the Constitution of the Soviet Union. We are unswervingly pursuing this line in every way. Soviet diplomacy is subordinated to it. It is supported by all the people of our country. Whenever we draw up our plans, we keep the prospects of peace in mind.

More and more people, including citizens of the FRG, are visiting the Soviet Union every year. And anyone who takes an unbiased look at our life will certainly confirm that the entire atmosphere in our country is permeated with the people's deep commitment to peace, with the desire to live in peace with all nations.

When we say that we Soviet people want peace, we speak from the heart. I have travelled far and wide in the country. Recently, for instance, I revisited Siberia and the Far East, covering thousands and

thousands of kilometres and meeting many people. And whatever we talked about, the conversation inevitably turned to international issues. In the final analysis it all came down to the question of questions: whether or not it is possible to maintain and strengthen peace.

In the Soviet Union there are no classes, social strata, or professional groups that are interested in war, or in preparing for war, or expecting to profit by it. There are the munitions factories and the army, of course, but neither the managers of those factories, the army commanders, workers, nor servicemen associate their well-being with war, or with military contracts. We would really like to convert our munitions factories to the manufacture of peace-time products, to gear them to the needs of peaceful construction for the great benefit of the entire society.

Our country is often compared to a giant construction site. This is not just a figure of speech. It is a fact. We are doing a great deal of building. And we are not simply building; we are transforming the very image of our country.

You have probably heard about the Baikal-Amur Railway. This more than 3,000 km long railway is being laid across the permafrost region, across the virgin taiga, it is being cut through cliffs. Building it means not only that the distance to the Pacific will be greatly lessened, but also that an area equal to several big countries will be opened for development. And all this has been started literally from scratch. Or take the development of the Tyumen oil deposits in Western Siberia. We embarked on this tremendous project less than 15 years ago. And now one out of every two tons of Soviet oil is extracted in the region. On the Ob River there we are developing an area of about a million square kilometres.

Or, finally, the projects for the real rebirth of our Russian Non-Black-Earth Zone. This is a matter of transforming the very heart of Russia, so to speak. Just imagine: we have decided to create, practically from scratch, a highly productive system of agriculture on an area approximately that of France. All the work, including the draining and irrigation of huge areas, will be only complete on the whole by 1990. But already by 1980 one-sixth of the Soviet Union's agricultural output will come from this land.

Our initiatives and plans are intended for decades ahead. We are working not on one or two but on dozens of projects, each of whose scope is greater than the plans of some states. And the ultimate aim of every one of them is to improve the well-being of millions of people, of our entire country.

We are working on increasingly bigger and greater labor-consuming tasks in the social sector as well. I will cite an example. For the first time, we have formalized the right to housing in our new Constitution. This is a right that cannot merely be declared; there is a great deal of work being done to make it a reality. In our country, 11 million people move into new flats every year. Rent in our state-owned apartments is extremely low. Set 50 years ago, it has not been raised since. All this means that society and the state are meeting a growing proportion of housing expenditures. Or another example. Our national health service is free and is probably the most extensive in the world. One-third of all the world's doctors are Soviet doctors. But guaranteeing our constitutional right to health protection demands major new capital investment, social measures and research. There are a great many similar examples.

These tasks are far from easy. Quite a few complicated problems and shortcomings exist, but we are solving all these problems through the growing activity and initiative of millions of people. And we will certainly solve them given the single condition that a new war is prevented, that a lasting peace is ensured on the solid foundation of peaceful coexistence. In the light of this it is not hard to see that the element of peace in our policy is not theatrical posturing, but the very essence of our life. This is the guarantee of the firmness and stability of the international policy of the Soviet Union whose objectives, I think, are clear, understandable and near to everyone: they are peace, disarmament and international security.

These are the objectives behind the important concrete proposals which the Soviet Union puts forward in the international arena. To begin with, what we want is to at least defer the increase in armaments and armed forces of countries which have a large military capability. This is the essence of our recent initiatives.

Leonid Brezhnev went on to say:

The end of the first ten-day period of May is a special time for our countries and for our peoples. At this time every year we celebrate the end of World War II in Europe. Of course, we mark this in different ways and our feelings are not alike by far in this context. That is understandable. But apart from different attitudes and feelings, there is also something in common — and this, I think, is much more important at this time. Our people suffered enormous and irreparable losses in the last war. And although new generations have grown up today — most likely now every second person in the USSR and the FRG knows about war only from books — the past compels

us to draw a lesson from recent history, confirms us in our desire to live in peace, to prevent a new tragedy.

Now is the time for responsible political leaders of all countries without exception to say to each other and their peoples: there must be no war! And having said this, do everything so that it will never break out. But time is prodding us: every lost day, every delay, every procrastination may cost the human race, each one of us, all too dearly.

This was what guided us during the discussion in Bonn. The documents adopted there are of enormous significance.

Thus, the Joint Declaration we have signed with Chancellor H. Schmidt expresses the determination of both countries to promote political cooperation between the FRG and the USSR on a strong and permanent basis. This applies to bilateral affairs and to major international issues, primarily peaceful coexistence, détente and curbing the arms race. We have also signed an Agreement providing for the development of economic contacts with a long-term perspective — until the end of the current millennium. A solid material foundation is being built for peaceful cooperation between our two countries.

These are good results. Now, as we see it, the agreements reached must be translated into concrete deeds, into real joint efforts in the international arena. Let us worthily continue the historic endeavor which began with the signing of the 1970 Moscow Treaty. Let us develop and enrich the fine traditions of cooperation in the interests of the peoples of our two countries, for the sake of stronger peace, of developing fruitful cooperation in Europe and throughout the world.

IN HONOR OF FRG STATESMEN AND POLITICAL LEADERS

On May 5, Leonid Brezhnev gave a luncheon which was attended by FRG President Walter Scheel and Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, as well as members of the Federal government, leaders of political parties, deputies of the Bundestag and members of the Bundesrat, prime ministers of a number of Lands, leadership members of the FRG-USSR society and other officials. Leonid Brezhnev and Helmut Schmidt addressed those present.

SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV

In his speech Leonid Brezhnev said:

This is the second day of our stay in the Federal Republic. Like the

first day, it has passed in intensive work. Both sides have submitted for discussion whatever they deemed of vital importance in their mutual relations and in the sphere of world politics, without avoiding controversial issues. After all, realism is the only reliable basis for constructive work. We, and I believe this can be said for both sides, wish to build the edifice of our relations not on sand, but on solid ground.

While preparing for the trip here, I asked myself time and again what the recent years had added to the relations between our two countries, how tangible were the changes achieved.

Karl Marx, the great thinker and founder of scientific socialism, whose 160th birth anniversary falls today, once said that every step of genuine progress is more important than a dozen programs. How true these words are. There is no substitute for concrete deeds, and it is precisely the deeds that speak out so eloquently in this case.

The 70s, I think, have shown clearly how much that is new and unquestionably useful has been brought about by the normalization of relations between our two countries, benefiting both of them as well as the world situation as a whole.

Let us take for a start its material basis — economic relations. Big changes have occurred in this sphere. We had to start, though not quite from scratch but from a level that was obviously inadequate for two such countries as ours. And the results are already tangible now. It is enough to recall that over the past four years the USSR has delivered to the FRG more than 27 million tons of oil and oil products, 100 million rubles' worth of chemical products, two million cubic metres of sawn timber, 120,000 tons of cotton, and many other commodities. Deliveries of Soviet natural gas are increasing yearly. About 200,000 million cubic metres of gas will have been delivered before the year 2000.

During the same four-year period we have imported from the FRG equipment and machinery alone worth more than 3,500 million rubles.

West-German equipment and technology are becoming a traditional component of several of our major economic projects and industrial enterprises. And Soviet orders, raw materials and fuel help you, in turn, to keep your plants and factories running at a higher capacity, an important factor, I believe, in conditions of high unemployment.

Then consider the cultural exchanges. It goes without saying that they play no small role in the creation of an atmosphere of greater mutual understanding between nations, among the masses of ordinary

men and women. And considerable progress can be noted in this domain, too.

The other day I asked for concrete figures on our cultural exchanges. And what do you think? The mere listing of the mutual exchanges over the past four years ran up to five full pages. They included five art exhibitions, performances of many ensembles and companies, theatre presentations with the participation of noted directors and actors, performances by famous singers and musicians, various meetings of creative intellectuals.

If we take international aspects, the changes for the better here are, probably, even bigger. Improvement of the FRG's relations with her immediate or close neighbors — the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and other European socialist states — is unquestionably mutually beneficial. This is definitely sensed by many in the Federal Republic. The successful development of these relations is also borne out convincingly, and specifically, by the results of the recent visits paid to the FRG by Edward Gieriek and Gustav Husak.

The admission of the FRG and the GDR to the United Nations is an important element in the normalization of the world situation in general.

Finally, the radical change in the relations between our two countries, together with the experience of Soviet-French cooperation, served as the starting point for progress toward such a notable landmark in the history of international relations as the All-European Conference in Helsinki with the participation of the United States and Canada.

I should like to believe that our current negotiations and meetings will leave a notable trace in the work to improve and expand relations between the USSR and the FRG, and help to consolidate the improvement of the European and world climate. In any case, this is the goal that we are pursuing. And I should like to add that the successes of our joint work in this direction will be the weightier and the more lasting, the better the populations of our two countries realize that the fundamental interests of the Soviet Union and the FRG are inalienably linked with the safeguarding of peace, that the citizens of our countries should never again peer at each other through gunsights, that the future of Europe rests only with peaceful cooperation. If we achieve such a cardinal change in men's hearts, nobody and nothing will ever divert us from this road.

This is why truthful and well-intended information about each other is important. It is important to educate the people, primarily the

young, in the spirit of respect for other nations, to get rid of ideas and concepts that drag nations into the past like a lead weight. In this, enormous responsibility rests with the mass information media, schools and universities.

Ideological disputes, the struggle of ideologies will continue, of course. But we are against ideologies being made to serve military staffs and ideological struggle being turned into psychological warfare. Our principle is peaceful, honest competition of ideas and social practice. People should not settle their relations, including ideological matters, on the battlefield. Neither you nor we need a competition on who can present the other side in a darker light. If our goal is cooperation and confidence, we should try to act accordingly.

LEONID BREZHNEV'S MEETINGS AND TALKS IN THE FRG

On May 5, Leonid Brezhnev met for a talk with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Chairman of the Free Democratic Party, Deputy Federal Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the FRG.

Discussed during the talk were questions related to the development of bilateral relations between the two countries and important international problems. The mutual conviction was expressed that interaction of the two countries in the interests of strengthening peace and easing international tension, in the interests of the tranquility and well-being of the peoples is desirable and useful.

In the afternoon of May 5, Leonid Brezhnev had a meeting with Willy Brandt, Chairman of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.

A number of questions pertaining to the development of USSR-FRG relations and some topical international issues were touched upon during the talk, which passed in an informal and friendly atmosphere.

It was unanimously noted that the ever broader program of peaceful development and cooperation of the USSR and the FRG rests on the firm foundation of the Moscow Treaty. This cooperation, Willy Brandt said, enjoys the support of broad circles of West German public opinion, including the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.

Leonid Brezhnev noted the big role played by Willy Brandt as an

architect of the Ostpolitik of the FRG — a policy of good-neighborly relations and cooperation with the socialist countries.

During the talk both sides stressed that in promoting relations between the USSR and the FRG and in strengthening European peace enormous importance attaches to the task of fostering reciprocal respect and trust among the peoples of the two countries, of spreading truthful, objective information through the mass media about the life of the two countries and peoples.

Leonid Brezhnev had a meeting with Herbert Wehner, Chairman of the Social-Democratic Party's group in the Bundestag and Wolfgang Mischnick, Chairman of the Free Democratic Party's group, in Bonn on May 5.

The chairmen of the Parliamentary groups of the parties forming the government coalition expressed satisfaction with the course of Leonid Brezhnev's talks with the FRG leaders. Herbert Wehner and Wolfgang Mischnick stressed their resolve to continue doing everything to promote the line defined by the Moscow Treaty.

Leonid Brezhnev noted the important part played by the Social-Democratic and Free Democratic members of Parliament in developing Soviet-West German relations and wished Herbert Wehner and Wolfgang Mischnick successes in their activities in the name of détente and stronger peace.

Leonid Brezhnev met with Chairman of the Christian Democratic Union Helmut Kohl in Bonn on May 6.

During the talk, in which Richard von Weizsäcker, Vice-Chairman of the CDU/CSU faction in the Bundestag took part, questions of mutual interest were discussed.

On May 6, Leonid Brezhnev had a meeting in Bonn with Franz Jozef Strauss, Chairman of the Christian Socialist Union. They exchanged views on a number of political problems.

LEONID BREZHNEV MEETS WITH LEADERS OF THE GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY

On May 6, CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev and CC CPSU members N.A. Tikhonov, N.S. Patolichev, B.P. Bugayev, L.M. Zamyatin, alternative member of the CC CPSU A.M. Alexan-

drov and members of the Central Auditing Commission A.I. Blatov and A.S. Chernyayev met with GCP Chairman Herbert Mies, and members of the Presidium, GCP Board Kurt Fritsch, Ludwig Müller and Georg Polikeit, secretary of the Board Karl-Heinz Schröder and Board members Wolfgang Gehrcke and Beate Landefeld.

Leonid Brezhnev had a cordial comradely talk with the leaders of the German Communist Party.

Herbert Mies welcomed Leonid Brezhnev with fraternal cordiality. The GCP Chairman highly assessed the CPSU's active and consistent policy in strengthening peace, security and the freedom and independence of the peoples. He noted the enormous significance of Leonid Brezhnev's visit for the development of Soviet-West German political and economic relations on a long-term and stable basis, improving the international climate, especially in Europe, and for the consolidation and expansion of détente. The visit, Mies went on to say, meets with the full approval of the working class and all peace-loving democratic forces in the Federal Republic.

Leonid Brezhnev expressed the Soviet communists' profound sympathy with the activity of the German Communist Party, which is selflessly upholding the interests of the working people of its country, the cause of peace in Europe and the world over. He noted in particular the importance of the West German communists' persistent and resolute struggle for the all-round development of good-neighbor relations between the FRG and the USSR, for friendship and trust between the peoples of the two countries. What is at issue at present, Leonid Brezhnev said, is whether we can lessen, and then eliminate the threat of a thermonuclear war. The solidarity actions of all forces capable of countering the arms race policies, of curbing this race and ensuring the peaceful development of international relations have a big role to play in resolving this issue.

In conclusion, Leonid Brezhnev wished the FRG communists success in their fruitful work for the good of their people.

LEONID BREZHNEV VISITS HAMBURG

On May 7, Leonid Brezhnev visited the house in Eppendorf, a working-class district of Hamburg, where Ernst Thaelmann, outstanding leader of the German and international working-class movement, lived for a long period, and which has now been turned into a museum.

Leonid Brezhnev placed flowers at the memorial plaque on the building housing the museum. He wrote in the visitors' book:

"I am deeply moved on visiting the house where Comrade Ernst Thaelmann, a great friend of the Soviet Union, splendid son of the German people and fighter for peace and communist ideals lived.

The Soviet communists express fervent solidarity with the continuers of Thaelmann's cause.

Leonid Brezhnev was warmly hailed by GCP Chairman Herbert Mies and other leaders of the German Communist Party, veteran communists who had worked together with Ernst Thaelmann, and the working people of Hamburg.

MASS RALLY IN COLOGNE

Under the slogan: "In the name of our peoples, for peace and friendship," the German Communist Party held a mass rally devoted to the visit by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to Cologne, a major industrial center of the Rhein-Ruhr region, on May 4. Taking part at the rally were workers, trade union activists and members of democratic organizations.

Together with the working people of the FRG, the communists hail Leonid Brezhnev's visit to our country, GCP Chairman Herbert Mies said, in addressing the rally. We say a heartfelt "Welcome," "Druzhiba — Freundschaft" to him.

Leonid Brezhnev's visit to the FRG is highly important in promoting the policy of détente and developing long-term cooperation between the two states. Apart from benefiting the peoples of the FRG and the Soviet Union, it will help to strengthen peace in Europe and throughout the world.

Summing up the five years that have passed since Leonid Brezhnev's first visit to the FRG, the speaker went on to say, we note that relations between our countries have developed on a mutually beneficial basis. The present visit opens up new favorable prospects in this sphere. He emphasized the importance of the Soviet Union's struggle for disarmament, its constructive proposals in this sphere. The FRG working people, he said, vigorously oppose the plans to produce the neutron bomb and deploy it on West German territory.

Herbert Mies noted the strong fraternal ties between the German Communist Party and the CPSU.

COMMUNIQUE

*On the visit of Leonid Brezhnev, CC CPSU General Secretary,
President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,
to the Federal Republic of Germany*

At the invitation of Walter Scheel, President of the Federal Republic of Germany, and Helmut Schmidt, Federal Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, made an official visit to the Federal Republic of Germany from May 4 to 7, 1978.

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Andrei Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, had several meetings and talks with Walter Scheel, President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Schmidt, Federal Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Federal Vice-Chancellor, Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs.

During the meetings and talks the two sides had an all-round exchange of opinions on the state of relations between the two countries, and on the prospects and direction of their further development. The two sides discussed a broad range of topical international issues proceeding from the desire to strengthen peace and security in Europe and around the world. The talks proceeded in a constructive atmosphere and were permeated with mutual understanding and frankness.

As a result of the talks, Leonid Brezhnev and Helmut Schmidt signed a Joint Declaration on progress in the fields of détente, good-neighborliness and the strengthening of peace.

Proceeding from the mutual desire to ensure effective long-term economic cooperation Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, as well as Andrei Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Federal Vice-Chancellor, Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs, signed an Agreement on the Development and Deepening of Long-Term Cooperation in the Field of the Economy and Industry.

The two sides stressed that the signing of the Treaty of August 12, 1970, was a singularly important event for relations between the two states. It created favorable prerequisites for their normalization and for the development of all-round cooperation between them. The Treaty has been and is still one of the determining factors in ensuring détente and strengthening security in Europe.

In the period since the visits to the USSR by Federal President Walter Scheel and Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, relations between the two countries continued to improve and deepen. The political dialogue is now more intensive, the cooperation on international issues closer and the contacts in many fields broader. The two sides proclaimed that they were determined to steadily develop and deepen the relations between the two states on the basis of the Treaty of August 12, 1970, and by patient and constructive effort. They attach great political importance to carrying out this task.

The two sides stressed that summit meetings have a special role to play in shaping good-neighborly relations between the two states. These meetings always provide new impulses for the further development and improvement of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Both sides also pointed out the great importance of preserving and broadening the practice of political consultations as provided for in the Joint Statement of October 30, 1974.

The two sides spoke in favor of regular contacts between parliamentarians, representatives of the economy and the trade unions, scientists and workers in culture.

They believe that all this will help to overcome the remnants of the past, and to strengthen mutual understanding and mutual trust in relations between the two countries.

A great deal of attention was paid to economic relations between the two states. It was noted with satisfaction that on the whole they are developing favorably. The agreements signed in 1973-1974, as well as the long-term perspective signed in 1974, which provide for the consistent buildup of economic contacts, are being successfully fulfilled. Given the volume of trade already achieved, the two sides believe that in the period of 1976-1980 trade can be doubled as compared with the previous five-year period. They will try to exceed this level if possible. The two sides intend, in the future as well, to promote in every way the improvement of the structure of trade, to make it more balanced.

It was recognized that implementing joint large-scale projects, get-

ting production cooperation under way, and integrating new branches of the economy into cooperation are exceedingly important for successful future cooperation between the two countries in the economy and in technology. The two sides were pleased to note the progress in carrying out the Oskol Electrometallurgical Combine and Mogilev Complex projects for the production of chemical fiber, as well as in working out and implementing other projects in chemistry, energy and mechanical engineering.

The two sides reaffirmed that they would do everything they could to promote cooperation in the economy, industry and technology on a broad basis, and continue to take the interests of small and medium-size enterprises into account.

The two sides spoke in favor of broadening joint industrial cooperation with enterprises in third countries.

The work of the commission of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal Republic of Germany on economic, scientific and technical cooperation and of the expert groups it established was approved. These organs make a useful contribution to broadening economic contacts in different areas. The two sides spoke in favor of the further heightening of the commission's role and of improving its work, of seeking promising new trends for its initiatives.

The two sides intend to do what they can to promote technical cooperation and to encourage the efforts made in this direction by their respective organizations and companies. The more important and promising trends and subjects of substantial importance for technological progress will be given special attention.

Both sides reaffirmed their mutual desire to deepen cooperation in culture, science, education and sports, which play an important role in the peaceful joint life of the peoples.

The two sides exchanged opinions on problems connected with the expansion of agreements underlying bilateral relations, including existing and new draft agreements in specific fields. They agreed to continue the discussion of these matters.

In view of the positive record of the mutual sponsoring of exhibitions of the accomplishments in the national economy and culture, the two sides plan that similar exhibitions will also be organized in subsequent years.

Both sides will encourage the mutual spread of the Russian and German languages.

The importance of the further contacts among trade unions was emphasized. The two sides will also encourage inter-city contacts.

The two sides are in favor of even broader contacts between the USSR-FRG Society and the Federation of the FRG-USSR Societies whose work they positively assess as a useful contribution to mutual understanding.

The two sides noted the progress in solving humanitarian problems. They said they were also ready to take a positive view of them in the future.

The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the Federal Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany had a detailed discussion on the main problems of the current situation in Europe and of international developments in general. They expressed their profound gratification at the fact that the European peoples have seen no war for more than 30 years.

The two sides said that peace has been and is still the supreme value to which their political initiatives and the efforts of other countries should be oriented. Both sides state with satisfaction that despite the existence of different political, economic and social systems in Europe, there has been tangible progress made in strengthening mutual trust and good-neighbourliness. They expressed their solid conviction that the steady development of international détente is the only possible way to trust and good-neighbourliness. The two sides stressed that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which culminated on August 1, 1975, in the signing of the Helsinki Final Act by the top leaders of the participating states, played a special role in improving the situation in Europe. They discussed the results of the Belgrade Meeting of representatives of states which took part in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. It was pointed out that the meeting reaffirmed the intention of the signatories to the Final Act to continue the process of détente in accordance with the decisions adopted in Helsinki. The two sides stressed the importance of the complete unilateral, bilateral and multi-lateral implementation of all the provisions of the Conference Final Act by all the states which signed it.

Both sides expressed their satisfaction with the continuing talks between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community. They agreed that contacts between the two organizations can facilitate the strengthening and deepening of cooperation in Europe. They hope that the negotiations between the two organizations will bring positive results.

The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President

of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the Federal Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany had a thorough exchange of opinions on arms limitations, disarmament, and also on the efforts made to end the arms race. Both sides said they were determined to use all the possibilities and means at their disposal in the interests of real advance toward universal and complete disarmament under effective international control, which would embrace both nuclear weapons and conventional types of armaments.

The two sides stressed how important they consider the forthcoming Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament and said they were ready to help it achieve positive results. They expect the session to provide new impulses to the negotiations on concrete arms limitation and disarmament measures. Both sides expressed the hope that the special session would be conducive to holding further disarmament talks on a world scale, with all UN members attending. The question of the World Disarmament Conference was discussed.

The two sides stressed the importance of strict observance of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in all its parts. They said that all states should accede to this Treaty so that it would become universal.

Both sides stressed the importance of the current talks between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on strategic offensive arms limitation as a substantial contribution to détente and to ensuring universal peace. They consider it of extraordinary importance that these talks are successful.

The two sides believe that complete and universal banning of nuclear weapons is very important and express the hope that current negotiations will soon reach a successful end.

The two sides regard as desirable the early achievement of an agreement on the effective banning of the development, manufacturing and stockpiling of all types of chemical weapons and on their destruction.

There was a comprehensive discussion on the state of affairs at the current Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments and on the relevant measures in Central Europe. During the talks the two sides proceeded from the need to arrive at settlements that would be in line with the principle of not harming the security of any of the sides, and that would contribute toward more stable relations, stronger peace and security in Europe.

The two sides expressed concern at the situation in the Middle East

and the persisting tension in that area. They are convinced that a just and lasting peace there demands an all-embracing settlement with representatives of all the parties concerned, including those of the Arab people of Palestine, taking part.

The two sides discussed developments on the African continent from the perspective of ensuring détente and peace in that area. Both sides believe that this purpose is served by respect for independence, sovereignty, inviolability of frontiers and territorial integrity of African states in keeping with the provisions of the UN Charter and with the OAU decisions.

The two sides exchanged opinions on problems relating to the situation in southern Africa.

The two sides agree that the steady broadening and deepening of international economic cooperation is in accordance with popular striving for higher living standards and for strengthening peace. They stressed the need for international economic relations to be based on equality, mutual advantage and just consideration of the interests of all countries. The two sides discussed matters relating to the greater participation of the developing countries in international cooperation on the basis of equal partnership.

They stated that they favored international cooperation in guaranteeing the security of civil aviation, including the prevention of acts of air piracy and combating such acts, as well as the development of measures to combat the practice of taking hostages.

The two sides have the common desire to give the UN all support in its efforts to maintain international peace and security and to develop interstate cooperation. They reaffirmed their commitment to the aims and principles of the UN and their readiness to help give it greater authority and make it more effective while strictly observing the Charter of the organization and taking full advantage of the possibilities it offers for that purpose.

In the interests of further cooperation between the two countries in the framework of the UN, the two sides say they will continue the practice of consultations on the matters connected with UN activities, primarily in the field of strengthening international peace and security, as well as in disarmament.

The two sides unanimously agree that the meetings and talks that have taken place were fruitful and have brought important results. The visit opens up new prospects for the further development of relations between the two countries; it is a contribution to strengthening peace and security in Europe and around the world in general.

JOINT DECLARATION

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Helmut Schmidt, Federal Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, state that the conclusion of the Treaty of August 12, 1970, was an event of fundamental significance for the development of mutual relations and the improvement of the situation in Europe; the Treaty will continue to determine the direction of relations between the two states.

As a result of intensive talks Leonid Brezhnev and Helmut Schmidt have reached the common view that further energetic efforts are needed in the name of securing peace, contributing to détente and achieving progress in the field of disarmament and arms limitation.

In accordance with this they state the following:

I

From the developments in the past decade the two sides draw the conclusion that détente is necessary, possible and useful. They see no reasonable alternative to peaceful cooperation among states, despite divergences in certain basic stands and differences of political, economic and social systems. They express their will to expand and deepen the process of détente and to make it progressive and stable in character. To achieve that goal they will, respecting the indivisibility of peace and security in all regions of the world, use their political and economic possibilities independently, jointly and on a multilateral basis.

II

The two sides are resolved to contribute to the continued dynamic development begun by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. To this end they will seek that all the principles and provisions fixed in the Final Act of the Conference signed in Helsinki become fully effective in the relations between all the participating states and in the whole of Europe, in the interests of cooperation among states and for the good of the peoples.

This policy, intended for a long perspective, demands consistent efforts toward concrete successes. In this sense, the two countries have in mind to constructively use the coming period of time in order to contribute to the success of the joint plans and meetings of the states participating in the conference currently being prepared. Both governments will maintain contacts on the said range of questions.

III

In the face of the destructive might of the accumulated and constantly growing stockpiles of armaments of all types, concrete measures are necessary to end the arms race. It is the conviction of both sides that this is a problem of primary urgency and importance. Its solution for the purpose of general and complete disarmament under effective international control meets the political and economic interests of all states and peoples of the world irrespective of their size, in the first place, the interests of their security.

The coordination of further steps in the field of disarmament and arms limitation should be accelerated in order that the process of détente would not be damaged by the development in the military field and would, on the contrary, be complemented by it.

The two sides deem it important that no one should seek military superiority. They proceed from the assumption that approximate equality and parity are sufficient to ensure defense. In their opinion, corresponding disarmament and arms limitation measures in the nuclear and conventional fields meeting that principle would be of great significance.

As for armed forces in Central Europe, the two sides reiterate the aim of the Vienna talks — to achieve, on the basis of the principle of undiminished security of the participants, a more stable situation with lower military levels than today. The two sides again pledge that in accordance with this they will be ready to participate with their armed forces in reductions affecting the direct participants in the talks on terms to be determined in Vienna.

In the opinion of the two sides, existing mistrust and the danger of military confrontation could be overcome and the security of all strengthened through such negotiations and their results, as well as through the further development of measures to consolidate confidence in Europe.

IV

The two sides are resolved to further improve the quality and level of their relations in all fields and seek to make good-neighborliness and growing cooperation a reliable asset of future generations also.

V

The two sides regard active and businesslike exchanges of views as an important means to improve further mutual understanding and greater trust. They therefore intend to consistently continue such

exchanges of views, in the form of regular consultations included, and at all suitable levels, with the aim of expanding the basis for agreement.

VI

It is highly important that the idea of better mutual understanding, mutual respect and greater mutual good will take root and be consolidated in the minds of the people in the two states. This applies particularly to youth who should never live through what preceding generations have experienced. Both sides are aware that constant and ever new efforts, including joint efforts, are needed for that.

VII

The two sides set before them the task of contributing to economic, industrial and technical cooperation. They view such cooperation as an important and necessary element in consolidating bilateral relations. This cooperation should be oriented to an ever-growing degree toward a long-term perspective in order that mutual interest in its constant expansion increase. Thus, a solid material foundation is formed for mutual relations which goes beyond the present century and benefits people in both countries.

The two sides are convinced that the agreement on the development and deepening of long-term cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal Republic of Germany in the field of the economy and industry, signed on May 6, 1978, will mark a major contribution to such development.

VIII

The lessons of history and responsibility for peace strengthen the conviction of both sides that only the road of détente and the development of mutual relations in the constructive spirit could bring nearer the implementation of the hopes of nations for the establishment of a lasting peace.

IX

The two sides reaffirm their view that strict observance and full implementation of the quadripartite agreement of September 3, 1971, remain an essential prerequisite for durable détente in Central Europe and improved relations between the corresponding states, in particular between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany.

X

The two sides stress that they will continue to develop their bilateral relations in the spirit of the requirements of détente and cooperation. They are convinced that this would be for the benefit of all.

Bonn, May 6, 1978

L. Brezhnev

H. Schmidt

AGREEMENT

*On the development and deepening of long-term cooperation
between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and
the Federal Republic of Germany in the field of
the economy and industry*

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany,

taking into account the determination, expressed in the Treaty of August 12, 1970, to improve and broaden cooperation, including the field of economic relations, in the interests of both states,

referring to the Agreement on the General Problems of Trade and Marine Navigation of April 25, 1958, the Agreement on the Development of Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation of May 19, 1973, and the Agreement on the Further Development of Economic Cooperation of October 30, 1974,

highly assessing the considerable progress made so far in the field of economic, industrial and technical cooperation between the two states,

seeking to continuously develop and deepen the entire complex of relations between the two states.

convinced that the broadening and intensification of their long-term cooperation in the field of economic, industrial and technical relations are not only in accordance with the common interests of the two states but make an important contribution to long-term cooperation throughout Europe,

wishing to carry out this cooperation on a long-term basis,

aware of the fact that the deepening of economic, industrial and technical cooperation in Europe in keeping with the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, signed in Hel-

sinki on August 1, 1975, serves the cause of international détente and peace in Europe and around the world,
have agreed to the following:

ARTICLE 1

The Contracting Parties shall set themselves the aim of promoting economic, industrial and technical cooperation as an important and necessary element of strengthening bilateral relations on a stable and long-term basis. In view of the long-term character of projects agreed on or being prepared by the relevant enterprises and organizations and of the projects pending in the future in the field of raw materials and energy in particular, the Contracting Parties shall seek to further intensify cooperation on the basis of mutual advantage.

ARTICLE 2

The Contracting Parties shall promote the further development of cooperation, particularly in the following:

- construction, expansion and modernization of industrial complexes and enterprises;

- joint development and manufacture of individual items of equipment and other goods;

- the extraction and processing of raw materials, including the development of minerals on the ocean floor;

- cooperation in the field of power supply;

- Technical cooperation between appropriate enterprises and organizations;

- cooperation in the fields of banking and insurance, transport and other services;

- cooperation with enterprises and organizations of third countries.

In particular, cooperation shall be carried out in branches such as mechanical engineering, including transport machine-building, as well as metallurgy, chemistry and electrical engineering, including the electronic industry, and the consumer goods industry.

ARTICLE 3

The Contracting Parties shall encourage the broadest possible exchange of economic information so as to improve mutual marketing possibilities. They shall continue to promote business contacts within the framework of operating laws and rules, and facilitate the work of the trade promotion bureaus, purchasing commissions, representations of enterprises and organizations, mixed societies and technical

personnel, and will also help arrange fairs, specialized exhibitions, symposiums and other similar initiatives.

ARTICLE 4

As the economic, industrial and technical cooperation between the two states develops, the Contracting Parties shall make efforts to take the principles of the international division of labor and the conditions prevailing in the respective markets into account. Given mutual interest, cooperation in carrying out large-scale and long-term projects can be put in line with the deliveries of goods produced as a result of this cooperation.

ARTICLE 5

Recognizing the importance of financing, which includes the granting of medium-term and long-term credits, for the further development of economic cooperation, the Contracting Parties shall, in pursuance of the aims of the present Agreement, make efforts with regard to providing guarantees so that the medium-term and long-term credits are granted within the framework of the rules existing in each of the states and on the most favorable terms possible.

ARTICLE 6

The promotion of and supervision over the practical implementation of the present Agreement shall be entrusted to the commission of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal Republic of Germany on economic, scientific and technical cooperation, with the competent economic organs concerned taking part. To achieve the aims of the present Agreement, the commission assisted by the said organs involved shall draw up a long-term program on the main directions of cooperation.

ARTICLE 7

In accordance with the quadripartite agreement of September 3, 1971, the present Agreement shall extend to Berlin (West) in accordance with established procedures.

ARTICLE 8

The present Agreement shall have no bearing on the bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements previously signed by the Contracting Parties. In this connection the Contracting Parties may, whenever necessary, at the proposal of either one, hold consultations,

making certain, however, that these consultations have no bearing on the main aims of the present Agreement.

ARTICLE 9

The present Agreement shall be in force for a period of 25 years. The initial period of the Agreement shall be set at 10 years, and upon expiry it shall be extended, by mutual agreement of the Parties, for another five-year period each time.

ARTICLE 10

This Agreement shall enter into force after the Contracting Parties exchange notifications to the effect that all the necessary formalities involved have been carried out in each of the two states.

Done in Bonn on May 6, 1978, in two original copies, each in Russian and German, both texts being equally authentic.

For the Union of
Soviet Socialist Republics

L. Brezhnev

A. Gromyko

For the Federal
Republic of Germany

H. Schmidt

H.-D. Genscher

Pravda, May 4-8, 12, 1978

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDIUM OF THE GCP BOARD

The visit of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the political negotiations that took place and the documents that were signed are exceedingly important for the further progress of good relations and mutually beneficial cooperation between the Soviet Union and the FRG, for the peaceful and friendly coexistence of the peoples of both countries. This visit, very important to the people of the Federal Republic, contributed substantially to the struggle to promote peace and détente in Europe and throughout the world, to the struggle for disarmament. The GCP is confident that the development of bilateral relations between the FRG and Soviet Union has been given a new impetus.

We communists appreciate especially the creative and principled activity of CC CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev in the

interests of détente and disarmament, more deep-going relations between the FRG and USSR, and growing economic cooperation. Millions of our citizens have satisfied themselves that in accordance with the nature of socialist society, the Soviet Union actively and firmly applies the fundamental principle of its policy: doing everything to ensure peace, prevent an atomic catastrophe and improve international relations.

The visit and its results, which found expression in the joint declaration and the agreement to further and deepen long-term economic and industrial cooperation between the two countries, as well as Leonid Brezhnev's televised speech, which millions of people followed with keen attention, offer new opportunities for the constructive development of relations between the FRG and USSR at a higher level. They help to strengthen peace and to promote détente. The implementation of long-term economic agreements benefits primarily the working people by providing hundreds of thousands of jobs in a period of crisis and protracted unemployment.

In common with all the forces championship détente and peace, the GCP considers it necessary to use the new opportunities, contribute in a constructive spirit to the continuation of the process of détente and make a concrete contribution to the discontinuance of the arms race. The party is emphatically against every attempt to impede progress in relations with the Soviet Union by carrying out anti-Soviet campaigns, stepping up the arms race, expressing approval for the neutron bomb and baiting the GDR from nationalist positions.

In his televised speech Leonid Brezhnev called on the citizens of our country to do their best in order to prevent war. He conveyed the desire of the Soviet people, who are engaged in a great peaceful creative effort, for lasting peace and for friendly relations with our people, and outlined the great prospects of mutual beneficial cooperation.

It would be well and useful for détente if the Bonn politicians drew proper conclusions from that convincing message to our people and from talks with Brezhnev. At the same time, the GCP stresses that using the new opportunities cannot be a matter for only the ruling circles. Both the struggle to implement the treaties with socialist countries in the early 70s and today's struggle for the policy stated during Brezhnev's visit are a task of the first importance for all who want to live in peace and friendship with the Soviet Union and to banish war from the life of peoples. During Brezhnev's visit opponents of détente, inveterate anti-communists and enemies of progress

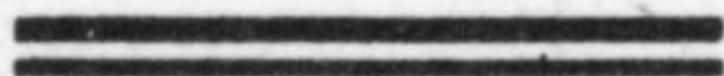
tried to block further progress in relations between the FRG and USSR and mislead public opinion in our country regarding the aims and intentions of Soviet policy. The intrigues of opponents of détente, neo-nazis, revanchists and Maoists — intrigues which are hostile to peace — were repulsed. The provocative actions of enemies of détente and the anti-Soviet falsehoods spread by influential mass media show that the peace forces of our country must continue to firmly resist anti-Soviet propaganda.

Our party, the GCP, made a constructive contribution to the success of Leonid Brezhnev's visit. It was confirmed once again that the communists' staunch and consistent struggle for peace and friendship with the Soviet Union meets the interests of the working people and the national interests of the Federal Republic. We will continue to resolutely advocate the implementation of the policy set out in the documents and the agreement in the interests of our working people.

The GCP Board regards the fact that CPSU representatives paid homage in Trier to the memory of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism, and that the General Secretary of the CC CPSU visited the Thaelmann museum in Hamburg as a sign of close connection between the CPSU and the German working-class movement. The Board hails Leonid Brezhnev's meeting with GCP Chairman Herbert Mies and other members of the party Presidium and Board. The GCP Presidium stresses the importance of Brezhnev's statement that now that the question is being decided whether or not the threat of thermonuclear war can be lessened and then removed, there is a particular need for the solidarity of all forces capable of countering and curbing the arms race and assuring the peaceful development of international relations. This is in conformity with the great ideas of the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe.

The sympathy and friendship expressed by CC CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev fill us communists of the FRG with joy. We will continue to strengthen good, friendly relations with the CPSU in the interests of our country and people.

Unsere Zeit, May 10, 1978



FROM THE PRESS

THE CARDINAL PROBLEM OF OUR TIME MUST BE SOLVED IN THE INTERESTS OF HUMANITY

A special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament opened in New York on May 23. As the most representative and authoritative forum on the key problem of international life ever held, it is undoubtedly an event of enormous political importance. Below we print the *Pravda* editorial devoted to this question.

As a result of sustained and consistent efforts by the USSR, other socialist states and all peace-loving forces of the planet definite results have been attained in this important direction. In recent years a number of bilateral and multilateral agreements have been concluded, which stop up some channels of the arms race, prohibit or restrict certain types of weapons. At present businesslike negotiations are under way on some problems of limiting armaments and of disarmament.

However, despite certain barriers, the arms race is continuing at a growing rate. The accumulated destructive potential exceeds a thousand times over what was used in past wars. In the NATO countries scientific and technical achievements are being used increasingly for military purposes; the creation of new and more destructive types and systems of weapons is going ahead full speed. The arms race is not only an obstacle to an in-depth process of détente but bears the threat of a nuclear war. There is no guarantee in present conditions that this race will not become uncontrollable.

The baneful effect of the endless stockpiling of means of waging war is being felt today virtually by all countries. Enormous material and human resources are being deflected from the needs of social and economic development, from the solution of global problems — the fight against hunger, poverty, illness, for environmental protection, etc.

Therefore vigorous actions by all states, all peace-loving forces are

essential to stop the process of material preparation for war. The special General Assembly session has an important contribution to make in this respect.

The Soviet Union, having supported the UN resolution on holding a special General Assembly session on disarmament, took an active part in its preparations. The USSR sees promoting the formation of the widest possible front of peace-loving forces who come out for disarmament — the cardinal objective of our time — as the target of the session. The session could formulate fundamental propositions or principles, which would form the basis of negotiations and decisions on curbing the arms race and on disarmament. The participants' task will be to define the main direction of the states' efforts to end the arms race and to set immediate practical goals in that direction. Obviously it should be a realistic and concrete program that is acceptable to all states.

In preparing for the special session, the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Mongolia and Poland, submitted draft proposals for basic provisions of a declaration and program of action on disarmament. They formulate the socialist countries' constructive approach on topical questions of military détente.

The Soviet Union is going to the UN forum with concrete businesslike proposals. The goal of the numerous Soviet initiatives on disarmament is to achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The Soviet Union's peace policy, Leonid Brezhnev said in an interview to *Vorwärts*, "stems from the very nature of our society, whose supreme goal, proclaimed by laws and by decisions at the highest political levels, is to ensure the steady growth of the people's material well-being and culture." This lofty aim is obviously incompatible with the wasteful arms race.

The policy of the USSR on disarmament is noted for its initiative, concreteness and realistic account of the interests of all sides. Its proposals are based on strict adherence to the principle of non-infringement of the interests of national security of the participants in the agreements. Their implementation would make it possible not only to put a stop to the arms race in the near future, but to reverse it.

The experience of the struggle for disarmament dictates the need to adopt broad measures, involving the most varied aspects of military détente. As Leonid Brezhnev recently put it, the time has come to think of putting an end to the further quantitative and qualitative stockpiling of armaments and armed forces by states

possessing a major military potential, thereby creating conditions for their consequent reduction.

As an immediate task, the USSR proposes discussing a program of implementing within a definite period the following measures.

- a stop to the production of all types of nuclear weapons;
- a stop to the production and prohibition of all mass destruction weapons;
- a stop to the creation of new types of conventional arms of enormous destructive power;
- states that are permanent members of the Security Council and countries linked with them by military agreements should refrain from expanding their armies and increasing conventional armaments.

These Soviet proposals have met with broad approval and support in many countries. They point to a realistic way of solving cardinal disarmament problems, promoting peace and the security of the peoples.

The discussion of approaches to solving the problem of limiting nuclear weaponry should occupy an important place in the deliberations. There now exists a whole complex of types and systems of nuclear weapons and means of destruction designed for different purposes, with varying yields and means of delivery. The task of lessening the danger of nuclear war is a very complex one. But it can and must be solved. For this the Soviet Union proposes reaching agreement on stopping production of all types of nuclear weaponry. Parallel with this the nuclear powers could undertake to begin the gradual reduction of existing stockpiles.

The struggle to lessen the threat of a nuclear catastrophe should not be a one-sided or selective process. All nuclear powers must take part in finding ways of solving the problem. There is no excuse for individual powers to refrain from doing so.

The special session cannot overlook urgent problems of averting the danger of a nuclear war. The USSR put forward at the 32nd General Assembly a special draft resolution, listing measures in this area. Understandably, the solution of such a huge task requires time. An important stage on the road to solving it would be the earliest possible stop of nuclear weapons tests by all states. This is an urgent matter and the conditions are ripe for carrying it out. It would enable putting a stop to the development of more sophisticated nuclear weaponry and avert the appearance of new types of these weapons.

The Soviet Union suggests that the session approve measures aimed at strengthening in every way the regime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The threat of a nuclear war would be greatly increased if states which do not yet possess them joined in the process of creating and stockpiling nuclear weapons. And this possibility exists. Witness the preparations for nuclear tests by the South African Republic.

The session must express its authoritative opinion on the important question of prohibiting the creation of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons. The work going on in this field is a challenge to the very idea of holding the special session. The urgency of reaching agreement in this sphere is increasing with every passing day. Particular importance attaches to the question of prohibiting the neutron weapon whose planned deployment in Western Europe is arousing the indignation and protest of the peace-loving public. The Soviet Union has proposed to the Western states to reach agreement on mutually renouncing its production, and in the Geneva Disarmament Committee the socialist states have put forward a relevant draft convention.

The UN forum will also examine questions of prohibiting chemical weapons, reducing armed forces and conventional armaments, the setting up of nuclear free zones and peace zones in various parts of the world, as well as other problems.

An effective means of promoting peace would be the conclusion of a world treaty on the none-use of force in international relations.

The idea of holding a special session has stimulated interest in disarmament throughout the world and has been conducive to heightened activity by many countries. This is evidenced by the numerous proposals recently put forward on the most varied aspects of this problem. Preparation of the session has at the same time shown that reaching agreement on this issue will not be easy. The positions and interests of the 149 states represented in the UN are far from identical.

There are influential forces with a stake in the arms race and in creating an atmosphere of fear and enmity. These are primarily the military-industrial complexes of the imperialist states. They sow disbelief in the possibility of adopting practical measures on limiting armaments and on disarmament, and impede reaching agreement. The Peking leaders, who are virtually sabotaging any positive solution in this sphere, are acting in concert with them. All this complicates the situation in which the special session will be held.

Difficulties are also surfacing in connection with the fact that some proposals submitted on the eve of the special session are far removed from reality, do not take into account the complexity and sensitive nature of national security questions in connection with the problems of disarmament. Under the guise of "radical initiatives," plans are sometimes put forward which would in fact result in the military superiority of one group of countries over another, that is, in a change in the existing balance of forces. Such plans have no chance of succeeding. Only realistic solutions based on the principle of non-infringement of the interests of national security of any side can make a substantive contribution to the cause of disarmament.

The UN forum will examine the question of a mechanism for negotiating disarmament. In its present form it, as a whole, corresponds to the scale and character of disarmament problems. It is being asserted, however, that the unsatisfactory progress in negotiations is due to serious shortcomings in the existing system of negotiations and that it should either be discarded or radically restructured. Experience shows that the matter of altering the mechanism of negotiations should be approached with circumspection. The existing mechanism and the opportunities provided by the UN should be used more effectively without prejudicing the forms of negotiation (for instance, the Geneva Disarmament Committee) that have proved their worth.

The decisions that will be adopted at the special session could best be implemented at a world disarmament conference, to which the Soviet Union and many other countries attach great importance. This conference should serve as the forum that will enable going over from General Assembly declarations and recommendations to the practical work of reaching agreement on effective disarmament measures. The special session is called upon to adopt practical decisions to speed up the convening of a world conference.

The peoples of the world expect the UN General Assembly to adopt solid, substantial documents that reflect the broadest agreement. Numerous international and national public organizations are wishing the General Assembly success in its deliberations. Common actions and cooperation of different social forces which seek disarmament, are acquiring special importance and can greatly facilitate the achievement of positive results at the special session.

The success of the session would help to deepen détente, and to complement it with relaxation in the military sphere.

The Soviet Union hopes that the session will proceed in a

businesslike atmosphere and that it will conclude with the adoption of useful decisions. "We wish the session success and will work vigorously to this end," Leonid Brezhnev said.

The objective of curbing the arms race is attainable; there exist the political and material prerequisites for a decisive step toward disarmament. The main thing now is to carry out the existing initiatives and to move forward vigorously in solving this cardinal problem of our time in the interests of humanity.

Abridged from *Pravda*, May 18, 1978

REVOLUTION AND DEMOCRACY

Editorial from CPSU CC journal "Kommunist"

The ideologists of imperialism and the theoreticians of reformism and revisionism have wasted reams of newsprint in an effort to contrast revolution and democracy and prove that they are "incompatible." But it is hard to imagine anything more absurd or more at variance with reality.

Every revolution — provided, of course, it is a true revolution, and not an élitist coup or a "revolution" amounting to a reshuffle of portfolios in a bourgeois government — is always a qualitative change in the way of life of broad sections of the population. Such a revolution takes place only when great masses of men, which were frequently passive until then, rise to vigorous participation in political activity. A revolution is always a break-up of the old social ties, which have become inhibiting for contemporary social practice, and their replacement with new ones, this being done through direct intervention by masses of people who transform the country for a certain time into a dynamic general meeting, a nationwide forum tackling the cardinal problems of society's life and deciding on the country's future.

In other words, a revolution is a period of direct democratic development which is fullest in content and in the form in which the people's will is expressed. As a rule, it puts forward economic and socio-political tasks that cannot be fulfilled otherwise than by revolutionary means, which is why it fulfills these tasks radically and fundamentally.

Of course, all of this applies above all to a socialist revolution,

which for the first time gives full power to the working people and which marks the end of society's prehistory and the start of its real history. But even revolutions marking the transition from one antagonistic class formation to another, like the bourgeois revolutions in England, North America and France, even these give the fullest vent to the rising popular spirit of freedom, which was suppressed in the period of evolutionary development. Throughout the history of exploitative societies, in which the ruling classes always have both the economic and politico-ideological power, however "democratically" rigged out, revolutions have been periods of the fullest sway of democracy showing the strength of the "common people," which terrifies even those who stand to gain most from the ongoing revolution. It is the periods of revolution that enable the democratic lower orders to breathe freely, to sense their own historical importance and to take a noticeable stride forward toward their political maturity. This is a success that in the pre-socialist epoch does not fall to the lot of every generation, and revolutions are a true "festival of the oppressed and the exploited" (Lenin).

Apart from clarifying the actual democratic nature of revolutions, the relation between them and democracy can be considered at least from two angles: on the one hand, from the standpoint of their influence on the limited democratic norms, traditions and institutions of the old regime, and on the other, from the standpoint of the substance of the forms of democratic order which emerge in the course of a revolution, and which it itself creates. These are exceptionally acute issues in the present revolutionary epoch, in which the working class has objectively come to hold a central position, an epoch whose main content is humanity's radical swing toward the collectivist communist formation, which is based on common ownership of the means of production and participation by all citizens in social affairs.

In this context, analysis of the "revolution and democracy" problem will always call for a comprehensive study of everything that has been gained in revolutionary practice, bringing to the fore this or that aspect and naturally adding fresh facets to it. But one can hardly contest the fact that the experience of the Great October Revolution will never lose its fundamental importance as a part of this treasure-house of experience, which is an asset of the whole international revolutionary movement.

Some Western writers, considering the relation between the October Revolution and the bourgeois democracy of Russia, claim that

the Soviet power emerged simply on the ruins of the semi-feudal political structures and allegedly bears the imprint of their influence. Such statements clearly reveal, first, an effort to continue with the ancient, semi-mystical and very popular effort to contrast "East" and "West" and a kind of Western snobbishness, and second, and unwillingness to look below the surface of the actual course of history in Russia, or for that matter, the history of the world.

The history of capitalism in Russia, which was short as compared with that of the West, but which was exceptionally tempestuous and abounded in the most profound social upheavals, explains very well why it became possible immediately after the February Revolution, which overthrew the hated landowner-bourgeois despotism (and this, let us recall, was preceded by the 1905-1907 revolution, the first popular revolution of the imperialist epoch, in which the people were schooled in and forged democracy in Russia), to found a political system that was the most democratic of any that had ever existed in bourgeois conditions.

But this process did not stop. As the center of the world's revolutionary movement shifted to Russia, and as three revolutions followed in succession over a period of twelve years, forms of a type of democracy which was higher than bourgeois democracy, the democracy of the working class and the toiling peasantry, the Soviets, were relatively move rapidly developed in the country.

The Soviets did not result from scientific reflection or tactical moves by some political parties. They were a product of grass-roots action by the masses of working people and their remarkable historical creativity, and were established as organs giving direct expression of their will, as organs of direct democracy. The working-class movement was the cradle of the Soviets, and also the source of their strength.

From the standpoint of their impact on the masses and the masses' direct participation in the revolutionary transformations, the Soviets had the undoubted advantage in that, as Antonio Gramsci, for instance, emphasized, they had absorbed the people's most profound democratic traditions, while not being fettered with earlier established rules expressing the will of the exploiting class enshrined as law. In the conditions of revolutionary Russia, the Soviets had a clear advantage over all the other political institutions (including those set up after the February Revolution), primarily because the masses never saw any connection between them and the old regime; because there were no middlemen between the masses and the Soviets; because the

Soviets were not an ossified administrative form and were flexible enough to act as organs of the progressive workers' and peasants' democracy at the bourgeois-democratic stage of the revolution, and as organs of the proletarian state at its subsequent, socialist stage.

Now and again, one will find a kind of aberration in the current discussion of the ways of ensuring a peaceful, democratic, etc., transfer of power into the hands of the working people, and so subsequently advancing on to socialist transformations. In the polemics against the vulgar interpretation of the doctrine concerning the break-up of the bourgeois state machine, the well-known Marxist-Leninist proposition about the advisability of preserving some parts of that machine, which could be made to serve the people, frequently gives way to an urge to keep intact and, so to say, inherit entirely all the basic institutions of political power set up by the bourgeoisie, set up not for the working people, but for itself, for maintaining its power. Hardly any thinking revolutionary will doubt that another class, to say nothing of one with opposite — anti-exploitative — interests, must not and cannot, however hard it may try, provide guarantees of such immunity.

Of course, the transformation should be as painless as possible. Of course, there is no need to break up the everyday customs, which took shape over the centuries, if they are socially inert with respect to the revolutionary measures being put through. The extremist urge to change all things, rigidly connecting loyalty to the revolution and the new morality with purely outward trappings (like dress, hair-style, etc.), may spring from a sincere feeling, but can do not more than discredit the revolutionary ideals, because it has no real revolutionary content.

This does not mean, however, that the parts of the bourgeois-democratic establishment which do not imply substitution of the private-property order will not, sooner or later, run into contradiction with the ongoing radical restructuring, and that is a contradiction that one has consciously to anticipate, reckon with and be prepared to resolve. Evasion of it, or attempts to reassure oneself and others by claiming that the capitalist system can be got rid of not in spite of but exclusively with the aid of its own juridical superstructure, designed and adapted to fortify the system, signify either an honest utopianism or a deliberate adoption of social reformism. This is so because it involves not national-historical categories or national-cultural specifics, but class concepts, and this means international concepts as well.

The post-October period abounds in revolutionary situations in

many countries of the world. Some of them were successfully resolved with a takeover by the working people and the establishment of a people's democracy and subsequently of a socialist system. Others, including some in the recent period, petered out for various objective and subjective, internal and external reasons, after which a fresh upswing can be expected, possibly in the lifetime of the next generation. The fading even of initially successful action by socialist and democratic forces was determined, among other things, by the fact that they were unable to rely on a form of revolutionary self-organization of the people, like the Soviets, which in 1917 and 1918 spread across the whole vast expanse of Russia with unusual speed and which turned out to be exceptionally stable and viable in the most intricate ups and downs of the overthrow of the exploiting classes, the civil war and the imperialist intervention.

Everyone knows that revolution is a highly authoritarian thing, because its main issue is the issue of power, and that is something that no class has ever willingly given up to another. Power has always been taken with the use of force or with a convincing show of potential force. In this sense, the socialist revolution differs from all earlier ones, perhaps in the strength and scope with which the very idea of justice is embodied in the power of the whole people.

The opportunists have never seen, and have refused to see, the organic unity of the proletarian revolution and democracy. Hence their touching unanimity with the ideologists of the bourgeoisie in condemning Lenin's theory and practice of the socialist revolution, as being allegedly "undemocratic." Hence their stubborn efforts to spread the myth that a revolution whose first result is the establishment of a workers' state does not allegedly mean an extension of democracy, as one would logically assume, but, on the contrary, a narrowing down or abolition of democracy. Even centrists (like Otto Bauer) who recognized the need for a socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, regarded the latter as a grievous necessity, a temporary sacrifice of democracy for the future construction of socialism. Even these "best" men among the reformists failed to understand the substance of the current epoch-making establishment of genuine popular power at long last.

Lenin wrote the following about the Soviets, which emerged in the course of the 1905-1907 revolution: "As the dictatorship of the overwhelming majority, the new authority maintained itself and could maintain itself solely because it enjoyed the confidence of the vast masses, solely because it, in the freest, widest and most resolute

manner, enlisted all the masses in the task of government" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 10, pp. 244-245). This is something fundamentally new and qualitatively distinct from democracy in its narrow interpretation, as a synonym of parliamentarism, although it does not signify a complete negation of the latter.

The Marxist-Leninists have never opposed parliamentary activity and bourgeois-democratic freedoms. On the contrary, the communists have always been in the van of the fighters against fascism and all sorts of totalitarian regimes, like Pinochet's junta. But they have not carried on this struggle to perpetuate the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, however democratic its raiment, but to involve ever broader sections of the working people in active political life and in the effort to bring about a radical restructuring of society, bearing in mind that parliamentary activity itself, without massive organized action outside parliament, does not carry the people a step forward toward real power.

For any Communist and Workers' Party in a capitalist country, which naturally and inevitably has to give much attention and effort to work with the electorate, electoral functions and activity within parliament, it is obvious that there are influential spheres of the bourgeoisie's extra-parliamentary power which are sometimes even more influential than the representative bodies. There is, first of all, the state machine and also the police and the army. There is, furthermore, the machinery of the banks and the monopolies. There are also the monopolized mass media, which have tremendous potentialities for manipulating minds for counter-revolutionary purposes.

How do these spheres differ from the parliamentary sphere itself? First of all, they differ in that they are closed, their proceedings are publicized as little as possible and are carried on under tough dictatorial principles, which, in effect, make it impossible for public opinion to intervene or exert an influence. The communists are not so naive as to expect to see qualitative social changes by merely winning seats in parliament and without having a conception for the most resolute democratization of extensive spheres of extra-parliamentary power, where the main instruments of the dictatorship of monopoly capital are frequently concentrated.

Over the centuries, our class adversaries have gained experience in inducing the people to accept the false idea that there is an organic connection between freedom and private property, and that "human nature" is incorrigibly self-seeking. The fact is, however, that the common possession, use and disposal of the means, objects and

products of labor is the most profound, most fundamental and broadest prerequisite for democracy. Such is the premise of socialist democracy, which inaugurated real, collectivist democracy that does not confine itself to observing the accepted constitutional procedures but works to establish everywhere an unprecedented social equality and together with it involvement of growing numbers and ultimately of all the citizens in government and social administration (in virtue of which it becomes self-administration).

For all practical purposes, the socialist revolution alone puts an end to the antagonism between the state and the civil society, and blends democracy and state power. Defining the new type of state, the new type of democracy, which won out in October 1917, Lenin wrote the following about the state apparatus of the Soviet power: "It makes it possible to combine the advantages of the parliamentary system with those of immediate and direct democracy, i.e., to vest in the people's elected representatives both legislation *and executive* functions. Compared with the bourgeois parliamentary system, this is an advance in democracy's development which is of worldwide, historic significance" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, pp. 103-104).

Our ideological adversaries refuse to accept this key conclusion, which in a way sums up the historical disputes between bourgeois and proletarian democracy. Being unable to refute it in substance, they dodge it by trying to compare the outward, purely formal features of the political system of socialism with the established Western "standard." In this connection, a number of absurd dogmas are maliciously ascribed to us Soviet communists, which are then just as easily knocked down by our ideological adversaries.

Thus, in the West even professors of history frequently claim that the Bolsheviks had from the outset sought to set up a one-party government, and a one-party system. However, the government bloc of the Bolshevik Party and the Left Socialist-Revolutionary Party existed from October 1917, that is, from the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, to July 1918, when the Left SRs mounted a counter-revolutionary revolt as an expression of the mood among the kulaks following the sharpening of the class struggle in the countryside.

An attempt is being made to polemicize with us by contrasting some West European "pluralism" with the East European "monolithic" system. Alas, these are frequently no more than catchwords. Hardly anyone will assert with sufficient reason that some other country will demonstrate more diverse — and in this sense, if you

will, a more "pluralistic" practice than there is in the Soviet Union, bearing in mind, apart from what has been said, the diversity of the character and forms of real participation in running the country by the various social forces. We say nothing of the multi-party system which, given the right conditions, far from being rejected by the working-class power, is, in fact, successfully used to build a new society, and is now inherent in the political system of socialist countries like the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic and the Polish People's Republic.

In this context, Janos Kadar once said: "Experience has convinced us that neither a one-party, a two-party or a multi-party system is a criterion either for socialism or for bourgeois democracy. There was a multi-party system in Hungary before liberation. Who will claim that this made the Horthy fascist regime more democratic?"

"Among the existing socialist countries, some have a one-party, and others a multi-party system. This shows that this is not a question of principle, but one of political practice, which depends on historical development."

One cannot deny that many adversaries of existing socialism are flexible. They no longer insist that it is impossible or useless to build a new society, but to make up for this they display great concern for the need to "democratize," "liberalize," and "humanize" it, including complete freedom of activity by forces hostile to it, attempts to put the communist parties, through which alone the popular power can be consistently exercised, on the same footing with the many rival outfits, societies, alliances, etc. The imperialists and their servitors are well aware of the importance of the Marxist-Leninist parties' authority and role in the political system of socialist society and try hard to undermine them.

Deprived of its political and economic power, the bourgeoisie knows how to bide its time. Its aim is imperceptibly but doggedly to unhinge the pillars of the still fledgling socialism and to prepare the ground for a counter-revolutionary coup with the hope of external assistance. To remain indifferent to such activity and to allow oneself to be lulled by incantations in a spirit of abstract humanism means to have a very hazy idea of the dividing line between democracy and anti-democracy.

Is there any other true, non-formal democracy, except that which runs through revolution under the proletariat's hegemony? Historical experience suggests only one answer: there is no other way.

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