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After a reception for the diplomatic corps at the Saadabad Palace, the President and the First Lady were guests of honor at a state dinner at the Niavaran Palace.

Wednesday, May 31

The President went to the tomb of the Shah's father, 20 miles from Tehran, to lay a wreath. He returned to the Saadabad Palace for further discussions with the Shah. A joint communique was issued.

After tea with the Empress, Mrs. Nixon visited the Pahlavi Welfare Center and a children's library.

The President and Mrs. Nixon then had a luncheon honoring Their Imperial Majesties at the Saadabad Palace before leaving for Warsaw.

At the airport, the President and Mrs. Nixon were greeted at Okęcie International Airport in Warsaw by Henryk Jablonski, Chairman of the Council of State, and Minister Jaroszewicz.

At the airport, the President and Mrs. Nixon laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

He then met with Eduard Gierek, First Secretary, Polish United Workers' Party, at the Parliament.

Earlier, Secretary of State Rogers signed the Consular Convention between the United States and Poland.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Nixon attended a state dinner at the Palace of the Council of Ministers.

Thursday, June 1

The President called on President Jablonski.

The President met for further talks with Mr. Gierek, and they issued a joint communique.

Mrs. Nixon went to the Lazienki Palace and a Chopin concert in the park near the Chopin Monument.

The President and Mrs. Nixon then hosted a luncheon at the Wilanow Palace in honor of Polish leaders.

Returning to the United States aboard the Spirit of '76, the President and Mrs. Nixon landed at Andrews Air Force Base, Md., then went by helicopter to the Capitol Grounds, and the President addressed a joint session of the Congress to report on his trip.

Remarks on Departure From Andrews Air Force Base for Austria, the Soviet Union, Iran, and Poland. May 20, 1972

His Excellency the President, members of the Cabinet, Members of the Congress, and ladies and gentlemen:

I really do appreciate your coming to the airport today on this rainy day to wish me Godspeed on this trip. In just a few minutes we will be boarding the plane, the Spirit of '76, on a trip that will take us first to Austria, then to the Soviet Union, then to Iran, and finally to Poland before returning here on the first of June. I know that as we visit these four countries that I bring with me the good will and the friendship of all the people

of the United States for the people of these countries because we Americans feel friendship for the Austrian people, for the Russian people, for the people of Iran, and for the Polish people.

As you know, the visit that we will be making to the Soviet Union is the first state visit that a President of the United States has ever made to that country. It is a visit that will be different from those that have occurred on previous occasions between American Presidents and the leaders of the Soviet Union. The others were important, but they did not deal primarily with substance. That is why we often hear

them referred to as the "spirit of Camp David," or the "spirit of Vienna," or the "spirit of Geneva," or the "spirit of Glassboro."

In this case we are not going there simply for a better spirit, although that is important, and we think that may be one of the results of the trip. But we are going there for substance, very important substantive talks. We are not going there to make headlines today. We are going there in order to build what we hope will be a structure that can lead to better relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, and a better chance for peace tomorrow and in all the years ahead.

The negotiations will cover a wide range of subjects. Many of these areas are ones where we have not agreed in the past and where we will not find agreement in the period of discussions that we have on this occasion. But, on the other hand, we do expect to make some progress. And the progress that we make, we trust, will lay the foundation for more progress in the future in which two great peoples, the Russian people and the American people, can find a way despite philosophical differences that are very deep, despite competitive positions in the world that are quite different, can find ways to live in peace in the world and to use their great

influence along with other nations to avoid those situations that lead to conflict and place in the world.

This is our goal, and it is one that all of us will be working toward on this trip.

I simply want to say finally that we have been very touched that over the past week as was the case before we took off for Peking a few months ago, we have received so many calls and letters and wires from people all over the country wishing us well. We thank you for wishing us well. We go there not in any personal sense, but we go there representing all the American people and the hopes and aspirations of all of our people, particularly the hopes of the children of America, those of generations to come. And we hope that we can conduct ourselves in a way that will be worthy of your hopes and worthy of your prayers for a better relation between the Soviet Union and the United States, between the Russian people and the American people, between the people of all the countries that we will visit and the American people, and your hopes and prayers for what all people in the world want, a world of peace, a world of progress for all.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:10 a.m. at Andrews Air Force Base, Md. He spoke without referring to notes.

164 Exchange of Remarks With Reporters and Spectators at Klessheim Palace, Salzburg, Austria.

May 21, 1972

THE PRESIDENT. How do you do? Nice to see you. You from here? Vienna? Oh, it is a lovely city. I have pleasant memories of Vienna. I have been there four or five times, once with my daughters in 1963.

We stayed in the Imperial Hotel, in one of the great suites of the world. But after seeing this, I am not sure. Everything here is nice. I see why the tourists all want to come here. Sometime I will come as

a tourist.

I know that some of this city and some have a chance this afternoon, because it is beautiful cities in the points that I made when in 1956, I found that came to Europe, the only 8 percent got to of course is a great lot the percentage now is

As I remember my European countries—them—Vienna and Salzburg—not only because of the use, but the beauty of it also the Austrian people are so hospitable and can put that in and Chamber of Commerce percent.

Q. Mr. President, chance to check as to whether refugee camps are still

THE PRESIDENT. Remember when I went to them? I have Christmas and talked people were so many Hungarians. They are must be. The Hungarians over the world. They extremely well run. They great credit for the showed the refugees. It is hard to realize that

Q. Will you get a nightseeing, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I am going to see I will be in all afternoon of doing it on the plane a great deal of work to

ing. It is a testimonial to the flexibility and vigour of our Federal-State system that the fifty States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Virgin Islands have all expressed a willingness to develop plans for setting and enforcing standards that are at least on a par with the Federal requirements fixed by the act.

In addition, many States are actually aiding the Federal Government by gathering superior statistical data that will provide a basis for charting the future direction of safety and health programs. Many States, too, are now assisting the Federal Government in the enforcement of standards.

In short, I feel that the essential groundwork has been laid for genuine progress in on-the-job safety and health. This report describes the structures that have been set in place, and it outlines how the building process will continue.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
May 22, 1972.

NOTE: The report is entitled "The President's Report on Occupational Safety and Health—Including Reports on Occupational Safety and Health by the United States Department of Labor and by the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare" (Government Printing Office, 210 pp.).

168 Toasts of the President and Nikolaj V. Podgorny,
Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of
the U.S.S.R., at a Dinner in Moscow. May 22, 1972

Mr. President, Mr. General Secretary, Mr. Prime Minister, and all of the distinguished guests from the Soviet Union and from the United States:

I would like first to express our very grateful appreciation for the hospitality which has been extended to Mrs. Nixon and myself, and all the members of our party, on this, the first visit of an American President to Moscow.

The courage of the Russian people, who generation after generation have heroically defended this city from invaders, makes this vivid point: The only way to enter Moscow is to enter in peace.

All of us in this great room can feel the history that is here. Here, as comrades in arms, Russians and Americans met together to work out some of the key decisions of World War II, setting an example of selfless cooperation and of wartime cooperation that has taken us too long to

follow in peacetime. And now here this week, 25 years later, we meet within these walls to make decisions that could help pave the way to peace for all the world.

The Soviet Union and the United States are both great powers. Ours are both great peoples. In the long history of both of our nations, we have never fought one another in war. Let us make decisions now which will help insure that we shall never do so in the future.

The American people want peace. I know, from my travels through the Soviet Union, the people of the Soviet Union want peace. My fervent hope is that we, we who are the leaders of the people, that we can work together to insure that all the people of the earth can enjoy the blessings of peace.

We meet at what is called a summit meeting. Summit meetings of the past have been remembered for their "spirit,"

but we must strive to make this Moscow summit memorable for its substance.

Over 2 years of careful preparation have proven our common seriousness of purpose and brought us to this meeting prepared to make concrete agreements.

Not so long ago, our attention centered on our relative positions of strength. But in a nuclear age, when there is no such thing as security in a preponderance of strength, great powers have learned this fact of life: Agreements based on exploiting the presumed weaknesses of one party only cause it to redouble its efforts to catch up, but agreements based on mutual respect and reciprocity have a far greater chance of enduring.

Because we are both prepared to proceed on the basis of equality and mutual respect, we meet at a moment when we can make peaceful cooperation between our two countries a reality.

To make the most of this opportunity, we should recognize that while many of our differences are fundamental and profound, we have a powerful common interest in peace and security.

We should recognize that great nuclear powers have a solemn responsibility to exercise restraint in any crisis, to take positive action to avert direct confrontation.

With great power goes great responsibility. It is precisely when power is not accompanied by responsibility that the peace is threatened. Let our power—the power of our two countries—always be used to keep the peace, never to break it.

We should recognize further that it is the responsibility of great powers to influence other nations in conflict or crisis to moderate their behavior.

Let me outline briefly what I believe we both want to see take place this week.

First, we want to complete work on the

matters that years of patient negotiations have brought to the decision point. These bilateral matters will serve as the point of departure: Our two nations can work together in the exploration of space, the conquest of disease, the improvement of our environment.

Progress in economic cooperation will benefit both our nations. The Soviet Union and the United States are the two largest economies in the world, and yet they live presently in relative isolation. The opportunity for a new commercial relationship opens up a strong potential for progress for both of our peoples.

The attention of the world is primarily directed to the possibility of an initial limitation of strategic arms. Here in Moscow, for the first time, major nations—the two most powerful nations in the world—would put restrictions on a range of their most significant weapons systems. An agreement in this area could begin to turn our two countries away from a wasteful and dangerous arms race and toward more production for peace.

With a positive attitude shown on these bilateral matters, fresh impetus will be given to the resolution of other issues in other areas of the world.

A few minutes after I took the oath of office as President of the United States, I told my countrymen that the time had come for us to move from a period of confrontation to an era of negotiation. This week in Moscow can prove that the era of negotiation between the two most powerful nations in the world has begun. There is hard bargaining ahead, and statesmen dealing with real differences will have their share of obstacles.

We will have our different interests, our different approaches; neither of us will be reluctant to point them out. But the

foundation of healthy competition must be a willingness to cooperate and reciprocate on matters of overriding importance.

Therefore, we do not just meet in an atmosphere of good will, which I know we shall have as we have it tonight; we do not just meet to conclude agreements, which I hope we shall conclude; we meet to begin a new age in the relationship between our two great and powerful nations.

Looking toward that future, let me reaffirm to all of you the American commitment: The United States is ready to work closely with all nations in the establishment of a peaceful world in which each nation determines its own destiny.

Our two peoples, the Soviet people and the American people, learned to admire each other when we joined together to defeat a common enemy in a time of war. We learned to respect each other as adversaries in a time of tension after that war. Let us now learn to work with each other in a time of peace.

Let us remember that if we begin to lift the burden of armed confrontation from both our peoples, we shall lift the hopes for peace of all the peoples of the world.

Never have two peoples had a greater challenge or a greater goal. Let us, the leaders of our peoples, be worthy of the hopes of the Soviet people, the hopes of the American people, the hopes of all the people on this earth as we work together toward the goal of a peaceful world.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9 p.m. in Granovit Hall at the Grand Kremlin Palace. He spoke from a prepared text.

Chairman Podgorny spoke in Russian. A translation of the advance text of his toast was made available by the TASS news service as follows:

Esteemed Mr. President, esteemed Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen, comrades:

Let me, on behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet Government, greet you, Mr. President, your wife, and all those who accompany you, on your visit to the Soviet Union. This is the first official visit by a President of the United States of America in the history of relations between our countries. This alone makes your visit and meetings between you and the Soviet leaders a momentous event. The results of the talks will predetermine in many ways prospects of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. Their results will, apparently, have an effect on the further development of the international situation either toward a lasting peace and stronger universal security or toward greater tension.

We proceed from the fact that personal contacts and frank exchange of opinions between the leaders of states help search for mutually acceptable decisions in line with the interests of the peoples and of preserving peace, and overcome difficulties caused by factors of different origin and character.

Therefore great importance is attached in the Soviet Union to Soviet-American talks which should cover a wide range of questions. We approach these talks from realistic positions and will make every effort in accordance with the principles of our policy to achieve positive results and try to justify the hopes placed in our countries and beyond them in the Soviet-American summit meeting in Moscow.

We expect a similar approach from the American side.

Mr. President, you already had today a meeting with L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, during which an exchange of opinions was started on the problems of Soviet-American relations and the present international situation.

The principles of our policy in international affairs and in relations with other states, the United States of America included, are well known. They were recently set forth again most definitely and clearly in the decisions of the 24th Congress of our Party and the just closed plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. We have been guided and intend to be

guided unwaveringly by these principles in our practical activities. The Soviet Union, together with the countries of the Socialist community and all other peace forces, comes out consistently in defence of peace, for the deliverance of the present and future generations from the threat of war, from the disasters of a nuclear conflict and for the elimination of hotbeds of war.

We stand for a radical turn toward relaxation of the existing tensions in all continents of the world, for freeing the peoples from the heavy arms burden, for a peaceful political settlement of problems through negotiation and with due account taken of the aspirations and will of the peoples and their inalienable right to decide their destinies themselves without interference and pressure from outside.

As far back as in the early years of the young Soviet state, its founder V. I. Lenin substantiated the objective need for and possibility of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. Today, as before, the Soviet Union is prepared to develop and deepen relations of business cooperation and mutually beneficial ties with states of a different social system.

This fully applies to the relations with the United States also in the sense that peaceful coexistence must not be limited to absence of war. When we say that there is no exception for the United States in our policy of peaceful coexistence, these words are backed by our actual striving for the improvement and development of Soviet-American relations. The Soviet Union deems it possible and desirable to establish not merely good but friendly relations between the U.S.S.R. and the United States, certainly, not at the expense of any third countries or peoples.

It stands to reason that the differences of social systems, the divergence of the positions of our states on a number of very important aspects of the world politics create serious complications in Soviet-American relations and we do not underestimate them, by any means.

But even though there exist principled differences, there are objective factors that determine similarity of interests and require that the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. should act in such a way as to ward off the danger of a global war,

to remove the vestiges of cold war from Soviet-American relations and as far as possible to rid their relations of all that complicated them in the past and burdens them even now.

The Soviet Union and the United States are the powers that are most advanced in science and technology, have vast economic potentials and rich natural resources. Our peoples made a weighty contribution to the treasury of world culture. All this serves as a solid foundation which, given mutual agreement, makes it possible to establish Soviet-American cooperation in the most varied fields, to implement large-scale projects worthy of the level which the Soviet Union and the United States have reached in the world of today.

The peoples of our countries have traditions of mutual respect and friendship. Our joint struggle in the years of the Second World War against Hitler Germany and militarist Japan lives in the memory of the Soviet people. The fact that our countries were allies in the two World Wars is very important in itself.

Under the United Nations Charter, the Soviet Union and the United States as permanent members of the Security Council are called upon to play an important role in maintaining international peace together with other members of the Security Council. Experience confirms that whenever our countries succeeded in ensuring by joint efforts the sane balance of interests both of our two countries and other states concerned, opportunities opened for solving acute conflicts and situations and concluding important international agreements and treaties.

In other words, cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the United States in the spirit of good will, the improvement of Soviet-American relations was always favourable for the cause of peace. We proceed from the view that Soviet-American talks will promote the solution of the urgent international problems to the benefit of the Soviet and American peoples, the peoples of all the countries, in the interests of world peace.

We believe, Mr. President, that your visit will enable you and Mrs. Nixon to see more of our country, to become aware of the scope of the great plans of Communist construction which the Soviet people are bringing into life,

The U.S.-U.S.S.R. Commission is to Negotiate:

- an overall trade agreement including reciprocal MFN [most-favored-nation] treatment;
- arrangements for the reciprocal availability of government credits;
- provisions for the reciprocal establishment of business facilities to promote trade;
- an agreement establishing an arbitration mechanism for settling commercial disputes.

Study possible U.S.-U.S.S.R. participation in the development of resources and the manufacture and sale of raw materials and other products.

Monitor the spectrum of U.S.-U.S.S.R. commercial relations, identifying and, when possible, resolving issues that may be of interest to both parties such as patents and licensing.

Sessions of the Commission will be held

alternately in Moscow and Washington. The first session of the Commission is to take place in Moscow in July of this year.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Commercial Commission. Participants in the news briefing were Peter M. Flanigan, Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs, and Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President.

On July 10, 1972, the White House announced the membership of the U.S. delegation to the first session of the Commission convening in Moscow on July 20. The White House also released a fact sheet on the Commission and on the membership of the U.S. delegation and the transcript of a news briefing on preparations for the first session in Moscow by Peter G. Peterson, Secretary of Commerce and head of the U.S. delegation to the Commission.

On July 17, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Secretary Peterson on his meeting with the President to discuss the forthcoming session of the Commission.

171 Toasts of the President and Aleksei N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, at a Dinner in Moscow Honoring Soviet Leaders. May 26, 1972

Mr. General Secretary Brezhnev, Mr. Chairman of the Presidium, Mr. Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and all of our distinguished guests:

This house, which is the American Embassy, is greatly honored tonight by the presence of our Soviet guests.

I say this not only because of your rank, the leaders of the great Soviet people, but also because of the boundless hospitality you have extended to all of us on our visit to Moscow. We look forward to the time when we shall be able to welcome you in our country and in some way respond in

an effective manner to the way in which you have received us so generously in your country.

This has been described as a visit of the summit. But as we all know, there are many summits in the world. This is the first meeting. There will be others.

And now this is, of course, an evening that will always be remembered in this house for another reason: Tonight at 11 o'clock there will be signed an historic agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States.

It is an agreement which will limit

strategic arms between the two most powerful nations in the world. It is an enormously important agreement, but again it is only an indication of what can happen in the future as we work toward peace in the world. But I have great hopes on that score.

The Soviet people and the American people demonstrated over 25 years ago how they could fight together to win a war. And now in our meetings this week, and particularly culminating in the signing of this agreement tonight, we shall demonstrate to the world how these two great peoples, the Soviet people and the American people, can work together to build a peace.

Every leader of a nation wonders at times how he will be remembered in history. But, as I have met with the top Soviet leaders—with General Secretary Brezhnev, with Chairman Kosygin, with Chairman Podgorny—I am convinced of this fact: We want to be remembered by our deeds, not by the fact that we brought war to the world, but by the fact that we made the world a more peaceful one for all peoples in the world.

It is in that spirit that, here in the American Embassy, we all proudly raise our glasses to the leaders of the Soviet peoples and to the great cause of peace—peace between our two countries and peace for all peoples to which we think this visit, this meeting, has contributed and will contribute in the future.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:25 p.m. in Spaso House. He spoke from a prepared text.

Chairman Kosygin responded in Russian. A translation of the text of his remarks was made available by the TASS news service as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, esteemed guests:

On behalf of the Soviet guests present here I would like to express gratitude to President

Richard Nixon and his wife, the U.S. Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. and his wife who have invited us here to the Embassy to mark this memorable occasion.

Today is the end of the working week which was devoted to talks between the President of the United States and the Soviet leaders—the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, L. I. Brezhnev, the President of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, N. V. Podgorny, the Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers. Like the President, we positively assess the work done. It will be continued.

The talks held made it possible to reveal more precisely both the fields in which it is possible to develop cooperation and the fields where the stands of the two states are at variance, since the U.S.S.R. and the United States objectively represent different social economic systems in the world. It seems to us that both sides realistically appraise possible prospects of cooperation.

A number of Soviet-American agreements, bound to serve peaceful aims, have been signed these days. We have agreed, specifically, on pooling the efforts of our countries in environmental protection, in peaceful exploration and mastering of outer space, in cooperation in the fields of science and technology, medicine and public health.

We are having an exchange of opinions of questions of development of trade and other economic ties between the two countries. It is obvious that realistic solutions can also be found here, solutions which would reflect mutual interest in normalization and widening of economic exchanges in keeping with the generally accepted international practice.

Today the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev, and the President of the United States, Richard Nixon, are to sign in the Kremlin joint documents on the limitation of strategic arms. Agreement on these questions, we hope, will go down in history as a major achievement on the road towards curbing the arms race. It has become possible only on the basis of strict observance of the principle of equal security of the sides and the inadmissibility of any unilateral advantages. This is a great victory for the Soviet and American peoples in the

matter of easing international tension, this is a victory for all peaceloving peoples, because security and peace is their common goal.

Whether peace becomes stronger as a result of our talks, concerns, of course, not the Soviet Union and the United States alone, however great their influence in the world, but will depend on all other peoples and states as well. Of little worth would be the decisions about which we have agreed or may agree, were they contrary to the legitimate interests of other states, the interests of their security and independence. It is not to decide for other peoples and countries that we are meeting with the President of the United States at the conference table.

During these talks the Soviet Union and the United States are seeking approaches to a settlement of international problems bearing directly on the two states, in the interests of the peace and security of the peoples. We are making serious steps in this direction. But in order to advance confidently towards the goal of a lasting peace, everything possible should be done to eliminate the existing hotbeds of war in Vietnam and in the Middle East on the basis of strict respect for the rights of the peoples to independent development, to noninter-

ference in their internal affairs, to the inviolability of their state territories.

We would like to express the hope that stronger peace for the people of the Soviet Union, for the people of the United States of America, for all the peoples of the world, will be the main outcome of the Soviet-American talks.

How effectively the agreements and understandings reached are translated into life and serve peace will be, of course, of great importance. Any agreement, any treaty only then leaves a trace in history when its proclaimed principles and intentions become the content of the practical activities of states. So, may the agreements we reached be just such agreements.

We would like to express our deep respect for the great people of the United States of America with whom the Soviet people want to live in cooperation and peace. We ask President R. Nixon, upon returning home, to convey that this is our sincere and earnest desire.

May I ask all those present to join me in this toast to the American people, to the President of the United States of America, to Mrs. Nixon and all those accompanying the President, to peace and cooperation among the peoples.

172 Toast at a Luncheon in Leningrad.

May 27, 1972

Mr. Chairman of the Presidium, Mr. Mayor, and all of the distinguished guests on this very great occasion:

We first want to express our deep appreciation for the hospitality that has been extended to all of us on our visit to Leningrad.

We realize that this visit is very brief and we only regret that we don't have more time to spend here in this great city. With memories of what we saw in 1959 and then of what we have seen in our few hours here today, I would say that we all feel somewhat like the first American Ambassador to this city when, after spending

3 hours in the Hermitage,¹ he said he only wished he could spend 3 months even there in that one place.

As we leave your city later this afternoon, each of us will carry away a special memory. All will remember this splendid banquet, the delightful music, the new friendships that we have made with our Soviet friends. We will remember the spectacular beauty of this city, a city that refused to die and came back after destruction more beautiful than ever before.

¹ A museum of fine arts which was once part of the winter palace of the tsars.

We will remember grand buildings like this. We will remember the dynamism and the strength of the people of Leningrad.

I would like to share with you one memory I will take with me for the rest of my life. It will be the memory of a little girl, 12 years old. At the cemetery today I saw her picture and a few pages from her diary. She was a beautiful child—brown eyes, a pretty face. The pages of her diary were there for all to see.

She recorded how first her mother died, her father died, her brothers and her sister, and then finally only she was left.

As I think of Tanya, that 12-year-old girl in Leningrad, I think of all the Tanyas in the world—in the Soviet Union, in the United States, in Asia, in Africa and Latin America, wherever they may be. I only hope that the visit that we have had at the highest level with the Soviet leaders will have contributed to that kind of world

in which the little Tanyas and their brothers and their sisters will be able to grow up in a world of peace and friendship among people—all people in the world.

My glass today will be raised with yours not only to our distinguished Chairman of the Presidium, not only to your mayor and to the other distinguished officials, but to Tanya, who stands for the heroism of a great city.

If I could try to say it in your language, may I also ask that we raise our glasses to this thought: *Vechnaya slava geroiskomu Leningradu.* [Eternal glory to heroic Leningrad.]

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:32 p.m. in Mariinsky Palace, St. Isaac's Square, at a luncheon hosted by the Executive Committee of the Leningrad Council of Workers Deputies. He spoke from a prepared text.

Sizov A. Aleksandrovi was the mayor of Leningrad.

173 Statement About Signing the Second Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1972. May 28, 1972

I HAVE signed H.R. 14582, the Second Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1972. This act contains appropriations of more than \$4.4 billion, largely for increased pay costs and for other requirements which are mandatory under existing law.

I must comment briefly on one provision in the bill which I am advised by the Attorney General is an unconstitutional "coming into agreement" clause, infringing on the fundamental principle of the separation of legislative and executive powers.

This provision is in the appropriation for "Construction, Public Buildings Projects" of the General Services Administration. The bill appropriates definite sums

for three public buildings projects but conditions the availability of the appropriation on the approval by the committees on public works of revised prospectuses for these buildings.

Under the Public Buildings Act of 1959, no appropriations may be made for public buildings projects until the public works committees have approved GSA's prospectuses for such buildings. The Congress regards this "no appropriation may be made" provision, I understand, as internal Congressional rulemaking not affecting the executive branch, and this Administration has acquiesced in that construction.

On the other hand, H.R. 14582 makes

176 Radio and Television Address to the People of the Soviet Union. May 28, 1972

Dobryy večer [Good evening]:

I deeply appreciate this opportunity your Government has given me to speak directly with the people of the Soviet Union, to bring you a message of friendship from all the people of the United States and to share with you some of my thoughts about the relations between our two countries and about the way to peace and progress in the world.

This is my fourth visit to the Soviet Union. On these visits I have gained a great respect for the peoples of the Soviet Union, for your strength, your generosity, your determination, for the diversity and richness of your cultural heritage, for your many achievements.

In the 3 years I have been in office, one of my principal aims has been to establish a better relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. Our two countries have much in common. Most important of all, we have never fought one another in war. On the contrary, the memory of your soldiers and ours embracing at the Elbe, as allies, in 1945, remains strong in millions of hearts in both of our countries. It is my hope that that memory can serve as an inspiration for the renewal of Soviet-American cooperation in the 1970's.

As great powers, we shall sometimes be competitors, but we need never be enemies.

Thirteen years ago, when I visited your country as Vice President, I addressed the people of the Soviet Union on radio and television, as I am addressing you tonight. I said then: "Let us have peaceful competition not only in producing the best

factories but in producing better lives for our people.

"Let us cooperate in our exploration of outer space. . . . Let our aim be not victory over other peoples but the victory of all mankind over hunger, want, misery, and disease, wherever it exists in the world."

In our meetings this week, we have begun to bring some of those hopes to fruition. Shortly after we arrived here on Monday afternoon, a brief rain fell on Moscow, of a kind that I am told is called a mushroom rain, a warm rain, with sunshine breaking through, that makes the mushrooms grow and is therefore considered a good omen. The month of May is early for mushrooms, but as our talks progressed this week, what did grow was even better: a far-reaching set of agreements that can lead to a better life for both of our peoples, to a better chance for peace in the world.

We have agreed on joint ventures in space. We have agreed on ways of working together to protect the environment, to advance health, to cooperate in science and technology. We have agreed on means of preventing incidents at sea. We have established a commission to expand trade between our two nations.

Most important, we have taken an historic first step in the limitation of nuclear strategic arms. This arms control agreement is not for the purpose of giving either side an advantage over the other. Both of our nations are strong, each respects the strength of the other, each will maintain the strength necessary to defend its independence.

But in an unchecked arms race between two great nations, there would be no winners, only losers. By setting this limitation together, the people of both of our nations, and of all nations, can be winners. If we continue in the spirit of serious purpose that has marked our discussions this week, these agreements can start us on a new road of cooperation for the benefit of our people, for the benefit of all peoples.

There is an old proverb that says, "Make peace with man and quarrel with your sins." The hardships and evils that beset all men and all nations, these and these alone are what we should make war upon.

As we look at the prospects for peace, we see that we have made significant progress at reducing the possible sources of direct conflict between us. But history tells us that great nations have often been dragged into war without intending it, by conflicts between smaller nations. As great powers, we can and should use our influence to prevent this from happening. Our goal should be to discourage aggression in other parts of the world and particularly among those smaller nations that look to us for leadership and example.

With great power goes great responsibility. When a man walks with a giant tread, he must be careful where he sets his feet. There can be true peace only when the weak are as safe as the strong. The wealthier and more powerful our own nations become, the more we have to lose from war and the threat of war, anywhere in the world.

Speaking for the United States, I can say this: We covet no one else's territory, we seek no dominion over any other people, we seek the right to live in peace, not only for ourselves but for all the peoples of this earth. Our power will only be used to keep the peace, never to break it, only

to defend freedom, never to destroy it. No nation that does not threaten its neighbors has anything to fear from the United States.

Soviet citizens have often asked me, "Does America truly want peace?"

I believe that our actions answer that question far better than any words could do. If we did not want peace, we would not have reduced the size of our armed forces by a million men, by almost one-third, during the past 3 years. If we did not want peace, we would not have worked so hard at reaching an agreement on the limitation of nuclear arms, at achieving a settlement of Berlin, at maintaining peace in the Middle East, at establishing better relations with the Soviet Union, with the People's Republic of China, with other nations of the world.

Mrs. Nixon and I feel very fortunate to have had the opportunity to visit the Soviet Union, to get to know the people of the Soviet Union, friendly and hospitable, courageous and strong. Most Americans will never have a chance to visit the Soviet Union, and most Soviet citizens will never have a chance to visit America. Most of you know our country only through what you read in your newspapers and what you hear and see on radio and television and motion pictures. This is only a part of the real America.

I would like to take this opportunity to try to convey to you something of what America is really like, not in terms of its scenic beauties, its great cities, its factories, its farms, or its highways, but in terms of its people.

In many ways, the people of our two countries are very much alike. Like the Soviet Union, ours is a large and diverse nation. Our people, like yours, are hard working. Like you, we Americans have a

strong spirit of competition, but we also have a great love of music and poetry, of sports, and of humor. Above all, we, like you, are an open, natural, and friendly people. We love our country. We love our children. And we want for you and for your children the same peace and abundance that we want for ourselves and for our children.

We Americans are idealists. We believe deeply in our system of government. We cherish our personal liberty. We would fight to defend it, if necessary, as we have done before. But we also believe deeply in the right of each nation to choose its own system. Therefore, however much we like our own system for ourselves, we have no desire to impose it on anyone else.

As we conclude this week of talks, there are certain fundamental premises of the American point of view which I believe deserve emphasis. In conducting these talks, it has not been our aim to divide up the world into spheres of influence, to establish a condominium, or in any way to conspire together against the interests of any other nation. Rather we have sought to construct a better framework of understanding between our two nations, to make progress in our bilateral relationships, to find ways of insuring that future frictions between us would never embroil our two nations, and therefore the world, in war.

While ours are both great and powerful nations, the world is no longer dominated by two super powers. The world is a better and safer place because its power and resources are more widely distributed.

Beyond this, since World War II, more than 70 new nations have come into being. We cannot have true peace unless they, and all nations, can feel that they share it.

America seeks better relations, not only

with the Soviet Union but with all nations. The only sound basis for a peaceful and progressive international order is sovereign equality and mutual respect. We believe in the right of each nation to chart its own course, to choose its own system, to go its own way, without interference from other nations.

As we look to the longer term, peace depends also on continued progress in the developing nations. Together with other advanced industrial countries, the United States and the Soviet Union share a two-fold responsibility in this regard: on the one hand, to practice restraint in those activities, such as the supply of arms, that might endanger the peace of developing nations; and second, to assist them in their orderly economic and social development, without political interference.

Some of you may have heard an old story told in Russia of a traveler who was walking to another village. He knew the way, but not the distance. Finally he came upon a woodsman chopping wood by the side of the road and he asked the woodsman, "How long will it take to reach the village?"

The woodsman replied, "I don't know."

The traveler was angry, because he was sure the woodsman was from the village and therefore knew how far it was. And so he started off down the road again. After he had gone a few steps, the woodsman called out, "Stop. It will take you about 15 minutes."

The traveler turned and demanded, "Why didn't you tell me that in the first place?"

The woodsman replied, "Because then I didn't know the length of your stride."

In our talks this week with the leaders of the Soviet Union, both sides have had a chance to measure the length of our

strides toward peace and security. I believe that those strides have been substantial and that now we have well begun the long journey which will lead us to a new age in the relations between our two countries. It is important to both of our peoples that we continue those strides.

As our two countries learn to work together, our people will be able to get to know one another better. Greater cooperation can also mean a great deal in our daily lives. As we learn to cooperate in space, in health and the environment, in science and technology, our cooperation can help sick people get well. It can help industries produce more consumer goods. It can help all of us enjoy cleaner air and water. It can increase our knowledge of the world around us.

As we expand our trade, each of our countries can buy more of the other's goods and market more of our own. As we gain experience with arms control, we can bring closer the day when further agreements can lessen the arms burden of our two nations and lessen the threat of war in the world.

Through all the pages of history, through all the centuries, the world's people have struggled to be free from fear, whether fear of the elements or fear of hunger or fear of their own rulers or fear of their neighbors in other countries. And yet, time and again, people have vanquished the source of one fear only to fall prey to another.

Let our goal now be a world free of fear—a world in which nation will no longer prey upon nation, in which human energies will be turned away from production for war and toward more produc-

tion for peace, away from conquest and toward invention, development, creation; a world in which together we can establish that peace which is more than the absence of war, which enables man to pursue those higher goals that the spirit yearns for.

Yesterday, I laid a wreath at the cemetery which commemorates the brave people who died during the siege of Leningrad in World War II. At the cemetery, I saw the picture of a 12-year-old girl. She was a beautiful child. Her name was Tanya. The pages of her diary tell the terrible story of war. In the simple words of a child, she wrote of the deaths of the members of her family: Zhenya in December. Grannie in January. Leka then next. Then Uncle Vasya. Then Uncle Lyosha. Then Mama. And then the Savichevs. And then finally, these words, the last words in her diary: "All are dead. Only Tanya is left."

As we work toward a more peaceful world, let us think of Tanya and of the other Tanyas and their brothers and sisters everywhere. Let us do all that we can to insure that no other children will have to endure what Tanya did and that your children and ours, all the children of the world can live their full lives together in friendship and in peace.

Spasibo y do svidaniyc. [Thank you and goodbye.]

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:30 p.m. in the Green Room at the Grand Kremlin Palace, Moscow. His address was broadcast live on radio and television in the Soviet Union and simultaneously, via satellite, in the United States.

The President spoke from a prepared text. An advance text of his address was released on the same day.

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tend to widen the juridical basis of their mutual relations and to exert the necessary efforts so that bilateral agreements which they have concluded and multilateral treaties and agreements to which they are jointly parties are faithfully implemented.

Fifth. The USA and the USSR reaffirm their readiness to continue the practice of exchanging views on problems of mutual interest and, when necessary, to conduct such exchanges at the highest level, including meetings between leaders of the two countries.

The two governments welcome and will facilitate an increase in productive contacts between representatives of the legislative bodies of the two countries.

Sixth. The Parties will continue their efforts to limit armaments on a bilateral as well as on a multilateral basis. They will continue to make special efforts to limit strategic armaments. Whenever possible, they will conclude concrete agreements aimed at achieving these purposes.

The USA and the USSR regard as the ultimate objective of their efforts the achievement of general and complete disarmament and the establishment of an effective system of international security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Seventh. The USA and the USSR regard commercial and economic ties as an important and necessary element in the strengthening of their bilateral relations and thus will actively promote the growth of such ties. They will facilitate cooperation between the relevant organizations and enterprises of the two countries and the conclusion of appropriate

agreements and contracts, including long-term ones.

The two countries will contribute to the improvement of maritime and air communications between them.

Eighth. The two sides consider it timely and useful to develop mutual contacts and cooperation in the fields of science and technology. Where suitable, the USA and the USSR will conclude appropriate agreements dealing with concrete cooperation in these fields.

Ninth. The two sides reaffirm their intention to deepen cultural ties with one another and to encourage fuller familiarization with each other's cultural values. They will promote improved conditions for cultural exchanges and tourism.

Tenth. The USA and the USSR will ensure that their ties and cooperation in all the above-mentioned fields and in others in their mutual interest are based on a firm and long-term basis. To give permanent character to these efforts they will establish in all fields where feasible joint commissions or other bodies.

Eleventh. The USA and the USSR have no claim for themselves and would recognize the claims of anyone else for special rights or advantages in international affairs.

They recognize the sovereignty of all states.

The development of U.S.-Soviet relations is not directed against third countries and their interests.

Twelfth. The basic principles set forth in this document do not affect any obligations with respect to other countries earlier assumed by the USA and the USSR.

Moscow, May 29, 1972

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

RICHARD NIXON

President of the United States of America

FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

LEONID I. BREZHNEV

General Secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcripts of two news briefings on the statement of basic principles and the joint communique following the discussions (Item 178): the first, by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; the second, by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President, and Leonid M. Zamyatin, Director General, TASS. The transcript of Dr. Kissinger's briefing is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 8, p. 951).

178 Joint Communique Following Discussions With Soviet Leaders. May 29, 1972

BY MUTUAL agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the President of the United States and Mrs. Richard Nixon paid an official visit to the Soviet Union from May 22 to May 30, 1972. The President was accompanied by Secretary of State William P. Rogers, Assistant to the President Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, and other American officials. During his stay in the USSR President Nixon visited, in addition to Moscow, the cities of Leningrad and Kiev.

President Nixon and L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, N. V. Podgorny, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR conducted talks on fundamental problems of American-Soviet relations and the current international situation.

Also taking part in the conversations were:

On the American side: William P. Rogers, Secretary of State; Jacob D. Beam, American Ambassador to the USSR; Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant

to the President for National Security Affairs; Peter M. Flanigan, Assistant to the President; and Martin J. Hillenbrand, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs.

On the Soviet side: A. A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR; N. S. Patolichev, Minister of Foreign Trade; V. V. Kuznetsov, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR; A. F. Dobrynin, Soviet Ambassador to the USA; A. M. Aleksandrov, Assistant to the General Secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU; G. M. Korniyenko, Member of the Collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

The discussions covered a wide range of questions of mutual interest and were frank and thorough. They defined more precisely those areas where there are prospects for developing greater cooperation between the two countries, as well as those areas where the positions of the two Sides are different.

I. BILATERAL RELATIONS

Guided by the desire to place US-Soviet relations on a more stable and construc-

tive foundation, and mindful of their responsibilities for maintaining world peace and for facilitating the relaxation of international tension, the two Sides adopted a document entitled: "Basic Principles of Mutual Relations between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," signed on behalf of the US by President Nixon and on behalf of the USSR by General Secretary Brezhnev.

Both Sides are convinced that the provisions of that document open new possibilities for the development of peaceful relations and mutually beneficial cooperation between the USA and the USSR.

Having considered various areas of bilateral US-Soviet relations, the two Sides agreed that an improvement of relations is possible and desirable. They expressed their firm intention to act in accordance with the provisions set forth in the above-mentioned document.

As a result of progress made in negotiations which preceded the summit meeting, and in the course of the meeting itself, a number of significant agreements were reached. This will intensify bilateral cooperation in areas of common concern as well as in areas relevant to the cause of peace and international cooperation.

LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS

The two Sides gave primary attention to the problem of reducing the danger of nuclear war. They believe that curbing the competition in strategic arms will make a significant and tangible contribution to this cause.

The two Sides attach great importance to the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with

Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms concluded between them.¹

These agreements, which were concluded as a result of the negotiations in Moscow, constitute a major step towards curbing and ultimately ending the arms race.

They are a concrete expression of the intention of the two Sides to contribute to the relaxation of international tension and the strengthening of confidence between states, as well as to carry out the obligations assumed by them in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (Article VI). Both Sides are convinced that the achievement of the above agreements is a practical step towards saving mankind from the threat of the outbreak of nuclear war. Accordingly, it corresponds to the vital interests of the American and Soviet peoples as well as to the vital interests of all other peoples.

The two Sides intend to continue active negotiations for the limitation of strategic offensive arms and to conduct them in a

¹ The texts of the treaty and the interim agreement and protocol are printed in *United States Treaties and Other International Agreements* (23 UST 3435 and 3462). On May 26, 1972, the White House also released a fact sheet, a statement by Press Secretary Ziegler, and the transcripts of two news briefings on the treaty and the interim agreement. One of the news briefings was held by Dr. Kissinger and Ambassador Gerard C. Smith, Director, United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; and the other by Press Secretary Ziegler and Leonid M. Zamyatin, Director General, TASS. Mr. Ziegler's statement and Dr. Kissinger's news briefing are printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 8, p. 929). On May 27, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Dr. Kissinger on the same subjects. It is printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 8, p. 932).

spirit of goodwill, respect for each other's legitimate interests and observance of the principle of equal security.

Both Sides are also convinced that the agreement on Measures to Reduce the Risk of Outbreak of Nuclear War Between the USA and the USSR, signed in Washington on September 30, 1971, serves the interests not only of the Soviet and American peoples, but of all mankind.

COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Both Sides agreed on measures designed to establish more favorable conditions for developing commercial and other economic ties between the USA and the USSR. The two Sides agree that realistic conditions exist for increasing economic ties. These ties should develop on the basis of mutual benefit and in accordance with generally accepted international practice.

Believing that these aims would be served by conclusion of a trade agreement between the USA and the USSR, the two Sides decided to complete in the near future the work necessary to conclude such an agreement. They agreed on the desirability of credit arrangements to develop mutual trade and of early efforts to resolve other financial and economic issues. It was agreed that a lend-lease settlement will be negotiated concurrently with a trade agreement.

In the interests of broadening and facilitating commercial ties between the two countries, and to work out specific arrangements, the two Sides decided to create a US-Soviet Joint Commercial Commission. Its first meeting will be held in Moscow in the summer of 1972.

Each Side will help promote the establishment of effective working arrangements between organizations and firms of

both countries and encouraging the conclusion of long-term contracts.

MARITIME MATTERS—INCIDENTS AT SEA

The two Sides agreed to continue the negotiations aimed at reaching an agreement on maritime and related matters. They believe that such an agreement would mark a positive step in facilitating the expansion of commerce between the United States and the Soviet Union.

An Agreement was concluded between the two Sides on measures to prevent incidents at sea and in air space over it between vessels and aircraft of the US and Soviet Navies.² By providing agreed procedures for ships and aircraft of the two navies operating in close proximity, this agreement will diminish the chances of dangerous accidents.

COOPERATION IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

It was recognized that the cooperation now underway in areas such as atomic energy research, space research, health and other fields benefits both nations and has contributed positively to their over-all relations. It was agreed that increased scientific and technical cooperation on the basis of mutual benefit and shared effort for common goals is in the interest of both nations and would contribute to a further improvement in their bilateral relations.

² The text of the agreement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 8, p. 922). On May 25, 1972, the White House also released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the agreement. Participants in the news briefing were John W. Warner, Secretary of the Navy, and Herbert S. Okun, Deputy Country Director (USSR), Department of State.

For these purposes the two Sides signed an agreement for cooperation in the fields of science and technology.³ A US-Soviet Joint Commission on Scientific and Technical Cooperation will be created for identifying and establishing cooperative programs.

COOPERATION IN SPACE

Having in mind the role played by the US and the USSR in the peaceful exploration of outer space, both Sides emphasized the importance of further bilateral cooperation in this sphere. In order to increase the safety of man's flights in outer space and the future prospects of joint scientific experiments, the two Sides agreed to make suitable arrangements to permit the docking of American and Soviet spacecraft and stations.⁴ The first joint docking experiment of the two countries' piloted spacecraft, with visits by astronauts and cosmonauts to each other's spacecraft, is contemplated for 1975. The planning and implementation of this flight will be carried out by the US National Aeronautics and Space Administra-

³ The text of the agreement on science and technology is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 8, p. 921). On May 24, the White House released fact sheets and the transcript of a news briefing on the science and technology agreement, as well as the agreement on cooperation in space. Participants in the news briefing were Vladimir Kirillin, Soviet Chairman, Committee for Science and Technology, and Soviet Academician Boris Petrov.

⁴ The text of the agreement on cooperation in space is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 8, p. 920).

tion and the USSR Academy of Sciences according to principles and procedures developed through mutual cons-

COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF

The two Sides concluded an agreement on health cooperation which marks a fruitful beginning of sharing knowledge about, and collaborative attacks on, common enemies, disease and disaster. The initial research efforts of the program will concentrate on health problems important to the whole world—cancer, heart diseases, and the environmental health sciences. This cooperation subsequently will be broadened to include other health problems of mutual interest. The two Sides pledged their full support for the health cooperation program and agreed to continue the active participation of their governments in the work of international organizations in the health field.

ENVIRONMENTAL COOPERATION

The two Sides agreed to initiate a program of cooperation in the protection and

⁵ The text of the agreement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 8, p. 919). On May 23, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcripts of two news briefings on the agreement. Participants in the first news briefing were Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary, Dr. Merlin K. DuVal, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Dr. Roger O. Egeberg, Special Consultant to the President; and, in the second, were Boris V. Petrovsky, Soviet Minister of Health, and Dgermen Gvishiany, Soviet Deputy Chief, Committee for Science and Technology.

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through mutual consultations.

THE FIELD OF HEALTH

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May 23, the White House
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were Elliot L. Rich-
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Health, Education, and
O. Egeberg, Special
Agent; and, in the sec-
ond, Mr. Gvishiansky, Soviet Minister
for Science and

enhancement of man's environment.⁶
Through joint research and joint mea-
sures, the United States and the USSR
hope to contribute to the preservation of
a healthful environment in their countries
and throughout the world. Under the new
agreement on environmental cooperation
there will be consultations in the near fu-
ture in Moscow on specific cooperative
projects.

EXCHANGES IN THE FIELDS OF SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Both Sides note the importance of the
Agreement on Exchanges and Coopera-
tion in Scientific, Technical, Educational,
Cultural, and Other Fields in 1972-1973,
signed in Moscow on April 11, 1972. Con-
tinuation and expansion of bilateral ex-
changes in these fields will lead to better
understanding and help improve the gen-
eral state of relations between the two
countries. Within the broad framework
provided by this Agreement the two Sides
have agreed to expand the areas of co-
operation, as reflected in new agreements
concerning space, health, the environ-
ment and science and technology.

⁶The text of the agreement is printed in the
Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents
(vol. 8, p. 917). On May 23, the White House
released a fact sheet and the transcripts of two
news briefings on the agreement. Participants
in the first news briefing were Russell E. Train,
Chairman, and Gordon J. F. MacDonald, mem-
ber, Council on Environmental Quality; and,
in the second, were Mr. Petrovsky and Mr.
Gvishiansky. On September 11, the White House
released a fact sheet on the agreement and the
transcript of a news briefing on a meeting with
the President to discuss upcoming meetings in
Moscow of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. joint committee
on implementation of the agreement. The news
briefing was held by Chairman Train, head of
the United States delegation to the U.S.-
U.S.S.R. joint committee.

The US side, noting the existence of an
extensive program of English language
instruction in the Soviet Union, indicated
its intention to encourage Russian lan-
guage programs in the United States.

II. INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

EUROPE

In the course of the discussions on the
international situation, both Sides took
note of favorable developments in the
relaxation of tensions in Europe.

Recognizing the importance to world
peace of developments in Europe, where
both World Wars originated, and mindful
of the responsibilities and commitments
which they share with other powers under
appropriate agreements, the USA and the
USSR intend to make further efforts to
ensure a peaceful future for Europe, free
of tensions, crises and conflicts.

They agree that the territorial integrity
of all states in Europe should be respected.

Both Sides view the September 3, 1971
Quadripartite Agreement relating to the
Western Sectors of Berlin as a good ex-
ample of fruitful cooperation between the
states concerned, including the USA and
the USSR. The two Sides believe that the
implementation of that agreement in the
near future, along with other steps, will
further improve the European situation
and contribute to the necessary trust
among states.

Both Sides welcomed the treaty between
the USSR and the Federal Republic of
Germany signed on August 12, 1970. They
noted the significance of the provisions of
this treaty as well as of other recent agree-
ments in contributing to confidence and
cooperation among the European states.

The USA and the USSR are prepared

to make appropriate contributions to the positive trends on the European continent toward a genuine detente and the development of relations of peaceful cooperation among states in Europe on the basis of the principles of territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers, non-interference in internal affairs, sovereign equality, independence and renunciation of the use or threat of force.

The US and the USSR are in accord that multilateral consultations looking toward a Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe could begin after the signature of the Final Quadripartite Protocol of the Agreement of September 3, 1971. The two governments agree that the conference should be carefully prepared in order that it may concretely consider specific problems of security and cooperation and thus contribute to the progressive reduction of the underlying causes of tension in Europe. This conference should be convened at a time to be agreed by the countries concerned, but without undue delay.

Both Sides believe that the goal of ensuring stability and security in Europe would be served by a reciprocal reduction of armed forces and armaments, first of all in Central Europe. Any agreement on this question should not diminish the security of any of the Sides. Appropriate agreement should be reached as soon as practicable between the states concerned on the procedures for negotiations on this subject in a special forum.

THE MIDDLE EAST

The two Sides set out their positions on this question. They reaffirm their support for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East in accordance with Security Council

Resolution 242.

Noting the significance of cooperation of the parties concerned, the Special Representative of the Secretary General, Ambassador of the US and the USSR confirm their intention to contribute to his mission's success and also declare their readiness to play a part in bringing about a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. In the view of the US and the USSR, the achievement of such a settlement would open prospects for the normalization of the Middle East situation and would permit, in particular, consideration of further steps toward a military relaxation in that area.

INDOCHINA

Each side set forth its respective standpoint with regard to the continuing war in Vietnam and the situation in the area of Indochina as a whole.

The US side emphasized the need to bring an end to the military conflict as soon as possible and reaffirmed its commitment to the principle that the political future of South Vietnam should be left to the South Vietnamese people to decide for themselves, free from outside interference.

The US side explained its view that the quickest and most effective way to attain the above-mentioned objectives is through negotiations leading to the return of all Americans held captive in the region, the implementation of an internationally supervised Indochina-wide ceasefire and the subsequent withdrawal of all American forces stationed in South Vietnam within four months, leaving the political questions to be resolved by the Indochinese peoples themselves.

The United States reiterated its willing-

ness to enter into serious negotiations with the North Vietnamese Side to settle the war in Indochina on a basis just to all.

The Soviet Side stressed its solidarity with the just struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia for their freedom, independence and social progress. Firmly supporting the proposals of the DRV and the Republic of South Vietnam, which provide a realistic and constructive basis for settling the Vietnam problem, the Soviet Union stands for a cessation of bombings of the DRV, for a complete and unequivocal withdrawal of the troops of the USA and its allies from South Vietnam, so that the peoples of Indochina would have the possibility to determine for themselves their fate without any outside interference.

DISARMAMENT ISSUES

The two Sides expressed their positions on arms limitation and disarmament issues.

The two Sides note that in recent years their joint and parallel actions have facilitated the working out and conclusion of treaties which curb the arms race or ban some of the most dangerous types of weapons. They note further that these treaties were welcomed by a large majority of the states in the world, which became parties to them.

Both Sides regard the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxic Weapons and on their Destruction, as an essential disarmament measure. Along with Great Britain, they are the depositories for the Convention which was recently opened for signature by all states. The USA and the USSR will continue their efforts to reach an

international agreement regarding chemical weapons.

The USA and the USSR, proceeding from the need to take into account the security interests of both countries on the basis of the principle of equality, and without prejudice to the security interests of third countries, will actively participate in negotiations aimed at working out new measures designed to curb and end the arms race. The ultimate purpose is general and complete disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, under strict international control. A world disarmament conference could play a role in this process at an appropriate time.

STRENGTHENING THE UNITED NATIONS

Both Sides will strive to strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations on the basis of strict observance of the UN Charter. They regard the United Nations as an instrument for maintaining world peace and security, discouraging conflicts, and developing international cooperation. Accordingly, they will do their best to support United Nations efforts in the interests of international peace.

Both Sides emphasized that agreements and understandings reached in the negotiations in Moscow, as well as the contents and nature of these negotiations, are not in any way directed against any other country. Both Sides proceed from the recognition of the role, the responsibility and the prerogatives of other interested states, existing international obligations and agreements, and the principles and purposes of the UN Charter.

Both Sides believe that positive results were accomplished in the course of the talks at the highest level. These results indicate that despite the differences between

the USA and the USSR in social systems, ideologies, and policy principles, it is possible to develop mutually advantageous cooperation between the peoples of both countries, in the interests of strengthening peace and international security.

Both Sides expressed the desire to continue close contact on a number of issues that were under discussion. They agreed that regular consultations on questions of mutual interest, including meetings at the highest level, would be useful.

In expressing his appreciation for the hospitality accorded him in the Soviet Union, President Nixon invited General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev, Chairman N. V. Podgorny, and Chairman A. N. Kosygin to visit the United States at a mutually convenient time. This invitation was accepted.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House re-

leased the transcripts of two news briefings on the joint communique and the statement of basic principles (Item 177): the first, by Dr. Kissinger; the second, by Press Secretary Ziegler and Leonid M. Zamyatin, Director General, TASS. Dr. Kissinger's news briefing is printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 8, p. 951).

During the President's visit to Moscow Press Secretary Ziegler and Director General Zamyatin held daily news briefings on discussions between United States and Soviet officials. Transcripts of the news briefings were released as follows: one on May 22, two on May 23, and two on May 24.

On May 29, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Dr. Kissinger on discussions held during the visit. The transcript is printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 8, p. 956).

On May 30, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, and Peter G. Peterson, Secretary of Commerce, on the domestic impact of the agreements reached with the Soviet Union.

179 Toast at a Dinner in Kiev.

May 29, 1972

Mr. Chairman of the Presidium and all of the distinguished guests here this evening:

I first express appreciation for the eloquent remarks of the Chairman and I will respond to those remarks somewhat briefly because I had the opportunity to speak at some length on television last night.

But tonight I would like to address my remarks particularly to this city and particularly to the Ukraine—a city and a republic that has meant so much to the Soviet Union and so much to the world.

We had a very difficult time selecting the cities we would visit on this trip to the Soviet Union. In consulting with Ambassador Dobrynin, he, of course, said that we must spend most of our time in Moscow

for our official talks; and then, logically, it was necessary, too, and we welcomed the opportunity, to return to Leningrad, the second city of the Soviet Union.

Then we said to Ambassador Dobrynin, "What should be the third city?" And he answered, "The mother of all Russian cities, Kiev." And so we come here for the first time and we are glad that we came.

We are glad to have enjoyed this wonderful dinner, these fine wines that are the product of this very rich country. We are glad, too, to have the opportunity to know some of the people of the Ukraine—a people who are world famous for their warmth, for their strength, for their courage.

As I think of a way to describe our feelings on this occasion, I noted that in history—and this city is so full of history—in the 11th century a golden gate was erected in the Ukraine, in Kiev. So, in a way, we can say that Kiev is the City of the Golden Gate.

In America we have a city, San Francisco, that is called the City of the Golden Gate. Many of our friends who have visited America believe that San Francisco is our most beautiful city. But at the turn of the century it suffered a great tragedy, a tragedy not of war but of what is next to war—an earthquake followed by fire which virtually destroyed the city.

And the pessimists said this city would never come back. They were wrong, because they failed to recognize the spirit of the people of the City of the Golden Gate on the western coast of California.

Then we think of this city—a city with a much older golden gate. We think of the enormous tragedy that was visited upon it during the war, the destruction of buildings and, of course, even more tragic, the destruction of human life on an unprecedented scale.

I am sure that there were people then who said that the city of Kiev would never come back because of the destruction that was wrought upon it by war.

My friend on my right, who is an engineer, said there were some who said it would take 50 years to rebuild this city.

But, again, the pessimists were wrong, because they did not reckon with the spirit, the strength, the courage, the determination of the people of the Ukraine and the people of Kiev.

So, not in 50 years, but in 7 years, the city was rebuilt and the Republic of the Ukraine continues to grow and to prosper.

So, for that reason, on this particular evening, which is the last occasion that we will be having dinner on Soviet soil, we think it is very appropriate that it should be here in this mother of all Russian cities, here in the Ukraine among a people who are so strong and who represent such a great spirit.

So in responding to the toast, the very eloquent toast of the Chairman, I would simply say we should drink tonight to the heroes who fought in war and the heroes who have rebuilt this city in peace and, we trust, to the new leadership to which our two countries, the Soviet Union and the United States, may contribute, by which the world may have a period in which the tragedy of war will never again be visited upon this city or any other city like it in the world.

I would ask you to raise your glasses, then, to the heroes of the Ukraine in war and in peace.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:35 p.m. in Mariinsky Palace at a dinner hosted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. He spoke from a prepared text.

180 Remarks at the Shahyad Monument in Tehran, Iran.

May 30, 1972

Your Imperial Majesties, Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen:

Nineteen years ago, Mrs. Nixon and I

were welcomed to this great city after a long trip around the world. Now we come again to Tehran, and we see the progress

agreement and to establish mutual and regular air connections.

6. The two sides expressed their interest in commemorating the five hundredth anniversary of the birth of Nicholas Copernicus and discussed ways of celebrating it.

7. Both sides welcomed the signing of the Consular Convention by Secretary of State William P. Rogers and Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski and the conclusion of an agreement on the simultaneous establishment on December 1, 1972 of new Consulates—in New York and Krakow, respectively. Both parties welcome these steps as concrete evidence of expanding relations between the two states.

8. The two sides emphasized the positive influence exerted on their mutual relations by the traditions of history, sentiment and friendship between the Polish

and American peoples. A prominent part is played in this respect by many United States citizens of Polish extraction who maintain an interest in the country of their ancestors. The two sides recognize that this interest and contacts resulting from it constitute a valuable contribution to the development of bilateral relations.

Signed in Warsaw, June 1, 1972.

NOTE: The joint communique was released at Warsaw, Poland.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President, and Włodzimierz Janiurek, Polish Undersecretary of State for Information, on the joint communique.

On May 31, 1972, the White House released the text of a statement by Secretary of State William P. Rogers on signing the U.S.-Polish Consular Convention and a fact sheet outlining the terms of the convention. Secretary Rogers' statement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 8, p. 970).

188 Address to a Joint Session of the Congress on Return From Austria, the Soviet Union, Iran, and Poland.

June 1, 1972

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Members of the Congress, our distinguished guests, my fellow Americans:

Your welcome in this great Chamber tonight has a very special meaning to Mrs. Nixon and to me. We feel very fortunate to have traveled abroad so often representing the United States of America. But we both agree after each journey that the best part of any trip abroad is coming home to America again.

During the past 13 days we have flown more than 16,000 miles and we visited four countries. Everywhere we went—to Austria, the Soviet Union, Iran, Poland—

we could feel the quickening pace of change in old international relationships and the peoples' genuine desire for friendship for the American people. Everywhere new hopes are rising for a world no longer shadowed by fear and want and war, and as Americans we can be proud that we now have an historic opportunity to play a great role in helping to achieve man's oldest dream—a world in which all nations can enjoy the blessings of peace.

On this journey we saw many memorable sights, but one picture will always remain indelible in our memory—the flag of the United States of America flying

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e saw many memora- picture will always ur memory—the flag s of America flying

high in the spring breeze above Moscow's ancient Kremlin fortress.

To millions of Americans for the past quarter century the Kremlin has stood for implacable hostility toward all that we cherish, and to millions of Russians the American flag has long been held up as a symbol of evil. No one would have believed, even a short time ago, that these two apparently irreconcilable symbols would be seen together, as we saw them for those few days.

But this does not mean that we bring back from Moscow the promise of instant peace, but we do bring the beginning of a process that can lead to a lasting peace. And that is why I have taken the extraordinary action of requesting this special joint session of the Congress because we have before us an extraordinary opportunity.

I have not come here this evening to make new announcements in a dramatic setting. This summit has already made its news. It has barely begun, however, to make its mark on our world, and I ask you to join me tonight—while events are fresh, while the iron is hot—in starting to consider how we can help to make that mark what we want it to be.

The foundation has been laid for a new relationship between the two most powerful nations in the world. Now it is up to us—to all of us here in this Chamber, to all of us across America—to join with other nations in building a new house upon that foundation, one that can be a home for the hopes of mankind and a shelter against the storms of conflict.

As a preliminary, therefore, to requesting your concurrence in some of the agreements we reached and your approval of funds to carry out others, and also as a keynote for the unity in which this Gov-

ernment and this Nation must go forward from here, I am rendering this immediate report to the Congress on the results of the Moscow summit.

The pattern of U.S.-Soviet summit diplomacy in the cold war era is well known to all those in this Chamber. One meeting after another produced a brief euphoric mood—the spirit of Geneva, the spirit of Camp David, the spirit of Vienna, the spirit of Glassboro—but without producing significant progress on the really difficult issues.

And so early in this Administration I stated that the prospect of concrete results, not atmospherics, would be our criterion for meetings at the highest level. I also announced our intention to pursue negotiations with the Soviet Union across a broad front of related issues, with the purpose of creating a momentum of achievement in which progress in one area could contribute to progress in others.

This is the basis on which we prepared for and conducted last week's talks. This was a working summit. We sought to establish not a superficial spirit of Moscow, but a solid record of progress on solving the difficult issues which for so long have divided our two nations and also have divided the world. Reviewing the number and the scope of agreements that emerged, I think we have accomplished that goal.

Recognizing the responsibility of the advanced industrial nations to set an example in combatting mankind's common enemies, the United States and the Soviet Union have agreed to cooperate in efforts to reduce pollution and enhance environmental quality. We have agreed to work together in the field of medical science and public health, particularly in the conquest of cancer and heart disease.

Recognizing that the quest for useful knowledge transcends differences between ideologies and social systems, we have agreed to expand United States and Soviet cooperation in many areas of science and technology.

We have joined in plans for an exciting new adventure, a new adventure in the cooperative exploration of space, which will begin—subject to Congressional approval of funding—with a joint orbital mission of an Apollo vehicle and a Soviet spacecraft in 1975.

By forming habits of cooperation and strengthening institutional ties in areas of peaceful enterprise, these four agreements, to which I have referred, will create on both sides a steadily growing vested interest in the maintenance of good relations between our two countries.

Expanded United States-Soviet trade will also yield advantages to both of our nations. When the two largest economies in the world start trading with each other on a much larger scale, living standards in both nations will rise, and the stake which both have in peace will increase.

Progress in this area is proceeding on schedule. At the summit, we established a Joint Commercial Commission which will complete the negotiations for a comprehensive trade agreement between the United States and the U.S.S.R. And we expect the final terms of this agreement to be settled later this year.

Two further accords which were reached last week have a much more direct bearing on the search for peace and security in the world.

One is the agreement between the American and Soviet navies aimed at significantly reducing the chances of dangerous incidents between our ships and aircraft at sea.

And second, and most important, there is the treaty and the related executive agreement which will limit, for the first time, both offensive and defensive strategic nuclear weapons in the arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Three-fifths of all the people alive in the world today have spent their whole lifetimes under the shadow of a nuclear war which could be touched off by the arms race among the great powers. Last Friday in Moscow we witnessed the beginning of the end of that era which began in 1945. We took the first step toward a new era of mutually agreed restraint and arms limitation between the two principal nuclear powers.

With this step we have enhanced the security of both nations. We have begun to check the wasteful and dangerous spiral of nuclear arms which has dominated relations between our two countries for a generation. We have begun to reduce the level of fear by reducing the causes of fear, for our two peoples and for all peoples in the world.

The ABM Treaty will be submitted promptly for the Senate's advice and consent to ratification and the interim agreement limiting certain offensive weapons will be submitted to both Houses for concurrence, because we can undertake agreements as important as these only on a basis of full partnership between the executive and legislative branches of our Government.

I ask from this Congress and I ask from the Nation the fullest scrutiny of these accords. I am confident such examination will underscore the truth of what I told the Soviet people on television just a few nights ago—that this is an agreement in the interest of both nations. From the standpoint of the United States, when we

consider what the strategic balance would have looked like later in the seventies, if there had been no arms limitation, it is clear that the agreements forestall a major spiraling of the arms race—one which would have worked to our disadvantage, since we have no current building programs for the categories of weapons which have been frozen, and since no new building program could have produced any new weapons in those categories during the period of the freeze.

My colleagues in the Congress, I have studied the strategic balance in great detail with my senior advisers for more than 3 years. I can assure you, the Members of the Congress, and the American people tonight that the present and planned strategic forces of the United States are without question sufficient for the maintenance of our security and the protection of our vital interests.

No power on earth is stronger than the United States of America today. And none will be stronger than the United States of America in the future.

This is the only national defense posture which can ever be acceptable to the United States. This is the posture I ask the Senate and the Congress to protect by approving the arms limitation agreements to which I have referred. This is the posture which, with the responsible cooperation of the Congress, I will take all necessary steps to maintain in our future defense programs.

In addition to the talks which led to the specific agreements I have listed, I also had full, very frank, and extensive discussions with General Secretary Brezhnev and his colleagues about several parts of the world where American and Soviet interests have come in conflict.

With regard to the reduction of ten-

sions in Europe, we recorded our intention of proceeding later this year with multilateral consultations looking toward a conference on security and cooperation in all of Europe. We have also jointly agreed to move forward with negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions in central Europe.

The problem of ending the Vietnam war, which engages the hopes of all Americans, was one of the most extensively discussed subjects on our agenda. It would only jeopardize the search for peace if I were to review here all that was said on that subject. I will simply say this: Each side obviously has its own point of view and its own approach to this very difficult issue. But at the same time, both the United States and the Soviet Union share an overriding desire to achieve a more stable peace in the world. I emphasize to you once again that this Administration has no higher goal, a goal that I know all of you share, than bringing the Vietnam war to an early and honorable end. We are ending the war in Vietnam, but we shall end it in a way which will not betray our friends, risk the lives of the courageous Americans still serving in Vietnam, break faith with those held prisoners by the enemy, or stain the honor of the United States of America.

Another area where we had very full, frank, and extensive discussions was the Middle East. I reiterated the American people's commitment to the survival of the state of Israel and to a settlement just to all the countries in the area. Both sides stated in the communique their intention to support the Jarring peace mission and other appropriate efforts to achieve this objective.

The final achievement of the Moscow conference was the signing of a landmark

declaration entitled "Basic Principles of Mutual Relations Between the United States and the U.S.S.R." As these 12 basic principles are put into practice, they can provide a solid framework for the future development of better American-Soviet relations.

They begin with the recognition that two nuclear nations, each of which has the power to destroy humanity, have no alternative but to coexist peacefully, because in a nuclear war there would be no winners, only losers.

The basic principles commit both sides to avoid direct military confrontation and to exercise constructive leadership and restraint with respect to smaller conflicts in other parts of the world which could drag the major powers into war.

They disavow any intention to create spheres of influence or to conspire against the interests of any other nation—a point I would underscore by saying once again tonight that America values its ties with all nations, from our oldest allies in Europe and Asia, as I emphasized by my visit to Iran, to our good friends in the third world, and to our new relationship with the People's Republic of China.

The improvement of relations depends not only, of course, on words, but far more on actions. The principles to which we agreed in Moscow are like a road map. Now that the map has been laid out, it is up to each country to follow it. The United States intends to adhere to these principles. The leaders of the Soviet Union have indicated a similar intention.

However, we must remember that Soviet ideology still proclaims hostility to some of America's most basic values. The Soviet leaders remain committed to that ideology. Like the nation they lead, they are and they will continue to be totally

dedicated competitors of the United States of America.

As we shape our policies for the period ahead, therefore, we must maintain our defenses at an adequate level until there is mutual agreement to limit forces. The time-tested policies of vigilance and firmness which have brought us to this summit are the only ones that can safely carry us forward to further progress in reaching agreements to reduce the danger of war.

Our successes in the strategic arms talks and in the Berlin negotiations, which opened the road to Moscow, came about because over the past 3 years we have consistently refused proposals for unilaterally abandoning the ABM, unilaterally pulling back our forces from Europe, and drastically cutting the defense budget. The Congress deserves the appreciation of the American people for having the courage to vote such proposals down and to maintain the strength America needs to protect its interests.

As we continue the strategic arms talks, seeking a permanent offensive weapons treaty, we must bear the lessons of the earlier talks well in mind.

By the same token, we must stand steadfastly with our NATO partners if negotiations leading to a new détente and a mutual reduction of forces in Europe are to be productive. Maintaining the strength, integrity, and steadfastness of our free world alliances is the foundation on which all of our other initiatives for peace and security in the world must rest. As we seek better relations with those who have been our adversaries, we will not let down our friends and allies around the world.

And in this period we must keep our economy vigorous and competitive if the opening for greater East-West trade is to

mean anything at all, and if we do not wish to be shouldered aside in world markets by the growing potential of the economies of Japan, Western Europe, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China. For America to continue its role of helping to build a more peaceful world, we must keep America number one economically in the world.

We must maintain our own momentum of domestic innovation, growth, and reform if the opportunities for joint action with the Soviets are to fulfill their promise. As we seek agreements to build peace abroad, we must keep America moving forward at home.

Most importantly, if the new age we seek is ever to become a reality, we must keep America strong in spirit—a nation proud of its greatness as a free society, confident of its mission in the world. Let us be committed to our way of life as wholeheartedly as the Communist leaders with whom we seek a new relationship are committed to their system. Let us always be proud to show in our words and actions what we know in our hearts—that we believe in America.

These are just some of the challenges of peace. They are in some ways even more difficult than the challenges of war. But we are equal to them. As we meet them, we will be able to go forward and explore the sweeping possibilities for peace which this season of summits has now opened up for the world.

For decades, America has been locked in hostile confrontation with the two great Communist powers, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. We were engaged with the one at many points and almost totally isolated from the other, but our relationships with both had reached a deadly impasse. All three countries were

victims of the kind of bondage about which George Washington long ago warned in these words: The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred . . . is a slave to its own animosity.

But now in the brief space of 4 months, these journeys to Peking and to Moscow have begun to free us from perpetual confrontation. We have moved toward better understanding, mutual respect, point-by-point settlement of differences with both the major Communist powers.

This one series of meetings has not rendered an imperfect world suddenly perfect. There still are deep philosophical differences; there still are parts of the world in which age-old hatreds persist. The threat of war has not been eliminated—it has been reduced. We are making progress toward a world in which leaders of nations will settle their differences by negotiation, not by force, and in which they learn to live with their differences so that their sons will not have to die for those differences.

It was particularly fitting that this trip, aimed at building such a world, should have concluded in Poland.

No country in the world has suffered more from war than Poland—and no country has more to gain from peace. The faces of the people who gave us such a heartwarming welcome in Warsaw yesterday, and then again this morning and this afternoon, told an eloquent story of suffering from war in the past and of hope for peace in the future. One could see it in their faces. It made me more determined than ever that America must do all in its power to help that hope for peace come true for all people in the world.

As we continue that effort, our unity of purpose and action will be all-important.

For the summits of 1972 have not belonged just to one person or to one party or to one branch of our Government alone. Rather they are part of a great national journey for peace. Every American can claim a share in the credit for the success of that journey so far, and every American has a major stake in its success for the future.

An unparalleled opportunity has been placed in America's hands. Never has there been a time when hope was more justified or when complacency was more dangerous. We have made a good beginning. And because we have begun, history now lays upon us a special obligation to see it through. We can seize this moment or we can lose it; we can make good this opportunity to build a new structure of peace in the world or we can let it slip away. Together, therefore, let us seize the moment so that our children and the

world's children can live free of the fear and free of the hatreds that have been the lot of mankind through the centuries.

Then the historians of some future age will write of the year 1972, not that this was the year America went up to the summit and then down to the depths of the valley again, but that this was the year when America helped to lead the world up out of the lowlands of constant war and onto the high plateau of lasting peace.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:40 p.m. in the House Chamber at the Capitol, after being introduced by Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives. The address was broadcast live on radio and television.

The President spoke from a prepared text. An advance text of his address was released on the same day.

On June 2, 1972, the bipartisan leaders of the Congress met with the President at the White House for a review of his trip and the agreements reached.

189 Telegram to the National Governors' Conference Meeting in Houston, Texas, Urging State Action on No-Fault Automobile Insurance. *June 7, 1972*

IT IS a pleasure to send my greetings and my high regards to the Governors of our States. Each of you is a full and vital partner in our common effort to provide better, more effective and more responsive government for all our people.

I know the Governors share my abiding interest in preserving and strengthening a truly federal system in the United States in which all levels of government—Federal, State and local—share in their proper responsibilities.

This results in problems being solved on the level of government which can be most effective on each particular issue. Some problems clearly require Federal remedies,

and we have moved to provide them. Many other matters, however, can be handled most effectively by State and local governments, with Washington acting in a supporting role.

On one such important matter, I believe that the States—and not the Federal Government—can best respond to one of the most pressing consumer needs in the Nation today: the urgent question of reform for the present system of automobile insurance. I oppose involving the Federal Government in this insurance reform, and I urge the States to act.

Despite ever-increasing premiums for automobile insurance, the victims of ac-

THE PRESIDENT. I see. Well. I will be out in California at that time, and after you have splashed down. I hope to welcome the three of you, perhaps. Maybe you can come up to San Clemente and we will say hello.

CAPTAIN CONRAD. Wonderful. I am sitting here talking to you right now, coming up on the coast of California, looking out the window at the full Moon.

THE PRESIDENT. Is that right?

Let me also say that this is Father's Day.

I understand each of you is a father. Congratulations.

CAPTAIN CONRAD. Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. We will look forward to seeing you after you get back.

CAPTAIN CONRAD. Yes, sir. And thank you very much for the call.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you, Pete.

NOTE: The telephone conversation began at 10:09 a.m. The President spoke from the study in his residence at Key Biscayne, Fla. The crew was aboard the Skylab space station, which was in orbit 275 miles above the Earth.

177 Remarks of Welcome to Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. June 18, 1973

Mr. General Secretary and all of our distinguished guests:

Mr. Brezhnev, it is a very great honor for me to welcome you on your first visit to the United States. It was just a year ago that we met in Moscow, and on that occasion we entered into a number of agreements that changed the relationship between our two great countries in a very profound way.

What has happened since those agreements have been entered into, and the preparations that have been made over many, many months, the correspondence that we have had, and other meetings, lead me to conclude that this year at the summit in Washington, we will not only build on the foundation that we laid last year but that we have the opportunity to make even greater progress than we made last year toward the goals that we share in common—the goals of better relations between our two governments, a better life for our people, the Russian people, the American people, and above all, the

goal that goes beyond our two countries, but to the whole world, the goal of lifting the burden of armaments from the world and building a structure of peace.

As you know, Mr. General Secretary, these television cameras mean that right now millions in America and millions in the Soviet Union are seeing us as we appear together and as we speak.

I could also add that not only are the Russian people, the Soviet people, and the American people watching but all the world is watching as we meet on this occasion, because the people of the world know that if the leaders of the two most powerful nations of the world can work together and their governments can work together, the chance for a world of peace is infinitely increased.

The hopes of the world rest with us at this time in the meetings that we will have. I am confident, Mr. General Secretary, that in our meetings this week we shall not disappoint those hopes.

We wish you a good stay in our country,

but above all, on this, which is a trip of such great significance to our two peoples and to the world, we trust that at the end, not only the Soviet people and the American people but the people of the world will look on this event as a great step forward in the goal we all want: not only peace between our two countries but peace and progress for all the people of the world.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:10 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where General Secretary Brezhnev was given a formal welcome with full military honors. The General Secretary responded in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. The welcoming ceremony was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television in the United States and in the Soviet Union.

The General Secretary's translated remarks follow:

Esteemed Mr. President, esteemed Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen:

I am happy to have a new meeting with you, Mr. President, and I thank you for the warm words addressed to us, representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

This is my first visit to your country, my first direct acquaintance with America and the American people. We have made a long journey from Moscow to Washington. Our two capitals are separated by over 6,000 miles.

But international politics has its own concepts of relativity not covered by Einstein's theory. The distances between our countries are shrinking, not only because we travel aboard modern aircraft following a well-charted route but also because we share one great goal, which is to ensure a lasting peace for the peoples of our countries and to strengthen security on our planet.

One year ago, in Moscow, we jointly took a major step in that direction. The results of our first meeting laid a good and reliable foundation for peaceful relations between our two countries.

But even then we both took the view that, building on that foundation, we should move further ahead. During the past year a good beginning has been made in that sense. And now we regard our visit to the United States and the forthcoming meetings with you as an expression of our common determination to make a new contribution to what was jointly initiated.

I and my comrades, who have come with me, are prepared to work hard to ensure that the talks we will have with you, Mr. President, and with other American statesmen, justify the hopes of our peoples and serve the interests of a peaceful future for all mankind.

For activities in connection with General Secretary Brezhnev's visit which are not reflected in items printed in this volume, see Appendix B entries for June 16-24.

178 Toasts of the President and General Secretary Brezhnev of the U.S.S.R. June 18, 1973

Mr. General Secretary, members of the Soviet delegation, and all of our distinguished guests and friends:

As all of these lights were turned on, the General Secretary, with his delightful sense of humor, said, "At the end of the dinner, Mr. President, you decided to fry our guests."

As all of you came through the receiving line tonight, the General Secretary

noted that you came from all parts of the country, from both political parties, from business, from labor, from all segments of our society. And the question that he asked on several occasions was whether the individuals concerned supported the new initiatives with regard to Soviet-American friendship and cooperation which we have undertaken. And I would like to say to our very distinguished guest

tonight that, not only in this room but across this country, regardless of political party, regardless of whatever the organization may be, the overwhelming number of Americans support the objective of Soviet-American friendship.

Now, I am told that in the Ukraine, where we were so very well received on our visit to Kiev last year, and where our guest of honor this evening lived as a young man, there is a proverb which says, "Praise the day in the evening."

I take this bit of advice as my text this evening for a few reflections on the first day of the very important week of meetings and also on the first year of a historic new departure in the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The results of our discussions today allow us to praise, indeed, our day today. We have resumed the talks that ended just over a year ago. We have resumed those talks on a new foundation of significant accomplishments in reshaping relations between our two peoples and between our two countries. Our common starting point was the document that you, Mr. Brezhnev, and I signed on May 29, 1972, in which we agreed on basic principles of our relations and the agreements to limit strategic weapons. On this basis, a year ago, we set a course toward a more constructive and mutually beneficial relationship.

We have been able to embark on this course because we have recognized certain fundamental factors. We have recognized that despite the differences in our ideology and our social systems, we can develop normal relations. We have agreed that in the nuclear age, there is no alternative to a policy of peace for any nation. We have recognized that we have special responsibilities to work for the removal of the

danger of war, and of nuclear war in particular. We have accepted the great task of limiting strategic arms. We have recognized that our responsibilities include the scrupulous respect for the rights of all countries, large or small.

Today, in the discussions we have had, we have reconfirmed these principles. We have laid the groundwork for a significant improvement in our relations that will result from the discussions and agreements undertaken this week.

We receive you and your colleagues tonight and for this week with the firm intention of building on our past successes. A year ago, when I reported to the Congress upon my return from the Soviet Union, I described the principles we had agreed to as a roadmap—a map which would be useful only if both our two countries followed it faithfully. Tonight, looking back over the first 12 months of our journey along the route which that map marks out, I believe there is good reason to be encouraged. Now we have another profound opportunity to advance along this course that we set for ourselves in Moscow a year ago.

It is America's hope that the coming days of our meetings will carry forward the promising start that we have made on this first day.

Our two peoples want peace. We have a special responsibility to insure that our relations—relations between the two strongest countries in the world—are directed firmly toward world peace.

Our success will come to be measured not only in years but in decades and in generations and probably centuries.

Mr. General Secretary, many American Presidents and many very distinguished foreign leaders over a period of 180 years have dined together in this room, and they

have worked together for peace within these walls. But none of them, I believe, have borne a heavier responsibility or faced a more magnificent opportunity than we do today and this week.

The question is: Shall the world's two strongest nations constantly confront one another in areas which might lead to war, or shall we work together for peace? The world watches and listens this week to see what our answer is to that question. Mr. General Secretary, I know that your answer, based on our acquaintanceship and our discussions today and a year ago, is the same as mine to that question. We shall be worthy of the hopes of people everywhere that the world's two strongest nations will work together for the cause of peace and friendship among all peoples, regardless of differences in political philosophy.

So to all of our distinguished guests, will you join me in a toast to the General Secretary, his colleagues, to the friendship of the Soviet and American peoples, and peace between our countries and among all nations.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. General Secretary Brezhnev responded in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

An advance text of the exchange of toasts was released on the same day.

The General Secretary's translated remarks follow:

Esteemed Mr. President, esteemed Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen:

Permit me, first of all, to thank you, Mr. President, for the invitation to visit your country, for the kind words you have just said here, and for the hospitality you are according us on the soil of the United States.

Taking this opportunity, I should like to say that it gives me great satisfaction to be able to continue my talks with you, aimed at the further

improvement of Soviet-American relations initiated in Moscow in May of last year.

The time that has elapsed since our Moscow meeting has, I feel, convincingly confirmed the correctness of the jointly taken line of invigorating the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., and of reshaping them in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence which were set out in the document you and I signed a year ago. I trust you will agree, Mr. President, that we are on the right track, as it is one that meets the fundamental interests of the peoples of our countries and of all mankind.

And what has already been done and is being done to give effect to the basic principles of mutual relations between our countries laid down in Moscow is of no small significance. Life is the best counsellor. The results of the past year suggest the direction for further advance. They inspire us to take, in the course of this meeting, new major steps and give Soviet-American relations greater stability and, thereby, increase the contribution of our countries to the cause of peace and international détente.

Of course, the reshaping of Soviet-American relations is not an easy task. And the crux of the matter lies not only in the fact that the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. have different social systems. What is also required is to overcome the inertia of the "cold war" and its after-effects in international affairs, and in the minds of men.

However, mankind's development requires positive and constructive ideas. I am convinced, therefore, that the more persistently and speedily we move towards the mutually advantageous development of Soviet-American relations, the more tangible will be the great benefits of this for the peoples of our countries, and the greater will be the number of those in favor of such a development, and they are known to be in the majority even today. That is why we are in favor of building relations between the Soviet Union and the United States on a properly large scale and a long-term basis.

We have come here to Washington with a firm desire to give, together with the leaders of the United States, a new and powerful impetus to the development of Soviet-American relations along precisely those lines, and this fully accords with the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of our Party. In its Resolution,

the Congress stressed in the most definite terms the Soviet Union's readiness to develop relations with the United States of America, proceeding from the assumption that this meets both the interests of the Soviet and American peoples and the interests of universal peace.

I would like our American partners and all Americans to be fully aware that this decision by the supreme forum of our Party, the ruling party of the Soviet Union, reflects the fundamental position of principle of the Soviet Government and of our entire people in matters bearing on relations with the United States of America. And that determines the policy we are pursuing.

In today's discussion with the President, I spoke of the favorable feelings of our people in all parts of the country as regards the decisions taken last year during our summit meeting in Moscow, and I spoke of the friendly feelings, the desire of the Soviet people, for friendship with the United States.

Now, Mr. President, the peoples are indeed expecting a great deal from our new meeting. And I believe it is our duty to live up to these expectations. The first discussions we have had with you here at the White House do, I feel, confirm that this is the mutual desire of both sides.

And I would venture in this connection to express the hope, and even the confidence, that our present meeting will play an important role in further strengthening mutually advantageous cooperation between our countries and in improving the international climate as a whole.

And let me make one more point. It is well known that the initiated process of bettering Soviet-American relations is evoking a broad response throughout the world. Most comments indicate that the peoples and the governments of other countries are welcoming this improvement. And this is quite natural. They see in it

an encouraging factor for the invigoration of the international situation as a whole, and a major contribution by the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. to a stronger universal peace.

It is absolutely clear to anyone who is at least slightly familiar with the real course of events, and with the real nature of the development of Soviet-American relations, that their improvement in no way prejudices the interests of any third country.

Naturally, the development of good relations between the Soviet Union and the United States will have, and already has, no small a bearing on world affairs. But this influence is one that promotes the strengthening of peace, security, and international cooperation. In building through joint effort a new structure of peaceful relations, we have no intention of turning it into a secluded mansion completely fenced off from the outside world. We want to keep this spacious edifice open to all those who cherish the peace and well-being of mankind.

Mr. President, present-day political realities show in practice how arduous and toilful can at times be the tasks involved in carrying out the foreign policy of nations. But when our thoughts and practical deeds are directed towards achieving the noble goals of peace, the burden is not oppressive, but rather gives strength and confidence.

The start of our negotiations—and I have in mind both their content and the atmosphere in which they are proceeding—gives reason to hope that their results will be fruitful and will become a new landmark in Soviet-American relations.

Ladies and gentlemen, permit me to offer a toast to the health of the President of the United States of America and Mrs. Nixon, to the health of all the members of the American Government present here, to all Americans who support the great and noble cause of peace among nations.

as possible. Medicines are being provided to combat malnutrition and potential epidemics. In response to a request from Director General Boerma, the Agency for International Development has provided a logistical planning expert to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and our staffs in West Africa are being augmented to improve our ability to deliver what is needed to the right place at the right time.

We share your concern that the problems of dealing with the immediate emergency will become even more difficult as the rains begin and road transport problems increase. We therefore stand ready to provide further support for internal transport, as specified needs are identified.

As you have recognized, this region is faced not only with the immediate needs of feeding the hungry but also of rehabilitating water and forage resources, livestock herds and grain producing facilities to permit a long range recovery from the devastating effects of the drought. This effort will require close collaboration

among African leaders and the donor community. As specific rehabilitation needs are more clearly identified, and it becomes clearer what others are ready to do, the United States will be prepared to provide additional assistance for the Sahel to help overcome the profound effects of this tragedy.

In order to coordinate more effectively our emergency relief efforts and to play our part in a rehabilitation program, I intend to designate Mr. Maurice J. Williams as a Special United States Coordinator. He will cooperate closely in his work with Director General Boerma and with other governments—so that the work of relief and rehabilitation can go forward as expeditiously as possible.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[His Excellency Dr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations, United Nations, New York 10017]

NOTE: The text of the letter, dated June 20, 1973, was issued by the White House on the following day.

181 Toasts of the President and General Secretary Brezhnev at a Dinner at the Soviet Embassy. June 21, 1973

Mr. General Secretary, our hosts from the Soviet Union, and all of our friends from the United States:

We want to express our appreciation to you, Mr. General Secretary, and to our hosts for this splendid dinner. There is a saying in our country on occasion when one is a guest, "Make yourself at home." Tonight we had that somewhat reversed, because Mrs. Dobrynin told me that all the things that were served tonight, including the wines in this magnificent ban-

quet, were brought from the Soviet Union. So we had a chance this evening to be, in a sense, in the Soviet Union, and we thank her for her thoughtfulness in giving us that opportunity.

On this occasion, I am reminded of the fact that it marks several events. This is the last day that Secretary Rogers will be 59 years of age. He will be 60 tomorrow, so we wish him a happy birthday in advance.

Also, Mr. General Secretary, this hap-

pens to be the 33d wedding anniversary for Mrs. Nixon and me, and we appreciate your arranging this dinner on this occasion.

And, of course, as you know, all over the world, June 21 is the longest day in the year. I remember just a little over a year ago a very long day, almost as long as the longest day in the year. Just before midnight, Mr. General Secretary, you and I signed the first agreement on limiting nuclear arms in the Kremlin. To show how our relations have moved forward since that time, we signed the second agreement with regard to limiting nuclear arms at 12:30, in the middle of the day, today.

And in addition to that, as you pointed out in your remarks, we signed a parallel agreement with regard to cooperation in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

You have spoken eloquently about these two agreements. There is little I can add except to say that all of us know that this enormous source of nuclear power can either destroy the world or it can build a new world with the peaceful energy which can be unleashed for the benefit of all mankind.

Today we have taken a very important step in limiting the power of destruction and in unleashing the power of creation.

As idealistic men—and I know, Mr. General Secretary, from our long talks in Moscow and the talks we have had at Camp David and here in Washington, we both share the ideal of building a world of peace—we are pleased with the progress we have made so far in the agreements that we have signed in limitation of nuclear arms. But as practical men—as we are both practical men—we realize that we have taken two steps, but there is still

a long way to go. We recognize that we must dedicate ourselves toward going further in not only limiting this great power of destruction but also of eventually, we trust, reducing the burden of arms which bears down so heavily on the world and on our two peoples.

This will not come easily. It will come only after extensive negotiation. But with continued contact, with continued discussion such as the kind of discussions that we have had on this occasion and in Moscow a year ago, we can move forward in that direction between our two countries and thereby set an example for other countries in the world. And for that reason, it is with a great deal of pleasure that I accept the very generous invitation you have extended for me to return to Moscow next year for a third meeting.

In that third meeting I will, of course, look forward to what will be my fifth visit to the Soviet Union, to see more of your country and to meet more of your people. But also I shall look forward again to the kind of discussions we have had on this occasion and concrete results toward the goal that we have dedicated ourselves to jointly on this occasion—the goal of not only better relations between our two countries, not only peace between our two countries, but recognizing the rights of all countries, large and small, to live in a world of peace without threat from any of their neighbors.

It is this goal to which we are dedicated. And if our two great countries can set an example in this direction and have concrete results following it in the various meetings that we will have, perhaps annually, it means that a great step will be taken toward the objective that we all share.

I would not for one moment suggest to

this audience, or to those who may be listening on television or radio, that one meeting or two meetings at the summit brings instant peace, instant relaxation of tensions, and instant reduction or limitation of arms.

But I do know this: that these two summit meetings have brought us closer together, have brought greater understanding of our differences and greater determination to reduce those differences, and certainly, at the very least, to solve those differences without confrontation. And this, indeed, is an historic change in the relations between our two countries which the General Secretary and I are dedicated to continue.

And now, ladies and gentlemen here in the Soviet Embassy, it is my privilege to return the toast that the General Secretary has given.

On this occasion, I, in addition to asking you to drink to his health—he obviously being our host, being the ranking guest—I think it is appropriate also to drink to the health of those who have been in this city so many years, as the Ambassador, Ambassador Dobrynin, and Mrs. Dobrynin, to Foreign Minister Gromyko, who has also been in our city and knows our country so well, and so many others of our Soviet guests. You have made us feel, tonight, most welcome. And we can only say that as we drink to your health, we drink to it not simply in the casual way that one raises a glass of champagne, be it California or New York or French or, in this case, Russian champagne, but we drink to your health, having in mind what you have said and what I have tried to reaffirm: the desire of the two strongest nations in the world, through their top leaders, to work together for peace rather than for continued

confrontation which could lead to destruction.

This is a goal worthy of great nations and it is a goal that we are proud, Mr. General Secretary, to work with you so that we can achieve it for the benefit of the Soviet people, of the American people, and all of the people of this world.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, since we can't repeat all those words in raising our glasses, may I suggest, to Mr. Brezhnev and to Mrs. Brezhnev, who could not be here but who talked on the telephone with him today, to their children, and all of our children.

Mr. Brezhnev.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 11 p.m. in the Golden Hall of the Soviet Embassy in response to a toast proposed by the General Secretary.

General Secretary Brezhnev spoke in Russian. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Esteemed Mr. President, Esteemed Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen, comrades:

Tonight it is my very pleasant duty to welcome you, Mr. President, and your wife, and members of the U.S. Government, and other distinguished American guests here at the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

On behalf of my comrades and myself, I would like first of all to cordially thank you personally, Mr. President and Mrs. Nixon, and other members of your family, for the warmth and consideration with which you have been surrounding us from the very start of our visit to your country.

At the same time, I would like to say that we are grateful to all Americans who have shown their friendly feelings toward us and taken a lively interest in our visit and our negotiations. In all this, we see a confirmation of the respect harbored by the people of the United States toward Soviet people and evidence of the mutual desire of our two peoples to live together in peace and friendship.

An awareness of our high duty and responsibility is permeating the entire course of

our meetings. Our talks bear the hallmark of a vigorous pace, a broad scope, and a businesslike and constructive spirit. Each day, all this is yielding tangible results, bringing us closer to the jointly set objectives of securing a further major advance in the development of Soviet-American relations, of lessening the threat of war, and of strengthening peace and security on our planet.

The contribution made by our two nations to the attainment of this paramount goal will undoubtedly raise Soviet-American relations to a new level. In May of last year, we agreed that in the nuclear age there is no alternative to conducting relations between our countries on the basis of peaceful coexistence. We can now confidently say that this fundamental principle is being increasingly imbued with concrete substance.

We are convinced that the results of our talks will strengthen still more the relations of peace and mutual trust between the Soviet Union and the United States. At the same time, new vistas will be opened for the constructive development of those relations.

The new step forward which it has proved possible to take through joint efforts in so vitally important and at once so complex a problem as the limitation of Soviet and American strategic arms is also something that cannot fail to cause satisfaction.

The agreement achieved on the basic principles for further negotiations on this problem contains everything to give a new impetus and a clear direction to joint work on important agreements designed not only to curb but also to reverse the race of the most formidable and costly types of rocket nuclear arms, and thus to permit our countries to switch more resources to constructive purposes and use them to better man's life.

Atomic energy, too, must ever-increasingly serve the aims of peace. The readiness of our two nations to promote that objective through joint efforts has been reflected in the agreement on cooperation in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, which President Nixon and I also signed today.

In pursuance of the line jointly initiated during last year's meeting in Moscow, a new series of agreements on cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the United States in several other fields of science, technology, and culture was

signed in the course of this visit. This we also value highly. It will give Soviet-American relations still greater diversity and stability. At the same time, we are sure the development of such cooperation will benefit other peoples, too, since it is aimed at solving problems that are important for all mankind.

Of course, in the relations between our two countries there are still quite a few outstanding problems and, I would say, some unfinished business. In particular, this relates to the sphere of strategic arms limitation and also to commercial and economic matters.

We are optimists, and we believe that the very course of events and an awareness of concrete interests will prompt the conclusion that the future of our relations rests on their comprehensive and mutually advantageous development for the benefit of the present and coming generations.

But I wish especially to emphasize that we are convinced that on the basis of growing mutual confidence, we can steadily move ahead. We want the further development of our relations to become a maximally stable process and, what is more, an irreversible one.

Mr. President, in our discussions—and we value their businesslike and constructive character—I have already had an opportunity to tell you—and I want to repeat this for the benefit of all the American guests present here tonight—that the Soviet Union's line at improving relations with the United States is not some temporary phenomenon. It is a firm and consistent line reflecting the permanent principles of Soviet foreign policy formulated by the great founder of the Soviet State, V. I. Lenin. It is a line that rests on the full support of our people.

Soviet people believe that most Americans, too, approve of the jointly initiated line aimed at strengthening peace and cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the United States.

Unfortunately, the tight schedule of our talks has not left me much of a chance to learn more about your great country and to get a closer look at the life of Americans. But the little I have managed to see seemed to me to be very interesting, indeed. To some extent, I hope to be able to fill in that gap when, at your invitation, Mr. President, we go to the west coast of the United States, to California, long

famous for the beauty of its nature and, more recently, for its surging industrial development.

I would like to use this very pleasant opportunity, when we are all together here at the Soviet Embassy, to confirm the invitation conveyed to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government to make an official visit to the Soviet Union in 1974. I am confident that your new trip to the Soviet Union will also mark another important stage in the successful development of relations between our two countries. We will be happy to repay the hospitality shown to us by the President, the Government, and the people of the United States.

And permit me to express the hope that this time, Mr. President, you will familiarize yourself more closely with our country, and with its nature, and with the life of Soviet people.

The cause of developing Soviet-American relations is, indeed, moving forward. In 2 years, Soviet and American astronauts will fly into outer space to carry out the first major joint experiment in man's history. Now, they know that from up there in space, our planet looks even more beautiful, though small. It is big enough for us to live in peace, but too small to be subjected to the threat of nuclear war.

I shall be making no mistake if I say that the spirit of our talks, and the main direction of our joint efforts, were determined by an awareness of one major factor: Everything must be done for the peoples of the world to live free from war, to live in security, cooperation, and communication with one another. That is the imperative command of the times, and to that aim we must dedicate our joint efforts.

Allow me to propose this toast to the health of the President of the United States of America and Mrs. Nixon, to the further success of the great cause which we have succeeded in advancing during our present meeting, to the docking, on Earth as well as in outer space, of man's efforts and talents for the good of the peoples, to peace, friendship, and cooperation between the Soviet and American peoples, to peace throughout the world.

[At this point, the President responded to the General Secretary's toast. The General Secretary then resumed speaking.]

Mr. President, and ladies and gentlemen, and dear guests:

Believe me, I am not trying to make a new, long toast. [Laughter] But let me just add to the kind words said here by the President and to what I said a little earlier that great ideas bear fruit in the form of a great will and great energy and vigor, and I, therefore, want to assure you, Mr. President, and the American Government, and the American people—and I trust that the President will reciprocate my feelings—that we, for our part, will go on working towards this great goal that we have set ourselves with great vigor and energy—a great goal that we both mentioned in our remarks a little while ago.

And, therefore, permit me yet again, with great sincerity, to ask you to join me in a toast to the very good health of the President and to the great vigor of both our countries in our efforts to reach our goal of peace and cooperation.

182 Message to the Skylab 1 Crew Following Splashdown.

June 22, 1973

To Astronauts Conrad, Kerwin, and Weitz:

The successful completion of the first mission of Skylab is a source of intense pride for the American people. You have demonstrated that just as man can conquer the elements of Earth, he can cope with the exigencies of space. You have

given conclusive evidence that, even with the most advanced scientific and technological support in the world, the courage and resourcefulness of good men are still central to the success of the human adventure.

On behalf of the American people, I welcome you home from the Skylab space-

ship to spaceship Earth. I also look forward to seeing you at San Clemente on Sunday.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The message was relayed to the astronauts on board the recovery ship U.S.S. *Ticonderoga*.

183 Remarks at a Reception for General Secretary Brezhnev in San Clemente, California. June 23, 1973

Mr. General Secretary and all of our distinguished guests:

We have met in Washington and also at Camp David, and as this historic week is concluded, we think it is most appropriate that we meet here in California.

Mr. General Secretary, I told you a lot about California, our most populous State, our most diverse State. There are 20 million people that would like to be here tonight to welcome you, but these are representative of California, and they receive you, as you note, very warmly.

As you have pointed out, the name of this house is La Casa Pacifica, which means "The House of Peace," and in Russian, I just heard him translate it, that is *Dom Mira*.

The General Secretary thought this was a particularly appropriate place—this house and this State—on the Pacific, to have our concluding talks. We believe that the agreements that we have reached this week will contribute to the peaceful world that everybody here wants and that the General Secretary and I have been working for in our respective positions.

As we look back to this day, we hope that this name, "The House of Peace," will be a reality—a reality in terms of the agreements that have been reached and in terms of the promise those agreements mean for not just the Soviet people and the American people but for all the people of the world.

Mr. General Secretary, we are going to meet all the guests, but I should point out to our guests that we will have in our receiving line, in addition to Mrs. Nixon and the General Secretary, Foreign Minister Gromyko, Ambassador and Mrs. Dobrynin, both of whom have come from Washington, and Secretary of State and Mrs. Rogers.

Incidentally, the Secretary of State is celebrating his birthday, and nobody has celebrated his 60th birthday more often and in more auspicious places than the Secretary of State. We celebrated it Wednesday when the General Secretary toasted him 2 days in advance at Camp David. The next day we celebrated it in the Soviet Embassy at the brilliant dinner party that was given there when both the General Secretary and I toasted him, thinking that was either the day or the day before. We finally have learned from Mrs. Rogers that today is the day, so we say "Happy Birthday to the Secretary of State."

Then, finally, in this distinguished company, our leaders from political and business life, as well as some of the people that both of us have seen and admired on the screen. I find in my personal chats with the General Secretary that he likes western movies as well as some others, but he likes westerns in particular, and so do I. We have several western movie stars that you will recognize.

But because this is a house of peace, every one of them has checked his holster belt with the pistols at the door before he came in. [Laughter]

Thank you.

[At this point, General Secretary Brezhnev responded to the President's remarks. The President then resumed speaking.]

You will be interested to know that the General Secretary's speech on television, which was filmed right here at the Western White House this afternoon, will be carried Sunday night.¹ When I was in the Soviet Union, my remarks were carried to the Soviet audience, and his remarks will be carried to the American people.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5 p.m. at a poolside reception at his home in San Clemente, Calif.

General Secretary Brezhnev spoke in Russian. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Ladies and gentlemen:

I have spent already several days in the United States of America. Every day, President Nixon arranges for me and for the comrades who are accompanying me on this trip new surprises. I would also say that we are conducting very necessary and important negotiations, and we have already managed to sign quite important agreements which are confirming and consolidating the good, friendly relations which are existing between our peoples and between our states. And I might stress that especially significant in this respect is the agreement we have concluded yesterday on the prevention of nuclear war.

Every day, I meet old acquaintances in America, and I make new friendships, and this is a fact which is a fact of great pleasure.

¹ General Secretary Brezhnev's address to the American people was broadcast on nationwide radio and television at 6 p.m., on June 24, 1973. A text of his address is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 836).

And I would like to stress that it is important that today I am here in the home of the President and Mrs. Nixon, and I feel happy. We are continuing with our serious and beneficial work here, and we have spent many hours in business-like negotiations.

Today, here on the territory of California quite near to the home of the President, I have addressed the American people through American television. I am not sure when they will have this program, today or tomorrow, but when you see it, you will hear my thoughts and the thoughts of the Soviet people.

I would very much like that the name of this house, La Casa Pacifica, would be symbolic. I would very much like that our relations go down in history as relations of peace, of friendship, of mutual respect between our peoples so that there is no more war.

And in conclusion, I would like to express my gratitude to the President and Mrs. Nixon for this wonderful party which he arranged for us today. I believe that this gathering will permit me to acquaint myself with the representatives of various walks of life, of various professions, and I feel very happy and grateful.

And to all of you, I would like to wish good health, personal happiness, and success in all your endeavors.

Mr. President, I would also like to congratulate you and all the American people on the successful completion of the heroic space flight, on the occasion of the successful return of your astronauts, and I would like to wish them new successes in this very important area of human discovery and knowledge, and please convey my best greetings to them.

I would like to wish that our spacemen continue their cooperation. I would like to wish them new, brilliant successes in their wonderful profession which combines courage with science.

Of course, I cannot but mention what has happened here—by the way, I was the first who congratulated Secretary of State Rogers on his birthday, and now I am all confused. What is really the day when State Secretary Rogers was born? [Laughter] But anyway, I would like to say that I also congratulate Mr. Rogers and wish him all the best.

184 Remarks at the Conclusion of Discussions With General Secretary Brezhnev. June 24, 1973

Mr. General Secretary, all of our distinguished guests from the Soviet Union, and ladies and gentlemen:

Just last Monday, when you, Mr. General Secretary, arrived in Washington, I made the remark that in addition to the millions of people in the Soviet Union and in the United States who were seeing us on television, that millions more throughout the world were watching what we might do this week.

As we have just completed our visit by signing this joint communique, I think we can say with great satisfaction that in our actions this week, we have not disappointed the hopes of the people of the world.

First, we have built on the strong foundation that we laid a year ago in the relations between our two countries in adopting a number of significant agreements for cooperation. We have also built on the beginning that we made a year ago with regard to the limitation of nuclear arms. But the most significant agreement was the one we signed Friday, which was truly a landmark agreement, not only between the relations of our countries but also a landmark agreement for the whole world.

When the two strongest nations of the world agree not to use force or threats of force in their relations with each other, and a force or threats of force in their relations with other nations, this action gives the world a profound hope to those that believe that peace can only be true as safe as the world who want peace. Because peace in the world can only be true as safe as the world who want peace by our agree-

ments, we have dedicated ourselves to building that kind of world.

In speaking of this, I think, too, that the agreement that we have signed, all of the agreements, take on added meaning because of the personal relationship that we developed a year ago and that we have built on this year.

All who have studied history know that an agreement means nothing unless there is the will of the parties to keep it. And, Mr. General Secretary, as you know from our long talks at Camp David, in Washington, and here at San Clemente, we have the will to keep all the agreements we have made, and particularly the one that we signed Friday.

And having that will, it means that we are dedicating ourselves to build a new era not only of peace between our two great countries but of building an era in which there can be peace for all the people of the world.

When you return to the Soviet Union, I would appreciate it very much if you would extend to the millions of people in your country the good wishes, the friendship of the millions of people in the United States, because I am sure that there are many Americans who would like personally to give that message to your people. And you can tell them that the American people—not just the American leaders but the American people—welcome the opportunity to work with the people of the Soviet Union to build peace between each other and peace for the world.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:37 a.m. on the grounds of his residence in San Clemente, Calif.

General Secretary Brezhnev spoke in Russian. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:

Today, when our visit draws to an end and the day of our departure grows closer, I am very happy, indeed, to have this opportunity once again to express my gratitude to the President of the United States for the hospitality that was accorded to me and all my colleagues present here in California. It has been very pleasant, indeed, for me to be able to visit this wonderful part of the United States, and I want also to express my gratitude to all Californians and to all the people of the United States.

I had an opportunity to do so in the television address which, however, you will only be seeing tonight, so I do want to do that again, to express my gratitude again on this wonderful morning.

As we said at the start of our meeting, we must work hard in the interests of our peoples, in the interests of the great and noble aims of defending peace and developing friendly relations between our peoples, and we can now say quite safely that we certainly did that.

We have done some very serious work together, and we have achieved complete agreement on several important issues which are of prime concern to our peoples. And I can certainly say that all the people in the Soviet Union will welcome what has been achieved.

All of the agreements that we and our colleagues signed in the course of this week are important, but those that you and I signed, Mr. President, last Friday were particularly important. And they were indeed happy events not only for the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States, I am certain that all the people of the world will salute and welcome the agreements we signed.

In these very pleasant days spent in the United States, I had a very good opportunity to meet with some of your Senators, with representatives of the business community, and yesterday, I had the very great pleasure of meeting quite a few Californians belonging to various walks of life and various professions.

But apart from all the talks we had and all the formal meetings, I was very happy to note—and I was also told this by my colleagues who,

too, have been meeting with many Americans during this visit—and I am particularly happy that I was able a couple of days ago to meet briefly with a group of American correspondents—and everyone I talked to has said they are happy over the results achieved during this visit.

And so, that is a source of very special satisfaction. I am therefore leaving the United States with very good feelings and with the conviction that the agreements and documents we signed will be unanimously approved in the United States as they undoubtedly will in the Soviet Union, and that, moreover, they will be approved and welcomed by the nations of the entire world. And that is something that gives us a new strength and new vigor and a desire to continue working hard, so that maybe in 6 or 8 months, as the President wishes, we will be able to meet again when the President comes to Moscow. And when we do that, we will move further ahead the very important achievements that started last year in May. And he will come to the Soviet Union confident that we will prepare and sign new and more important agreements which will develop all that was started so well last year in Moscow.

In conclusion, permit me once again to express my very sincere gratitude to you, Mr. President, to Mrs. Nixon, to all your colleagues, and to all those who have come here to be with us this morning. For that, I am indeed grateful, and so, as I leave you, I wish to say not farewell, but goodbye until we meet again.

Mr. President, you will agree with me if I say that in all of our work during this visit, you and your colleagues, American statesmen, just as I and all of my colleagues here did, have strictly observe the rules of protocol, and I devoted the greater part of our time to hard work. In fact, suffice it to say that last night we went on working until the early hours of this morning, and we did some very good work together.

But perhaps for that reason, I simply omitted to say one thing in my remarks and that is the following: The United States is a very great and very big country, a country with a population of over 220 million people, and I and all my colleagues in Moscow, and those who are with me on this visit, would like to express our deep appreciation and gratitude to all Americans who support what we have done and are doing.

and who take a correct view and correctly appreciate our policies and our line of conduct and who, in thus doing so, are helping us in our work. And I, therefore, trust that the peaceful policies pursued by the President and by the United States Government under him will be supported by the people.

It is a policy aimed at ensuring and strengthening

peace, cooperation, and security in the interests of our two countries, but also, in the interests of all other nations, big and small, throughout the world, and for this, I wish to express my appreciation also.

I ask all of your colleagues, Mr. President, and mine, to draw up closer to us so that we could all be in this historic picture together.

185 Joint Communique Following Discussions With General Secretary Brezhnev. June 25, 1973

AT THE invitation of the President of the United States, Richard Nixon, extended during his official visit to the USSR in May 1972, and in accordance with a subsequent agreement, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Leonid I. Brezhnev, paid an official visit to the United States from June 18 to June 25. Mr. Brezhnev was accompanied by A. A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee, CPSU; N. S. Patolichev, Minister of Foreign Trade; B. P. Bugayev, Minister of Civil Aviation; G. E. Tsukanov and A. M. Aleksandrov, Assistants to the General Secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU; L. M. Zamyatin, General Director of TASS; E. I. Chazov, Deputy Minister of Public Health of the USSR; G. M. Korniyenko, Member of the Collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR; G. A. Arbatov, Director of the USA Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev held thorough and constructive discussions on the progress achieved in the development of US-Soviet relations and on a number of major international problems of mutual interest.

Also taking part in the conversations held in Washington, Camp David, and San Clemente, were:

On the American side William P. Rogers, Secretary of State; George P. Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury; Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

On the Soviet side A. A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee, CPSU; A. F. Dobrynin, Soviet Ambassador to the USA; N. S. Patolichev, Minister of Foreign Trade; B. P. Bugayev, Minister of Civil Aviation; A. M. Aleksandrov and G. E. Tsukanov, Assistants to the General Secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU; G. M. Korniyenko, Member of the Collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

I. THE GENERAL STATE OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS

Both Sides expressed their mutual satisfaction with the fact that the American-Soviet summit meeting in Moscow in May 1972 and the joint decisions taken there have resulted in a substantial advance in the strengthening of peaceful relations between the USA and the USSR and have created the basis for the further

development of broad and mutually beneficial cooperation in various fields of mutual interest to the peoples of both countries and in the interests of all mankind. They noted their satisfaction with the mutual effort to implement strictly and fully the treaties and agreements concluded between the USA and the USSR, and to expand areas of cooperation.

They agreed that the process of reshaping relations between the USA and the USSR on the basis of peaceful coexistence and equal security as set forth in the Basic Principles of Relations Between the USA and the USSR signed in Moscow on May 29, 1972 is progressing in an encouraging manner. They emphasized the great importance that each Side attaches to these Basic Principles. They reaffirmed their commitment to the continued scrupulous implementation and to the enhancement of the effectiveness of each of the provisions of that document.

Both Sides noted with satisfaction that the outcome of the US-Soviet meeting in Moscow in May 1972 was welcomed by other States and by world opinion as an important contribution to strengthening peace and international security, to curbing the arms race and to developing businesslike cooperation among States with different social systems.

Both Sides viewed the return visit to the USA of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, and the talks held during the visit as an expression of their mutual determination to continue the course toward a major improvement in US-Soviet relations.

Both Sides are convinced that the discussions they have just held represent a further milestone in the constructive development of their relations.

Convinced that such a development of American-Soviet relations serves the interests of both of their peoples and mankind, it was decided to take the following major steps to give these relations maximum stability and to turn the development of friendship and cooperation between their peoples into a permanent factor for worldwide peace.

II. THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR AND THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS

Issues related to the maintenance and strengthening of international peace were a central point of the talks between President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev.

Conscious of the exceptional importance for all mankind of taking effective measures to that end, they discussed ways in which both Sides could work toward removing the danger of war, and especially nuclear war, between the USA and the USSR and between either party and other countries. Consequently, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Basic Principles of Relations of May 29, 1972, it was decided to conclude an Agreement Between the USA and the USSR on the Prevention of Nuclear War. That Agreement was signed by the President and the General Secretary on June 22, 1973. The text has been published separately.¹

¹ The text of the agreement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 822). On June 22, 1973, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the agreement by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. The news briefing is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 823).

The President and the General Secretary, in appraising this Agreement, believe that it constitutes a historical landmark in Soviet-American relations and substantially strengthens the foundations of international security as a whole. The United States and the Soviet Union state their readiness to consider additional ways of strengthening peace and removing forever the danger of war, and particularly nuclear war.

In the course of the meetings, intensive discussions were held on questions of strategic arms limitation. In this connection both Sides emphasized the fundamental importance of the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms signed between the USA and the USSR in May 1972 which, for the first time in history, place actual limits on the most modern and most formidable types of armaments.

Having exchanged views on the progress in the implementation of these agreements, both Sides reaffirmed their intention to carry them out and their readiness to move ahead jointly toward an agreement on the further limitation of strategic arms.

Both Sides noted that progress has been made in the negotiations that resumed in November 1972, and that the prospects for reaching a permanent agreement on more complete measures limiting strategic offensive armaments are favorable.

Both Sides agreed that the progress made in the limitation of strategic armaments is an exceedingly important contribution to the strengthening of US-

Soviet relations and to world peace.

On the basis of their discussions, the President and the General Secretary signed on June 21, 1973, Basic Principles of Negotiations on the Further Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms. The text has been published separately.²

The USA and the USSR attach great importance to joining with all States in the cause of strengthening peace, reducing the burden of armaments, and reaching agreements on arms limitation and disarmament measures.

Considering the important role which an effective international agreement with respect to chemical weapons would play, the two Sides agreed to continue their efforts to conclude such an agreement in cooperation with other countries.

The two Sides agree to make every effort to facilitate the work of the Committee on Disarmament which has been meeting in Geneva. They will actively participate in negotiations aimed at working out new measures to curb and end the arms race. They reaffirm that the ultimate objective is general and complete disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, under strict international control. A world disarmament conference could play a role in this process at an appropriate time.

² The text of the document is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 812). On June 21, 1973, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the document by Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. The news briefing is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 813).

III. INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS: THE REDUCTION OF TENSIONS AND STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev reviewed major questions of the current international situation. They gave special attention to the developments which have occurred since the time of the US-Soviet summit meeting in Moscow. It was noted with satisfaction that positive trends are developing in international relations toward the further relaxation of tensions and the strengthening of cooperative relations in the interests of peace. In the opinion of both Sides, the current process of improvement in the international situation creates new and favorable opportunities for reducing tensions, settling outstanding international issues, and creating a permanent structure of peace.

INDOCHINA

The two Sides expressed their deep satisfaction at the conclusion of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam, and also at the results of the International Conference on Vietnam which approved and supported that Agreement.

The two Sides are convinced that the conclusion of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam, and the subsequent signing of the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos, meet the fundamental interests and aspirations of the peoples of Vietnam and Laos and open up a possibility for establishing a lasting peace in Indochina, based on respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the countries of

that area. Both Sides emphasized that these agreements must be strictly implemented.

They further stressed the need to bring an early end to the military conflict in Cambodia in order to bring peace to the entire area of Indochina. They also reaffirmed their stand that the political futures of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia should be left to the respective peoples to determine, free from outside interference.

EUROPE

In the course of the talks both Sides noted with satisfaction that in Europe the process of relaxing tensions and developing cooperation is actively continuing and thereby contributing to international stability.

The two Sides expressed satisfaction with the further normalization of relations among European countries resulting from treaties and agreements signed in recent years, particularly between the USSR and the FRG [Federal Republic of Germany]. They also welcome the coming into force of the Quadripartite Agreement of September 3, 1971. They share the conviction that strict observance of the treaties and agreements that have been concluded will contribute to the security and well-being of all parties concerned.

They also welcome the prospect of United Nations membership this year for the FRG and the GDR [German Democratic Republic] and recall, in this connection, that the USA, USSR, UK and France have signed the Quadripartite Declaration of November 9, 1972, on this subject.

The USA and the USSR reaffirm their desire, guided by the appropriate provisions of the Joint US-USSR Communi-

que adopted in Moscow in May 1972, to continue their separate and joint contributions to strengthening peaceful relations in Europe. Both Sides affirm that ensuring a lasting peace in Europe is a paramount goal of their policies.

In this connection satisfaction was expressed with the fact that as a result of common efforts by many States, including the USA and the USSR, the preparatory work has been successfully completed for the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which will be convened on July 3, 1973. The USA and the USSR hold the view that the Conference will enhance the possibilities for strengthening European security and developing cooperation among the participating States. The USA and the USSR will conduct their policies so as to realize the goals of the Conference and bring about a new era of good relations in this part of the world.

Reflecting their continued positive attitude toward the Conference, both Sides will make efforts to bring the Conference to a successful conclusion at the earliest possible time. Both Sides proceed from the assumption that progress in the work of the Conference will produce possibilities for completing it at the highest level.

The USA and the USSR believe that the goal of strengthening stability and security in Europe would be further advanced if the relaxation of political tensions were accompanied by a reduction of military tensions in Central Europe. In this respect they attach great importance to the negotiations on the mutual reduction of forces and armaments and associated measures in Central Europe which will begin on October 30, 1973. Both Sides state their readiness to make, along with other States, their contribution to the achievement of mutually acceptable de-

isions on the substance of this problem, based on the strict observance of the principle of the undiminished security of any of the parties.

MIDDLE EAST

The parties expressed their deep concern with the situation in the Middle East and exchanged opinions regarding ways of reaching a Middle East settlement.

Each of the parties set forth its position on this problem.

Both parties agreed to continue to exert their efforts to promote the quickest possible settlement in the Middle East. This settlement should be in accordance with the interests of all states in the area, be consistent with their independence and sovereignty and should take into due account the legitimate interests of the Palestinian people.

IV. COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The President and the General Secretary thoroughly reviewed the status of and prospects for commercial and economic ties between the USA and the USSR. Both Sides noted with satisfaction the progress achieved in the past year in the normalization and development of commercial and economic relations between them.

They agreed that mutually advantageous cooperation and peaceful relations would be strengthened by the creation of a permanent foundation of economic relationships.

They recall with satisfaction the various agreements on trade and commercial relations signed in the past year. Both Sides note that American-Soviet trade has

shown a substantial increase, and that there are favorable prospects for a continued rise in the exchange of goods over the coming years.

They believe that the two countries should aim at a total of 2-3 billion dollars of trade over the next three years. The Joint US-USSR Commercial Commission continues to provide a valuable mechanism to promote the broad-scale growth of economic relations. The two Sides noted with satisfaction that contacts between American firms and their Soviet counterparts are continuing to expand.

Both sides confirmed their firm intention to proceed from their earlier understanding on measures directed at creating more favorable conditions for expanding commercial and other economic ties between the USA and the USSR.

It was noted that as a result of the Agreement Regarding Certain Maritime Matters signed in October 1972, Soviet and American commercial ships have been calling more frequently at ports of the United States and the USSR, respectively, and since late May of this year a new regular passenger line has started operating between New York and Leningrad.

In the course of the current meeting, the two Sides signed a Protocol augmenting existing civil air relations between the USA and the USSR providing for direct air services between Washington and Moscow and New York and Leningrad, increasing the frequency of flights and resolving other questions in the field of civil aviation.³

In the context of reviewing prospects for further and more permanent economic

³ The text of the protocol is printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 9, p. 831). On June 23, 1973, the White House released a fact sheet on the protocol.

cooperation, both Sides expressed themselves in favor of mutually advantageous long term projects. They discussed a number of specific projects involving the participation of American companies including the delivery of Siberian natural gas to the United States. The President indicated that the USA encourage American firms to work out concrete proposals on these projects and will give serious and sympathetic consideration to proposals that are in the interest of both Sides.

To contribute to expanded commercial, cultural and technical relations between the USA and the USSR, the two Sides signed a tax convention to avoid double taxation on income and eliminate, as much as possible, the need for citizens of one country to become involved in the tax system of the other.⁴

A Protocol was also signed on the opening by the end of October 1973 of a Trade Representation of the USSR in Washington and a Commercial Office of the United States in Moscow. In addition a Protocol was signed on questions related to establishing a US-Soviet Chamber of Commerce. These agreements will facilitate the further development of commercial and economic ties between the USA and the USSR.⁵

V. FURTHER PROGRESS IN OTHER FIELDS OF BILATERAL COOPERATION

The two Sides reviewed the areas of bilateral cooperation in such fields as envi-

⁴ The text of the convention is printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 9, p. 806).

⁵ The texts of the protocols are printed in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (vol. 9, p. 821).

ronmental protection, public health and medicine, exploration of outer space, and science and technology, established by the agreements signed in May 1972 and subsequently. They noted that those agreements are being satisfactorily carried out in practice in accordance with the programs as adopted.

In particular, a joint effort is under way to develop effective means to combat those diseases which are most widespread and dangerous for mankind: cancer, cardiovascular or infectious diseases and arthritis. The medical aspects of the environmental problems are also subjects of cooperative research.

Preparations for the joint space flight of the Apollo and Soyuz spacecraft are proceeding according to an agreed timetable. The joint flight of these spaceships for a rendezvous and docking mission, and mutual visits of American and Soviet astronauts in each other's spacecraft, are scheduled for July 1975.

Building on the foundation created in previous agreements, and recognizing the potential of both the USA and the USSR to undertake cooperative measures in current scientific and technological areas, new projects for fruitful joint efforts were identified and appropriate agreements were concluded.

PEACEFUL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY

Bearing in mind the great importance of satisfying the growing energy demands in both countries and throughout the world, and recognizing that the development of highly efficient energy sources could contribute to the solution of this problem, the President and General Sec-

etary signed an agreement to expand and strengthen cooperation in the fields of controlled nuclear fusion, fast breeder reactors, and research on the fundamental properties of matter.⁶ A Joint Committee on Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy will be established to implement this agreement, which has a duration of ten years.

AGRICULTURE

Recognizing the importance of agriculture in meeting mankind's requirement for food products and the role of science in modern agricultural production, the two Sides concluded an agreement providing for a broad exchange of scientific experience in agricultural research and development, and of information on agricultural economics.⁷ A US-USSR Joint Committee on Agricultural Cooperation will be established to oversee joint programs to be carried out under the Agreement.

WORLD OCEAN STUDIES

Considering the unique capabilities and the major interest of both nations in the field of world ocean studies, and noting the extensive experience of US-USSR oceanographic cooperation, the two Sides have agreed to broaden their cooperation

⁶ The text of the agreement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 810). On June 21, 1973, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the agreement by Dixy Lee Ray, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.

⁷ The text of the agreement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 791).

and have signed an agreement to this effect.⁸ In so doing, they are convinced that the benefits from further development of cooperation in the field of oceanography will accrue not only bilaterally but also to all peoples of the world. A US-USSR Joint Committee on Cooperation in World Ocean Studies will be established to coordinate the implementation of cooperative programs.

TRANSPORTATION

The two Sides agreed that there are opportunities for cooperation between the USA and the USSR in the solution of problems in the field of transportation. To permit expanded, mutually beneficial cooperation in this field, the two Sides concluded an agreement on this subject.⁹ The USA and the USSR further agreed that a Joint Committee on Cooperation in Transportation would be established.

CONTACTS, EXCHANGES AND COOPERATION

Recognizing the general expansion of US-USSR bilateral relations and, in particular, the growing number of exchanges in the fields of science, technology, education and culture, and in other fields of mutual interest, the two Sides agreed to broaden the scope of these activities under a new General Agreement on Contacts, Exchanges, and Cooperation, with a duration of six years.¹⁰ The two Sides

⁸ The text of the agreement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 793).

⁹ The text of the agreement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 794).

¹⁰ The text of the agreement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 796).

agreed to this in the mutual belief that it will further promote better understanding between the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union and will help to improve the general state of relations between the two countries.

Both Sides believe that the talks at the highest level, which were held in a frank and constructive spirit, were very valuable and made an important contribution to developing mutually advantageous relations between the USA and the USSR. In the view of both Sides, these talks will have a favorable impact on international relations.

They noted that the success of the discussions in the United States was facilitated by the continuing consultation and contacts as agreed in May 1972. They reaffirmed that the practice of consultation should continue. They agreed that further meetings at the highest level should be held regularly.

Having expressed his appreciation to President Nixon for the hospitality extended during the visit to the United States, General Secretary Brezhnev invited the President to visit the USSR in 1974. The invitation was accepted.

June 24, 1973

RICHARD NIXON

President of the United States of America

L. I. BREZHNEV

General Secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU

NOTE: The text of the joint communique was released at San Clemente, Calif.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the joint communique by Dr. Kissinger. The briefing is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 848).

During General Secretary Brezhnev's visit

Problems of Communism

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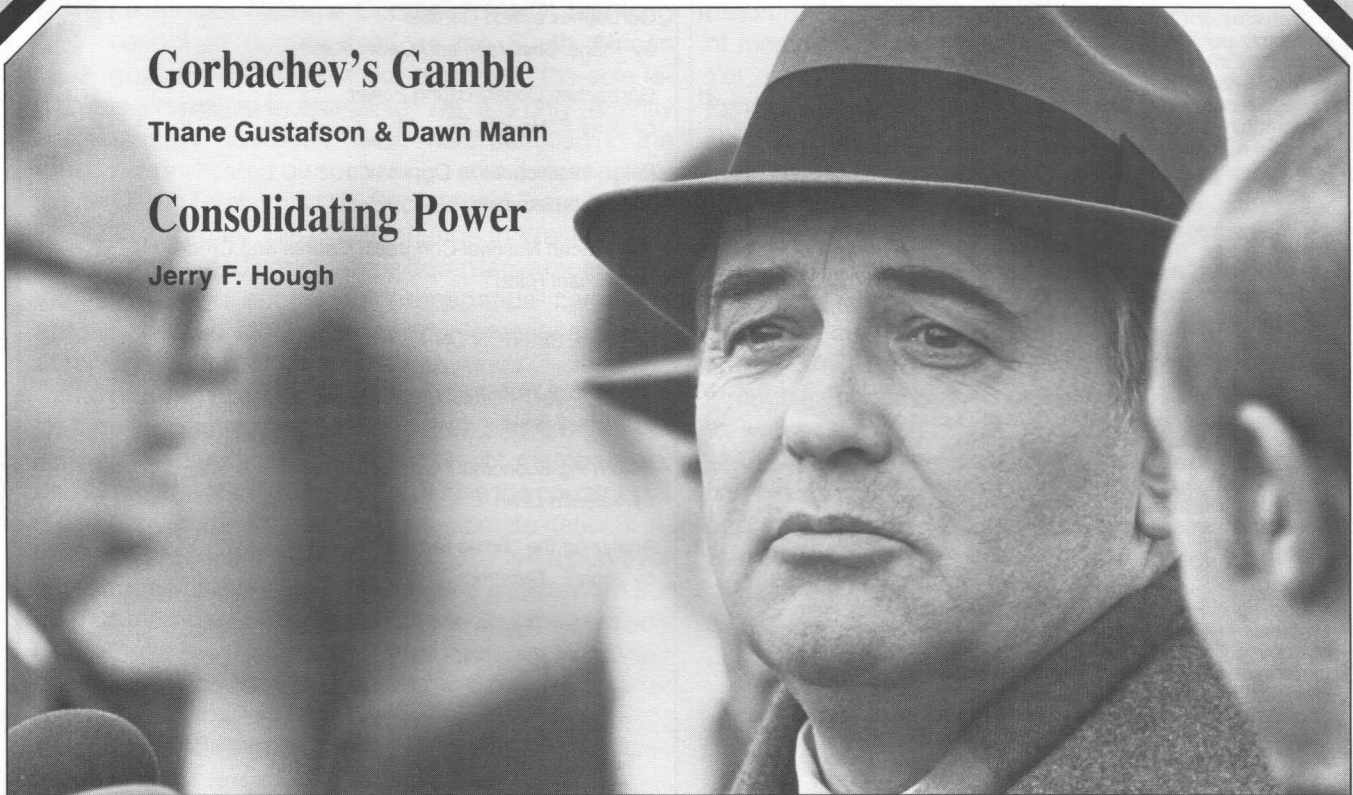
JULY-AUGUST 1987

Gorbachev's Gamble

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Cover: General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev.
Photo by Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos.

EDITOR
Wayne Hall

SENIOR EDITOR
Sophia Sluzar

ASSOCIATE EDITOR
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DESIGNER
Gary Soderstrom

PRODUCTION COORDINATOR
Sarah E. Mewborn

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT
Kim Taylor

The African National Congress: Cadres and Credo

Michael Radu

The African National Congress (ANC) has long sought to portray itself as the South African government's only major opponent, the sole legitimate alternative to apartheid. Yet, it is only recently that this claim has been taken more seriously in the West, as is indicated by such things as the meeting between Oliver Tambo and US Secretary of State George Shultz in February 1987. This change in Western perception of the ANC and its role is due in large measure to the ANC's own successful propaganda campaign abroad coupled with the renewed international preoccupation with the situation in South Africa.

The growing attention being focused on the ANC calls for a critical assessment of the nature of this organization, its infrastructure and activities, its membership, and its degree of popular support within the country. Is it a democratic spokesman for the legitimate national interests of the majority Black population? Is it a purveyor of violent revolution? Is it unwittingly a pawn of the numerous members of the South African Communist Party (SACP) who have infiltrated it? Are these even the right questions?¹ Answers are not easy to come by, in large part because the ANC has been outlawed inside South Africa since 1960 (the Communist Party has been outlawed even longer, since 1950).² At least in part as a response to this status, it has developed a highly secretive and compartmentalized structure of decision-making in its political and military branches. The latter, Umkhonto we Siswe ("Spear of the Nation" in Zulu), is largely known by the acronym "MK." The number of actual de-

cision-makers within the ANC is small, consisting mainly of members of its National Executive Council (NEC). Yet, not all NEC members are equal in importance, perform similar tasks, or (claims to the contrary notwithstanding) have identical loyalties. Some are first and foremost ANC cadres; others are cadres of the SACP specializing in front organizations, indoctrination, and propaganda. Members of both groups have allegedly been heavily involved in the conduct of military-terrorist operations.

Despite their organizational secrecy, both the ANC and the SACP have issued numerous public statements through ad hoc documents, speeches, and pamphlets, as well as through regular publications, including the ANC's *Sechaba* and the SACP's *The African Communist*.³ In addition, interviews and testimony provided by past and present members of the two organizations reveal much about the intertwined histories of the two organizations.⁴ The issue is not whether the SACP has

¹Coverage of the ANC ranges from the sympathetic treatment by the TransAfrica group or Thomas Karis (as typified in his recent "South African Liberation: the Communist Factor," *Foreign Affairs* [New York], Winter 1986/87) to the critical views of Black radicals close to the Pan Africanist Congress and of the South African government itself.

²Until 1950 (when the party formally dissolved itself in the face of an impending government ban), it was known as the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA). The party was reconstituted underground under its present name, SACP, in 1953.

³Both are printed in East Berlin and widely available in the West. Less easy to find is the South African Communist Party's *Umbesenzi*, published clandestinely inside South Africa.

⁴The most important sources are the two massive volumes resulting from the 1982 US Senate hearings on Southern Africa; see *The Role of the Soviet Union, Cuba, and East Germany in Fomenting Terrorism in Southern Africa*, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Ninety-Seventh Congress, Second Session, March 1982, Washington, DC, US Government Printing Office, 1982, Vols. 1-2 (hereafter cited as *Hearings*). These hearings include mostly eye-witness testimonies from former members of the ANC, MK, and SACP. Additional important data, unchallenged by the ANC or the SACP, also appeared in the brief pamphlet *Talking with the ANC*, published by the South African Government's Bureau for Information,

Michael Radu is a Research Associate of the Foreign Policy Research Institute (Philadelphia) and a contributing editor of *Orbis*. A specialist in African and Latin American revolutionary movements and governments, he is author of numerous articles and books and editor of *Africa in the Post-Decolonization Era* (1984).

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subverted or controls the ANC. Rather, what emerges is a picture of the ANC's own evolution over the years from a decentralized, voluntary, and loose organization, with an ethnically homogeneous Black membership, to a highly centralized, undemocratic, multiracial umbrella group, largely dominated by non-Blacks. It has changed from a semi-nationalist organization dedicated to the pursuit of civil and political rights for South Africa's Blacks, to a "vanguard" type of organization with strong Marxist-Leninist elements, operating on the Leninist principle of "democratic centralism," and pursuing anti-capitalist, "anti-imperialist" goals that are congruent with Soviet foreign policy objectives.

Origins and Evolution

The unique nature of South Africa on the African continent has shaped the peculiar characteristics of both the ANC and the SACP. The Union of South Africa was established in 1910 as a British dominion, making it the third oldest independent state on the continent, and one long associated with the West (through Commonwealth membership—until 1962—and through its participation on the Allied side in both world wars and contribution of forces to the UN peace-keeping mission in the Korean war). This plus the relatively developed nature of South Africa's politics (for all races) and economic structure help explain the fact that the ANC is by far the oldest "national liberation" movement in Sub-Saharan Africa. Long before "natives" in colonial Africa were allowed to vote, directly or otherwise, in matters affecting their lives, Blacks and Coloreds in the Cape Province enjoyed a qualified franchise. At the time of the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, one in every seven voters on the Cape's common roll was Black or Colored. In 1936, however, Blacks were removed from the common roll on the Cape and instead allowed to elect three white MP's. Blacks in the rest of the country, never on the common roll, were allowed to elect four white senators. Coloreds remained on the Cape Province's common voters' roll until 1956.

Pretoria, June 1986. Still another important source is Keith Campbell, *ANC—A Soviet Task Force?* London, Institute for the Study of Terrorism, 1986; despite its title and tone, this small publication provides a wealth of information based on original sources.

The author also conducted his own interviews with the ANC and with members of its front organizations in Zimbabwe (1985) and in South Africa (1984 and 1986), as well as with South African scholars, military personnel, and police. For obvious reasons, some of these sources did not want to be identified.

The ANC was founded as the South African Native National Congress on January 8, 1912, in Bloemfontein, at the initiative of a graduate of Columbia and Oxford universities, Pixley ka I. Seme, and other similarly well-educated Blacks (the Congress adopted its present name in 1925). It was intended as a mutual aid and political pressure group for Blacks and until at least 1928 remained a small, elitist, and conservative Christian organization devoted to promoting traditional African values. The early Congress was mostly interested in broad nation-building among all South African black peoples, although its founders, including Seme, were mostly Zulus (as we shall see, younger and more radical Xhosas largely replaced the Zulus during the 1940's).

The ANC took a generally pro-business posture and sought to elicit economic and political concessions from the government by means of petitions and peaceful demonstrations. It grew increasingly clear, however, that such tactics were not going to prevent further weakening of the Blacks' political position in the country, as demonstrated by their removal in 1936 from the common electoral roll even in the liberal Cape Province.⁵

From early on, there were deviations from the basically conservative orientation of the ANC. For example, in 1927, ANC President Josiah Gumede traveled to Moscow to participate in the 10th-anniversary observance of the Bolshevik Revolution. The delegation of which he was a member first stopped in Brussels for a meeting of the League Against Imperialism. Gumede was heavily influenced by the trip and stated upon returning: "I have seen the new world to come, where it has already begun,"⁶ a view that hardly represented the predominant outlook of the ANC at the time. For such attitudes, among other reasons, Gumede was voted out of office in 1930. He was replaced first by Seme and then, in 1940, by Alfred Xuma, a more pragmatic but still basically conservative leader. Although Gumede was forced out of the ANC, his attitudes were not necessarily atypical for members of the ANC leadership, who have, over the years, demonstrated a penchant for having differing ideological aims, for pursuing different agendas, and for being active in outside organizations.

The first overt signs of cooperation between the ANC and the Communist Party of South Africa surfaced in

⁵See Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁶Both the SACP and the ANC have recently endorsed this early statement. See *Umbesenzi*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1986, p. 19; and interview with ANC President Oliver Tambo in *Africa Report* (New Brunswick, NJ), September-October 1981, p. 21. Tambo stated: "Official contact between the ANC and the Soviet Union goes back as far as 1927. Practical experience has shown our people and the ANC that President Gumede was not wrong in his assessment of 55 years ago . . ."



Nelson Mandela (left) and Walter Sisulu photographed at Robben Island prison in 1966.

—Gamma-Liaison.

1928, when ANC Secretary General E. J. Khaile was also elected to the CPSA Central Committee.⁷ This development came perhaps not coincidentally in the wake of a 1927 Comintern-imposed decision to shift CPSA strategy toward seeking a "Black Republic." The Comintern decision was putatively taken by Nikolay Bukharin after his meeting with CPSA Central Committee Member James La Guma, a South African Colored and one of the first non-whites to become prominent in the CPSA. La Guma had traveled to Moscow as part of the same delegation that included Gumede. In response to

the Comintern decision, the CPSA also expanded its Black membership. From having few, if any non-white members in 1924, the CPSA by 1928 dutifully claimed 1,600 Blacks among its total membership of 1,750, although leadership still largely remained in white hands.⁸

The somewhat halting cooperation between the ANC and the SACP took on new life after 1941. With Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, the CPSA became a fervent supporter of an all-out anti-Nazi war effort (having previously urged non-whites not to enlist in what it had termed an "inter-imperialist" war).⁹ In response, the Liberal government of Jan Christiaan Smuts lifted most of the previous restrictions on the CPSA, allowing it to organize and mobilize under the guise of anti-fascism. It became increasingly clear, particularly

⁷Henry R. Pike, *A History of Communism in South Africa*, Pretoria, Sigma Press for Christian Mission International of South Africa, p. 239. This overlapping worked both ways, with CPSA leaders like J. B. Marks becoming ANC general secretary in 1936.

It is essential to underline the clear distinction between the presidency and secretary generalship of the ANC, two offices which seem to have been occupied by persons of different party and/or ideological commitments since Khaile. Most of the time, the presidency has been occupied by persons (always Black) without known association with the SACP; the secretariat, on the other hand, has often been led by SACP members or SACP sympathizers.

⁸Pike, op. cit., p. 168; the same figures are given in *African Communist*, No. 65, 2nd Quarter 1975, reproduced in *Hearings*, Vol. 1, p. 409.

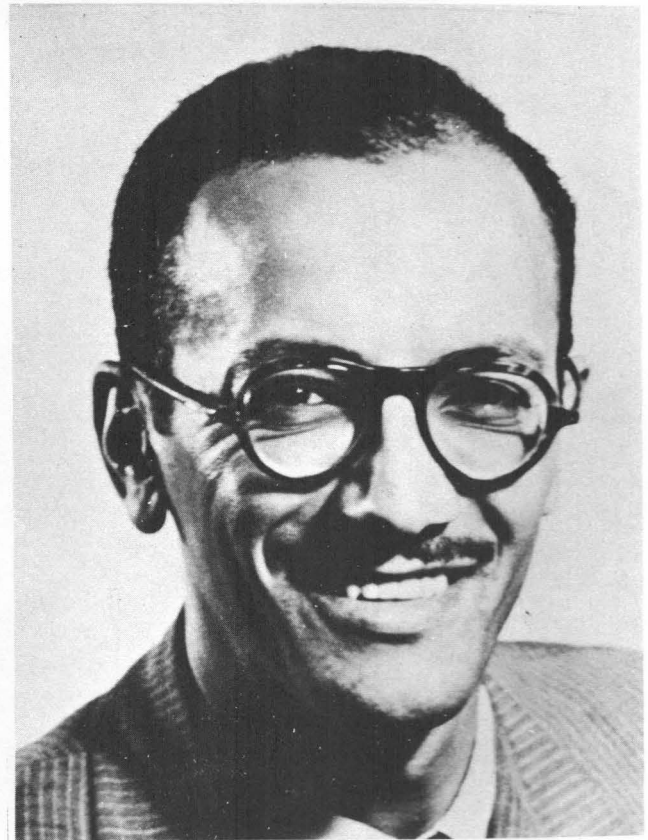
⁹See Jordan K. Ngubane, *An African Explains Apartheid*, New York, Praeger, 1963, p. 162. Two of the most vocal antiwar activists before 1941 had been Moses Kotane, a Black, and Yussuf Dadoo, an Indian. On Dadoo's role, see Richard Gibson, *African Liberation Movements*, New York and London, Oxford University Press, 1972, p. 42.

after 1943, that the CPSA was taking advantage of the war coalition to pursue its own goals, including seeking and getting election or appointment to politically sensitive positions. This fact only strengthened Afrikaner opposition to the Liberal Smuts government, and as the latter progressively lost ground to all-out Afrikaner nationalists and racialists, the CPSA's clear advantage over the ANC in funding, mobilization, organization, and propaganda gave it increasing influence within the ANC, which was headed at the time by the relatively ineffective Xuma.

At the same time, the ANC began to show signs of intense internal ideological struggle. In 1944, under the leadership of a dynamic activist, Anton Lembede, a group of very young Black professionals discontented with the ineffectiveness of the traditional ANC established the ANC Youth League (ANCYL), aimed at promoting African interests without cooperating with the "system." Among the most prominent members of the group were Walter Sisulu, Jordan Ngubane, Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Peter Tsele, and Duma Nokwe. Their original goal was to find an "African" ideology unspoiled by either pro-Soviet elements or the conservatism of the ANC old-timers.¹⁰ From the start, however, the ANCYL project ran into serious problems. Lembede and his natural heir, Peter Mda, both died early (in 1947 and 1948), and the ANCYL was soon riven by factionalism.¹¹

Nevertheless, the ANCYL scored an initial success in 1949, when Xuma was voted out of office and replaced by the more liberal (or pliable) Dr. James Moroka as ANC president, and ANCYL's Walter Sisulu defeated CPSA figure Daniel Tloome in a close contest for ANC secretary general. However, ANCYL's victory was limited by the fact that at the same time, veteran CPSA leader Moses Kotane, by then already a graduate of the Lenin School in Moscow (like J. B. Marks before him), and Tloome were elected to the ANC's National Executive Committee.

By the late 1940's, strong leftist, i.e., pro-communist, credentials were clearly not an impediment to attaining office in the ANC, at least below the level of the presidency. This was demonstrated by the narrowness of Sisulu's victory over Tloome. Not only did a known CPSA leader almost make it to the top of the ANC, but Sisulu himself soon demonstrated a growing dependence upon the communists. This leftist tendency has grown with time. According to 1982 testimony of Bartholomew Hlapane, a one-time member of the SACP Central Com-



Reginald September, a member of the South African Communist Party, active in the affairs of the Colored People's Congress and a member of the politico-military committee of the African National Congress.

—Camera Press.

mittee, there were seven SACP members on the ANC "executive" (i.e., National Executive Committee). According to Hlapane, "all policy-making in the ANC was first discussed by the [SACP] Central Committee."¹²

"Entryism" at Work

In the postwar period, several sharp setbacks drove the CPSA to seek closer involvement in the ANC. The CPSA-sponsored miners' strike of 1946 was unsuccessful, and by June 1950, a new Nationalist government passed the Suppression of Communism Act, banning the party. The CPSA tried unsuccessfully to fend off the worst effects of the Act by declaring the party "dismantled" four days prior to the law's adoption.¹³ The

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 242.

¹³This was a futile attempt to allow party members and fellow travelers to maintain their legal positions, including membership in the Parliament and in local or provincial government bodies.

¹⁰Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–45.

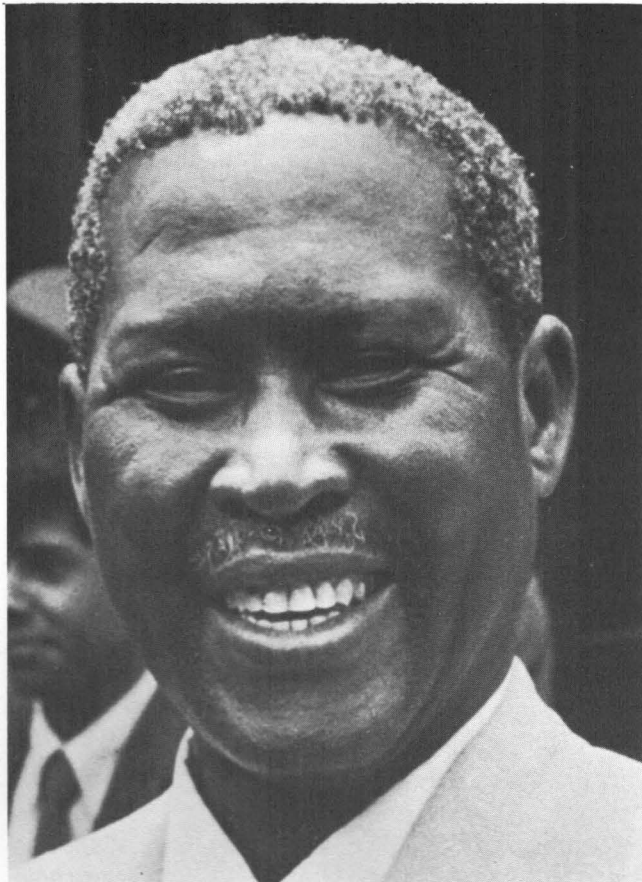
¹¹Pike, *op. cit.*, pp. 281–82.

banning of the CPSA had the consequence, certainly unintended by the government, of driving party cadres into the ranks of still-legal organizations, first and foremost the ANC. What until 1950 had been a mildly successful effort by the party to influence the ANC, became a classic case of "entryism"—the start of the communist party's efforts to infiltrate and dominate all anti-apartheid groups, but principally the ANC.

With the weak Dr. Moroka as its leader, the ANC was influenced by the ANCYL, particularly its left-wing members (Mandela, Sisulu, and Nokwe), to engage in a massive campaign of civil disobedience—the Defiance Campaign—to protest the first apartheid laws, promulgated in 1951. This campaign was organized by a Joint Planning Committee, composed of Moroka, Marks, Sisulu, Yusuf Dadoo, and Y. A. Cachalia, of whom Cachalia, Dadoo, and Marks had been members of the "disbanded"-banned CPSA.¹⁴ The committee met in Johannesburg, seat of the Transvaal ANC branch, the most powerful in the movement; at the time ex-Comintern agent Marks was president of the Transvaal ANC branch, and "ex"-CPSA member David Bopape was Transvaal ANC secretary general.¹⁵ In a highly significant move, the Transvaal ANCYL branch conceded equal representation in the leadership of the Defiance Campaign to the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), a leftist-oriented group founded in the early 1900's with the merger of three Indian groups (the oldest being the Natal Indian Congress, founded by Gandhi in 1884) and led in the 1950's by Dadoo.¹⁶

Although the campaign was planned as one of peaceful demonstrations of civil disobedience, there were enough isolated cases of violence, including the mob killing of a nun, to provide the government with justification for the extensive use of force and mass arrests (among those arrested were Marks, Kotane, Dadoo, and Tloome). By the end of 1952, the campaign was called off, not, however, before providing the ANC a greatly expanded public following.¹⁷

In this period, the illegal communist party worked to set up or manipulate other "legal" front organizations in order to carry on its activities. In September 1953, the Colored People's Organization was established; it was later renamed the Colored People's Congress (CPC). The CPC soon came under the control of the SACP through leaders like Reginald September. In October of the same year, the Congress of Democrats (COD) was established, led by Bram Fischer (who would later serve



Albert Luthuli, elected president of the African National Congress in the 1952.

—Camera Press.

as chairman of the SACP), Joe and Ruth Slovo, and Leonel Bernstein. Finally, in March 1955, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) was founded; it soon affiliated with the Moscow-dominated World Conference of Trade Unions, and was controlled from its inception by SACP cadres like Stephen Dhlamini, Vuyisile Mini (hanged for MK terrorism in 1964), and Leon and Norman Levy. SACTU was led from the outset by Black Communists Moses Mabhida (later a SACP president) and Dhlamini, but unlike the other front organizations, it openly claimed multiracial membership. That at least SAIC, CPC, and SACTU were party fronts was implicitly admitted by *The African Communist* years later, when it quoted from a statement by the SACP Central Committee that, following the founding of the MK in December 1961, "it was decided that the SAIC, CPC and SACTU should not do anything to jeopardize their legality by an open commitment to armed struggle."¹⁸

¹⁶Ngubane, op. cit., p. 163.

¹⁷At the start of the campaign, Moroka called for 10,000 volunteers but only got some 8,500. By the end, the ANC membership had risen to 100,000. See Mary Benson, *The Struggle for a Birthright*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1966, p. 160.

¹⁸"The Enemy Hidden under the Same Colour," Statement of the CC of the SACP, in *African Communist*, No. 65, 2nd quarter 1975, loc. cit. (emphasis in original text).

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The failure of the Defiance Campaign to change the situation of Blacks in South Africa pushed some former ANCYL leaders further left. In 1953, with financial support from COD, a delegation including Sisulu and Nokwe visited Eastern Europe and the USSR. That visit, and the clear dependence of the ANC radicals upon the COD and "former" Communists in their own ranks for financial and organizational support, signaled the beginning of the end of the ANC's already shaky organizational independence.

Other events, too, helped to destroy the ANC's original identity and drive genuine "Africanists" from its ranks. The foremost of these factors was, ironically, the 1952 election of Chief Albert Luthuli as ANC president. A true pacifist, Luthuli was the closest any ANC leader has ever been to a Martin Luther King. Through sheer charisma, Luthuli might conceivably have maintained some balance between his own pacifism and the more aggressive tactics of a Sisulu or Mandela, and between the competing Communist and Africanist undercurrents in the ANC. Unfortunately, however, he was banned to rural Natal almost from the start by the Nationalist government. Communists and radicals in the ANC ranks refused to move the organization's headquarters from Johannesburg (where they controlled the Transvaal branch) to Durban, only 48 miles away from Luthuli's place of banishment. The result was that Luthuli was never more than a figurehead for the ANC, poorly or never informed of decisions taken in his name and out of touch with the developments within the organization.¹⁹

Taking maximum advantage of the precedent established by the ANCYL in 1952 of allowing equal participation of non-ANC groups in the planning of the Defiance Campaign, the CPSA remnants successfully pushed for the establishment in 1955 of the Congress Alliance, which included the ANC (by then effectively led by Walter Sisulu, due to Luthuli's banning), SAIC, COD, CPC, and SACTU. The formation of the Alliance meant the combination of an already heavily Communist-infiltrated organization (the ANC) with four Communist fronts, all having equal standing in the coordinating committees of the umbrella organization.²⁰

The same organizational principle governed membership on the committee formed to draft a "Freedom Charter" for the Alliance, a document that till this day remains the fundamental statement of the ANC outlook. Drafting of the Charter was undertaken very "discreetly," (even though all Alliance member organizations were legal at the time), and Luthuli himself did not even

see the text until after it was publicly adopted.²¹ A majority of the drafting committee was non-Black or non-ANC; the most prominent of the drafters were Bernstein and Joe Slovo of the COD, Dadoo, Tloome, and Dhlamini—people for whom strictly African affairs were less vital than were ideological and internationalist considerations. This may explain the fact noted by observers on both the left and right that the Freedom Charter had a strong "European" flavor. Indeed, the language was a departure from traditional ANC concerns with political representation and economic opportunity for Blacks, but was similar to communist documents elsewhere. The document did not even mention the principles of "one man, one vote," Pan Africanism, or African decolonization. Such concerns were only to become part of the standard ANC language a few years later.²²

The tactics evident in the drafting of the Charter were also observable in the procedures utilized to achieve adoption of the Charter at a "Congress of the People," held at Kliptown, near Johannesburg, June 25-26, 1955. Luthuli, the ANC president, was neither present, nor consulted; some 1,000 of the 3,000 participants were non-Black,²³ and one may assume that the bulk of the Blacks who attended were from SACTU. There was no debate, and the Charter was "approved" by acclamation. Moreover, when in April 1956, the document was submitted for ratification by the ANC as an official document, the Charter's supporters ensured its ratification by packing the meeting hall with non-ANC members, who were allowed to vote. As a participant described matters:

*The check on members was only done during the Sunday afternoon session. The Charter had been adopted on Saturday evening. Everybody present in the hall participated in the voting. It was impossible to distinguish members from non-members of the African National Congress.*²⁴

²¹See Campbell, op. cit., p. 47. This is in line with the general treatment of Luthuli by his ANC "subordinates"—Moses Kotane actually only informed Luthuli at the last moment that the latter was also supposed to go to Bandung on the ANC delegation to the Afro-Asian Conference of April 1955. Ngubane, op. cit., p. 164. The banning of Luthuli was applied and lifted sporadically throughout the last 15 years of his life.

²²For a text of the Freedom Charter, see Aquino de Braganca and Immanuel Wallerstein, Eds., *The African Liberation Reader*, London, Zed Press, 1982, Vol. 2, pp. 81-84.

²³Gibson, op. cit., p. 53. According to this account, Dr. Wilson Conco, Luthuli's deputy in the ANC, presided over the Kliptown meeting where the ANC ratified the Charter, but afterwards he admitted that he had first seen the document only at the meeting; in addition, Luthuli never knew who drafted it.

²⁴Peter Tsele, in *Bantu World*, Apr. 28, 1956, cited in Edward Feit, *South Africa, the Dynamics of the African National Congress*, London, Oxford University Press, 1962, p. 17.

¹⁹Ngubane, op. cit., pp. 583-85; and Campbell, op. cit., p. 47.

²⁰See Gibson, op. cit., p. 51; and Campbell, op. cit., p. 46.



African National Congress (ANC) leader Oliver Tambo (left) and South African Communist Party leader and long-time ANC activist Joe Slovo pictured on October 29, 1986, in Maputo at the funeral of Mozambican President Samora Machel.

—Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos.

With the formation of the Congress Alliance and the tactics used for the drafting, adoption, and ratification of the Freedom Charter, the ANC permanently lost its political innocence. It in effect adopted the ideas and tactics of its members from the former CPSA. This process, which was consummated in the period 1953-56 and clearly—at least in retrospect—was part of a carefully planned strategy on the part of the CPSA remnants, alienated many of the young Black nationalists in the ANC ranks, most of whom left in 1959 to found the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

The banning of the ANC itself in 1960 only helped to consolidate the transformation of the organization. While retaining its venerable name, the ANC had for all practical purposes become, and remains to this day, a Leninist organization in its internal structure, a Marxist one in its political goals, and an ally of the USSR in its geopolitical aims. Let us now examine each of these attributes in more current detail.

The Structure of the ANC

The ANC today comprises three components: (1) a sophisticated system of successive concentric layers of legal fronts and/or sympathetic organizations and a separate, independent and highly compartmentalized, if small, MK infrastructure inside South Africa; (2) a tightly-knit external organization, based in Lusaka, Zambia, which reflects in its composition the overlapping of the SACP and the Congress Alliance of the mid-1950's; and (3) the MK, the overwhelming majority of which is based in Angolan camps, with small numbers of operatives within South Africa. Although the putative apex of all these elements is the National Conference, in fact, the apex is the National Executive Committee with its 30 members, and, above it, the Revolutionary Council (since its 1983 "disbandment" known as the politico-

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military committee).²⁵ The NEC and Revolutionary constitute a largely self-perpetuating group within the ANC with exclusive decision-making power.

The National Conference has been convened only three times since the banning of the ANC in 1960—at Lobatse, Botswana, in 1962; at Morogoro, Tanzania, in 1969; and at Kabwe, Zambia, in 1985. An SACP account of the Morogoro gathering sheds particularly clear light on the authoritarian nature of ANC decision-making. At that conference, the non-African members admitted to the ANC at the time were appointed by the ANC executive and were "neither singly nor collectively consulted on the composition of the new executive." Indeed, the NEC had previously mandated acting President-General Tambo, "assisted" by SACP stalwarts Kotane and Marks, to reconstitute the executive (selections that were ratified pro forma by the conference).²⁶

By the time of the Kabwe conference, rank-and-file dissatisfaction with the secretive and "democratic centralist" authoritarian nature of ANC decision-making forced some modest concessions. It was decided that national conferences should be held at least once every five years.²⁷ In addition, a slightly more "democratic" face was shown by the naming of a list of 40 candidates to fill the 30 slots on an expanded NEC. Still, all candidates were hand-picked by the NEC, and the voting procedure was equally telling: delegates voted by blocs rather than individually. These blocs included groups that had been part of the Congress Alliance (SAIC, SACTU, CPC, SACP, COD); the MK; the ANCYL; the Angola-based party school (under MK leadership); the Angola-based training camps (also under the MK); the Lusaka headquarters officials; the women's league; and representatives of the South African domestic front—presumably the United Democratic Front (see below).²⁸ The built-in advantage for SACP-controlled groups is evident.

The NEC, the Revolutionary Council (or successor politico-military commission), and the command-and-control hierarchy of the MK all constitute the decision-

making structure of the ANC External Mission, headquartered in Lusaka. The leaders in Lusaka consist of persons who have lived outside South Africa since at least 1977, many of them since the early 1960's. Actual decisions are taken by a restricted, largely self-perpetuating group within the NEC, which includes two types of leaders: chiefs of major departments and the largely autonomous MK leadership.

The NEC has a number of subordinate departments, which vary in importance according to their role as well as to their leader's overall standing within the ANC leadership. Johnny Makhatini, officially the head of the International Department, is probably less influential than Francis Meli, the editor of *Sechaba*, at least in part because the former is a Zulu within an organization whose Black leaders are now overwhelmingly Xhosa.²⁹ The head of the Information and Propaganda Department, Thabo Mbeki, some of whose duties overlap with those of Makhatini's, is far more influential—both because of the natural importance of his task for an exile organization and because of his personal charisma and the appeal of his name (his father, an old SACP hand, has shared the same prisons with Nelson Mandela since the early 1960's). The heads of the Administration (Simon Makana), Education (Henry Makgothi), Research (Dr. Pallo Jordan), Youth (Joe Nhlanhla), and Women (Gertrude Shope) departments enjoy various degrees of influence largely due to their personal ties with top leaders like Tambo, Nzo, Modise, and Maharaj, rather than as a result of their function. A very important (and misleadingly labelled) "department" is that of Internal Reconstruction and Development, led by Maharaj. This department is in fact the internal intelligence and counter-intelligence body of the ANC, tasked with preventing infiltration and enforcing internal discipline and control over the rank and file. Equally important, Maharaj is also responsible for control over and coordination with legal ANC fronts inside South Africa, such as the United Democratic Front (see below).³⁰

Although the Congress Alliance rubric disappeared in the 1960's,³¹ the ANC remains an umbrella organization under which the Alliance's former "components" are still quite influential. The ANCYL is a department,

²⁵Alfred Nzo has characterized the Revolutionary Council as "the helm of the politico-military wing of our movement"; not coincidentally, Dadoo (whose nickname among friends was Mota) was vice-chairman of that body from the start until his death in 1983. See Alfred Nzo, "Mota Our Example," speech on the occasion of Dadoo's 70th birthday, in *Sechaba*, November 1979, p. 17.

The Revolutionary Council was "dismantled" as a show of democratization, but the decision was taken without the formality of a National Conference, which had not been held for 14 years.

²⁶"The Enemy Hidden under the Same Colour," p. 30.

²⁷Tom Lodge, "The African National Congress: Kabwe and After," *The South African Institute of International Affairs, International Affairs Bulletin* (Braamfontain), No. 2, 1986, p. 8.

²⁸*Africa Confidential* (London), Dec. 10, 1986, p. 2.

²⁹Young and educated Xhosas have largely replaced the older, often Zulu leaders of the ANC. Rapid industrialization since the 1950's brought far larger numbers of Xhosas than Zulus to the urban areas, which are the major areas of support for the ANC. The development and growth of Inkatha during the 1970's provided most Zulus with an alternative to the ANC and further reduced the role of Zulus in it.

³⁰On the ANC departments and leaders, see, e.g., "South Africa: The ANC," in *Africa Confidential*, Dec. 10, 1986, pp. 1-4; and *Talking with the ANC*.

³¹The Congress became practically defunct when its major component, the ANC, was banned in 1960.

and leaders of the CPC, SAIC, SACP, and SACTU remain prominent under various guises, particularly within the MK. September is in charge of internal discipline and counter-intelligence of the MK, Slovo of the SACP was (until 1987) MK chief of staff and responsible for its urban operations, SACTU's John Nkadimeng and Dhlamini maintain links with the legal trade unions inside South Africa, and the CPC's James Stuart appears to be the MK's ideological chief. Joe Modise, a former colleague of Mandela in the ANCYL, is commander of the MK and in direct charge of its rural operations, while Chris Hani, a "veteran" of the 1976 Soweto riots, is the political commissar. Hani, Modise, Slovo, Maharaj (and possibly Stuart), as well as Tambo, Nzo, and possibly a few others form the politico-military commission linking the ANC and the MK under the strictly nominal chairmanship of Tambo.³²

ANC Activities Abroad

The vital activities of the ANC take place mostly outside of South Africa. They include propaganda/diplomacy, fundraising, and military and cadres training. The most prominent individual player in these activities is ANC President Oliver Tambo, a tireless world traveler. Tambo works both to isolate the Pretoria government in world opinion and to delegitimize the ANC's anti-apartheid rivals within South Africa, such as Chief Mangosuthu Gatcha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement among the Zulus, Bishop Isaac Mokoena's United Christian Conciliation Party, liberal white opposition groups, and independent Indian and Colored organizations. The ANC attitude toward the Pan African Congress is rather ambiguous. From time to time, some ANC leaders attack the PAC for its racist outlook, but as a rule, the ANC does not even mention its rival; on occasion—outside of South Africa—the ANC offers the PAC cooperation and fair competition for the allegiance of the people of South Africa. Inside the country, however, the competition between the fronts and their sympathizers is fierce, public, and occasionally violent.

The main centers of the ANC's propaganda/diplomatic efforts are London, New York, Moscow, East Berlin, Lusaka, and New Delhi. The oldest and most active of these is the London mission, set up following the banning of the CPSA in 1950 and greatly strengthened after the outlawing of the ANC itself in April 1960. Both Se-

³²See fn. 30 supra. That the (Black) Tambo is not altogether master of his own house was suggested by Modise's call for anti-white attacks at the very time that Tambo was in the United States. See *The Sunday Mail* (Harare), June 22, 1986.



Tambo with Soviet Communist Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow on November 4, 1986.

—TASS from Sovfoto.

chaba and *The African Communist* were initially published there (although they are now printed in East Berlin), and the London office has also been an important conduit for funds from Western sympathizers. Members of this office have become members of the NEC—most notably former office chiefs Aziz Pahad and Reginald September. It is interesting to note that from the outset, the majority of the staff has been non-Black.³³

The ANC offices in New Delhi have usually been led by a member of SAIC, and have traditionally served as a link with the Non-Aligned Movement. Most of the ANC activities in the United States are undertaken at the United Nations or at least under the nominal leadership of the organization's mission there, formally led by Johnny Makhathini's office. ANC leaders and spokesmen have been free to travel in the US and even to use US platforms to advocate the murder of political rivals back in South Africa.³⁴

³³This reflects the overwhelming preponderance of non-Blacks among former South Africans living in the United Kingdom. Moreover, the SACP has long had intimate ties with the British and the Irish communist parties. E.g., Francis X. Clines, in "Communists Claim Comradeship with Rebels," *The New York Times*, Aug. 1, 1986, mentions the joint participation of the SACP's Slovo; Gordon McLennan, General Secretary of the Communist Party Great Britain; and James Stewart, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland at the SACP's 65th anniversary.

Among the essential players in establishment of the London office of the ANC were Maharaj, himself a former member and leader of the British party, and September.

³⁴Appearing on a California campus on October 10, 1985, ANC spokesman Alosi Moloj, speaking about "collaborators" with the movement's enemies, stated: "You have to eliminate one to save hundreds . . ." At the same gathering ANC spokesman Tim Ngubane stated: "We want to make the death of a collaborator so grotesque that people will never think of it [i.e., being one]." See Campbell, op. cit., p. 35.

The ANC and its auxiliary organizations maintain open ties with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and with its major party or front organizations—*The World Marxist Review*, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Peace Congress, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, the International Union of Students, the International Organization of Journalists, and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers. Most members of the NEC are also members of at least one of these Soviet international front organizations.

Links with the Soviet bloc ensure ANC funding, military supplies, training, and world-wide propaganda resources. The importance of these ANC-Soviet ties was highlighted recently by Tambo when he stated that the Soviet-bloc countries:

*have shown themselves to be allies we can always rely upon, a secure rear base without which our struggle would be even more difficult and protracted As a movement, we need to . . . protect our friendship and cooperation with the socialist community of nations very jealously.*³⁵

Practical cooperation between countries of the Soviet bloc and the ANC started in the mid-1950's and took on a new character just prior to the formation of Umkhonto we Siswe in December 1961. Already in the early 1960's, MK cadres were undergoing training under Cuban supervision in Algeria and later in Tanzania. A significant portion of the NEC received military training in the Soviet Union.³⁶ Weapons deployed by or captured from the MK in South Africa are uniformly Soviet-made—from grenades, to limpet mines, to rifles. They come via Angola, Mozambique, and Zambia, while all major training camps for ordinary MK cadres are located in Angola.³⁷

The enormous costs of the massive ANC propaganda campaign throughout the world, although covered by considerable funds from sources in Scandinavia and elsewhere in the West are presumably also covered by substantial Soviet funds flowing to the ANC through its ties with international communist fronts. These fronts promote the ANC's cause in their slogans and campaigns.

³⁵Oliver Tambo, "Storm over South Africa," *World Marxist Review* (Toronto), January 1986, p. 87, emphasis added.

³⁶Campbell, op. cit., p. 49. That author cites Stuart, Cassius Make, Mzwandise Piliiso, Hani, Maharaj, and Francis Meli as those thus trained. It is difficult to imagine that ex-MK Chief of Staff Slovo also had not been so trained. Odessa and Perebelnaya are most frequently reported as training locations.

³⁷See eyewitness testimonies of Delphine Kave, Jeffrey Bosigo, and Ephraim Mfalapitsa, in *Hearings*, Vol. 1, pp. 350-87, 454-529.

Domestic Activities

Although the ANC is still infinitely more effective abroad than in South Africa, it has found somewhat more room for its internal activities during recent years, particularly as a result of changes in the political atmosphere and relaxation of apartheid legislation. This favorable setting, however, disappeared with the more rigid government attitudes that brought the June 12, 1986, declaration of a state of emergency. The ANC activity now consists of recruitment for and the conduct of terrorist operations by the MK, and various political operations through a variety of legal fronts.

MK activities. The Umkhonto we Siswe organization, despite being officially active for almost three decades, is still ineffective and numerically small. Its two operational branches, rural and urban, are both deeply infiltrated by the South African police and intelligence (as, apparently, is the ANC political structure abroad). This was most recently demonstrated on July 9, 1987, when NEC member Cassius Make was tracked down and killed in Swaziland, apparently by South African agents, as a result of information provided by a middle-level ANC cadre who was actually a police agent.³⁸

According to South African police sources, the MK is structured into three separate functional branches: suppliers of materiel, who infiltrate the country and establish ammunition, weapons, and explosives caches; middlemen, who supervise the transfer of supplies to the actual operatives; and the operatives, who tend to concentrate in urban areas. The first group is clearly the most effective, as demonstrated by the capture by the authorities of large caches, some in the immediate vicinity of Johannesburg. One such cache, including 880 pounds of explosives, was captured in that area in the spring of 1986.³⁹ The operations section of the MK is by far the weakest, as has been demonstrated by the high frequency of police penetration of the section, police captures of members, self-inflicted casualties, and generally inept selection of targets.

Almost without exception, MK weapons are of Soviet-bloc origin. The consistent use of Soviet-made limpet mines for urban terrorist bombings is identical to practices of the Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia, pointing toward identical sources of supplies, places of training, and mentality.

³⁸Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: Africa (Sub-Saharan)* (Washington, DC—hereafter *FBIS-AFR*), July 7, 1987, p. D/3; *ibid.*, July 21, 1987, p. D/1.

³⁹*The Wall Street Journal* (New York), May 21, 1986.

The majority of rank-and-file MK cadres are young Blacks from the townships around the Johannesburg-Pretoria-Vereeniging "Vaal Triangle," Port Elisabeth, and Capetown. Unemployed and unskilled, these youths are often lured by promises of education abroad into leaving South Africa, most often via Botswana. In most instances, they are sent to training camps in Tanzania and, particularly, Angola; the largest ANC camp is located at Viana, Angola. The total MK membership is difficult to assess—figures range from a high of 8,000-10,000 cadres abroad and 1,000 inside South Africa,⁴⁰ to this author's more conservative estimate of less than half that number, with no more than 300-400 cadres inside the country.⁴¹

There is little evidence that the dramatic increase in violence in the townships beginning in 1984, which brought on the imposition of a state of emergency in June 1986, was initiated by the MK and even less that it was led by it; on the contrary, all indications are that "necklacing" and burning of houses, although encouraged and condoned by the ANC, its internal fronts and fellow travelers, and the MK, were largely the result of spontaneous, uncoordinated rage by roving gangs of youths—the "comrades." On the other hand, the ANC and MK have not been averse to boasting of the leading role of radicals within South Africa, especially in the townships. The MK has engaged in a variety of actions including bombings and executions of political foes, but in the process has suffered increasing casualties. It has not yet posed a significant threat to the government.⁴²

Fronts and infiltration. The most important successes of the ANC within South Africa have come through the operation of legal fronts and infiltration of other existing legal institutions. In fact, the renewed ability of the ANC in the mid-1980's to use legal fronts within South Africa may be the most important development in the history of the organization since the founding of the MK in 1961.

The key legal front organization for the ANC has been the United Democratic Front (UDF), established in Johannesburg on January 1983. It is formally co-chaired by Albertina Sisulu (Walter's wife), and "former" ANC leader Archie Gumede. Among the other members of the UDF Executive Committee are Publicity Secretary "Terror" Lekota, National Treasurer Azhar Cachalia, and General Secretary Popo Molefe. The organization



Azhar Cachalia (left) and Albertina Sisulu, leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF), hold a press conference on October 9, 1986, in Johannesburg announcing plans to fight in the courts a government order blocking access of the UDF to foreign funds.

—Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos.

claims to be independent of the outlawed ANC,⁴³ a claim that the South African government did not explicitly contest until recently (see below).

The impetus for the formation of the UDF was opposition to President P. W. Botha's new Constitution, which established a tricameral parliament with segregated houses for whites, Indians, and Coloreds—and nothing for Blacks. The fact that the constitutional changes also resulted in a significant lessening of government restrictions on Black organizations, a result of years of reforms and domestic relaxation of political tensions, played a significant role in allowing the UDF to exist and expand.

The UDF claims to represent a loose unity of some 700-800 individual groups. Originally, many of these groups were formed to press local demands, such as improvement in education and housing, but gradually

⁴⁰*Africa Confidential*, Dec. 10, 1986, p. 1.

⁴¹An assessment based upon listings of casualties, numbers of incidents, and weapons captured, and well as information conveyed to the author in private.

⁴²For a summary and evaluation of MK actions in recent years, see Steven Mufson, "The War for South Africa," *The Washington Post*, Dec. 14, 1986, pp. H/1-2.

⁴³It is impossible to verify the claim of Gumede and other UDF leaders that they have left the ANC, particularly since nothing in their statements or attitudes indicates any ideological change on their part.

Oliver Tambo has referred to the UDF in glowing terms: "... the ANC was pleased, to say the least, when the United Democratic Front was formed in South Africa. The UDF, that outstanding example of the political maturity of our people, is a product of the years that our country's forces of progress have spent . . ." See "Storm over Africa," loc. cit., p. 88.



A banner of the United Democratic Front, declaring "People Power" is seen at a February 19, 1986, demonstration in Attidgeville on the occasion of the funeral of a victim of an anti-government riot in that Black township.

—Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos.

the UDF came to unite these groups in opposition to apartheid.⁴⁴ Many of the groups have overlapping membership; some have only a handful of supporters. Among the UDF's most prominent supporters are some of the religious leaders of South Africa, including Anglican bishop Desmond Tutu (Black); Allan Boesak (Colored), president of the World Alliance of Reform Churches and one of the initiators of the UDF; and Afrikaner clergyman Beyers Naude.

Domestic financial support is quite weak, as was revealed after the government's October 1986 decision to declare the UDF an "affected organization"—i.e., to forbid it to receive funds from abroad. This was a severe blow, for as Cachalia himself admitted, over half of the UDF funds came from abroad, mostly from ANC supporters in Scandinavia, Western Europe, and the United States.⁴⁵ In recent months, the UDF has been further

weakened by the detention and police interrogation of a large portion of its leadership.⁴⁶

The UDF openly supports the Freedom Charter and campaigns for the legalization of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela.⁴⁷ UDF members have been implicated in the "necklacing" of supporters of anti-

⁴⁶Lekota and Molefe have both been arrested and stand accused of treason; Cachalia is now the acting UDF leader, together with Albertina Sisulu. The replacements for Molefe and Lekota—Mohammed Valli and Murphy Morobe respectively—were themselves arrested in July, prompting Cachalia to admit that "This is a very severe blow The rest of the officials of the [United Democratic] Front are either in detention or hiding to evade detention." See *FBIS-AFR*, July 23, 1987, p. D/3.

⁴⁷Zwelakhe Sisulu, Walter Sisulu's son, a committed Marxist trained as a journalist in the United States and an active UDF leader acknowledges that "rightly or wrongly, the UDF is seen as being in alliance with the ANC," and recognizes that "identification" with the Freedom Charter and Nelson Mandela is identification with the ANC. See interview in *Leadership* (Pretoria), No. 4, 1986, p. 88. The presence of Archie Gumede at the March 1986 funeral of Moses Mabhida (late president of the SACP and a long-standing member of the ANC's National Executive Committee) in Maputo symbolizes such identification. See *The Economist, Foreign Report* (London), July 31, 1986, p. 6.

⁴⁴Steven Mufson, "End of the Beginning in South Africa: The Fall of the Front," *The New Republic* (Washington, DC), Mar. 23, 1987, pp. 17-19.

⁴⁵*Africa Confidential*, Jan. 21, 1987, p. 5.

ANC organizations such as Inkatha and AZAPO and in attempts to discredit or intimidate the leaders of the newly founded United Christian Conciliation Party. Although some elements of the UDF, particularly its "street committees," which the ANC sees as an important part of its "people's war" strategy, continue to operate in the townships, attempts by the organization to intimidate the Lebowa homeland authorities into making Lebowa become an ANC outpost failed. The "street committees," originally intended to initiate the establishment of "liberated areas," seem to be collapsing even in townships like Alexandra (located between Pretoria and Johannesburg). New housing is being built, parents are again insisting on sending their children to school, and police are back on the streets. AZAPO, Inkatha, and local vigilante groups of moderate Blacks have all begun to resist UDF-sponsored intimidation and violence openly and forcefully.⁴⁸

Indians figure prominently in the UDF, despite the front's claim to be a multiracial organization. This is reportedly resented by some Black members; radical white supporters of the organization retain their own autonomy within the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee.⁴⁹ The UDF's present evolution appears to reflect the mid-1950's developments within the ANC itself, with a few better-organized, better-trained, and politically astute non-Black members playing a disproportionately large role, at least behind the scenes (e.g., Maharaj is the member of the ANC's National Executive Committee charged with coordinating front organizations inside South Africa). Even more than in the 1950's, domestic legal, semi-legal, and underground activities are a more natural domain for non-Blacks, who enjoy greater freedom of movement and access to liberal or "progressive" political and religious circles. This has favored Slovo's urban MK operations, with their mixed racial staffing, as compared with Modise's predominantly Black rural activities. However, the abolition of influx control legislation in 1985 may facilitate the movement of Blacks into positions of greater influence in UDF and MK operations.

The second most important legal organization through which the ANC maintains a presence—albeit less direct and explicit—in South Africa are certain unions, particularly members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The word "presence" here is important, for many COSATU leaders are not formally associated with the ANC as members, and COSATU retains functional autonomy from the ANC in

practice as well as ideology. However, since the ANC and SACP accept the virtual demise of SACTU, they have looked to COSATU as the "progressive" voice of politicized labor.⁵⁰ COSATU is openly and vocally anti-capitalist, Marxist, and pro-ANC, and is prepared to use its industrial muscle for strictly political purposes. Leaders of COSATU made a highly publicized visit to ANC headquarters in Lusaka in 1986 to demonstrate that the unions were not subservient to the political wishes of the powers that be inside South Africa.

In July 1987, COSATU held a national convention at the University of Witwatersrand in downtown Johannesburg, where the group unanimously endorsed the Freedom Charter and called for closer ties with the UDF.⁵¹ COSATU President Elijah Barayi stated: "There can be no freedom in this country unless the African National Congress is involved." UDF Publicity Secretary Murphy Morobe, sought by the police since the imposition of a state of emergency on June 12, 1986, told the conventioners that the trade unions had become the most powerful anti-apartheid force in South Africa.⁵²

The nature and goals of COSATU are best defined by the congress's resolutions, adopted on July 17, 1987. Besides subscribing to the ANC's "Freedom Charter," it approved resolutions including: "A decision to forge links with worker organizations in Africa, Nicaragua, El Salvador, the Philippines, Angola, and Mozambique." The justification was that, in the words of Jay Naidoo, COSATU's newly reelected general secretary, "Workers throughout the world are victims of US-government-sponsored terrorism . . . in this country we are also victims of that kind of imperialism."⁵³ Barayi, reelected president of COSATU, stated: "We demand the right to share the wealth we produce . . . We don't want all of it, only 50 percent. The rest we will take later."⁵⁴

Unlike SACTU, COSATU is a non-white organization. It has personal and ideological ties to the ANC and shares similar aims and interests at least in the short term. Former SACTU bosses and SACP members Dhlamini and Nkadimeng appear to be the members of the ANC's NEC in charge of relations with this labor group.

⁵⁰Joe Slovo has stated, "We are at one with Jay Naidoo, General Secretary of COSATU, when he said: 'Organized workers (in the trade union movement) are not representative of the working class as a whole, but they constitute its most powerful weapon.' The representative of the working class as a whole is a *political vanguard* which we claim to be." This seems to be tacit acknowledgement that the attitudes and aims of COSATU are compatible with the Leninist interpretations embodied by the SACP and its front, SACTU. See Slovo, "South Africa: In the Frontline of National Liberation Struggle," in *Information Bulletin* (London), November 1986, p. 19.

⁵¹*The Wall Street Journal*, July 22, 1987.

⁵²See William Claiborne, "Union Chief Vows End to Apartheid," *The Washington Post*, July 16, 1987.

⁵³*FBIS-APR*, July 20, 1987, p. D/6.

⁵⁴*Time* (New York), July 27, 1987, p. 49.

⁴⁸For a sympathetic but accurate description of the decline of the UDF and loss of support because of its use of violence, see Mufson, "The Fall of the Front."

⁴⁹*Africa Confidential*, Jan. 21, 1987, p. 7.



General Secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions Jay Naidoo (second from right) at a February 4, 1987, press conference announcing plans to support workers engaged in the country's longest retail trade strike.

—Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos.

ANC Ideology

Throughout the debate over the nature of the apartheid regime in Pretoria, or even over the "number of communists" in the ANC, there has been little scrutiny of the latter's ideology. One thing is certain: the ANC is emphatically not anti-communist. When Ambrose and Tennyson Makiwane were expelled from the ANC in 1975, together with six others, the NEC labelled them as "a clique based on the slogans of racialism, anti-ANC and anti-Communist."⁵⁵ It is ironical how the ANC's attempt

⁵⁵See *Sechaba*, 2nd Quarter 1976, p. 41. At least two prominent ANC defectors who protested against SACP influence in the Congress were murdered in South Africa. Tennyson Makiwane was murdered five years after his 1975 expulsion (see Kave, loc. cit., p. 368), and Bartholomew Hlapane, a former member of the SACP Central Committee and star witness of the US Senate hearings, was killed with most of his family in Soweto in December 1982 (see *Congressional Record* [Washington, DC], Proceedings and Debates of the 97th Congress, Second Session, Dec. 21, 1982, p. 154; and *The Sunday Times* [Johannesburg], Dec. 19, 1982, p. 3).

to provide a multiracial image of itself has turned to the advantage of the SACP members in its ranks, most of whom are non-Black: to object to the communist influence is to automatically make oneself vulnerable to accusations of "racialism."⁵⁶

The ANC has come to advocate a multiracial, democratic South Africa governed by the principle of "One man, one vote, majority rule." This tended to distinguish it from its Black "nationalist" rivals, such as the PAC and various ANC dissident factions (Lawrence Makhubu's in the 1960's, and the Makiwanes' in the following decade),⁵⁷ and may also have reflected the large non-Black

⁵⁶Even to object to Soviet policies was often interpreted as "racialism" as early as the late 1960's. See Omar Banjee, Amin Cajee, Hoosain Jacobs, and Maurice Mthombeni, "Why We Left Umkhonto we Siswe," quoted in Gibson, op. cit., p. 71.

⁵⁷PAC's position is explicit; to it, "Azania" is made up of two distinct nations: "... one, an indigenous African nation and the other, an illegal white settler regime parasitically imposed on it." See *Azania News* (Dar es-Salaam, the official organ of PAC), April 1984, p. 13.

composition of ANC leadership.⁵⁸ As the Freedom Charter put it, "... South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white. . . ." ⁵⁹ To be sure, at his trial in 1964, Mandela saw as a "vital distinction" between the ANC and the SACP the former's policy of admitting only Africans (i.e., Blacks) and its commitment to "win unity and full political rights for them" contrasting with the SACP's "main goal . . . to remove the capitalists and to replace them with a working-class government."⁶⁰ But, five years later, with Mandela still de jure president and Tambo acting president, the differences had basically disappeared; the ANC in exile showed a much more clear Marxist-Leninist approach in stating that its struggle, while still "national," was taking place:

*in a new kind of world—a world which is no longer monopolized by the imperialist world system; a world in which the existence of the powerful socialist system has altered the balance of forces; a world in which the horizons liberated from foreign oppression extend beyond mere formal political control and encompass the element which makes such control meaningful—economic emancipation. In the last resort it is only the success of the national democratic revolution which—by destroying the existing social and economic relationships—will bring with it a correction of the historical injustices perpetrated against the indigenous majority and thus lay the basis for a new—and deeper internationalist—approach.*⁶¹

Not only was Mandela's declared belief in Western democracy gone, but it had clearly been replaced with the traditional Soviet-style strategy of a two-stage revolution—"a national democratic" one, to be followed by a "socialist" one. The language of the ANC and SACP have come quite close to one another on this issue. Where the SACP's late leader Moses Mabhida quoted Lenin to the effect that "the national liberation movement is a necessary ally of the proletarian revolution,"⁶² a recent statement by the ANC reads:

⁵⁸According to *ibid.*, p. 8, CPSA leader Rebecca Bunting, wife of party founder Sidney Bunting, went so far as to ask the Comintern about guarantees for minorities (i.e., whites) in the event a Black republic were to be established in South Africa.

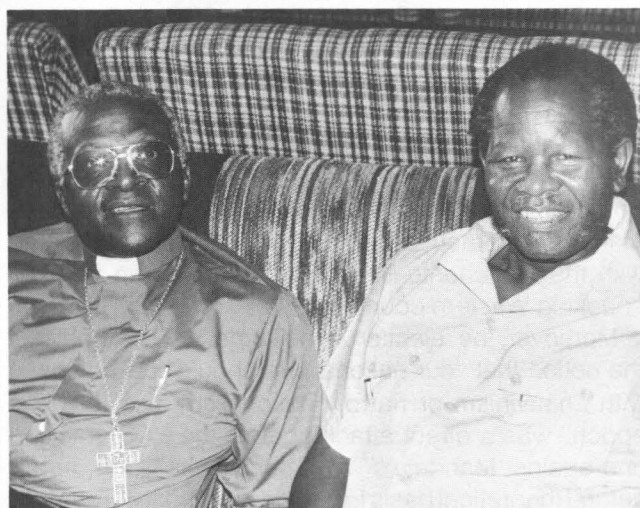
⁵⁹See Charter text, loc. cit.

⁶⁰See Mandela, "I Am Not a Communist," in de Braganca and Wallerstein, op. cit., p. 92.

Even in Mandela's days, the ANC bent its rules against admitting non-Blacks. An example was J. B. Marks, an old Comintern hand, a Colored, and a prominent figure in the CPSA-SACP. On the career of Marks, see Milorad Drachkovitch, *Biographical Dictionary of the Comintern*, Stanford, CA, The Hoover Institution Press, 1986, pp. 303-04.

⁶¹"Who Are the Liberation Forces?" pamphlet published around the time of the ANC's 1969 Morogoro conference. Text in de Braganca and Wallerstein, op. cit., p. 85 (emphasis in original).

⁶²In *African Communist*, No. 87, 1981, p. 16.



1985 Nobel Peace Prize winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu pictured during a visit to African National Congress Leader Oliver Tambo in Lusaka on March 22, 1987, during which Tutu urged the ANC to consider renouncing violence in South Africa.

—Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos.

*The national revolution . . . is the special province of the oppressed nationalities; the socialist revolution takes the form of class struggle led by the working class of all national groups. The two revolutions co-exist . . . They interact. . . . They are as closely knit as Siamese twins. To separate them would need a surgical operation which might kill or cripple both.*⁶³

With such a unity of views, it is fruitless even to be concerned about whether personal ties link the ANC and the SACP.

By 1969, it was clear from a pamphlet prepared for the Morogoro conference that the rather vague language of the Freedom Charter on economic matters had come to mean the total destruction of capitalism, even of small private property.⁶⁴ Attacks against "big" companies indicate hostility toward private property; indeed, the rhetoric of the ANC, SACP, and COSATU sounds similar to that of the pre-1979 Sandinistas, the pre-1975 FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique), or the Movement for the Popular Liberation of Angola (MPLA), and many other Marxist-Leninist revolutionary groups throughout the world. Moreover, the largest "company" by far in South Africa is the government itself. Control over it would mean control over 865,385 people directly employed, as well as 163,195 employees of non-independent homelands,⁶⁵ and their fam-

⁶³*Sechaba*, June 1985, p. 8.

⁶⁴See "Who Are the Liberation Forces?"

⁶⁵*The Citizen* (Johannesburg), July 3, 1987.

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ilies. The known ANC admiration for FRELIMO, Robert Mugabe's regime in Zimbabwe, and the MPLA in Angola, suggests what the Freedom Charter's proposed "mixed economic system" would look like. Furthermore, the main ideologue of the ANC, Pallo Jordan, considers free-market economics "a hodge-podge of classical bourgeois economic theory and latter-day Japanese managerial practice" which he sees as "associated with the Thatcherite-Reaganite right wing in English-speaking Western countries."⁶⁶

Moreover, the rejection in the same 1969 pamphlet of the notion that "our nationalism (should) be confused with chauvinism or narrow nationalism of a previous epoch" was a direct attack against the PAC, a veiled one against Mandela's "ANC for blacks" idea, and a natural theoretical basis for the decision that very year to admit non-Blacks into ANC membership. Thus, by the time of the Morogoro conference, the ANC had practically ceased to be a "Black nationalist" organization and had openly sworn allegiance to "internationalism" in the Leninist sense of class alliance across national boundaries.⁶⁷ It is in this context that ANC Secretary-General Alfred Nzo states: ". . . the (ANC) and the oppressed and exploited peoples of South Africa are an important detachment, a vital and integral part of the anti-imperialist movement . . ."⁶⁸

Such internationalism entails not only "solidarity," i.e., support for all Soviet-aided groups throughout the world, but also consistent attacks against actions of the United States. On topics ranging from El Salvador and Nicaragua to the invasions of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Afghanistan in 1979, from demilitarization of the Indian Ocean to the issue of intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe, the ANC has been as consistently loyal to Moscow's policy line as any Warsaw Pact regime. The ANC condemned US "aggression" in Korea in the early 1950's, and praised the Stalinist policies of the 1930's; moreover, it took Moscow's side in the Sino-Soviet dispute.⁶⁹

The ANC has been transformed into a Marxist-Leninist organization in which SACP members fit naturally.

⁶⁶*The Weekly Mail* (Johannesburg), July 17-23, 1987. Jordan also expressed amusement at the naïveté manifested by the Afrikaner liberals who met with the ANC in Dakar the same month when they opined "You guys [the ANC] are far too smart to nationalize everything in the post-apartheid era."

⁶⁷The pamphlet "Who Are the Liberation Forces?" used the term "internationalism."

⁶⁸"Our Anti-imperialist Commitment," in *ANC Speaks, Documents and Statements of the African National Congress*, quoted in Campbell, op. cit., p. 27. In his Political Report to the Kabwe Conference, Oliver Tambo claimed that "the democratic, anti-feudal, and anti-imperialist revolution in Afghanistan has been saved with the support of the Soviet Union" (ibid., p. 28).

⁶⁹Despite having received some help from China, the ANC unflinchingly supported the Soviet position in Moscow's disputes with the Chinese in the

This is probably the best interpretation of Oliver Tambo's 1981 characterization of relations between the two:

*The relationship with the SACP is not an accident of history—the SACP has been an integral part of the struggle of the African people . . . Ours is not merely a paper alliance . . . it is a living organism that has grown out of the struggle.*⁷⁰

Given the rare "positive alignment between the forces of class struggle and national liberation" pointed out by the late SACP Secretary General Moses Mabhida,⁷¹ distinctions between SACP and non-SACP members in the ANC's leadership become largely meaningless.⁷²

Conclusion

While claiming to be a "national liberation movement" like the Zimbabwe African National Union and Zimbabwe African People's Union in Zimbabwe, the National Liberation Front (FLN) in Algeria, or the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the African National Congress is actually a revolutionary movement directed against an independent and sovereign government.

The evolution of the ANC has been unique. Launched as a "nationalist" movement aimed at the political liberation of Blacks and the forging of a national consciousness out of the disparate ethnic allegiances of South Africa's majority race, the ANC remained until the

early 1960's. The collapse of the short-lived united front between the ANC and the PAC in the early 1960's probably reflected the Sino-Soviet quarrel. See Gibson, op. cit., pp. 59, 74-75. Gibson, himself a radical, notes that "the anti-China line adopted by the ANC was itself motivated from external sources and probably was the counterpart to continuing or increased Soviet material assistance."

⁷⁰*African Communist*, No. 87, 1981, pp. 22-23.

⁷¹See "Unite under the Leadership of the ANC to End Apartheid! Statement of the South African Communist Party on the State of Emergency," *Information Bulletin*, August 1986, p. 41.

⁷²Tambo told *Time* magazine that the ANC is "a body that is not the Communist Party but which has always had CP members since the 1920's. They have always behaved as 100 percent ANC men." See "We Are Nobody's Puppets," Interview in *Time* (New York), Oct. 27, 1986, p. 54.

The late Moses Kotane, former SACP secretary general and ANC treasurer general, made similarly implausible claims: "The fact that I am a Communist has never changed or interfered with my representation on behalf of the ANC. When I have been charged with a mission by the ANC National Executive, I have protected and promoted the interests of the ANC . . . Likewise, when I have been charged with a mission by the Communist Party, I have stuck to the terms of my mandate and defended the interests of the Party. In the formulation of policy I never think of two organizations." From an interview in *Sechaba*, August 1968, reproduced in Braganca and Wallerstein, op. cit., p. 96.

It is difficult to imagine that a long-established Leninist party with credentials like those of the SACP would actually allow its presidents, secretaries general, or chairmen to receive orders from and act upon the interests of a "national liberation" movement.

1950's a largely semi-nationalist organization, enjoying an ethnically homogeneous membership and clear political goals. This is the ANC that is still supported by significant numbers of Blacks in South Africa, by many African countries, and by non-radical Western sympathizers. It is also an organization that no longer exists.

The recent excitement about alleged SACP "control" over the ANC is a sterile exercise. The crucial point is that the ANC itself has become a Marxist-Leninist organization. Communist penetration of the ANC proper is six decades old, and infiltration of the MK has been the case since its creation. Until the mid-1970's, when the last non-Marxists were purged, one could make a reasonable case for the existence of internal tensions within the ANC between Marxists and non-Marxists. Today, the only internal tensions are between the "orthodox" (pro-Moscow) cadres of the SACP and the other "independent" Marxist-Leninists within the NEC. Both share the same general ideological premises and engage in similar practices regarding internal discipline and decision-making. Where they might differ (and the available evidence is insufficient to prove that they do) is over the racial factor in establishing leadership credentials—i.e., whether an ANC-controlled "Azania" should have a Black or a multiracial Marxist-Leninist leadership.

Given this evolution, the distinction made by some observers between "nationalists" and "communists" among the ANC leadership is really meaningless. Neither group seems committed to a true multiracial democracy in South Africa that would include all races in a power-sharing system guaranteeing both minority rights and property rights for all. Such a system is clearly incompatible with ANC rule, a fact that must be weighed in contemplating the movement's role in South Africa's political future.

The actual strength of the ANC inside South Africa, whether in terms of numbers or sympathies, is well nigh impossible to assess with any precision, particularly in light of the fragmented nature of South Africa's population. For instance, a significant sample of Blacks, when asked to express a preference for a leader of the country were divided between Nelson Mandela (9.7 percent), P. W. Botha (7.5 percent), Desmond Tutu (3.2 percent), and Chief Buthelezi (2.4 percent), and others, while 23.2 percent expressed no favorite.⁷³ Sympathy for Nelson

Mandela runs high across ethnic, political, and age lines. Yet P. W. Botha personally and the "system" also receive high and very significant support among Blacks of all ages and religions, including persons in such symbolic places of Black victimization by apartheid as Sharpeville.

Of the Black movements, Inkatha claims at least one million dues-paying members, has a well-structured organization reaching most of the country, and includes at least some token non-Zulu members. Other new parties, mostly Black in constituency, that have been established recently, e.g., Bishop Mokoena's group and the still newer Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (FIDA) led by businessman John Gogotya, may in time coalesce anti-Marxist, middle-class Blacks of non-Zulu origin. Support for the ANC among Coloreds and Indians—except for a few prominent radicals—is probably lower even than among whites. As for the latter, repeated attempts by liberal or "progressive" elements to establish a dialogue with the ANC have found no echo among the whites as a group and have only strengthened opposition to the ANC.

The mostly teenage Blacks in the urban areas who spontaneously used violence in the name of, but not under the control of the ANC, now seem in retreat. What is left, the hard-core ANC support inside South Africa, is mostly a group of educated, often prominent upper and middle-class Blacks, some self-appointed "student leaders" of all races in elite universities like Witwatersrand, and union bosses of the COSATU type. The overwhelming majority of South Africans, and particularly that country's Black citizens, are still waiting for both solutions and leaders.

As things currently stand, the prospects for the ANC's coming to power are exceedingly slim. The struggle for the townships goes on, with more bombings and executions, but the overwhelming power of the South African state seems sufficient to crush the activities of the MK or UDF. Whether the shift of focus in recent months to activism by COSATU and its member unions marks a significant escalation in the political struggle remains to be seen.

⁷³D. J. van Vuuren et al., Eds., *South Africa: A Plural Society in Transition*, Durban, Butterworths, 1985, pp., 346-47.

MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO:

Barbara

YOU WERE CALLED BY--

YOU WERE VISITED BY--

Ray Martinez

OF (Organization)

adv.

PLEASE PHONE ►

FTS

AUTOVON

Leningrad

WILL CALL AGAIN

IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

RETURNED YOUR CALL

WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

Oak tree was on Peter Hof " property, now called " Petrodvorets. Tree was planted from acorn from Mt. Vernon. Tree tied in WWII.

RECEIVED BY

DATE

TIME

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