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Memorandum



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To : MR. Monroe *cm/le*
From : R.W. Scherree *RWS/le*

Date 1-4-83

Subject : *O Andropov, Yuri*

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Special Memorandum

Baker

**Andropov on Major International Issues:
The Public Record**

Treat as original

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Records: file in 105-171877-Andropov

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FOREWORD

Yuriy Andropov has made relatively few public statements during the 25 years he has served in the central leadership in Moscow. For the most part, his remarks have reflected prevailing leadership positions on major issues. Between his promotion to the CPSU Secretariat at the May 1982 Central Committee plenum and his elevation to General Secretary on 12 November, he met with several foreign delegations but did not speak on policy issues. His last major address was in connection with the Lenin Day ceremonies last April.

This report, which draws on FBIS files dating back to Andropov's first tour of service in the Secretariat in the 1960's, highlights some of his significant public remarks on selected foreign policy issues.

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ANDROPOV ON MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ISSUES:

THE PUBLIC RECORD

DETENTE, ARMS CONTROL, AND MILITARY POWER

Andropov has emphasized the need for a strong Soviet defense capability, but he has also said that military strength alone will not maintain peace. He has warned that a nuclear war would have catastrophic consequences and has spoken out in favor of the reduction of international tensions, East-West detente, and arms control.

15 November 1982: Eulogy of Brezhnev (TASS, 15 Nov)

In the complicated international situation when the forces of imperialism are trying to push the peoples onto the road of hostility and military confrontation, the party and state will firmly uphold the vital interests of our homeland and maintain great vigilance and readiness to give a crushing rebuff to any attempt at aggression. They will redouble their efforts in the struggle for the security of the peoples and strengthen cooperation with all the peace forces of the world. We are always ready for honest, equal, and mutually beneficial cooperation with any state that is willing to cooperate.

12 November 1982: Central Committee plenum speech (PRAVDA, 13 Nov)

Leonid Ilich Brezhnev will live forever in the memory of thankful mankind as a consistent, ardent, and tireless fighter for peace and the security of the peoples and for removing the threat of world nuclear war looming over mankind.

We know well that one cannot obtain peace from the imperialists by begging for it [chto mir u imperialistov ne vyprosish]. It can be defended only by relying on the invincible might of the Soviet Armed Forces. As the leader of the party and state and chairman of the Defense Council, Leonid Ilich constantly paid attention to ensuring that the country's defense capability meets present-day requirements.

22 April 1982: Lenin Day speech (PRAVDA, 23 Apr)

All of our post-October experience shows that one cannot obtain peace from the imperialists by begging for it--we remember Lenin's behest, that the revolution must be able to defend itself. Following this

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best, our party and the Soviet people have created the glorious armed forces and the invincible defense might of our country.

At the same time, the Soviet Union has never taken as its premise that firm peace can be ensured only by military strength and a policy founded on it. Such a policy would lead not to peace, but to an arms race, to confrontation, and, in the final analysis, to war. It is for this reason that our party and the Soviet state stand up so purposefully for the principles of peaceful coexistence and so steadfastly follow the course of peace and international cooperation.

22 February 1979: Election speech in Stupino (LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA, 23 Feb)

Under the prevailing conditions, we are obliged to pay paramount attention to consolidating the might and defense capability of the Soviet state. As long as the forces prepared to jeopardize the peaceful labor of the Soviet people and our allies are actively operating, firm and reliable defense is vitally necessary. . . . At the same time, our party proceeds from the premise that peace and international security cannot be strengthened through military rivalry.

The arms race undermines trust among states, poisons the international atmosphere and increases the likelihood that crisis situations will develop into military conflicts. It is for precisely this reason that our party and state attach paramount significance to the limitation and then to the reduction of armaments, to the peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts, to the consolidation of the relaxation of international tension, and to the development of mutually advantageous international cooperation. We are firmly convinced that there is no sensible alternative to this policy.

22 April 1976: Lenin Day speech (PRAVDA, 23 Apr)

The question of the basis on which relations between the socialist and capitalist world should be built has not lost its meaning and gravity—for it is a question of war and peace. . . . This remains the chief question of contemporary times. . . . due to the emergence of weapons of enormous destructive force that make the consequences of war truly catastrophic. This creates practical preconditions, on the one hand, and the inevitable necessity, on the other; to reduce and eventually eliminate altogether the

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danger of a new world war and, if I may say so, to expand the limits of peaceful coexistence. The goal that the party now sets for itself is not to gain a peaceful respite but to establish a just and durable peace on earth. . . . In the nuclear era there is no sane alternative to peaceful coexistence.

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PROSPECTS FOR EAST-WEST DETENTE

Like other Soviet leaders, Andropov has blamed Washington for the deterioration of East-West relations since the late 1970's while professing optimism about the long-range prospects for detente. His remarks have been distinguished by a sensitivity to the diversity of opinion among Western leaders. He has cited the contribution of "realistic" elements to the establishment of detente and warned of persistent efforts by "hawks" to complicate East-West relations.

22 April 1982: Lenin Day speech (PRAVDA, 23 Apr)

Our people are convinced that a new world war can be averted. . . . The party of the communists has always proceeded from the fact that the road to stable peace is a difficult and thorny one. We must not expect easy victories, and every step is taken with great effort. And it is precisely because we know all this that our heads have never been turned by success and we have never been idle when we come up against difficulties.

Leonid Ilich Brezhnev has likened the present international situation to a fork in the road, thereby emphasizing the great responsibility of the choice now facing mankind. It can either take a long step along the road leading away from war toward peace or it can move along the road toward a continued arms race and confrontation.

We made our choice a long time ago. For us this is a question of the vital interests of the people and the country, a question of principle. It would appear that not only we but also the major countries of the capitalist world, including the United States, made this choice too. They took this fork as early as the beginning of the 1970's, guiding themselves by the experiences of the preceding decades, experiences that clearly showed that there is no acceptable alternative to peaceful coexistence, that the cold war and the arms race have no prospects, and that a hot war would bring victory to no one.

However, certain governments as well as individuals are inclined, as is apparent, to forget the experiences and lessons of history. It would seem that this is now happening to the Washington administration, which is trying to steer the entire development of international relations onto a dangerous path. Of course, the United States will not be successful in this. But we must not ignore the fact that such policies on the whole worsen the situation and increase the danger of war.

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11 February 1980: Election speech in Gorkiy (PRAVDA, 12 Feb)

We frequently hear voices in the West speaking of the "crisis" and virtually the "collapse" of the relaxation of international tension. People ask how the world situation will further develop and whether the positive elements achieved in the 1970's in relations between states with different social systems will be discarded and lost to mankind. It must be said frankly that anxiety about the future and the destiny of detente and peace has real foundations. The reason for the complication of the international situation is well known: it is Washington's irresponsible and dangerous policy. To all appearances it is the most reactionary forces, aligned with the military-industrial complex, that are now setting the tone-- the forces that would like to bring back the old times when the imperialist powers imposed systems upon other countries and peoples to suit themselves. The sources of this "political nostalgia" lie in the fact that certain circles in the United States have been unable to interpret sensibly the social and political changes taking place in the world and have been unable to understand their objective essence. . . .

Events in Afghanistan . . . are made out to be the basic reason for the deterioration of Soviet-U.S. relations and of the entire international situation. There is nothing more absurd than such assertions. It is not in the events in Afghanistan or in the Soviet Union's actions that the true reasons for the present turn in Washington's course should be sought. They lie in the U.S. ruling circles' fear in the face of the wave of social changes and in their desire to return the world by force to the "blessed times" of imperialist domination. . . .

We will not yield to provocations from across the ocean. As before, we advocate detente. For us detente means above all overcoming the mistrust and hostility of the cold war period and resolving differences and disputes, not by force or by the threat of weapons, but by peaceful means around the negotiating table. Detente, which reflects the objective, underlying changes in the world arena, is too deeply rooted, it means too much for the destiny of mankind to allow any forces to toy with it.

22 February 1979: Election speech in Stupino (LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA, 23 Feb)

Detente has many opponents who have been noticeably active recently. It is they who are inciting the arms race, intimidating people with the alleged "Soviet threat." It is they who, interfering in the internal

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affairs of other states, are worsening the general international climate. It is they who are trying to depict detente as some sort of agreement to freeze and preserve obsolete social relations and reactionary political regimes. And if the peoples break these relations and overthrow these regimes, heartrending cries are heard about the notorious "hand of Moscow," and there is a ballyhoo about KGB agents allegedly organizing social upheavals throughout the world. . . .

The complex and sometimes contradictory nature of events in the world do not change our approach to foreign policy. On the contrary, with every passing year the Soviet people are increasingly convinced of the correctness of the course chosen by our party and of the importance of continuing to wage a consistent and resolute struggle for the relaxation of international tension, for arms limitation and disarmament, and for the development of international cooperation.

5 August 1978: Speech in Petrozavodsk (PRAVDA, 6 Aug)

The fact is, comrades, that U.S. imperialism, by all appearances, is having difficulty restructuring its policy in relation to the new realities of international life. . . .

Of course, different strata and different groups of the bourgeoisie react in different ways to these objective demands of the time. Some, occupying realistic positions, proceed from the premise that with the present correlation of forces in the world arena, there is no acceptable alternative to detente and that therefore capitalism must adapt to the new situation. They recognize the need for peaceful coexistence with socialist countries and even for cooperation with them, revise the nature of relations with developing countries, and show greater flexibility on the fronts of the social struggle. Others--the so-called hawks, who represent the interests of the military-industrial complex--oppose this with all their might. They propose gripping the cudgel a little more firmly and brandishing it until the world finds itself in the grip of a dangerous East-West confrontation and returns to the trenches of the "cold war."

Finally, there is a third type. They are aware in general of the catastrophic consequences of a global thermonuclear conflict. They are even ready to achieve limited agreements reducing the level of international tension. But they are afraid of the changes that detente brings in international and domestic affairs. Hence the instability and hesitation in policy, the increasing gulf between

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words and deeds, the desire to appease the right flank and to make concessions to overtly militarist, highly reactionary forces. . . .

The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government are following the development of the situation and the maneuvers of the opponents of detente attentively. We take into account the hesitations in Washington's policy. At the same time, our strategic line remains unchanged. Our country, the Soviet Union, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev has said, sees its most important goal in international affairs as "preventing mankind from sliding toward war and defending and consolidating peace--a universal, just, long-lasting peace.

5 June 1974: Election speech in Stupino (LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA, 6 Jun)

In working out the peace program, our party is guided by Marxist-Leninist teaching. It clearly realized that the fierce counter-action of forces interested in preserving a cold war atmosphere has to be overcome on the path toward accomplishing this program. The process of relaxation is going in an indirect manner. Various turns and zigzags are encountered along the way. The champions of militarism and adherents of ideological subversion against socialism raise their heads first here, then there.

In our time it is not as simple in the west to act openly against a policy of peace. Public opinion forces the ruling circles to heed the desire to eliminate the threat of war and to adjust to normal relations among states. Everyone who wants to engage in politics in our time has to deal with these sentiments. It must also be said that many political figures of capitalism display a certain realism in their approach to foreign policy problems. Those among them who think most soberly realize that peaceful coexistence is the only possible and necessary basis for relations among states of opposite systems. . . .

It stands to reason that there are also many in our enemies' camp who, in spite of common sense, do not wish to view the world realistically. Using various pretexts, they attempt to disrupt the process of relaxation, in particular the improvement in Soviet-American relations. Some seemingly do not oppose a relaxation; they suggest "going slowly." Others simply are driven into a rage just at the thought of relaxation. There are also those in the capitalist world who attempt to depict matters in such a way that only the Soviet Union and the socialist countries stand to win from relaxation and cooperation, whereas the West will just bear losses. The reactionary, aggressive circles of imperialism even

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attempt in places to take the counteroffensive to undermine the basis of relaxation. But the future is not for those who attempt to draw the world again into a dangerous confrontation. It is not they who now determine the main line of world development.

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POLICY IN THE THIRD WORLD

Andropov has consistently maintained that Moscow has a duty to assist "national liberation" struggles in the Third World, particularly when they are opposed by Western nations. He argued in the 1970's that East-West detente did not restrain either side from supporting clients in the Third World conflicts. He has defended the 1979 invasion of Afghanistan as fraternal assistance to the Afghan revolution and as a legitimate measure to protect the USSR's southern borders.

11 February 1980: Election speech in Gorkiy (PRAVDA, 12 Feb)

As for the events in Afghanistan, it is not hard for any unbiased person to understand them. Under conditions in which the Afghan Revolution has encountered flagrant outside interference, which one can only call intervention, when a dangerous hotbed of tension has been created on the USSR's southern borders to which long arms were extended from across the Atlantic, our country responded to the Afghan Government's repeated requests and introduced a limited contingent of troops into Afghanistan to help the people's power to suppress the aggression. This step--not a simple one for us--was taken in full accord with the Soviet-Afghan treaty and with the spirit and letter of the UN Charter. It was a lofty act of loyalty to the principle of proletarian internationalism, essential to the defense of our motherland's interests.

22 February 1979: Election speech in Stupino (LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA, 23 Feb)

It is not the "hand of Moscow" but the bony hand of hunger, not the "intrigues of communists" but deprivation, oppression, and suffering that force people to take up arms and take them to the streets, that make radical changes inevitable. This is how it was in Vietnam and Angola. This is how it was in Afghanistan and Cambodia. And that is what is now taking place in Iran. And nothing, I repeat, nothing can stop the invincible forces of history that in the final analysis pave the way for themselves in spite of the Pinochets, Pol Pots, Smiths, and the like, despite the attempts of reactionary forces to stifle social progress.

It would be extremely unwise and dangerous for disagreeable Western politicians and ideologists to endanger detente or the strengthening of peace each time this or that internal political change occurs in some country.

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22 April 1976: Lenin Day speech (PRAVDA, 23 Apr)

In conditions of relaxation of tension, we do not expect the monopoly bourgeoisie and the governments carrying out its will to side with the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat or the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples. The Soviet Union does not present such demands to the West. But then, let them not present demands to the Soviet Union to renounce solidarity with those fighting against exploitation and colonial oppression. The Soviet Union is not going to interfere in the affairs of other countries, is not going to "export" revolution. Revolution is a result of internal development of society, Lenin says. It "cannot be made to order or by agreement." Each people determines its own destiny, but if it chooses a road of struggle, if it is forced to fight the colonialists, repel attacks from foreign invaders and hired killers, our sympathies have been and will be with it.

4 March 1967: Election speech in Novomoskovsk (Moscow domestic radio, 4 Mar)

Any people who rise up to fight for their national liberation are confronted with direct or indirect aggression by U.S. imperialism. That is what happened in Korea, Guatemala, Cuba, the Congo, and the Dominican Republic, and finally, as everyone knows, that is what is happening in Vietnam. The party Central Committee, the Soviet Government, and all Soviet people see their international duty in rendering aid and support to the Vietnamese people in their liberation struggle.

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CHINA

Andropov's comments on China over the years have followed the dominant leadership line. His most extensive statements came in the 1960's while he was serving as CPSU secretary with responsibility for party relations with other communist countries. Then, as during his more recent tenure as KGB chairman, he criticized Beijing's policies but expressed Moscow's interest in normalizing relations. He has not spoken on China since returning to the Secretariat--a period that has coincided with conciliatory Soviet gestures toward Beijing.

22 February 1979: Election speech in Stupino (LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA, 23 Feb)

Speaking of factors deteriorating the international situation, it is impossible not to mention Beijing's foreign policy. Today there is no other large state in the world that has so demonstratively sabotaged all efforts on limiting the arms race, put forth such extensive territorial pretensions toward neighboring countries, and attempted to undermine relaxation of international tension. The manifestation of the great-power, hegemonic nature of the foreign policy course of Beijing's present leaders is betting on a "policy of force," on the threat of force in relations to its neighbors.

Recently, the world witnessed the treacherous armed attack on Vietnam, organized by the Beijing leaders. The invasion of Chinese troops is real evidence of Beijing's hegemonic aspirations, evidence of how false and hypocritical are the discussions of the Chinese leaders on the struggle against some kind of mythical "hegemonism" concerning which they have talked so much recently. The aggression against Vietnam is the logical extension of the entire foreign policy of Beijing's leaders, who against the interests of their people are most candidly placing reliance on war.

5 August 1978: Speech in Petrozavodsk (PRAVDA, 6 Aug)

Peking is now shouting for NATO to be strengthened, trying to push Japan into anti-Soviet positions, and encouraging the Washington "hawks." The treacherous stab in the back against socialist Vietnam is a shameful but completely logical manifestation of the utterly cynical hegemonist policy of the Chinese leaders, who are not averse to supporting the most reactionary forces, such as the Pinochet regime.

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5 June 1974: Election speech in Stupino (LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA, 6 Jun)

With regard to our position on China, it is clear and consistent. While resolutely defending the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the interests of our socialist motherland and rebuffing the hostile intrigues of the Maoist leadership, the CPSU and the Soviet state at the same time are for a normalization of relations between the USSR and China and for a restoration of friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples. Here we invariably follow the line of the 24th congress.

4 March 1967: Election speech in Novomoskovsk (Moscow domestic radio, 4 Mar)

Rebuffing the anti-Soviet policy of the present Chinese leadership, our party has fully taken into consideration that it is not struggling against the communists of China. It is struggling for the Chinese communists, for the CPC, for the return of the CPC to correct Marxist-Leninist positions. The Soviet people have always regarded the Chinese working people as their friends and allies in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society.

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HUMAN RIGHTS AND SOVIET DISSIDENTS

As KGB chairman, Andropov spoke at greater length than most leaders about external and internal threats to the Soviet system. He maintained that human rights pledges signed by Moscow in the 1975 Helsinki CSCE accords did not restrict Soviet actions against dissidents. He has stressed the need for constant vigilance against the threat of Western-inspired subversion.

22 February 1979: Election speech in Stupino (LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA, 23 Feb)

The agents of Western intelligence services and the emissaries of foreign anti-Soviet organizations try to penetrate our secrets, take part in organizing acts of ideological subversion, and condition and corrupt certain unstable, weak-willed people. Therefore, as the party Central Committee points out, constant vigilance on the part of all Soviet people remains an important and topical requirement of the day. Within the country we have no social basis for anti-Soviet activity. At the same time, it would be wrong to close our eyes to the fact that cases do occur of antistate crimes, anti-Soviet actions and deeds committed under hostile influence from abroad. There are still various renegades who embark on the path of malicious slander of Soviet reality and sometimes in direct complicity with imperialist special services. Some people in the West call this "activity" the "defense of human rights."

But Soviet people have never given and never will give anyone the "right" to harm socialism, for the triumph of which they have given so many lives and contributed so much labor. To protect society against such criminal actions is just and democratic. This fully accords with Soviet citizens' rights and freedoms and with the interests of society and the state. Of course, this does not accord with the interests of socialism's enemies. In the West we sometimes hear hypocritical lamentations about alleged infringements of democracy in our country, and allegations are heard that the KGB makes life impossible for certain "champions of rights." In fact, they are worried not only and not so much by the fact that the Soviet state security organs, acting in strict accordance with our laws, intercept the criminal activity of renegades. They are worried by the fact that these renegades met with resolute condemnation from the entire Soviet people.

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9 September 1977: Dzerzhinskiy birth centenary speech in Moscow
(PRAVDA, 10 Sep)

The enemies of socialism are unwilling to give up attempts to undermine the new system, or at least to make its development more difficult. While it has become impossible for them to liquidate it by military force, they are still waging a struggle against socialism in the sphere of politics and economics and in the specific sphere where intelligence services are active and where espionage and subversion, including ideological subversion, are employed. The special services of imperialism are shamelessly attempting to distort the aims and the very essence of the policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state in an attempt to denigrate Soviet reality and carry out in the field of ideology other essentially subversive actions that have properly been called ideological subversion. They are striving to erode and impair the communist conviction of the Soviet people and foist upon us customs and views that are alien to socialism, and, in the final analysis, attempting to bring about political and social changes in Soviet society that would be of benefit to imperialism. All this, unfortunately, is an inseparable part of the reality of the stern world in which we live. For this reason, at the present time also we must show high vigilance and take the necessary measures to render harmless the subversive intrigues of socialism's enemies. The party sees this as the duty not only of the state security organs but also of state and public organizations, of all communists, and of all citizens of our country.

22 April 1976: Lenin Day speech (PRAVDA, 23 Apr)

It goes without saying that relaxation of tension presupposes extension of cultural relations, expansion of contacts between individuals, and exchange of information. On these issues, our country signed many agreements and is going to carry them out scrupulously. But the content and the purpose of these agreements must be borne in mind. It was a matter of steps designed to strengthen mutual confidence and mutual understanding, to serve the cause of consolidation of peace and development of mutually advantageous cooperation. We did not agree, however, to facilitate actions designed to harm socialism. Plans of reactionary quarters, connected with this, have no bearing on the relevant sections of the document signed in Helsinki.

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