

USSR

Speech by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr Aleksey Kosygin, at a dinner in honour of the Prime Minister of Australia in Moscow on 14 January 1975

The official visit of Prime Minister Whitlam to the Soviet Union and Soviet-Australian talks which have begun in the Kremlin today are a very signal event in relations between our countries, not only because this is the first visit by a Head of Government of Australia to the Soviet Union in the history of our relations. This visit culminates, as it were, the positive work carried out to date in many areas of co-operation between the Soviet Union and Australia, and, on the other hand, enables both countries to outline ways and means to raise these relations to a higher level. The talks just opened show that both sides have a desire to do this.

Regrettably, we cannot yet say that the history of Soviet-Australian relations is rich in traditions. I think the reason for this was not a lack of interest in each other or of a real basis for development of our relations. Anyway, as for the Soviet Union, we have invariably shown readiness to develop equitable and mutually beneficial co-operation with Australia. I am not of course saying this to recapitulate the past. It is much more important that Soviet-Australian relations today are marked by new positive tendencies and shifts, which at the same time are a significant feature of international relations in general.

Major changes are under way in the world. There is an ever more active search for solutions to problems facing not only individual countries but all mankind. These are above all the problems of war and peace, of improving international relations on a just and democratic basis. These are the problems of economic and scientific-technical development and social

progress, the solution of which is a key to a more secure and better future for peoples.

It is possible to say with confidence today that the world on the whole is evolving in a direction encouraging for all champions of peace and progress, and this consolidates the people's faith in the future and in the possibility to make life on earth worthy of man.

This is demonstrably shown by many facts. If we take the sphere of international relations, there are above all the current assertion of the principles of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, the emergence in the world arena of many new states as active members of international intercourse, the continuing process of the relaxation of international tensions and the development of peaceful co-operation among states. There is also the overall strengthening of the positions of those forces which stand for the settlement of the historical contest between different social systems on the lines of peaceful co-existence, rather than on military lines. The Soviet People has an extensive plan of action in the field of domestic and foreign policies, which we are consistently putting into practice. It is the decisions of the 24th Congress of our Party and the plenary meetings of its Central Committee and the Congress-endorsed peace program, on whose basis we build our relations with Australia as well. We are working for the realisation of the aims of our peace-loving foreign policy not by opposing some states to others, but are striving to do everything possible to join efforts in this direction with as large a number of states as possible which are also interested in strengthening peace. This approach is clearly visible in the

position of the Soviet Union on the questions of enhancing security and co-operation in Europe, in our proposals concerning collective security in Asia and in many other foreign-policy initiatives of our country, such as the holding of a world disarmament conference. We stand for making the process of detente irreversible and safeguarding a lasting peace for all nations by promoting broad and equal international co-operation and by strengthening mutual understanding and trust between states. 'Everything possible should be done,' said General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee L. I. Brezhnev, 'to ensure that the peoples of the world live free from war, live in security, co-operation and intercourse with each other. Such is the urgent call of our times.'

During the talks with the Australian Prime Minister we intend to devote serious attention to the questions of bilateral co-operation between the two countries. I think that unutilised possibilities and great reserves are available in many areas of our relations—in economic, scientific, technical, cultural and, last but not least, political—in the matter of strengthening our co-operation in the interests of peace and the security of nations.

It appears to us that the Soviet Union and Australia can more effectively join efforts, in particular, in solving such important international problems as the ending of the arms race, disarmament, the implementation of the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the total prohibition of all nuclear weapon tests, the solution of the questions of maritime law and a number of other problems. The foundation for the further deepening of Soviet-Australian co-operation in international affairs is seen by us in that the Governments of both countries adhere to close positions in evaluating the significance of the relaxation of international tension, in understanding the need that detente should spread to all areas of the world.

Both the Soviet Union and, obviously, Australia are interested in peace and stability ensured in Asia, too, particularly in those regions of the continent where the situation continues to be tense and fraught with war danger.

This concerns primarily the situation in the Middle East. A just and lasting settlement in that

region can be achieved only on the basis of the Security Council and UN General Assembly Resolutions, on the basis of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the occupied Arab territories, on the basis of the exercise of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination and their own statehood, and the safeguarding of the security and independence of all states in the region. We believe that the way to a stable political settlement there passes through the earliest reconvening of the Geneva Middle-East Peace Conference.

To ensure peace in Asia means also to bring to a conclusion the political settlement in Indo-China, to secure undeviating compliance with the Paris Agreement on Viet-Nam by all parties to it, to put an end to the armed provocations of the Saigon regime against the Republic of South Viet-Nam and to its attempts at undermining the foundations of a political settlement.

The Soviet Union will continue doing everything possible for the solution of the problems of peace and security in Asia, just as, naturally, elsewhere. At the same time, we respect the proposals of other states aimed at attaining this goal. We do justice to the foreign-policy steps of the Australian Government in support of the process of easing tensions, and we are prepared to develop co-operation with Australia in the matter of ensuring international security on an acceptable basis.

In recent years, the Soviet Union and Australia have secured, through joint efforts, a certain progress in the development of mutual economic relations. We shall strive to make our trade with Australia, our economic ties with it, stable and long-term. For this, Australia's business circles and Soviet foreign trade organisations should know better the markets and possibilities of each other; they should be able correctly to appraise the prospects for the economic development of our countries, their role in the international division of labour not only today, but also tomorrow. The great importance of this is borne out, specifically, by the big shifts and upheavals that have of late taken place in the West in international trade and in economy as a whole.

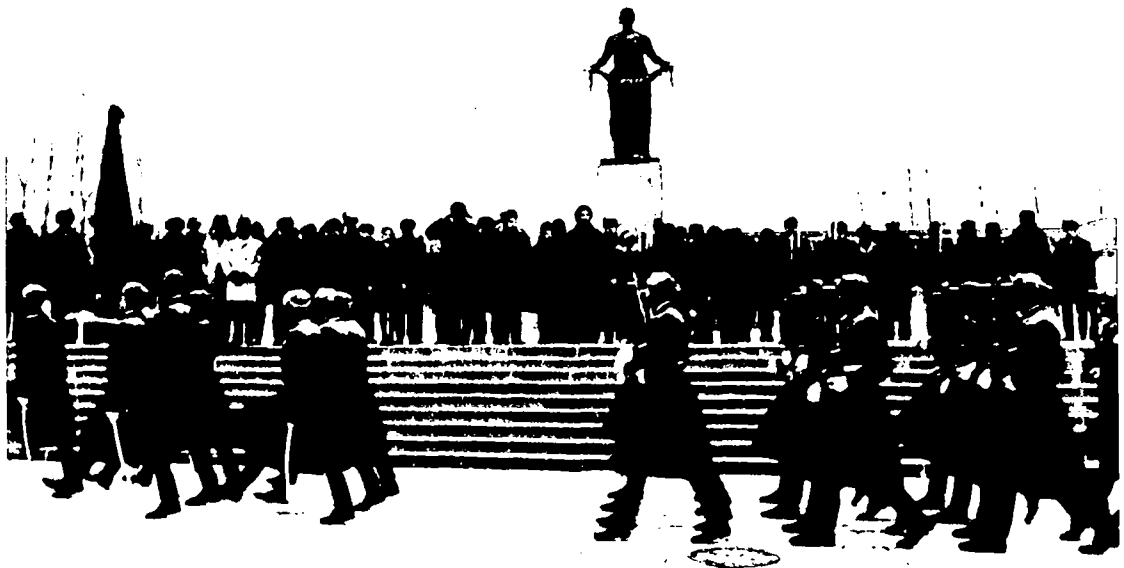
Apparently, Australia with its natural resources, great territory and possibilities in industry and

agriculture will be acquiring a new importance in the world as one of the promising and big participants in international economic co-operation. And we would like to wish success in this to the Australian people for whom the Soviet people entertain the kindest sentiments. We have always respected the people of Australia, doing justice to their capacity for work, persistence in overcoming difficulties, and to their mastership of industrial and agricultural production. Our people remember that in the years of World War II we were bound by ties of allied relations and that Australian soldiers contributed to the rout of the fascist enemy. The 30th anniversary of this victory will be celebrated by the peoples and Governments of the Soviet Union and Australia, in strengthening peace as the objective basis on which our countries can build and extend their co-operation for the benefit of both peoples and in the interests of peace and progress.

I would like to express satisfaction with the fact that our talks with the Prime Minister and other Australian statesmen began in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and frankness which,

it seems to us, testifies to a mutual aspiration to ensure success of Soviet-Australian talks and give a new impetus to the further development of Soviet-Australian co-operation.

A march -past in honour of the Prime Minister at the War Cemetery in Leningrad.



Speech by the Prime Minister of Australia at a dinner given in his honour by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR in Moscow on 14 January 1975

It is a great pleasure to be in Moscow as the first Australian Prime Minister to visit the Soviet Union. Australians admire the immense achievements of the Soviet people in building and rebuilding their great nation. As wartime allies we admired the strength, the stamina, the solidarity, the sheer courage of your people in defending their motherland from fascist aggression. In the past two days my party and I have been vividly and poignantly reminded of the heroism of your countrymen in the defence of Leningrad, in the defence of Moscow, in the defence of Volgograd. No country has suffered more in war, no country has fought in war with greater valour, no country has survived the devastation of war with greater strength and resolution. I believe these experiences and these great qualities have strengthened your determination to work for a peaceful world.

Here in the Kremlin, here in this splendid hall, I am nearing the end of a pattern of visits to the major powers which I commenced shortly after I became Prime Minister and which reflects the independent and diversified foreign policy which my government has proclaimed. Since we came to office my Foreign Minister and I have between us visited every continent. We have visited the capitals of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. This global context of our diplomacy is important, first because we consider it necessary to demonstrate to other governments and leaders the important new directions of Australia's policies. Secondly, the global context is significant because I believe it is the proper perspective in which to view our relations with your Government. Your huge, diverse, multi-national state occupies one-fifth of the world's land surface, stretching from the Baltic Sea to the North Pacific. The Soviet Union is one of the world's two strongest powers. Our policies acknowledge this fact. We recognise that your interests, like your responsibilities, are global.

Australia believes that as a vigorous and forward looking middle power, it is essential for us to make what contribution we can to the strengthening of detente between the Soviet Union and the United States. We must do more than that. We must do our best to make detente both irreversible and universal. As I said at the United Nations General Assembly last September, the Australian Government wholeheartedly endorses the progress towards detente which we have witnessed so far. We recognise that detente is a continuing and a co-operative endeavour. We would like to see it widened to include relations between all the major powers. Nevertheless, it is appropriate to record in both capitals Australia's warm appreciation of the progress made and our encouragement for further achievements.

I said this in Washington last October. I said it today in Moscow, because in the final analysis the peace of the world depends on Moscow and Washington.

Like other medium and smaller powers, Australia welcomes detente, not only for the relative stability and freedom from fear which it promises, but because it has helped create the conditions in which middle powers like ourselves can pursue more independent policies. The old rigidities of the cold war have passed, not least because so many ideological barriers have been dismantled. My Government has now established diplomatic relations with every state geographically placed between the Soviet Union and Australia. This is a mark of the new realism in our policy. Just as we have diversified our relations with the United States, so in different ways we are diversifying our relations with you.

Your country's military and industrial might, like that of the United States, places you in a pre-eminent position to influence the future of our planet. I have acknowledged the global

extent of your interests. Such power, such interests, bring with them great responsibilities. Australia looks to the superpowers to maintain the utmost mutual restraint in their relations with each other and towards other nations. On such restraint peace and progress ultimately depend. We look to you for responsible leadership and action to meet the urgent global problems of human need and suffering. Thus we hope, for example, that the Soviet Union and the United States will co-operate in an adequate international system of grain reserves to alleviate the uncertainties and shortages of supplies in world food resources.

The other great area of responsibility which attaches to the great powers is the nuclear arms race and the increasing risk of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. I expressed Australia's deep concern on these vital issues, and outlined some positive steps which the international community could take to meet these challenges, in my address to the last session of the United Nations General Assembly. Statements by many other leaders reflected the same grave apprehensions and concern. My Government has declared its commitment to practical and effective international disarmament measures. We have ratified the Non-Proliferation Treaty and subsequently concluded the Mandatory Safeguards Agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency. Yet we observe some flagging of international concern over the consequences of nuclear proliferation. We are disappointed by the lack of universal support in our own and other regions for the Non-Proliferation Treaty, which we consider the essential foundation for a safer world. Perhaps we have lived in the shadow of mutual destruction for so long that we have become accustomed to it. Can we dare to be complacent about our very survival?

Since raising our concern for these issues at the United Nations I have visited each of the three depository powers of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. In Washington three months ago, in London in December, and now here in Moscow. I have made the same point. We look to the depository states to maintain international interest in the Non-Proliferation Treaty and to promote and enlarge its membership. In this year of the NPT Review Conference we see a special op-

portunity to revitalise the commitments undertaken in this treaty, to strengthen the basis of peace and awaken us from the nightmare of a world in which nuclear weapons are widespread. I was glad to note that in the historic Vladivostok communique of 24 November, Comrade Brezhnev and President Ford stressed the importance of increasing the effectiveness of the Treaty. We therefore look confidently to the Soviet Union for constructive leadership on this issue, not only by virtue of your special position in relation to the Treaty, but because of your important role as Co-Chairman of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

Mr President, I have spoken frankly on matters of great consequence to us all. Nothing less would have been appropriate to the dignity of this unique occasion. Nothing less would adequately have reflected the true nature of our relations. These relations are now—though unhappily they have not always been—characterised by greater frankness, by greater realism, by greater seriousness, by greater understanding. My visit will serve to strengthen this understanding and bring our peoples much closer together. For example, I shall be signing agreements between the Soviet Union and Australia on science and technology and on cultural exchanges. We have much to learn from you in the scientific and technical fields, you I hope may have something to learn from us. We warmly welcome the prospect of a Cultural Agreement between us. Australians deeply respect and admire the culture of the Soviet people—the glorious fruits of which I have seen and heard at first hand during my present visit to the Soviet Union.

In these and other ways we shall develop the range of contacts between us. A world in which states, regardless of their different social systems, can communicate their views and interests clearly and confidently is a world more amenable to peaceful change and peaceable policies. I regard the relations between our countries as a constructive element in the creation of such a world. I regard my visit to your country, and the warm hospitality you have extended to me and my party, as an important contribution to the strengthening of friendship between the Soviet and Australian peoples.

Joint Communiqué issued at the conclusion of the visit by the Prime Minister of Australia to the USSR on 16 January 1975

At the invitation of the Soviet Government the Prime Minister of Australia, the Hon. E. G. Whitlam, paid an official visit to the USSR from 12 to 16 January 1975.

During his stay in the Soviet Union Mr Whitlam and his party visited Moscow and Leningrad.

They had an opportunity to see how the Soviet people live and work, as well as to acquaint themselves with their achievements in the fields of economics, science, education and culture.

The Prime Minister of Australia laid wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Moscow and at the Piskarovskoye Memorial Cemetery in Leningrad.

The Prime Minister and his party were everywhere accorded a warm welcome and generous hospitality.

The Prime Minister of Australia, E. G. Whitlam, was received by the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, N. V. Podgorny.

In the talks which took place between the Chairman of the Soviet of Ministers of the USSR, A. N. Kosygin, the First Deputy Chairman of the Soviet of Ministers, K. T. Mazurov and the Prime Minister of Australia, E. G. Whitlam, there took part:

On the Soviet side—the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, V. V. Kuznetsov; the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade of the USSR, M. R. Kuzmin; and other officials.

On the Australian side—the Special Minister of State, the Hon. L. F. Bowen; the Ambassador of Australia to the USSR, Sir James Plimsoll; the Secretary of the Department of Minerals and Energy, Sir Lenox Hewitt; the Secretary of the Department of Overseas Trade, Mr D. H. McKay; the Deputy Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr R. A. Woolcott; and the

Deputy Secretary of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, Mr G. J. Yeend.

During the talks which were held in a business-like atmosphere and in a spirit of mutual understanding, the parties had a constructive exchange of opinions on major international issues of mutual interest as well as on matters concerning Soviet-Australian relations and the prospects of their development.

Both sides noted that the positions of the Soviet Union and Australia coincided or were close on a number of important international problems.

They noted the significant developments which had taken place in recent years towards strengthening international peace and co-operation and consolidating the spirit of detente in international relations.

Both sides agreed to make every effort to ensure that relaxation of tension spread to all regions of the world and that the steady progress towards detente became irreversible.

Both parties noted the importance of the agreements and arrangements concluded between the USSR and the USA, directed at the further improvement of the international climate and, above all, the importance of the agreements on the prevention of a nuclear war and the limitation of strategic arms.

The Soviet Union and Australia note with satisfaction the considerable advances towards strengthening security and developing peaceful co-operation in Europe and express their hope that the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe will be successfully concluded in the near future.

The Soviet Union and Australia attach great importance to strengthening peace and stability in Asia and expressed their determination to contribute in every possible way to relaxing tensions further, to ensuring security and to creating conditions for making Asia a continent