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GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT
REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-eighth year

Letter dated 25 November 1983 from the Permanent Representative of
the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations
addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit the text of the statement, on 24 November 1983, of Y. V. Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

I request you to have the text of the statement circulated as an official document both of the General Assembly, in connection with agenda items 62 and 66, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) O. TROYANOVSKY

ANNEX

Statement of Y. V. Andropov, General Secretary of the Central
Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,
President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR

The leadership of the Soviet Union has already brought its evaluations of the militaristic policy of the present United States Administration to the notice of Soviet people and of other peoples, and has warned the Governments of the United States and of the Western countries siding with it about the dangerous consequences of such a policy.

But Washington, Bonn, London and Rome did not heed the voice of reason. The deployment of United States medium-range missiles is beginning on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and Italy. The appearance of United States Pershing and cruise missiles on the European continent is thus becoming an accomplished fact.

Europe has been living in peace for almost 40 years, longer than ever before in modern history. This has become possible because of the consistently peace-loving policy of the countries of the socialist community, the efforts of the continent's peace-loving forces and also the realistic position of sober-minded politicians in the West.

The approximate balance of military forces, including nuclear forces, between the States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and of the Warsaw Treaty that has emerged in Europe has objectively served the cause of European security and stability.

Now, the United States and NATO as a whole are taking a step aimed at tipping the scales in their favour. The nuclear missiles that are being deployed near the borders of the Soviet Union and its allies are not intended for the defence of Western Europe at all. No one is threatening it. What will grow with the deployment of United States missiles on European soil is not the security of Europe but the real danger that the United States will bring catastrophe upon the peoples of Europe.

During the two World Wars the flames of destruction spared the territory of the United States of America. Now, too, those in Washington would like to think that by deploying their medium-range missiles in Europe and thereby creating an additional nuclear threat to the socialist countries, they will succeed in diverting the retaliatory strike from their house. As regards the security of the West European allies of the United States, it would seem that it interests the United States leaders only to the extent to which the West Europeans will be able by their lives, by their cities, to lessen the retribution to the United States, should Washington give in to the temptation to unleash nuclear war in the imaginary hope of winning it.

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The deployment of United States nuclear missiles in Western Europe is by no means a step prompted by a reaction to some allegedly existing concern in the West about the present alignment of forces of the sides in Europe. It has repeatedly been demonstrated on the basis of concrete figures - and this is accepted by many political leaders and experts in the West - that at present a rough parity still exists in Europe between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty as regards medium-range nuclear weapons, while NATO has a considerable edge in terms of nuclear warheads. Thus, if anybody has cause for concern, it should be felt by the Warsaw Pact countries, which are being threatened by the military machines of the NATO States.

Nor can the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, in evaluating all this, turn a blind eye to the fact that Washington has declared a "crusade" against socialism as a social system and that those who have now issued the orders for the deployment of new nuclear arms on the threshold of our house are basing their practical policy on this foolhardy premise. It appears that by deploying the Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe the Governments of a number of NATO countries would like to create a concrete nuclear-missile foundation for this adventuristic premise.

Can the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries ignore this danger? No, they cannot. That is why the highest Party and State leaders of seven socialist countries declared at their meeting in Moscow on 28 June 1983 that under no circumstances would they permit a military superiority of the NATO bloc over the countries of the Warsaw Treaty.

In confirming their consent to the deployment of United States missiles in their countries, the Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and Italy could not but know that from the outset the United States did not want to reach a mutually acceptable accord on nuclear arms in Europe and did everything at the talks in Geneva and elsewhere to prevent such an accord. Likewise they could not but know that the Soviet Union and its allies would necessarily take the necessary measures to safeguard their security and not to allow the United States and NATO as a whole from breaking the existing rough balance of forces in Europe.

It was also clearly stated by us that the appearance of new United States missiles in Western Europe would make impossible a continuation of the talks that were being conducted in Geneva on nuclear weapons in Europe.

The decisions taken during the past few days by the Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and Italy unequivocally show that despite the will of their own peoples, despite the security interests of their countries and despite the interests of European and universal peace, those Governments have given the green light to the deployment of United States missiles. By so doing, they have assumed, together with the Government of the United States, the entire responsibility for the consequences of the short-sighted policy of which the Soviet Union warned them in advance.

Having carefully weighed all the aspects of the situation, the Soviet leadership has taken the following decisions:

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1. Since by its actions the United States has torpedoed the possibility of reaching a mutually acceptable accord at the talks on questions of limiting nuclear arms in Europe, and since their continuation in such conditions would serve as a cover for the actions of the United States and a number of other NATO countries aimed at undermining European and international security, the Soviet Union considers its further participation in those talks impossible.

2. The unilateral obligations assumed by the Soviet Union with the object of creating more favourable conditions for the success of the talks are cancelled, as is, thus, the moratorium on the deployment of Soviet medium-range nuclear weapons in the European part of the USSR.

3. By agreement with the Governments of the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the preparatory work which was begun some time ago on deploying operational-tactical missiles of increased range on the territory of those countries will be accelerated.

4. Since by deploying its weapons in Europe the United States increases the nuclear threat to the Soviet Union, corresponding Soviet weapons will be deployed, in view of that circumstance, in ocean areas and in seas. By their characteristics, these weapons will be commensurate with the threat which the United States missiles deployed in Europe are creating for us and our allies.

It goes without saying that other measures, too, will be taken to ensure the security of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community.

As we begin to implement the decisions taken by us, we declare that the retaliatory measures from the Soviet side will be kept strictly within the limits that will be dictated by the actions of the NATO countries. We again stress that the Soviet Union is not striving for military superiority and we will do only what is absolutely necessary to prevent the military balance from being broken.

If the United States and the other NATO countries show readiness to return to the situation that existed before the commencement of the deployment of United States medium-range missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union will be prepared to do likewise. In that event, our earlier proposals with regard to limiting and reducing nuclear weapons in Europe would become valid again. In that case - that is, on condition of the restoration of the former situation - the unilateral obligations of the USSR in this field would also again become effective.

The Soviet Union declares most definitely and emphatically that it remains wedded to the principled course of ending the arms race, first of all the nuclear arms race, and of lessening and ultimately totally removing the threat of nuclear war. It will further exert every effort for the attainment of these lofty aims.

The Soviet Union, as before, advocates the most radical solution of the problem of nuclear arms in Europe. It repeats its proposal to make Europe entirely free of nuclear weapons, whether medium-range or tactical.

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The Soviet leadership calls on the leaders of the United States and the States of Western Europe to weigh once again all the consequences threatening their own peoples and the whole of mankind by the fulfilment of the plans to deploy the new United States missiles in Europe.

We are already living in too fragile a world. That is why responsible statesmen must evaluate what is happening and adopt a rational solution. Human reason alone can and must save mankind from the grave danger threatening it. We call on those who are pushing the world along the path of the ever more dangerous arms race to abandon their unattainable hopes of thereby achieving military superiority in order to dictate their will to other peoples and States.

The Soviet Union is convinced that peace can be strengthened and the security of peoples guaranteed, not by stockpiling and inventing newer and newer types of weapons, but rather by reducing existing armaments to immeasurably lower levels. Mankind has too many problems which are not being solved merely because colossal material, intellectual and other resources are being diverted. And in this respect, too, reaching agreements on a radical reduction of nuclear and other weapons would be a boon for all peoples.

The Soviet leadership declares that, in fulfilment of the will of the Soviet people, it will, in future also, do everything to avert the danger of war and to preserve peace for the present and succeeding generations.
