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REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION
ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-eighth year

Letter dated 29 September 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 to you the text of a statement made on 28 September 1983 by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Y. V. Andropov.

I should be grateful if you could circulate the text of the statement as an official document of the General Assembly under items 62 and 66 and of the Security Council.

(Signed) O. TROYANOVSKY

ANNEX

STATEMENT BY THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND PRESIDENT OF THE PRESIDUM
OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR, Y. V. ANDROPOV

The Soviet leadership deems it necessary to make known to Soviet people, other peoples and all those who are responsible for shaping the policy of States its assessment of the course pursued in international affairs by the present United States Administration.

Briefly speaking, this is a militarist course which poses a grave threat to peace. Its essence is to try to ensure for the United States domineering positions in the world without reckoning with the interests of other States and peoples.

Precisely these aims are served by the unprecedented build-up of the United States military potential and large-scale programmes for the manufacture of weapons of all types - nuclear, chemical and conventional. Now it plans to spread the unrestricted arms race into outer space too.

The American military presence is being expanded under invented pretexts of all sorts thousands of kilometres from United States territory. Strongholds are being set up for direct armed interference in the affairs of other States, and for the use of American weapons against any country which rejects Washington's diktat. As a result, tension has grown all over the world - in Europe, Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Central America.

Other NATO countries are becoming increasingly involved in the implementation of all these dangerous plans of Washington. Moreover, efforts are being made to revive Japanese militarism and attach it to that bloc's military-political machine. When doing so, attempts are made to compel people to forget the lessons of history.

Peoples judge the policy of a Government first of all by its actions. That is why, when the United States President speaks grandiloquently from the United Nations rostrum about commitment to the cause of peace, self-determination and sovereignty of peoples, these mere declarations can convince no one.

Even if someone had any illusions as to the possibility of a turn for the better in the policy of the present American Administration, the latest developments have finally dispelled them. For the sake of its imperial ambitions, it goes so far that one begins to doubt whether Washington has any brakes at all preventing it from crossing the mark before which any sober-minded person must stop.

The sophisticated provocation, organized by United States special services with the use of a South Korean plane, is also an example of extreme adventurism in politics. We have elucidated the factual aspect of this action in a thorough and reliable manner. The guilt of its organizers, no matter how hard they may have dodged and no matter what false versions they may have put forward, has been proved.

The Soviet leadership has expressed regret over the loss of human lives resulting from that unprecedented, criminal subversion. It is on the conscience of those who would like to assume the right not to reckon with the sovereignty of States and inviolability of their borders, who master-minded and carried out the provocation, who literally the next day hastily pushed through Congress colossal military appropriations and are now rubbing their hands with pleasure.

Thus, the "humanism" of statesmen who are seeking to lay on others the blame for the death of the people aboard the plane is turning into new heaps of weapons of mass destruction - from MX missiles to nerve gas containers.

In their striving to justify in some way their dangerous, inhuman policies, the same people pile heaps of slander on the Soviet Union, on socialism as a social system, with the tone being set by the United States President himself. One must say bluntly - it is an unattractive sight when, with a view to smearing the Soviet people, leaders of such a country as the United States resort to what almost amounts to obscenities alternating with hypocritical preaching about morals and humanism.

The world knows well the worth of such moralizing. In Viet Nam, morality, as understood by leaders in Washington, was brought home with napalm and toxic agents; in Lebanon - it is being hammered in by salvos of naval guns; in El Salvador - this morality is being imposed by genocide. And this list of crimes can be continued. So, we do have something to say about the moral aspect of United States policy as well: both by recalling history and by talking about the present time.

Now in Washington they are violating not only morality but also elementary norms of decency, showing disregard not only for statesmen and States, but also for the United Nations. The question arises: can the international organization, called upon to maintain peace and security, remain in a country where an outrageous militarist psychosis is imposed and the good name of the Organization is insulted?

Under cover of anti-communism, contenders for the role of rulers of the destinies of the world are seeking to impose the systems which they favour wherever they do not encounter a rebuff.

The concepts themselves, used in attempts to justify such a manner of actions, would not attract any attention if it were not for the fact that they are preached by leaders of a major Power, and not merely preached but practised.

The transfer of ideological contradictions to the sphere of inter-State relations has never benefited the one who resorted to it in external affairs. This is simply absurd and inadmissible at present, in the nuclear age. Transformation of the battle of ideas into military confrontation would be too costly for the whole of mankind.

But those who are blinded by anti-communism are not, probably, able to ponder on this. Starting with a scare about the "Soviet military threat", they have now proclaimed a "crusade" against socialism as a social system. Attempts are being made to convince people that there is no room for socialism in the world. But they do not specify, though, that they mean the world according to Washington.

But wishes and possibilities are far from being the same thing. No one will ever be able to reverse the course of history. The USSR and the other socialist countries will live and develop according to their laws - the laws of the most advanced social system.

The Soviet State has successfully overcome many trials, including severe ones, during the six and a half decades of its existence. Those who encroached on the integrity of our State, its independence and our system found themselves on the scrap-heap of history. It is high time that everybody to whom this applies understood that we shall be able to ensure the security of our country and the security of our friends and allies under any circumstances.

Soviet people can rest assured that our country's defence capability is maintained at such a level that it would not be advisable for anyone to stage a trial of strength.

For our part, we do not seek such a trial of strength. The very thought of this is alien to us. We do not dissociate the well-being of our people and the security of the Soviet State from the well-being and security of other peoples and other countries or, still less, contrast them. One should not look at the world in the nuclear age through the prism of narrow and selfish interests. Responsible statesmen have only one choice - to do everything possible to prevent nuclear catastrophe. Any other position is short-sighted, nay, suicidal.

The Soviet leadership does not hesitate about what line to follow in international affairs in the present critical situation as well. Our course remains aimed at preserving and strengthening peace, lessening tension, curbing the arms race and expanding and deepening co-operation between States. This is the unflinching will of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of all Soviet people. These are, we are convinced, also the aspirations of all peoples.

Of course, malicious attacks on the Soviet Union produce in us a natural feeling of indignation, but our nerves are strong and we do not base our policy on emotions. It rests on common sense, realism, and profound responsibility for the fate of the world.

We proceed from the premise that mankind is not doomed to destruction. The arms race can and must be terminated. Mankind deserves a better fate than living in a conflict-torn world, suffocating under the burden of deadly weapons.

By advancing far-reaching proposals on limitations and reductions of nuclear armaments, both strategic and medium-range in Europe, we show our concern not only for the security of the USSR and the States of the socialist community, but also for the security of all other countries.

As to United States policy, its growing militarization is manifested also in the unwillingness to conduct serious talks of any kind and to come to agreement on questions of curbing the arms race.

Soviet-American talks on a burning problem - the reduction of nuclear armaments in Europe - have been going on for two years now. The position of the Soviet side is directed at finding mutually acceptable solutions on a fair, just basis - solutions which do not infringe anyone's legitimate interests. At the same time, over these two years it has become clear that our partners in the Geneva talks are not at all there in order to reach an understanding. Their task is different - to play for time and then start the deployment in Western Europe of ballistic Pershing 2 and long-range cruise missiles. They do not even try to conceal this.

All they do is prattle about some flexibility of the United States at the Geneva talks. Another portion of such "flexibility" has just materialized. And the deception contained in it has become clear this time as well. To leave aside details, the essence of the so-called new move in the United States position, billed as "superb", boils down to a proposal to agree, as before, on how many Soviet medium-range missiles should be eliminated and how many new American missiles should be deployed in Europe in addition to the nuclear potential already possessed by NATO.

In brief, it is proposed that we should talk about how to help the NATO bloc to upset to its advantage the balance of medium-range nuclear systems in the European zone. And this move is presented brazenly as something new.

The operation of stationing these American nuclear missiles in Europe is seen from Washington's control room as simple in the extreme and supremely advantageous for the United States - advantageous at the expense of Europe. The European allies of the United States are regarded as hostages. This is a frank, but cynical policy. But here is what is not really clear: does this thought occur to those European political figures who, disregarding the interests of their peoples and the interests of peace, are helping to implement the ambitious militarist plans of the United States Administration?

There should be no room here for reticence. If, contrary to the will of the majority of people in Western European countries, American nuclear missiles appear on the European continent, this will be a step against peace taken as a matter of principle by the United States leaders and the leaders of other NATO countries who act in concert with them.

We do not see that the American side is truly willing to consider and solve the problem of limiting and reducing strategic armaments. In the American capital they are now busy launching the production of ever new systems of these armaments as well. They are to be followed shortly by types of weapons which may radically alter the notions of strategic stability and the very possibility of effective limitation and reduction of nuclear arms.

No one should mistake the Soviet Union's goodwill and desire to come to agreement for a sign of weakness. The Soviet Union will be able to make a proper response to any attempt to disrupt the existing military-strategic balance, and its words and deeds will not be at variance.

However, we are opposed in principle to competition in the production and stockpiling of weapons of mass annihilation. This is not our path. It cannot lead to a solution of any problem facing mankind: economic development of States, conservation of the environment, creation of at least elementary living conditions for people, their diet, health and education.

The release of the material resources senselessly wasted on the arms race, and the unfolding of the inexhaustible creative potentialities of man: this is what may unite people, this is what should determine the policy of States at the junction of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. To achieve all this, the forces of militarism must be checked, and the world must be prevented through concerted effort from sliding into an abyss.

All peoples, every inhabitant of our planet, should realize the imminent danger. Realize it in order to join efforts in the struggle for their own survival.

Mankind has not lost, nor can it lose its reason. This is forcefully demonstrated in the scope of the anti-missile, anti-war movement which has emerged in the European and other continents - a movement which draws people of different social, political, and religious affiliation.

All who today raise their voice against the senseless arms race and in defence of peace can be sure that the policy of the Soviet Union and of other socialist countries is directed at attaining precisely these aims. The USSR wishes to live in peace with all countries, including the United States. It does not nurture aggressive plans, does not impose the arms race on anyone, and does not impose its social systems on anyone.

Our aspirations and strivings are embodied in concrete proposals aimed at achieving a decisive turn for the better in the international situation. The Soviet Union will continue to do everything possible to uphold peace on earth.
