

COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/422

8 December 1983

ENGLISH

Original: RUSSIAN

LETTER DATED 8 DECEMBER 1983 ADDRESSED TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT TRANSMITTING THE TEXT OF THE STATEMENT MADE ON 24 NOVEMBER BY Y.V. ANDROPOV, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR

I have the honour to enclose the text of the statement made on 24 November by Y.V. Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

I should be grateful if you would arrange to have the statement circulated as an official document of the Committee on Disarmament.

(Signed) V. ISSRAELIAN
Representative of the USSR in
the Committee on Disarmament

GE.83-64355

Statement of Y.V. Andropov, General Secretary of the Central
Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and
Chairman 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 the 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 have not heeded 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 been 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, that has emerged in Europe between the States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and of the Warsaw Treaty, 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 down catastrophe upon the peoples of Europe.

During the two World Wars, the territory of the United States of America was spared the flames of destruction. 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 abode. As for the security of the west European allies of the United States, that would seem to interest the United States leaders only to the extent to which the west Europeans would be able, by their lives, by their cities, to lessen the retribution against the United States, should Washington give in to the temptation to unleash a nuclear war in the illusory hope of winning it.

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 is 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 our doorstep are basing their practical policy on this foolhardy premise. It appears that, by deploying the Pershing \surd 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 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 have known 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 have known that the Soviet Union and its allies would necessarily take the required measures to safeguard their security and would not allow the United States and NATO as a whole to disrupt 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 show unequivocally 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 a short-sighted policy of which the Soviet Union warned in advance.

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

1. Since the United States has by its actions 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 only 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. That in turn cancels 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 preparations begun some time ago, as was announced, for the deployment of extended-range operational-tactical missiles on the territory of those countries will be accelerated.

4. Since, by deploying its weapons in Europe, the United States is increasing the nuclear threat to the Soviet Union, corresponding Soviet weapons will be deployed in the light 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 being 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 the actions of the NATO countries will dictate. The Soviet Union - and we stress this once again - is not striving for military superiority and we will do only what is absolutely necessary to prevent the military balance from being destroyed.

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, subject to the restoration of the former situation - the unilateral obligations of the USSR in this field would also become effective once more.

The Soviet Union declares most definitely and emphatically that it remains wedded to a policy of principle, that of ending the arms race, above all the nuclear arms race, and of lessening and ultimately totally eliminating the threat of nuclear war. It will continue to exert every effort for the attainment of these lofty aims.

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

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 humanity as a result of the implementation 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 humanity 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 constantly stockpiling and inventing new 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.
