

# CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/444 \*/  
19 March 1984

ENGLISH  
Original: RUSSIAN/ENGLISH

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Letter dated 6 March 1984 from the Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Conference on Disarmament, transmitting excerpts from the speech of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. K.U. Chernenko, delivered on 2 March 1984 to voters of Moscow's Kuibyshev district

I enclose herewith the text of an excerpt concerning the international situation taken from the address of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. K.U. Chernenko, to a meeting of voters of Kuibyshev electoral ward, Moscow, on 2 March 1984.

I should be grateful if you would have this text circulated as an official document.

(Signed):

V. Issraelyan  
Member of the Collegium of the  
Ministry for Foreign Affairs of  
the USSR, Representative of the  
USSR at the Conference on  
Disarmament

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\*/ Re-issued for technical reasons.

GE.84-61009

Excerpt from the address of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. K.U. Chernenko, to a meeting of voters of Kutlyshev electoral ward, Moscow on 2 March 1984

Now let us turn to international affairs. One of the most important and insistent instructions of the Soviet voters was, is and will remain the instruction to safeguard peace like the apple of our eye and to ensure the security of our homeland. I can tell you that the Party and the Soviet State have been following unswervingly this instruction, doing so in difficult circumstances.

You know that the past few years have seen a dramatic intensification of the policy of the more aggressive forces of United States imperialism, a policy of blatant militarism, claims to world dominance, resistance to progress, and violations of the rights and freedom of the peoples. The world has seen quite a few examples of the practical application of this policy. These include the invasion of Lebanon, the occupation of Grenada, the undeclared war against Nicaragua, threats to Syria and, finally, the turning of Western Europe into a launching site for United States nuclear missiles targeted at the USSR and its allies.

All this compels us to attach most serious attention to strengthening the country's defences. The Soviet people want not an arms build-up but the reduction of armaments by both sides. But we must take care to ensure sufficient security for our country, its friends and allies. This is precisely what is being done. And let everyone know that none of those given to armed ventures will catch us unawares and no potential aggressor can hope to avoid devastating retaliation.

At the same time it is precisely the complexity of the situation that compels us to redouble and triple our efforts in pursuing a policy of peace and international co-operation.

One can hardly recall a problem of importance to strengthening peace on which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have not put forward during the past few years concrete and realistic proposals. The initiatives of our countries are winning ever broader support from other States. This has been forcefully confirmed by the latest session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Imperialist politicians are trying in every way to limit the international influence of socialist countries. They are attempting to impair their cohesion and to erode the foundations of the socialist system wherever they think they can count on success. In these conditions it is particularly important to maintain and strengthen the solidarity of fraternal socialist countries. The leaders of the Warsaw Treaty countries again unanimously expressed their conviction of this during their recent meeting in Moscow.

The United States uses an economic blockade and military threats against socialist Cuba. But the hopes to scare it and to make it swerve from its chosen road are doomed to failure. This is guaranteed by the unflinching will of the heroic Cuban people rallied around their Communist Party. This is guaranteed by the solidarity displayed with the island of freedom by independent countries in Latin America and by many participants in the non-aligned movement. The Cuban people are resolutely supported by the fraternal socialist countries. As for the USSR, it was, is and will remain on Cuba's side in fair weather and in storm.

The normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China could, of course, contribute to the growth of the role of socialism in international affairs. We are consistent proponents of this normalization. Political consultations show, however, that there remain differences on a number of questions of principle. In particular, we cannot make any agreements to the prejudice of the interests of third countries. Exchange of opinions continues, however, and we consider it useful. The Soviet Union stands for the level of contacts being raised to the extent acceptable to both sides.

It is also useful that mutually beneficial contacts in the economy, culture, science and other fields are being gradually re-established. This is not to the liking of those who want to benefit by the aggravation of relations between the USSR and China. But it is to the good of both our countries and the improvement of the over-all world situation.

The danger of the imperialist policy of the incessant escalation of tension has become obvious. The graver threat it poses to human civilization, the stronger mankind's forces of self-preservation grow. Indigantion is rising in Western Europe over the actions of those who are sacrificing its security to the imperial ambitions of Washington. Millions of participants in the anti-missile movement are quite vocal in making this known.

Also, far from all the leaders of Western countries and influential political parties approve the adventurism of the United States administration. It worries a considerable segment of the United States public itself as well. They are realizing ever clearer there that the intensive militarization and the aggravation of the international situation have not brought nor are going to bring the United States military superiority and political achievements. They only lead everywhere in the world to the escalation of criticism of Washington's belligerent course. People want peace and tranquility rather than war hysteria. I can say that our conversations with the leaders of many foreign delegations who attended the funeral of Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov confirmed that with sufficient forcefulness.

All this inspires the hope that developments will eventually be turned around towards peace, the limitation of the arms race and the development of international co-operation.

Détente has struck deep roots. This is evidenced, in particular by the convocation of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

Of course, it is the bridling of the nuclear arms race that is of key importance to peace and the security of peoples. The Soviet Union's position on that issue is clear. We are against rivalry in building up nuclear arms arsenals. We were and remain proponents of the prohibition and elimination of all types of those weapons. Our proposals on this score were submitted long ago, both to the United Nations and to the Geneva Disarmament Committee, but discussion on them is being blocked by the United States and its allies.

As for Europe, we still stand for it being free from nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical ones.

We stand for both sides making the first major step in this direction without wasting time. In so doing, the Soviet Union has no intention of strengthening its security at the expense of others but wants equal security for all.

Regrettably, the United States has turned its participation in talks on this subject into a tool of propaganda to camouflage the arms race and cold war policy. We will not participate in this game. The Americans created obstacles to the talks both on "European" and on strategic nuclear weapons by deploying their missiles in Europe. It is the removal of these obstacles (which would also remove the need for our measures taken in response). That offers the way to working out a mutually acceptable accord.

The United States administration has lately begun to make peaceably-sounding statements, urging us to enter a "dialogue".

Attention was drawn world-wide to the fact that these statements are in sharp conflict with everything that the present United States administration has said, and, which is the main thing, done and continues doing in its relations with the Soviet Union. Assurances of its good intentions can be taken seriously only if they are substantiated with real actions. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it has always been for a search for mutually acceptable practical solutions to concrete questions for the benefit of both countries, for the benefit of peace. There are quite a few such questions. And the United States administration has many opportunities to prove its peaceableness by deeds.

Why should not the United States, for example, ratify the treaties with the USSR on the limitation of underground nuclear weapon tests and nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, which were signed almost 10 years ago, and not to complete drawing up an agreement on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests? I will remind you that the talks on these issues were broken off by the United States. The United States can also make a no small contribution to strengthening peace by concluding an agreement on the renunciation of the militarization of outer space. The USSR is known to have proposed it for a long time.

The peaceable assurances by the United States administration would inspire by far more trust had it accepted the proposal on a mutual freeze on American and Soviet nuclear weapons. So many weapons have already been accumulated that this step would not create even the slightest threat to the security of either side. But, at the same time, it would considerably improve the general political atmosphere, and, it must be believed, would facilitate reaching agreement on a reduction of nuclear arsenals.

A very important task is to deliver mankind from the possible use of chemical weapons. Talks on that have been in progress already for a long time, but now it seems that prerequisites are beginning to ripen for resolving this question. The point at issue is the complete and general prohibition of the use of chemical weapons, their development and production, destruction of all of its stockpiles. We are over an effective control for the implementation of such an agreement, that control should cover the whole process of destruction of chemical weapons - from beginning to end.

It is not ruled out that reaching an agreement on the above-mentioned issues would signal the start of a real drastic change in Soviet-American relations, and in the international situation as a whole. We would wish such a drastic change. Now it is up to Washington to act.

The policy of the Powers possessing nuclear weapons is of special significance in our times. The vital interests of the whole of mankind, the responsibility of Statesmen to the present and future generations require that relations between these Powers should be regulated by certain norms. Our idea of these norms is as follows:

- To regard the prevention of nuclear war as the main objective of one's foreign policy. To prevent situations fraught with nuclear conflict. In the event such a danger emerges, urgent consultations should be held to prevent a nuclear conflagration from breaking out.
- To renounce the propaganda of nuclear war in any of its variations - either global or limited.
- To undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.
- Not to use nuclear weapons under any circumstances against non-nuclear countries, in whose territory there are no such weapons. To respect the status of a nuclear-free zone already created and to encourage the creation of new nuclear-free zones in various areas of the world.
- To prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in any form: not to hand over these weapons or control over them to anybody; not to deploy them on the territory of the countries, where there are no such weapons; not to spread the nuclear arms race to new spheres, including outer space.
- To press step by step, on the basis of the principle of equal security for the reduction of nuclear arms, up to their complete liquidation in all their varieties.

The Soviet Union has made these principles the foundation of its policy. We are ready to reach agreement at any time with the other nuclear Powers on the joint recognition of norms of this kind and imparting them a mandatory character. I think that this would meet the fundamental interests not only of the participating countries, but also of the peoples of the whole world.