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GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

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

Letter dated 4 July 1985 from the Acting 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 extracts relating to foreign-policy matters from the statement made by M. S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at Dnepropetrovsk on 26 June 1985.

I request you to circulate this text as an official document of the General Assembly under items 68 and 72 of the preliminary list.

(Signed) V. SAFRONCHUK
Ambassador Extraordinary and
Plenipotentiary
Acting Permanent Representative of the
USSR to the United Nations

* Reissued for technical reasons.

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ANNEX

EXTRACTS RELATING TO FOREIGN-POLICY MATTERS FROM THE STATEMENT
MADE AT DNEPROPETROVSK BY M. S. GORBACHEV, GENERAL SECRETARY
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE
SOVIET UNION

"Soviet citizens are well aware of the enormous efforts being made by our Party and our Government in order to defend peace and protect our land from nuclear disaster. V. I. Lenin, in his day, expressed very clearly the principled position of a socialist State, saying: '... we promise the workers and peasants that we shall do everything for peace. And we shall do it.'

Many years have passed since then. Our people have lived through many difficult times, suffering the hardships of the most bloody wars. Our State has become stronger and more powerful year by year. Today it is a great world Power, ready to give any aggressor the rebuff he deserves. But today also, more firmly than ever, we promise the workers and peasants that we shall do everything for peace. And we shall do it.

We live in a time of tension. You can see this. The life or death of hundreds of millions of people, indeed the fate of all mankind, will depend on whether the warmongers can be stopped.

Under today's conditions, in solving the problem of strengthening international peace, we must first of all think of reinforcing the position of the socialist countries in the world arena and promoting the development of all-round co-operation between them. This is what we are striving to do. We are intensifying the economic co-operation and economic integration of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Well-adjusted specialization, co-operation in production and active collaboration in the development of science and technology are making our entire community and each of its members more robust economically and still stronger in defence and are bringing to naught the policy of economic pressure now being actively pursued by the West against the socialist countries.

A major event that took place in April was the extension for another 20 years of the Warsaw Treaty, the political and defensive foundation of our fraternal alliance. This establishes the conditions for even greater activity in our joint struggle for peace. It must be said in general, comrades, that the relations between the countries of the socialist community are becoming closer and deeper, and the contacts between their political leaders are becoming more fruitful. This is a great achievement. We shall endeavour to advance this process in every way.

I have already had occasion to speak of our relations with the People's Republic of China. I think time has shown both sides that neither has anything to gain from discord, much less from unfriendliness and suspicion, and that good-neighbourly co-operation is entirely possible and desirable. For our part, we intend to work actively for the complete elimination of the negative period in Soviet-Chinese relations, which has given rise to many artificial complications. I am convinced that this will ultimately come to pass.

The present world picture is characterized by the steadily growing role played in international life by States which in the not-too-distant past have freed themselves from colonial or semi-colonial dependency and set out on the path of independent development. A great many aspects of global development will depend on the fate of these countries and on how the more developed countries will build relations with them.

For the Soviet Union the matter is quite clear. We see the peoples that have freed themselves from colonialism as friends and equal partners in the struggle for the cause of peace and progress, and we maintain full solidarity with their aspirations to strengthen their sovereignty and defend their freedom and independence. Within the framework of equal co-operation and to the extent of our abilities, we are helping them to create their own advanced national economies.

In short, we are doing and shall do everything to broaden and deepen equal and friendly co-operation with the liberated countries. This purpose was also served by our recent meetings and discussions with the leaders of such countries as India, Syria and Nicaragua. We believe that an alliance between social progress and national liberation is a token of a better future for mankind.

The policy pursued by the imperialist States is fundamentally different. For centuries they exploited the labour of the colonies, plundered their natural resources and kept their peoples in poverty. Even today, they are striving to bind those peoples to the capitalist system, using every possible means - economic and military measures, threats and intimidation, charity and bribery. Many of those peoples are already caught in the harsh bonds of indebtedness, which are being tightened more and more. Attempts are being made to dictate what policies the newly independent States should pursue at home. The undesirable and the disobedient are overthrown and killed. This is the usual practice of the so-called 'free world' States, which pursue a colonialist policy.

The unwillingness of the aggressive forces of capitalism to acknowledge in actual fact the right of all States to sovereignty and independence and to the free determination of their own path to development, the attempts of those forces to impose their own will and to reshape and remake today's world to their own liking - these are the things that now constitute the greatest source of danger to all peoples and the greatest threat to universal peace.

The question of all questions today is that of halting the arms race which has gripped the world and proceeding to reduce the stockpiles of armaments. In principle, we do not need nuclear or other armaments in order to build normal relations with the capitalist world, provided, of course, that it will abandon its aggressive intentions against the USSR and the other socialist countries.

We are prepared to compete with capitalism in the sphere of peaceful and creative activity alone. For that reason, we favour the development of a political dialogue and interaction with the capitalist countries and the broad development of mutually advantageous commercial, economic, scientific, technical and cultural relations, and we are ready to develop these relations on a stable long-term basis. But they must be honest and truly mutually advantageous relations, without

any discrimination. For example, any attempts to use trade as a means of interfering in our internal affairs will be hopeless. We do not need that kind of trade. We can get along quite well without it.

We are prepared to reach agreement not only on the cessation of the arms race but also on the most far-reaching arms reductions, all the way to general and complete disarmament. Today, as you know, we are engaged in negotiations with the United States at Geneva. The task of the negotiations, as the Soviet leadership understands it, is to halt the arms race on earth and prevent it from spreading to outer space. We have entered into the negotiations in order to make these goals a reality. But, from all indications, that is just what the United States Administration and the military-industrial complex it serves do not want. Arriving at serious agreements is evidently not part of their plans. They are continuing to implement a gigantic programme for the stepped-up production of ever newer weapons of mass destruction in the hope of attaining superiority over the socialist countries and imposing their own will on those countries.

The United States side at Geneva not only has not made any serious proposals for rolling back the arms race but is, on the contrary, taking steps which make such a roll-back impossible. I have in mind the so-called 'Star Wars' programme, the production of space strike weapons. Any talk about their supposedly 'defensive' nature is, of course, merely a fairy-tale for the credulous. The intention is to try to paralyse the strategic armaments of the Soviet Union and enable the United States to launch a nuclear strike against our country with impunity.

This is the crux of the matter, and we cannot ignore it. The Soviet Union, if it is confronted by a real threat from outer space, will find a way of effectively counteracting it - I say most definitely: let no one have any doubt of that. In the meantime, one thing is clear: the United States programme for the militarization of outer space now stands as a blank wall blocking the way to the achievement of suitable agreements at Geneva.

The United States Administration bears a heavy responsibility to mankind for its militaristic policies. It may be added that if it should decide to take a more reasonable position, consideration could be given to a mutually acceptable agreement on far-reaching and truly radical reductions in the nuclear-weapon stockpiles of both sides. That would open the way to the complete elimination of such weapons and to the removal of the threat of nuclear war, a goal which all the peoples of the earth dream about.

But if our negotiating partners at Geneva continue their present line - marking time at the meetings of the delegations, avoiding the solution of the problems which the meetings were set up to solve, and using that time to step up their own military programmes, in space, on land and on the sea - then, of course, we shall have to reassess the entire situation. We simply cannot permit once again the use of negotiations to distract us and to cover up military preparations whose purpose is to gain strategic superiority for the United States and advance its pursuit of world domination. In our actions to oppose these intentions, I am convinced, we shall have the support of truly peace-loving forces throughout the world and we have the support of the Soviet people.

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The Central Committee of the Party notes with deep satisfaction that our peace-loving foreign policy has won full understanding and approval from the Soviet people. But what is most important, Soviet citizens not only approve of it but are reinforcing it with their deeds and their labour. And the more successful that labour is, the richer and stronger will be our homeland and the more significant will be its contribution to the cause of universal peace and the progress of mankind."
