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**Summary:**

Soviet military pamphlet discussing what it sees as the two different approaches to nuclear and conventional arms limitation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Argues that while the Soviet Union works for constructive talks, the U.S. obstructs agreements and uses propaganda rhetoric to disguise its true aggression. Translated for publication from the Russian text, "Razoruzhenie, kto protiv?"

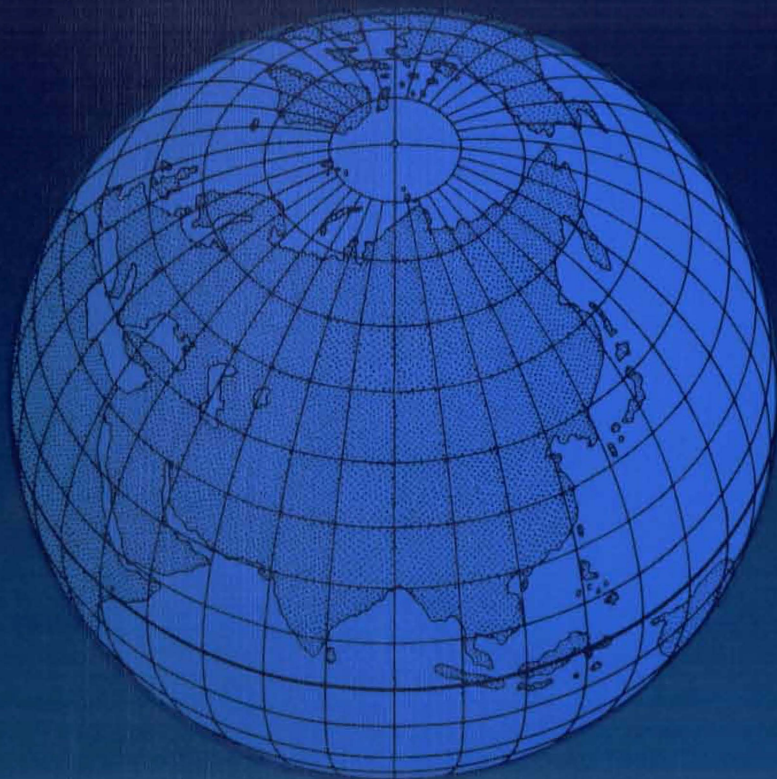
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# DISARMAMENT:



**WHO'S  
AGAINST?**

# **DISARMAMENT: WHO'S AGAINST ?**

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To preserve peace and avert nuclear war which can inflict irreparable damage on the planet's civilization and push it to the brink of destruction remains the most urgent task facing mankind. To halt the arms race and help reduce and finally eliminate the nuclear war threat are the items that have firmly established themselves as foremost on the world's agenda. This is an area where the future of international relations is being decided and where the struggle is especially acute between two diametrically opposed political courses.

One is represented by Soviet foreign policy which steadfastly upholds and develops the principles and trends elaborated by V. I. Lenin, founder of the Soviet state. As in Lenin's times, today Soviet foreign policy is based on unswerving commitment to peace and peaceful coexistence with all countries irrespective of their systems. "The central direction in the foreign policy of our Party and Government is, as it has always been, to lessen the danger of war and to curb the arms race,"<sup>1</sup> the CPSU Central Committee reported to the 26th Party Congress.

The Soviet Union has no need of war; it has been and remains the most consistent opponent of the arms race which places a heavy burden on all nations, including the socialist countries. That is why peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems and renunciation of the threat or use of force in international affairs are the underlying principles of the Soviet Peace Program for the 1980s adopted by the 26th Congress of the CPSU. The set of moves to halt the arms race envisaged in this program (reduction of nuclear and conventional armaments, a complete and universal nuclear test ban, nuclear-free zones, confidence-building measures, etc.) should be implemented on the basis of strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security.

The Soviet Union proceeds from the conviction that there now exists strategic military parity between the USSR and the United States, between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, and that this parity objectively helps to maintain peace. The USSR and the other socialist countries have not sought and are not seeking military superiority over the other side, but neither will they allow any such superiority over themselves. They have never initiated an arms race nor do they intend to do so in the future. The Soviet Union and its allies maintain their defense capability at a level necessary only for ensuring their own and their friends' security. Effective defense and nothing more is the essence of Soviet military policy. Advocating arms reduction on the basis of equality and undiminished security for all, supporting honest and equal negotiations without *diktat* or pressure, the USSR holds that renunciation of interference in each other's internal affairs and of attempts to secure one-sided military advantages is fundamental to normalizing the international situation and strengthening security, and that it lays the basis for disarmament issues to be resolved effectively.

The other course is reflected in the action taken by the United States, supported by its closest allies. Running counter to the objectives of detente, it is

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<sup>1</sup> *Documents and Resolutions. The 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1981, p. 34.

aimed at direct confrontation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, at undermining their economies and conducting massive ideological subversion against them, at spurring up the arms race and attaining military superiority over the Soviet Union. In the final analysis, it is aimed at eliminating socialism as a social system, at suppressing and defeating progressive and national liberation movements; its targets are all those working for peace, freedom and democracy. This aggressive policy has increased the nuclear war threat.

The United States has launched large-scale war preparations. The Pentagon's military appropriations for 1984-1988 will reach the astronomical level of some 1.8 trillion dollars—all this under the contrived pretext of the so-called Soviet military threat. But the "Soviet threat" lie has outlived its credibility, and world public opinion increasingly responds to it with legitimate indignation. People in the West are beginning to realize that it is a smokescreen designed to disguise the arms race and Washington's schemes of hegemony and to discredit the Soviet Union's peaceful foreign policy.

US leaders are resorting to a variety of tricks to justify their obsession with the arms race and military superiority. They are constantly misinforming public opinion as to the situation at disarmament talks; they are trying to misrepresent the Soviet proposals and position, to create the impression that the United States is flexible and constructive at the talks, coming up with initiatives on a radical reduction of arms, while the Soviet Union allegedly impedes the negotiating process and virtually opposes constructive agreement.

In the light of these inventions the Soviet Union considers itself duty bound to provide a true picture of the situation at disarmament negotiations and to highlight the causes which have led to an impasse. The people indeed have a right to know.

This pamphlet offers an objective description of the two approaches to the issue of nuclear and conventional arms limitation—that of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty countries and that of the United States and the NATO member-states; naturally, concentrating on the Soviet and US positions. An unbiased comparison of the two will show who really works for constructive agreement and who obstructs the talks, who sees disarmament as a cornerstone of foreign policy and a practical task and who uses the subject of disarmament for propaganda rhetoric and vague appeals, for disguising aggressive aspirations.

The pamphlet also analyzes issues of European security and the efforts of the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist community to end the arms race. The documentary evidence cited proves that Soviet proposals and initiatives point to realistic ways of resolving the problem of disarmament and maintaining world peace.

**THE SOVIET UNION'S EFFORTS FOR DISARMAMENT  
AND FOR PREVENTING NUCLEAR WAR**

The struggle for peace and disarmament is the core of the foreign policy pursued by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government. It is rooted not in short-term or opportunist considerations but stems from the very essence of the socialist system where there are no classes or social groups interested in the arms race, from the vital interests of the Soviet people and from the peaceful orientation of Soviet foreign policy. This is fully borne out by the 66 years of Soviet history.

Lenin's Decree on Peace (1917) was the first legislative act of the Soviet Republic. With the bloodbath of World War I still going on, this decree proclaimed a clear and unambiguous program of action for a just, democratic and general peace and urged all countries to establish peaceful, good-neighbor relations. These ideas have permeated all Soviet foreign policy ever since.

On direct instructions from Lenin the Soviet delegation to the International Conference of Genoa (1922) submitted a plan for general arms reductions.

In 1924, after the Civil War, the Soviet Union reduced the strength of its army from over five million to 600,000—and that while still surrounded by hostile capitalist states.

In 1928 the USSR submitted a Draft Convention on Immediate General and Complete Disarmament to the Preparatory Commission of the Disarmament Conference convened by the League of Nations. The capitalist countries rejected the Soviet proposal. Many of them were already preparing for a new war.

In the 1930s, with the threat of war looming large on the horizon, the Soviet Union suggested an effective system of collective security in Europe and called on the Western countries to act jointly against aggression. The Western powers rejected our proposals. Their truckling policy of "appeasement", of moral and economic encouragement of the aggressor led to World War II and the immeasurable suffering it inflicted on mankind.

Thus, in the prewar period, the West blocked any real progress in the field of disarmament. The dangerous arms race Nazi Germany imposed on the world in the 1930s culminated in the most destructive war ever, a war in which atomic weapons were first used.

The Soviet Union played the decisive role in the defeat of Nazi Germany and, subsequently, of militarist Japan, in the liberation of nations from fascism. The victory over fascism influenced human history profoundly.

During the war the Soviet Union made an important contribution to the shaping of the foundations of postwar peace and long-term international cooperation. Those were the objectives of the decisions elaborated, with Soviet participation, at the Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam and other Allied conferences. The USSR was among those who conceived the idea of and founded the United Nations, a new international organization created to maintain peace and international security. Together with the other leading powers of the anti-Axis coalition, the Soviet Union was active in the drawing up of the United Nations Charter which formalized the concept of disarmament as a generally accepted principle of modern international law.

The Soviet Union has been a steadfast champion of arms limitation and disarmament after World War II. Working against the background of a qualitatively new alignment of forces on the world scene more favorable to progress in this important field, the Soviet Union has been concentrating its efforts on defusing the nuclear war threat and strengthening the political, legal and other guarantees of general peace and security.

As early as 1947 the USSR called on the other great powers to pool their efforts in averting the nuclear war threat and to conclude a Peace Pact. The Soviet Union's desire to have the problem of disarmament resolved as soon as possible was confirmed by the unilateral steps it took. Specifically, counting on the Western powers to follow suit, it drastically reduced its armed forces four times in the 1950s.

The Soviet Government made other moves to ease international tensions too. In 1955 the USSR dismantled its military bases at Porkkala-Udd (Finland) and Port Arthur. In 1958 the strength of the Soviet forces stationed in the GDR and Hungary was reduced, and Soviet troops were completely withdrawn from Romania.

Since the very emergence of atomic weapons, the Soviet Union has been a firm advocate of their banning and destruction. As early as June 19, 1946, at one of the first meetings of the UN Atomic Energy Commission, the USSR submitted a Draft Convention Prohibiting the Production and Employment of Weapons Based on the Use of Atomic Energy for the Purpose of Mass Destruction. At that time this history-making task was relatively easy to accomplish, and the Soviet Union proposed that all parties to this Convention solemnly undertake not to use atomic weapons under any circumstances, to ban their production and stockpiling and to destroy, within three months, all such weapons already available or being produced. It was suggested that violation of these obligations be declared a grave international crime against humanity.

However, the United States rejected the Soviet proposal which, had it been implemented, would have forever saved our planet from the threat of nuclear devastation. Convinced that possession of atomic weapons would enable them to attain the desired political and strategic military objectives, US leaders relied on a "long-term atomic monopoly as a source of strength". That was the birth of US "atomic diplomacy", a tool of the cold war which imperialism launched against socialism.

The United States tried to offset the Soviet plan of nuclear disarmament with the so-called Baruch Plan, essentially aimed at perpetuating the US atomic bomb monopoly. The plan focused on the creation, under the aegis of the United States, of an international control authority—a supranational "atomic supertrust" with exclusive property rights to all fissionable materials and all atomic facilities. This authority would not only control fully the use of atomic energy for peaceful and military purposes, but would also be able to interfere in the economic affairs of nations. US Government documents made public in 1972 confirm that the Baruch Plan was a trap into which US leaders, resorting to demagoguery about the generosity of the United States, tried to lure all nations so as to control their destiny.

In June 1947 the Soviet Union agreed to strict international control over all enterprises engaged in the extraction of atomic raw materials and the production of atomic materials and power. However, unlike the Baruch Plan, the Soviet concept envisaged that, according to the UN Charter, the controlling authority be responsible to the UN Security Council. The United States refused to accept this proposal.

Despite the negative position of the United States and other imperialist powers,



the Soviet Union continued to insist on the banning of nuclear weapons and on the exclusively peaceful uses of the great scientific insights into the atom. For example, the draft resolution on measures to avert the threat of a new world war and to reduce tension in international relations, submitted by the Soviet Union to the Eighth Session of the UN General Assembly in 1953, proposed that the General Assembly proclaim an unconditional ban on atomic, hydrogen and other types of mass-destruction weapons and direct the Security Council to take immediate steps in preparing and holding an international conference to establish strict international control over the implementation of this decision.

On May 10, 1955 the USSR advanced a comprehensive disarmament plan which dealt with the banning of nuclear weapons too. The Soviet proposal took into consideration the Western view on the sequence of measures to ban nuclear weapons and on the combination of these steps with reductions in armed forces and conventional armaments.

Naturally, the Soviet Union has not confined its attention to nuclear disarmament only. In 1962 the USSR proposed a Draft Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament Under Strict International Control. In 1965 it amended the draft, taking into account the views and positions of other countries. The revised draft became the Soviet Union's broad program of action for completely delivering mankind from the war threat.

Since the West continues to refuse to agree to the radical Soviet proposals on general and complete disarmament under strict international control, the USSR has repeatedly—in 1964, 1968, 1976, 1978, 1980 and 1982—submitted for consideration by the international community various sets of partial measures ultimately aimed at general and complete disarmament.

Over the postwar years the Soviet Union has advanced over 100 proposals designed to curb the arms race and achieve disarmament. Some of them provided the basis of treaties and conventions now in force. With vigorous participation by the USSR and often thanks to its perseverance and its constructive and flexible approach, its tireless search for an acceptable solution, the following instruments have been concluded: the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water; the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons; the Agreement Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on the Prevention of Nuclear War; the Soviet-US Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems; the Interim Agreement Between the USSR and the USA on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms; the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction; the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques. Over the past 15 years alone, a total of some 30 multilateral and bilateral disarmament treaties and agreements currently in force have been concluded on the initiative of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet conception of disarmament, drawn up in Lenin's lifetime and brought to maturity in the postwar years under the CPSU Central Committee's guidance, is scientifically sound, principled and consistent. It reflects both the urgent requirements of present-day development and the actual feasibility of the moves it demands. The Soviet Union proceeds in its approach to the disarmament problem from the following precepts:

General and complete disarmament cannot be brought about by a single effort but can be attained through a long, stage-by-stage process requiring the utmost effort. The USSR has never demanded "all or nothing" in the field of disarmament. It has always seen partial measures as steps ultimately leading to

general and complete disarmament. It should be borne in mind that partial disarmament measures can either cover individual systems and types of weapons, regulating their limitation or elimination everywhere, or apply to a definite geographical region, solving all disarmament issues within its boundaries.

The Soviet Union sees disarmament as a global problem concerning all nations. In its efforts to resolve it, the USSR invariably proceeds from the belief that all countries without exception, irrespective of their size or military and industrial potential, can make their contribution to a constructive search for the solution to this problem. At the same time, the USSR holds that the chief responsibility for disarmament rests with the nuclear powers and other militarily important countries.

In the search for solutions to issues of arms limitation and reduction, the principle of equality and equal security should be strictly observed. Naturally, the content of this principle is not confined exclusively to the sphere of disarmament negotiations. This principle has a broader meaning: countries should gear all their international moves to it.

In its approach to equality and equal security, the Soviet Union lays no claim to exclusive treatment. It demands no special rights, privileges or advantages. To the Soviet Union, equality in international affairs is precisely equality, parity in the alignment of forces is precisely parity, equal security is precisely equal security. The USSR neither accepts nor uses double standards. Our credo, the condition we insist on, is reciprocity in commitments and benefits. In other words, we do not demand of others anything we would not be prepared to do ourselves. This provision applies to the Soviet Union wholly, with no reservations. It is especially true in relation to the extremely important and urgent problem of arms limitation and disarmament.

All nations must strictly observe the commitments they have assumed under the treaties and agreements concluded. They must refrain from action which may erode or undermine the system of such treaties and agreements for the sake of opportunist political considerations or new military programs.

Verification of arms reduction is important. The USSR is interested in effective verification of compliance with agreements just as much as other countries, if not more so. But the Soviet Union does not make a fetish out of verification. Verification should be commensurate with the scope and nature of the agreed commitments. The choice of verification ways and means should be commensurate with the content of the agreement.

Verification using national technical means conforms to national security interests. Since these means are constantly developing and improving, their capabilities are increasing too. The record of verifying the compliance with the SALT-1 Treaty, with the accord on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems and other agreements shows that national technical means are perfectly capable of ensuring effective verification.

If necessary, the sides may take agreed steps to complement verification by national technical means: appropriate identification for certain types of weapons, notification of the other side, exchange of numerical data on armaments, etc. In no case should practical verification measures be a tool of interference or spying, or prejudice the security of either side.

Briefly, the Soviet Union advocates a reasonable combination of national and international verification means. "We approach questions of control concretely and not on the plane of general declarations," Yuri Andropov has said. "This approach of ours has found its embodiment in the agreements on the limitation of strategic arms. Our policy in questions of control is a far-reaching one—right up to and including the establishment of general and complete control when the point

of general and complete disarmament is reached. We are against turning the problem of control into a stumbling block in talks.”<sup>1</sup>

In their drive to stop the arms race and achieve disarmament the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are acting in a united front. In this connection, conferences of the Political Consultative Committee, sessions of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty Member-Countries and meetings of the leaders of the fraternal socialist countries are important landmarks in further strengthening the concerted effort to curb and end the arms race.

The Soviet conception of disarmament attaches great importance to mobilizing all the factors contributing to peace and particularly stresses the role of the public. The Soviet Union maintains that the idea of disarmament that has captured the thinking of the masses can become a powerful and tangible force in world politics. Appeals to peoples as well as governments is an old tradition of Soviet foreign policy, dating back to Lenin’s Decree on Peace, and it means that this policy meets the vital interests of the masses throughout the world.

In recent years, action taken by the United States and its closest allies to attain military superiority has greatly increased the nuclear war threat. Faced with this reality, the Soviet Union has made the struggle to avert nuclear catastrophe the core of its foreign policy.

This has been the foremost objective of the proposals the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have submitted to various international forums in recent years.

These proposals envisage both moves to strengthen the political and legal safeguards of the security of states and tangible, physical restrictions on the arms race, above all the nuclear arms race.

At the 36th Session of the UN General Assembly in 1981 the USSR submitted and the Assembly approved the Declaration on the Prevention of Nuclear Catastrophe. While pointing to the main direction in which nations should concentrate their efforts, the Declaration also pinpoints the main areas where such efforts should be applied—ensuring renunciation by all the nuclear powers of the first use of nuclear weapons and of all doctrines envisaging this possibility, and entering into honest and equal negotiations so as to stop and reverse the nuclear arms race, with the ultimate aim of completely eliminating these weapons.

In the summer of 1982, during the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament, the Soviet Union followed up this initiative by solemnly undertaking a unilateral commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and by calling on other countries to follow suit.

A political step of utmost importance, this Soviet undertaking also strengthens the material basis of international security. Here is how Marshal Dmitri Ustinov, USSR Defense Minister, described this aspect of the Soviet initiative: “This means that from now on still greater attention in the training of the armed forces will be paid to the tasks of preventing the escalation of a military conflict into a nuclear one; these tasks in all their diversity are becoming an integral part of our military activities. Any expert with even cursory knowledge of military matters realizes that this imposes even stricter limitations on the training of troops and staff officers and on the way the composition of armaments is determined; this will mean even more stringent controls to rule out unauthorized use of nuclear weapons—from tactical to strategic.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Yuri Andropov, “Answers to *Der Spiegel* Magazine (FRG), April 19, 1983”, *Our Aim Is to Preserve Peace*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1983, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> *Pravda*, July 12, 1982.

Expressing concern over the growing danger of nuclear war, a war capable of destroying civilization on earth, the USSR submitted to the 38th Session of the UN General Assembly a *draft declaration condemning nuclear war*. Under this declaration, the UN General Assembly, guided by the lofty principles of the UN Charter, would resolutely and unconditionally condemn nuclear war forever as the most hideous of crimes that could be committed against nations, as a gross violation of the foremost human right, the right to life. It was suggested that the UN member-states declare it a crime to develop, disseminate and propagate political and military doctrines (concepts) designed to justify the first use of nuclear weapons as "legitimate" and the launching of nuclear war as "acceptable".

A highly important step toward preventing nuclear war was the Soviet Government's Appeal to the governments of the United States, Great Britain, France and China which proposed that all the powers possessing nuclear weapons impose a quantitative and qualitative freeze on their nuclear armaments.

Compliance with the freeze commitments can be effectively verified by national technical means. If necessary, certain additional verification measures could be agreed on and developed on the basis of cooperation.

Obviously, a nuclear freeze would reach maximum efficiency if undertaken simultaneously by all the nuclear powers. Still, the Soviet Government deems it possible for the USSR and the United States to take the first step, so that the other nuclear powers could do likewise.

An end to the buildup of nuclear weapons would be an effective and comparatively easy step. It would not require complex and drawn-out negotiations, especially since now there exists a favorable basis for a nuclear freeze—the strategic military parity between the Soviet Union and the United States.

The freeze would put up an obstacle to the arms race and provide a reliable guarantee of preserving strategic stability since neither side would have any grounds to fear the destabilizing effect of the deployment of new nuclear weapon systems. This means that the danger of a nuclear conflict would decrease considerably and that an about-turn toward a healthier political climate worldwide would become possible.

The Soviet Union sees the freeze not as an end in itself but as an effective first step toward reducing and, in the final analysis, completely eliminating nuclear weapons, and therefore toward putting an end to the very threat of nuclear catastrophe.

At the 38th Session of the UN General Assembly the Soviet Union proposed that the Assembly call on the nuclear powers to *agree to a quantitative and qualitative freeze*, under appropriate control, of the nuclear armaments they possessed. The United States and the Soviet Union were urged to be the first to freeze their nuclear armaments on a bilateral basis, as an example to the other nuclear states.

At that same session the USSR advanced another major initiative. It was a proposal to conclude a *Treaty on Prohibiting the Use of Force in Outer Space and from Outer Space in Respect of the Earth* (a draft treaty was also submitted). In this the Soviet Union was guided by its desire to rule out militarization of outer space and to prevent the development and deployment of various space weapon systems capable of striking targets both in space and on earth.

A complete cessation of nuclear weapon tests by all nations in all environments would also be a significant move toward diminishing the nuclear threat. This long overdue move could place a solid obstacle both to the creation of new types and systems of nuclear weapons and to the emergence of new nuclear states. Guided

by this conviction, the Soviet Union proposed, at the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly in 1982, that a Treaty on the Complete and General Prohibition of Nuclear Weapon Tests be concluded without delay, and submitted major draft provisions of such a treaty.

While attaching priority importance to nuclear disarmament, the Soviet Union is also a consistent advocate of reductions in conventional armaments and armed forces.

There is no type of armaments the Soviet Union would not be prepared to limit or ban on the basis of reciprocal agreement with other states.

Such are the facts, and they are proof of the tireless struggle the Soviet Union is waging for disarmament. For the first time in human history the struggle for peace, for general and complete disarmament has been elevated to the level of a constructive principle and formalized legislatively in the USSR Constitution, the Fundamental Law of the Soviet Union, and reflected in the resolutions of the 24th, 25th and 26th Congresses of the CPSU. These instruments formulate, among other things, the foremost disarmament tasks—to conclude treaties banning nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons; to seek a cessation of nuclear weapon tests everywhere by all; to aid in the creation of nuclear-free zones in various regions across the world; to strive to achieve nuclear disarmament by all the countries possessing nuclear weapons and to convene a conference of the five nuclear powers with this end in view.

*What have the US ruling quarters suggested to the world in the field of disarmament?* Undermining detente, they trample on the agreements already reached and strive to wreck the accords concluded with the Soviet Union earlier and to evade the tackling of substantive issues at the arms limitation and reduction talks.

The US administration has wrecked the entry into force of the SALT-2 Treaty. It has not yet ratified the 1974 Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests and the 1976 Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes. It is working to undermine the Soviet-US Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems concluded in 1972 for an indefinite period. The United States has one-sidedly suspended the talks on banning chemical weapons, on completely banning nuclear weapon tests, on limiting military activity in the Indian Ocean, on limiting international trade in and supply of conventional armaments and on anti-satellite systems. The United States persists in preventing agreement at the talks conducted in the Disarmament Committee on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests and on the banning of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction, at the Vienna talks on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, and on a number of other issues.

The US Government decision to continue boosting military power irrespective of the progress at arms limitation talks was officially announced as early as in the days of the Carter administration (Directive 50). A long-term program of US armed forces modernization was adopted, providing for a 5 percent annual increase of the military budget in real terms (i. e., with inflation adjustments).

The Reagan administration not only picked up where Carter left off; it has initiated practical steps to undermine international security and increase the war threat.

The current US administration has upgraded the average annual growth rate of the military budget to 12-14 percent. Pentagon appropriations reached the fantastic figure of over 211 billion dollars in fiscal 1982 and 240 billion in 1983. Over the next five years (1984-1988) the US Defense Department total allocations are planned at

some 1.8 trillion dollars (280 billion in 1984, 323 billion in 1985, 357 billion in 1986, 389 billion in 1987, and 425 billion in 1988).

A "comprehensive strategic program" for the 1980s has been adopted, aimed at "rearming America" and attaining military superiority over the Soviet Union. Under this program, accelerated buildup is envisaged first and foremost for the strategic offensive forces. MX and Midgetman intercontinental ballistic missiles, new Ohio-class nuclear-powered missile submarines, new B-1B and Stealth strategic bombers, the Shuttle multipurpose space system, and air-, sea- and ground-launched long-range cruise missiles are being developed or already deployed.

Simultaneously, under President Reagan's decision, vigorous work is under way to develop a large-scale anti-ballistic missile defense system. Washington wants this ABM system, deployed both on earth and in outer space, to guarantee 100 percent destruction of enemy missiles in flight. This "absolute" anti-ballistic missile system is to be made up of systems using directed energy (charged-particle beam and laser weapons) and computer technologies. In other words, the plan is to develop an "absolutely reliable shield" and "irresistible sword". President Reagan's contemplated "anti-missile decision" is designed solely to give the USA a free hand in an attempt to deliver a first nuclear strike against the Soviet Union with impunity.

Forward-based nuclear weapon systems are being modernized. Everything possible is being done to create, by deploying new medium-range missiles in Europe, a so-called Eurostrategic potential, for the United States to follow up its plans of "limited" nuclear war.

It is planned to produce 17,000 nuclear weapons in the 1980s and to raise the number of warships to 600. The Air Force and the Navy will be supplied with about 5,000 new aircraft, and the Army, with more than 7,000 new Abrams tanks. Full-scale manufacture has begun of neutron weapons and binary chemical weapons, destined mostly for deployment in Western Europe. New conventional weapon systems are being developed, specifically, long-range precision-guided reconnaissance-attack weapon systems.

Even this brief and far from complete listing of the elements comprising the "comprehensive program of rearming America" demonstrates that the US ruling quarters are working hard to alter the existing approximate military parity in their favor, to secure a military advantage for themselves. Their goal is to make the United States the Number One military power, superior to all other countries in terms of military capability. Military superiority is what the current US administration strives for. But it is common knowledge that military superiority has always been and still is today a means of aggression, not of defense.

In 1973 the USSR and the United States signed an agreement on the prevention of nuclear war. Under this agreement, the sides pledged to act in such a way as to prevent the development of situations conducive to military confrontation. Today, however, the Reagan administration is pushing nations closer to nuclear catastrophe. According to the "direct confrontation" strategy adopted by Washington, the United States reserves the right to deliver a first nuclear strike and to wage various types of nuclear war—"all-out", "limited", "protracted", "rational", etc. The stake is on a victorious nuclear war. The armed forces are being readied for a surprise attack.

Proclaiming its readiness to "lower the level of armaments by conducting negotiations in earnest", the Reagan administration is actually working against disarmament. It has categorically rejected the principle of equality and equal security, the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, the conclusion of a Treaty on the Mutual Non-Use of Military Force and

Maintenance of Relations of Peace, nuclear-free zones in Europe, a freeze on nuclear weapons, a ban on the deployment of long-range cruise missiles, and agreement not to build up strategic and European nuclear armaments.

Thus the US ruling quarters are again, as many times in the past, acting in their usual role of inventors of inhuman weapons and initiators of a new round in the arms race. But now world public opinion is especially alarmed by the fact that today this means not merely a quantitative increase of the existing types of weapons but the development and deployment of first-strike nuclear weapons. Effective disarmament talks are the last thing the United States wants. It wants the talks as a means to deceive nations and cover up the continued arms race it has planned and launched. "We are deeply convinced," Yuri Andropov wrote in his reply to a group of FRG Social-Democrat Bundestag deputies, "that what is happening now is wholly contrary to the vital interests and aspirations of the peoples of Europe and the rest of the world. And the blame for it falls on those who have laid their bets on destabilizing international relations, on gaining military superiority over the socialist states and, for that matter, over all the other countries."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Pravda*, September 21, 1983.

The problem of strategic arms limitation and reduction is of special significance for the efforts to curb the arms race, defuse the war danger and maintain universal peace. This is an exceptional issue: the Soviet Union and the United States, the world's two most powerful nations, must not allow the strategic armaments they possess to pile up unhampered, increasing the danger of nuclear war.

For over three decades now the United States has been impelling the strategic nuclear arms race (Fig. 1). In the 1950s, under the pretext of a "bomber gap", the Pentagon pushed through Congress vast appropriations and hastily implemented a broad program of building strategic bombers. When a huge fleet had been constructed, it turned out that the Americans had deliberately inflated the number of Soviet bombers 200 to 300 percent.

In the early 1960s a campaign over the alleged "missile gap" was launched in the United States. Later Washington admitted that the number of Soviet missiles had been exaggerated 30 times over. In 1962 Defense Secretary Robert McNamara stated officially that the missile gap was a myth. Still, the new round of the arms race was by that time a fact: by 1970 the United States had deployed 1,054 intercontinental ballistic missiles and 656 submarine-launched ballistic missiles.

Timely steps taken by the Soviet Union eliminated the United States' superiority in missiles by the late 1960s and early 1970s. Parity emerged between the Soviet Union and the United States in the field of strategic armaments. But even in conditions of parity the United States did keep up its attempts to secure superiority over the USSR. At the juncture of the 1960s and 1970s the United States was the first to equip strategic ballistic missiles with MIRV warheads, thus initiating a new round of the nuclear arms race. Soon after that, Washington began a crash drive to develop air-, ground- and sea-launched long-range cruise missiles, a new type of strategic weaponry.

In the 1970s the United States deployed 550 new Minuteman III ICBMs; of these, 300 were later equipped with improved MIRV warheads. The Trident submarine-launched missile system was created. Virtually all submarines were rearmed with MIRVed missiles. Strategic bombers began to carry SRAM attack missiles (up to 20 missiles to a B-52 bomber). As a result, over the 1970s the number of US strategic nuclear weapons almost doubled—from 5,100 in 1970 to 10,000 in 1980 (Fig. 2). During this decade, the Pentagon actually added to its inventory three nuclear warheads per day.

Throughout the postwar years the Soviet Union has never initiated the development of new types of weapons. In structuring its armed forces it was forced merely to respond to the threats created by the United States and take steps to ensure Soviet security. At the same time, the USSR worked hard to put an end to the arms race and eliminate the danger of nuclear war.

The process of limiting strategic armaments began in November 1969 with Soviet-American talks which alternated between Helsinki and Vienna. Their chief results were two instruments signed on May 26, 1972, during the Soviet-American summit in Moscow: the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile









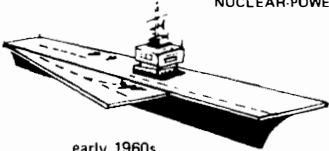
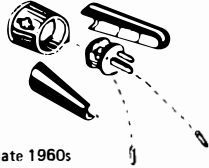
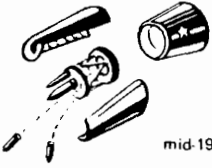

USA	USSR
NUCLEAR WEAPONS	
 mid-1940s (used in August 1945)	 late 1940s
INTERCONTINENTAL STRATEGIC BOMBERS	
 mid-1950s	 late 1950s
NUCLEAR-POWERED SUBMARINES	
 mid-1950s	 late 1950s
NUCLEAR-POWERED AIRCRAFT CARRIERS	
 early 1960s	none
MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE RE-ENTRY VEHICLES	
 late 1960s	 mid-1970s
NEUTRON WEAPONS	
 late 1970s-early 1980s	none

Fig. 1

## US STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE FORCES NUCLEAR POTENTIAL

(number of weapons)

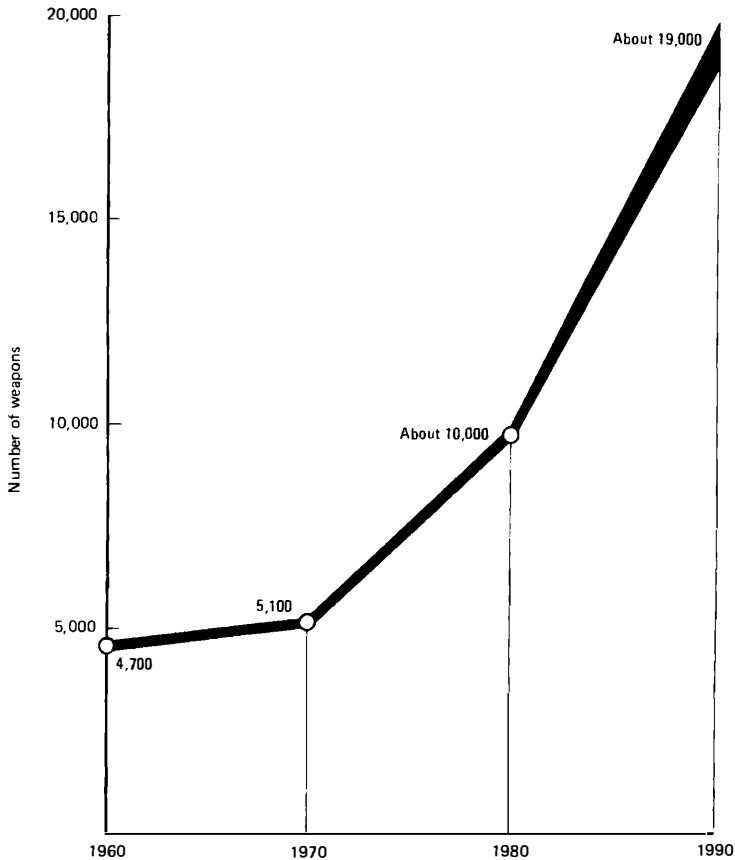


Fig. 2

Systems, concluded for an indefinite period, and the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms. Earlier, on September 30, 1971, the Agreement on Measures to Reduce the Risk of Outbreak of Nuclear War Between the USSR and the USA—also to remain in force indefinitely—was signed; this can by rights be viewed as part of the overall arrangement called SALT-1.

The significance of these accords was that for the first time agreement was reached on specific moves to effectively limit the numerical growth of strategic armaments. It was also important that the Soviet Union and the United States agreed to consider the SALT-1 accords as merely the first step toward further limitation of strategic armaments. In their joint communique of May 30, 1972 both sides stressed that they “intend to carry on active talks on limiting strategic offensive weapons and to conduct them in the spirit of

good will, respect for each other's legitimate interests and on the principle of equal security".<sup>1</sup>

The Soviet Union wants the process of strategic arms limitation, launched by the Soviet-American accords of the 1970s, to develop and go further, leading to considerable reductions in the Soviet and US nuclear arsenals. The USSR approaches the strategic arms limitation and reduction talks with a high sense of responsibility, maintaining that they are especially important for the future of the world and international security. "Of course, one of the main avenues leading to a real scaling down of the threat of nuclear war." Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has said, "is that of reaching a Soviet-American agreement on limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear arms. We approach negotiations on the matter with the utmost responsibility, and seek an honest agreement that will do no damage to either side and will, at the same time, lead to a reduction of their nuclear arsenals."<sup>2</sup>

True, the problem of strategic arms limitation and reduction is far from a simple one, and some of the difficulties have objective causes. For example, Soviet and US strategic nuclear forces differ considerably in their composition. For decades they developed along different roads. As a result, some 70 percent of the Soviet strategic potential (nuclear weapons) fall on land-based ballistic missiles, while in the United States, submarine-launched ballistic missiles and heavy bombers account for over 80 percent of its potential. There are other substantial differences in this field, too.

But this does not mean that the issue of strategic arms limitation is impossible to solve. The record of SALT-1 and SALT-2 shows that given the political will, the desire to reach agreement in the interests of strengthening general security, the Soviet Union and the United States could find effective solutions to extremely involved questions of strategic armaments.

The principle of equality and equal security is the cornerstone of such solutions. Only adherence to this principle and due regard for all the factors shaping the strategic situation made it possible to find stable and effective solutions which ruled out one-sided advantages for either side.

This is borne out by the entire history of the Soviet-American strategic arms limitation talks. These talks are a stage-by-stage upward process leading to increasingly significant and sizable limitations. While the 1972 Interim Agreement primarily concerned freezing the overall number of ICBM and SLBM launchers on either side, the aggregate limits under the SALT-2 Treaty included heavy bombers as well. In other words, the entire strategic triad was subjected to limitation and even reduction. Now that the strategic arms limitation and reduction talks are under way, another important step has been taken—it has been suggested that limitation apply to the aggregate number of nuclear weapons carried by strategic delivery vehicles.

The preparation and the conclusion of the SALT-2 Treaty have shown that if limitations are to be mutually acceptable, it is entirely unrealistic to try to make the strategic forces of the sides completely symmetrical in structure. At the same time, it is absolutely imperative to take a comprehensive approach whereby all strategic armaments and not their individual, hand-picked types should be subject to limitation and reduction.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Soviet Union's International Relations and Foreign Policy. Documents and Materials.* Moscow, 1975, p. 301 (in Russian).

<sup>2</sup> Yuri Andropov, *Sixtieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.* Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1983, p. 27.

A factor which contributed greatly to progress in strategic arms limitation was the approximate parity in the strategic military field, which took shape by the late 1960s, between the USSR and the United States, between the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO countries. This parity replaced the superiority the United States had enjoyed in strategic armaments since it developed the atomic bomb. Strategic parity means an approximate balance of forces in which the advantages of one side in certain parameters and components are balanced by the advantages the other side has in other fields. The task is to reduce the level of nuclear confrontation and thus strengthen strategic stability while preserving that balance.

*Does this approach to the evaluation of strategic armaments still apply at the talks currently under way in Geneva?*

The Soviet Union takes this approach into account in conducting the strategic arms limitation and reduction talks. The Soviet view is that the long years of work to prepare the SALT-2 Treaty and the preceding negotiating experience were useful both in terms of the results achieved and as concerns the approach to the problems under consideration. The fact that the SALT-2 Treaty has not entered into force is a grave political blunder on the part of the United States. The failure to ratify the treaty was to the detriment not only of peace but also of the United States itself and its prestige. A ratified SALT-2 Treaty would have reduced the Soviet strategic potential by 10 percent (by 254 delivery vehicles with a total yield of several hundred megatons). Aside from a sizable numerical reduction, serious obstacles would have been placed in the way of improvements in the parties' strategic armaments.

The Soviet Union would like the accord currently in preparation to retain all the positive elements achieved in the field of strategic arms limitation earlier. One must not erode and destroy the underlying basis of the Interim Agreement (SALT-1) and the SALT-2 Treaty. It would hardly be logical to start negotiations from scratch each time the administration changes in the United States.

Guided by the principle of equality and equal security, the Soviet Union proposes that reductions and qualitative limitations apply to all the components of the parties' strategic armaments in their entirety—intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-launched ballistic missiles and heavy bombers—rather than some individual, arbitrarily selected types.

The USSR proposes that by 1990 the number of strategic delivery vehicles (ICBMs, SLBMs and heavy bombers) be reduced to 1,800—that is, by 25 percent. This would be a sizable reduction affecting all the components of the parties' strategic armaments without exception. Simultaneously, it is proposed that the total number of nuclear weapons carried by delivery vehicles be reduced to agreed equal levels lower than the number currently possessed by the United States. It is also proposed that an equal number of MIRVed vehicles be established, lower than the level envisaged in the SALT-2 Treaty.

In advancing these proposals, the Soviet Union takes into account the United States' forward-based nuclear weapon systems stationed in close proximity to the borders of the USSR and its allies. That is one of the factors which shape the strategic situation. Today, the United States and the other NATO countries already maintain in Western Europe a number of vehicles capable of simultaneously delivering over 3,000 nuclear weapons to targets within the USSR. To us, these are strategic armaments, whose share in the aggregate level, given reductions in ICBMs, SLBMs, heavy bombers and nuclear weapons they carry, would rise steadily.

For this reason the reductions proposed by the USSR can be put into effect in the sense that the United States takes legitimate Soviet interests into account or

at least refrains from building up its other nuclear weapons capable of reaching targets within the Soviet Union. Otherwise the United States would retain a channel for bypassing the agreement, a means of increasing the nuclear threat to the Soviet Union and thereby undermining the very basis of future agreement.

The Soviet proposals are also aimed at restricting the qualitative improvement of strategic armaments. In this connection the Soviet position on long-range cruise missiles is of particular importance. We believe that the best and most radical solution to this question would be a ban on the deployment of such missiles no matter where they are launched from. However, the United States has been opposing this solution adamantly. Therefore, in its desire for the talks to make headway, the Soviet Union expressed its readiness—in case other questions are resolved to mutual satisfaction—to consider steps toward limiting, rather than banning, cruise missiles with a range of over 600 kilometers carried by heavy bombers. But in this case the deployment of ground- and sea-launched long-range cruise missiles would have to be banned completely.

The Soviet Union has suggested a set of moves to prevent surprise attack and strengthen mutual trust, to rule out misinterpretation of action taken by either side, and to ensure mutual verification (using national technical means) of the full and precise compliance with the commitments to be assumed. In this connection the USSR insists that the agreement must not be bypassed via third countries and that the armaments subject to reduction or relevant technological information must not be passed to them.

And finally, in order to prevent any further buildup of strategic armaments and thus improve prospects for agreement, the USSR proposes a freeze for the duration of the talks—that is, a ban on the numerical buildup of the delivery vehicles of strategic nuclear weapons, on the qualitative improvement and development of new types of such weapons.

The above highlights the main point of the Soviet proposals—an end to the strategic arms race, a lower level of the nuclear confrontation with approximate parity remaining unchanged, and firmer strategic stability. To achieve this, the Soviet Union has advanced a many-sided and solid plan which takes into account both Soviet and US interests. Given goodwill on the American side, successful negotiations would be quite possible on its basis.

*What does the United States propose at the strategic arms limitation and reduction talks?* Essentially, the US position was summed up by President Reagan in his address of May 9, 1982, with its theme of securing “genuine and lasting restraint on Soviet military programs”. The goal of this position is not approximate parity and mutually acceptable agreement but one-sided advantages. The United States proposes such strategic arms reductions which, should they be implemented, would almost totally eliminate the Soviet Union’s latest strategic armaments while giving the United States a free hand in carrying out its new strategic armaments programs. The United States has abandoned the comprehensive approach to the reduction of strategic nuclear forces as a triad (ICBMs, SLBMs and heavy bombers), an approach it adhered to previously. Now the United States dismisses its earlier criteria as “inadequate” and suggests selective reductions favorable to itself only.

Instead of the principle of equality and equal security, the United States wants the negotiations to proceed from an approach envisaging levels for the Soviet and US strategic armaments which appear equal—however, these are not overall levels; they apply to individual types of weapons selected in a way which favors the United States. In a bid to justify this approach, the United States has staged a propaganda campaign claiming that the Soviet Union has attained superiority

over the United States in strategic armaments. It is alleged that the weapons predominating in the Soviet Armed Forces—intercontinental ballistic missiles—have a particularly destabilizing effect and should be eliminated, while those in which the United States is stronger—modern SLBMs and cruise missile-carrying heavy bombers—should remain intact.

As to specific US proposals, the initial American position at the talks envisaged a reduction of Soviet and US land- and sea-based ballistic missiles to 850 on each side. Simultaneously, a limit of 5,000 was to be imposed on the number of warheads on ICBMs and SLBMs, with a sublevel of 2,500 for the number of warheads on ICBMs.

Superficially, the impression is that equality would be assured for each side—but only superficially. In fact, there would be no genuine equality for the simple reason that, applied to the actual composition of Soviet and US strategic forces, a system of reductions demanding, among other things, the elimination of heavy ICBMs, sizable reductions in the number of the so-called medium ICBMs and generally an abrupt reduction of ICBM throw-weight, would mean a restructuring of the Soviet strategic forces, a radical change in the composition of the Soviet strategic potential, above all of the ICBM forces. The US approach means that we would have to dismantle almost all our ICBMs and then—if we wanted to remain on an equal level with the United States—to build them again, but according to unspecified US patterns. This is an absurd demand, especially considering that, naturally, it envisages no such restructuring of the US strategic forces. This is a way to obvious military advantages for the United States, not to parity. Clearly, the Soviet Union cannot accept this.

Another extremely important point should also be stressed. As set forth in May 1982, the American approach is actually aimed at building up strategic armaments although its professed objective is arms reduction. The reason is that in “following up” its method of selective limitations, the United States has not proposed a single curb on heavy bombers at the talks. The US position can be expressed in a very simple formula—reducing or, to be more precise, dismantling virtually all Soviet ICBMs while giving the go-ahead to the development of strategic aviation where the United States has a considerable advantage.

The patently negative consequences of the adoption of the US proposals for the maintenance of stability can be clearly seen in Table 1.

The end result of these proposals would be a US superiority of some 50 percent in the number of strategic delivery vehicles over the USSR and three times as many nuclear warheads or bombs carried by these vehicles.

Predictably, the United States would have a virtual *carte blanche* for carrying the arms race further, especially along the extremely dangerous new course of developing and deploying ground-, air- and sea-launched long-range cruise missiles on a massive scale. Many unbiased observers in the West recognize the self-serving slant of the US approach.

In the summer of 1983, in an attempt to give at least a semblance of presentability to this approach, the United States made some amendments in its position at the Geneva talks. But these were not at all aimed at accommodating the Soviet side which worked vigorously, genuinely striving to move closer to mutually acceptable agreement. The amendments were designed merely to appear constructive; the essence of the US approach remained the same. As it stands today, the US position still cannot provide a basis for mutually acceptable agreement, and for the following reasons.

*First*, both previously and today the US proposals envisage a radical restructuring of the Soviet strategic potential and a breakup of ICBM forces.

SOVIET/US STRATEGIC FORCE LEVELS  
(with ballistic missiles reduced according to US proposal  
to 850 on each side)

		USSR	USA
Delivery vehicles	ICBMs and SLBMs TOTAL	850	850
	Heavy bombers	150	570
	Delivery vehicles TOTAL	1,000	1,420
	RATIO	1 to 1.4	
Nuclear weapons	On ICBMs	2,400	2,430
	On SLBMs	2,390	2,560
	On ICBMs and SLBMs	4,790	4,990
	On heavy bombers	150	about 10,000 *
	Nuclear weapons TOTAL	4,940	about 15,000
	RATIO	1 to 3	

\* 8,000 nuclear weapons on 400 heavy bombers (20 cruise missiles each).

As a result, the existing approximate parity between the Soviet Union and the United States would tilt the scales heavily in favor of the Americans. Such restructuring would be dictated by the aggregate limit of 5,000 for ballistic missile warheads, an element the US position retains, and by the demands to limit the throw-weight.

The American side raises the question of throw-weight for the sole reason of imposing disproportionately great limitations and reductions on the Soviet Union and securing one-sided advantages. Meanwhile, in actual fact throw-weight is immaterial as a criterion for comparing the Soviet and the US strategic capabilities. The accuracy of today's strategic armaments makes it unnecessary and even irrational to increase the yield of a nuclear weapon by boosting the throw-weight. Besides, it should be borne in mind that the Soviet proposals would in any case also rule out the use of the existing throw-weight of ballistic missiles to gain any advantage in the number of warheads.

The Soviet Union suggests that the future strategic arms limitation and reduction agreement use ICBM and SLBM launchers, heavy bombers and nuclear weapons carried by these vehicles as the basis for comparison. This is quite enough for the purposes of the projected accord. Throw-weight is immaterial here.

*Second*, the United States still insists on separating ballistic missiles which it calls "fast-flying" delivery vehicles from heavy bombers and their armament—"slow-flying" delivery vehicles.

One must say right away that this is a contrived classification. To claim that heavy bombers carrying cruise missiles are less destabilizing than, say, ICBMs is a deliberate distortion of facts. The truth is that today all types of strategic armaments are growing similar in their performance; they are all equally dangerous and can be used to deliver a first, preemptive strike. That is precisely

why limitations must apply to all of them in their entirety, and not to their individual groups or types.

As to the American notion of the “especially destabilizing character” of ICBMs, this “discovery” was made by Ronald Reagan, Caspar Weinberger and Edward Rowny. In actual fact, the United States is using this notion to try and undermine the strategic potential of the Soviet Union.

*Third*, the United States applies its selective approach to secure one-sided advantages and not to reach effective agreement on a mutually acceptable basis. For example, the American side has proposed a separate limit of 400 heavy bombers for either side. In practical terms this would mean that the Soviet Union, which currently has some 150 such aircraft, would have to build an entire fleet of 250 bombers to achieve parity with the United States which already has nearly 600 heavy bombers today, or reconcile itself to the nearly triple US advantage in this field of strategic armaments.

Besides, the US proposal concerning heavy bombers is wholly biased for another reason too: against all logic, the Americans demand that the Soviet Backfire medium-range bomber, which has nothing in common with strategic aircraft, be included as part of the Soviet strategic weaponry. This is yet another example of the way the Americans use the method of selective limitation to press for one-sided advantages.

*Fourth*, the American position is aimed at continuing the strategic armaments race. Indeed, even the proposed level of 400 heavy bombers, each carrying 20 long-range cruise missiles, can be considered as a limitation only nominally: the sum would be 8,000 nuclear warheads. Add to that the 5,000 ICBM warheads, also proposed by the US side, and the total reaches 13,000 nuclear warheads on strategic vehicles. Besides, evading our compromise proposal on cruise missiles, the United States actually leaves the door open for uncontrolled buildup of ground- and sea-launched long-range cruise missiles. Also, the American approach would place no restrictions on the nuclear armament of heavy bombers other than cruise missiles with a range of over 600 kilometers—such as aerial bombs and SRAM missiles. As a result, the number of nuclear warheads and bombs strategic vehicles could carry according to the US approach could reach and even exceed 15,000. Apparently, this is in line with the United States’ plans of building up its strategic capability.

*Fifth*, the readiness the United States has expressed to agree to somewhat increase the 850 level for ballistic missiles it had earlier proposed, does nothing to change the essence of the US approach: heavy bombers are left out of the count, and this, as we have shown, leads to an unjust and biased situation. The ploy about raising the level to more than 850 ballistic missiles was resorted to by the USA merely to accommodate yet another new strategic program—the plan to develop and deploy Midgetman single-warhead mobile ICBMs.

And so the true picture emerges: while paying lip service to strategic arms reductions, the United States is in fact aiming—even within the context of the future strategic arms limitation and reduction agreement—at a higher level of nuclear confrontation. Instead of easing tensions, this can only raise them and increase the risk of nuclear war.

The most destabilizing factor is the runaway arms race “programed” by the US administration. Only ulterior and propaganda motives can lead one to assert that a large-scale strategic arms buildup by the United States and NATO can strengthen stability. The US proposals place neither qualitative nor quantitative restrictions on the strategic armaments race. The United States flatly refuses even to discuss a freeze on strategic armaments; it rejects the proposal of a ban on the deployment of long-range cruise missiles, no matter where they are



launched from, and of air-to-surface ballistic missiles with a range of over 600 kilometers. Washington wants a free hand in implementing all its programs to build up strategic armaments (MX ICBMs, Trident II SLBMs, new strategic bombers and air-, ground- and sea-launched long-range cruise missiles).

Pentagon leaders state openly that the United States will continue to follow up all these programs even if a strategic arms reduction agreement is concluded with the Soviet Union. Obviously, instead of seeking agreement with the Soviet Union on strategic arms reduction and limitation, the US administration aims at unrestricted deployment of new ICBMs, SLBMs, heavy bombers and long-range cruise missiles and at securing, on this basis, superiority over the USSR. The Geneva talks and the accompanying propaganda serve as a smokescreen to disguise these true intentions of the United States.

This is the American idea of “just” strategic arms reductions. But how can one describe reductions as “radical” and an approach as realistic and honest if they are clearly designed to erode the basis of the Soviet strategic forces and upset the existing strategic parity in favor of the United States?

The “new initiative” announced by President Reagan on October 4, 1983, has not introduced any fundamental change in the US position. What it amounts to is that the US administration would like to present its measures designed to modernize the arsenals of strategic weapons and build up its nuclear capability as proposals for strategic arms reductions. This cover-up propaganda move pursues the same purpose of making the USSR restructure its strategic nuclear forces by having a considerable proportion of its modern land-based ICBMs, particularly heavy missiles, scrapped, and thus upsetting the existing strategic parity in favor of the USA.

For all the talk of “flexibility”, the US proposals cannot serve as a basis for an agreement effectively limiting and reducing strategic armaments. To accomplish its chief task—greater strategic stability, reduction and ultimate elimination of the nuclear war threat—a future agreement must be based on an objective correlation of the existing forces; it must envisage limitation and reduction of all types of strategic weaponry without exception. Both sides should conduct negotiations with due regard for each other’s legitimate security interests and in strict compliance with the principle of equality and equal security. We should act rationally and preserve everything positive accomplished previously. Only this approach can justify the hopes of an agreement being reached on concrete moves to significantly reduce the strategic inventories of both sides.

The central problem for the European nations today and an important one for the world as a whole is that of medium-range nuclear arms in Europe. The shape of the political and military situation, and the relations and degree of confidence among most of the countries of that continent in the years to come depend on whether agreement will be reached on lowering the level of these arms or whether still more of them will be piled up due to the bid of the United States and its NATO allies to gain military superiority over the Warsaw Treaty countries.

The problem of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe arose after World War II when the Soviet Union still had no atomic weapons, while the United States had more than 90 B-29 bombers with nuclear weapons aboard at air bases in Great Britain. Between 1954 and 1958, the United States went a step further. It sited Matador, Mace, Thor and Jupiter medium-range nuclear missiles in a number of other NATO states. An air armada of many hundreds of US nuclear-capable aircraft was continuously stationed at airfields in Great Britain, the FRG, and other countries. This force was intended for strikes at nerve centers of the Soviet Union and its allies. US delivery vehicles and nuclear weapons deployed close to the frontiers of the Soviet Union came to be known as forward-based weapon systems, and the military strategy these systems were to serve were called "massive retaliation" by Washington. At about that time, a few other NATO countries also acquired nuclear weapons.

Until the end of the 1950s, aircraft were the sole carriers of nuclear weapons on the Soviet side. The USSR had no medium-range missiles in those days. But it could not look on impassively while an ever greater number of nuclear missiles was being trained on Soviet cities from various points in Europe and Asia. It had no choice but to develop similar weapon systems as a counterweight to the US forward-based weapon systems and the missiles of other NATO countries. And the USSR developed the SS-4 and SS-5 missiles, and deployed them on its own territory in 1959 to 1961, their number, plus its medium-range aviation, balancing out the corresponding US and NATO nuclear armaments in Europe. The development of these weapon systems was not a threat but a forced response by the countries of the socialist community to the US nuclear blackmail.

Those are the facts. Not the Soviet Union but the United States created the problem of a nuclear confrontation in Europe. Time and again, the USSR called on the USA to negotiate and relieve Europe of nuclear weapons at least partially. But the Soviet proposals were invariably and obdurately turned down by the American side, which, indeed, refused to consider the problem a subject for negotiation until the very end of the 1970s. On October 6, 1979, the Soviet Union officially offered the USA to begin the pertinent negotiations, and declared its readiness to reduce the number of its medium-range weapon systems deployed in the western regions of the USSR. At that time, the Soviet proposal fell on deaf ears. This US refusal to negotiate the problem had its underlying reasons.

In the mid-1970s the USA had already set its sights on building up its medium-range armaments in Europe. That was when the Americans drafted their program of developing and producing Pershing II missiles and long-range

GLCMs. Quite deliberately, they refused to negotiate forward-based weapon systems with the USSR throughout the 1970s, for they did not want any limitations to apply to their medium-range systems.

In 1975, when the USA was making up its mind to deploy its medium-range missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union had no operational SS-20 missiles, which the USA and its allies now identify as the main reason for the planned deployment of US Pershing II and cruise missiles.

At the time, no one in the West ever thought of saying that the equilibrium in Europe presupposed complete structural symmetry of the medium-range nuclear forces and that the United States absolutely had to have missiles here comparable to the Soviet. Only now has this been made the pretext for "modernizing" armaments in Europe. In 1975, when the USSR had more medium-range missiles than it has now, no one in the West complained of any "imbalance". Why, then, is the Soviet Union now being required to destroy all medium-range missiles (including SS-4s and SS-5s), while the NATO nuclear arsenal is to remain intact? Where is the logic in that?

\* \* \*

When examining the positions of the Soviet Union and the United States at the Geneva negotiations on the limitation of nuclear arms in Europe, one should bear in mind that in determining the correlation of medium-range nuclear weapon systems it is the number of nuclear delivery vehicles that is the basic criterion, namely, the number of aircraft and missiles (whether cruise or ballistic, land- or sea-based) of a definite range and of nuclear weapons on them (missile warheads, and missiles or bombs in the case of aircraft). What weapon systems are classed medium-range? In the SALT-2 Treaty, for example, missiles with a range in excess of 5,500 km are referred to as intercontinental, that being the shortest distance between the north-western border of the Soviet mainland and the north-eastern border of the continental part of the USA. Medium-range weapon systems in Europe, as the USSR sees it, are those with a range of 1,000 km and longer (but not intercontinental) and capable of striking vitally important centers in the USSR if launched from the territory of West European NATO states or the adjoining seas.

In the context of the above criteria, rough parity in medium-range nuclear weapons has obtained in Europe for now quite a number of years.

At present, NATO has 857 and the USSR 938 medium-range nuclear delivery vehicles in the region (Table 2). There is nothing arbitrary about this count. All the aircraft and missiles are real. In NATO's case they are the forward-based weapon systems of the USA—US nuclear-capable F-111 and F-4 aircraft stationed at air bases in the FRG, Great Britain and other West European countries, medium FB-111 bombers regularly deployed at airfields in Europe and intended for action in that region, and nuclear-capable aircraft (A-6 and A-7) aboard US aircraft carriers on combat patrol along the shores of Europe. More than 650 units all told, with Great Britain accounting for another 64 missiles and France 142 missiles and bombers.

All in all, therefore, NATO has 162 sea- and land-based missiles of this type, and some 700 medium-range nuclear-capable aircraft. Their range or action radius (as the case may be) is anything from 1,000 to 4,500 km. They can reach targets within Soviet territory right up to the Ural Mountains.

This NATO force is opposed on the Soviet side by SS-20 and SS-4 missiles (the SS-5s have all been withdrawn from service and scrapped) and medium-range bombers. Their total is roughly equal to that of NATO's medium-range

SOVIET/NATO MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR WEAPON LEVELS  
IN EUROPE

(as of October 1, 1983)

USSR	NATO (USA, UK, France)	
<b>LAND-BASED MISSILES</b>		
SS-4,* SS-20 455	18	S-3, France
<b>SEA-BASED MISSILES</b>		
	80 <sup>(5)**</sup>	M-20, France
	16 <sup>(1)</sup>	Polaris A-3T, UK
	48 <sup>(3)</sup>	Polaris A-3TK, UK
18	144 <sup>(9)</sup>	Sea-based missiles total
473	162	MISSILES TOTAL
<b>NUCLEAR-CAPABLE AIRCRAFT</b>		
Medium bombers	65	FB-111, USA
	172	F-111, USA
	174	F-4, USA
	240	A-6, A-7, USA
	44	Mirage IV, France
465	695	AIRCRAFT TOTAL
938	857	Delivery vehicles
2,153	3,056	Nuclear weapons
		TOTAL

*NOTE:* The ratio approximately is 1 to 1 in delivery vehicles; NATO leads by 1.4 to 1 in the number of nuclear weapons. If 572 Pershing II and cruise missiles are deployed, NATO would have an advantage of 1.5 to 1 in delivery vehicles and 2 to 1 in nuclear weapons.

\* All SS-5 missiles have been withdrawn from service and scrapped.

\*\* Number of submarines (in parentheses).

delivery vehicles, while in the number of nuclear weapons that can be delivered in one launch/sortie—a highly pertinent figure—NATO has a 50 percent advantage.

The Western claims that the deployment of SS-20 missiles by the USSR had upset the parity is contrary to the facts. An ordinary process of modernization had been under way in the Soviet Union (prior to its declaring a moratorium). The SS-20 missiles were sited not in addition to the existing ones but as a replacement for SS-4 and SS-5 missiles that were being withdrawn from service and dismantled. When siting one SS-20 missile, the USSR removed one or two of the old missiles. True, the SS-20 missile has three warheads, but this does not upset the parity because NATO has a nearly 50 percent advantage in the number

of nuclear weapons. Furthermore, NATO's medium-range weapon systems are being modernized in high gear by fitting them with a larger number of warheads. At present just Britain's and France's 162 missiles have more than 400 nuclear warheads. The US forward-based weapon systems are also being modernized.

On the whole, the substitution of SS-20s for the obsolescent SS-4 and SS-5 missiles has not altered the strategic situation in Europe: the total of Soviet missiles has decreased, but the correlation of forces on both sides has remained the same. With things as they stand today, the Soviet SS-20 missiles are nothing more than a counterweight to the medium-range nuclear weapon systems of the USA and the other NATO countries in Europe. The Soviet side, as will be shown below, is prepared, given the corresponding terms, to go so far as to reduce the number of SS-20 missiles (and, consequently, of warheads on them) deployed in the European part of the USSR.

If, on the other hand, NATO goes ahead with its decision of deploying US medium-range missiles in Europe, it would not only upset the military equilibrium in that region in favor of the West, but also tilt the rough balance of Soviet and US strategic forces, because, sited in Europe, the new US missiles are a strategic weapon in relation to the Soviet Union. They can reach Soviet territory, while the Soviet SS-20 missiles do not reach the US mainland. It will then follow that the United States would have many more strategic weapons than the USSR.

The Americans argue that their new missiles will be aimed against the Soviet SS-20 missiles. But that is meant to mislead the public in the West. The highly accurate Pershing II missiles with a range of 2,500 km would be poised above all against high-echelon governmental, military command and control centers, and other strategic targets in the Soviet Union (see map). Their flight time to target amounting to just a few minutes, they would be a dangerous first-strike weapon. That is precisely why the United States wants them deployed in Europe. Former US Defense Secretary Harold Brown has said in so many words that in that case the Pentagon will gain a clear and indisputable strategic advantage. Cruise missiles which are capable of concealed approach to their targets can also be used in a first strike.

What the whole thing amounts to, therefore, is that Washington wants to give its militarist doctrines a material base, and to secure military advantages which it cannot succeed in securing at the strategic arms limitation and reduction talks, that is, to create a first-strike potential against the Soviet Union in the hope that any nuclear war, which it does not rule out and is even planning to unleash, would be confined to Europe and would not affect the territory of the United States.

Deployment of US missiles on the territory of Great Britain, the FRG, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands would cause far-reaching changes in the political and military situation in Europe, would sharply aggravate the nuclear confrontation, and escalate the risk of nuclear war. The socialist countries are doing everything they can to avert this perilous turn of events.

*At the negotiations on nuclear arms limitation in Europe, the USSR has submitted a considerable number of constructive proposals and made substantial concessions for the sake of reaching an agreement.*

When the negotiations had only started (1980), the Soviet Union offered to come to terms about a moratorium on medium-range nuclear weapon systems in Europe. Only one thing was needed—goodwill and readiness to hold down the arms race. The United States, however, showed neither. All the same, for the sake of finding a mutually acceptable solution, the USSR set a moratorium on its medium-range nuclear weapons in the European part of its territory on a unilateral basis. What was the US comeback? It went ahead with its tests of

Pershing II and cruise missiles. It stepped up the building of the infrastructure for these missiles. It issued statements that the NATO decision to reinforce Western Europe with new US medium-range missiles would be carried out at all costs.

In 1981, the Soviet Union declared itself in favor of having no nuclear weapons at all in Europe, either medium-range or tactical. What is unfair about that? Only those who want no equal accords and count on gaining a solid advantage for themselves can turn down such a proposal. The USA received this Soviet initiative in total silence, and has kept this silence for all of two years now.

And since the USA is not willing to clear the European zone of medium-range nuclear weapons, the Soviet side put forward one more variant of nuclear arms limitation in Europe for the sake of finding a mutually acceptable solution, as expressed in the draft treaty it submitted at the negotiations: to reduce the number of Soviet and US medium-range nuclear delivery vehicles down to 300 units, that is, by two-thirds and more, on the side of the USSR and on the side of NATO; to prohibit deployment of new types of nuclear weapons in Europe; to carry out collateral measures limiting nuclear weapons with a range of 500 to 1,000 km, and to provide for due verification of the fulfilment of these commitments by either side. This proposal is being categorically rejected by the United States.

Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, put forward a fundamentally new and far-reaching proposal, declaring Soviet readiness to keep in Europe not a single medium-range missile more than the number possessed by Britain and France, and to establish full equality of the sides in the number of medium-range nuclear-capable aircraft at a substantially lower level than now.

The West came back with the contention that in this case the Soviet Union would have more nuclear warheads on its missiles. And once more the Soviet Union displayed goodwill. It expressed readiness to reach agreement on the equality of nuclear potentials in Europe both as regards delivery vehicles and nuclear weapons on them with due account, of course, for the corresponding armaments of Britain and France. Yuri Andropov said: "We are in favour of the USSR having no more missiles and warheads on them than the NATO side has during each mutually agreed-upon period. If the British and French missiles have fewer warheads, the quantity of warheads on Soviet medium-range missiles would be reduced by the same number. This approach would also apply to the aircraft-borne weapons of the same class deployed in Europe. Thus approximate parity would be maintained between the USSR and NATO, both in the number of medium-range nuclear delivery vehicles, i.e. missiles and aircraft, and in the number of weapons they carry. Moreover, this parity would be at a much lower level than at present."<sup>1</sup> As a result, the Soviet Union would have considerably fewer medium-range missiles and warheads on them in the European zone than before 1976, when no one questioned the obtaining parity in this field.

Finally, the Soviet Union took one more significant step. In his replies to *Pravda* (August 27, 1983), Yuri Andropov said that if a mutually acceptable agreement were reached, including US renunciation of new missiles deployment in Europe, the Soviet Union would destroy all the medium-range missiles subject to reduction in the European part of the country to a level equalling the number of British and French missiles, including a considerable number of the more sophisticated ones known in the West as SS-20s.

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<sup>1</sup> *Moscow News*, Supplement to issue No. 21, 1983, p. 1.

The exceptional importance of this new Soviet act of good will is obvious. First, it cuts the ground from under the US claims that the Soviet Union intends to retain the SS-20 missiles subject to reduction and merely move them from Europe to the east. Second, it knocks the bottom out of the trumped-up charge of "exporting the nuclear threat to Asia".

It should be clear to any impartial person that the Soviet Union has been and is now doing everything it can to find some way of untying the knots at the negotiations and to reach a mutually acceptable agreement. The Soviet proposals make for the conclusion of a fair accord that takes due account of the interests of both sides and is based on the principle of equality and equal security. There is a realistic chance of avoiding the escalation of the arms race that would follow the deployment of new American missiles in Western Europe, with the then unavoidable chain reaction of countermeasures by the Soviet Union and its allies.

*What is the substance of the American proposal at the negotiations?* It is spelled out in President Reagan's all-too-well-known "zero option" and "interim proposal". The US side at the negotiations argues with a straight face that the Soviet Union has a "monopoly" in medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and, in addition, a "threatening advantage" in nuclear-capable aircraft. That is why the "zero option" requires the USSR to unilaterally destroy all its medium-range missiles. Should it fail to do so, the United States would deploy 572 missiles (108 Pershing II ballistic missiles and 464 cruise missiles) in Western Europe. What this "option" amounts to, therefore, is an ultimatum for the Soviet Union to disarm on a unilateral basis. The USA and NATO themselves do not want to reduce their arsenal by a single missile or a single aircraft.

But, one may ask, what about the US forward-based nuclear weapon systems and the nuclear arms of Britain and France? The Americans categorically object to considering them in the negotiations. Yet, if the US forward-based nuclear weapon systems are ignored, and if the corresponding British and French nuclear arms are not taken into account either, what is left of the NATO nuclear potential? On paper, the US administration reduces it to zero. But what if we count what really exists? Then the correlation of forces between the USSR and NATO would be approximately 1:1 in delivery vehicles and 1:1.4 in nuclear weapons.

If the US "zero option" were put into effect, the number of medium-range nuclear weapon systems on NATO's side would not go down at all, while the number of such weapon systems in the European part of the USSR would be reduced to less than half. As a result, NATO would gain a more than double advantage in the number of medium-range nuclear delivery vehicles and a triple advantage in nuclear weapons. A one-sided, nothing short of dictatorial, posture!

The substance of the "interim proposal" amounts to the same thing—a gain for the USA and a loss for the USSR. It contains nothing new. What it boils down to is that the US side would build up its forward-based nuclear weapon systems in terms of Pershing II ballistic missiles and cruise missiles, while the Soviet Union is being prevailed upon to "bless" the plans for this buildup and, furthermore, to reduce its own weapons of this class. This is graphically demonstrated in Fig. 3. The US proposals are unacceptable to the Soviet Union: they provide for the deployment of US missiles and a unilateral reduction of Soviet missiles; they fail to take account of the corresponding British and French nuclear armaments; they leave US medium-range aircraft out of the agreement, and drag in armaments sited in the eastern part of the USSR which have no relation at all to the Geneva negotiations.

Neither has the "new" initiative of the USA, announced by President Reagan on September 27, 1983 changed anything in the substance of the American approach.

NATO/SOVIET MEDIUM-RANGE  
NUCLEAR WEAPON SYSTEMS IN EUROPE  
(current and future)

In the absence of agreement

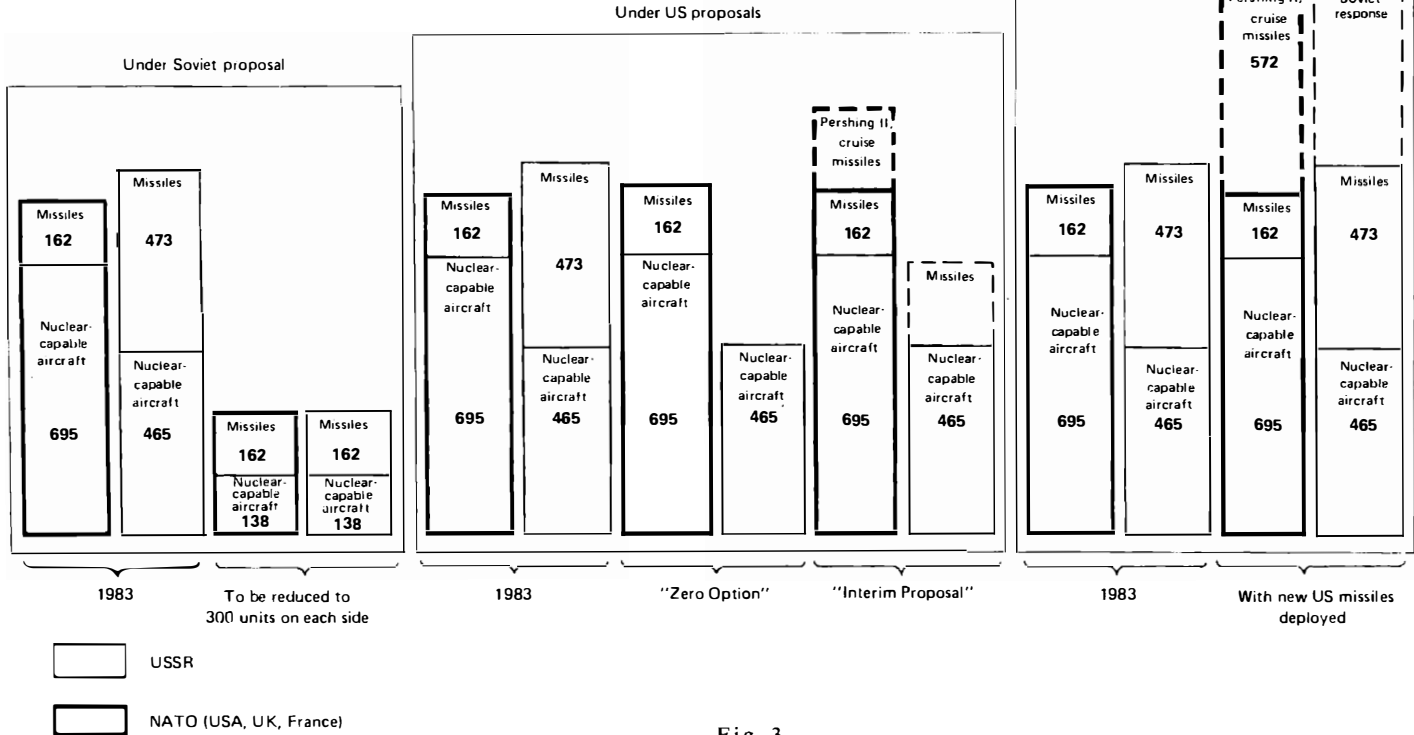


Fig. 3



its underlying purpose is the same: to station US missiles in Europe in addition to the already available British and French nuclear missiles. The Soviet Union is only offered to discuss their number and composition. But there is nothing to discuss here, nothing to negotiate, because all this amounts to is the same old "interim proposal".

By its "new" initiative, the US administration has again shown that it does not want disarmament, that it is out to boost its forward-based nuclear weapon systems in Europe. Whatever rhetoric the US President may resort to, Washington is bent on sabotaging the negotiations, and on stationing the missiles on the pretext that the talks failed. By refusing to include the British and French medium-range nuclear weapon systems in NATO's count, the US side is seeking to upset existing equilibrium.

Washington's attempts to overlook the British and French nuclear armaments can have only one explanation. It is building its entire unrealistic position precisely on leaving these weapons out of the count in defining the correlation of forces. Remove this artificial obstacle, and nothing is left of the "zero option", of the "interim proposal" and, for that matter, of all the talk about a Soviet "missile monopoly". For precisely this main reason, the USA has made the question of British and French nuclear weapon systems a stumbling block at the negotiations in a bid to drag them out and then, complaining of "Russian intransigence", deploy its new missiles in Western Europe.

The Soviet Union's demand to include the British and French nuclear weapons in the NATO count is a position of principle which it has kept to from the start. And this demand is not at all unjustified, for it is an imperative related to the objective defensive needs of the socialist countries. The USSR must, and will, in any circumstances have an equivalent to these armaments. If the British and French weapons are not counted, there will be no agreement. Yuri Andropov made this quite clear: "Try to look at the situation from the viewpoint of the Soviet Union and its lawful interests: on what grounds, by what rights do they want to leave us disarmed in face of these British and French nuclear missiles aimed at our country? It is clear that we cannot agree and will never agree to this. The Soviet people have the same right to security as the peoples of America, Britain, France and other countries."<sup>1</sup>

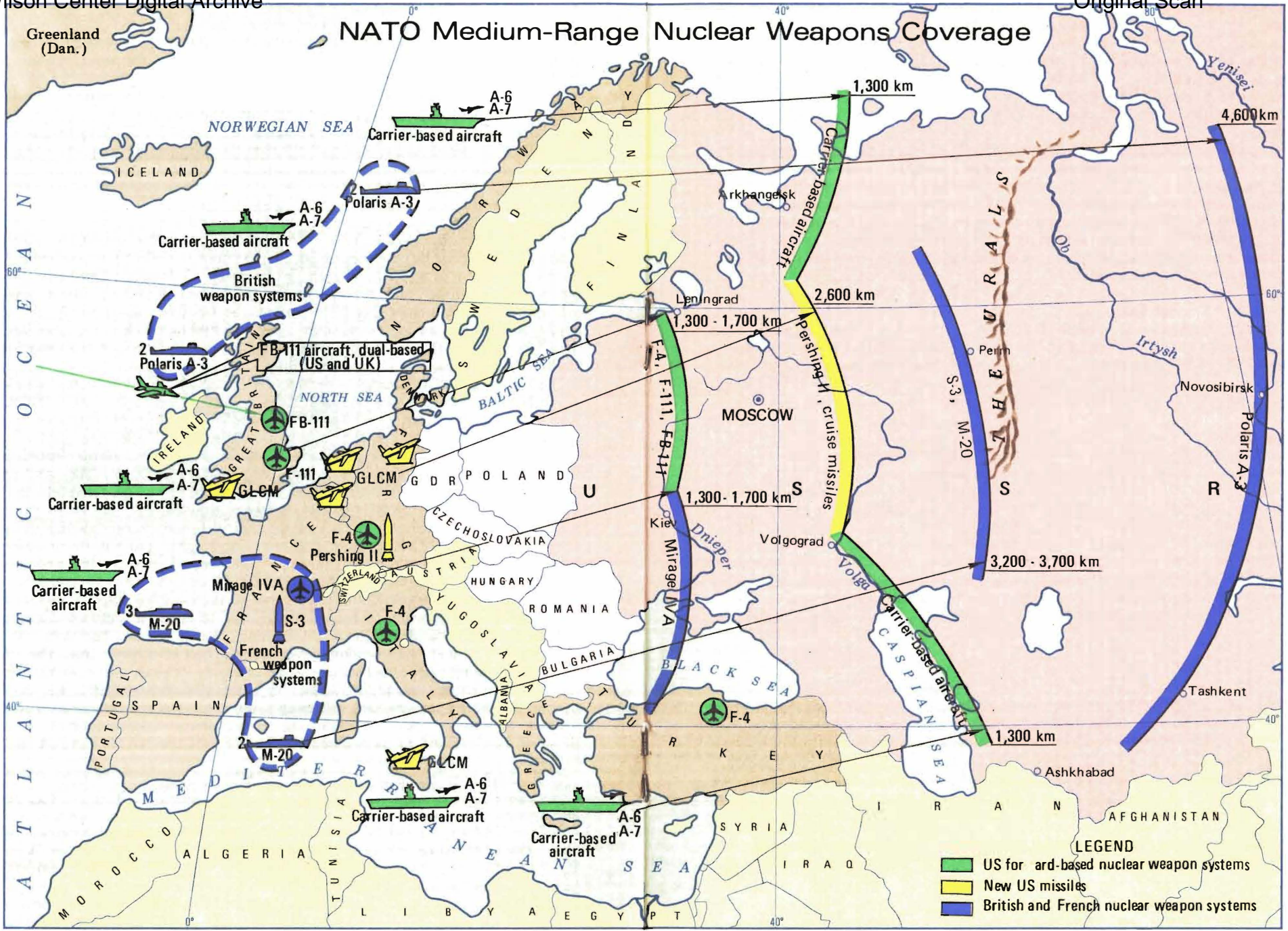
Now the Geneva negotiations have come to the decisive stage. Concrete and constructive action is called for on both sides to reach a mutually acceptable agreement before the deployment of US medium-range missiles begins in Europe. The USSR has been and is doing everything it can to achieve this. The USA, however, is not inclined to look for a fair solution. It does not want agreement and is obstructing the negotiations. Its main goal is to station its missiles in Europe and to gain military advantages for itself and for NATO as a whole. This is said in so many words in the Williamsburg statement of the leaders of seven nations and in the summary documents of the NATO Council session in Paris.

Is it possible to reach an agreement in these conditions? In a talk with FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the Soviet leadership pointed out that so long as no deployment of US missiles has begun, agreement is still possible. What is needed is for the USA to respond to the Soviet proposals with a goodwill statement of its own. There must be no new US medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe before the completion of the Soviet-American negotiations, no matter how long they take.

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<sup>1</sup> Yuri Andropov, "Answers to *Der Spiegel* Magazine (FRG), April 19, 1983", *Our Aim Is to Preserve Peace*, p. 70.

# NATO Medium-Range Nuclear Weapons Coverage



As Yuri Andropov emphasized, the Geneva talks on nuclear arms limitation in Europe “literally involve life and death questions for the peoples of the Soviet Union, and the United States, and the Warsaw Treaty countries and the NATO countries. We cannot view lightly the prospect of more than 500 nuclear missiles being deployed close to our borders in addition to those French and British missiles which are already aimed at us. Our measures in retaliation will be perfectly justified from any point of view, including that of the highest moral standards.”<sup>1</sup>

The ambitions of the United States and NATO to win military superiority are not destined to materialize. The US program of deploying new armaments will be offset by relevant Soviet countermeasures. But there is a way of averting this dangerous course of events. It is simple. If there is no deployment of new US missiles, there will be no deployment of corresponding Soviet weapon systems. The USSR is prepared to come to terms and reduce its medium-range missiles in the European part of the country to the minimum possible level in the present conditions.

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<sup>1</sup> Yuri Andropov, “Answers to *Der Spiegel* Magazine (FRG), April 19, 1983”, *Our Aim Is to Preserve Peace*, p. 82.

REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS  
IN CENTRAL EUROPE

Reaching an agreement at the talks in Vienna on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe would certainly help to strengthen the security of the European nations and peace as a whole.

The importance of such an agreement is obvious. Central Europe is the principal theater of military operations on the European continent, where the two largest politico-military alliances—the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the NATO bloc—stand face to face. They consist respectively of socialist and capitalist countries with the most developed military-economic potentials and tremendous material and manpower resources. It is a region where the most powerful groupings of NATO and Warsaw Treaty armed forces stand directly facing each other in a high state of combat readiness. Armies of millions of men are deployed there, with tens of thousands of tanks, thousands of aircraft, an enormous number of nuclear delivery vehicles. On the territory of the FRG alone, the NATO countries have allied armed forces numbering some 900,000 men, over 10,000 tanks, more than 7,000 nuclear weapons, and more than 2,000 tons of toxic agents.

The concentration in Central Europe of these huge military groupings armed with the most sophisticated of weapons, and the continuous further growth of their combat power, constitute an obvious danger to the world as a whole. It should be borne in mind that Europe is an important (if not the most important) region where the interests of most of the world's major countries collide. If matters come to an armed conflict in that region, it would not be a local one. In that event war would unavoidably spread to other regions of the world. And the principal political and military leaders of the NATO states have said that they would not hesitate to resort to nuclear arms if such an armed conflict broke out.

That is why the negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe are of immense international importance.

\* \* \*

Ever since the early postwar years, the Soviet Union has repeatedly approached the Western states with proposals for scaling down the military confrontation in Europe. Its proposals concerned withdrawal of troops from the territory of other countries; mutual withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of the GDR and the FRG; freezing the strength of armed forces stationed on the territory of other countries; establishing a zone of limited armaments that would include the territory of the GDR, the FRG, and the adjoining countries; a substantial reduction of the armed forces of the USSR, the USA, Britain, France, and other countries stationed on the territory of the two German states; withdrawal of all foreign troops from alien territory to within their national frontiers and reduction within an agreed time of the armed forces of the two German states, and so on. But none of these proposals won the acquiescence of the West.

*The talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe opened in Vienna on October 30, 1973. Nineteen countries are taking part*

## WARSAW TREATY/NATO ARMED FORCES PERSONNEL STRENGTH IN CENTRAL EUROPE

(as of August 1, 1980, in thous)

	Total	Ground forces	Air forces
<i>Warsaw Treaty Countries</i>			
USSR	445.3	404.8	40.5
GDR	122.8	93.0	29.8
Poland	229.1	161.8	67.3
Czechoslovakia	181.8	137.1	44.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>979.0</b>	<b>796.7</b>	<b>182.3</b>
<i>NATO Countries</i>			
USA	247.0	210.0	37.0
FRG	444.0	336.5	107.5
UK	67.5	57.5	10.0
Belgium	87.0	66.0	21.0
Netherlands	84.0	66.0	18.0
Canada	5.5	4.0	1.5
Luxembourg	0.5	0.5	—
Multinational staffs	7.5	4.0	3.5
<b>SUBTOTAL</b>	<b>943.0</b>	<b>744.5</b>	<b>198.5</b>
France	48.0	48.0	—
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>991.0</b>	<b>792.5</b>	<b>198.5</b>

in them (7 socialist and 12 capitalist). The zone of the prospective reductions embraces the territories of the FRG, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, the GDR, the Polish People's Republic, and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The negotiations concern ground and air forces stationed in this zone, together with their armaments.

From the outset, the socialist countries endeavored to conduct the talks on constructive lines and to secure an agreement that would lead up to reciprocal and equivalent reductions of forces and armaments, and to security at lower residual levels, without anyone gaining unilateral military advantages.

The realism of reaching agreement reposed on the rough military equilibrium in the zone of reductions, including equality in the numerical strength of the armed forces of both sides. When figures relating to the ground and air forces in the zone of reductions as of August 1, 1980 were exchanged (Table 3), the Warsaw Treaty had 979,000 men and NATO 991,000. For this reason, all the proposals of the socialist countries envisaged equal reductions, in percentage points or numbers, of men and armaments on both sides in order not to upset the obtaining equilibrium.

As far back as 1973, the socialist countries submitted a comprehensive draft agreement providing for a reduction of the armed forces and armaments of each

of the countries that are direct participants in the talks by approximately 17 percent on a basis of reciprocity. The reductions were to have been simultaneous and were to apply to ground and air forces, and to missile units. Once the reductions were to have been completed, limitations would have been set on the personnel and the armaments and other combat equipment of all participants. Under that accord it would be possible to scale down the military confrontation in Central Europe by about 300,000 servicemen, thousands of tanks, hundreds of aircraft and a large amount of other military equipment without upsetting the obtaining approximate equality of forces or prejudicing the principle of undiminished security of any of the sides.

Time and again, the socialist countries expressed their readiness to reduce armed forces and armaments on a reciprocal basis by 5, 10, 20, and even by 50 percent. They initiated more than 20 important proposals that broke new ground in Vienna, and also largely took account of the wishes of the NATO countries. It was thanks to the efforts of the socialist countries that understandings were reached on a number of issues, including the end goal of the negotiations, namely reduction of ground forces and ultimate achievement of equal collective force levels of 900,000 men on either side.

To break the deadlock at the talks, and counting on reciprocal moves by the West, the Soviet Union carried out a large-scale politico-military action in 1980, withdrawing 20,000 servicemen, 1,000 tanks and a considerable amount of other armaments and equipment from the GDR on a unilateral basis.

But no reciprocal moves followed. Having set the aim of swinging the rough equality of forces in Central Europe in their favor, the NATO countries had from the first espoused the idea of an "asymmetrical", that is, non-equivalent, reduction of ground forces on either side. According to their proposals, the socialist countries would in the final count reduce more than three times as many of their forces in Central Europe as the NATO countries, while the Soviet Union was required, for a start, to withdraw a whole army of 68,000 men and 1,700 tanks in exchange for a withdrawal of 29,000 US servicemen, selected individually and without armaments.

To justify these trumped-up demands, the Western countries maintain that by their estimates the Warsaw Treaty states have a ground forces advantage of more than 150,000 men over NATO in the zone of reductions. They challenge the official force figures of the socialist countries, and come out with inflated estimates of their strength, which, however, they are not able to substantiate. The NATO countries' contention that the question of numbers is "central" is, in effect, diverting the negotiations from their actual aim, that of reducing armed forces and armaments, into the quagmire of "numbers talk". The many years of "numbers talk" have shown its total lack of promise. Western attempts to carry on with the discussion of numbers, therefore, like the Western proposals on this score, only tend to sustain the state of deadlock in Vienna.

Seeing this, the Soviet Union made new important proposals on February 17, 1983, on behalf of the socialist states that are direct participants in the Vienna talks (the GDR, the Polish People's Republic, the USSR, and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic). They are designed to alter the situation that has shaped at the talks and to get matters off the ground. The socialist states proposed a fundamentally new approach, providing for the achievement of tangible results in Vienna.

This approach is essentially aimed at overcoming the "numbers barrier" artificially thrown up by the Western participants, and opening a simple and practical path to an agreement. What it amounts to in specific terms is that, irrespective of any disputes and differences over the force estimates of the sides

in Central Europe, each side should reduce as many troops as is needed to reach the contractually recorded equal level of NATO and Warsaw Treaty forces, namely, 900,000 men on either side, including 700,000 in the ground forces. In other words, the accent is shifted from the endless debate about the size of the reductions to the main issue, the end result of the reduction, which, indeed, is the very thing that has any real value.

The above approach served as the basis for the draft of the Agreement on Mutual Reduction of Armed Forces and Armaments and Relative Measures in Central Europe, which the socialist countries submitted at the Vienna talks on June 23, 1983. The draft provides for a substantial reduction of the armed forces of the sides together with their armaments in the agreed region within a term of three years from the day the agreement comes into force.

While preserving all the valuable elements that were earlier achieved at the talks, the draft is also designed to meet the West halfway.

And it will not be amiss to note that it also provides for appropriate verification measures consonant with the sense and purpose of the agreement. Their sum ensures effective verification of the process of reduction both of the foreign and national forces, and verification of the agreed residual force levels after all reductions are completed.

In view of the realism and adequacy of their proposal, the socialist countries are convinced that, given goodwill, all the requisites are at hand to work out a mutually acceptable agreement on the basis of this approach within a short time.

As an initial practical step called upon to facilitate agreement, it is being proposed that *the USSR and the USA reduce their armed forces and armaments in Central Europe* on a basis of mutual example. In addition to the 20,000 Soviet servicemen it had withdrawn earlier from the territory of the GDR on a unilateral basis, the Soviet Union would be prepared to withdraw another 20,000 men of its ground forces in Central Europe in the course of one year, provided the United States, too, withdraws 13,000 men of its ground forces in the region during the same time.

The reduction of Soviet and US forces and armaments in Central Europe on a basis of mutual example is entirely manageable because it does not require any ironing out of controversial issues. At the same time, it would be a good token of the intentions of the two sides to begin lowering the level of military confrontation on the European continent, and would pave the way to accords on further, more far-reaching, reductions.

The socialist countries also propose to the same end that after the Soviet and US troops are withdrawn there be a *freeze on armed forces strength and armaments levels of all the direct participants in the talks in Central Europe*. The freeze accord could be in the nature of a mutual political commitment of the sides. It goes without saying that this freeze is not an end in itself. It would be maintained until understandings are reached at the talks on larger reductions in the framework of an agreement that is still to be worked out in Vienna.

The socialist countries' new initiatives are also evidence of their goodwill, their constructive and realistic approach, and readiness to facilitate progress at the Vienna talks. They give effect to the relevant provisions of the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States made in Prague, and are one more, and a very important at that, link in the chain of practical steps taken by them in recent times to buttress military stability in Europe and the security of European nations, and to expedite the limitation of conventional as well as nuclear weapons.

While the Western countries vocally acknowledge the constructive nature of the new approach of the socialist states, even going so far as to say that it is "a

step in the right direction, their deeds fail to match their words: for many months now they have been withholding an official reply to the socialist countries' proposals and continuing to insist on their own one-sided proposals.

The position of the NATO countries still hinges on the idea of "asymmetrical" reductions. Their proposals evade any solution to what is the cardinal issue in the arms race setting—the issue of reducing armaments. Neither do they envisage limiting the air forces or make provision for freezing the force levels of countries that take no part in the reductions during phase one. The time in which the reductions are to be carried out is unduly long.

The NATO countries are still bogged down in the "numbers talk". They make agreement conditional on an understanding concerning the strength of Warsaw Treaty forces as estimated by the West. At the same time, they want to impose a system of verification measures that have no relation at all to control procedures securing fulfilment of the agreement. These measures are aimed at legalizing NATO monitoring of the daily activity of the socialist states' armed forces. This is borne out by the demand, transcending the framework of relations between sovereign states, that the USSR and the other Warsaw Treaty countries show the West the tables of organization and equipment of their forces in Central Europe and where these forces are stationed, and make them subject to constant air and ground inspections.

It is proposed that monitoring of the daily activity should apply not only to forces in the zone of reductions but also far outside it, including the Soviet military districts abutting the border of the USSR. It is absurd to engage in far-flung war preparations against the USSR and its friends, and at the same time expect the Soviet Union to consent to NATO watching over the state of its armed forces. Clearly, no country concerned about its security can accept these terms.

Refusal of any equitable solution of the basic aspects of reduction, the artificially created problem of numbers, and the unjustifiably inflated and unrealistic collateral measures—that is the substance of the Western position in its bid to win military advantages. That, indeed, is the reason why no progress has so far been achieved at the Vienna talks despite all the efforts applied by the socialist countries.



To curb the arms race and to further disarmament, it is most important to secure a complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. Continued testing makes for, and spurs, the race of nuclear armaments, and is a menace to people and to the environment. A total nuclear test ban would rule out any qualitative improvements and any development of new types and varieties of nuclear arms. It would help buttress the nuclear non-proliferation arrangement, and would release huge funds from the sphere of military production for peaceful use. On the whole it would be a tangible step closer to solving the problem of nuclear disarmament.

For many years now, the Soviet Union has worked consistently and determinedly for the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. Ever since these tests began and for decade after decade, the USSR has repeatedly called on the USA and the other nuclear powers to put an end to them. In May 1955 it placed a proposal before the United Nations, urging all countries that had nuclear weapons to pledge to stop testing them. Seeing the reluctance of the Western countries to accept an over-all ban, the Soviet Union saw fit to press for at least a partial solution, working for a ban first of those tests which created the greatest danger to the environment and to people's health. It was on Soviet initiative that the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water was concluded between the USSR, the USA, and Britain in 1963. This Treaty threw up an effective barrier to any further radioactive contamination of the environment, whose level began to decrease visibly after the Treaty came into force. Scientists estimated that already in 1970 the strontium 90 content on the earth's surface had declined sharply, amounting to just 5 percent of its content in the fall-out occasioned by explosions in 1963 alone.

Regrettably, two of the five nuclear powers, namely France and China, would not accede to the Treaty. China has not given up nuclear experiments in the atmosphere to this day, while France, though it has switched to underground nuclear tests since 1975, is conducting them most intensively on Mururoa Atoll. Scientists of many countries are deeply disturbed by the possible consequences of these explosions, considering the geological structure of the atoll and the resulting radioactive contamination of large areas of the Pacific Ocean.

One more step closer to a total ban on nuclear testing was made in 1974 when the Soviet Union and the United States concluded the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests, ruling out tests of the more powerful (over 150 kilotons) types of nuclear weapons.

The partial nuclear weapon test ban accords created realistic opportunities for attaining the main goal, that of a complete and general termination of nuclear weapon tests. Seizing on these opportunities, the Soviet Union submitted the draft of a pertinent treaty to the UN General Assembly in 1975. But again the Western nuclear powers and China failed to respond to this constructive initiative. It was not until 1977, under mounting pressure of world opinion, that the USA and Britain agreed to negotiations with the USSR in order to work out a multilateral treaty on a total test ban.

With the Soviet Union displaying goodwill, the search for mutually acceptable solutions at the tripartite negotiations did finally yield concrete and positive results toward the end of 1980: practically the entire text of the future treaty had been agreed upon. Its conclusion became a matter of the immediate future. But further talks were unilaterally broken off by the United States without any explanation. The reason came to light a bit later, when the Reagan administration declared that the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests was now a “long-term” objective.

In contrast to the policy of the United States and aiming to create a more favorable climate for the elaboration of a complete and general nuclear weapon test ban treaty, the Soviet Union proposed in 1982 that all countries possessing nuclear weapons should set a moratorium on all nuclear explosions, including those for peaceful purposes, from a date they would agree upon among themselves. This moratorium would remain in force until the conclusion of the treaty. In just the recent period, the USSR came forward with nuclear test ban proposals at the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament and the 37th Session of the UN General Assembly, in the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States (January 1983), the Appeal of the Soviet Government of June 1983, and at the 38th Session of the UN General Assembly.

The true reason behind the US reluctance to conclude the treaty is that the plans of the current White House leadership, which has set its sights on gaining military superiority over the USSR, lay the emphasis on the further development of all types of nuclear weapons. The Pentagon is finalizing and putting into serial production dozens of new models of nuclear weapons—warheads for MX and Trident II ballistic missiles, cruise missiles of short and long range, Pershing II missiles, neutron charges for shells, aerial nuclear bombs for B-1B and Stealth bombers, and other types of nuclear weapons for the Air Force, Navy, and Army.

Publicly announced Washington directives related to defense provide for the manufacture of at least 17,000 new nuclear weapons within the next six years. And that is where we should look for the reason why the USA is torpedoing the negotiations and refusing to renounce tests. This has, indeed, been publicly admitted by Eugene V. Rostow, former director of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, who told the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations that considering the aim of developing new weapon systems and their modernization, “we’re going to need testing, and perhaps even testing above the 150-kiloton level, for a long time to come” (Fig. 4).

That is also why the United States is trying to undermine the existing accords on underground nuclear testing, notably the 1974 Soviet-US treaty on the limitation of underground tests to nuclear weapons not exceeding 150 kilotons and the related 1976 treaty on nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, both of which were worked out and signed by previous US administrations. The Reagan administration has offered the Soviet Union supplementary talks to revise them as a preliminary condition for their ratification, referring to the “inadequacy” of their verification provisions. But provisions for effective verification are contained in both the treaties, and the United States had had no qualms about them in the past. If the treaties were ratified and the obligatory exchange of information on yields and other data related to testing grounds were carried out, this would enhance reliable verification of nuclear explosions by another 100 or 200 percent. Consequently, the matter hinges not on verification procedures but on the US intentions to scrap the accords and to go ahead with a broad nuclear weapon test program free of yield limitations.

NUMBER OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS CARRIED OUT  
BY NUCLEAR POWERS

(as on January 1, 1982)

Figures cited by GREENPEACE USA, 1982

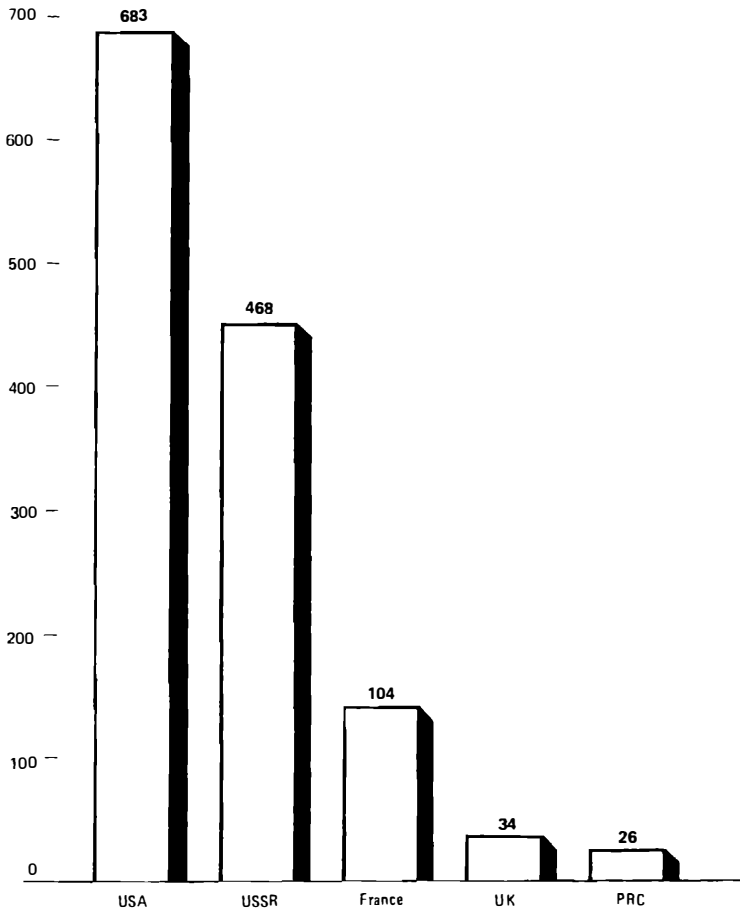


Fig. 4

In the light of the US administration's policy of triggering a new spiral of the nuclear arms race, its posture on the nuclear weapon test ban question with references to the "inadequacy of verification procedures", is false and hypocritical throughout. It has provoked sharp criticism among the vast majority of countries. The frivolous approach of the United States to the 1974 and 1976 treaties, which it had previously signed, is giving it the reputation of an unreliable negotiating partner.

The facts show that the United States today is farther away than ever from the intention to settle one of the urgent problems of our time—to fully terminate nuclear tests.

The rapid progress of various branches of science related to space exploration and the development of diverse space systems that can carry out national economic and other assignments, have imposed extreme urgency on a task of extraordinary importance: to prevent the spread of the arms race to outer space. At present it has become clear to both the governments and the public of most countries that if offensive weapons are deployed in outer space, they would exercise a most undesirable influence on the political and military situation throughout the world and would escalate the risk of nuclear war.

From the first day of the space era, the Soviet Union has regarded outer space and peace as indivisible. In its view outer space must serve human progress and must be used for constructive, and not destructive, purposes.

In its memoranda on disarmament of March 18 and April 30, 1957, and then of March 15, 1958, the USSR set forth a concrete program for preventing any militarization of outer space. The matter was to have been settled with strict regard for the security interests of the sides, ruling out military advantages for any of them.

But this Soviet initiative did not materialize owing to the resistance of the United States. Later, the USSR took various constructive steps aimed at limiting military use of outer space. The USA, too, acted in a constructive spirit on some issues. The joint efforts of the USSR, the USA, and other countries yielded international agreements restricting the military use of outer space, and notably the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies of October 1967. It records the commitment "not to place in orbit around the Earth any objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction." The moon and other celestial bodies are to be used "exclusively for peaceful purposes".

Important milestones in limiting military use of outer space were the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water (August 1963) and the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques (1977). The Convention obliges countries to abstain from any deliberate manipulation of natural processes modifying the dynamics, composition and structure of the earth and also outer space for hostile purposes. Another most important barrier to the use of outer space for military purposes is the Soviet-US Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems concluded in 1972, which obliges its signatories not to develop, test, or deploy space-based ABM systems or components thereof. Much more could have been done to rule out the use of outer space for military purposes if the United States had not unilaterally broken off the Soviet-US negotiations on anti-satellite systems started in 1978. It will be recalled that the Soviet Union has repeatedly suggested resuming these negotiations, but the USA has refused to do so.

The agreements that are in force at present set only partial curbs on an arms race in outer space. In particular, no ban has been set so far on the deployment in outer space of such types of armaments as do not come under the head of mass destruction weapons.

That is why the Soviet Union has proposed that a treaty be concluded to ban the deployment of any kind of weapon in outer space. The draft of this treaty, submitted to the UN in August 1981, envisages a pledge not to launch any objects with weapons of any kind into orbit round the earth, not to install such weapons on celestial bodies, and not to deploy them in outer space in any other way. But the Disarmament Committee, to which the matter has been referred, has not even begun drawing up the text of the treaty so far owing to the obstructionist stance of the United States.

That many people in the United States are, naturally, aware of the risks of an arms race in outer space is proved by the appeal of more than a hundred congressmen and many prominent US scientists to President Reagan in July 1983 "for an immediate agreement with the Soviet Union over a bilateral moratorium on space tests of anti-satellite weapons". But official Washington has other things on its mind. The US administration considers outer space an "absolute position" which, once predominance is established in it, would help it attain the cherished goal of world supremacy. Implementation of this idea began more than 20 years ago with the development of a maneuverable space apparatus, the SAINT interceptor satellite. Two ground-based anti-satellite systems were installed in the 1960s—one in 1963 on Kwajalein Island, based on the Nike-Zeus anti-ballistic missiles, and the other on Johnston Island involving various modifications of the Thor missile in 1964. At present, development of an airborne anti-satellite system (ASAT) (Fig. 5), based on the F-15 fighter aircraft, is in the completion stage. It is planned to activate two ASAT squadrons of F-15 fighters carrying interceptor missiles with an infra-red homing head.

The Shuttle spaceship program is being employed for military purposes. President Reagan's directive on national space policy gives priority to Shuttle launchings for military purposes. The Shuttle is planned to deploy military-purpose satellites, Pentagon orbital command posts, and new types of space weapons. Construction of a space center is going on in high gear at Vandenberg Air Force base, whence military shuttle spaceships will take off on their missions.

Development of directed energy (laser and charged-particle beam) weapons is under way at a crash pace. They are intended to destroy space, air, ground and sea targets. Tests of elements of these weapons, and their use, involve flights of shuttle spaceships. The US Air Force tested its laser weapon in May-June 1983. Above a testing ground in California, a laser installation mounted on a C-135 aircraft disabled the on-board guidance systems of five Sidewinder air-to-air missiles.

The US President has passed a decision to launch development of a new generation of land- and space-based ABM systems. If this decision is carried out, it will tear up the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems which prohibits development of space-based ABM systems. The effect of this on the stability of the international situation will be most negative, impelling a large-scale race in space weaponry.

The main purpose of President Reagan's "Anti-Ballistic Missile Decision" is to give the USA a nuclear first-strike capability against the Soviet Union without fear of retribution. As Yuri Andropov said on this score, "under these conditions the intention to secure for itself the possibility of destroying with the help of the ABM defense the corresponding strategic systems of the other side, that is, of rendering it incapable of dealing a retaliatory strike, is a bid to disarm the Soviet Union in the face of the US nuclear threat".<sup>1</sup> That, indeed, is the true meaning of Reagan's professedly defensive concept.

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<sup>1</sup> Yuri Andropov, "Answers to Questions Put by a *Pravda* Correspondent", *Our Aim Is to Preserve Peace*, p. 33.



Fig. 5

Airborne ASAT missile system: an F-15 fighter with a mockup of an anti-satellite interceptor missile (*Aviation Week and Space Technology*, No. 6, 1982).

The interceptor missile is launched at an altitude of about 15 kilometers to the calculated area in outer space. Thereupon, it homes in on its target and destroys the space apparatus. Aircraft carrying interceptor missiles are to be deployed at Langley Air Force base, Virginia, and McChord Air Force base, Washington.

As the USA expands its military space programs, it is also intensively improving the structure of its agencies engaged in military space activities. A Space Command has been set up within the US Air Force, and plans are afoot to form a unified space command (for all the services).

Those are the facts. They show that the initiator of the arms race in outer space is the United States. It is resisting all measures that would block the militarization of outer space. In defiance of the 1981 UN resolution "to embark on negotiations with a view to achieving agreement on the text of a pertinent treaty", the United States is thwarting the possibility of any concrete progress toward this goal. Its drive to extend the arms race to outer space is a menace to all humanity. And in the circumstances, the task of preventing the appearance of armaments in outer space is gaining ever greater urgency and is becoming one of the most crucial areas of the struggle of all peaceloving states and peoples to safeguard world peace.

Time does not wait. That is why the USSR has offered to go further at once and to come to terms on prohibiting the use of force in general, both in outer space and from outer space with respect to the earth. The draft of a pertinent treaty was submitted to the United Nations in August 1983. Conclusion of such a treaty would relieve all countries of the world of the danger of any hostile action involving space technology as a weapon of destruction, and would make space objects safe from any use of force against them.

The Soviet proposal also envisages a total ban on tests and deployment in outer space of any space-based weapons capable of hitting targets on the earth, in the air, or in outer space. The Soviet Union has announced that it is prepared to agree to a radical solution of the problem of anti-satellite weapons and to come to terms on renouncing tests of all anti-satellite systems, banning the development of new ones, and destroying all anti-satellite systems in the possession of the sides, and also on banning tests and use of manned spaceships for military, including anti-satellite, purposes.

At the same time, the Soviet leadership passed a decision of the utmost importance: the USSR pledged not to be the first to put into outer space any type of anti-satellite weapon. In other words, it has set a unilateral moratorium on such launchings for as long as the other states, including the USA, refrain from deploying anti-satellite weapons of any type in outer space.

The new initiatives of the Soviet Union for preventing the militarization of outer space are important evidence of its goodwill and its determination to strengthen peace and the security of nations.

Chemical weapons are among the most dangerous weapons of mass destruction. They threaten all life on earth. In World War I gases caused 1.3 million casualties, out of whom nearly 100,000 died. Regarding chemical weapons as barbaric, the world's nations call for a total ban on them and for the destruction of their stockpiles.

On June 17, 1925 the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare was signed in Geneva. Ratifying this Protocol in 1928, the Soviet Union was among the first to do so. The United States' ratification came almost 50 years later, in 1975. As is known, this had been preceded by large-scale US employment of chemical weapons in its aggressive war against Vietnam and other countries in South-East Asia. Millions of people were affected and the ecological balance in the region was irreversibly upset.

The Geneva Protocol of 1925 outlawed the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons. However, it did not prohibit the development, production and stockpiling of these weapons and the means of their delivery.

After World War II, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries launched a vigorous campaign to increase the number of Geneva Protocol signatories. In June 1952, the USSR proposed to the Security Council to urge countries, which had not yet done so, to accede to the Protocol. However, the United States and its allies blocked the passage of this proposal. It was not until 1966 that such a resolution was adopted, on the socialist countries' initiative, by the 21st Session of the UN General Assembly. Today, there are 103 signatories of the Geneva Protocol.

In 1969, the socialist countries proposed to remove chemical and bacteriological weapons from war inventories. In order to block this measure, the United States and some other Western countries raised the question of treating the prohibition of bacteriological weapons as a separate issue. In 1971, the USSR and other socialist countries, seeking a speedy solution to this problem, submitted a Draft Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction to the Disarmament Committee. This draft laid the groundwork for the talks which resulted in the elaboration of a Convention. Opened for signing in Moscow, Washington, and London on April 10, 1972, it came into force in 1975. As a signatory to the Convention, the USSR does not possess any bacteriological (biological) agents or toxins, and any equipment and delivery means banned under it.

Under Article 9 of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction, each signatory undertook to continue talks with a view to reaching, in the near future, an agreement on effective measures for the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons, and for their destruction. More than ten years have passed, but no headway has been made toward meeting this commitment.



The Draft Convention providing for the total banning of all chemical warfare agents, submitted by the USSR and other socialist countries, has been under consideration in the Disarmament Committee since 1972. This document reflects the Soviet Union's principled stand on this issue. During the 1974 Soviet-American summit in Moscow, an agreement was reached to the effect that the USSR and the USA would consider the question of advancing a joint initiative in the Disarmament Committee as regards the signing, by way of making a first step, of an international convention concerning the most dangerous, lethal chemical warfare agents.

The Soviet-US talks, under way since 1976, had seen certain progress on a number of issues. However, in 1980 the US suspended these talks, and since then has repeatedly rejected Soviet proposals to resume them. The obstructionist position of the United States and its allies slackens the pace of the discussion of the main issues relating to the prohibition of chemical weapons in the Disarmament Committee as well.

Another document on the matter in question, Basic Provisions of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction, was submitted by the USSR to the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament (1982) and is now under discussion at the Disarmament Committee. This document takes into account the results of the Soviet-American talks and the standpoint of other states on various aspects of the problem, including verification, the most complicated of them. The document is a well-thought-out proposal covering all aspects of the problem of banning chemical weapons.

The Soviet Union's position is clearcut and unambiguous. The USSR consistently comes out in favor of a complete and general prohibition of chemical weapons and the destruction of all their stockpiles. It raises no objection to international verification measures, including on-site inspection to check compliance with the prospective convention.

If the United States were prepared to sign a convention not only in word but in deed, too, it would not be too hard to reach an agreement, the more so as the Soviet proposals incorporate many of the points the US representatives agreed to in the course of bilateral talks. However, this is not the case. Instead of signing a convention, the United States has launched a chemical rearmament program announced by President Reagan. The program provides for a considerable increase of the chemical weapons stockpiles (Fig. 6). It is envisaged to increase the number of chemical weapons from three million to five million units, to substantially modernize and enlarge storage facilities, and to replace the outdated weapons by more sophisticated, binary ones. It is planned to develop chemical warheads for Lance-type missiles and ground-launched cruise missiles, and chemical shells for 203.2 mm howitzers. Along with the development and production of new chemical weapons, US servicemen undergo crash training in handling them. In other words, intensive preparations for chemical warfare are under way. Plans for the use of such weapons in war are openly discussed in the Pentagon's reports to US Congress. The cost of the chemical rearmament program is estimated at 10 billion dollars. And this at a time when the US stockpiles of chemical weapons are already the largest in the world.

The US President's decision on chemical rearmament reveals the hypocritical nature of the policy pursued by the current US administration which says it is in favor of a convention, but is actually developing new types of chemical weapons and hampering real progress at the talks. The chemical rearmament program and the appropriations earmarked for fiscal 1984, will considerably complicate the talks on the prohibition of chemical weapons now in progress at Geneva.

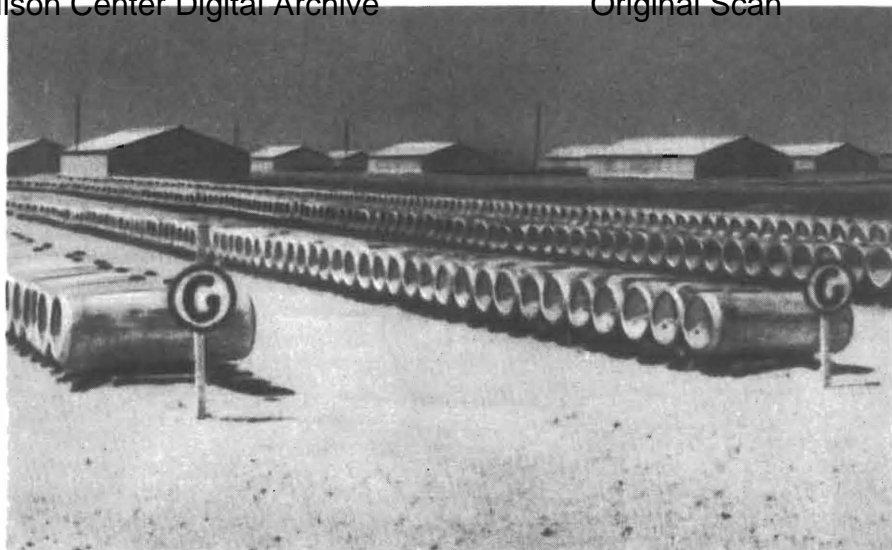


Fig. 6

US chemical weapons stored in one-ton containers at a depot in Tooele, Utah  
(*Scientific American*, No. 4, 1980)

The somewhat greater activity that the United States has recently started to display at the talks is obviously intended to camouflage the fact that the USA has taken a clearly obstructionist stand as regards the substance of the issues involved in the prohibition of chemical weapons. Unlike the Soviet Union, the United States has not, of late, advanced any compromise proposals aimed at meeting the other party halfway. On the contrary, it has gone back on a number of agreements which were reached at the Soviet-US talks and made known to the Disarmament Committee both by the USSR and the USA. This concerns, first of all, the verification of compliance with the prospective convention. The US proposals on this matter are increasingly pretentious, not warranted by the purposes of verification and deliberately made unacceptable to the USSR. It is obvious that the United States is resorting to such tactics in order to check any progress, signs of which have appeared, in coordinating the relevant provisions of the future convention, to put the negotiations on a treadmill and to try to lay the blame for it on the Soviet Union.

For a number of years now the United States has been waging a provocative slander campaign by alleging that the USSR has been involved in using chemical and toxin weapons in Afghanistan and South-East Asia. The hastily concocted US reports covering such "cases" have been repeatedly disproved by a number of prominent scientists, Americans among them. Neither have these "reports" been confirmed by a group of UN experts invited to make an inquiry into them. One is thus led to the conclusion that the United States has ventured on this chimerical undertaking not only to disown responsibility for the large-scale use of toxic agents in South-East Asia, but also to undermine the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and to vindicate the US chemical warfare preparations.

The persistent US unwillingness to address the problem of a chemical weapons ban is corroborated by facts. The United States is the only country out of 157 to

have voted against the UN resolution calling on the USSR and the United States to resume bilateral talks on this issue. Washington's reluctance to prohibit the use of chemical weapons is borne out by the recent (July 1983) approval by the Senate of new allocations (130.6 million dollars in fiscal 1984) for the production of binary nerve agent ammunition.

The deadlock at the talks on the prohibition of chemical weapons has been caused by political considerations rather than technical reasons, i.e., any difficulties in coming to an agreement with the Soviet Union on verification measures, which is the explanation that is frequently advanced in the West. Having accumulated experience in using war gases in Vietnam, certain influential quarters in the United States clearly are unwilling to have these weapons banned and are doing their utmost in order to threaten mankind with a qualitatively new round of the arms race in one more field, that of chemical weapons.

The victory achieved by the anti-Axis coalition over Nazi Germany and its allies in World War II created conditions for securing a just peace in Europe. The power and authority of the Soviet Union, the peace-loving and democratic aspirations displayed by all nations in the postwar period, foiled the plans of the ruling circles in the United States and Great Britain to end the war in such a way as to undermine the strength of socialism and to expand the spheres of their economic and political domination.

Largely thanks to the Soviet Union's persistent efforts, the members of the anti-Axis coalition laid the international legal foundations for a peaceful postwar settlement by adopting a number of important decisions at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences (February 4-11, 1945 and July 17-August 2, 1945, respectively) of the Big Three, that is the heads of government of the USSR, the USA and Great Britain, subsequently joined by France. These decisions were based on the recognition of the fact that respect for the territorial integrity and inviolability of the borders of each European state is of paramount importance for Europe's peaceful future. Thanks to the Soviet Union's efforts, the anti-fascist, democratic concept of Germany's postwar development prevailed both in Yalta and Potsdam. The participants in the conferences adopted constructive decisions on the demilitarization, democratization and denazification of Germany, on the destruction of its military potential and transformations in its political, intellectual and cultural life. The complete demilitarization of Germany was expected to create such conditions in Europe as to rule out a renewal of the arms race and preparations for aggression. The issue of Poland's borders was solved on a just basis.

The basic democratic principles governing relations among European states and Europe's postwar make-up, laid down in the Yalta and Potsdam accords, have been of history-making importance for ensuring general peace and the security of nations. Advocating justice, concern for peace and averting the danger of any renewed aggression, these principles have not lost their vital significance today. They still provide a foundation on which to build interstate relations in Europe and elsewhere.

The emergence of the countries of people's democracy, which opted for the socialist way of development, was another important factor in creating favorable conditions for ensuring security and expanding cooperation in Europe.

However, the US imperialist circles, in their drive for world leadership, unleashed a cold war against the Soviet Union, its former ally in the anti-Axis coalition, and the people's democracies. They initiated a number of obviously provocative measures, some of which led to the restoration of West Germany's military potential and her incorporation in military groupings. Shortly after the end of the war, many of the decisions adopted at Yalta and Potsdam, and also other agreements reached by the powers of the anti-Axis coalition, were scrapped. The United States openly rejected the cooperation which highlighted the relations among the Allies during the war. Slander, provocation, atomic war blackmail and attempts to impose an economic blockade were widely resorted to.

The United States and other Western countries made efforts to form blocs opposed to the USSR and other socialist states. In 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was set up. The establishment of this bloc actually signified a split in Europe, the refusal of the West to maintain European security on a collective basis, and Western Europe's transformation into a base of preparations for a war against socialist countries. For all the assurances of NATO's organizers about the defensive nature of the bloc, nobody was blind to its true goals. The emergent bloc's objectives were closely tied in with the plans to combat socialism and establish US domination in Europe.

The US hegemonic policy saddled the world with a prolonged nuclear arms race, the way for which had been paved by the Paris Agreements concluded by the Western powers in October 1954 and by the December 1954 session of the NATO Council. The Paris Agreements provided for the FRG joining NATO and for the creation of West German armed forces. In fact, they led to the complete repudiation of the Potsdam decisions. The NATO session called for equipping the armed forces of the bloc's member-states with nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Union countered the division of the world into opposed military groupings with its policy of creating a united front of all the forces campaigning for peace and the security of nations.

In those days the cold war did not develop into a hot war thanks, above all, to the efforts of the socialist countries. Their growing strength, unity and cohesion were a decisive factor in maintaining peace and security in Europe. The socialist states took measures against the rising danger of war and the attempts to exert political and economic pressure. In 1949, they set up the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. In May 1955, the European socialist countries signed the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, a measure that effectively countered the dangerous plans made by the United States and its NATO allies and promoted European security.

The Soviet Union's and other socialist countries' consistent policy of peace, the growth of their economic and defensive potential in the context of NATO war preparations, and their closer solidarity eventually had a positive effect on the international situation. The positive changes on the international scene were furthered by the growing undercurrent of political realism in the Western states. As a result, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, detente became the dominant trend in the relations between the socialist and the capitalist states.

A decisive factor behind this turn of events was the attainment by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty Organization as a whole of a rough parity, in terms of armed strength, with the United States and NATO. The strategic military equilibrium established between East and West created important objective conditions for maintaining peace. Not only the masses but also the ruling circles in the majority of capitalist countries became increasingly aware that there was no alternative, nor could there be, to peaceful coexistence with the socialist states.

The treaty between the USSR and the FRG signed in 1970 and the treaties signed later between Poland and the FRG (1970), the GDR and the FRG (1971), the FRG and Czechoslovakia (1973), the Quadripartite Agreement between the USSR, the USA, Great Britain, and France on West Berlin (1971), were important factors in easing tensions in Europe and improving the international climate as a whole. They recognized the territorial and political realities that had taken shape after World War II, and the inviolability of the borders of European states as a basis for promoting European security.

The normalization of international relations paved the way for implementing the socialist countries' proposal on convening a conference on security and

cooperation in Europe. The USSR, and all the other countries of the socialist community, played a decisive role in convening this conference. The 24th CPSU Congress urged to ensure success of the European Conference in the name of detente and lasting peace in Europe. The congress adopted a Peace Program which clearly formulated the objective "to proceed from the final recognition of the territorial changes that took place in Europe as a result of the Second World War. To bring about a radical turn towards detente and peace on this continent. To ensure the convocation and success of an all-European conference. To do everything to ensure collective security in Europe."<sup>1</sup>

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, convened on the initiative of the socialist states, resulted in the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki on August 1, 1975 by the heads of 33 European states, the United States and Canada. The political core of the Final Act is made up of the ten principles which should guide the participants in the conference in their relations with one another. These principles constitute an effective code of relations between states, consonant both in letter and in spirit with the requirements of peaceful coexistence. Thus, favorable conditions for maintaining and promoting peace on the European continent were created and prospects for peaceful cooperation in a number of fields outlined. It is essential to translate into life all the principles and accords agreed upon in Helsinki. Mindful of this fact, the Soviet Union codified these principles in the Constitution of the USSR.

The European Conference was an event of tremendous international importance. It opened a new stage in the relaxation of tensions and was a major step forward in the realization of the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The conference drew a line under the political outcome of World War II, revealed the futility and harmfulness of the policy "from positions of strength", laid the groundwork for removing aggression and other acts of violence in relations among European states, and outlined realistic prospects for a gradual advance toward a solution of the extremely important task of creating an effective security system for nations in Europe and throughout the world.

However, aggressive circles in the United States and other NATO countries considered that the normalization of international relations and the strengthening of detente ran counter to their interests. At the juncture of the 1970s and 1980s, they launched a policy of direct and undisguised confrontation and initiated a global onslaught, a crusade, against socialism. This policy is based on a carefully elaborated comprehensive program which covers political, economic, ideological and military aspects, including such extreme measures as brinkmanship and proclamation of the resolve and readiness to seek an out-and-out military confrontation with the USSR. The United States is striving to employ all the resources the West has in its own interests, and resorts to all sorts of measures, including direct *diktat*, to put pressure to bear on its allies. In this, the United States counts on changing the balance of forces in its favor, attaining military superiority and resorting to force in international relations. Although this reckless policy is largely spearheaded against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, it is at the same time directed against the world at large.

After the Reagan administration came to power, its policy of direct confrontation with the socialist countries has assumed dimensions that imperil world peace. The efforts to undermine the Helsinki accords, and acts of ideological subversion against detente launched by the White House were

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<sup>1</sup> 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1971, p. 37.

supplemented by practical measures in the military field—large-scale programs providing for the buildup of US strategic offensive forces in the period until the end of this century; plans to militarize outer space; implementation of a long-term program of modernizing NATO armed forces between now and the mid-1990s, and plans to reinforce NATO with new American medium-range nuclear missiles. While building up its military potential at an accelerated rate, the United States is pressuring its European allies to follow suit and constantly increase their military budgets.

Washington's nuclear doctrine allowing for a nuclear first strike and for victory in a nuclear war is being tailored to suit the adventurist US plans. According to Pentagon's Five-Year Defense Guidance 1984-1988, the United States "must prevail and be able to force the Soviet Union to seek earliest termination of hostilities on terms favorable to the United States".

By contrast, the Soviet Union's and other socialist countries' efforts on the international scene are invariably aimed at promoting peace, friendship and cooperation among nations, at solving disputes, whenever they arise, by peaceful means, i.e. by sitting down at the conference table.

As they see it, war must not and cannot be tolerated in the present-day context; it must be averted so as to avoid a catastrophe. The current trends must and can be checked, and the course of events redirected toward detente, stable peaceful coexistence, and cooperation. It is precisely to this end that the socialist countries advance their large-scale, far-reaching proposals and initiatives such as the ones put forward at the Prague Conference of the Political Consultative Committee (January 1983) and at the Moscow meeting of the party and state leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member-states (June 1983).

The socialist countries are calling on the nuclear powers to follow the Soviet example by pledging themselves not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, concluding a Treaty on the Mutual Non-Use of Military Force and Maintenance of Relations of Peace between the Member-States of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, ridding Europe of nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical, and of chemical weapons, giving impetus to the ongoing negotiations and resuming the suspended talks on the set of problems involved in stopping the arms race. They are calling for fresh efforts to eliminate foreign military bases, for the withdrawal of nuclear-capable warships from the Mediterranean, renunciation of the deployment of nuclear weapons on the territory of non-nuclear Mediterranean countries, for turning the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and cooperation, and for talks on establishing nuclear-free zones in the North of Europe, the Balkans and other regions of the continent.

They attach great importance to the strict observance by all states of the treaties and agreements determining the territorial and political realities in Europe. State boundaries in present-day Europe are inviolable, and any attempt to redraw them would cause incalculable suffering to all nations.

The existing approximate military parity between the USSR and the United States, the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO, is a decisive factor in ensuring European security. Security is real and lasting provided it is based on a rough parity and subsequent reduction of the military forces of the sides. Otherwise, nobody would feel secure. For this reason, while not seeking military superiority over the other side, the Warsaw Treaty countries will by no means allow it to gain military superiority over them. In all negotiations they resolutely come out for the reduction of armed forces and armaments and maintenance of the military equilibrium at the lowest possible level.

The socialist countries attach great importance to confidence-building measures

in the military field, in particular those taken in keeping with the Helsinki accords (notification of large-scale military exercises of ground forces and invitation of observers from other countries). The USSR is working toward expanding confidence-building measures to include notification of exercises of not only ground forces but also naval and air forces, as well as of troop movements. The Soviet Union has proposed to spread the zone of confidence-building measures to the whole of Europe and the adjacent seas and oceans and to the air space above them, and to limit the scale of major military exercises. A wide range of confidence-building measures aimed at averting nuclear war has been advanced by the Soviet Union at the talks on the limitation of strategic and European nuclear arms.

In the context of the sharp aggravation of the world situation caused by the reinforcement of NATO with new US medium-range nuclear missiles, the problem of easing military tensions in Europe has become so acute and so closely linked to the interests of all European nations that its solution calls for the joint efforts of the countries that participated in the European Conference. A sign which augurs well for positive developments was the successful conclusion of the Madrid Meeting. This is additional proof that there are still latent possibilities for strengthening European and world security which, given the sincere desire of the states parties to the European Conference, can lead to generally acceptable agreements to ensure the dynamic continuation and development of security.

"The positive outcome of the Madrid Meeting," Foreign Minister of the USSR Andrei Gromyko has noted, "is a significant achievement of the international trend aimed at dialogue and understanding, at settling problems at the negotiating table."<sup>1</sup>

There is no doubt that among the most important decisions taken in Madrid is the agreement to convene in Stockholm in January 1984 a conference on confidence-building, security and disarmament in Europe. This conference could go a long way in lessening the danger of military confrontation in Europe.

Committed to the principles of the Final Act which stress the need to take effective steps toward greater security and closer cooperation, the Soviet Union is ready to take part in the Stockholm Conference in a businesslike and constructive manner to fulfill, jointly with the other countries, the conference's mandate of taking new, effective and concrete actions aimed at stimulating progress in confidence-building and in the attainment of security and disarmament.

The results of the Madrid Meeting have been favorably received by the European and world public. Much depends now on the further moves of all the participants in the European Conference. As for the Soviet Union, its position has been described by Yuri Andropov, head of the Soviet State, as follows: "We have enough goodwill and determination to advance, step by step, toward stronger European security and a better political climate throughout the world."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Pravda*, September 8, 1983.

<sup>2</sup> *Pravda*, January 6, 1983.



The issues of limiting the arms race and of achieving disarmament are in the focus of attention of the annual sessions of the UN General Assembly and its agencies. At present, the United Nations is occupied with the problem of eliminating the nuclear threat. Various aspects of this problem are considered in great detail by the Geneva Disarmament Committee.

The nuclear powers' commitment not to be the first to use nuclear arms and to freeze their nuclear stockpiles could be an effective step toward the solution of the problem of averting nuclear war. These urgent measures would be comparatively easy to undertake and would not call for prolonged and complicated talks. For this reason, they constituted the main topic of discussion at all the latest UN General Assembly sessions.

The constructive efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are contributing to the solution of these important problems. As early as 1981, the 36th Session of the UN General Assembly adopted, on the Soviet Union's initiative, a Declaration on the Prevention of Nuclear Catastrophe which proclaimed *first use of nuclear weapons* a grave crime against humanity. The declaration strongly condemned any doctrines tolerant of the idea of the first use of nuclear weapons.

A year later, at the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament, the Soviet Union *unilaterally pledged* itself, by way of developing its previous initiative, *not to be the first to use nuclear arms*. This commitment came into force on June 15, 1982, i.e. the moment it was made public at the session of the General Assembly. Simultaneously, the USSR expressed its hope that the Soviet decision would be followed by similar steps of other nuclear states. If other nuclear powers pledged themselves, equally clearly and unambiguously, not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, this would be tantamount to a total ban on the use of nuclear weapons urged by the overwhelming majority of the world's nations.

The Soviet initiative has been internationally recognized as an important step toward reducing the nuclear war threat. It was described as such in a resolution adopted by the 37th Session of the UN General Assembly expressing the hope that the other nuclear powers, which had not yet followed the Soviet Union's example, would consider making similar statements about their intention not to be the first to use nuclear arms.

The United States, as also Great Britain and France, refuses to commit itself to no-first-use of nuclear weapons. Its refusal suggests the intention to resort to a nuclear first strike. According to US field manuals (FM 100-1, FM 100-5), the USA will in all probability be the first to use tactical nuclear weapons in keeping with previously elaborated plans. Various scenarios have been drawn up for "all-out", "limited", "protracted" and "rational" nuclear warfare. Washington is developing new systems of nuclear weapons designed for a first strike and seeks by all means to deploy Pershing ballistic missiles and cruise missiles in Western Europe. Pentagon spokesmen claim that NATO must reserve for itself the right to deal a first strike.

Do they cite any reasons for this? None, except for generalities about the West having no confidence in the USSR and thus being compelled to assume the right to defend itself with nuclear weapons. Such generalities, however, are built on sand. Socialist countries have repeatedly challenged the West to come to an agreement on the non-use of force in general and on the non-use of either nuclear or conventional arms. The United States and NATO have rejected this sensible proposal.

In fact, they have declined the Warsaw Treaty countries' proposal to conclude a Treaty on the Mutual Non-Use of Military Force and Maintenance of Relations of Peace between the Member-States of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, advanced in January 1983. A reciprocal commitment of the participants in both blocs not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional arms against each other and, consequently, not to use armed force against each other in general, could provide the backbone for such a treaty.

The NATO countries' negative attitude toward this proposal brings into sharp focus the hypocritical nature of the arguments about the so-called Soviet military threat and the alleged superiority of the Warsaw Treaty states in terms of conventional arms. What actually threatens the nations of the world is the United States' imperial behavior, its gross interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, its use of armed force in all regions of the world, its ambition to be the leading military power, and to try to acquire enough capability to deal a "disarming" nuclear strike against the USSR.

The Soviet Union's desire for peace and its constructive approach to solving the problem of lessening the war threat, limiting arms, first of all nuclear weapons, are fully reflected in the new Soviet initiatives advanced at the 38th Session of the UN General Assembly. In keeping with its policy of averting nuclear catastrophe, the Soviet Union called on the General Assembly to adopt a declaration entitled The Condemnation of Nuclear War, and submitted a draft declaration to that effect. The underlying idea of the declaration is the unconditional condemnation of nuclear war as something alien to human conscience and reason, as a grave crime against humanity, as an encroachment upon man's prime right, the right to life. The Soviet document proposes to declare it a crime to elaborate, advocate, disseminate and publicize political and military doctrines and concepts designed to substantiate the "lawfulness" of the first use of nuclear weapons and the "permissibility" of starting a nuclear war.

The issue of averting nuclear war is directly linked to the issue of curbing the nuclear arms race. Is it possible to stop this race in such a way as to facilitate the transition to measures of reducing nuclear arms? This would be possible if all nuclear powers agreed to stop the quantitative buildup and the qualitative improvement of their nuclear weapons, in other words, if they agree to freeze them. At the 38th Session of the UN General Assembly, the Soviet Union submitted a motion that the Assembly call on the nuclear powers to agree to freeze, under appropriate control, their nuclear stockpiles, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The United States and the Soviet Union were called upon to be the first to freeze their arms on a bilateral basis by way of setting an example to be followed by the other nuclear powers.

It stands to reason that the UN General Assembly does not confine itself to the issues related to averting nuclear war. At each session, it examines the entire spectrum of questions involved in the reduction of arms, both those of mass destruction and conventional. The General Assembly produces recommendations on many of these issues for the Disarmament Committee, on which forty countries are represented, including the nuclear states.

According to its official status, the Disarmament Committee is a multilateral negotiating forum. Its objective is to draw up and by consensus adopt draft multilateral agreements on limiting arms and on disarmament.

Among the agreements that have been drawn up by the Disarmament Committee and are currently in force is the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Seabed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof, the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction, and the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques.

The issues under the Committee's consideration include the following: prevention of nuclear war; complete and general prohibition of nuclear tests; nuclear disarmament and the prohibition of neutron weapons; stronger guarantees for the security of non-nuclear states; prohibition of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction; prohibition of radiological weapons; prevention of attacks on nuclear facilities; prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons; prevention of the arms race in outer space; elaboration of a comprehensive disarmament program.

The Committee lays the accent on the *problem of averting nuclear war*. In pursuance of the relevant recommendations of the 37th Session of the UN General Assembly, the delegations of socialist and non-aligned countries suggested setting up an *ad hoc* working group entrusted with negotiating practical measures for the solution of this problem. Among the measures envisaged are the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear arms, a nuclear arms freeze, and a moratorium on all kinds of nuclear explosions (to be imposed until a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests is concluded).

The United States, supported by other Western countries, came out against this proposal; as a result, the working group has not been set up and the talks on the urgent problem of mapping out practical measures for preventing nuclear war have not been opened.

*The issue of the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests* has been discussed by the Committee for a long time. Between 1977 and 1980 the Committee's examination of the problem was timed to coincide with the Soviet-US-British talks on the same issue. Since in 1980 these talks were unilaterally broken off by the United States, there arose a need for multilateral talks in the Disarmament Committee with a view to drafting a relevant treaty. However, until 1982, the United States had not consented to such talks on the plea that it was "studying" this problem. In February 1982, the United States declared that it regarded the signing of a test-ban treaty to be "untimely" and, therefore, objected to initiating talks aimed at drafting the treaty in the Disarmament Committee.

Representatives of many countries were outraged by the US statement. Although the US allies refrained from openly criticizing the US statement at the official sittings, they gave it no support. Under pressure from the majority of countries, the United States was compelled to endorse the setting up of an *ad hoc* working group on nuclear tests. With the group set up, however, the United States seeks to reduce its work to abstract discussions of verification issues, evading any involvement in drafting a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests.

The USSR and other socialist countries suggest that the Disarmament Committee initiate negotiations *to end the production and gradually reduce the stockpiles of nuclear weapons, all the way to their total elimination*. As they see it, it

would be advisable to map out a nuclear disarmament program which would stipulate agreements to stop the development of new systems of nuclear weapons and the production of fissionable materials for developing various types of nuclear weapons, and to end the production of nuclear weapons and nuclear delivery vehicles. It stands to reason that appropriate verification measures should be agreed upon.

The socialist countries propose stage-by-stage implementation of nuclear disarmament measures. The content of the measures to be taken at each stage can be negotiated by the participants in the talks, while the degree of individual nuclear states' participation in implementing these measures should be determined with due regard to the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of the existing stockpiles of the nuclear and other armaments.

The proposal advanced by the socialist states is backed by the non-aligned countries. The UN General Assembly has repeatedly called upon the Disarmament Committee to initiate talks on nuclear disarmament. However, the United States has made efforts to torpedo the issue. The American side is clearly against having such talks.

The prohibition of *neutron weapons* stands out among the other issues the Disarmament Committee is dealing with. The United States' 1981 decision to launch the production of neutron weapons attracted still greater attention to this issue. The draft convention on the prohibition of the production, stockpiling, deployment and use of neutron weapons, submitted by the socialist countries, has been under the Committee's consideration since 1978. However, the United States is evading negotiations on such a convention. Thus, this issue, too, is being blocked by the United States.

*The issue of more reliable guarantees for the security of non-nuclear states* can be solved by concluding a relevant international convention granting such guarantees to states which do not produce or acquire nuclear weapons and do not allow their deployment on their territory. This is precisely what the Soviet Union and other socialist states propose to do. The draft convention submitted by the socialist states is being considered by the Disarmament Committee since 1979.

The United States and Great Britain (recently joined by France) do not want to have their hands tied as regards dealing nuclear strikes at any non-nuclear country which would come into conflict with the above-mentioned nuclear powers or their allies. They flatly refuse to search for ways toward a solution.

Taking into consideration the refusal of the United States, Great Britain and France to conclude a convention on guarantees of the security of non-nuclear states, the Soviet Union suggests that, as a first step toward the convention, all nuclear powers make the same or similar statements on the non-use of nuclear weapons against the non-nuclear states which do not have such weapons on their territory. Such statements could subsequently be submitted for approval to the UN Security Council. However, this compromise proposal has not drawn a positive response from the United States, Great Britain, and France, either.

*The issue of the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons* has been on the agenda of the Disarmament Committee since 1970, when the General Assembly submitted for the Committee's consideration a draft Convention on the prohibition and destruction of chemical and bacteriological weapons proposed by the socialist states.

Having completed work on a convention on the prohibition and destruction of bacteriological weapons in 1972, the Committee addressed itself to the issue of chemical weapons. Since 1980, when the United States unilaterally suspended the Soviet-US talks on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons, an

international convention on this score has been a topic of negotiations in the Disarmament Committee only.

A Working Group on Chemical Warfare was set up by the Committee in 1980. However, due to the United States' resistance, it was not until 1982 that the group set about drafting a Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction. However, within this group, too, the United States is going out of its way to impede constructive efforts. The main obstacle it has thrown up to impede the working group's efforts is the question of verification. On the one hand, the United States is making every effort to exaggerate the existing differences, and on the other hand, it is seeking to drag the Committee into a purely technical examination of the details of various verification methods. For instance, the United States and other Western countries insist on compulsory international on-site inspections of the closure and dismantling of enterprises engaged in the production of chemical weapons. The Soviet delegation pointed out that these demands were unwarranted and that verification of compliance with the convention can reliably be ensured by national technical means supplemented by certain international procedures, including international on-site inspection on a voluntary basis.

At present, the Disarmament Committee has before it a number of proposals on the future convention. The most considered and detailed among them is the Soviet draft of the Basic Provisions of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, and Stockpiling of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction. The draft covers all aspects of the prospective convention. This document takes into account the results of the Soviet-US talks and the views of other states expressed both in the Disarmament Committee and in the UN General Assembly. It proposes to rid human society, effectively and radically, of all types of chemical weapons.

The draft convention provides for a verification system based on a combination of national and international measures, including the setting up of a consultative committee. According to the Soviet proposal, whenever suspicion arises that a signatory to the convention has violated it, international inspection can be carried out with the consent of the country in question, on its territory. Moreover, the Soviet Union proposes to verify the destruction of stockpiles by way of regular compulsory inspections within the limits of an agreed quota. Similar control should be imposed on the production of highly toxic lethal chemicals which the signatories will be allowed to produce in limited amounts for needs other than the development of chemical weapons (for use in medicine, scientific research, etc.).

The delegations of many other countries welcomed the Soviet Union's comprehensive approach to the scope of the prohibition, and its constructive stand on the verification issues, indicative of the Soviet Union's sincere desire to conclude a convention on chemical weapons in the near future. Moreover, the USSR has agreed to incorporate in the convention an additional provision prohibiting the use of chemical weapons. The implementation of this provision could be verified through the general mechanism of control over compliance with the convention, including on-site inspections on a voluntary basis. Thus, the climate established in the Committee appeared to expedite the elaboration of a convention. Nonetheless, the United States, unwilling to remove chemical weapons from its war inventories, continues to impede the process. It continues to play up the verification issues, deliberately seeking to further complicate the matter.

*The question of the prevention of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and of new systems of such weapons is*

vigorously raised by the socialist countries' representatives in the Disarmament Committee. They have submitted a draft treaty to this effect. Socialist countries hold the view that the conclusion of such a comprehensive agreement would prevent the appearance of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons and are prepared to conclude agreements concerning each individual new type of weapon.

The socialist countries are taking an active part in drawing up a treaty on the prohibition of radiological weapons. A draft treaty elaborated in the course of Soviet-US talks is now under the Committee's consideration. The efforts to come to an agreement on the treaty are hampered by some states which tie up the conclusion of the treaty with the prevention of attacks on nuclear facilities. The Soviet Union acknowledges the importance of preventing such attacks, as is borne out by its proposal on this issue at the 37th Session of the UN General Assembly. However, the Soviet Union does not consider nuclear facilities to be a variety of radiological weapon; attacking them is fraught with serious danger, and this danger should be considered separately.

*The problem of preventing the arms race in outer space.* Under the Committee's consideration is the Soviet Union's draft treaty on the prohibition of the deployment of any type of weapon in outer space. The socialist and non-aligned countries call for talks to be opened on this important problem and for an *ad hoc* working group to be set up for this purpose. Some Western countries are inclined to agree to having such a group set up. However, since the United States is against this step, the problem of preventing the arms race in outer space has not been broached.

The Disarmament Committee has been engaged in elaborating a *comprehensive disarmament program* (CDP) since 1980. The program is to provide for the implementation of a number of disarmament measures which would lead to general and complete disarmament. The CDP idea was raised by the non-aligned states. The socialist countries are actively and constructively involved in its elaboration. However, the negative stand of the United States and other Western countries on practically all measures to be included in the program is a major obstacle preventing the drawing up of a comprehensive program.

Thus, there are two opposed trends in the Disarmament Committee. They are manifested by the socialist countries' drive for constructive negotiations and a speedy solution to the arms limitation and disarmament issues, on the one hand, and by the obstructionist policy of the United States and its close allies aimed at escalating the buildup of all types of weapons, on the other.

Whereas in the 1960s and 1970s the Committee was busy elaborating numerous agreements in the field of arms limitation and disarmament, today its activity has been brought to a standstill as a result of the negative approach taken by the United States and other NATO countries. Moreover, these states, which have set their sights on escalating the arms race, are going out of their way to complicate the work of the Committee. They are trying to use this forum to enhance confrontation and foment anti-Soviet sentiment by throwing in questions outside the Committee's agenda.

In concert with other socialist countries and with the support of the non-aligned and neutral states represented on the Committee, the Soviet Union is pressing forward with its disarmament proposals and insisting on elaborating and concluding, on the basis of these proposals and with due regard to the views of other states, effective disarmament agreements.

The reader has had an opportunity to compare two approaches to the problem of curbing the arms race—that of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty countries and that of the United States and NATO. Information on the Soviet Union's and the United States' actions in the field of disarmament has also been provided.

Those ready to consider this information without prejudice will realize that it is not arms reductions, equality and equal security that the United States is concerned about today. It wants the USSR to disarm unilaterally, to make sure that its military programs are carried out, and to gain military superiority. That is what all US "zero" and "interim" options are all about. For the USA, negotiations are no more than a screen for *diktat*, pressure on the USSR and its allies, and preparations for another world war.

The Washington leaders do not hesitate to declare that preparedness for war is the most effective way to safeguard peace and that their policy is based on the theory and practice of force, above all armed force. They regard nuclear weapons as the main deterrent (i. e. the main means of effecting their policies) which, in certain conditions, they will be the first to use in a war against the Warsaw Treaty countries. Such is the dangerous response of the US leaders to the Soviet Union's decisions to unilaterally pledge itself not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and to many other far-reaching peace initiatives advanced by the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

Peace from "positions of strength", peace on US terms—this is what Washington is striving for. Hence the escalation of the arms race, armed force buildup and continuous sabre-rattling. Never since the worst cold war days has the cult of brute force been manifested so patently and brazenly as now, in the days of the present US administration.

In recent years, the arms race launched by the United States has attained an unprecedented scale, thus putting peace in jeopardy. The development level of modern science and technology has significantly accelerated the rate of modernization of all types of weapons. The world is witnessing a continuous stockpiling of arms, which are becoming ever more sophisticated, and the development of new, more destructive and lethal types of mass-destruction weapons.

If the worst happens and nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction are put to use, modern war could lead not only to tremendous destruction and to the death of hundreds of millions of people. It will be recalled that World War II took a toll of more than 50 million lives. Any future war, if the imperialists start one, would place in question the very survival of civilization on earth. That is the deadly danger to which the American strategists and their NATO allies are exposing the world.

The United States is the only country to have used nuclear weapons. The nations will never forget this. Although the US nuclear monopoly was a short-lived one, the fact that the United States managed to reduce Hiroshima and Nagasaki to ashes, makes one wonder what else the US leaders may be capable

of in the long run. One is justified in raising this question now that Washington obstinately refuses to follow the Soviet Union's example and to pledge itself not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

To prevent nuclear war and curb the arms race is a historic task, the task of each and all. No one can be indifferent to it. A broad and active involvement of all states is needed to halt and reverse the arms race. This is possible and feasible.

The Soviet Union is prepared to agree to the most radical measures in the nuclear field, up to complete nuclear disarmament, and to partial measures aimed at checking and limiting the nuclear arms race (certainly, on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security). The Soviet Union will agree to ban any type of weapon, provided this is done on a reciprocal basis. The USSR is prepared to back up words with deeds, that is, to translate them into concrete commitments, be it at the talks on limiting and reducing strategic arms, or at the talks on medium-range nuclear weapons, or at the talks on conventional forces and armaments.

The concrete Soviet proposals and initiatives of recent years, e.g. the initiatives formulated by the socialist countries in the Prague Political Declaration and at the Moscow meeting of the top party and government leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, indicate the direction in which progress can and must be made so as to check the arms race and secure normal life for all people in conditions of peace and general security.

"For the Soviet leadership," Yuri Andropov said in his Statement, "the question of what course to follow in the present tense state of international affairs does not even arise. As before, our policy is directed to safeguarding and consolidating peace, relieving tensions, curbing the arms race, and to extending and deepening cooperation among states. Such is the immutable will of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the entire Soviet people. Such, too, we are sure, is the wish of all nations."<sup>1</sup>

The Soviet Union is doing everything it can in order to safeguard peace. It enjoys the solidarity of the socialist countries and the world's peace-loving forces. The vigorous and united efforts of all the peace-loving nations can frustrate the evil plans of the architects of another war, restrain the adventurists and the aspirants to world domination, and safeguard peace on earth. To quote Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, "today, as never before, the peoples are coming to the forefront of history. They have won the right to have their say and no one can muffle their voice. By their vigorous and purposeful actions they have the power to remove the threat of nuclear war, to safeguard peace, and that means life, too, on this planet."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Pravda*, September 29, 1983.

<sup>2</sup> Yuri Andropov, "From the Speech at the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee", *Our Aim Is to Preserve Peace*, p. 8.



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