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CESSATION OF ALL NUCLEAR-TEST EXPLOSIONS  
IMPLEMENTATION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY

RESOLUTION **40/88** ON THE IMMEDIATE  
CESSATION AND PROHIBITION OF **NUCLEAR-**  
WEAPON TESTS

Letter dated 18 August 1986 from the Permanent Representative of  
the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations  
addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of the statement made on Soviet television by M. S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (**CPSU**) on 18 August 1986.

Please arrange for the distribution of this text as an official document of the General Assembly under items 49 and 57 of the provisional agenda.

(Signed) A. M. **BELONOGOV**

\* A/41/150.

ANNEX

Statement made on Soviet television by the General Secretary  
of the CPSU Central Committee, 18 August 1986

As we come **together** today, I would like to make a statement on one of the key problems in international politics.

A few **days** ago - 6 August - saw the **expiry** of the Soviet unilateral moratorium on nuclear **tests** which, **as** you know, the Soviet Union has strictly observed for a year.

What was the **reason for**, what prompted this tough, **exceptionally** responsible and, I might say, awkward decision?

In a nutshell, the fact of the space and nuclear age.

What are the facts? Where can they be found?

First, we have accumulated mountains of weapons, nuclear and all other kinds, yet the **arms** race is not **slackening** but picking up and there is now a **danger** that it may extend into **space**, while **militarization** in the United States and the entire NATO bloc is proceeding apace. It **is** important to stress that military **technology** is developing **so** rapidly that peoples, States and politicians are **being** left **less** and **less** time to become aware of a genuine danger and mankind has a dwindling chance to halt its slide into the nuclear abyss. There is **no** time to lose, for otherwise **such sophisticated weapons** systems will emerge that agreement to control them will be altogether impossible.

The situation is becoming **increasingly** intolerable. **Respecting** existing agreements today counts for little; we need broad **practical measures** to rein in militarism and produce a turn for the better in the **course of** events. The "balance of terror" **is ceasing to be a factor in deterrence**. Not only because terror in general is no friend of clear thinking and may spur people into action with **unforeseeable consequences**. **This terror is a direct contributor to the arms race**: by enhancing **distrust** and suspicion, it **creates a vicious circle** and heightens **tension**. There are many examples.

It is now **as clear as day** to everyone that the old notions of war as an instrument for the attainment of political **goals** have outlived their time. In the nuclear epoch these outmoded dogmas nurture policies which may lead to universal conflagration.

Second. Our decision to impose a moratorium was based on the fact that socialism as a **social** order is dedicated to the cause of peace, and on a deep awareness of the **responsibility it bears** for the fate of **civilization**. The Soviet Union, **as** a socialist State and a nuclear Power, considers it a noble duty to do **everything** within its power to secure a peaceful future for the planet.

Our determination to **steer international** development onto a course for **détente** is in keeping with our philosophy and **our socialist** morality. In the **nuclear age**, **though**, **saving** the earth from nuclear **destruction** is a task for all mankind, it is every nation's **business**.

Third. **Today's** world **is** complicated, varied and contradictory. **At the same** time, it is in fact becoming increasingly interdependent and **integrated**. **NO** realistically constructed foreign policy **can** ignore this feature of late twentieth-century society. **Otherwise** there will be **no** normal international relations: they will be doomed to end in **turmoil** or, in the final analysis, catastrophic confrontation.

Pre-atomic **thinking** actually **ceased** to **have any** meaning on **6 August 1945**. Nowadays **one cannot guarantee one's own** security **without** regard for the security of **other States and peoples**,

There **can be no** genuine security which is not uniformly even-handed and all-embracing. To imagine otherwise is to exist in a world of illusions, **a world of self-deception**.

The **new** kind of thinking needed in today's world is incompatible with notions of the world **as anyone's** fiefdom and attempts to bestow on others the "**largesse**" of **One's** protection and guidance as to how they should **behave** and **what path** - socialist, capitalist or other - they should select.

The Soviet Union believes that each people and **every** country is entitled to dispose of its destiny and **resources**, and has the sovereign right to ordain **its** Social **development**, uphold **its own** security and **take part in the construction of** an all-embracing **system of international** security.

**Another** feature of **today's** world is the exacerbation of global problems. They will **not be** resolved until all nations pool **their efforts**. The **conquest of space** and the **ocean depths**, **ecology** and epidemics, poverty and **backwardness** - **all** these are twentieth-century realities requiring international attention, international responsibility and international **collaboration**. Thus, many new world developments are bound up with each other. Disarmament could play an enormous role here, releasing substantial **quantities of resources** and intellectual and **technological** potential to satisfy creative needs.

**Our** external policy is inspired **by the** growing conviction **throughout the** world **in the** minds of peoples, political and public forces of **every** persuasion and **outlook**: the very existence of the **human race** is now **being mapped** out, and it is **time to take** decisive and responsible action, **Mobilization** of the utmost reserves of intellect and **common sense** is required.

There have been two tragedies recently involving **the technology** of the nuclear and space era: the **death** of the crew of **Challenger** and the accident at the Chernobyl **nuclear power** station. They have heightened anxiety and served **as a** sharp reminder **that** people **are** still only coming to grips with the **fantastically** powerful forces they themselves have brought into being, and are still **only learning to put them at the** service of progress. These events provided an apt **lesson** of what would occur if **a nuclear weapon** were fired.

Everyone, but above all people in government, need to draw the specific, obvious lessons from this. One important lesson - perhaps the most important - is that the weapons man has created must never be used, and that it is simply suicidal nowadays to construct relations between States around the illusion of winning supremacy in the dreadful weapons of annihilation.

Completely eradicating such weapons is the only way to genuine peace. To start down that path is to pass an historic test of maturity. This is the rue of all the political leaders to whose lot this noble mission for mankind has fallen.

We must learn to look facts courageously in the face. Experts have calculated that the blast from the very smallest nuclear shell is equal in terms of radiation to three Chernobyls. Most likely this is so. And if it is, it means that the detonation of even a small fraction of the accumulated nuclear arsenal will be a disaster, and an irreparable disaster. If anyone still decides to launch a first nuclear strike, he will be condemning himself to an agonising death - not even from a counter-strike, but from the after-effects of the detonations of his own warheads.

This is not propaganda, it is not political invention, it is not "terror-mongering") these are facts, which it would be sheer irresponsibility to contradict and a crime to disregard.

An honest, objective analysis of these facts dictates a different approach to world politics. These facts are the basis for the fundamental conclusions we have been drawing recently, in particular at the Twenty-seventh CPSU Congress.

Soviet foreign policy - on disarmament, among other matters - is also based on an awareness of deep changes in the world.

We consider that the Soviet proposals of 15 January this year, for the elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world by the year 2000 are entirely in keeping with the needs of the age.

We have shown our willingness to seek compromise settlements to the problems that are creating arguments and suspicion.

The Soviet Union has put a package of constructive proposals on the table at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons.

Together with our allies under the Warsaw Treaty, we have advanced a series of measures to reduce armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. This is another area where we want progress - collective and steady progress - towards a lower, less dangerous level of military confrontation.

New proposals have been put forward on chemical weapons which, in our view, should allow a convention banning chemical weapons and doing away with stocks of the weapons and the industrial base for manufacturing them, to be signed by the end of this year or next.

At the Stockholm Conference, the socialist countries, working constructively with other participants, have done much to find way forward on such key issues as the non-use of force, prior notification of military exercises and troop movements, exchanges of yearly plans for military activity, invitations to observers, and verification.

We have presented a broad platform for ensuring security and co-operation in the region of Asia and the Pacific, and invite one and all to take part in this process,

We have shown initiative in collaborating with all interested States as regards the establishment of an international régime for the safe development of nuclear power generation.

Recently, as an alternative to the "Star Wars" programme, we submitted to the United Nations a programme calling for the establishment of "Star Peace" and a world space organization.

The foundations for an all-embracing system of international security, which is the most sweeping manifestation of our *new* foreign policy approaches, were laid down at the Twenty-seventh Congress. A few days ago, the group of socialist countries officially submitted the question of creating such a system for consideration at the forthcoming session of the United Nations General Assembly.

At the same time I wish to stress that, however important and telling our proposals may be, however committed we are to them, we realize that we cannot do everything ourselves. The problem of international security is a collective one: concern about it is collective, and responsibility for it is collective.

As we develop our proposals we are studying and taking into account the viewpoints and initiatives of other Governments, public and political movements. We are taking care to ensure that at every stage of their implementation these proposals provide equal security for all. None the less, we do not regard them as definitive or not subject to debate, for the way to overcome the deadlock of confrontation is through dialogue, contacts, discussion and negotiation. This is the only way to melt the ice of mutual distrust and achieve practical results.

This also determines our attitude to the problem of verification in dealing with all disarmament problems. For example, when we made our proposal for an end to all nuclear explosions, we said we had *no* objection to international verification. Our consent to the installation of American monitoring equipment in the region around Semipalatinsk is clear evidence of that. You would think that the problem of verification had ceased to be an obstacle to agreement. However, it is still being determinedly exploited in an attempt to conceal people's true attitude: they are reluctant to disarm.

People of good will welcomed our decision to impose a moratorium on nuclear explosions. We heard words of approval and support from all corners of the earth. Politicians, members of parliament, public figures and mass organizations saw this step as an example of the right approach to today's problems and a chance to be rid

of the fear of nuclear disaster, The Soviet moratorium was endorsed by the General Assembly, the most representative gathering of States on earth.

We were supported by eminent scientists - physicists and doctors who, perhaps more than anyone else, are aware of the dangers inherent in the atom. our moratorium - and I became convinced of this during a recent meeting with scientists in Moscow - inspired representatives of the sciences in a number of countries to active efforts.

Against all these obvious and encouraging signs of fresh thinking, however, we have to set the growing military slant, particularly in the United States, to political thinking, which, in the ruling circles of the West, has fallen so dangerously behind the far-reaching changes in international life, while the advance of science and technology is rapidly outstripping social and moral progress.

The right-wing, militaristic grouping in the United States which represents the powerful military-industrial complex is simply obsessed by the arms race. Their concerns seem to be threefold: not to allow the flow of ready money for weapons manufacture to run short, to secure military superiority for the United States and try to exhaust the Soviet Union economically and weaken it politically, and, ultimately, to secure command positions around the world, accomplish their ancient imperial ambitions, and press on with their policy of plundering the developing countries,

From here stems a foreign policy which, for all its convolutions and verbal obfuscation, is still based on dangerous misconceptions: an underestimate of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the newly independent States, and an overestimate of their own potential nurtured by technological self-confidence and unbridled political permissiveness.

The fact that we are taking part in negotiations is interpreted by some American politicians as a result of the growth in United States military power and the development of the SDI programme. Constructing its policy on such false premises, the American Administration stands no chance of arriving at honourable agreements and an improved international climate. Nevertheless, the facts of life have to be come to terms with. There is no escaping them.

Regarding our proposals, I say again that they are a product of the realities Of today's world and are dictated not by weakness but an awareness Of our grave responsibility for the fate of mankind.

This is how the situation stands now.

On the one hand, Our moratorium is in effect and our compromise, broad-scale proposals have been announced and put on the negotiating table in various bodies. The drive of the peace-loving forces has increased markedly, and increased attention is being paid to the problems of international security in political - in which I include official - circles concerned at the seriousness of the situation.

On the other hand, we have a refusal to end nuclear tests, determined opposition to peaceable initiatives, overt contempt for the demands of the public and the views of many authoritative parties and organizations, and disregard for the concern even among ONE'S OWN allies and people.

This is the situation which we, the Soviet leadership, have to face as our moratorium expires.

What are we to do? How are we to choose? What decision will be the best, the most suitable in the circumstances? What will best promote positive developments and reduce the threat of military confrontation?

Our people resolutely support the foreign policy of CPSU and the Soviet State and demand dogged persistence in the foreign policy course laid down at the Twenty-seventh Party Congress. At the same time, letters and statements by Soviet people justly sound a note of alarm: is it sensible to keep the moratorium when nuclear explosions continue to rumble across Nevada one after another? Isn't the risk too great, isn't time working against the security of this country?

In actual fact the United States, which for 40 years has led in the explosion stakes, detonated 18 nuclear devices during the year of the Soviet moratorium. I repeat: 18, three of which were not announced. On the whole, though, they did so openly, timing the tests to coincide either with our most recent announcement prolonging the moratorium or with some new Soviet initiative. They even invited us to Nevada to watch it happen. It is worth adding here, that the present United States Administration is engaged in the most extensive of military programmes.

In short, the Soviet Union has reason enough to resume its nuclear testing. Still, however, we are convinced that an end to nuclear testing not only by the Soviet Union but also by the United States would be a real breakthrough in efforts to halt the nuclear arms race and would hasten the abolition of nuclear weapons. The logic is simpler: if there are no tests, there will be no further advances in nuclear weapons, of which both sides have already accumulated enough and to spare.

Further support for this view comes in the appeals to the United States and the Soviet Union by a significant and authoritative segment of the world community of States. Among these there is the "New Delhi Six", a standing group of leaders from four continents: from Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania. A few days ago, meeting in the town of Ixtapa, they adopted the Mexico Declaration, which once again appeals for an end to all nuclear explosions. The same demand comes from the majority of States in the Non-Aligned Movement.

We have received messages from political and public figures, private individuals and organizations in many countries, including the United States and other NATO countries. They also appeal to us not to resume nuclear tests, and to give the people who insist on conducting them another chance to come to their senses.

Of course we know, and I have already mentioned this, that there are forces at work in the United States which do not want disarmament at all. Furthermore, they

are doing everything they can to drag us further and further into the arms race and to provoke us into slamming the door on negotiations.

We would like to believe, though, that realism will gain the upper hand in American assessments and actions and the United States will recognize the need to look together for way<sup>5</sup> of improving the international situation, ending the senseless arms race and abolishing nuclear weapons.

At the same time, we know who we are dealing with. As a result, the security of this country is for us a sacred matter. This must be clear to all. It is a matter of principle.

This is our point of departure when we respond to any challenges from the United States, the infamous SDI included. Don't let them imagine that they can frighten us or goad us into unnecessary spending. If necessary we will swiftly find a response, and it will not be of the kind they expect in the United States. It will be a response which will render the Star Wars programme worthless. I say this with one purpose in mind: let the American Administration think, and think again, about the real value of new military programmes and the arms race as a whole from the viewpoint of United States interests and security. In reality, you see, the main danger in SDI is that it undermines the prospects for talks and widens the scope for distrust. That is the whole problem, and it is quite as much a political as a military one. That is why we again appeal for a transition from a world armed to the hilt to a world without weapons.

And so, comrades, having weighed all the pros and cons scrupulously and from every angle, and guided by their sense of responsibility for the fate of the world, the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and the Government of the Soviet Union have passed a decision extending our unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions until 1 January 1987.

In taking this step, we believe that people throughout the world, political circles and the international public will draw the right conclusions about the protracted silence at the Soviet nuclear test sites.

On behalf of the Soviet people I appeal to the intelligence and dignity of the Americans not to pees up yet another historic chance to end the arms race,

I appeal once again to President Ronald Reagan to weigh up the present situation dispassionately, set aside superficial considerations, and abandon his misconceptions about the Soviet Union and its foreign policy.

The Soviet Union is convinced that an agreement to end nuclear tests can be reached quickly and signed at a Soviet-American summit meeting this year. Such an event would be, beyond doubt, the main tangible outcome of the summit and a noteworthy step towards ending the arms race. In its way, it would be a prologue to further progress in negotiation<sup>6</sup> on nuclear weapons and their eradication, the prologue to a radical improvement in the entire world situation.

The Soviet Union's moratorium on nuclear explosions, being an action and not just a proposal, clearly shows the seriousness and sincerity of our nuclear



disarmament **programme** and our appeals for a new **policy** - one of realism, peace and co-operation.

This year, which the United **Nations declared** the Year of Peace, is more than half over. By **prolonging** our unilateral **moratorium**, the Soviet Union is making yet another worthy contribution to the general effort to ensure that history will find this year worthy of its title.

That is the thrust of this new political initiative by the Soviet Union.

That is the message our country is sending to the Governments and peoples of all countries, and the Government of the United States of America and the American **people in particular**.

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