

Moscow 1982
Jubilee Meeting in the Kremlin



Y. V. Andropov

**Sixtieth Anniversary
of the Union
of Soviet Socialist
Republics**

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Юрий Владимирович АНДРОПОВ
ШЕСТИДЕСЯТАЯ ГОДОВЩИНА
ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ СОЮЗА
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**Report by
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of the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union,
at a jubilee meeting
of the Central Committee
of the CPSU,
the Supreme Soviet of the USSR,
and the Supreme Soviet
of the RSFSR
to mark the sixtieth anniversary
of the formation of the Union
of Soviet Socialist Republics**

December 21, 1982

Dear Comrades,
Esteemed guests,

Sixty years ago, the peoples of our country, who had been emancipated by the victorious October Revolution, united voluntarily to form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In closing the first, unification congress of the Soviet republics, which proclaimed the USSR, Mikhail Kalinin said: "For thousands of years humankind's finest minds have been struggling with the theoretical problem of finding the forms that would give the peoples the possibility, without the greatest of torment, without mutual strife, of living in friendship and brotherhood. Practically speaking, the first step in this direction is being taken only now, this very day."

The development of capitalism did not lead to the abolition of national oppression. On the contrary, national oppression was compounded and aggravated by colonial oppression. Hav-

ing enslaved hundreds of millions of people, a handful of capitalist powers sentenced them to stagnation, cutting off their road to progress.

Marxism was the first to show that the nationalities question is linked organically to society's social, class structure, to the predominant type of ownership. In other words, the relations between nationalities have their roots in social soil. This is what led Marx and Engels to the fundamental conclusion that the abolition of social oppression was the condition and prerequisite of the abolition of national oppression. Marx said: "... the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie is at the same time the signal of liberation for all oppressed nations." Proclaimed by the founders of Marxism, the immortal slogan of "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" became the call for an international struggle of working people against all forms of enslavement—both social and national.

In new historical conditions the work of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels was continued by Lenin. He headed the revolutionary movement at a time when the dawn of revolution was rising over Russia. Naturally, in a country justifiably called the "prison of peoples" the nationalities question was given a prominent place when the Bolshevik Party was elaborating its strategy and tactics.

Lenin focused his attention on the right of nations to self-determination as the single dependable means of ensuring their actual and steady coming together. It was only the right

to self-determination that could be the ideological and political foundation for the voluntary unity of all nations in the struggle to overthrow tsarism and build a new society. This was how the question was put by Lenin. Such was the core of the policy of the Party of Lenin in the nationalities question.

The October Revolution translated political slogans and demands into the language of day-to-day organisational work. Life itself, formidable economic, social, foreign-policy, defence problems dictated the need to rally the peoples, to unite the republics that sprang up on the ruins of the Russian empire.

What is taken for granted today was far from being the case in that turbulent time of transition. The quest for specific state forms and political institutions that were to embody the general ideas and propositions of the nationalities programme proceeded in sharp debates. Widely differing opinions came into conflict—from a programme for a loose, amorphous association of republics within a confederation to the demand to simply incorporate them in the RSFSR on the basis of autonomy. It took the genius and great authority of Lenin to find and uphold the only sure way—the way of socialist federalism.

What is the essence of the way indicated by Lenin? One may put it briefly as follows. The unequivocally voluntary union of free peoples as the guarantee of maximum stability of the federation of socialist republics; complete equality of all nations and nationalities

and a consistent course towards the abolition not only of their juridical but also of their actual inequality; the unhampered development of each republic, of each nationality in the framework of fraternal union; and the persevering inculcation of internationalist consciousness, and a steadfast course towards the drawing together of all the nations and nationalities of our country.

Precisely in the year the Soviet Union was formed Lenin wrote the words that vividly showed his line of thought on the nationalities question. Here are these words: "Our five years' experience in settling the national question in a country that contains a tremendous number of nationalities such as could hardly be found in any other country, gives us the full conviction that under such circumstances the only correct attitude to the interests of nations is to meet those interests in full and provide conditions that exclude any possibility of conflicts on that score. Our experience has left us with the firm conviction that only exclusive attention to the interests of various nations can remove grounds for conflicts, can remove mutual mistrust, can remove the fear of any intrigues and create that confidence, especially on the part of workers and peasants speaking different languages, without which there absolutely cannot be peaceful relations between peoples or anything like a successful development of everything that is of value in present-day civilisation."

Lenin's behests and his principles underlying the policy in the nationalities question are

sacred to us. Relying on and steadfastly asserting them in practice we have created a powerful state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, whose formation was not only a major step in the development of socialism but also a crucial turning point in world history.

1. What Has Been Achieved and Aims of the Nationalities Policy

The path traversed by the Soviet Union in 60 years is an epoch in itself. I would say that history has never seen such rapid progress from backwardness, misery, and ruin to a mighty, modern great power with an extremely high level of culture and a constantly rising living standard.

What are the most significant results of our development?

— History has fully borne out the theory of Marx and Lenin that the nationalities question can only be settled on a class basis. National discord and all forms of racial and national inequality and oppression receded into the past together with social antagonisms.

— It has been compellingly demonstrated that the Communist Party and its scientific policy are the guiding force in the socialist settlement of the nationalities question and the guarantor that this settlement is correct.

— Backward outlying regions populated by ethnic minorities, in many of which feudal-patriarchal and even clan relations were still dominant, have disappeared.

— An integral union-wide economic complex has formed on the basis of the dynamic economic growth of all the republics, a growth guided by the general state plan.

— There has been a qualitative change of the social structure of the republics: a modern working class has emerged in each of them, the peasants have been moving along the new road of collective farming, an intelligentsia of its own has been created, and skilled cadres have been trained in all areas of the life of state and society.

— A socialist multinational culture has burgeoned on the basis of progressive traditions and an intensive exchange of cultural values.

— Socialist nations have formed, and these now comprise a new historical community—the Soviet people.

The interests of the republics are intertwining ever more closely, and the mutual assistance and the mutual links that direct the creative efforts of the nations and nationalities of the USSR into a single channel are growing more productive. The all-sided development of each of the socialist nations in our country logically brings them ever closer together.

Each of the Union Republics—the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and Byelorussia, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, Georgia and Azerbaijan, Lithuania and Moldavia, Latvia and Kirghizia, Tajikistan and Armenia, Turkmenia and Estonia—each, I repeat, of the Union Republics is making an invaluable contribution to the overall growth of the economy and cul-

ture of the Soviet Union. This, comrades, is not simply an adding together, but a multiplication of our creative capability.

All the nations and nationalities living in the twenty Autonomous Republics and eighteen Autonomous Regions and Areas are successfully unfolding their potentialities in a fraternal family. The millions of Germans, Poles, Koreans, Kurds, and people of other nationalities, for whom the Soviet Union has long ago become the homeland, are full-fledged Soviet citizens.

The peoples of our country address special words of gratitude to the Russian people. In none of the republics would the present achievements have been conceivable without their disinterested fraternal assistance. The Russian language, which has become a natural part of the life of millions of people of every nationality, is a factor of exceptional importance in the country's economic, political, and cultural life, in the drawing together of all its nations and nationalities, in making the riches of world civilisation accessible to them.

The new Constitution of the USSR is a major landmark in the consolidation of Soviet society's national-state foundations. This outstanding document not only sums up the results of preceding development but enshrines solid and lasting political and legal principles for the further burgeoning and drawing together of all of the country's nations and nationalities.

The tangible qualitative changes that have

taken place in the course of 60 years in the relations between nationalities are evidence that the nationalities question, as it was left to us by the exploiting system, has been settled successfully, finally and irreversibly. For the first time in history the multinational character of a country has turned from a source of weakness into a source of strength and prosperity.

Speaking in this hall exactly ten years ago, Leonid Brezhnev put it very aptly when he said that in this country there have emerged relations that "have no equal in history and we have every right to call these relations the Leninist friendship of peoples. This friendship is one of our invaluable gains, one of the most important gains of socialism which is most dear to the heart of every Soviet citizen. We Soviet people will always safeguard this friendship as our most cherished possession!"

Today, on this anniversary, we pay tribute to the many generations of Soviet people of all nationalities, men and women, workers, peasants, and intellectuals, Party and government functionaries, men of the Armed Forces, Communists and non-Party people, to all who built socialism, upheld it in a bitter war, and made a reality of the millennia-long dream of equality, friendship, and brotherhood among peoples.

Comrades, in summing up what has been accomplished, we, naturally, give most of our attention to what still remains to be done. Our end goal is clear. It is, to quote Lenin,

“not only to bring the nations closer together but to fuse them”. The Party is well aware that the road to this goal is a long one. On no account must there be either any forestalling of events or any holding back of processes that have already matured.

The successes in settling the nationalities question by no means signify that all the problems generated by the very fact of the life and work of numerous nations and nationalities in a single state have vanished. This is hardly possible as long as nations exist, as long as there are national distinctions. And these will exist for a long time to come, much longer than class distinctions.

That is why the perfection of developed socialism—and this is precisely how we can define the basic content of the work of the Party and the people at the present stage—must include a carefully considered, scientific policy in the nationalities question. I should like to speak of some of its aims.

I have already mentioned what enormous benefits and advantages a single union has given the peoples and republics of our country. However, the potentialities being opened by such a union are far from having been exhausted.

Take the economy. Modern productive forces demand integration even in the case of different countries. Much more so do they require the close and skilful coordination of the efforts of the various regions and republics of one and the same country. The most judicious utilisation of the natural and labour re-

sources and climatic specifics of each republic and the most rational inclusion of this potential into that of the union as a whole is what will yield the greatest benefit to each region, to each nation and nationality, and to the state as a whole.

Such is our fundamental guideline. To put it into effect much will have to be done by our central and local planning and economic agencies. There will have to be a further improvement in the distribution of the productive forces, of regional specialisation and cooperation, and of the patterns of economic links and transportation. This is not an easy task, of course, but it is on the agenda and its fulfilment holds out the promise of considerable benefit.

The whole country is now working on the Food Programme. It clearly defines concrete aims for all the Union Republics. And each of them will have to work hard in order to make a tangible contribution—in the immediate future—to the key matter of ensuring an uninterrupted supply of food for Soviet people.

We know that the adopted programme deals with immediate, urgent tasks. But if we take a long-term view, it becomes obvious that further development of our agro-industrial complex—and, for that matter, the country's economy as a whole—will require a more in-depth and consistent specialisation of agriculture on a nationwide scale.

One more point. In a vast country like ours transport plays a particularly distinctive

role—economic, political and, if you will, psychological.

It is very difficult to ensure the accelerated development of all our republics and further intensification of their economic cooperation without smoothly functioning transport. But transport is important not only for purely economic reasons. The development of transport, of the road network, will, for example, greatly help to stabilise personnel in rural communities by bringing rural areas closer to urban ones. It will, of course, also help to cope with the major social task of securing more rational and flexible use of manpower. By facilitating everyday personal contacts on a country-wide scale, by facilitating vital ties between all the republics and areas of our country, transport brings the achievements of our socialist civilisation, in the broadest sense of the term, within reach of people.

Our joining in a union has become an added source of material, and, indeed, spiritual wealth of the Soviet people. Here too, however, we are still not using all the available potentialities by far. We should look persistently for new methods and forms of work suiting present-day needs and making for still more fruitful mutual enrichment of cultures, and give everyone still broader access to all that is best in the culture of each of our peoples. Radio and television—and naturally, other mass media—must play a steadily increasing role in this noble endeavour.

Of course, here we must remember that there are both good and bad, outdated ele-

ments in the cultural heritage, traditions and customs of each nation. Hence another task—not to conserve these bad elements but to get rid of all that is antiquated and that runs counter to the norms of Soviet community life, to socialist morality, and our communist ideals.

The record shows that the economic and cultural progress of all nations and nationalities is inevitably accompanied by the growth of their national self-awareness. This is a logical, objective process. It is important, however, that the natural pride one takes in the gains attained should not degenerate into national arrogance or conceit, that it should not gravitate towards exclusiveness, and disrespect for other nations and nationalities. Yet, such negative phenomena still occur. And it would be wrong to attribute them solely to survivals of the past. Among other things, they are sometimes fostered by the mistakes we make in our work. Here, comrades, nothing can be dismissed as insignificant. Everything counts—the attitude to the language, to monuments of the past, the interpretation of historical events, and the way we transform rural and urban areas and influence living and working conditions.

Natural migration of the population is making each of our republics—and, to varying degrees, each region and each city—increasingly multinational. This means that Party and government bodies, and all our local cadres, are becoming increasingly instrumental in implementing the Party's na-

tionalities policy. And they have to carry forward the lofty principles of that policy day after day, ensuring harmonious, fraternal relations between representatives of all, both big and small, nations and nationalities in work and daily life.

The Party has always attached great attention to the growth of the national detachments of the Soviet working class, the leading force of our society. The results are there for all to see. These days, workers make up the largest social group in all the Union Republics. In some of them, however, the indigenous nationality should be represented in the working class more fully. Hence the task set by the 26th Congress of the CPSU—to expand and improve the training of skilled workers from among all the nations and nationalities residing in the republics. The need for this is both economic and political. Multinational work collectives, above all those in industry, are that very milieu in which the internationalist spirit is fostered best, and the fraternal relations and friendship among the peoples of the USSR grow stronger.

Representation in Party and state bodies of the republics and the Union as a whole is also a highly important question. The reference here, of course, is not to any formal quotas. Arithmetic is no way to deal with the problem of representation. There should be a consistent effort to ensure proper representation of all nationalities in any republic in the various Party and government bodies at

all levels. Due regard to competence, to moral and political qualities, care and attention, and great tact in selecting and posting cadres are especially necessary in view of the multinational composition of the Union and Autonomous Republics.

A constant and ever-important task is to continue instilling in Soviet people a spirit of mutual respect and friendship for all the nations and nationalities of the country, of love for their great Soviet country, of internationalism and solidarity with the working people of other countries. It is up to all Party and YCL organisations, the Soviets, trade unions and our Armed Forces, which have always been a good school of internationalism, to work towards this end. It should also be an everyday concern of all educational establishments in our country.

In the sphere of internationalist education, as in all our ideological and mass political work, we are facing big tasks. Concrete and convincing demonstration of our achievements, earnest analysis of new problems constantly generated by life, and freshness of thought and language—these are the elements we need to improve our propaganda, which must always be truthful and realistic, as well as interesting and easy to understand, and therefore more effective.

Further advancement of friendship and cooperation among the peoples of the USSR depends to a great extent on the deepening of socialist democracy. Increasingly broad involvement of people of all nationalities in the

management of social and state affairs is, to put it in concise terms, the leading trend in our country's political life. And the Party will do everything to promote and advance it.

Comrades, all this means that problems of relations among nations are still on the agenda in the society of mature socialism. They call for particular care and constant attention on the part of the Communist Party. The Party should delve into them deeply and chart the ways of solving them, enriching the Leninist principles of the nationalities policy with the experience of developed socialism.

We speak boldly both about the existing problems and the outstanding tasks because we know for sure that we are equal to them, that we can and must solve them. A disposition to action rather than rhetoric is what we need today to make the great and powerful Union of Soviet Socialist Republics even stronger. I am sure that this view is shared by all those gathered in this hall, by all our Party, by all Soviet people.

2. The USSR—Buttress of the Great Cause of Peace and Freedom of the Peoples

Comrades, on December 30, 1922, the very day the Declaration and Treaty on the Formation of the USSR were adopted in Moscow, it was stated at the Lausanne Conference on Lenin's instructions that, guided by the interests of universal peace, the Soviet

Republics consider it "their urgent duty... to do everything in their power to facilitate the establishment of political equality among races, respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and to complete political and economic independence of all states".

This was how the essence of the fundamentally new foreign policy, which the world's first country of socialism had begun to carry forward consistently, was set forth in plain and comprehensible terms.

And as new socialist countries emerged, a completely new type of international relations began to take shape. These relations are based on ideological unity, common goals and comradely cooperation with full respect for the interests, distinctive features and traditions of each country. At their centre is the principle of socialist internationalism.

The socialist countries had to blaze new trails in the development of these relations. Mankind's past experience could not suggest answers to the problems that life set before them. Naturally, not everything worked out right away. All the more so because the countries which made up the world socialist system started in many ways from different levels—both in terms of domestic development and specific external conditions. Nor did they always succeed in drawing timely conclusions from the changes within the socialist world itself. The international situation, too, did not allow time for reflection: the new forms of relations had to be tested on the go, as peo-

ple say. There were illusions we had had to abandon, and mistakes for which we had had to pay a price.

But as we assess the present day of our countries, we can say with satisfaction that we have learned a lot, and that the socialist community is a powerful and healthy organism which is playing an enormous and beneficial role in the world of today. The mechanism of fraternal cooperation encompasses the most diverse spheres of life in our countries and different areas of our joint socialist construction. By pooling our resources we are finding increasingly effective ways of harmonising the interests of the community with those of each member country.

True, even now we cannot say that all the difficulties are behind us, that we have attained our ideal. What was good enough yesterday needs improving today. The countries of our community face many serious tasks—those of defending our socialist gains and values against the imperialist onslaught, of fighting together for durable peace and detente, further improving our political cooperation and, finally, providing new impulse to economic integration.

In short, much has still to be done. And I would like to assure you that for its part the Soviet Union will do its utmost to make the world socialist system stronger and more prosperous.

Comrades, the socialist experience of solving the nationalities question is being closely

studied in scores of countries which have freed themselves from the colonial yoke. Our achievements in building socialism, our history-making victory over fascism, and the flowering of all the Soviet nations and nationalities have been a powerful stimulant for the national liberation struggle.

The Soviet Union's vigorous and resolute struggle for the elimination of colonialism, its unflinching support of the cause of the liberation and equality of nations facilitate their advance to freedom and progress. This is well known by the peoples of Asia and Africa, the Arab East and Latin America.

The young states that have flung off the colonial yoke are at present going through a difficult period of national self-assertion and social development. They are hampered by their colonial heritage of backwardness, internal strife and conflict. Not yet strong enough, they are in danger of falling into the numerous neocolonialist traps. However, we are confident that resolute resistance to imperialism, a well-founded strategy of economic and socio-political development, mutual respect for each other's interests and rights will enable their peoples to overcome these difficulties, which we might describe as growing pains. Soviet people wish them great success in consolidating their independence, and in their fight for prosperity and progress.

We respect the nonaligned movement whose policy of peace is making a useful contribution to international relations. We are squarely and unswervingly on the side of those

who still have to fight for freedom, independence and the very survival of their peoples, those who are forced to rebuff aggression or are threatened with it. Our position here is inseparable from the Soviet Union's consistent and tireless struggle for durable peace on earth.

Over these six decades the position of our Soviet state has changed radically; its prestige and influence have grown enormously. Close peaceful cooperation links the Soviet Union with countries on all continents. Its voice commands respect at international forums. The principles of peaceful coexistence—the basis of Soviet foreign policy—have won broad international recognition and have been incorporated into scores of international instruments, including the Final Act of the European Conference in Helsinki. Soviet proposals have been the basis of major UN decisions on strengthening peace and security.

But each step along the road to more durable peace has taken and does take a lot of effort; it calls for intense struggle against imperialist warhawks. This struggle has become especially acute now that the more warlike factions in the West have become very active, their class-based hatred of socialism prevailing over considerations of realism and sometimes over plain common sense.

The imperialists have not given up schemes of economic war against the socialist countries, of interfering in their internal affairs in the hope of eroding their social sys-

tem, and are trying to win military superiority over the USSR, over all the countries of the socialist community.

Of course, these plans are sure to fail. It is not given to anyone to turn back the course of historical development. Attempts to "strangle" socialism failed even when the Soviet state was still getting on its feet and was the only socialist country in the world. So, surely, nothing will come of it now.

But one cannot help seeing that Washington's present policy has sharpened the international situation to dangerous extremes.

The war preparations of the United States and the NATO bloc which it leads have grown to an unheard-of, record scale. Official spokesmen in Washington are heard to discourse on the possibility of "limited", "sustained" and other varieties of nuclear war. This is intended to reassure people, to accustom them to the thought that such war is acceptable. Veritably, one has to be blind to the realities of our time not to see that wherever and however a nuclear whirlwind arises, it will inevitably go out of control and cause a worldwide catastrophe.

Our position on this issue is clear: a nuclear war—whether big or small, whether limited or total—must not be allowed to break out. No task is more important today than to stop the instigators of another war. This is required by the vital interests of all nations. That is why the unilateral commitment of the Soviet Union not to use nuclear weapons first

was received with approval and hope all over the world. If our example is followed by the other nuclear powers, this will be a truly momentous contribution to the efforts of preventing nuclear war.

It is said that the West cannot take such a commitment because, allegedly, the Warsaw Treaty has an advantage in conventional armaments. To begin with, this is untrue, and the facts and figures bear witness to it. Furthermore, as everybody knows, we are in favour of limiting such armaments as well, and of searching for sensible, mutually acceptable solutions to this end. We are also prepared to agree that the sides should renounce first use of conventional, as well as nuclear arms.

Of course, one of the main avenues leading to a real scaling down of the threat of nuclear war 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.

So far, unfortunately, we see a different approach by the American side. While calling for "radical reductions" in word, what it really has in mind is essentially a reduction of the Soviet strategic potential. For itself, the United States would like to leave a free hand in building up strategic armaments. It is absurd even to think that we can agree to this. It would, of course, suit the Pentagon, but

can on no account be acceptable to the Soviet Union and, for that matter, to all those who have a stake in preserving and consolidating peace.

Compare to this the proposals of the USSR. They are based on the principle of preserving parity. We are prepared to reduce our strategic arms by more than 25 per cent. US arms, too, must be reduced accordingly, so that the two states have the same number of strategic delivery vehicles. We also propose that the number of nuclear warheads should be substantially lowered and that improvement of nuclear weapons should be maximally restricted.

Our proposals refer to all types of strategic weapons without exception, and envisage reduction of their stockpiles by many hundreds of units. They close all possible channels for any further arms race in this field. And that is only a start: the pertinent agreement would be the point of departure for a still larger mutual reduction of such weapons, which the sides could agree upon, with due account of the general strategic situation in the world.

And while the negotiations are under way, we offer what is suggested by common sense: to freeze the strategic arsenals of the two sides. The US government does not want this, and now everyone can understand why: it has embarked on a new, considerable build-up of nuclear armaments.

Washington's attempts to justify this build-up are obviously irrelevant. The allegation of a "lag" behind the USSR which the Ameri-

cans must close, is a deliberate untruth. This has been said more than once. And the talk that new weapons systems, such as the MX missile, are meant "to facilitate disarmament negotiations" is altogether absurd.

No programmes of a further arms build-up will ever force the Soviet Union to make unilateral concessions. We will be compelled to counter the challenge of the American side by deploying corresponding weapons systems of our own—an analogous missile to counter the MX missile, and our own long-range cruise missile, which we are now testing, to counter the US long-range cruise missile.

Those are not threats at all. We are wholly averse to any such course of events, and are doing everything to avoid it. But it is essential that those who shape US policy, as well as the public at large, should be perfectly clear on the real state of affairs. Hence, if the people in Washington really believe that new weapons systems will be a "trump" for the Americans at negotiations, we want them to know that these "trumps" are false. Any policy directed to securing military superiority over the Soviet Union has no future and can only heighten the threat of war.

Now a few words about what are known as confidence-building measures. We are serious about them.

Given the swift action and power of modern weapons, the atmosphere of mutual suspicion is especially dangerous. Even a mere accident, miscalculation, or technical failure can have tragic consequences. It is therefore

important to take the finger off the trigger, and put a reliable safety catch on all weapons. A few things have already been accomplished to this effect, particularly in the framework of the Helsinki accords. As everybody knows, the Soviet Union is also offering measures of a more far-reaching nature and of broader scope. Our proposals on this score have been tabled at the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva on limitation and reduction of nuclear armaments.

We are also prepared to consider pertinent proposals made by others, including the recent ones by the US President. But the measures he referred to are not enough to dispel the atmosphere of mutual suspicion, and to restore confidence. Something more is needed: to normalise the situation, and to renounce incitement of hostility and hatred, and propaganda of nuclear war. And, surely, the road to confidence, to preventing any and all wars, including an accidental one, is that of stopping the arms race and going back to calm, respectful relations between states, back to detente.

We consider this important for all regions of the world, and especially for Europe, where a flare-up of any kind may trigger a world-wide explosion.

At present, that continent is beset by a new danger—the prospect of several hundred US missiles being deployed in Western Europe. I must say bluntly: this would make peace still more fragile.

As we see it, the peril threatening the

European nations, and, for that matter, the nations of the whole world, can be averted. It is definitely possible to save and strengthen peace in Europe—and this without damage to anyone's security. It is, indeed, for this purpose that we have been negotiating with the United States in Geneva for already more than a year on how to limit and reduce nuclear weapons in the European zone.

The Soviet Union is prepared to go very far. As everybody knows, we have suggested an agreement renouncing all types of nuclear weapons—both of medium range and tactical—designed to strike targets in Europe. But this proposal has come up against a solid wall of silence. Evidently, they do not want to accept it, but are afraid to reject it openly. I want to reaffirm again that we have not withdrawn this proposal.

We have also suggested another variant: that the USSR and the NATO countries reduce their medium-range weaponry by more than two-thirds. So far, the United States will not have it. For its part, it has submitted a proposal which, as if in mockery, is called a "zero option". It envisages elimination of all Soviet medium-range missiles not only in the European, but also in the Asian part of the Soviet Union, while NATO's nuclear-missile arsenal in Europe is to remain intact and may even be increased. Does anyone really think that the Soviet Union can agree to this? It appears that Washington is out to block an

agreement and, citing the collapse of the talks, to station, in one way or another, its missiles on European soil.

The future will show if this is so. We, for our part, will continue to work for an agreement on a basis that is fair to both sides. We are prepared, among other things, to agree that the Soviet Union should retain in Europe only as many missiles as are kept there by Britain and France—and not a single one more. This means that the Soviet Union would reduce hundreds of missiles, including tens of the latest missiles known in the West as SS-20. In the case of the USSR and the USA this would be a really honest “zero” option as regards medium-range missiles. And if, later, the number of British and French missiles were scaled down, the number of Soviet ones would be additionally reduced by as many.

Along with this there must also be an accord on reducing to equal levels on both sides the number of medium-range nuclear-delivery aircraft stationed in this region by the USSR and the NATO countries.

We call on the other side to accept these clear and fair terms, to take this opportunity while it still exists. But let no one delude himself: we will never let our security or the security of our allies be jeopardised. It would also be a good thing if thought were given to the grave consequences that the stationing of new US medium-range weapons in Europe would entail for all further efforts to limit nuclear armaments in general. In short, the ball is now in the court of the USA.

In conclusion, let me say the following. We are for broad, fruitful cooperation among all nations of the world to their mutual advantage and the good of all mankind, free from diktat and interference in the affairs of other countries. The Soviet Union will do everything it can to secure a tranquil, peaceful future for the present and coming generations. That is the aim of our policy, and we shall not depart from it.

* * *

Comrades, looking back at the path travelled by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in sixty years, we see clearly that all our achievements and victories are indissolubly linked with the activity of Lenin's Communist Party. The Party has been, and remains, that powerful creative and mobilising force which ensures steady social progress in all fields.

In ideology, composition and structure, our Party is a living expression of the unity and cohesion of all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union. Shaping its policy to ensure harmony of national and international interests, the Party is creating social conditions in which the flowering and all-round development of each nation is the condition for the advancement and flowering of our entire fraternal union.

When we say that the people and the Party are united, this is a statement of the irrefutable fact that the aims and tasks set itself by the Party are an accurate expression of

the aspirations and needs of all Soviet people. The multi-million people of the Soviet Union are, by their deeds, carrying into effect the policy of the Party. One of the most apparent proofs of this are the successes all the republics have achieved by the present jubilee.

Comrades, let me express gratification and deep gratitude to the millions of front-rankers who have fulfilled and overfulfilled their socialist pledges made in tribute to the 60th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Permit me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, to warmly congratulate all Soviet people on this momentous day, the birthday of our great Union.

Long live the friendship of the peoples who are building communism!

Long live proletarian, socialist internationalism!

Long live world peace!

May the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics flourish!

(Y. V. Andropov's report was heard with great attention and repeatedly punctuated with prolonged applause.)

**To the Parliaments,
Governments,
Political Parties,
and Peoples
of the World**

On behalf of two hundred and seventy million Soviet people, we, representatives of all the peoples of the USSR who have assembled in Moscow to mark the sixtieth anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, send this message of peace to the parliaments, governments, political parties, and peoples of the world.

What the best minds of humankind have dreamed of for ages—the ending of national strife and discord and the attainment of genuine equality and friendship among nations—has become a reality in our country thanks to the Leninist policy pursued by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, thanks to the implementation of socialist principles of national and social freedom, and the abolition of all forms of oppression and exploitation.

Soviet foreign policy, too, is determined by the new relations between people, between nations in our socialist state. Our ideal, our

unchanging aim and constant concern are that there should be universal peace, friendship, and cooperation among peoples.

The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new epoch of history. Having cast off the yoke of social and national oppression, working people created the Land of Soviets, a state which has affirmed relations of fraternal friendship and equality among peoples, ensuring true freedom, progress, and prosperity to all nations.

A durable, dependable, and lasting peace is the first and most compelling need of all people, of all nations, of all humankind.

The need for peace is of particular importance today when countries have weapons that can destroy human civilisation and all life on our planet, and when the threat of war, which was appreciably pushed back in the 1970s, has again begun to mount, and international tension is markedly increasing.

All the efforts of countries, the activities of governments, of organised political forces and of all citizens of every country should now be directed toward preventing a nuclear catastrophe. Nothing is or can be more important than this.

We, the authorised representatives of the Soviet people, solemnly declare that in keeping with the Leninist policy of peace and international cooperation the Soviet Union will do all in its power to avert war.

We reaffirm that in accordance with the commitment it has undertaken the Soviet

Union will not be the first to use nuclear weapons, and once again call upon the other nuclear powers to undertake a similar commitment.

We declare that the Soviet Union is prepared, on a basis of reciprocity with the United States of America, to freeze its nuclear arsenal.

We call for a quick and fruitful completion of the Soviet-US talks on limiting and reducing strategic arms and on limiting nuclear armaments in Europe, and the earliest conclusion of an agreement on armed forces and armaments reduction in Central Europe.

We propose coming to an agreement without delay on a complete and general nuclear tests ban so that no more new kinds and types of nuclear weapons may be developed.

We call for the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons.

We urge the earliest resumption of suspended negotiations on all other matters concerning the limitation and reduction of armaments.

We appeal to the legislative bodies and governments of all countries of the world to contribute actively to the settlement of conflict situations and to the extinguishing of flash-points of tension exclusively by political means.

We want a strong United Nations Organisation that will play a bigger role in consolidating international peace and security.

In furtherance of these aims the Soviet Union is prepared to cooperate with all countries of the world regardless of their political and social systems.

Great is the historic responsibility that now devolves on all countries of the world, a responsibility for the present and the future.

Soviet people are convinced that if countries and peoples combine their efforts they will eliminate the threat of war, preserve and consolidate peace on earth, and ensure man's right to life. It is to undertake such pooling of efforts that we call upon parliaments, governments, political parties, and peoples of the world.

**Supreme Soviet of the
Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics**

**Central Committee
of the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union**

The appeal "To the Parliaments, Governments, Political Parties and Peoples of the World" was unanimously adopted at the jubilee meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, December 22, 1982.

