

# APPENDICES

## **Appendices**

### **27<sup>th</sup> CPSU Congress Political Report on Comprehensive Universal Security**

..... We are living in a world of realities and are building our international policy in keeping with this specific features of the present phase of international development. Creative analysis of this phase and vision of prospects have laid us to a conclusions that is highly significant. Now, as never before, it is important to find ways for closer and more productive cooperation with governments, parties, and mass organisations and movements that genuinely concerned about the destinies of peace on earth, with all peoples in order to **build an all- embracing system of international security.**

We see the fundamental principles of the system in the following

#### **1. In the Military Sphere**

- renunciation by the nuclear powers of war- both nuclear and conventional-against each other or against third countries;
- prevention of arms race in outer space, cessation of all nuclear weapons tests and the total destruction of such weapons, a ban on and the destruction of chemical weapons, and renunciation of the development of other means of mass annihilation;
- a strictly controlled lowering of a the levels of military capabilities of countries to limits of reasonable adequacy;
- disbandment of military alliances, and as a stage towards this- renunciation of their enlargement and of the formation of new ones;
- balanced and proportionate reduction of military budgets.

#### **2. In the Political Sphere**

- strict respect in international practice for the right of each people to choose the ways and forms of its development;
- a just political settlement of international crises and regional conflicts;
- elaboration of a set of measures aimed at building confidence between states and the creation of effective guarantees against attack from without and of the inviolability of their frontiers;
- elaboration of effective methods of preventing international terrorism, including those ensuring the safety of international land, air, and sea communications.

### **3. In the Economic Sphere**

- exclusion of all forms of discrimination from international practice; renunciation of the policy of economic blockades and sanctions if this is not directly envisaged in the recommendations of the world community;
- joint quest for ways for a just settlement of the problem of debts;
- establishment of a new world economic order guaranteeing equal economic security to all countries;
- elaboration of principles for utilizing part of the funds released as a result of reduction of military budgets for the good of the world community, of developing nations in the first place;
- the pooling of efforts in exploring and making peaceful use of outer space and in resolving global problems on which the destinies of civilization depend.

### **4. In the Humanitarian Sphere**

- cooperation in the dissemination of the ideas of peace, disarmament, and international security; greater flow of general objective information and broader contact between peoples for the purpose of learning about one another; reinforcement of the spirit of mutual understanding and concord in relations between them;
- extirpation of genocide, apartheid, advocacy of fascism and every other form of racial, national or religious exclusiveness, and also of discrimination against people on this basis;
- extension-while respecting the laws of each country- of international cooperation in the implementation of the political, social, and personal rights of people;
- decision in a humane and positive spirit of questions related to the reuniting of families, marriage, and the promotion of contacts between people and between organisations;
- strengthening of and quests for new forms of cooperation in culture, art, science, education, and medicine.

These Principles stem logically from the provisions of the Programme of the CPSU. They are entirely in keeping with our concrete foreign policy initiatives. Guided by them it would be possible to make peaceful coexistence the highest universal principles of relations between states. In our view, these Principles could become the point of departure and a bilateral and multilateral- among leaders of countries of the world community.

**Source: 27<sup>th</sup> CPSU Congress, Documents and Resolutions, (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1986), pp. 96-99.**

## **Mikhail Gorbachev's Message to International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development**

I send you my heartfelt greeting and express the hope that the international conference will find new possibilities in the approach to solving this cardinal problem of our time.

The obstacles on the road to the conference created by the opponents of disarmament have confirmed once again the interdependence of disarmament and development and the urgency of the task.

It is time for all to realise that by leaving, willingly or not, the peoples of some regions and even of whole continents in the position of exploited and destitute ones, mankind risks causing an explosion that would be no less lethal than a thermonuclear clash.

The conference is opening at a time favourable for the study of the problem – at the juncture of the ripe requirement and already existing possibilities. Only recently, prior to Reykjavik and the “double global zero” variant, it seemed to be very remote. But today, the roads to disarmament and development are coming closer not only in wishes but also in real politics.

I have in mind the possible agreement on the total elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles which could be signed even tomorrow if the United States and the RFG removed the obstacle that is known to all.

I have in mind the possibility of substantially reducing the strategic offensive arms of the two biggest nuclear powers in conditions of strengthening the ABM Treaty.

A certain optimism is being instilled by the progress at the talks in Geneva and within the framework of the conference on disarmament where representatives of 40 countries have closely approached the conclusion of a convention on banning chemical weapons and destroying their stockpiles.

The principle of development through disarmament is organically built into the concept, of creating an all-embracing system of international peace and security which was proposed to the world community by the

group of socialist countries. And the fact that this concept is getting the moral and political support of many states, I also refer to the category of favourable conditions of the conference's work.

Last but not least, there is the obvious acute concern of the world community and influential political circles over the economic situation in the zone of developing countries. Many people now see the connection between their unprecedented debt, generated by non-equivalent exchange, this new form of colonialist plunder, and the growth of the military budgets of imperialist States. The horrific unfairness of the fact that the former are paying for a big part of the latter's military expenditures is obvious as well.

We and our friends propose sure ways and means of putting an end to this situation. I hope that the conference will take into consideration the document of countries of the socialist community "On Overcoming Underdevelopment and Establishing a New International Economic Order", which was adopted in Berlin.

There is no end to work for the world community in this direction. I am convinced that the conference will be able to make an appreciable and competent contribution to the internationalisation of efforts to turn disarmament into a factor of development.

The participants in the conference can count on our vigorous participation and support. The Soviet Union has already demonstrated in practice that it stands for the intensification of the work of international forums tackling problems of the arms race, including the Geneva conference on disarmament.

We will further do everything possible to strengthen the authority of the United Nations Organization and its role in assisting development through disarmament. We believe that the United Nations Security Council should address itself to this directly as well.

It would be useful to discuss problems of disarmament and development in terms of fundamentals at a special meeting of the top leaders of the United Nations Security Council's member-states.

The implementation of the basic principle "disarmament for development" can and must rally mankind and help the formation of its global outlook.

We stand for more openness in respect of military activity and military expenditures and persistently propose to conduct a comparison of the military doctrines of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. This would make it possible to approach a realistic comparison of military budgets as well with

the aim of putting a stop to their swelling and limiting them to the level of reasonable sufficiency.

It is necessary to stop and reverse the process of militarisation. The drawing up by each State of its own national plan of conversion would be an important step along this road strengthening international trust and testifying to the resolve to scale down military production.

In order to transfer to the needy countries the means that would be made available in the course of disarmament, it would be desirable to create within the framework of the United Nations Organization an international fund "Disarmament for Development" that would be open to all States. The USSR is prepared to take part in such a fund.

Mankind wants to be confident that it has a future. Your decisions will help strengthen the faith that there will be a future.

**Source: TASS, August 26, 1987.**

## **Political Report of the 28<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPSU, On Security.**

### ***The Security of the Country***

As long as the danger of armed conflict exists, the country needs a reliable defence. The party deems it necessary:

- to carry out military reform on the basis of a new defence doctrine, the principle of reasonable sufficiency, and the priority of quantitative parameters in the development of the armed forces;
- to retain the fundamental questions of the country's defence and security, as well as the development, training and employment of the Armed Forces under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;
- to enhance social security (including life and health insurance for servicemen) and to improve the living conditions of servicemen and their families;
- to use the army strictly for its intended purpose and in full accordance with legislation;
- to exercise effective political leadership in the sphere of defence and control by the supreme bodies of power over the military department which must operate with the utmost openness, taking into account the level of trust achieved between states;
- to strengthen the ideological influence of the CPSU on personnel through Party branches and Communists in the Armed Forces;
- to carry through their state conversion programme and to use the potential released for civilian production, providing social protection for the employees.

Remaining a vital institution, in present conditions, defending the constitutional system and maintaining public order, the internal affairs and state security organs should act strictly within the law and be controlled by the representative authorities. It is necessary to raise the standard of professional training and material security of those employed in the law-enforcement organs.

### ***Towards a Renewed Union of Sovereign Republics***

**For a Voluntary Union of Peoples.** The CPSU maintains that the development of centrifugal tendencies can be prevented only on the basis

of the democratisation of relations among nations and national-state formations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the successful economic development of all regions and of the integral nationwide market system. The Party proceeds from the recognition of the right of nations to self-determination, including secession, but does not confuse the right to withdrawal from the USSR with the expediency of such a withdrawal. It considers that, bearing in mind the interests of the peoples themselves and the tendency of world processes towards integration, it is important to preserve the integrity of the renewed Union as a dynamic multinational state. The CPSU advocates the friendship and international unity of all nations and ethnic groups in the country.

The Party will pursue the policy of strengthening the sovereignty of the Union Republics. It proposes the political and legal multiplicity of relations among the republics themselves and with the Union as a whole and their diverse economic relations on the basis of the economic independence of enterprises.

The CPSU is in favour of raising the constitutional status and expanding the rights of the autonomous republics, regions, and areas.

The Party deems it necessary to provide favourable conditions for the development of all nations and ethnic groups:

- to strengthen legal guarantees for cultural and ethnic communities with no administrative or territorial status, as well as their right to table draft laws in the state organs of the USSR and republican authorities and to have a quota representation in them;
- to take urgent economic, legal and ecological measures to preserve the environment and to reproduce conditions ensuring the normal development of ethnic minorities;
- to confirm the right of peoples deported in the past from their historical homeland or traditional places of residence to return to them, and also citizens' right to return to their historical homeland from abroad.

### **Human Rights and the Rights of Nations.**

The CPSU is:

- in favour of expanding the rights of nations while recognising the priority and unfailing and unconditional guarantees to the rights of every human being;
- against the existence of any legal norms or laws allowing inequality of citizens on the basis of their nationality, and in favour of a complete freedom of choice in individual national self-determination;

- in favour of respect for the cultural traditions and interests of all the ethnic groups of the population in adopting the republican legal norms and laws.

### **Towards the Peaceful Development of Mankind**

The Party believes that soviet foreign policy should proceed from the ideas of peace, cooperation, interaction, progress and humanism and promote in every way both domestic reform and international stability.

Foreign Policy Guidelines. In order to strengthen universal security, the Party advocates:

- a vigorous continuation of the successfully launched policy of demilitarisation of international relations, armament and armed force reductions to the limits of reasonable defence sufficiency, the complete exclusion of the use or threat of force from international practice, the further lessening and then utter elimination of military confrontation;
- the building of a global and regional security structures on the basis of the balanced interests of all parties to preclude conflicts and international instability;
- putting the relations between states on a legal footing guaranteeing the freedom of social and political choice, sovereignty, independence, and the development of cooperation and partnership with all countries of the world;
- the further normalisation of Soviet-American relations and their channeling into constructive partnership; creative participation in the all-European process and putting an end to the historical split in Europe; the development of new forms of political and economic cooperation with the East European countries; the consolidation in all areas of positive trends in relations with the People's Republic of China; active policies in the Asia-Pacific Region, with the aim of turning in the political settlement of regional conflicts; interaction with the non-aligned movement and cooperation with the developing states.

### **Towards Qualitatively New International Cooperation.**

The Party deems it of vital importance to pool the efforts of all members of the international community in solving problems common to all mankind. It is in favour of:

- vigorous joint initiatives to improve the environment and prevent an ecological disaster;
- our country's participation in the efforts of the international community to overcome hunger, poverty, mass epidemics, serious diseases, drug addiction, international terrorism and critical imbalances in the development of different parts of the world;

- intensive expansion of world economic contacts, the elimination of impediments to scientific, technological and economic exchanges and the development of contacts in the humanitarian field;
- interaction and cooperation with all international organisations on a regional and global scale, acting on the principle of historical responsibility for the future of mankind.

The CPSU is in favour of overcoming the historical split in the workers' movement and developing cooperation between Communist, Socialist, Social-Democratic and National Democratic parties, as well as all organisations and movements advocating peace, democracy, and social progress.

### ***The Renewal of the Party***

Being the core of the command system of administration for many years, the Party itself has undergone serious deformations. The over-centralisation and suppression of critical thought have had a pernicious effect on inner-Party relations. The ideological and moral degradation of some party leaders has caused enormous damage.

The Congress points out that the CPSU, as the ruling party, is politically and morally responsible for the situation in this country. It has been frank about the mistakes made by the country's party and government leaders and has denounced Stalinist crimes and gross violations of human rights. The congress, however, resolutely opposes wholesale accusations leveled against honest Communists of both the past and selflessly served the people, working and fighting courageously for the freedom and independence of their homeland. Progressive forces have always been active in the CPSU and it was they who initiated and spearheaded the restructuring of society.

The CPSU firmly renounces political and ideological monopoly and supersession for the bodies of state and economic management. Dynamic changes call for a speedy transformation of the CPSU into a genuine political party which reflects and defends the vital interests of the working class, the peasants and the intelligentsia and acts within the framework of a civil society.

**Sources: 28<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPSU, Documents and Materials, (Moscow: Novosti Press, 1990), pp. 87-91.**