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EOB076 AN000733 TOR: 018/1939Z CSN: HCE033

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8827

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 08 SECTO 1025

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y SECTION INFO (1 OF 8 VICE 1 OF 9)

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: XG, UR

SUBJECT: TEXT OF GROMYKO'S JANUARY 18 SPEECH TO CDE

1. THE FOLLOWING IS AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO'S JANUARY 18 STATEMENT BEFORE THE CDE IN STOCKHOLM. THE TRANSLATION WAS PRODUCED BY THE SOVIET CDE DELEGATION AND WAS DESCRIBED AS UNOFFICIAL. TEXT FOLLOWS.

BEGIN TEXT. ESTEEMED MR. CHAIRMAN, REPRESENTATIVES OF THIRTY-FIVE STATES HAVE GATHERED HERE TO INAUGURATE THE CONFERENCE ON CONFIDENCE- AND SECURITY BUILDING MEASURES AND DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE.

IT IS A GOOD THING THAT THE CONFERENCE IS OPENING AT THE LEVEL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS.

THE EUROPEAN PROCESS CAME A LONG -- THOUGH DIFFICULT -- WAY FROM HELSINKI TO MADRID. AT TIMES IT LOOKED AS IF AN IMPASSE WAS IMMINENT, AND YET ULTIMATELY IT PROVED POSSIBLE TO OVERCOME THE DIFFICULTIES.

NOW THE STATES, SO DIFFERENT IN THEIR HISTORY, NATIONAL TRADITIONS, SIZE AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS, HAVE BEEN ABLE TO CARRY HERE, TO THE CITY OF STOCKHOLM, THE TORCH OF HOPE LIT EARLIER IN HELSINKI. DOES THIS NOT PROVE THAT TODAY NO ONE CAN IGNORE THE WILL OF THE PEOPLES FOR PEACE AND CO-OPERATION?

THE PARTICIPANTS IN THIS CONFERENCE SHOULD TRANSLATE THIS WILL INTO MEANINGFUL AGREEMENTS CONSONANT WITH THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLES. THE RECENT MEETING IN MADRID HAS SHOWN THAT EVEN IN A SERIOUSLY AGGRAVATED INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT IT IS POSSIBLE FOR STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS, IF THEY SO DESIRE, TO AGREE ON A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS.

ONE OF THE URGENT TASKS IS TO BUILD CONFIDENCE AMONG NATIONS -- CONFIDENCE BOTH POLITICAL AND MILITARY. THIS IS PARTICULARLY IMPERATIVE IN THE PRESENT TENSE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. THE REASONS FOR A SHARP TURN FOR THE WORSE IN THE SITUATION AND FOR AN INCREASED THREAT OF WAR HAVE BEEN SPELLED OUT IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS IN THE RECENT STATEMENTS BY YURI ANDROPOV, WHICH HAVE SET FORTH THE LENINIST PEACEFUL FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION.

THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW U.S. MISSILES, THAT HAS STARTED IN SOME WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, DOES NOT ADD TO INTERNATIONAL SECURITY OR THE SECURITY OF THOSE COUNTRIES THAT HAVE TAKEN THE RISK OF SUCH DEPLOYMENT. ON THE CONTRARY, THESE MISSILES ARE UNDERMINING SECURITY WHATEVER THE ALLEGATIONS OF

THOSE WESTERN LEADERS WHO HAVE BASED THEIR POLICIES ON THE DECEPTION OF THE PEOPLES. MILITARISM, ENMITY AND WAR HYSTERIA ARE BEING EXPORTED TO WESTERN EUROPE ALONG WITH THE MISSILES. THOSE WHO ARE ATTEMPTING TO LULL WEST EUROPEAN PEOPLES WITH FALSE ASSURANCES OF PEACE IN THE SHADE OF U.S. MISSILES ASSUME A GRAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS DECEPTION.

A PERILOUS SLIDE TOWARDS THE ABYSS CAN BE ARRESTED PROVIDED THE STATES PARTICIPATING IN THIS FORUM ADOPT A RESPONSIBLE APPROACH. WE REITERATE -- SHOULD THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER NATO COUNTRIES DISPLAY READINESS TO RETURN TO THE SITUATION THAT EXISTED BEFORE THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE DEPLOYMENT OF U.S. MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES IN EUROPE, THE SOVIET UNION WILL ALSO BE PREPARED TO DO LIKEWISE.

THE BLAME FOR DISRUPTING THE SOVIET-U.S. DIALOGUE ON LIMITING NUCLEAR ARMS IN EUROPE LIES WITH THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION. RATHER THAN PURSUE NEGOTIATIONS AND DISPLAY A DESIRE TO SEEK AGREEMENTS, THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION HAS SET OUT TO UPSET THE EXISTING CORRELATION OF FORCES. ITS AIM IS TO ACQUIRE MILITARY SUPERIORITY OVER THE SOVIET UNION, SUPERIORITY OF NATO COUNTRIES OVER WARSAW TREATY COUNTRIES THROUGH A MASSIVE BUILD-UP OF ITS NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS. THIS, IN THE THINKING OF U.S. STRATEGISTS, MIGHT SUPPOSEDLY WIN THEM A NUCLEAR WAR. IT WAS ONLY YESTERDAY THAT U.S. LEADERS -- BOTH WITH SHOULDER STRAPS AND WITHOUT THEM -- WERE QUITE CYNICALLY HOLDING FORTH ON THIS SUBJECT. CAN IT BE THAT TODAY THEY HAVE REALIZED THE FOLLY OF BT

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EOB072 AN000732 TOR: 018/1929Z CSN: HCE027

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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 08 SECTO 01025

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y SECTION INFO (2 OF 8 VICE 2 OF 9)

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: XG, UR

SUBJECT: TEXT OF GROMYKO'S JANUARY 18 SPEECH TO CDE
THE NUCLEAR WAR SCENARIOS THEY HAVE BEEN DRAWING UP?
NOT AT ALL. HOW ARE THE PEOPLES AND THE PUBLIC
OPINION RESPONDING TO SUCH MANIACAL PLANS? THEIR
RESPONSE IS INDIGNATION AND PROTESTS.

THESE PLANS ARE FOLLOWED BY U.S. BUDGET ALLOCATIONS
FOR MILITARY PURPOSES, WHICH ARE GROWING AT
UNPRECEDENTED RATES. NEW MISSILES, BOMBERS, AND
AIRCRAFT CARRIERS ARE BEING CHURNED OUT IN SOME KIND
OF PATHOLOGICAL OBSESSION. NEW MEANS OF MASS
DESTRUCTION ARE BEING EXPERIMENTED WITH.

IN SHORT, THE PRESENT U.S. ADMINISTRATION IS AN
ADMINISTRATION THINKING IN TERMS OF WAR AND ACTING
ACCORDINGLY.

NATURALLY, THOSE WHO HAVE EMBARKED UPON A COURSE FOR
WAR ARE NOT INTERESTED IN REACHING ARMS LIMITATION
AGREEMENTS. IT IS PRECISELY FOR THIS REASON THAT THE
SALT II TREATY SIGNED BY THE UNITED STATES SOME TIME
AGO WAS WRECKED BY WASHINGTON. FOR THAT SAME REASON
THE U.S. SIDE IS REFUSING TO CONDUCT NEGOTIATIONS ON
THE BASIS OF THE ONLY FAIR PRINCIPLE, THAT OF
EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY, AND IS IGNORING THE
EXISTING AGREEMENTS. IN COMPLETE DISREGARD OF
EQUALITY ATTEMPTS ARE BEING MADE TO FOIST UPON US
UNFOUNDED ARROGANT DEMANDS WHICH, FOR THAT MATTER ARE
BEING PUT UP ONLY TO ESCAPE AGREEMENT.

IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN AND REMAINS THE POSITION OF THE
SOVIET UNION THAT AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED SHOULD BE
STRICTLY OBSERVED. THIS APPLIES TO BOTH MULTILATERAL
AND BILATERAL AGREEMENTS. THIS IS THE ABC OF
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. WITHOUT THAT THERE CAN BE
NO BASIC CONFIDENCE AMONG STATES. BUT FROM ALL
APPEARANCES, WASHINGTON POLITICIANS HAVE SO FAR
FAILED TO LEARN THAT ABC: AT EVERY STEP ONE COMES UP
AGAINST FACTS OF GROSS VIOLATIONS BY THE UNITED
STATES OF THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER INTERNATIONAL
TREATIES AND UNDERSTANDINGS.

THE SOVIET UNION, FOR ITS PART, IS RESPONSIBLE AND
SERIOUS IN ITS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE OBLIGATIONS IT
HAS ASSUMED AND FULFILLING THEM IN GOOD FAITH. AND
ATTEMPTS TO CALL THIS INTO QUESTION WHICH HAVE BECOME
WASHINGTON'S HACKNEYED PLOY PURSUE THE GOAL OF
COVERING UP ITS OWN SINS. BUT NO MATTER HOW OFTEN
SUCH SUBTERFUGES ARE RESORTED TO, THEY WILL DECEIVE
NO ONE WHO CAN OBJECTIVELY ASSESS THE SITUATION.

PREFVENTION OF WAR, ABOVE ALL NUCLEAR WAR, IS THE
CENTERPIECE OF OUR COUNTRY'S FOREIGN POLICY. IT
WOULD BE PERTINENT TO RECALL THAT THE USSR AND THE
UNITED STATES HAVE A RELEVANT AGREEMENT TO THAT
EFFECT.

WE AND OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES HAVE PUT FORWARD A
PROPOSAL TO RID EUROPE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, BOTH
MEDIUM-RANGE AND TACTICAL. WOULDN'T THAT BE THE
BEST, THE MOST RADICAL SOLUTION? THIS IS WHAT WE
HAVE BEEN STRIVING FOR THROUGHOUT THE NEGOTIATIONS IN
GENEVA ADVOCATING MAJOR REDUCTIONS IN MEDIUM-RANGE
NUCLEAR ARMS. BUT THE OTHER SIDE HAS THOUGHT, AND
STILL THINKS TODAY, ONLY IN TERMS OF MOVING ITS
MISSILES CLOSER TO OUR DOORSTEP.

THE USSR HAS BEEN AND REMAINS A DEDICATED ADVOCATE OF
SOLVING OUTSTANDING INTERNATIONAL ISSUES AT THE
NEGOTIATING TABLE. THAT HAS BEEN OUR FUNDAMENTAL
LINE IN THE CONDUCT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. BUT WE
STAND FOR SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS AND NOT FOR
NEGOTIATIONS USED AS A SCREEN FOR COVERING UP
MILITARISTIC PLANS.

WE HAVE WARNED REPEATEDLY THAT THE DEPLOYMENT IN
WESTERN EUROPE OF U.S. PERSHING AND CRUISE MISSILES
WILL UNDERMINE THE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND WILL
MAKE THEM IMPOSSIBLE. HAVING STARTED THE
INSTALLATION OF ITS MISSILES, WASHINGTON HAS RENDERED
NEGOTIATIONS POINTLESS. THE CURRENT STATEMENTS BY
THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION AS TO ITS READINESS FOR
NEGOTIATIONS AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE CONTINUING
DEPLOYMENT OF MISSILES ARE A VERBAL COVER-UP FOR ITS
POLICY.

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EOB073 AN000731 TOR: 018/19312 CSN: HCE029

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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 08 SECTO 01025

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y SECTION INFO (3 OF 8 VICE 3 OF 9)

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: XG, UR

SUBJECT: TEXT OF GROMYKO'S JANUARY 18 SPEECH TO CDE
MILITARISM IS ANTIHUMAN AT ALL TIMES AND IN ALL
THINGS. TODAY THIS IS MOST EVIDENT IN LEBANON. THE
COUNTRY IS LITERALLY TORN APART, THE LAND OF LEBANON
IS TRAMPLED BY THE SOLDIER'S BOOT OF SOME OF THOSE
STATES WHOSE REPRESENTATIVES ARE SEATED IN THIS
HALL. A U.S. NAVAL ARMADA IS SHELLING LEBANESE
CITIES AT POINT-BLANK RANGE.

THE U.S. WAR MACHINE IS SOWING DEATH AND DESTRUCTION
THERE. THE AGGRESSOR, WHO HAS ENTERED OTHER PEOPLE'S
HOME SO AS TO IMPOSE ITS ORDER BY FORCE OF ARMS, IS
POSING AS AN AGGRIEVED PARTY SAYING AS IT WERE, "WE
ARE BEING ATTACKED, SO WE MUST DEFEND OURSELVES."
DEFEND AGAINST WHOM? AGAINST THOSE WHO ARE THE
VICTIM OF AGGRESSION AGAINST THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN
ATTACKED? THERE CAN HARDLY BE A GREATER MOCKERY OF
FACTS, COMMON SENSE, AND BASIC NOTIONS OF
INTERNATIONAL LAW.

THERE EXISTS A GRAVE DANGER THAT THE FLAMES OF
CONFLAGRATION CAN SPREAD THROUGH THE ENTIRE REGION
WHICH IS WITHIN A STONE'S THROW OF EUROPE. YET,
UNDER THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT ALL STATES HAVE
COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE AND TO
REDUCING ARMED FORCES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND TO
LESSEN TENSIONS IN THE REGION. TODAY, IT WOULD BE NO
HARM TO RECALL THIS, AS WELL.

AND SURELY NO HONEST PERSON CAN REMAIN INDIFFERENT TO
WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO GRENADA. THE PIRATICAL ACT OF
TERRORISM COMMITTED BY A BIG NEIGHBORING COUNTRY
AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF GRENADA IS A CHALLENGE TO THE
ENTIRE WORLD. U.S. TROOPS MUST BE WITHDRAWN FROM
GRENADA. THEY HAVE NO BUSINESS TO BE THERE.

IT IS AN OPEN SECRET AS TO WHO IS HURLING GANGS OF
MERCENARIES AND TERRORISTS AGAINST NICARAGUA, WHO IS
TURNING HONDURAS INTO ITS MILITARY BASE, WHO IS
PROPPING UP THE MURDEROUS ANTIPOPULAR REGIME IN EL
SALVADOR. THE ONLY THING THAT SEEMS TO BE LACKING IN
THAT COUNTRY IS THE BONFIRES OF THE INQUISITION.
IN A SENSE MILITARISM IS AKIN TO THE DRUG HABIT BUT
IS CERTAINLY FAR MORE DANGEROUS. DEVELOPING AN
ADDITION, IT WILL REQUIRE AN EVER INCREASING DOSAGE
OF MEANS OF HUMAN ANNIHILATION UNLESS IT IS CHECKED
THROUGH THE EFFORT OF ALL THE FORCES OF PEACE.
AT PRESENT THE AGGRESSIVE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE
UNITED STATES IS THE MAIN THREAT TO PEACE. A

MILITARISTIC COURSE IN WORLD AFFAIRS IS THE PRODUCT
OF POLICIES OF THOSE COUNTRIES WHERE THE ARMS RACE IS
THE MOST PROFITABLE BUSINESS FOR ARMS MERCHANTS.
THIS FACT IS BEING RECOGNIZED BY AN EVER INCREASING
NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO ARE BECOMING AWARE OF HOW
TRIFLING ARE THE NARROW INTERESTS OF GAIN AND MONEY
LUST OF THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL BUSINESS WHEN
COMPARED WITH THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLES.
LET US TURN TO THE RESULTS OF THE RECENT
THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION OF THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
TWO OPPOSITE APPROACHES TOWARDS THE MOST IMPORTANT
AND ACUTE PROBLEMS OF TODAY HAVE CLEARLY EMERGED AT
THE SESSION.

WHAT WAS THE RESPONSE OF THAT INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATION TO THE INITIATIVE RESOLUTELY CONDEMNING
NUCLEAR WAR AND DECLARING IT A CRIME AGAINST THE
PEOPLES? AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE U.N. MEMBER
COUNTRIES BELONGING TO DIFFERENT CONTINENTS AND
SOCIO-POLITICAL SYSTEMS ENDORSED THAT APPEAL AND
ADOPTED THE RELEVANT DECLARATION WITH ENTHUSIASM.
WHAT ABOUT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA? BY VOTING
AGAINST THE DECLARATION IT HAS FOUND ITSELF IN
OPPOSITION TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.
LET US TAKE ANOTHER PROPOSAL -- TO FREEZE NUCLEAR
ARMS AND TO INTENSIFY EFFORTS AIMED AT REACHING AN
EARLY AGREEMENT ON THEIR SUBSTANTIAL LIMITATIONS AND
DRASTIC REDUCTIONS. THAT PROPOSAL WAS ALSO SUPPORTED
BY AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE U.N. MEMBER
STATES. WHAT WAS THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES?
ONCE AGAIN IT SAID "NO"--AND ENDED UP IN TOTAL
ISOLATION.

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UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 08 SECTO 01025

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y SECTION INFO (4 OF 8 VICE 4 OF 9)

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: XG, UR

SUBJECT: TEXT OF GROMYKO'S JANUARY 18 SPEECH TO CDE

WE ARE GRATIFIED THAT THE SOVIET INITIATIVE

CONSTITUTED THE CORE OF THE RESOLUTION CALLING FOR

EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO PREVENT AN ARMS RACE IN OUTER

SPACE. ONCE AGAIN THE U.S. OBJECTED THOUGH ONLY THE

BLIND WOULD FAIL TO SEE THE DANGER THREATENING

MANKIND FROM OUTER SPACE, SHOULD IT EVER BE

MILITARIZED.

WHAT IS THIS -- A MERE COINCIDENCE? CERTAINLY, NOT.

THE PEOPLES ARE REJECTING WITH INDIGNATION ANY

CONCEPT OF NUCLEAR WAR, REGARDING AS CRIMINAL THE

PLANS FOR PREPARING AND UNLEASHING IT.

STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS HAVE NO

REASONABLE ALTERNATIVE TO PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AND

COOPERATION. WE HAVE ALWAYS ADVOCATED POLITICAL

DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST AND HAVE NO

INTENTION OF GIVING IT UP IN THE FUTURE AS WELL,

PROVIDED, OF COURSE, SUCH DIALOGUE IS AIMED, NOT IN

WORD BUT IN DEED, AT EASING TENSIONS IN THE WORLD AND

REMOVING THE DANGER OF WAR.

IT IS DEEDS THAT ARE NEEDED, NOT VERBAL EXERCISES

WHICH HAVE BEEN RESORTED TO ESPECIALLY OFTEN IN

WASHINGTON IN THE LAST FEW DAYS. THEY ARE CLEARLY A

TRIBUTE TO THE CONSIDERATIONS OF THE MOMENT AND

PEOPLE KNOW ONLY TOO WELL THE REAL MEANING OF SUCH

PLAYS. HOWEVER AGILE THE DECEPTION -- WHETHER CRUDE

OR SOPHISTICATED -- THE REAL STATE OF AFFAIRS DOES

NOT CHANGE. WHAT IS REQUIRED IS A SUBSTANTIAL TURN

IN POLICY: FROM THE POLICY OF MILITARISM AND

AGGRESSION TO ONE OF PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL

COOPERATION.

FOR ITS PART, THE SOVIET UNION, AS HAS BEEN STRESSED

ONCE AGAIN IN A RECENT DECISION BY THE USSR SUPREME

SOVIET WILL, IN SUCH MEASURE AS DEPENDS UPON IT,

CONTINUE TO TAKE NECESSARY MEASURES WHICH WOULD LEAD

TO A CHANGE FOR THE BETTER IN THE INTERNATIONAL

SITUATION.

WE WOULD LIKE TO BELIEVE THAT AN UNDERSTANDING WILL

PREVAIL IN THE U.S. RULING CIRCLES AS TO THE

DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES OF A COURSE PREDICATED ON

SUBSTITUTING CONFRONTATION FOR COOPERATION, ARMAMENT

FOR NEGOTIATION, AND CLUB " " " "

THE CONFERENCE WHICH HAS BEGUN ITS WORK CANNOT BE

ARTIFICIALLY ISOLATED FROM TODAY'S EUROPEAN AND WORLD

REALITIES, FROM THE IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENTS OUTSIDE

THIS HALL. BUT WE BELIEVE THAT THE STOCKHOLM FORUM
SHOULD BE AN EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT IN HELPING
COUNTRIES INTERESTED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
EUROPEAN PROCESS SEARCH FOR -- AND FIND -- WAYS OF
STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL CONFIDENCE AND SECURITY.
MANY OF THE PROBLEMS PRESENTLY AGGRAVATING THE
SITUATION ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT WOULD BE RESOLVED
FAR MORE SUCCESSFULLY, SHOULD WE SUCCEED IN BREAKING
THE ICE OF DISTRUST AND IN PROCEEDING TO A REAL
REDUCTION OF ARMS AND DISARMAMENT.

WHAT DOES THIS REQUIRE? THIS REQUIRES THE
IMPROVEMENT OF THE POLITICAL CLIMATE, THE AWARENESS
BY ALL STATES OF THE TRUTH THAT NO LASTING CONFIDENCE
CAN BE SECURED WITH THE CONTINUED PREACHING OF
HOSTILITY, HATRED, AND RECKLESS "CRUSADES" AND
TAGGING ILLITERATE LABELS ON ENTIRE COUNTRIES AND
PEOPLES.

AND SURELY IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO TALK ABOUT CONFIDENCE
WHILE AT THE SAME TIME WORKING ON CONCEPTS THAT
PROMOTE NUCLEAR WAR. THESE ARE INCOMPATIBLE THINGS.
AS HAS BEEN STRESSED BY YURI ANDROPOV, "THE M IN 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."
THE CONVENING OF THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE IS A
MANIFESTATION OF REASON IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
AND ALL OF US MUST VALUE THIS IN EQUAL MEASURE.
NOBODY IS DOING ANY FAVOR TO ANYBODY HERE.

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EOB075 AN000729 TOR: 018/19372 CSN: HCE032

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UNCLAS SECTION 05 OF 08 SECTO 1025

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y SECTION INFO (5 OF 8 VICE 5 OF 9)

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: XG, UR

SUBJECT: TEXT OF GROMYKO'S JANUARY 18 SPEECH TO CDE
THE SOVIET UNION HAS COME TO THE CONFERENCE WITH GOOD
INTENTIONS. WE SHALL BE UPHOLDING HERE THE CAUSE OF
PEACE AMONG STATES AND PEOPLES, WE SHALL WORK FOR THE
CONFERENCE TO MAKE A SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS
REMEDYING RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES AND TO PROMOTE A
HALT TO THE SENSELESS ARMS RACE. WE ARE IN FAVOR OF AN
ATMOSPHERE OF CONFIDENCE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN
COUNTRIES. IT IS INDISPENSABLE FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF
CONFLICTS AND FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUTUALLY
BENEFICIAL TIES AND CONTACTS. IT IS THE SOVIET
POSITION THAT IN STOCKHOLM AND HELSINKI FINAL ACT BE
FURTHER PRACTICALLY DEVELOPED IN NEW IMPORTANT
AGREEMENTS.

WE ARE DISCUSSING, AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE, THE
QUESTION OF CONFIDENCE IN RELATIONS AMONG STATES. IT
MUST BE SAID IN THIS CONTEXT THAT FROM ITS VERY FIRST
MOVES THE PRESENT U.S. ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN DOING
ALL IT CAN TO UNDERMINE ITS CREDIBILITY AND, FRANKLY
SPEAKING, IT HAS ALREADY SUCCEEDED IN DOING JUST THAT.
SURELY IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO OVERLOOK, IN PARTICULAR,
THE FACT THAT WASHINGTON HAS ADOPTED THE METHOD OF
COVERT SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES AND TERRORISM AGAINST
OTHER STATES. IT HAS INCORPORATED ALL THESE CRIMINAL
AND DISHONEST METHODS INTO THE ARSENAL OF ITS
OFFICIAL FOREIGN POLICY TOOLS. AND THEY ARE BEING
USED IN PRACTICE AGAINST A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES,
AGAINST STATESMEN OF THOSE COUNTRIES AND AGAINST
THEIR SOCIAL SYSTEMS.

WE MIGHT AS WELL ASK: ARE WE NOT TO EXPECT THAT SUCH
ACTIVITIES WILL BE IMMEDIATELY STOPPED? IF THE
OPINION OF THIS CONFERENCE IS WORTH ANYTHING, THEN WE
SHOULD CLEARLY SAY SO AND CALL UPON THOSE ENGAGED IN
SUCH ACTIVITIES TO DISCONTINUE THEM AND TO ABIDE BY
THE GENERALLY ACCEPTED RULES GOVERNING RELATIONS
AMONG STATES AND TO CEASE INSULTING RHETORICS AGAINST
OTHER COUNTRIES.

THE FACT THAT SOCIAL SYSTEMS OF STATES AND THEIR
IDEOLOGIES ARE DIFFERENT CAN BE NO REASON FOR
NON-COMPLIANCE WITH THE GENERALLY ACCEPTED NORMS OF
CONDUCT IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND IN RELATIONS
AMONG STATES AND THEIR STATESMEN.

THE SOVIET UNION IS READY FOR CONSTRUCTIVE
CONSIDERATION OF A BROAD SPECTRUM OF CONFIDENCE- AND
SECURITY-BUILDING MEASURES. THOSE MEASURES MUST

INCLUDE IMPORTANT AGREEMENTS OF A POLITICO-MILITARY
NATURE AND OTHER STEPS TOWARDS BUILDING CONFIDENCE.
CONFINING EFFORTS HERE TO ONE SINGLE AREA WOULD
AMOUNT TO LESSENING THE OPPORTUNITIES THAT ARE
AVAILABLE.

THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE WILL LARGELY DEPEND ON
THE POLITICAL CLIMATE AND THE BUSINESSLIKE ATTITUDE
THAT WILL SET IN FROM THE VERY BEGINNING OF ITS
WORK. IF ALL STATES HAVE COME TO STOCKHOLM WITH
SERIOUS INTENTIONS, THE CONFERENCE WILL BE ABLE TO
FOCUS ON LARGE-SCALE MEANS OF ENHANCING CONFIDENCE
AND SECURITY.

AT THIS FORUM TOO, WE ARE SETTING FORTH FRANKLY OUR
IDEAS ON THIS MATTER. ABOVE ALL THIS CONCERNS THE
QUESTION OF PREVENTING NUCLEAR WAR. THROUGHOUT THE
WORLD MILLIONS UPON MILLIONS OF PEOPLE ARE
INCREASINGLY RAISING THEIR VOICE DEMANDING THE
ADOPTION OF RELIABLE MEASURES WHICH WOULD RELIEVE
MANKIND OF THE NUCLEAR THREAT. IF WE ARE SERIOUS IN
OUR DESIRE TO BUILD NECESSARY CONFIDENCE IN RELATIONS
BETWEEN NATIONS, WE MUST BE SERIOUS IN OUR APPROACH
TO REMOVING THAT THREAT.

CONFIDENCE WOULD BE GREATLY ENHANCED, WERE THE STATES
IN POSSESSION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO ASSUME AN
OBLIGATION NOT TO BE THE FIRST TO USE THEM. WOULDN'T
THAT BE A SIMPLE MEASURE, EASY TO IMPLEMENT? FOR,
INDEED, WITHOUT A FIRST STRIKE THERE WOULD BE NO
SECOND STRIKE. WOULDN'T THAT RESULT IN A GENUINE
POLITICAL BREAKTHROUGH IN BUILDING CONFIDENCE, AND
NOT JUST BETWEEN THE NUCLEAR POWERS?

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UNCLAS SECTION 06 OF 08 SECTO 01025

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y SECTION INFO (6 OF 8 VICE 6 OF 9)

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: XG, UR

SUBJECT: TEXT OF GROMYKO'S JANUARY 18 SPEECH TO CDE
THE SOVIET UNION HAS ALREADY PLEDGED UNILATERALLY NOT
TO BE THE FIRST TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WE ARE
RECALLING THIS FACT FROM THE ROSTRUM OF THE STOCKHOLM
CONFERENCE AS WELL. THE OTHER NUCLEAR POWERS
PARTICIPATING IN IT HAVE NOT YET ASSUMED SUCH AN
OBLIGATION. A QUESTION IS IN ORDER WHETHER UNDER THE
CIRCUMSTANCES THERE CAN BE ANY CONFIDENCE IN THEIR
POLICIES.

WE BELIEVE THAT ALL STATES, BOTH NUCLEAR AND
NON-NUCLEAR, HAVE AN EQUAL INTEREST IN SUCH AN
OBLIGATION BEING ASSUMED AND UNCONDITIONALLY
OBSERVED. NOT EVEN THE MOST SOPHISTICATED ARGUMENTS
TO THE CONTRARY CAN BE REGARDED AS CONVINCING IF ONE
STANDS FOR PEACE.

THERE IS ANOTHER VERY IMPORTANT CONFIDENCE-BUILDING
MEASURE. IT INVOLVES MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS BY STATES
NOT TO BE THE FIRST TO USE EITHER NUCLEAR OR
CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS AGAINST ONE ANOTHER, IN OTHER
WORDS NOT TO USE FORCE. OUR POSITION ON THIS MATTER
IS ALSO CLEAR. IN JANUARY 1983, TOGETHER WITH THE
OTHER WARSAW TREATY MEMBER COUNTRIES, WE PUT FORWARD
THE PROPOSAL FOR A TREATY ON THE MUTUAL NON-USE OF
MILITARY FORCE AND MAINTENANCE OF RELATIONS OF
PEACE. UNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES THIS PROPOSAL
IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY RELEVANT.

IT WOULD BE ONLY NATURAL IF SUCH OBLIGATIONS WERE
ASSUMED BY STATES IRRESPECTIVE OF WHETHER THEY BELONG
TO MILITARY ALLIANCES, ARE NEUTRAL OR NON-ALIGNED.
THIS IS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH THE LETTER AND THE
SPIRIT OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND IS PROVIDED FOR
IN THE MANDATE OF THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE WHICH
CLEARLY POINTS TO THE NEED "TO GIVE EFFECT AND
EXPRESSION TO THE DUTY OF STATES TO REFRAIN FROM THE
THREAT OR USE OF FORCE IN THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS."
THIS WILL NOT PREJUDICE THEIR STATUS OF NEUTRAL OR
NON-ALIGNED STATES. THEY WILL ALIGN THEMSELVES ONLY
WITH ONE THING: WITH PEACE.

THE TREATY COULD ALSO EMBODY OTHER IMPORTANT
PROVISIONS SUCH AS A PLEDGE BY ITS PARTIES TO ACT IN
GOOD WILL WITH A VIEW TO HALTING THE ARMS RACE AND
ACHIEVING DISARMAMENT AND TO CONTRIBUTE BY EVERY
AVAILABLE MEANS TO A SUCCESSFUL ACCOMPLISHMENT OF
THIS HISTORIC TASK. IT COULD ALSO INCLUDE OTHER
PROVISIONS DESIGNED TO BUILD CONFIDENCE, DEVELOP

COOPERATION AND LESSEN MILITARY CONFRONTATION.

WE HAVE EXPRESSED HERE OUR CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING
TWO LARGE-SCALE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES. WHILE
THE IMPLEMENTATION OF JUST ONE OF THOSE MEASURES
WOULD SIGNIFY A TREMENDOUS MOVE FORWARD, WE ARE
PROPOSING BOTH OF THEM. IF THE CONFERENCE COULD
AGREE ON THESE MOVES, THIS WOULD, UNDOUBTEDLY,
CONSTITUTE THE GREATEST ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THIS FORUM.
OTHER INITIATIVES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE
COUNTRIES OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY ALSO OFFER A
GOOD MANY OPPORTUNITIES FOR CREATING AN ATMOSPHERE OF
CONFIDENCE AND STRONGER SECURITY. WE WOULD LIKE TO
BELIEVE THAT ALL STATES REPRESENTED HERE WILL MAKE
THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORK OF THE STOCKHOLM
CONFERENCE.

FOR EXAMPLE, IT WOULD BE WORTHWHILE ADDRESSING THE
PROBLEM OF REDUCING MILITARY SPENDING. AGREEMENT TO
THIS END WOULD ALSO CONSTITUTE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION
TO BUILDING CONFIDENCE AND WOULD AT THE SAME TIME BE
A REAL MEANS OF CURPING THE ARMS RACE.

THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT RIDDING EUROPE OF SUCH
BARBARIC WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AS CHEMICAL
WEAPONS AND, IN THE FIRST PLACE, THE NON-STATIONING
OF THOSE WEAPONS WHERE THERE ARE NO SUCH WEAPONS AT
PRESENT WOULD ALSO SERVE THE PURPOSE OF OVERCOMING
DISTRUST BETWEEN STATES. THE URGENCY OF THIS TASK IS
UNDERScoreD BY THE FACT THAT INHUMAN PLANS ARE AFOOT
IN THE FIELD OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS, ALTHOUGH ATTEMPTS
ARE BEING MADE TO CONCEAL THIS.

SEVERAL EUROPEAN STATES ARE COMING OUT IN FAVOR OF
ESTABLISHING NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES IN VARIOUS PART OF
EUROPE. THIS QUESTION HAS A DIRECT BEARING ON
REDUCING THE RISK OF WAR AND STRENGTHENING
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UNCLAS SECTION 07 OF 08 SECTO 1025

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: XG, UR

SUBJECT: TEXT OF GROMYKO'S JANUARY 18 SPEECH TO CDE
CONFIDENCE. THE CONFERENCE WOULD DO RIGHT TO GIVE IT
SERIOUS ATTENTION.

IT WOULD BE IN ORDER TO RECALL HERE, IN THE CAPITAL
OF A SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRY, THAT THE SOVIET UNION
SUPPORTS THE PROPOSAL DECLARING THE NORTH OF EUROPE A
NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE ZONE. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THIS
ZONE IS, IN OUR VIEW, BOTH DESIRABLE AND FEASIBLE.
WE DULY APPRECIATE THE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES
THAT ARE ALREADY BEING IMPLEMENTED UNDER THE HELSINKI
FINAL ACT. THEY HAVE PROVED TO BE USEFUL. WE
ADVOCATED THEIR EXPANSION AT THE 26TH CONGRESS OF THE
CPSU AND IN A NUMBER OF JOINT DOCUMENTS ADOPTED BY
THE WARSAW TREATY COUNTRIES TAKING INTO ACCOUNT,
NATURALLY, THE EVOLVING SITUATION. THE USSR WILL
CONTINUE TO FOLLOW THIS LINE IN THE FUTURE. WE ARE
PREPARED FOR THE ELABORATION OF ADDITIONAL
CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES IN THE MILITARY FIELD,
BOTH MORE SIGNIFICANT IN CHARACTER AND BROADER IN
SCOPE.

FOR EXAMPLE, THE QUESTION OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF
MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS COULD BE FURTHER DEVELOPED.
AGREEMENT TO LIMIT THE SCALE OF SUCH MANEUVERS TO A
CERTAIN NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE FORCES ENGAGED
WOULD ALSO BE QUITE URGENT.

THE QUESTION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS AND
REDEPLOYMENT OF TROOPS ALSO DESERVES MOST ERIOUS
ATTENTION. IT IS WORTH RECALLING THAT THE HELSINKI
FINAL ACT STATES THAT "FURTHER CONSIDERATION WILL BE
GIVEN TO THE QUESTION OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR
MILITARY MOVEMENTS."

IN OUR VIEW, THE INTERESTS OF PEACE AND SECURITY
WOULD ALSO BE SERVED BY PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR
AIR AND NAVAL MANEUVERS WHICH TAKE PLACE IN THE SEA
AND OCEAN AREA ADJOINING EUROPE AND IN AIR SPACE.
ON THE WHOLE, THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED TO SUPPORT
SUCH CONFIDENCE- AND SECURITY-BUILDING MEASURES AS
WILL INDEED CONTRIBUTE TO A REAL LESSENING OF
MILITARY CONFRONTATION. HOWEVER, SHOULD ANYONE THINK
OF USING THE CONFERENCE IN A BID TO GAIN UNILATERAL
ADVANTAGES OF ANY KIND, THIS WOULD ENCOUNTER VIGOROUS
OPPOSITION ON OUR PART.

ALL THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE SHOULD BE
EQUALLY INTERESTED IN ITS SUCCESS. EVERYTHING MUST
BE DONE ON A JUST AND OBJECTIVE BASIS. ANY ATTEMPTS
AT THE CONFERENCE TO ADVANCE DEMANDS UNACCEPTABLE

RIGHT FROM THE START AND, RATHER THAN BUILD
CONFIDENCE, LOOK FOR A CRACK IN THE FENCE TO PEEP AT
NE'S NEIGHBORS COULD ONLY IMPEDE ITS PRODUCTIVE WORK.
THE SOVIET UNION IS FIRMLY COMMITTED TO THE MANDATE
AGREED AT MADRID, WHICH STIPULATES UNAMBIGUOUSLY THAT
ANY DECISIONS CONCERNING CONFIDENCE- AND
SECURITY-BUILDING MEASURES SHOULD BE TAKEN "ON THE
BASIS OF EQUALITY OF RIGHTS, BALANCE AND RECIPROCITY,
EQUAL RESPECT FOR THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF ALL CSCE
PARTICIPATING STATES."

THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE EXPECT THE CONFERENCE IN
STOCKHOLM TO TAKE DECISIONS WHICH WOULD BE
INSTRUMENTAL IN CHANGING THE COURSE OF EVENTS FOR THE
ETTER. WHAT WE WISH TO SEE IS THAT AGREEMENTS, ONCE
THEY ARE REACHED, BE IMPLEMENTED AND NOT SHELVED.
THE NEXT FOLLOW-UP MEETING AFTER MADRID TO BE HELD IN
VIENNA IN 1986 HAS AMONG OTHER TASKS THAT OF
ASSESSING THE PROGRESS ACHIEVED DURING THE FIRST
STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE. THAT MEETING WILL ONLY GAIN
IF CONFIDENCE- AND SECURITY-BUILDING MEASURES TO BE
AGREED IN STOCKHOLM START BEING IMPLEMENTED AND
BECOME A FACT OF LIFE RATHER THAN REMAIN DRAFT
DOCUMENTS.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF POSITIVE RESULTS AT THE STOCKHOLM
CONFERENCE WOULD STRENGTHEN THE CONFICTION THAT
DETENTE IN EUROPE HAS A CONSIDERABLE RESERVE OF
VITALITY. THERE ARE FORCES WHICH ARE KNOWN TO BE
EAGER TO PERFORM THE LAST RITES FOR DETENTE. BUT THE
PEOPLES TREASURE THE FRUITS BORNE BY DETENTE IN THE
1970S. IT CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO DIE FOR IT EXPRESSES
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UNCLAS SECTION 08 OF 08 SECTO 1025

E. O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: XG, UR
SUBJECT: TEXT OF GROMYKO'S JANUARY 18 SPEECH TO CDE
THE PEOPLE'S QUEST FOR PEACE AND LIFE.
APPARENTLY, EUROPE, MORE THAN ANY OTHER CONTINENT, IS
PREDISPOSED TODAY TO PEACEFUL COOPERATION IN VARIOUS
AREAS BECAUSE THE ECONOMIES, CULTURES AND HISTORIES
OF ITS PEOPLES ARE CLOSELY INTERTWINED.
THAT IS WHAT THE PEOPLES OF OTHER CONTINENTS ALSO
EXPECT FROM OUR CONFERENCE. THEY HOPE THAT COMMON
SENSE AND REASON WILL PREVAIL HERE, IN STOCKHOLM, AND
THAT ALL THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE WILL
DEMONSTRATE POLITICAL WILL AND A SENSE OF
RESPONSIBILITY.
IN CONCLUSION ALLOW ME TO EXPRESS MY APPRECIATION TO
THE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT OF SWEDEN AND TO THE CITY
AUTHORITIES OF STOCKHOLM FOR THE GOOD ORGANIZATION OF
THE CONFERENCE AND FOR THEIR HOSPITALITY.
SHULTZ
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