

# World Disarmament Campaign

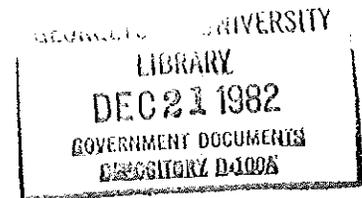
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*Following is a statement by Ambassador Kenneth L. Adelman, U.S. Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations, in Committee I of the U.N. General Assembly, New York, November 4, 1982.*

I speak today to agenda item 22d concerning the world disarmament campaign. The United States supports the achievement of a truly universal, comprehensive, and objective worldwide discussion of disarmament.

Over and over again in this century wars have been started by governments opposed to the principle of free expression or which deny their people a true voice in their governance and instead purport to speak on their behalf. Free nations do not want or choose war. Free speech leads them toward justice; freedom of opportunity offers progress without recourse to violence; and political freedom insures that governments reflect the views and concerns of their people.

Throughout this troubled century, the United States has never been at war with another country committed to democracy and the free expansion of ideas, whatever their content. Indeed, it has supported the process of democratic change from its inception as a nation, and it champions peaceful change today. In the contemporary world, it has always been, and remains today, the least free and most repressive countries which are the main instigators of international tension and conflict. It is Soviet troops which are in Afghanistan, Vietnamese troops which are in Laos and Kampuchea, and Cuban troops which

are in Angola and Ethiopia. And it is Soviet weaponry, introduced through Cuba and Nicaragua, which is playing so active a destabilizing role in Latin America and fuels the ambitions of such irresponsible dictatorships as Libya.

The Second Special Session on Disarmament working group last summer produced a consensus document for a truly universal and effective world disarmament campaign. The language of this document is clear and unequivocal. It stipulates that:

- The campaign "should be carried out in all regions of the world in a balanced, factual and objective manner."
- Its universality should be "guaranteed by the cooperation and participation of all states and by the widest possible dissemination of information and opinions on questions of arms limitation and disarmament and the damages relating to all aspects of the arms race and war, in particular nuclear war."
- And it should provide an "opportunity for discussion and debate in all countries on all points of view relating to disarmament issues, objectives and conditions."

These are admirable goals. Now it is up to all governments of the world to put these clear principles into practice, to realize in concrete deeds and in their day-by-day actions what all member states of the United Nations have already endorsed in words.

In the United States and in all open, democratic societies, the workings of a free, multisided media insure that essential information about security and disarmament

mament is readily available to the public. Scores of public and private institutions are working actively to propagate their views on arms control and security issues. No censors or commissars impede the flow of public information. Demonstrations are not staged, nor is participation in them restricted to those invited by the government.

### The Soviet and Eastern-Bloc Record

Unfortunately, this is not the case everywhere. In the Soviet Union, and in other countries following similar domestic repressive policies, only that information which supports official government positions can circulate freely and be openly and publicly discussed, even when it affects the most profound issues for mankind. And those who do demonstrate for peace and disarmament without permission run the risk of prison or internal exile.

It is particularly ironic that the Soviet Union's domestic actions contrast so sharply with its rhetorical support for peace movements in free countries. While it cynically seeks to exploit the noble aspirations of the peace movement in other states, the Soviet Union simultaneously inveighs against pacifism and arrests those who take part in unauthorized peace activities in its own country. The message is clear: For the Soviet Union, peace and disarmament are issues for propagandistic exploitation abroad but not for free discussion at home.

And if the Soviet delegate speaks, as he did yesterday, of 20,000 demonstrations with over 60 million participants, the question is not one of peace but only whether these persons had the option of not participating or of expressing their views freely. They had no such choice, because freedom of expression—much less spontaneous demonstration—does not exist in the Soviet Union.

Let me cite a few examples—all recent, some continuing—from a dismal Soviet and Eastern European record in the treatment of their own incipient, authentic peace movements.

- In contravention to the Helsinki accords, the Soviet Union regularly jams Western radio broadcasts and strictly limits the circulation of foreign books and newspapers to keep its citizens from hearing about or discussing disarmament as well as other topics with foreigners. Ordinary Soviet citizens are admonished not to be in contact with foreigners, and KGB surveillance of foreigners generally intimidates Soviet citizens from contacting outsiders.

- In the German Democratic Republic, we even witness the remarkable spectacle of government repression of peace movements which use symbolic arm patches showing the beating of swords into plowshares—a symbol reflecting the most basic ideals of the U.N. Charter itself and a symbol similar to the monument that the Soviet Union presented as a gift to the United Nations. These patches were denounced by a frightened East German regime that considered such a pacifist image “the expression of a mentality hostile to the state and proof of membership in an illegal political association.” Students and workers wearing “swords into plowshares” patches faced expulsion from school or their jobs.

- In Czechoslovakia, members of Charter 77, a reformist group dedicated to the upholding of the letter and spirit of the Helsinki accords and the U.N. Charter, have been harassed, arrested, and told not to discuss disarmament as well as other topics.

- During August, the Polish authorities cynically sought to manipulate the Pugwash Conference in Warsaw to legitimize the Jaruzelski regime. To their credit, the American contingent voted beforehand at Boston not to participate as an official group, and many individual European scientists chose to boycott the conference. An open letter to the conference from Nobel Peace Prize laureate Andrey Sakharov, dealing with issues of the arms race and condemning the closed nature of the U.S.S.R and other “Socialist” countries, was never put on the agenda—nor was the destabilizing and repressive situation outside the halls of the Pugwash Conference in Poland itself.

In regard to the arms race, the Sakharov letter reads:

In the last decade there has been a very substantial increase in the Soviet army, navy, missile arsenal and air force, while the countries of the West, Europe especially, have weakened their defense efforts. The SS-20 missiles have changed the strategic equilibrium in Europe, although those who take part in pacifist demonstrations seem not to notice this fact.

Sakharov concludes his letter by urging that: “There must be international efforts, efforts made by all honest people, to defend human rights, to overcome the closed nature of the USSR and other socialist countries.” It is incumbent upon all countries in the United Nations to heed Sakharov's plea.

- In January, the official Soviet newspaper *Pravda* carried an enthusiastic editorial hailing the antiwar movement in Western Europe as “the vital cause of the peoples.” The same

paper had earlier declared that Soviet internal “propaganda must decisively rid itself of the traces of pacifism that are occasionally to be found in some instructional or propaganda materials.” And, in February, on the occasion of Soviet Army-Navy day, the Soviet Chief of Staff, Marshal Ogarkov, published a booklet deploring “elements of pacifism” among citizens of the Soviet Union.

- Last spring, seven people attempted to unfurl a little hand-lettered banner in Red Square in Moscow with the Russian words for “Bread, Life, and Disarmament.” They were immediately arrested by the Soviet state security police. One wonders which of these three words was considered so dangerous that it had to be hidden from the people of Moscow.

- In early summer, an international group of peace advocates was towed out from Leningrad harbor after releasing 2,000 balloons carrying messages which read: “U.S.S.R. Stop Nuclear Testing Now.” The Soviet explanation: “The peace advocates' vessel ‘Greenpeace’ was polluting the harbor.” In reality, it seems clear that the Soviet authorities regard spontaneous peace movements as the most dangerous pollutant of them all.

- In July, a group of several hundred Scandinavians who visited several Soviet cities on a peace march—billed in the Soviet press as the counterpart of similar marches in the West—learned that their marches had to be done the Soviet way. Soviet speakers, ignoring previous agreements, introduced Soviet political themes and disarmament proposals; marching was cut to a minimum, and, where permitted, was tightly controlled; an effort was made to exploit the group by setting up a rally at Katyn, the site of the infamous Soviet execution of 4,000 Polish officers during World War II; discussions were orchestrated and translations of speeches falsified; and two members of an independent Soviet peace group seeking contact with the marchers were sentenced to 15 days detention to keep them away from the marchers. So much for the international walks for peace, cited yesterday by the Soviet delegate.

Also this past summer, just after one of the largest peaceful disarmament rallies in American history took place in New York, Soviet police moved against 11 Soviet citizens who had announced the formation of a fledgling, independent disarmament group called the “Group To Establish Trust Between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.” The group appealed—very much in the spirit of the Second Special Session on Disarmament working group that same month—for

the widest possible access to information on questions relating to disarmament and arms limitation. They called on my government—as the Soviet Government has called—to ratify the SALT II Treaty. They called for a “four-sided dialogue” to include the Soviet and American publics along with their governments on the issue of peace. They asked for permission to hold a real demonstration—one not planned, sponsored, and orchestrated by the Soviet Government—in Moscow in support of disarmament.

As a result of these activities, several members of the group were arrested and charged with “hooliganism.” And on August 6, the spokesman of the group, 25-year-old Sergei Batovrin, the son of a Soviet diplomat attached to the Soviet U.N. Mission from 1965 to 1970, was confined for a month in a psychiatric institute, where he was forcibly treated with powerful debilitating drugs. His main sin seems to have been that, in a country where suspicion is all pervasive, he was notable for this openness and lack of suspicion. Perhaps, like anyone who had grown up in the United States, he had taken freedom for granted.

Just this week—on Monday, November 1—Soviet authorities once again prevented a new conference by Batovrin’s battered group of peace advocates, barring both members and Western reporters from the building where the meeting was to take place. Batovrin, who would have been making his first public appearance since his release from detention, was prevented by Soviet security agents from even leaving his apartment. The meeting was to have dealt with Oleg Radzinsky, a young linguist arrested last week for anti-Soviet agitation. Before his arrest, Radzinsky has had the temerity to call for an international observance of 10 minutes of peace during which all work would be stopped in the name of disarmament.

The very virulence with which these peace advocates have been harassed and suppressed illustrates the utter intolerance of the Soviet and Eastern-bloc authorities to any challenge to the official Soviet policy of “peace” or to its carefully nurtured official image of a nation totally supportive of the ruling Communist Party’s peace initiatives and policies. The Soviet Union yesterday pledged 1.5 million rubles to the disarmament campaign, a gesture of rich irony from a country where no true disarmament movements are allowed.

The governments of the free world cannot and do not persecute or stifle their critics, whether we like them or

not. We know that much of the progress of mankind—in the arts and sciences; in the mastery of disease or the conquest of space; in the persistent assertion of human dignity and the rights of man—is due to the work of courageous individuals who challenge falsehood in the name of truth, who speak for justice in the face of repression. We know better than to condemn critics to psychiatric wards, and we will not recoil if the passion for truth leads people to question our weakness or expose our wrongs.

We have welcomed dissidents from the inception of the American Republic, beginning, in fact, with those who landed at Plymouth Rock in 1620. Nor have these dissidents come only from Western Europe. Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, and people subjected to totalitarian governments elsewhere have flocked to these shores in search of self-expression and the right of individuals to shape their own lives. Those seeking freedom of intellectual and artistic expression have not threatened but vastly enriched the quality of thought and fabric of our culture. Each—whether Solzhenitsyn, Rostropovich, Baryshnikov, General Grigorenko, or lesser known figures—has made a unique impact.

In early September, 20 American leaders of the movement to freeze Soviet and American nuclear arsenals—including among them a Nobel Prize winner, the chairman for the Council for a Livable World and one of the few American members of the Soviet Union’s Academy of Sciences—sent a letter to President Leonid I. Brezhnev protesting the Soviet efforts to “harass and persecute” their Soviet counterparts. A portion of that letter reads: “The double standards by which the Soviet Government abides—applauding widespread debate in the West, while crushing the most benign form of free expression at home—only strengthens the complex of forces that impel the nuclear arms race.”

The U.S. Government fully subscribes to that sentiment. That is why the United States would welcome a truly universal disarmament campaign allowed by all governments of the world, a campaign that meets the criteria established and agreed to by all member states at the Second Special Session on Disarmament.

## Recent U.S. Initiatives

For our part, we are giving concrete expression to our commitment to increased freedom and openness, not only at home but in the international arena as well. Let me review briefly some of the recent initiatives which the United States has undertaken in this regard.

- The United States has engaged in an extensive, active dialogue with the Soviet Union on important world issues. As one element of this, President Reagan offered recently in Berlin to provide President Brezhnev with an opportunity to speak on world issues directly to the American people on U.S. television, if the Soviet leader provided a reciprocal opportunity. He also proposed that Soviet and American journalists exchange views in their respective media.

- President Reagan also proposed, then and there, a number of new strategic confidence-building measures to foster greater openness and greater understanding. These include reciprocal U.S.-U.S.S.R. exchanges on advanced notification of major strategic exercises and on launches of intercontinental ballistic missiles within as well as beyond national borders and an expanded exchange of strategic force data.

- The United States also has supported and respected arrangements promoting greater openness in military matters as an outgrowth of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

- At the Second Special Session on Disarmament this summer, President Reagan proposed the convening of an International Conference on Military Expenditures to give a much needed stimulus to reporting of military budgets by countries, some of which continue to shroud their real military spending in secrecy and mask it behind patently false statistics.

- In yet another effort to shed light on an important matter of world concern, the United States has strongly supported the efforts to induce the Governments of the Soviet Union, Laos, and Vietnam to facilitate access to areas where chemical weapon attacks have taken place over the last several years, so that the U.N. Group of Experts can conduct an impartial and complete investigation of these profoundly disturbing illegal and inhumane practices.

- And in arms control negotiations, we have pressed for acceptance, on a mutual basis, of appropriate verification measures to enhance mutual confidence, credibility, and trust.



All of these proposals represent concrete and practical steps to increase freedom, openness, understanding, and confidence; to flood light into areas heretofore shrouded by excessive obsession with secrecy and control; and to lessen the dangers of international miscalculation and misunderstanding. We would welcome the free flow of information on disarmament among citizens of all countries. Two days ago, Americans

in nine states exercised their right to vote in referenda on various disarmament issues. We regret that supporters of peace elsewhere still lack these basic rights. But we urge all other countries to undertake—in deeds, not only in words; at home as well as abroad—concrete efforts to promote an unhindered flow of information to all peoples of the world and to permit the widest possible

freedom of public expression and assembly on the crucial issues of world peace and disarmament. ■

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