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Chairman: Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia)

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 7th MEETING

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GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS (continued)

# Statements were made by:

Mr. van der Stoel (Netherlands)

Mr. Fischer (Austria)

Mr. Canales (Chile)

Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait)

Mr. Noworyta (Poland)

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# The meeting was called to order at 10.50 a.m.

# AGENDA ITEMS 48 TO 69 AND 145 (continued)

#### GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. van der STOEL (Netherlands): Mr. Chairman, I am aware of your request that delegations in this Committee should not indulge in extensive congratulations to you and the other officers of the Committee. Nevertheless, I wish to express my special pleasure at seeing such a very distinguished colleague in the Chair.

Today I shall speak on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community, as well as of Portugal and Spain, which we will soon be able to welcome as full Community members.

At this time we are commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. This, therefore, is a particularly appropriate time to reflect on the use we have made of this Organization, the General Assembly and, especially, this Committee.

The Ten, as well as Portugal and Spain, believe that the First Committee has played a useful role as a forum for deliberations on the questions of disarmament and international security. But at the same time we are aware that an effort must be made to improve the efficiency of this Committee by rationalizing the debate and avoiding unnecessary repetition of resolutions.

The Ten, Portugal and Spain believe that the effectiveness of the United Nations General Assembly can be strengthened if we all show some restraint in our statements in this Committee. I shall therefore refrain from restating at length the views of the Ten on most of the agenda items, and limit myself at this stage of our debate to some points that, in our view, should be in the forefront of the Committee's attention this year.

Arms control and disarmament are not the only instruments for safeguarding international peace and security, but their importance is indisputable. The existence of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction underscores that view.

The Ten, together with Portugal and Spain, therefore warmly welcome the resumption of the United States-Soviet negotiations on nuclear and space arms. The process of arms control and disarmament has for several years been overshadowed by the difficulties in East-West relations. The resumption of the talks between the two major Powers on some of the most urgent questions of this time opens up the prospect of progress, not only in the bilateral context, but also in the wider multilateral forums.

Such progress is urgently needed: urgently, to avoid destabilizing international relations, urgently also because an unabated arms race takes away resources that are greatly needed for social and economic development. The freeing of resources for such other essential goals is an important aspect of disarmament. The many resources currently being spent on armaments world-wide are not available for the urgent development efforts that need to be made in our time. The Ten, Portugal and Spain therefore look forward with interest to the forthcoming Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development.

For all these reasons, the Ten, together with Portugal and Spain, believe that effective measures of arms control and disarmament should be vigorously pursued. Vigorously, with a view to achieving steady and significant progress, while at the same time bearing in mind that there are no quick or easy solutions to the problems of security in the nuclear age. Merely rhetorical and declaratory resolutions cannot be an adequate substitute for concrete actions. We therefore seek practical, concrete and verifiable steps towards disarmament – steps which preserve and, if possible, enhance the security of all States concerned. These steps can be brought about only through negotiations and should be directed at achieving stability at the lowest possible level of armaments. To this end, we need binding and adequately verifiable agreements providing for substantial and balanced reductions of arsenals and forces, with emphasis on those weapons which are the most destabilizing.

We are convinced that the main threat to international peace and security is not only the weapons that States possess but especially the way States behave towards each other. The process of disarmament cannot go very far unless accompanied by a reduction of fear, mistrust and misunderstanding.

This is precisely the goal which the Ten, Portugal and Spain, strive for at the Conference on Confidence and Security building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. We are seeking agreement on a set of politically binding, militarily significant and verifiable confidence and security-building measures covering the whole of Europe, designed to diminish the risk of military confrontation there and to pave the way for more far-reaching measures.

The level of armaments is not only influenced by the world-wide and regional security situation but also by the level of mistrust that exists between States.

It is not realistic to expect that substantive arms reductions can be attained when

nothing is done to remove mistrust. That is why our efforts should be directed both at a reduction or arms which, if adequately verified, will help remove mistrust and at a reduction of mistrust which will make it easier to agree about arms reductions. Measures that make military behaviour more open and predictable can help to build the confidence that is necessary for meaningful reduction of both mistrust and armaments. For these reasons too the Ten, Portugal and Spain, welcome the continuation next year of the deliberations in the United Nations Disarmament Commission (UNDC) on confidence-building measures.

We believe that a regional approach such as is now being taken in Stockholm can have an important role alongside bilateral and multilateral negotiations. We believe that it can also be effective through new efforts in other regions of the world wherever feasible.

Those member States of the Ten participating in the negotiations in Vienna on mutual and balanced force reductions and associated measures hope that they will result in parity through mutual and verifiable reductions in conventional forces at lower levels in Central Europe and thereby contribute to greater international stability and security.

The creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in certain parts of the world, as set out in the Final Document of 1978, could contribute to stability in the areas concerned, to non-proliferation and to the disarmament process in general, provided that the States concerned are prepared to participate on the basis of agreements freely entered into and in keeping with internationally recognized principles.

For the countries on whose behalf I speak today nuclear disarmament is one of the highest priorities. Reducing the level of nuclear arsenals is an urgent and difficult enterprise. The two Powers with the largest nuclear arsenals have a

primary responsibility for nuclear disarmament and must take the lead in curbing and reversing the accumulation of nuclear arms.

The Ten, Portugal and Spain, hold the view that the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on nuclear and space arms should bring these two countries to substantial reductions of their nuclear arms. In fact, this is nowadays the highest priority in the nuclear disarmament effort. The Ten, Portugal and Spain, are pleased that discussions of specific proposals have begun and they hope that this will lead to the conclusion of one or several verifiable agreements. These negotiations should have as their objective the bringing about of a balance at the lowest possible level of armaments. This would be important for the security of Europe and for the stability of international relations.

The Ten, Portugal and Spain, continue to attach the utmost importance to an effective international non-proliferation régime. For this reason those of the aforementioned States which are parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty welcome the successful outcome of the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty concluded last month in Geneva with the adoption of a substantial consensus document. These countries believe that this outcome proves the continued and unanimous support of an overwhelming number of States for the non-proliferation objectives enshrined in the Treaty.

In recent years international concern has increasingly focused on problems relating to the prevention of an arms race in outer space. Many of the current military satellites have a stabilizing effect, as they contribute to crisis management, communications and control functions and the verification of arms—control agreements. Several countries among the Ten have already expressed views on the importance of considering further improvement of the existing legal régime

governing the use of outer space and they have made specific proposals. New questions about the long-term implications of possible new technological developments for the relationship between offensive systems and ballistic missile defence technologies have been raised. The Ten, Portugal and Spain, hope that the ongoing debate will make a positive contribution to the cause of arms control and disarmament. The questions raised must, in their view, be the subject of careful consideration and prior negotiations. They have expressed their support for the continuing validity of the bilateral Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972 and the need for strict compliance with it.

The Ten, Portugal and Spain, have already welcomed the fact that bilateral talks on these questions are now taking place between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. They hold the opinion that it would be desirable if the parties at the Geneva negotiations reach effective agreement aimed at preventing an arms race in outer space. At the same time, they note with satisfaction that the Conference on Disarmament, the single multilateral negotiating forum, agreed on a mandate for an Ad Hoc Committee on the prevention of an arms race in outer space and has started a first examination of the subject. While taking into account the bilateral talks taking place elsewhere, they hope that the Ad Hoc Committee will resume its work next year and that it will proceed to an in-depth examination of the proposals which have a multilateral aspect. In this context, I note that members of the Ten who participate in the Conference on Disarmament have put forward for consideration proposals relating to immunity of satellites and confidence-building measures.

The very urgent need for a comprehensive and verifiable world-wide ban on chemical weapons was again demonstrated by the use of these weapons in the war between Iraq and Iran. The Ten, together with Portugal and Spain, renew their call

on the belligerents to terminate their conflict. They reiterate their condemnation of any violation of the provisions of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and call on the international community to play an active role, in particular through the Secretary-General, to investigate impartially all alleged use of chemical or biological weapons. Non-compliance with binding international arms control and disarmament agreements is not only damaging to those who directly suffer from the violation but in the long term is also a world-wide threat to every State that bases its security totally or in part on such international agreements.

During this year's session of the Conference on Disarmament member States of the European Community contributed actively to the work on a chemical weapons convention, inter alia through the submission of a number of important proposals. We strongly hope that next year the negotiations on a chemical weapons treaty will be intensified. We call upon all States to make the necessary efforts to resolve the existing difficulties. In order to have more time available, negotiations on a chemical weapons treaty should continue throughout the year.

Despite the understandable priority the international community attaches to nuclear disarmament, the arms control and disarmament process should deal with nuclear and conventional weapons in a balanced way. In this connection, the Ten, Portugal and Spain have consistently stressed the need for conventional disarmament as an integral and essential part of the overall disarmament process and they welcome the report of the Secretary-General on conventional disarmament.

It is also in this context that we see the item on the agenda of the Conference on Disarmament, entitled "Prevention of nuclear war, including all related matters". The Ten, Portugal and Spain support substantive consideration in the Conference on Disarmament of what can be done to reduce the danger of war, whether nuclear or conventional.

The Ten, Portugal and Spain strongly believe that compliance with existing fundamental commitments, such as the undertaking under the United Nations Charter to settle disputes by peaceful means, is central to the achievement of a world of nations united in peace and security. Furthermore, arms control and disarmament must play a central role in the achievement of the goals set out in the Charter. The Ten, Portugal and Spain will continue to play an active part in working towards those goals. We call upon other States to join us in this endeavour.

Mr. FISCHER (Austria): Allow me first of all, Sir, to express to you the cordial congratulations of my delegation on your election to the high office of Chairman of the First Committee. We are confident that under your guidance our Committee will achieve substantial results. I should also like to congratulate the other officers of the Committee and wish them full success in carrying out the responsible tasks entrusted to them.

At the thirty-ninth session my delegation was among the many that called for an early start on negotiations between the two super-Powers on all types of nuclear weapons. Those talks, which are now under way in Geneva, have so far not yielded any results, nor are there any indications that some sort of agreement will be reached in the not-too-distant future. It is, however, our firm conviction that substantial arms control and disarmament agreements can be achieved and we are confirmed in this belief after listening to the speeches of the Foreign Ministers of the United States and the Soviet Union in the General Assembly three weeks ago.

It should be self-evident by now that the continued accumulation of sophisticated, lethal weapons, in particular nuclear weapons, does not provide additional security. Austria has always held that the key to real security is to be found not in competition in military power but in co-operation. In our view, the forthcoming meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev offers a unique chance to break the deadlock and to prepare the ground for significant disarmament measures. We are confident that the leaders of the two super-Powers will be conscious of the heavy responsibility they carry on behalf of the whole of mankind. The summit meeting should open the way to a better understanding between the super-Powers and eventually lead to the restoration of trust and meaningful arms control and reduction agreements. Such arms control agreements have been possible in the past and, in our view, there is no reason why they should not become possible again in the future.

Austria appeals once again to both sides to exert all their efforts to overcome their differences and take the first steps towards a more peaceful world.

My delegation noted with appreciation last week's decision by the Nobel Prize Committee to award this year's Nobel Peace Prize to the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. The fact that this world-wide organization of concerned scientists, of which eminent personalities from the United States and the Soviet Union are the co-Chairmen, was chosen to receive this outstanding reward does honour not only to that organization but also to the Nobel Committee. In awarding the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize to a leading disarmament organization it sent a clear signal regarding the priorities of today's world that should not go unheeded by politicians.

Since 1945 the world has witnessed approximately 1,500 nuclear explosions carried out for testing purposes. In the view of my delegation, that was exactly 1,500 too many. The need for a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty, which would constitute a corner-stone of disarmament efforts, is becoming more and more urgent. We note that one super-Power has responded to the general call for a comprehensive test-ban treaty with a moratorium starting on the fortieth anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima and ending 1 January 1986, whereas the other has extended an invitation to experts to monitor a nuclear test explosion. Although those two initiatives reflect different approaches to the issue, we hope that the two nuclear super-Powers will narrow the gap between their positions and ultimately manifest the necessary political will to conclude a treaty banning all nuclear test explosions, in order to close the channels of vertical proliferation of these weapons for all time. This would create the climate necessary for all nuclear-weapon Powers to join in a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

In this regard, my delegation once more expresses its support for the Delhi Declaration of the Heads of State or Government of six States, which specifically

emphasizes the need to cease nuclear weapons tests in order to limit and eventually eliminate nuclear armaments.

The militarization of outer space is a matter of particular concern to the Austrian Government. My delegation appreciates that the Conference on Disarmament, after years of fruitless discussions, agreed to establish an Ad Hoc Committee on the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space, which held a series of meetings during the summer session of the Conference on Disarmament. The wide-ranging disucssion in that Committee made possible a better understanding of positions and a general recognition of the importance and urgency of preventing an arms race in outer space. The Austrian delegation calls on the two super-Powers now negotiating in Geneva to reach an agreement which will for ever keep outer space free from military weapons. In this regard, my Government believes the testing of anti-satellite systems, under present conditions, to be untimely, as we deem it far more difficult to ban weapons once they have been developed and deployed.

Nuclear disarmament is the one issue of overriding importance. We cannot accept the threat of existing nuclear arsenals which can kill mankind many times over, and are tired of the argument that lasting security can only be assured through the continuous build-up of nuclear and conventional weaponry. Urgent action is required to halt the continuing build-up of nuclear weapons. Austria supports the concept of a mutually agreed and verifiable freeze on nuclear weapons as a first step towards effective nuclear disarmament. Such action by the nuclear Powers should be accompanied by initiatives on the regional level, aimed at improving stability and security.

Furthermore, Austria has always supported all realistic efforts to establish nuclear-weapon-free zones according to the provisions of the Final Document of the first special session on disarmament. Such zones could, in our view, make a significant contribution to international peace and security. In this regard, Austria welcomes the decision taken on 6 August 1985 by the Heads of Government of the countries of the South Pacific Forum at its meeting in Rarotonga, to endorse and open for signature the South Pacific Nuclear-Free-Zone Treaty as consistent with article VII of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

Forty years after the first nuclear bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the world is not only faced with the accelerating nuclear arms race of the super-Powers, but with the danger of a horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons. Measures to curb and reverse the nuclear arms race should therefore be accompanied by measures to maintain and improve the effectiveness of the non-proliferation régime.

Last month, the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons ended in Geneva. In the last five years, Since the second Review Conference, the Non-Proliferation Treaty has seen a rise in

the number of parties from 114 to 130. Austria noted with satisfaction the accession of further parties to the Treaty and the conclusion of additional safeguards agreements in compliance with the undertakings of the Treaty. As host country of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), we are particularly encouraged by the way that organization has carried out its safeguard activities, although we recognize the importance of continued improvements in the effectiveness and efficiency of the IAEA safeguards.

Although nuclear-weapon States have fulfilled their obligations under article I and non-nuclear-weapon States theirs under article II, the NPT régime has been only partially implemented. We are still waiting to see effective action to give meaning to article VI. In our view, the implementation of this article is essential to the maintenance and strengthening of the Treaty. We furthermore call on those nuclear-weapon States and those presumed to have nuclear capability, to join the NPT régime, as such a step would constitute a significant move towards genuine nuclear disarmament.

Under present conditions, the adoption by consensus of a substantive Final Declaration by the Third Review Conference of the Non-Proliferation Treaty has to be registered as a success.

Forty years ago the founding fathers of our Organization, having undergone the horrible experience of the Second World War, began the Charter of the United Nations with those famous words:

"We the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war ...".

Since then, the world has witnessed more than 150 wars, bringing untold death and human suffering. All these wars were fought with conventional weapons, and all of them took place in third world countries, which were - and some still are - in one

way or another drawn into the East-West conflict. While concentrating our efforts on effective nuclear disarmament, we have to recognize that the extent and potential of conventional weapons have reached destabilizing proportions. Nuclear disarmament should therefore be accompanied by conventional disarmament.

Chemical weapons are among the deadliest and most heinous conventional weapons, although the term "conventional" may be misleading when referring to this kind of weapon. In view of the reported use of this weapon, its total elimination becomes ever more urgent.

Austria hopes that progress can be achieved in Geneva in several important areas like definition of chemical weapons, permitted activities, and others.

Although different positions still prevail concerning the definition of "key precursors" and verification, we are confident that the conclusion of a convention banning chemical weapons will take place in the near future.

My delegation will elaborate on agenda item 63 at a later stage of our debate.

Allow me now to turn briefly to this year's session of the United Nations
Disarmament Commission. Unfortunately, the Commission was, as in preceding years,
unable to make substantial progress on the items under its consideration. To
include a highly controversial issue on the agenda, triggering a procedural debate,
did not serve the interests of the Commission. Had there been any need for proof
that the Disarmament Commission does not operate very well, it was supplied during
the last session. The new item on the review of the role of the United Nations in
the field of disarmament could not have come at a better moment. In this regard,
my delegation would like to commend the delegation of Cameroon for submitting a
highly interesting, thought-provoking, refreshing and pertinent paper containing
valid proposals for far-reaching organizational and substantive changes.

My delegation has also welcomed the fact that a member of the Warsaw Pact has decided to respond to resolution 39/64 B by reporting to the Secretary-General its military expenditures for 1983. In our view, this step could induce other countries to participate in the international system for the standardized reporting of military expenditures.

From the studies concerning disarmament submitted by the Secretary-General to the fortieth session, I should like to commend briefly on agenda item 68 (c):
"Study on concepts of security". My delegation found this study particularly interesting and pertinent. Austria, which next week will celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption by Parliament of the constitutional law proclaiming its permanent neutrality, is honoured by the inclusion of a chapter on neutrality.

The conclusion reached by the Group of Experts, under the wise guidance of Ambassador Ferm of Sweden, that

"neutral States have been able to contribute substantially to reducing international tensions and antagonisms in their regions and on a larger scale. Through the United Nations the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and other international forums, neutral States have taken an active part in the processes of co-operation, mediation and peace-keeping" (A/40/553, para. 42)

underlines the importance attached to this status, a status under international law which sometimes is not fully appreciated and understood.

Let me turn briefly to Europe, in whose heart Austria is situated. Europe contains the highest concentration of conventional weaponry and armed forces in the world. Because of this, permanent efforts are needed to build a more stable relationship between East and West. Ten years ago the member States of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe adopted a comprehensive framework of co-operation for the entire European continent when adopting the Final Act. In the area of international security, confidence-building measures were agreed upon which were designed to enhance security in the region.

Austria, which is actively participating in the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Stockholm, has submitted, together with the other neutral and non-aligned countries, several proposals designed further to diminish the risk of military confrontation in Europe. Unfortunately, the Stockholm Conference has not yet yielded substantive results. My delegation sees a chance, however, that real negotiations will start soon. In the view of the Austrian Government, the set of measures concerning notification, observation and constraints, as well as communication, consultation and verification, combined with a politically binding recommitment to the non-use of force, should be finalized

before the next follow-up conference. Austria is looking forward to hosting the next follow-up Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which will take place in Vienna in 1986.

In the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, confidence-building measures have made a significant contribution to strengthening stability in Europe. My delegation attaches particular importance to this tool for enhancing mutual trust, as in our view peace is not a technical process of counting weapons but has to be built upon confidence between people, confidence in the goodwill and peaceful aims of the other side. Based on the experience gained in 10 years on the European continent, we should consider extending the scope of application of confidence-building measures to other areas of our globe.

One of the positive results of our work in 1985 has been the reaching of general agreement in the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development to convene the Conference in June-July 1986 in Paris. Austria, which will participate in this Conference, recognizes the crucial importance of halting the arms race and adopting disarmament measures that will release resources badly needed for development.

Military expenditures in 1985 will reach the \$US 940 billion mark and thus greatly surpass the combined debt of all developing countries. We are not too far from the ominous figure of \$1 trillion dollars, which would correspond to 40 annual budgets of Austria. Spending such an amount for military purposes is an astounding indictment of the priorities of today's world.

It was indeed shocking to learn in the general debate in the plenary Assembly that developing countries will this year be paying \$US 72 billion in interest payments alone. The fact that all Latin American countries use 35 per cent and all African countries 59 per cent of their export earnings to repay their foreign debts

is alarming. In order to meet the pressing needs of those countries, new and bold initiatives are called for. My delegation will further elaborate on this item at a later stage in our debate.

I will now comment briefly on the method of work of our Committee. The present method of work of the First Committee places a particularly heavy burden on small delegations such as mine, which face great difficulties in dealing with the approximately 100 draft resolutions that will be submitted and the 80 that we shall in all likelihood adopt during the present session. In these circumstances, it is by no means easy to devote to each draft the measure of attention commensurate with the importance of its content.

My delegation therefore appreciated the efforts undertaken by last year's Chairman to rearrange the agenda of the First Committee. The working paper (A/C.1/39/9) submitted by Ambassador Souza e Silva — who unfortunately cannot be with us at this session — in our view provides an excellent basis for facilitating the work of the Committee by restructuring the agenda to avoid duplication of work. We hope that our Committee will be in a position to reach appropriate decisions allowing for a better structuring of our agenda at the forty-first session. We were reassured when you, Mr. Chairman, reiterated your commitment to improving the work of the Committee. The restructuring of the agenda should be accompanied by a serious effort to end the proliferation of draft resolutions, most of which are highly repetitive. More resolutions, most of which remain unimplemented, do not necessarily mean more security.

We should resist the temptation to imitate the stockpiling of weapons by a stockpiling of draft resolutions. My delegation believes that replacing negotiations by submitting and eventually adopting a multitude of draft resolutions is inappropriate, as such an approach would only lead us to soothe our conscience by using draft resolutions as tranquillizers.

Disarmament is far too serious a matter to be left to the two super-Powers alone. It is an issue of concern to the whole of humanity. Multilateral diplomacy has a vital role in the field of disarmament. The United Nations, with the Conference on Disarmament, the Disarmament Commission, the First Committee of the General Assembly, its special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, related conferences and other subsidiary organs, provides an appropriate framework for such multilateral disarmament efforts. Unfortunately, the framework is not used to its full capacity.

On the eve of the proclamation by the General Assembly of the International Year of Peace, my delegation is, however, confident that with the necessary modifications and political will our Organization will be able to live up to the expectations of the peoples of our planet by fulfilling its mission in accordance with the slogan "United Nations for a better world".

Mr. CANALES (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): At the commencement of this statement in the First Committee, the delegation of Chile wishes to congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, on your election to preside over the debates on the important issues related to disarmament and, in pledging our co-operation, we are confident that, with your skill, experience and devotion, you will bring the work of this Committee to a fruitful conclusion. We also wish to congratulate your predecessor, who effectively achieved the objectives set for the First Committee at the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

In the first half of this century the world had to confront two devastating wars. In 1920, the League of Nations was established in Geneva, and its Covenant for the first time constituted an obligation on the part of members to begin negotiations on disarmament. Hence disarmament has been a long-cherished aspiration of mankind, since it is the only way to just and lasting peace, even though in the present-day world the aphorism "If you want peace prepare for war" remains applicable.

As is well known, the League of Nations did not achieve its objective of reducing armaments and avoiding war. The League collapsed, and the Second World War, resulting from the actions of the Nazis and their allies, with their hegemonistic theory of lebensraum, plunged the world into horrendous disasters.

Statesmen from 50 countries, taking into consideration the errors of the earlier organization, in 1945 completed work on the United Nations Charter, whose basic objective was to preserve future generations from the scourge of a third world war, which mankind could not survive. As far as this Committee is concerned, the United Nations Charter stipulates that a primary goal is the achievement of disarmament which, to be effective, must be general and complete and under strict international control. This is our great task: to obtain nuclear and conventional

disarmament. The arms race continues every day its inexorable course, which, unfortunately, is irreversible as long as the great Powers and all other States do not reach agreements on the control, reduction and elimination of all types of weapons.

When comparing the situation with regard to armaments at the end of the Second World War, with the atomic bomb in the hands of one of the victors, and the present situation, we must frankly recognize that our efforts have been completely futile, since the nuclear potential in the arsenals of the super-Powers is sufficient to destroy a large part of our planet and increasingly sophisticated conventional weapons are also capable of causing comparable damage and destruction, although without the incalculable effects of atomic radiation. When comparing the situation from one year to the next, we note that military expenditures increase by more than \$50 billion, while the world is confronted by one of the greatest economic crises in history, threatening the extermination of millions of human beings through hunger, poverty and disease.

We do not admit frustratation, nor do we wish to be pessimistic, but if we hide the reality under a mantle of promises and false progress in regard to an arms freeze or bilateral negotiations doomed to failure before they begin, we are refusing to take a realistic look at the future and are perhaps guilty of hypocrisy.

We must study the situation realistically in order to arrive at achievable solutions. Our Organization has proved incompetent in the maintenance of international peace and security, in containing nuclear proliferation, in preventing the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction and in preventing the further development of conventional weapons; but this is due solely to the fact that the solution does not reside in adopting hundreds of resolutions by an overwhelming majority but that it hinges on the political will of the biggest military Powers.

Countries, such as Chile, which cherish peace and have no desire for conquest to achieve national political objectives seek to promote disarmament of any type, whether world-wide, regional or between neighbours, and wish only to have the armed forces they need to maintain their national sovereignty, territorial integrity and internal security, threatened as they are in today's world by international terrorism and by subversion fostered from abroad. That is why we support any initiative designed to achieve the reduction of armaments, with the final objective of general and complete disarmament under strict international control.

Before taking up the items on our agenda, we must reiterate the causes for the alarming arms build-up, because if those causes are not first dealt with the race to perfect and stockpile the means of destruction will continue, and no international organization will be able to achieve a moratorium, a freeze or a reduction of armaments that could lead to general and complete disarmament.

The East-West confrontation will become increasingly dangerous and intense and will produce new elements of confrontation. On the one hand, one of the super-Powers reaffirms the principle that "uniting socialism in a single international force is essential". The principle of communist internationalism constitutes one of its sacred goals. That is why it fosters revolutionary support for the peoples of the world, staying in the forefront of the international struggle, in the belief that for all mankind capitalism remains the avowed enemy which must be destroyed.

On the other hand, in opposition to that expansionist policy, we have democracy, which, to safeguard its security, sees it as an urgent need to build a military force in which parity, or superiority, in nuclear and conventional weapons permits the survival of a way of life in which freedom and the dignity of the human being are at the core of its existence.

This rivalry has brought the world to the concept of an armed peace. In other words, security depends on an arms race based on the accumulation of nuclear and conventional arsenals which hold out the threat of the much-feared final holocaust. This arms race can be controlled only by the super-Powers and military blocs directly concerned. We in the developing countries are mere spectators without any great responsibility or influence in the decision-making process.

The fact that there is no control agency for the manufacture and sale of weapons means that military budgets expand unchecked year after year. This is a problem that has not been dealt with, in spite of efforts to do so by certain countries.

We must also recognize that terrorism, one of the worst scourges of mankind, whose inciters are easy to identify, also helps to increase this arms build-up.

It is true that thus far a third world war has been avoided. None the less the credit for this is not due solely to our Organization, but also to this parity of forces, which acts as an element of deterrence. There has been no global conflict, but regional wars have proliferated, with over 150 wars so far in which conventional weapons were used.

At this time we must deplore the occupation of Afghanistan, in spite of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and Security Council; the invasion of Kampuchea; the Iran-Iraq war; and the conflict in Lebanon, as unjust as it is intractable.

In this situation, which we all find deplorable, how can we believe that the day is near when we shall be able to achieve the general and complete disarmament under international control that is our greatest hope?

With a total annual expenditure of over \$800 billion on the manufacture of arms, how can we hope to overcome the serious world crisis, which is having a

particularly serious impact on the third world countries, whose total foreign debt amounts to a very similar figure?

The bodies that have been set up to deal with disarmament measures have made great efforts, but to no avail, to progress towards the drafting of international treaties designed to prevent the development of a number of weapons of mass destruction.

There have been two special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, one in 1978 and the other in 1982.

The first of these established that disarmament was one of the crucial issues of our day and that the United Nations was the ultimate forum for the achievement of disarmament. Its Final Document covers all the theoretical issues that we need to discuss. I believe that we have already exhausted all the issues relating to most of the Committee's agenda items.

The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament prepared a document that contained a comprehensive plan for disarmament, which remains completely valid today provided only that there is political will on the part of all States to implement it.

We also wish to commend and express our appreciation of the work done every vear for disarmament by many non-governmental organizations.

The Thorsson report published in 1981 - an expert report on disarmament and development - and the Palmer Report published in 1982, the report of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues - both stressed that in today's world, when States possess enormous arsenals of weapons of mass destruction, security cannot be achieved by alliance with a single nation. The only source of security for all is the United Nations, which has tried to provide a system of collective security, by playing a more important role itself, by

giving greater powers to the Secretary-General, by working for great effectiveness of the Security Council and by increasing the forces used for peacekeeping operations.

The system of collective security established under Chapter VII has not been effective because of the lack of co-operation from the permanent members of the Security Council.

The United Nations may fail in any one of its given missions, but it is an irreplaceable body, since it is the only world forum where Member States can meet to discuss the innumerable problems that afflict mankind. Furthermore, its subsidiary bodies and specialized agencies carry out work of great benefit to the international community.

We believe that collective security can be achieved only when we have attained our desired aim of general and complete disarmament under strict international control and Member States are prepared, on a mandatory basis, to comply with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Following the priority set by the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, we will refer briefly to the nuclear-arms race, highlighting the most important aspects of that absurd arms race.

In spite of the SALT negotiations between the super-Powers, no agreement has been reached to prevent vertical proliferation, which has changed in character from quantitative to qualitative. We hope that this year, at the meeting of the Presidents of the super-Powers, political agreements may be reached that will contribute to a reduction of nuclear and conventional weapons.

As long as the nuclear Powers continue to develop their scientific research, these weapons will continue to be further improved, with potential for use in other environments, such as outer space.

Anti-satellite or defensive weapon systems, although they accelerate the arms race, do much to ensure that intercontinental missiles will not reach their targets.

As can be seen, the spectre of a nuclear war would thus become increasingly destructive and more sophisticated, and would involve new and more varied elements, making negotiations more difficult, above all if a comprehensive sytem of international verification is not accepted.

Thus far the satellites used in outer space for military purposes have in 80 per cent of cases been used for non-aggressive purposes, in other words, on missions concerned with intelligence-gathering, meteorology, navigation, directional systems and advance warning, and so forth.

We hope that outer space will not become one more battleground with the use of offensive weapons, since this would intensify the nuclear-arms race.

So far horizontal proliferation has been contained, in spite of the fact that over half a dozen additional countries might already be in a position to become nuclear-weapon Powers. And it is estimated that by the end of the century that figure will have increased to approximately 30.

As regards nuclear tests, the 1963 partial test-ban Treaty has not been extended to prevent underground nuclear tests, which are conducted in large numbers every year by the nuclear-weapon Powers and contribute to the qualitative proliferation of this type of weapon. The smaller nuclear-weapon Powers have disregarded this Treaty and continue their tests, despite the protests of the countries which feel affected by atomic radiation.

We support the creation of new nuclear-weapon-free zones in Africa, the Middle East and southern Asia.

Nuclear war would undoubtedly result in the destruction of a large part of the planet. We hope that the statesmen who have in their hands responsibility for mankind's destiny will never use that kind of threat, and that they will understand the urgent need to conduct negotiations to control, reduce and eliminate this type of weapon, thus releasing a large proportion of military budgets for the development and well-being of peoples.

Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that international co-operation in this field is essential for the broader development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes which is so necessary for the developing countries. All States must strictly respect International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards, since in that way horizontal proliferation can be prevented.

The conventional arms race, with its weapons of mass destruction, is also a source of great concern. Weapons of this type account for 80 per cent of annual

military hardware budgets, and it should not be forgotten that weapons of this kind have been used in the wars that have taken place and will be used in those that may occur in the future.

Each year the progress made by military science and technology makes it possible to manufacture new, increasingly sophisticated and deadly types of weapons. This situation obliges all countries to modernize their armed forces and requires that they incur greater expenditures - funds that should be devoted to the socio-economic development of their peoples.

We regret how slowly the Conference on Disarmament has been accomplishing the work assigned to it in connection with this type of weapon, since negotiations are still under way on various important treaties such as those on the complete and effective prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons, the comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty, radiological weapons, the peaceful uses of outer space, and others - work that should have been completed some years ago. While it is true that commendable efforts have been made by representatives members of that Conference, results have unfortunately been virtually non-existent.

In this connection, we wish to refer only to the importance of regional disarmament. We should like to underscore the constant efforts made in Latin America to achieve regional disarmament. In respect of the nuclear arms race, the Tlatelolco Treaty has been a most commendable example. As was stated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chile in the general debate in the plenary Assembly on 1 October of this year:

"In 1902 we signed an agreement with the Argentine Republic whereby both countries committed themselves to limiting their armaments and seeking a balance between their respective navies.

"Later, in 1959, the President of Chile, Mr. Jorge Alessandri, proposed a limitation on arms in Latin America, as the General Assembly was duly informed, designed to release funds to be used for the economic and social development of the region. The Organization of American States (OAS) took note of the Chilean concern and proposed the holding of a specialized conference on the subject. Unfortunately, this did not take place. In 1977, we proposed to the Andean countries that they reduce their military budgets, and two meetings were held to consider the proposal.

"A few weeks ago the President of Chile, Mr. Augusto Pinochet, gave a clear demonstration of the peace-loving spirit of my country, when he responded to the call of the President of Peru, Mr. Alan Garcia, calling on the South American nations to abstain from acquiring more weapons. In his reply, the Chilean Head of State indicated his willingness to support the proposal on the basis of regional reciprocity and to have those resources allocated to the material development of our continent." (A/40/PV.16, pp. 32 and 33)

I would conclude our statement by reiterating our fervent hope that, some day in the near future, disarmament will become a reality, so that there may be a better world in which it is possible to live in peace and security.

Mr. ABULHASAN (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): I wish at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your election as Chairman of the First Committee this year when we commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. You represent a friendly Islamic country which has the closest links with Kuwait, my country. Your election to this post is evidence of your qualities, professional expertise, wide experience and knowledge that qualify

your guidance, our proceedings will achieve the desired success. In this connection, I would express, on behalf of Kuwait, our complete readiness to co-operate with you.

I wish also to express congratulations to the other officers of the Committee.

While considering the work of our Committee we face a repetition of what we did last year and even the last few years before. That is to say, every year we are faced with a longer agenda and an increasing number of draft resolutions, whereas, what is expected of the Committee is for it to act on the draft resolutions submitted to it. Indeed, there has been a genuine attempt to rationalize the work of the Organization, to reduce talk and to increase action, but it seems that we should intensify our efforts and persevere in this attempt at rationalization. We should not despair, and we hope that the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations, and the fact that the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament is close at hand - it is going to be held in two or three years' time - will be incentives to deal with the problem in an innovative and effective manner.

There is no doubt that the problem of disarmament is a priority concern in our Organization. This reflects greatly the concern of the entire international community with this matter, because international peace and security are the backbone of international political life, on which depends the life of each country, large or small. We look forward with hope and call upon the major Powers concerned to change their thinking and conduct from the narrow approach of national interests and to work instead for the interest of the peace and security of the world, especially that of the small, weak and vulnerable countries. Those major Powers bear more responsibility in this respect. We associate ourselves with all those who appeal to the major Powers to exert more effort and intensify their endeavours in the hope of reaching a solution to this problem. We call for a continuation and strengthening of those efforts within the framework of the United Nations in order to promote the issue of disarmament.

The disarmament responsibility is an enormous one that is borne in the first place by the major nuclear States and proportionately by each country, whether large or small, because their peace and security is part of that of the world.

Concern and fear are intensified due to the further escalation of a nuclear arms race, whether horizontal or vertical. From time to time we hear news or official statements concerning terrifying developments. I mean by that the devising of new weapons and the development of methods of deployment which can no longer be limited to the national or regional levels. After we became accustomed to hearing about intercontinental ballistic missiles and their precision in hitting the target, for more than a year now we have been hearing about the spread of the arms race to outer space in which hundreds of peaceful satellites are at present in orbit.

Outer space is jeopardized by a new generation of weapons, and thus it could become another arena of conflict. This new arena is a surprising one that keeps the whole world stunned. It is what specialists call "star wars". This new area of conflict has added another dimension to the disarmament question. It has also added another intractable problem. This new area of conflict has raised doubts in many quarters. Morever, it has started a controversy, that has not yet ended, on the use of "star wars" as a means of defence.

What is dangerous here is that it unleashes the arms race to a completely new spiral in the field of outer space at an astronomical cost. Such funds would better be spent in humanitarian, economic and social areas, at a time when efforts should be intensified to neutralize outer space and to preserve it for exclusively peaceful purposes. The process is still in a stage of research and design. There is still hope of reaching a solution that will be beneficial for the whole international community.

We appeal here to the American and Soviet leaders at their forthcoming meeting to exert every effort to grapple with this and the other as yet unresolved problems between their two countries concerning limitation of the arms race. The bleak picture as regards disarmament issues in recent years is not without a glimmer of hope which involves the possibility of achieving even partial or limited progress in this respect.

The Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty recently finished its work in Geneva, thus confirming that the non-proliferation régime is of special importance to international peace and security. For the first time in 10 years the Conference achieved a consensus agreement on certain vital issues. Such an agreement would have been impossible without the political will and co-operation needed to reach it. We hope that the States concerned will view the successful outcome as an example to be followed and a precedent for agreements on vital disarmament issues. We hope that the resolution of the Conference will give momentum to the efforts being made to formulate measures that would halt stockpiling of nuclear weapons and initiate a genuine process of nuclear disarmament.

The ongoing negotiations at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva are in no way different from those of earlier years. In connection with the cessation of nuclear tests, the fact was underscored in the resolutions of the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the negotiations aimed at banning chemical weapons and other vital issues regarding international peace and security, that no significant progress has been achieved despite the measures and resolutions to that end.

The reasons why agreement has not been reached have remained elusive. The forthcoming summit meeting between the President of the United States and the General Secretary of the Soviet Union may open the door, if only slightly, to progress on various points at issue in the field of disarmament. As an example I would cite the intensified efforts made in negotiations on chemical weapons. Unfortunately, no agreement has been reached on a comprehensive treaty banning chemical weapons, but that does not mean that efforts should not continue. The same applies to other issues on which negotiations are continuing, such as the prevention of an arms race in outer space, the prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons, the banning of neutron weapons as well as so-called negative guarantees for non-nuclear weapon States. All these are vital issues for the preservation of international peace and security. Efforts should continue in an attempt to achieve concrete results concerning those items.

I mentioned a few minutes ago the progress achieved at the Third Review

Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons
(NPT). I must refer, in this respect, to the difficult debate that took place at
the Conference concerning the nuclear capability of both Israel and South Africa.

That issue is still a major source of concern for Kuwait, for South Africa's
nuclear capability affects peace and security in Africa, and that of Israel
concerns the Middle East. Both these areas are experiencing crises and conflicts
brought about by Israel and South Africa as a result of their continuing policy of
aggression and expansion. In the vote, therefore, Kuwait supported the draft
resolution calling for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in the Middle
East and in Africa in order to free them of nuclear weapons.

It is well known that, with regard to those two issues, the General Assembly in past resolutions called on the States concerned to accede to the NPT and to

place their nuclear installations under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards. That measure is of vital importance, especially in the light of Israel's act of aggression against the Iraqi nuclear reactor devoted to peaceful purposes, which was strongly condemned by the international community.

We wish to express our serious concern over Israel's acquisition of nuclear weapons and bombs that are ready for use. There have been several reports concerning Israel's adoption of the nuclear deterrence strategy. That means, in our view, that Israel wants the Middle East area to be an arena in which it could use its nuclear weapons to extend and intensify its aggressive policy. We have read with satisfaction the report prepared by the Disarmament Institute in co-operation with the League of Arab States and the Organization of African Unity for the Secretary-General.

The arms race today costs the world more than \$1,000 billion, and each year the figures are more astronomical and frightening in this respect. We need not speak about what we could do with \$10 billion or \$100 billion in our efforts to promote economic and social progress. Examples have become so well known and so numerous that there is no need to repeat them here. Suffice it to mention the famines that have ravaged many parts of the world, as well as the natural disasters and economic crises that are stifling many of the least-developed countries. We therefore welcome the resolutions of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development. In particular we welcome the subject of the Conference, namely, the diversion of resources from military to peaceful purposes and their redistribution through disarmament measures. We hope that the Preparatory Committee will apply itself fully in preparing the subjects of the Conference and in taking special care to report all details with which countries should be familiar concerning the work

of the Conference in view of its importance to their economic and social development.

The agenda of this session contains an item on the third special session devoted to disarmament and the preparations for that session. We would point out that there are many issues that could be referred to the third special session, such as the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament, which could include United Nations machinery for disarmament and a review of what has been achieved, together with an assessment of the results. Subsequently, resolutions could be agreed upon that would facilitate methods of dealing with disarmament within the framework of the United Nations.

The question of holding a conference on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace has always been of primary importance for Kuwait, and we regret that no agreement has been reached concerning the holding of that conference at the meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean. We continue to support the idea of convening the conference and hope that efforts will be made to reach agreement on the subject as soon as possible.

My delegation hopes that the summit meeting between the President of the United States and the General Secretary of the Soviet Union will succeed in creating an atmosphere favourable for negotiations on the limitation of nuclear weapons, a question that will have positive implications for international peace and security, of which we, the small countries, are in serious need. At this fortieth anniversary of our international Organization, let us press for more conciliation and joint concerted action to achieve peace.

Mr. NOWORYTA (Poland): Sir, I should like to join other delegations in congratulating you upon your election as Chairman of this important Committee.

Poland has never been indifferent to international efforts aimed at easing international tensions and curbing the arms race, expressing its concern, among others, through efforts undertaken together with other socialist countries. Its own initiatives in the past 40 years, and let me point out the Rapacki plan alone, are commonly known.

This consistent policy of People's Poland in support of peace, disarmament and international co-operation received broad endorsement by the Polish nation during the parliamentary elections which took place last Sunday. The large turnout of voters and the results of the elections are also a further demonstration of stabilization in Poland, which in turn is an important factor of stabilization in Europe.

The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, guided by the objectives and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, have reaffirmed time and again that they do not seek military superiority and have expressed themselves in favour of the expansion of a dialogue and of initiating wide-ranging international joint action in the interest of ensuring universal peace and security.

Acknowledging the special responsibility of leaders, politicians and statesmen for the preservation of peace, the Prime Minister of Poland, Wojciech Jaruzelski said in his statement before the General Assembly on 27 September:

"The leaders of States and Governments bear an enormous personal responsibility for the fate of nations and the peace of the world. The faster modern military technology becomes sophisticated and the shorter the time in which the final decision has to be made the greater such responsibility becomes." (A/40/PV.12, p. 32)

Poland welcomed the announcement of the meeting of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,

Mikhail Gorbachev, and the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan. We expect this meeting to contribute to a relaxation of tension and to an improvement in the international situation.

Among the numerous constructive proposals of the Soviet Union, aimed at overcoming the deadlock in the disarmement talks, the proposal totally to

prohibit space weapons together with a reduction by 50 per cent of the nuclear weapons capable of reaching each other's territory is of particular importance. Such an agreement would certainly drastically lower the level of armaments and at the same time would avert an arms race in outer space.

Another important proposal put forward recently by the Soviet Union is the conclusion of an agreement concerning medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, separately and not linked with the problem of space and strategic arms.

Those proposals come in addition to the earlier Soviet unilateral suspension of further deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe and to the major decision taken by the Soviet Government concerning the declaration of a unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions, which could become a new starting point in the disarmament efforts.

We are of the opinion that these are initiatives of tremendous importance for European security and prospects for international peace.

On the agenda of the anniversary session of the General Assembly, we have an important initiative of the Soviet Union entitled "International co-operation in the peaceful exploitation of outer space under conditions of its non-militarization", so eloquently introduced last Monday by Ambassador Oleg Troyanovsky.

The subject of the peaceful uses of outer space has been on the agenda of the General Assembly since 1958 and Poland has made a contribution of its own to the work of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, including the elaboration of a number of international treaties and agreements. Together with our allies, we have always shared the view that outer space is the common heritage of mankind and that, consequently, its exploration and use should be preserved for exclusively peaceful purposes in order to promote the scientific, economic and

social development of all countries.

Up to now, outer space has been an area free of weapons. However, a multi-billion dollar programme called the "strategic defence initiative" envisages the armament of outer space. In fact it gives one side an effective nuclear first-strike capacity and deprives the other side of the capacity to retaliate. Plans aimed at developing and deploying space weapons to destroy objects in space and to launch attacks from space against targets in the atmosphere and on earth, including the creation of a large-scale anti-missile system with space-based components, may become a source of untold military danger affecting the entire field of peaceful space activity, and all international co-operation in the peaceful exploitation of outer space. Their implementation would in fact mean that the world would enter a new, extremely dangerous, arms race barring any progress in disarmament and political talks.

That is why my delegation fully supports the Soviet initiative, the intention of which is to prevent the extension of the arms race into outer space and to preserve it for peaceful research and exploitation to the advantage of all mankind.

Our support of the Soviet peace proposals is a direct result of our deep concern for international peace, the safety of the European continent on which we live and the security of our own nation. Nobody would be immune from long or medium-range missiles, nobody would escape an attack from outer space if the arms race were to be extended into that area.

A contribution towards putting into effect the comprehensive Soviet initiative could be action on the suggestion contained in the statement of Prime Minister Jaruzelski:

"It would now be desirable for a study to be prepared by eminent experts of different nationalities, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, of the diverse consequences of the militarization of outer space."

(A/40/PV.12, p. 29)

Poland also unequivocally supports broad co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space because space research contributes to advancing various branches of knowledge and to technological progress.

My delegation strongly supports the timely Soviet initiative contained in document A/40/192 and in draft resolution A/C.1/40/L.1, first to create conditions for the non-militarization of outer space, and then to ensure its exclusively peaceful exploitation and the development of international co-operation in that field.

Therefore, my delegation supports the idea of convening, not later than in 1987, an international conference with the participation of interested countries, to consider all aspects of the question of international co-operation in the peaceful exploration and use of outer space under conditions of non-militarization, after ensuring the non-militarization of outer space through adequate agreements.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to emphasize that the Soviet proposals create an exceptional historical opportunity to avert the dangerous development of the international situation. It is obvious that it depends now on the position of the United States whether this opportunity will be seized or squandered.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.