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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 59th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia)

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The meeting was called to order at 11.05 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 71, 72 AND 73 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE, CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION UPON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AGENDA ITEMS

Mr. CESAR (Czechoslovakia): Fifteen years ago we, together with the majority of States Members of the United Nations, fully supported and actively advocated the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security initiated by the Soviet Union. Ever since that time we have taken part each year in the consideration of the implementation of that crucial document. The unbroken line of four decades of United Nations activity attests that whenever its Members succeed, in the name of their common interests, in rising above ideological, political and other differences, the Organization has acted in the interest of strengthening peace and security. In his message on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of our Organization, the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustav Husak, emphasized that the United Nations:

"has been severely tested, and it has had to face many vicissitudes and problems, and even though it has not always been possible to cope with them consistently, nevertheless its will and its potential in the overcoming of obstacles testify to its viability." (A/40/PV.40, p. 46)

The way to strengthen international security has been and still is set forth in the United Nations Charter, and depends on its consistent implementation and observance of its principles by all States Members of the United Nations. Fifteen years ago, it considered necessary to incorporate in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security a solemn confirmation and elaboration of the principles of the Charter, whose implementation is a prerequisite for a gradual

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elimination or even prevention of the causes of international conflicts and increased tensions in the relations among States. Now, as always, the most important of those principles are the solution of all disputes exclusively by peaceful means and the renunciation of the use or threat of force in international relations. The predominantly positive record of United Nations activities testifies to the fact that this course is justified. It proves that the United Nations Charter - the treaty of treaties - has stood the test of time and that its principles have lost nothing of their topicality. This is all the more valid in the current nuclear and space epoch, when the interrelationship between national and international security is becoming ever closer.

We therefore appreciate the initiation, in Soviet Union/United States relations, of a useful dialogue at the highest level aimed at achieving a turn for the better in both the relations between them and their relations with the rest of the world. In spite of the fact that the recent meeting at Geneva has not produced solutions to the concrete problems of disarmament and arms reduction, it is of great importance that the summit meeting confirmed the need for seeking ways and means of preventing an arms race in outer space and halting it on Earth. We attach a fundamental importance to the joint declaration on the inadmissibility of nuclear war and on the need to refrain from attempts to achieve military superiority.

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We consider that the results of the summit provide opportunities to improve the international situation and to restore détente. It is crucial, however, that those opportunities be converted into practical deeds. We are convinced that the joint declaration, backed by the authority of the highest representatives of both countries, makes it possible to move forward. It provides an opportunity to follow this first positive step with others. In that connection we fully support the constructive initiatives of the Soviet Union, especially the proposal that the Soviet Union and the United States should agree upon a complete ban on space-strike weapons and lead to a truly dramatic 50 per cent reduction in their nuclear weapons capable of striking the other's territory.

A tangible contribution to the establishment of a favourable atmosphere and to the strengthening of mutual confidence between the two nuclear Powers that bear the main responsibility for averting nuclear war as well as for the preservation of international peace would be the implementation of a number of other practical measures, even before the elaboration of an agreement on the entire complex of issues relating to nuclear and space weapons. We have in mind, primarily, the halting of all work on research, testing and deployment of space-strike - including anti-satellite - weapons and a quantitative and qualitative freeze on existing nuclear weapons, accompanied by concurrent halting of research, testing and deployment of new kinds and types of such weapons and a halt on the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe. Statements made at this session of the General Assembly confirm that a number of States have welcomed as did we the unilateral steps taken or proposed by the Soviet Union to that end.

The interests of the strengthening of international security require that outer space be excluded once and for all from the arms race and that broad international co-operation be developed in the peaceful use of a non-militarized outer space. Moreover, all the nuclear Powers should renounce the first use of

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nuclear weapons and freeze their nuclear arsenals. Tests of nuclear weapons should be universally prohibited, and the system of the non-proliferation of such weapons should be strengthened. The existing nuclear-weapon-free zones should be respected, and new ones established in various parts of the world.

An important aspect of the struggle to strengthen international security and improve international relations, both in Europe and throughout the world, is the reduction of the level of military confrontation in Europe. The Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee of the States members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, which was adopted at the recent meeting held at Sofia, states:

"European security, like international security as a whole, cannot be achieved by military means or by armed force. A stable peace on the continent can be attained only through détente, disarmament, building of confidence and development of international security.

"It is necessary to halt the further deployment of nuclear weapons on the continent and to proceed to their reduction. The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty are most firmly in favour of ridding the whole of Europe of both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons." (A/C.1/40/7, pp. 4 and 5)

With the other States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, we consider that a substantial step along that road would be taken if a relevant separate agreement were to be concluded on medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe that would not have a direct relation to the problem of space and strategic weapons.

It is our opinion that the proposals we jointly submitted some time ago to the countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) with the aim of beginning direct talks remain topical and valid and that their significance would have an impact far beyond the framework of European security. The most important is the proposal to conclude a treaty on mutual renunciation of the use of force and the maintenance of peaceful relations between the States Parties to the Warsaw

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Treaty and the States members of NATO that would be open for accession to all European and other interested States. That proposal by far exceeds the numerous historically well-known attempts contractually to eliminate war as a means of international policy. Not only does it contain the binding commitment to refrain from the first use of military force, but it requires much more, namely, active co-operation in the most significant spheres of strengthening international security and the obligation to deepen peaceful relations.

It is ever more pressing and urgent to achieve a general and complete prohibition and elimination of the chemical weapons, which have become a dangerous destabilizing factor in current international relations. We therefore actively advocate the elaboration and adoption of an agreement in that regard. It is our opinion that joint efforts aimed at the complete liquidation of such weapons would be promoted by an international agreement on their non-proliferation, and we are ready to participate in its drafting. We consider that real opportunities to eliminate chemical weapons would be afforded by the establishment of a chemical-weapon-free zone in Europe. This would facilitate the liquidation of the stockpiles of chemical weapons that already exist there and, further, prevent the deployment of new and more dangerous types of such weapons, primarily binary weapons, on European soil. For that reason, on 12 September of this year we, together with the Government of the German Democratic Republic, proposed to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany that talks be begun on the establishment of a chemical-weapon-free zone in Europe. We have recently taken new steps in connection with that initiative, and we expect a constructive response on the part of the Federal Republic of Germany. In essence, we have suggested to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany that, along with the talks proposed by the Federal Republic of Germany among our delegations in Geneva, concurrent consultations between representatives of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the

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Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic be entered into to consider questions relating to the establishment of a chemical-weapon-free zone in Europe. We are convinced that the proposed measure would not only promote a world-wide prohibition on chemical weapons but would also correspond to the interests of strengthening security in Europe and make a constructive contribution to the relaxation of tension, to disarmament and to the strengthening of confidence in the world.

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In our opinion, to improve the international situation it is also necessary to limit and reduce current conventional armaments at both the regional and the global level and to limit the naval arms race.

We attach particular importance to the ever stronger commitment of the peoples of Asia to the idea of transforming Asia and the Pacific into a zone of peace and security and of equal and mutually beneficial co-operation. In this respect, we give our full support to the concrete initiatives of the Soviet Union, Mongolia, Viet Nam, Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea designed to establish there the spirit of peaceful coexistence, good-neighbourly relations and respect for sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. We regard it as extraordinarily important to transform the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and to convene an international conference to that end.

The complexity of the overall international situation undoubtedly carries with it a danger of the expansion of the present hotbeds of tension and of the emergence of new conflict situations and crises. This applies particularly to the situation in Central America, where aggressive actions against the sovereign Republic of Nicaragua and against the peoples of other countries of the region are being overtly escalated. We value the activity of the Contadora Group and understand the need to use its efforts to eliminate imperialist intervention.

We condemn the policy of apartheid, which involves suppressing the human rights of the black population. We demand the adoption by the Security Council of effective sanctions against South Africa and the implementation of United Nations resolutions on the granting of true independence to the people of Namibia.

We advocate a just settlement of the dangerous situation in the Middle East, which is caused by policies of aggression and expansion aimed at imposing upon the region the hegemony of imperialism and Zionism. We believe that the situation



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should be resolved in a just and comprehensive manner that should, include Israel's complete and unconditional withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories and the exercise of the inalienable right of the people of Palestine to self-determination and to establish an independent Palestinian State, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions. We advocate the convening of an international conference, under the auspices of the United Nations and, with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Soviet Union and the United States.

It is our opinion that with good will and taking advantage of the potential of the United Nations it is possible to solve the Iran-Iraq conflict, to transform South-East Asia into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation, to advance along the road towards the peaceful reunification of Korea in accordance with democratic principles, without foreign interference, and to solve the situation in Cyprus caused by external intervention.

Czechoslovakia supports the development of an intensive political dialogue and the use of all its forms and mechanisms to improve the international situation, primarily by strengthening the role of the United Nations in this respect. The course of this year's session of the General Assembly testifies to the fact that the overwhelming majority of Member States are aware of the irreplaceability of this forum, and advocate the policy of peace and the continuous strengthening of international security.

Mr. YU Mengjia (China) (interpretation from Chinese): When the United Nations celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary it adopted the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security (resolution 2734 (XXV)). Fifteen years later, as we commemorate the fortieth anniversary of this world body and look forward to the commencement of the International Year of Peace, which is due to begin in a month's time, it is undoubtedly of special significance to review the implementation of the Declaration.

(Mr. Yu Mengjia, China)

People of all countries who have experienced the scourge of world wars aspire to live in a peaceful and secure world. On the day of its birth 40 years ago, the United Nations solemnly declared that it was the sacred duty of all its Member States "to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security". Today, 40 years later, this purpose laid down in the Charter is still far from being realized. Likewise, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted by the General Assembly 15 years ago, is yet to be implemented.

In his report on the work of the Organization submitted this year, the Secretary-General pointed out that we face today "a world of potentially terminal danger" (A/40/1, p. 1). Such things have been said by numerous delegations in the General Assembly, the First Committee and other forums. All these statements show the anxiety and worry people feel over the question of whether or not peace can be preserved and security assured.

Although no new global war has broken out in the past 40 years, the nuclear-arms race, the conventional arms race and even the arms race in outer space, which swallow up huge amounts in military expenditure, have kept escalating instead of being decreased, owing to the tension and confrontation between the two military super-Powers and the two major military blocs. The shadow of a new world war has not really been dispersed and it constitutes a direct threat to the most basic aspect of the safety of the people of all countries - their very survival.

Hotspots still exist in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Central America, where local wars keep flaring up. Despite the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council aimed at reaching just solutions to the disputes in those regions, the issues remain unresolved and the situation is still tense. What has made the situation even worse is that behind almost all these regional conflicts there is, to a greater or lesser degree, a backdrop of big Powers seeking expansion of their spheres of influence and control of strategic

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locations. Some countries have even been subjected to direct invasion and occupation by tens of thousands of foreign armed troops. This also poses a grave threat to international security.

The fact that colonialism and racism have not been eradicated from the planet, southern Africa being a striking case in point, presents another threat to international security. The South African authorities, in defiance of world opinion, have occupied Namibia by force, obstinately clinging to the system of racial discrimination and apartheid and resorting to imprisonment, torture and executions in their barbarous suppression of the broad masses of the people fighting against their savage rule. Recently the situation in that region has drastically deteriorated. The existence of racism and apartheid in the 1980s is a source of shame to mankind. So long as such a system exists, truth and justice will not be able to prevail and security in the region will be jeopardized.

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The question of development is closely linked to the peace and security of the world. The recent years have witnessed a furtherance in imbalance and instability in the development of the world economy. Latin American countries are groaning under the heavy burden of debt; Africa is beset with drought and famine as well as debt, and countries in Asia and other regions are deeply hurt by trade protectionism. All this seriously hinders the development process of the developing countries which, instead of narrowing down, widens the wealth gap between the North and the South. If such an irrational state of affairs in the field of international economy is not redressed, it will definitely produce an adverse effect on political relations between countries and hence jeopardize international peace and security.

In a global perspective, the questions of disarmament, regional conflicts and development are all closely related to international security. Obviously, pending the solution of those issues, a reliable and durable peace and universal security would be out of the question.

How then can we redress the situation where security is lacking and genuinely realize the objective of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security?

We believe that the fundamental condition for ensuring international security, preserving peace and preventing a war is that all countries, irrespective of their size and strength, must strictly abide by the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter in handling international relations. And with the Charter as the yardstick, all countries should respect one another's sovereignty and treat one another as equals. Countries with different social systems, and with the same social systems for that matter, should coexist peacefully with one another. In international relations, no country should resort to use or threat of use of armed force as a means in pursuing its policy, nor should it harm the security of other

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countries on the pretext of safeguarding its own security. International disputes are factors that may lead to turbulence or conflicts and they are a hidden danger threatening world peace. All the parties concerned should endeavour to seek fair and reasonable solutions to the problems through negotiations and by peaceful means.

In order to ensure international security, hegemonism in all its manifestations must be firmly opposed, be they military or political or in any other form. In this respect, the countries that possess the largest military power should assume their special responsibilities, that is, they should not practise hegemonism themselves but make contributions to peace and security and disarmament with actual deeds. At their recent summit meeting, the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States expressed their willingness to improve their relations. This is a development to be welcomed. We hope that in the future the United States and the Soviet Union will truly give up their pursuit of military supremacy, enter into earnest negotiations and reach agreements without prejudice to the interests of other countries on such issues as drastic reduction of their armaments, preventing the extension of the arms race into outer space and cessation of intervention in conflicts in hot spot areas, so as to facilitate the relaxation of international tension.

As the only universal organization for the maintenance of world peace and the ensuring of international security, the United Nations is duty bound to play its active role in the this respect. We must therefore reaffirm the unshakeable principles of the United Nations Charter and further strengthen the functions of the Organization. It goes without saying that strengthening the role of the Security Council is of special importance. On this subject Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian of China made three suggestions at the Security Council meeting at the level of foreign ministers on 26 September: first, in all its activities, including its peace-keeping operations, the Security Council must abide by the

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provisions of the United Nations Charter, especially the purposes and principles of the Charter; secondly, in carrying out its duties the Security Council should earnestly heed the correct views of United Nations Members, support their reasonable demands and give expression to their legitimate aspirations; and thirdly, the permanent members of the Security Council should fulfil in good faith the special responsibilities conferred on them by the United Nations Charter. They should take the lead in complying with the purposes and principles of the Charter by actual deeds, honour and support the common aspirations of the overwhelming majority of United Nations Members, consult with the other members of the Security Council on an equal footing and work in close co-operation with them. The special responsibilities of the permanent members of the Security Council mean heavier burdens, and the veto power should not be used as a tool to shield acts of aggression and injustice.

We maintain that, in addition to the Security Council, the strengthening of the role of the General Assembly is another important aspect that should not be neglected. Compared with the Security Council, the General Assembly has far wider representation. The demand to strengthen the role of the General Assembly has become a strong call by the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations. Thanks to the efforts of the numerous third world and medium-size and small countries, the General Assembly has adopted a number of important resolutions on preserving peace and security, opposing aggression and upholding justice. These resolutions should be respected and implemented by the international community, in particular the countries concerned. When taking action with regard to the important issues that have a bearing on international peace and security, the Security Council should attach due importance to and adequately take into consideration the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

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The preservation of peace and ensurance of security are the common aspirations of the peoples of the world. In the final analysis, the realization of these aspirations depends on the joint endeavours of all the countries and peoples of the world. Though the international situation is tense and turbulent, it is evident that the days when a few Powers could dominate the world are gone forever and that the forces making for peace have outgrown the factors for war. This is where the hope of mankind lies. In 15 years' time it will be the advent of the twenty-first century. It will then be the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Let us join our efforts and work for the genuine implementation of the Declaration in the next 15 years so that all peoples on this planet will be able to enjoy real peace and security. The Chinese Government and people are ready to do their utmost and work with all the other countries towards this goal.

Mr. MILAD (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): In my statement I shall refer to agenda items 71, 72 and 73, which deal with the strengthening of peace and security, co-operation in the Mediterranean, as well as the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and the provisions for collective security contained in the Charter in order to preserve international peace and security.

(Mr. Milad, Libyan Arab  
Jamahiriya)

The Mediterranean region is one of the regions most marked by tension in the present-day world, because of its strategic importance, which means that it has been eyed with some greed by many imperialist countries. The continued presence there of the American Sixth Fleet threatens the security and independence of the countries of the Mediterranean as well as of the adjacent regions, and is an obstacle to peaceful maritime traffic.

The deployment of United States nuclear missiles in a number of European countries, particularly Italy, constitutes a danger to the peoples and countries of the region, and increases tension and instability.

In the eastern part of the Mediterranean there is an aggressive racist entity which receives the support of the United States and of other racist and imperialist countries. That entity expelled the people of Palestine, plundered its lands, occupied large tracts of Arab territory in Lebanon, Syria and elsewhere and violated the sovereignty and independence of neighbouring Arab countries. It has carried out acts of aggression against neighbouring countries and extended them to countries thousands of kilometres away. Here I refer to the Zionist attack on the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) headquarters in Tunisia, a violation of the sovereignty of a Mediterranean country, a Member of the United Nations, in disregard of all international laws and standards and in defiance of the international community and the decisions of the United Nations. Responsibility for those acts of aggression committed by that entity rests with its strategic ally, the United States, which gives it political and military protection and all types of technical and scientific aid.

The situation in Cyprus is characterized by tension, which causes concern to the other countries of the Mediterranean and in particular the non-aligned countries. The other independent countries of the region are facing economic, military and political pressures.



(Mr. Milad, Libyan Arab  
Jamahiriya)

The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is one of the countries that have had to face enormous economic, military and political pressures and a series of threats and acts of provocation and aggression, both direct and indirect, as well as other forms of blockade, embargo and false propaganda campaigns carried out by the United States.

That aggressive policy of the United States Administration against my country has taken the form of specific acts since 1972, when the United States Administration refused to undertake a dialogue and to establish diplomatic relations with Libya. That American policy is continuing, in spite of the efforts made by the Jamahiriya to establish a dialogue and normal relations based on mutual respect and non-intervention in the internal affairs of the other country, on an equal footing.

First, in 1978 the United States Administration froze the delivery of Boeing civil aircraft which had been agreed with the Libyan airline.

Second, in May 1980 our national security authorities discovered American espionage cells in my country.

Third, in 1981 the United States Administration began an increased propaganda campaign against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and its historic leadership.

Fourth, on 3 July 1981 our national security authorities discovered a plan by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to assassinate Muammar Qaddafi, leader of the 1 September Revolution.

Fifth, since August 1981 the United States Administration has been putting pressure on its oil companies to stop their work in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

Sixth, since 18 September 1981 the United States Administration has declared an embargo on spare parts for Libyan civil airliners.

(Mr. Milad, Libyan Arab  
Jamahiriya)

Seventh, on 10 December 1981 the United States Administration asked all United States citizens - most of them technical experts - to leave Libya, and it has prevented United States citizens from travelling to Libya. Those measures are still in force.

Eighth, on 1 March 1982 the United States Administration imposed an embargo on imports of oil from Libya and prevented the export of spare parts used in Libya's oil industry.

Ninth, since 29 March 1982 the United States Administration has prohibited the export of any technological equipment to Libya.

(Mr. Milad, Libyan Arab  
Jamahiriya)

Tenth, in November 1983, the United States aircraft carrier Nimitz interfered with Libyan civil telecommunications.

Eleventh, on 18 March 1983 the United States Administration enacted legislation to prevent Libyans from studying atomic or aviation sciences in the United States. That legislation is still in force.

Twelfth, on 19 April 1983 the spokesman of the Department of State of the United States said that the United States Administration planned to hold consultations with allied Governments on ways to repress the Libyan President, Qaddafi.

Thirteenth, ships of the United States Sixth Fleet have violated Libyan air and maritime space on many occasions in the 1970s and the 1980s. The most dangerous occurrence in this respect was in 1981, when two United States aircraft attacked two Libyan aircraft that were conducting manoeuvres in Libyan airspace, over the Gulf of Sidra region.

Fourteenth, there have been many statements by United States officials and articles in United States newspapers in this respect. I shall not quote all of them. The most recent was a statement by the official spokesman of the White House on 25 June, in which he claimed that the Jamahiriya, Syria and Iran had helped in the hijacking of the United States aircraft that had departed from Athens airport. The spokesman said that his country would be taking military measures against the Jamahiriya, Syria and Iran. On 8 July, Newsweek published an article on the United States President's guidelines regarding civilian targets. The article said that the United States intended to bomb certain countries, including the Jamahiriya. There was an article in the Washington Post which reported that the President of the United States had approved a secret operation devised by the Federal Bureau of

(Mr. Milad, Libyan Arab  
Jamahiriya)

Investigation (FBI) to undermine the Libyan Administration, headed by Colonel Qaddafi.

The act of piracy by the United States against an Egyptian civil aircraft which was flying towards Tunisia and which was forced to land in Italy was another example of violations committed by the United States in our region and of threats to the security and sovereignty of the countries of the region and hence to international peace and security.

The Mediterranean is a strategic region from the economic, political, cultural and geographic points of view. The strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region is therefore a question of major importance for the countries of that region as well as the countries of the whole world. Hence, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has supported all international and regional efforts designed to strengthen security and reduce tension in the region, thereby strengthening international peace and security. Thus we have expressed support for the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the charters of the League of Arab States and the Organization of African Unity. We have expressed support also for the purposes and principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We support the Final Declaration of the ministerial meeting of Mediterranean non-aligned countries, held at Valletta, as well as the Final Declaration adopted by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Countries held at Luanda from 4 to 7 September 1985. Those two Declarations express concern at the continuation of confrontation between the two blocs in the Mediterranean, increased military presence, foreign bases and fleets, including nuclear-strike weapons, and the continued existence of hotbeds of tension and conflict in the region, above all in the Middle East, which endanger the sovereignty and independence of non-aligned countries and obstruct peaceful settlements of the problems.

(Mr. Milad, Libyan Arab  
Jamahiriya)

The strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean depends first and foremost on adherence to the following basic principles: respect for the security and the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of the region; non-interference in internal affairs; inviolability of maritime and land borders; inadmissibility of annexation of territory by force; withdrawal of foreign occupation forces; respect for sovereignty over natural resources; the right of colonial peoples or other peoples under foreign domination to self-determination; non-use of military manoeuvres on the territory of countries in the region; and real guarantees that countries of the region will not be attacked, in particular by means of nuclear weapons.

(Mr. Milad, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

The withdrawal of the Zionist entity from all occupied Arab territories is a fundamental issue that cannot be negotiated. We demand the withdrawal of that entity from all the Arab lands it is occupying, including Jerusalem, and call for a just outcome to the campaign of the Palestinian people that will guarantee their legitimate rights, enshrined in the United Nations Charter, including their right to return to their homeland and to establish their own independent State on Palestinian territory.

The strengthening of peace in the Mediterranean and the strengthening of co-operation among the countries of the region would strengthen international peace and security. That is the purpose of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The implementation of that Declaration would assist in the implementation of United Nations resolutions on collective security and of the Charter provisions for the maintenance of international peace and security. The role of the United Nations in that respect must be strengthened, and in particular the role of the Security Council, where the power of veto has been misused by the major Powers that are permanent members of the Council. That misuse has prevented the Council from playing its proper role in the maintenance of international peace and security. Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and the collective security provisions of the Charter has been hampered by non-compliance by a large number of imperialist countries with the purposes and principles of the Charter and the rules of international law. As a result of interference in the internal affairs of countries, the promotion of regional conflicts, and the application of economic, military and political pressure many countries are facing in various parts of the world, including the Middle East, southern Africa, Central America and Asia, tension is increased and a serious threat is posed to international peace and security.

(Mr. Milad, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

In conclusion, we should like to stress the importance of respect for the United Nations Charter and of the strengthening of its role. We also wish to emphasize the need to comply with all United Nations decisions and resolutions designed to ensure peace, security and stability for all mankind.

Mr. KORNEENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): The adoption 15 years ago by the United Nations General Assembly of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security was an important achievement for this Organization. Even today, the Declaration's contents provide explicit guidelines regarding ways and means of securing implementation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, preserving international peace and security, and ending and reversing the arms race.

The implementation of those provisions is particularly relevant in the light of the complicated present-day international situation. The dangerous policy of those who in recent years have set their sights on the attainment of military supremacy, the militarization of outer space, the exacerbation of sources of tension in various parts of the world, have all led to a heightening of international tension, and the growing threat of war has led to a speeding up of the arms race, particularly the nuclear-arms race.

Mankind is faced with a basic choice between survival or destruction. Issues of war and peace, and of the preservation of life on earth, are today at the very centre of world politics. As the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Gorbachev, on 27 November of this year:

"The development of world events has reached such a pass that particularly responsible solutions are required when inaction or any delay in action would be criminal, and when the issue is the preservation of civilization and of life itself. That is why we have always believed that we must do all we can

(Mr. Korneenko, Ukrainian SSR)

to break out of the vicious circle of the arms race and not miss any opportunity of encouraging favourable developments. Today, this matter is of special importance. We must rise above selfish interests and recognize the collective responsibility of all States in view of the danger that lies in wait for the community of mankind on the threshold of the third millenium."

Thus, the efforts of States should be focused on finding a solution to the key task of the day, the prevention of nuclear catastrophe, on which the survival of human civilization depends. The safeguarding of international security and the reduction of the dangerous level of international tension can be achieved only through an agreement on peaceful coexistence, a return to détente and prevention of an arms race in outer space, the adoption of genuine disarmament measures, particularly in the nuclear areas, the improvement of the international climate, confidence-building, and the development of international co-operation.

An important event in international affairs was the Soviet-American high-level meeting at Geneva, which was of tremendous significance not only in the context of Soviet-American relations but also for international relations as a whole.



(Mr. Korneenko, Ukrainian SSR)

Peoples placed great hope in it. Although the most important issues connected with ending the arms race were not resolved at the meeting, owing to the reluctance of the United States to give up its "star wars" programme, the general outcome of the meeting was welcomed throughout the world. As Mr. Gorbachev has pointed out in this connection:

"Of course, the real meaning of all the useful things which were agreed upon in Geneva can only be measured by practical deeds. The Soviet Union, for its part, does not intend to slacken speed and, resolutely and in a spirit of honest co-operation with the United States, intends to work towards the curbing of the arms race and a general improvement of the international situation."

That statement convincingly indicates the resolve of the Soviet Union to do everything in its power to act on the agreements contained in the joint Soviet-American declaration, including expediting work at the Geneva talks.

All the peoples of the world today have a common enemy - the threat of nuclear war - and one overriding task, which is to remove that threat. The most important thing here is genuinely to end the arms race and to take effective steps to reduce nuclear arsenals. The stepping up of the arms race, the further complication of weapon systems and the increasing degree of risk and uncertainty make too much depend on computer systems, a situation fraught with the possibility of general catastrophe.

In order to resolve the problems of disarmament, it is necessary above all not to allow weapons to penetrate into outer space, but to close the door to the arms race entering new arenas. The plan to locate weapons in outer space, in the form of the "star wars" programme, is extremely dangerous for all the peoples of the world, without exception. Were it to be acted upon, it would destroy trust,

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considerably change the strategic balance, make it impossible to carry out a radical reduction of nuclear weapons, thwart disarmament efforts and incalculably increase military rivalry. That would lead to an unparalleled, unpredictable and potentially dangerous, uncontrollable new spiralling of the arms race in all directions, one which could not be stopped. Therefore, we cannot fail to note that space weapons and the so-called anti-missile systems of the United States are not a shield but part of a single offensive complex of nuclear arms.

Reason must prevail, and there must be a complete prohibition on strike space weapons, as proposed by the Soviet Union. The question should be tackled as part and parcel of the task of reducing nuclear arms. If such a prohibition were enacted, it would pave the way to reducing by one half all nuclear weapons at present available to the Soviet Union and the United States which can reach each other's territories. It would also pave the way to the destruction of all nuclear weapons everywhere.

The plans to extend the arms race to outer space, the so-called "star wars" plans, have been countered by the Soviet Union by a large-scale programme of peaceful co-operation in outer space. The implementation of that programme would create appropriate conditions for extensive international co-operation in the exploration and exploitation of outer space in conditions of its non-militarization. Such a utilization of outer space has been favoured by an overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations, which recently in the First Committee adopted the draft resolution entitled "Prevention of an arms race in outer space".

An important contribution to the strengthening of international security was the undertaking by the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic not to be the

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first to use nuclear weapons. That is an example that should be followed by other nuclear Powers.

The cessation of nuclear-weapons tests is long overdue. It would make it possible to end the creation of new nuclear weapons and the improvement of existing forms, and also help to reduce their numbers and finally eliminate them. As the discussion of the results of the vote in the Committee indicated, an overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations favour the cessation of tests. The Soviet Union has declared unilaterally that it has placed a moratorium on nuclear explosions, and it has called upon the United States to do likewise. A mutual moratorium on nuclear explosions by those Powers would, we are convinced, be a real contribution to strengthening peace and security and would help curb the arms race and promote the adoption of other steps in this area. We also urgently need measures to stop the arms race in all areas - nuclear, chemical and conventional. The Socialist countries have made concrete and realistic proposals on that score.

On all these matters, the peoples of the world are entitled to expect, not excuses, but practical, concrete and constructive responses by the United States and its allies.

In the present international situation the need to prepare and conclude as soon as possible a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations is particularly relevant. We believe that the General Assembly at its present session could promote the implementation of the proposal made by the Soviet Union on the conclusion of such a treaty, so that refraining from using force, threatening its use or using any form of nuclear or conventional weapons will become a law of international life.

The Ukrainian SSR, which is situated in Europe, attaches great importance to the agreement reached at the Soviet-American meeting in Geneva that efforts should

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be made to achieve positive results at the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of arms and armed forces in Central Europe, and that efforts should be made to promote the successful conclusion of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, and its adoption of a document which would include specific undertakings not to use force and provisions on mutually acceptable confidence-building measures. That would be an extremely important contribution to the process started in Helsinki 10 years ago to strengthen security and co-operation on the European continent.

The removal of the nuclear threat and a turn for the better in European and world affairs is the purpose of the proposals put forward by the Socialist States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty in Sofia on 23 October this year. We believe that we should not allow any further development of the military confrontation in Europe and that we should try to strengthen the principles of the policy of détente and put an end to the repeated confrontations that we have witnessed in recent years.

An important element in the strengthening of international security and the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration would be the immediate elimination of sources of aggression and armed conflict, the eradication of the vestiges of colonialism and racist oppression. That means that all States should faithfully perform their obligations under the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

What we need here, too, is joint collective efforts; otherwise, it will be impossible to establish a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East, where for decades an extremely dangerous source of conflict has existed. The way to reach a settlement is not by separate deals or by encouraging the aggressor. Rather, it should be sought through an international conference on the Middle East,

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under United Nations auspices, with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). We need a responsible and realistic approach and the resolution of the key issue - that of Palestine - on the basis of the genuine enjoyment of the inalienable right of the people of Palestine to create their own independent State, the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967 and a guarantee of the right of all States in the area to live in conditions of peace and security.

Deep concern is caused by the situation in southern Africa. Because of the policy of so-called constructive engagement of the United States, as well as support from a number of other Western States, the racist régime has not ceased its acts of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring African States, and it continues its illegal occupation of Namibia and does everything it can to block a solution to the Namibian problem. Only forthright action, including that advocated in Chapter VII of the Charter, can force those racists to put an end to their aggressive acts against neighbouring African States, prompt them to implement the resolutions of the United Nations on the granting of genuine independence to Namibia and put an end to the disgraceful practice of apartheid.

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As a result of the escalation of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua and other countries and a policy of State terrorism and forceful coercion, the situation in Central America is further deteriorating. The United Nations can and should promote a settlement of the situation in the region without foreign interference, the threat of force, diktat or pressure.

The Ukrainian SSR supports the constructive proposals submitted by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea aimed at turning South-East Asia into a zone of peace and stability.

We support the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea concerning security in the Korean peninsula, the withdrawal of American troops from southern Korea and the peaceful reunification of the country.

Of great importance in efforts to improve the situation in the Asian continent would be the implementation of proposals supported by the General Assembly that the Indian Ocean be turned into a zone of peace and the proposal that confidence-building measures be elaborated and implemented in the Far East. Détente in Asia would also be promoted by implementation of the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic for the conclusion of a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations among the States of Asia and the Pacific.

In the light of all these initiatives and, to a certain extent, the experience gained in Europe, it may now be time to think about a single comprehensive approach to the problem of security in Asia and the concentration of efforts by Asian States along these lines.

We believe that the elimination of sources of tension and the peaceful settlement of a number of conflicts in Asia, Africa and Latin America could be

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furthered if each permanent member of the Security Council were strictly to observe in its relations with the countries of these continents the principles of non-interference and non-use or threat of use of force, and undertake not to draw those countries into military blocs.

We have mentioned only a few key issues on whose solution will depend any improvement in the political climate on earth. The task of consolidating peace and strengthening international security would be facilitated if the imperialists put an end to intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign States, renounced their policy of diktat and highhandedness, and adopted a responsible approach to the solution of acute international problems.

The Ukrainian SSR - one of the founders of the United Nations deeply wedded to its principles and aims - will continue actively to co-operate with other States Members with a view to preventing nuclear war, guaranteeing peace in the world and strengthening international security in the interest of progress for all mankind.

Mr. AL-ATASSI (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): At this third and last stage of the Committee's deliberations on the items on international peace and security, my delegation wishes to state its position concerning these extremely important issues, especially in view of its sincere belief in the role and effectiveness of this international Organization, whose fortieth anniversary we are celebrating this year.

The main objective of this Organization, as declared by its founding fathers and embodied in the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, is to avert the spectre of the scourge of war which has brought untold sorrow to mankind, to maintain international peace and security, develop friendly relations among nations and achieve international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian fields. How lofty were these goals set by the founding fathers of this international Organization!

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Yet these goals remain completely elusive today and the picture is far from encouraging, if not dim and pessimistic. The international situation is deteriorating steadily and the spectre of the cold war casts its shadow over most international relations. Peoples are deeply concerned over their future and the future of coming generations as a result of the unpredictable and grave consequences of a possible war which would be a decisive nuclear war that would jeopardize man's very existence on earth. International relations today are characterized by confrontation and a lack of security and confidence; this creates a climate of caution and suspicion and gives rise to increased tension, escalation of the arms race and attempts at imposing hegemony and military supremacy. There is also a trend towards the use or threat of use of force, and even military intervention and aggression to settle disputes.

A glance at the deteriorating international situation and the lack of security experienced by peoples and nations reveals how far the provisions of the Charter and the rules of international law have been violated, as well as the imminent danger posed to international peace and security. Our international Organization in its present state is completely immobilized, its resolutions go unimplemented and States Members in their relations do not observe the provisions and obligations of the Charter incumbent upon them. These instances of stalemate and paralysis cannot be ascribed to shortcomings inherent in the Charter, but rather to a lack of political will on the part of States Members of the Organization, foremost among which are the members that bear particular responsibilities under the Charter as permanent members in the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security.



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Republic)

What is regrettable in this respect is that certain States which bear this special responsibility impede the work of the United Nations, and especially the efforts of the Security Council, through their abuse of the right of veto. There are several examples that we need not go into at present where the right of veto was used by a major Power in cases brought before the Council concerning the apartheid régime in South Africa or the practices of and acts of aggression perpetrated by the Zionist régime in occupied Palestine.

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Hotbeds of tension are proliferating in the world. The policy of preserving spheres of interest today takes several forms, contravening the rights of people to self-determination. What heightens the concern of the international community is the fact that certain States bearing special responsibilities resort to military acts and direct acts of aggression, blockade and the harnessing of all their military and material potential in order to compromise the independence and sovereignty of other States, directing their fleets to cruise in waters thousands of miles from their own waters, whether near the coast of Central America or in the Mediterranean. That is done with a single purpose - to jeopardize the stability and security of national régimes and to prop up the racist, Zionist and Fascist régimes.

Recent events in the Mediterranean have proved the ability of such fleets to practise terrorism, intercept aircraft and even carry out airborne refuelling of the Zionist aircraft when they were on their way to raid a State thousands of miles away.

Those acts can only be described as State terrorism by a super-Power, aimed at undermining the independence of sovereign States and propping up racist and Fascist régimes.

The lack of security and the instability of States are characteristic of certain areas of the world. In Central America and the Caribbean the situation has been gravely exacerbated by the aggressive American practices against the peoples of the region. Threats of military intervention have increased and there have been attempts to create pretexts to intervene against the people of Nicaragua and its independent Government.

On the African continent, the racist Pretoria régime is tightening its grip on the peoples of southern Africa and is constantly obstructing the achievement by the

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people of Namibia of independence. In that connection, the régime enjoys the support and encouragement of American imperialism.

In the Middle East, the situation is completely different from that prevailing in other regions. The region has been plagued by a Fascist, Zionist, racist régime implanted in Palestine. The régime's policy is based on intimidating the indigenous population and expelling it from its land - Palestine. The policy is also based on expansion, at the expense of the territories of neighbouring Arab countries, which are annexed to establish the so-called Greater Israel. Israel is the only country in the world whose borders have not yet been delineated. Its practices in the occupied territories are shameful. There are abundant reports of the Secretary-General and relevant United Nations bodies in that connection, and I need not refer to them.

In saying that the Middle East is completely different from other regions, I point to the strategic co-operation between the United States and the Zionist entity in occupied Palestine, which the General Assembly has condemned in the past two years. That co-operation, in the military and economic fields, as well as in espionage, is open and limitless. The Israeli military arsenal is replete with the most sophisticated and lethal American weapons. The most advanced aircraft used in bombing and destroying the city of Beirut in the summer of 1982, and the aircraft raiding the Palestine refugee camps, are American-made. In addition, there are the prohibited cluster bombs used by Israel during its invasion of Lebanon.

The explanation for Israel's practices against the inhabitants of the occupied territories lies in the fact that it is a Fascist, racist State based on expansion and genocide, which is trying to realize the dreams of zionism. What is really surprising is that the only possible explanation for the position of the United States, which is hostile to the Arab nation, and particularly its acts of terrorism

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or threats to carry out reprisals, is its deep grudge against the peoples of the region and its attempts to dominate it.

In that connection, we heard this morning a statement by our colleague from Libya, and I wish to quote the following statement by the Vice-President of Syria, Abdul Halim Khaddam:

"We in Syria decided to stand alongside the Libyan sister revolution to thwart the conspiracy to which that revolution is subjected, which aims not only at undermining Libya but also at imposing subjugation and surrender on the Arab nation."

The Mediterranean region is one of the world's hotbeds of tension. Its peace and security are threatened by the presence of foreign fleets. My delegation joins the delegations of littoral and non-aligned countries in looking forward to turning that sea into a zone of co-operation, peace and stability, free from all forms of manifestations of expansion, the use of force, foreign occupation and the denial of the legitimate national rights of peoples, as well as a zone in which relations between countries are based on co-operation in all economic, cultural, political and strategic matters. The security of the region is also closely related to security in Europe and Africa.

Unless all forms of aggression, expansion and State terrorism are eliminated from the region, and all fleets are withdrawn, security there will be threatened and peace will remain hostage to the ambitions of imperialist hegemony.

In conclusion, we firmly believe in the importance of the Organization in the maintenance of international peace and security. We must emphasize the significance of its role and the need to strengthen it and provide the Organization with the credibility it deserves so as to be able to shoulder its main tasks under the Charter. We must entrust it with the primary responsibility for the peaceful

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settlement of disputes and the maintenance of world peace and security. We must co-operate together sincerely and in good faith to enhance the role of the Charter in establishing peace in the world and the renunciation of war for ever.

Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): This year marks the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, proposed on the initiative of the Soviet Union, which became an important milestone in the activity of the United Nations. In past years the Declaration has received general recognition, not only as a document of great political import but also as a programme of practical actions whose prompt implementation would promote the settlement of a number of acute problems and improve international relations as a whole.

The nuclear age inevitably dictates a new form of political thought, expanding traditional concepts of the problems of war and peace and strengthening international security. A new approach means that the policies of any State should nowadays be imbued with the realities of the present-day world. That is the main prerequisite if the foreign policy of any State is to be constructive. After all, today we are talking about the choice between survival and mutual annihilation. In other words, the objective development of the world process has placed questions of war and peace at the very centre of world politics.

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The present stage in the development of the international situation is characterized by the growing responsibility of basic social forces and States for the future of the world. The threat of a generalized nuclear danger dictates the need to learn the great art of living together - in the interest of all peoples of the world.

Genuine security for all States and peoples can be ensured only if we return to détente, disarmament, the strengthening of confidence and the development of international co-operation. There is now a general understanding that in the present-day world there is no alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems. It is either peaceful coexistence or suicidal theremonuclear war; nothing else is possible.

Today's world is a multifaceted aggregate of sovereign States and peoples which have their own interests, aspirations, policies, traditions and dreams. Many of them have only just embarked upon the course of independent development, and are taking their first steps in the unbelievably difficult conditions they inherited from colonialism and foreign dependency. Some have achieved political independence and now want economic independence. They realize that they have the resources and the hands to do the work; in other words, they have everything that, through the labour process could provide them with a better life. Naturally, it is the desire of every people to realize its political, economic and social sovereign rights.

That policy might please some and not others, but it reflects the internal processes going on in each country and the interest of each people which possesses the sovereign right to choose its ways, systems, methods and forms, as well as its friends. Unless that is acknowledged it will be impossible to build up international relations. Each one of the 200 States on the international scene

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tries to realize its own interests. The extent to which they can do so depends on whether they take into account the interests of other States on the basis of equitable co-operation.

The Soviet Union categorically rejects the approach that the entire world is someone's backyard. The tension and conflicts in certain regions, as well as the wars between various States here and there in the world, are deeply rooted in both the past and present socio-economic conditions of those countries and regions. It is completely wrong to make out that all these knotty contradictions and conflicts have been engendered simply by rivalry between East and West. That is not only an incorrect approach but also an extremely dangerous delusion.

In connection with the problem of regional conflicts, it is no accident that the United States has remained silent about the brutalities of apartheid in South Africa and that country's acts of aggression against its African neighbours, the wars of United States puppets in Central America and South-East Asia, Israel's atrocities in the Middle East, and many other matters. Washington is attempting to place the legitimate Governments of States which have embarked upon the path of national liberation and social progress on the same footing as bands of counter-revolutionaries.

The Soviet Union supports recognition of the inalienable right of each and every people to freedom and independence, and its independent choice of the course it is to follow. It believes that this right must not be flouted by anyone and that no attempt should be made to interfere from outside, so that freedom, rather than tyranny, can win the day. We shall remain on the side of those peoples which are defending their independence. That is a fundamental part of our policy.

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The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the socialist countries held in Sofia came out in favour of a just and constructive solution of the most vital problems at present faced by mankind, and the need to strengthen international security and disarmament was very clearly emphasized at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned countries held at Luanda.

Significant steps to strengthen international security and further develop bilateral co-operation were taken at recent meetings between the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. M. Gorbachev, and the leaders of France, India, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Italy, Finland and other States.

Undoubtedly, the major political event in recent days was the meeting in Geneva between Mr. M. Gorbachev and President R. Reagan of the United States. The significance of that meeting becomes even clearer in the context not only of Soviet-American relations but also the entire range of international relations which, as representatives know, are going through a particularly difficult period at present.

The road to the Geneva dialogue was long and difficult for many reasons. First, at the beginning of the 1980s, as is known, the United States quite openly set its sights on confrontation, denying the very possibility of any positive development of Soviet-American relations. Many years of efforts to create the necessary minimum amount of trust in those relations were simply consigned to oblivion. Détente was even said to be contrary to United States interests. The deployment of United States first-strike missiles was embarked upon in Western Europe. A situation was created fraught with a considerable degree of military and political uncertainty with all the concomitant risks. In addition, the so-called "star wars" programme was announced - the so-called strategic defence initiative, which in essence meant the introduction of weapons into outer space.



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The possibility of the militarization of outer space would mean a qualitatively new leap forward in the arms race that would inevitably put an end to the very concept of strategic stability - which is the foundation for preserving peace in the nuclear age. A situation would arise where fundamentally important and essentially irreversible decisions would be taken essentially by computers without any involvement of the human intellect or political will, or taking account of moral criteria.

As Mr. Gorbachev emphasized:

"The turn of world events has now reached a stage when particularly responsible solutions are required, when failure to act or any delay in taking action is criminal, because what we are talking about today is the preservation of civilization and, indeed, life itself. That is why we continue to hold it essential that everything possible should be done to help put an end to the vicious circle of the arms race and make sure that no chance is lost of changing the course of events for the better. The problem facing us today is extremely acute and precise: we must rise above our narrow interests and be conscious of the collective responsibility of all States in the face of the danger which is lying in wait for mankind on the threshold of the third millenium."

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For its part the Soviet Union actively and constantly seeks practical solutions to the problems of curbing the arms race, reducing stockpiles, and providing the conditions for lasting peace on Earth and in outer space. We have put forward concrete, radical proposals to that end, many of which have been discussed by this Committee.

First and foremost we must completely outlaw space strike weapons, because the beginning of an arms race in outer space, and even the location of anti-missile systems in space near the Earth, would not strengthen anyone's security. Weapons covered by an outer-space shield would become even more dangerous and would considerably increase the probability of their being used.

The appearance of space strike weapons could turn the present strategic balance into strategic chaos, bring about a feverish arms race in all directions and undermine one of the basic foundations of limitation of the arms race, that is the anti-ballistic-missile Treaty. As a result mistrust among countries would grow and their security would be considerably reduced. The Soviet Union has proposed that, if there is a complete prohibition of space strike weapons, there should at the same time be a reduction by one half of all nuclear weapons available to the Soviet Union and the United States within range of each other's territories and that the total number of nuclear warheads would be limited to a ceiling of 6,000 units. These are really radical reductions, amounting to thousands of nuclear warheads. Such an approach would embrace all the weapons that create the strategic correlation of forces and would make it possible really to reduce the nuclear threat to each side, whether the weapons were delivered by missile or aircraft and from whatever territory.

We regard the reduction by one half of the nuclear weapons of the United States and the Soviet Union as a beginning. The Soviet Union would like to go even further, until we have completely eliminated nuclear weapons - of course with the

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participation of other nuclear States. It is obvious that the nuclear-arms race in Europe has caused particular concern; Europe is already overloaded with nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union favours the complete liberation of Europe from both intermediate-range and strategic nuclear weapons. However, since the United States and its North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) partners cannot agree to that, we have proposed starting with an interim solution and then talking about further reductions. Our proposals are geared to reducing the nuclear threat and strengthening security in Europe.

The fundamental feature of these proposals is that in the three areas covered by the talks - space weapons, strategic offensive weapons and intermediate-range nuclear weapons - the Soviet Union is not suggesting anything to the United States that would reduce its security. Furthermore, in the period that preceded the Geneva meeting, the Soviet Union, in a spirit of goodwill, also undertook other steps. It unilaterally declared a moratorium on nuclear explosions until 1 January 1986. We also declared that we were ready to extend the moratorium if the United States would take a similar step. Our objective was to help promote favourable conditions for the complete prohibition of nuclear tests and for putting an end to the stockpiling of nuclear weapons and their further improvement.

A considerable contribution to the strengthening of international security has been made by the Soviet Union in undertaking unilaterally not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. In this connection we welcome the position of the People's Republic of China, which has also declared that it will not be the first to use nuclear weapons. We hope that other nuclear States will follow that example.

The Soviet proposals aimed at strengthening international security and achieving specific areas of agreement on the question of arms reduction have met with a wide and positive response throughout the world. Our approach is to a great

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extent analogous to that set out in the joint statement by the leaders of six countries - Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania - and to the positions of many other States. Great hope has been aroused by the Soviet initiative among major social organizations of various countries and continents, renowned scholars and eminent politicians and military experts. The General Assembly also came out in favour of this when it adopted the resolution calling on the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States to draw up

"effective agreements on the halting of the nuclear-arms race [and the] prevention of an arms race in outer space ...". (resolution 40/18, para. 1)

What has been the main outcome of the meeting in Geneva, which was undoubtedly a very significant event? It is always useful to have direct, clear, frank talks and to have an opportunity openly to compare positions. There are only too many potentially explosive problems that need serious consideration and effort so that some progress can be made. It is important to have personal contacts, to have a dialogue between the highest leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States. At the present difficult time such a dialogue in itself has a stabilizing effect.

At the same time, in the light of the realities, it must be said quite bluntly that the solution of the most important issues related to the cessation of the arms race was not possible at that meeting. The reluctance of the leaders of the United States to give up their "star wars" programme made it impossible to reach in Geneva concrete agreements on genuine disarmament and, above all, on the central issue of nuclear and space weapons. There are still serious disagreements on a number of fundamental issues. The number of weapons accumulated by both sides has not been reduced as a result of the meeting and the arms race continues. This, of course, is to some extent disappointing.

At the same time, we believe that it would be wrong to underestimate the significance of the agreements reached in Geneva. The confirmation of the

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intention to improve relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, to help promote the reduction of the threat of nuclear war, not to permit a nuclear arms race in outer space and to put an end to the arms race on earth was of fundamental importance. In the joint Soviet-American statement on the results of the talks it is stated that

"The sides ... conscious of the special responsibility of the USSR and the United States for maintaining peace, have agreed that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. Recognizing that any conflict between the USSR and the United States could have catastrophic consequences, they emphasized the importance of preventing any war between them, whether nuclear or conventional. They will not seek to achieve military superiority."

I do not think I need to emphasize the importance of that particular undertaking.

Since it has been registered at the highest level, that understanding should be the foundation of the foreign policy of the two States. Since they recognize that essentially nuclear war could not result in the achievement of any rational goal, they should have an even greater incentive to prevent it, to put an end to the perfecting and testing of means of mass destruction and completely to eliminate the accumulated stocks of nuclear weapons. Even less admissible would it be to open up any further channels for the arms race.

The joint statement is not, of course, a treaty, but it is a very fundamental statement made by the leaders of the two countries that binds them to many things.

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Confirmation at the highest level of the tasks set forth in the Soviet-American statement of 8 January namely:

"to prevent an arms race in outer space and to terminate it on earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and strengthen strategic stability",

is also of particular importance. The achievement of such an encouraging result was undoubtedly due in large measure to the constructive and consistent policy of the Soviet Union. At the same time it would be unfair not to state here that the position of the American side at the meeting reflected a certain amount of realism that helped solve a number of questions. It is to be hoped that that realism will be maintained in the future and that the positive content of the meeting will play a part in the solution of other problems.

Our assessment of the Geneva meetings and the part it can play in contemporary international relations is shared by our allies, the fraternal socialist countries, as was quite clearly indicated at the meeting of the leaders of the countries of the Warsaw Pact immediately after the summit meeting of the Soviet and American leaders in Geneva.

In order not to make it more difficult to achieve agreements in the future, both sides should, we are convinced, first and foremost refrain from any action that would undermine what has already been achieved in Geneva. They should refrain from any acts which would block talks and blur already existing constraints on the arms race. This presupposes in particular faithful and strict observance of the anti-ballistic-missile Treaty and further mutual observance by the parties of the relevant provisions of the SALT-II Treaty.

But of course what is most important is to make it possible for the arms race to be ended so that practical steps can be taken to reduce nuclear stockpiles. On the whole the Soviet Union proposes a comprehensive set of measures that would cut

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off all avenues of the arms race, whether in outer space or on earth, and whether in respect of nuclear, chemical or conventional weapons. Specific proposals in this regard are well known; they are still valid and completely relevant.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is now preparing for its twenty-seventh Congress. Programme documents have already been made public. They give an idea of the tremendous tasks involved in speeding up the social and economic development of Soviet society, and outline ways and means of achieving that objective. All mankind can see that the programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is aimed at creating and preserving peace and bringing about a radical improvement in the international political climate.

These aims are realistic and achievable. It is vital that mistrust, hostility and suspicion be completely eliminated from international relations. It is important that the General Assembly's consideration of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Peace and Security this year, when we are celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations, created as a result of the great victory over fascism and militarism in the Second World War, should act as an added incentive for all States to take effective steps to promote the improvement of international political and economic relations in the interests of durable peace, universal security and progress for mankind.

International security would be strengthened if maximum use was made of all possibilities available to the United Nations of creating a moral and political climate that would enable us to embark on real measures to limit armaments and to bring about disarmament. In the opinion of the Soviet Union, the prestige of the United Nations will be enhanced to the extent that it serves the interests of all

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peoples. That is why the Soviet Union favours a general enhancement of the effectiveness of the United Nations, and particularly that of the Security Council, which the Members of the United Nations have entrusted with the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.