



General Assembly

Distr.
GENERAL

A/40/900
18 November 1985
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: RUSSIAN

Fortieth session
Agenda items 14, 37, 50, 57, 58
63, 65, 76 and 145

REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE FOR THE PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL
CO-OPERATION IN THE PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY: REPORT
OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS
CONFERENCE FOR THE PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION
IN THE PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY

CESSATION OF ALL TEST EXPLOSIONS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS: REPORT
OF THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

PREVENTION OF AN ARMS RACE IN OUTER SPACE: REPORT OF
THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

IMPLEMENTATION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 39/60 ON THE
IMMEDIATE CESSATION AND PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR-WEAPON TESTS:
REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CHEMICAL AND BACTERIOLOGICAL (BIOLOGICAL) WEAPONS: REPORT OF
THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS AND
DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS TENTH
SPECIAL SESSION

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN THE PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN THE PEACEFUL EXPLOITATION OF
OUTER SPACE UNDER CONDITIONS OF ITS NON-MILITARIZATION

Letter dated 18 November 1985 from the Permanent Representative
of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations
addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to enclose the text of a statement by M. S. Gorbachev, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at a meeting on 13 November 1985 with a delegation from the Nobel Prize winners' congress.

I should be grateful if you would take the necessary steps to have the text of the statement circulated as an official document of the General Assembly under agenda items 14, 37, 50, 57, 58, 63, 65, 76 and 145.

O. TROYANOVSKY

ANNEX

Statement by the General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at a meeting
with a delegation of the Nobel Prize winners' congress on
13 November 1985

It is a pleasure for me to accept the appeal signed by distinguished scientists who have been awarded the Nobel Prize. Let me say right away that the Soviet leadership regards this appeal as a document of great significance to all mankind. The call on the two great Powers which it contains to bring about a turn for the better in international affairs, to halt the arms race and to prevent the militarization of outer space is in full accord with the feelings in our country and with the practical intentions of its leadership.

Our time may without exaggeration be described as a turning-point. Mankind has now reached a crossroads where wisdom is called for in decisions, judgement and restraint in actions, and consideration not only of national interests, but also of the interests of world society as a whole. It seems to me that it is precisely this understanding which underlies the initiative the Nobel Prize winners have taken.

We in the USSR consider that there is no more urgent and important task today than that of closing the channels to the further stockpiling of nuclear weapons in their increasingly refined forms, and at the same time securely bolting the door against the introduction of weapons into outer space. This reflects our views and the proposals with which we shall be going in a few days to the Soviet-United States meeting.

Our approach to the meeting is open and frank. We shall be coming together in Geneva in full understanding of the responsibility which lies on the leaders of all States, but above all of such countries as the USSR and the United States of America. We are going for serious and productive work and, I must say, we are not going empty-handed.

The Soviet Union believes that the meeting should promote the practical solution of the central problems of our time - strengthening international peace and security, improving relations between the USSR and the United States of America, curbing the arms race and preventing it from spreading to the vast expanse of outer space.

We are deeply convinced that it is especially important today for every thinking man to be fully aware of his personal responsibility for preventing the threat of war. And who are better fitted than scientists - who perhaps see more clearly the consequences to which nuclear war would lead - to raise their voices against wars, whether on Earth or "star wars"! This, precisely, is my attitude to the appeal you have made. Our country holds in high esteem the humanist tradition of true scientists, who have always been active in relation to issues of war and

/...

peace - a tradition which can be traced back to Niels Bohr, Albert Einstein and Frédéric Joliot-Curie.

Our time is truly a "golden age" of science. The limits of knowledge are expanding with exceptional rapidity. From the microscopic world to the cosmos, in all directions human reason is penetrating depths and secret places of nature which until quite recently seemed inaccessible. Full use of the fruits of knowledge would permit the qualitative enrichment of man's material and spiritual life.

And it surely is a monstrous paradox of the twentieth century that the achievements of science, turned to the creation of weapons of mass destruction, are threatening the very survival of the human species!

The issues of war and peace have now come to the forefront through the objective course of development itself. A major part in stimulating awareness among people and encouraging them to take decisive action to halt and reverse the arms race and begin arms reductions can and should be played by scientists, their authoritative voice and their expert opinion.

Your appeal rightly emphasizes that courage is needed today not to prepare for war but to achieve peace. This is all the more true given that the arms race has reached a critical stage. The development of military technology has already made arms control now an extremely difficult task. We have effectively reached the point beyond which the situation can become completely uncontrollable.

The most crucial question is whether or not there are to be strike weapons in outer space. The answer to this question determines world development for many years ahead. What peaceful future and what strategic stability can one speak of at all if, in addition to the missiles which are already in place in underground silos and the ocean depths, there looms yet another deadly threat - from outer space?

Imagine, in such a case, the world in 10 or 20 years. Everywhere - from the limits of the atmosphere at a height of hundreds of kilometres up to geostationary orbits - waves of various types of strike weapons would be passing over the heads of all the people inhabiting our planet.

The Soviet people, having lived for 40 years surrounded by American "forward-based" weapons, strongly reject the very possibility of their spreading into outer space and the very prospect of having them overhead, above their homes.

How would ordinary Americans, who are as yet not accustomed to the presence of the weapons of others on their borders, either on earth or in the skies, feel about this? I think that tension in relations between our countries would heighten to a degree unprecedented even by today's standards, and that would be still more difficult to control.

The militarization of outer space would place a heavy psychological burden on the inhabitants of any country and create an atmosphere of general instability and uncertainty.

For what purpose, it may be asked, is this being undertaken? Moreover, a further question is appropriate: is it not a violation of the sovereignty of States actually to deploy in outer space, above their territory, the weapons of another State?

Soviet people in their letters frequently ask how the Soviet Union would act if the United States, in spite of everything, went ahead with the development, testing and deployment of a multi-layered anti-missile defence. We have already indicated that the USSR would find an effective answer corresponding to our view of the need to maintain the strategic balance and keep it stable. But this would involve a new round of the arms race.

Until now, as is known, there have been no weapons in outer space. And if they were to appear there, bringing them back would be an exceptionally complex matter. And it is already quite unreasonable to expect that the creation of space strike weapons would lead to the disappearance of nuclear weapons on earth. The history of the emergence of new types of weapons and present-day realities are convincing evidence to the contrary.

Is there any validity at all in the logic which runs that in order to disarm it is first necessary to arm to the teeth? In other words, why create missiles to destroy missiles when there is another path, one that is more reliable and safe and which, above all, leads directly to the objective - the path of agreements on the reduction and subsequent complete elimination of existing missiles?

Clearly, from all points of view, and indeed from the standpoint of elementary common sense, the second path is the only reasonable one. We are for it.

As you know, our country has offered to reduce by half the nuclear weapons of the USSR and the United States which are capable of reaching each other's territory. We have ceased all testing of nuclear weapons. A reduction of medium-range missiles in Europe has also been carried out on a unilateral basis. We are prepared to conclude a treaty of non-aggression and to proceed with the establishment of zones free from nuclear and chemical weapons.

All of these steps on our part and the many proposals set out on the negotiating table - as a whole or separately - provide the opportunity to improve significantly the international situation, reduce the threat of nuclear conflict and pave the way towards complete nuclear disarmament. We understand perfectly well that living perpetually under the threat of nuclear weapons is a joyless prospect for mankind.

What alternative does the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) have to offer? In our profound conviction, only an uncontrolled, mutually escalating race for so-called "defensive" and "offensive" weapons.

On more than one occasion I have had to give a political assessment of SDI. I will not review yet again its clearly imperial purpose of seeking to ensure military and technological supremacy over other States.

I will discuss a different aspect. It is said that SDI represents a technological leap forward. But even if we accept that its implementation will give a nudge to scientific and technological progress, the question still remains: what will be the price of achieving this? It is absolutely clear that the price will be the production of suicidal forms of weaponry. People are understanding this in increasing numbers, including people in the United States.

We are in favour of a basically different means of speeding up progress in science and technology; we are in favour of technological competition and constructive co-operation in conditions of lasting and just peace.

And does not outer space itself represent an extremely promising area for international co-operation? Today we have only just begun to conquer outer space for the benefit of science and the practical activities of mankind. But how much has been achieved in a short time? The first sputnik, the first man in space, the first man on the moon, the landings on Venus and Mars, and the beautiful map of Venus.

But these are only the first steps. And the mastery of the boundless expanses of outer space must become a common, joint undertaking of States.

We have submitted to the United Nations for its consideration a comprehensive programme of peaceful co-operation in outer space. The USSR is proposing the establishment of a world outer-space organization, which would be a centre for co-ordinating work in this universal enterprise.

This includes basic scientific research and the launching for this purpose of interplanetary spacecraft, to Mars for example.

It includes the application of the results of space research in biology, medicine, materials science, weather forecasting, the study of the climate and environment, the construction of world communications systems satellites and satellites for remote sensing of the earth, as well as in the development of the world's oceans and seas.

It includes, lastly, joint undertakings and the utilization of new space technology in the interests of all peoples, including large orbital scientific stations, various manned spacecraft and, in prospect, the industrialization of near space.

We are of course also ready for peaceful co-operation in outer space on a bilateral basis with those States which have such an interest. This applies fully to the United States as well.

You will remember the docking of the spacecraft Soyuz and Apollo in 1975 which gripped the imagination of the whole world. A few things are being done even now: we are carrying out joint studies of Venus and Halley's Comet with United States scientists as part of the Vega international project, and we are participating together with other countries in an outer-space search-and-rescue service.

But this bears no comparison with what we could achieve together. It is foolish not to use such opportunities.

The American public and scientists and the United States Congress apparently have a great interest in renewing co-operation, and specific proposals are coming forward. We are ready to give serious consideration to proposals of this kind.

Military programmes and peaceful outer-space projects, including scientific research work, are very expensive. This is all the more reason to opt for the alternative of peaceful co-operation.

The mastery of thermonuclear fusion is a promising area of international co-operation. This will give mankind a practically inexhaustible energy source, a kind of artificial sun.

The idea of controlled thermonuclear reaction was first put forward, as you know, by Academician I. V. Kurchatov in his famous lecture in Britain back in 1956, when he described the work of Soviet scientists to the international scientific community.

Since 1978, on the initiative of the Soviet Union and with the participation of scientists from a number of Western European countries as well as the United States and Japan, the Tokamak international experimental thermonuclear reactor project has got under way in Vienna.

It can already be said today that it is technically feasible to build such a reactor, and, the experts believe, in the comparatively near future, in any event before the year 2000.

During our recent visit to Paris we put these ideas to the French President, Mr. Mitterand. He responded positively to our proposal. We think it is important - or rather, essential - to combine the efforts of all States interested in achieving thermonuclear fusion, which will make it possible to solve one of the world's most acute problems - energy.

In today's world there is a great number of urgent tasks requiring co-ordination and co-operation. I should like to stress once again that the Soviet Union is a firm and consistent advocate of the broadest possible co-operation and combination of the efforts of States in the utilization of the achievements of scientific and technological progress exclusively for peaceful purposes and human progress. I can assure you that the Soviet Union stands second to none in its readiness for such co-operation and in its good will.

I wish you success in your fruitful scientific work in the noble pursuit of defending the cause of peace without weapons, peace without wars.
