

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records



**102nd  
PLENARY MEETING**

Monday, 17 December 1984,  
at 11 a.m.

**NEW YORK**

*President:* Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA  
(Zambia).

**AGENDA ITEM 3**

Credentials of representatives to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly (*concluded*):\*

- (a) Appointment of the members of the Credentials Committee;
- (b) Report of the Credentials Committee

1. The PRESIDENT: I invite members to turn their attention to the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee in paragraph 13 of its second report [A/39/574/Add.1]. The Credentials Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 39/3 B).*

**AGENDA ITEM 53**

Israeli nuclear armament: report of the Secretary-General

**AGENDA ITEM 55**

Relationship between disarmament and development: report of the Disarmament Commission

**AGENDA ITEM 59**

Review of the implementation of the recommendations and decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth special session:

- (a) Report of the Disarmament Commission;
- (b) Report of the Conference on Disarmament;

- (c) Status of multilateral disarmament agreements: report of the Secretary-General;
- (d) Prohibition of the nuclear neutron weapon: report of the Conference on Disarmament;
- (e) Cessation of the nuclear-arms race and nuclear disarmament: report of the Conference on Disarmament;
- (f) Prevention of nuclear war: report of the Conference on Disarmament;
- (g) Implementation of the recommendations and decisions of the tenth special session:
  - (i) Report of the Disarmament Commission;
  - (ii) Report of the Conference on Disarmament;
- (h) Unilateral nuclear disarmament measures: report of the Secretary-General;
- (i) Comprehensive programme of disarmament: report of the Conference on Disarmament;
- (j) Disarmament Week: report of the Secretary-General;
- (k) Bilateral nuclear-arms negotiations;
- (l) Advisory Board on Disarmament Studies:
  - (i) Work of the Advisory Board: report of the Secretary-General;
  - (ii) Draft statute of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research

**AGENDA ITEM 62**

Implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean

\*Resumed from the 32nd meeting.

## AGENDA ITEM 63

World Disarmament Conference: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the World Disarmament Conference

## AGENDA ITEM 65

General and complete disarmament:

- (a) Study of the question of nuclear-weapon-free zones in all its aspects: report of the Secretary-General;
- (b) Military research and development: report of the Secretary-General;
- (c) Study on conventional disarmament: report of the Secretary-General;
- (d) Measures to provide objective information on military capabilities: report of the Secretary-General;
- (e) Prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons: report of the Conference on Disarmament;
- (f) Prohibition of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes: report of the Conference on Disarmament;
- (g) Curbing the naval arms race: limitation and reduction of naval armaments and extension of confidence-building measures to seas and oceans: report of the Secretary-General;
- (h) Contribution of the specialized agencies and other organizations and programmes of the United Nations system to the cause of arms limitation and disarmament

## AGENDA ITEM 66

Question of Antarctica: report of the Secretary-General

## AGENDA ITEM 67

Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region: report of the Secretary-General

## AGENDA ITEM 68

Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security:

- (a) Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security: report of the Security Council;
- (b) Implementation of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace: report of the Secretary-General

## AGENDA ITEM 69

Implementation of the collective security provisions of the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Implementation of the Collective Security Provisions of the Charter of the United Nations

## AGENDA ITEM 143

Inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States

2. Mr. KESSELY (Chad), Rapporteur of the First Committee (*interpretation from French*): I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the reports of the First Committee on its work under item 66, on Antarctica, and on the questions of international security, under items 67, 68, 69 and 143 of the agenda. They are contained in documents A/39/756 to 759 and 761.

3. The First Committee considered the question of the Antarctic from 28 to 30 November and adopted a draft resolution. This is a very complex and sensitive subject because of the interests involved. Nevertheless, the general debate on this item demonstrated once again the peaceful and universal character of that continent. Delegations which spoke in the discussion all reaffirmed that Antarctica must be free from the arms race and from political rivalries. They renounced all claim to ownership and any territorial claims. On the other hand, international co-operation in the area of scientific research, peaceful exploitation of the resources and protection of the environment were stressed by many delegations.

4. The report of the Secretary-General [A/39/583 (Part I) and Corr.1 and A/39/583 (Part II) and Corr.1, vol. I to III] prepared in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/77, was widely appreciated, and this appreciation is expressed in the draft resolution adopted on this item.

5. I submit to the General Assembly for adoption the recommendation of the First Committee found in paragraph 7 of the report [A/39/756].

6. Regarding the questions of international security, the Committee considered the items under this heading from 3 to 7 December 1984. The exchange of views occurred in a climate of relative détente, perhaps because international security had not been spectacularly challenged this year or because there has been a beginning of a softening of the relations between the two major Powers, and perhaps also through lassitude, because we have come to regard existing sources of tension as part of our daily lives. Nevertheless, these points of tension were not neglected. On the contrary, they served as specific examples on which to base denunciations of the lack

of international security and a call for scrupulous respect for the Charter to counter-balance it.

7. Item 67, entitled "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region", is, as representatives know, of particular importance for the region involved. Its consideration demonstrated that the promotion of peace, security and co-operation in the area would also make a significant contribution to the peace and security of all nations.

8. Items 68 and 69, entitled, respectively, "Review and implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security" and "Implementation of the provisions of collective security of the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security", gave delegations an opportunity to express their views regarding various aspects of peace and security in all parts of the world.

9. Finally, item 143, entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States", appeared this year for the first time on the General Assembly's agenda, at the request of the Soviet Union, and was allocated to the First Committee for consideration. The underlying motive for the inclusion of this item was that, in the light of the frequent action to undermine the régimes of other States, the General Assembly should be much firmer in condemning such practices and should also, as a corollary to this, call upon all States to respect and strictly observe the right of peoples freely to choose their socio-political system and to pursue their political, economic, social and cultural development in complete independence.

10. Once again the First Committee sincerely believes that it has done something to try and unite the forces of the world for the maintenance of international peace and security, in order to spare mankind from the scourge of war. That is why in its various decisions it has stressed the need for effective, energetic and flexible measures to avert or eliminate threats to or breaches of the peace.

11. On behalf of the First Committee, I have pleasure in submitting to the General Assembly for adoption the recommendations contained in the final paragraph of each report.

12. Before concluding, I should like to come back to one of the disarmament items which has already been introduced, that is, item 55, entitled "Relationship between disarmament and development". The sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.72/Rev.1, which was adopted by the First Committee, have made known their wish that the session of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development should be held at Geneva. That request was formulated after appropriate consultations with the delegations concerned in the First Committee. Consequently, I submit this request to the General Assembly and ask it to take note of it.

*Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the First Committee.*

13. The PRESIDENT: Statements will be limited to explanations of vote. The positions of delegations regarding the various recommendations of the First Committee have been made clear in the Committee and are reflected in the relevant official records. May

I remind members that under paragraph 7 of decision 34/401, the General Assembly agreed that:

"When the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in plenary meeting, a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote only once, i.e., either in the Committee or in plenary meeting unless that delegation's vote in plenary meeting is different from its vote in the Committee."

I also remind members that, in accordance with decision 34/401, explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

14. We now come to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 53 [A/39/743]. The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. The programme budget implications of the draft resolution are in document A/39/806. Separate, recorded votes have been requested on paragraphs 3 and 4. We shall vote first on paragraph 3.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bhutan, Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Greece, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

*Against:* Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Haiti, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Honduras, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Liberia, Malawi, Nepal, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, Zaire.

*Paragraph 3 was adopted by 78 votes to 23, with 27 abstentions.<sup>1</sup>*

15. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on paragraph 4.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, China, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Demo-

cratic Yemen, Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

*Against:* Australia, Austria, Belgium, Burma, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Haiti, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay.

*Abstaining:* Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Fiji, Greece, Honduras, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Malawi, Mexico, Nepal, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Venezuela, Zaire.

*Paragraph 4 was adopted by 70 votes to 26, with 32 abstentions.*<sup>1</sup>

16. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

*Against:* Israel, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Belgium, Bolivia, Burma, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Portugal, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay, Zaire.

dines, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay, Zaire.

*The draft resolution, as a whole, was adopted by 94 votes to 2, with 44 abstentions (resolution 39/147).*<sup>2</sup>

17. The PRESIDENT: I understand that some technical points still need to be clarified with regard to item 55, "Relationship between disarmament and development", and I therefore suggest we defer consideration of that item until later this morning.

18. The Assembly will now turn to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 59 [A/39/749]. The Assembly will take a decision on the 18 draft resolutions and the one draft decision recommended by the First Committee in paragraphs 67 and 68 of its report. Draft resolution A relates to unilateral nuclear disarmament measures. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

*Against:* United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

*Draft resolution A was adopted by 126 votes to 1, with 13 abstentions (resolution 39/148 A).*<sup>3</sup>

19. The PRESIDENT: Next we turn to draft resolution B, entitled "Bilateral nuclear-arms negotiations". A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon,

Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Uruguay, Yemen, Zaire, Zambia.

*Against:* Afghanistan, Angola, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Syrian Arab Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam.

*Abstaining:* Algeria, Argentina, Bahamas, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Burkina Faso, Burma, Cape Verde, Congo, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Greece, India, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mexico, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Sao Tome and Principe, Suriname, Uganda, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

*Draft resolution B was adopted by 98 votes to 16, with 24 abstentions (resolution 39/148 B).<sup>3</sup>*

20. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution C relates to nuclear weapons in all aspects. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

*Against:* Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Bahamas, Chad, Dominican Republic, Gambia, Honduras, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Niger, Paraguay, Senegal, Sweden, Uruguay, Zaire.

*Draft resolution C was adopted by 102 votes to 19, with 13 abstentions (resolution 39/148 C).*

21. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution D deals with the non-use of nuclear weapons and prevention of nuclear war. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chad, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Austria, Bahamas, Brazil, Burma, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Paraguay, Philippines, Saint Lucia, Uruguay, Zaire.

*Draft resolution D was adopted by 101 votes to 19, with 17 abstentions. (resolution 39/148 D).*

22. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution E deals with the prohibition of the nuclear neutron weapon. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Bahrain, Barbados, Benin, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Panama, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab

Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Italy, Japan, Portugal, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burma, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Luxembourg, Maldives, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Saint Lucia, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zaire.

*Draft resolution E was adopted by 71 votes to 11 with 53 abstentions (resolution 39/148 E).*

23. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution F is entitled "Climatic effects of nuclear war: nuclear winter". A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* Belgium, Colombia, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Draft resolution F was adopted by 130 votes to none, with 11 abstentions (resolution 39/148 F).<sup>3</sup>*

24. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution G relates to bilateral nuclear-arms negotiations. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brunei

Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Qatar, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Bahamas, Barbados, Brazil, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, Japan, Malawi, Mongolia, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Philippines, Poland, Spain, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

*Draft resolution G was adopted by 100 votes to 12, with 26 abstentions (resolution 39/148 G).<sup>4</sup>*

25. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution H concerns the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research. A separate, recorded vote has been requested on paragraph 2 of draft resolution H. If I hear no objection I shall put that paragraph to the vote first.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Japan, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Belgium, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Haiti, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mongolia, Netherlands, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Nam.

*Paragraph 2 was adopted by 114 votes to 3, 20 abstentions.*

26. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote draft resolution H as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Haiti, Israel, Japan.

*Draft resolution H, as a whole, was adopted by 141 votes to 1, with 3 abstentions (resolution 39/148 H).<sup>3</sup>*

27. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution I is entitled "Comprehensive programme of disarmament". The First Committee adopted draft resolution I without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

*Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 39/148 I).*

28. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution J, "Disarmament Week".

A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Bo-

swana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Paraguay, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Draft resolution J was adopted by 124 votes to none, with 19 abstentions (resolution 39/148 J).<sup>3</sup>*

29. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution K concerns a cessation of the nuclear-arms race and nuclear disarmament. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Bahamas, Denmark, Israel, Japan, New Zealand, Paraguay, Saint Lucia, Spain.

*Draft resolution K was adopted by 124 votes to 13, with 9 abstentions (resolution 39/148 K).<sup>3</sup>*

30. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution L is entitled "Implementation of the recommendations and decisions of the tenth special session". The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/39/807. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal,<sup>5</sup> Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Oman, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* Austria, Belgium, Canada, Ethiopia, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Israel, Italy, Liberia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Draft resolution L was adopted by 120 votes to none, with 18 abstentions (resolution 39/148 L).<sup>5</sup>*

31. The PRESIDENT: Now we turn to draft resolution M, which concerns international co-operation for disarmament. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil,<sup>6</sup> Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa

Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Austria, Bahamas, Finland, Greece, Ireland, Paraguay, Sweden.

*Draft resolution M was adopted by 109 votes to 19, with 7 abstentions (resolution 39/148 M).<sup>7</sup>*

32. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution N concerns the report of the Conference on Disarmament. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* United States of America.



*Abstaining:* Australia, Belgium, Cameroon, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of Greece, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Nepal,<sup>8</sup> Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

*Draft resolution N was adopted by 123 votes to 1, with 21 abstentions (resolution 39/148 N).<sup>8</sup>*

33. The PRESIDENT: Next we come to draft resolution O, which deals with the implementation of the recommendations and decisions of the tenth special session. A separate, recorded vote has been requested on the fifth preambular paragraph. If there is no objection, I shall therefore put it to the vote first.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* None.

*The fifth preambular paragraph was adopted by 117 votes to 19.*

34. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote draft resolution O, as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon,<sup>9</sup> Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador,

Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Turkey, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Iceland, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

*Draft resolution O, as a whole, was adopted by 127 votes to 11, with 7 abstentions (resolution 39/148 O).<sup>3</sup>*

35. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution P relates to the prevention of nuclear war. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Belgium, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Canada, Denmark, Iceland, Israel, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey.

*Draft resolution P was adopted by 128 votes to 6, with 12 abstentions (resolution 39/148 P).*

36. The PRESIDENT: Next we come to draft resolution Q dealing with the "Review of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade". The First Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

*Draft resolution Q was adopted (resolution 39/148 Q).*

37. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution R is entitled "Report of the Disarmament Commission". The First Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft resolution R was adopted (resolution 39/148 R).*

38. The PRESIDENT: Finally, we come to the draft decision contained in paragraph 68 of the report of the First Committee. The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of that draft decision is contained in document A/39/795. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* United States of America.

*Abstaining:* None.

*The draft decision was adopted by 145 votes to 1 (decision 39/423).*

39. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on representatives who wish to explain their votes.

40. Mr. PEREZ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution H, entitled "United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research". However, we want to state for the record that the adoption of that draft resolution should not constitute a precedent to be applied to other organs and institutes which also work on the basis of voluntary contributions. This applies in particular to the provisions concerning the financing of certain activities of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research from the United Nations budget.

41. Mr. BAY ROSSI (Italy) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation abstained in the vote in the First Committee on draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.64 regarding the prevention of nuclear war. The conclusion which can be derived from the discussion in the First Committee on this item during the present session, including draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.40, clearly brings out the need for a more detailed study of this. The prevention of nuclear war is undoubtedly a matter which is of paramount importance for all countries. It is even a tragic choice in the case of many countries, including Italy. We believe therefore that a global approach to the problem would be the most likely to lead to more specific results than certain unilateral initiatives whose conclusions are often premature. It is for that reason that my delegation voted against draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.64.

42. Mr. QIAN Jiadong (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation would like very briefly to explain its vote on the draft resolution entitled "Bilateral nuclear-arms negotiations" just adopted.

43. When that draft resolution was voted on in the First Committee my delegation abstained. We did so because differences of opinion exist between the United States and the Soviet Union as to how to resume their negotiations. As we explained then, this position does not mean that we do not agree to the resumption of talks between them; on the contrary, we sincerely hope that they will respond to the wishes of the peoples of the world by endeavouring to arrive at an early resumption of their talks.

44. Recently the Soviet Union and the United States agreed to carry out negotiations on outer space and nuclear weapons. We welcome that development, and just now we voted in favour of the draft resolution. We sincerely hope they will engage in earnest negotiations and arrive at early agreement conducive to the relaxation of international tensions, without causing any harm to the interests of any other country.

45. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now turn its attention to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 62 [A/39/752]. The Assembly will take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/39/801/Rev.1. The First Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 39/149).*

46. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 63 [A/39/753]. The draft resolution recommended by the Committee is contained in paragraph 8 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/39/795. The First Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt it?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 39/150).*

47. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider the report of the First Committee on agenda item 65 [A/39/755]. The Assembly will take a decision on the 10 draft resolutions recommended by the Committee in paragraph 29 of its report. Draft resolution A is entitled "Review Conference of the Parties to the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques". A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Uruguay, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* Mexico, Mozambique, Panama, Venezuela.

*Draft resolution A was adopted by 136 votes to none, with 4 abstentions (resolution 39/151 A).<sup>10</sup>*

48. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution B is entitled "Study of the question of nuclear-weapon-free zones in all its aspects". The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of this draft resolution is contained in document A/39/795. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* India, United States of America.

*Draft resolution B was adopted by 143 votes to none, with 2 abstentions (resolution 39/151 B).<sup>11</sup>*

49. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now turn to draft resolution C, which deals with the study on conventional disarmament. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution C?

*Draft resolution C was adopted (resolution 39/151 C).*

50. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution D, "Nuclear-weapon freeze". A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Qatar,

Romania, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Bahamas, Chad, China, Costa Rica,<sup>12</sup> Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Ivory Coast, Paraguay, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Sweden, Uruguay, Zaire.

*Draft resolution D was adopted by 104 votes to 18, with 18 abstentions (resolution 39/151 D).<sup>13</sup>*

51. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution E concerns the contribution of the specialized agencies and other organizations and programmes of the United Nations system to the cause of arms limitation and disarmament. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia; Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Saudi Arabia,<sup>14</sup> Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Brazil, China, Denmark, Djibouti, Finland, Greece, Ireland, Liberia, Somalia, Spain, Sweden.

*Draft resolution E was adopted by 109 votes to 18, with 14 abstentions (resolution 39/151 E).*

52. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution F, entitled "Military research and development". The report of the Fifth Committee on

the programme budget implications of this draft resolution is contained in document A/39/795. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Belgium, Germany, Federal Republic of, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Turkey.

*Draft resolution F was adopted by 141 votes to 1, with 5 abstentions (resolution 39/151 F).*

53. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution G concerns a review of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament. The First Committee adopted draft resolution G without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

*Draft resolution G was adopted (resolution 39/151 G).*

54. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution H deals with the prohibition of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ger-

many, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* Argentina, Brazil, China, France, India, Mozambique, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Draft resolution H was adopted by 140 votes to none, with 8 abstentions (resolution 39/151 H).*

55. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution I is entitled "Curbing the naval arms race: limitation and reduction of naval armaments and extension of confidence-building measures to seas and oceans". A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahrain, Benin, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Panama, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Saudi Arabia, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Austria, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burma, Chad, China, Costa Rica, Democratic Kampuchea, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Malaysia, Maldives, Mauritius, Morocco, Niger, Oman, Pakistan, Para-

guay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Thailand, Uruguay, Zaire.

*Draft resolution I was adopted by 70 votes to 19, with 53 abstentions (resolution 39/151 I).*

56. The PRESIDENT: Finally, we come to draft resolution J, which is entitled "Prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons". The First Committee adopted draft resolution J without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

*Draft resolution J was adopted (resolution 39/151 J).*

57. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 66 [A/39/756]. The Assembly will take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in paragraph 7 of its report. The Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 39/152).*

58. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now consider the report of the First Committee on agenda item 67 [A/39/757]. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in paragraph 9 of its report. The First Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 39/153).*

59. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 68 [A/39/758]. The Assembly will now take a decision on the four draft resolutions recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 16 of its report. Draft resolution I is entitled "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security". The First Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 39/154).*

60. The PRESIDENT: We next turn to draft resolution II, entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security". A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mal-

dives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* Belgium, Canada, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Portugal, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Draft resolution II was adopted by 137 votes to none, with 11 abstentions (resolution 39/155).*

61. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution III is entitled "Strengthening of international security: common security". The First Committee adopted this draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly also wishes to adopt the draft resolution?

*Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 39/156).*

62. The PRESIDENT: Next we turn to draft resolution IV, entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace". A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germa-

ny, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Draft resolution IV was adopted by 119 votes to none, with 28 abstentions (resolution 39/157).*

63. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will next turn its attention to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 69 [A/39/759]. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in paragraph 9 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of that draft resolution is in document A/39/786. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Democratic Kampuchea, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* Afghanistan, Belgium, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Hungary, Italy, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Luxembourg, Mongolia, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*Abstaining:* Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Viet Nam.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 108 votes to 22, with 13 abstentions (resolution 39/158).*

64. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Albania, who wishes to explain his vote.

65. Mr. JANKU (Albania): As at the last session, this time too the Albanian delegation did not participate in the voting on the draft resolutions related to international peace and security recommended by the First Committee in its reports contained in documents A/39/758 and A/39/759. This was because of the reservations we have on some formulations and views expressed in those draft resolutions. Since we have already explained those reservations

on previous occasions, we are not entering into the details now.

66. However, we would like to reiterate that these resolutions do not reveal the causes of the insecurity prevailing the world over. We maintain the view that it is the super-Powers, other imperialist Powers and reactionary forces which threaten and undermine international peace and security.

67. At the same time we wish to say that the adoption by consensus of the draft resolution on the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region in document A/39/757 shows quite clearly the wish of the Mediterranean and other countries that peace and security should prevail in this region of particular importance. Our country has always shared the concern and aspirations of these countries that the Mediterranean should belong to the people of the Mediterranean; this position of ours was clearly expressed in our speech on this problem in the First Committee.

68. However, we wish to reiterate that we have reservations about this resolution. We would like to point out that the Mediterranean and its security, like peace in general, are threatened by the super-Powers, which are responsible for the increasing tension prevailing in this region and for the tense and continuously worsening situation. Our delegation has its reservations, particularly with regard to the reference in the resolution to the Mediterranean chapter of the Helsinki Final Act and some other paragraphs. Our position on the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is well known and is unchangeable.

69. As we have already stressed in our statements both in the General Assembly and in the First Committee, the Socialist People's Republic of Albania and its Government maintain that only when the super-Powers, together with their aggressive fleets and other military equipment, leave these waters will the Mediterranean really belong to the peoples of the Mediterranean and will genuine peace and security prevail in the region.

70. The PRESIDENT: Finally, the Assembly will turn to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 143 [A/39/761]. The Assembly will vote on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 12 of the report. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines,

Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Paraguay, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 117 votes to none, with 30 abstentions (resolution 39/159).*

71. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

72. Mr. HERRERA CACERES (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in document A/39/761 refers to certain actions that are described as State terrorism and aimed at undermining the socio-political system of other sovereign States.

73. None the less, it is known that in contemporary international law there is no autonomous concept of terrorism and, if the internal law of different States shows the existence of regulations on this, comparative study shows that the meaning differs. If we have not, at the international level, defined the basic concept of terrorism, how is it possible to describe unlawful actions or sets of actions as a type of terrorism the illegality of which is a consequence of violations of internationally established laws and principles, and not a consequence of innovative concepts which have no internationally accepted legal basis? In other words, we do not yet have an international classification of terrorism, nor do we have a classification of its forms, whether individual or State terrorism; nor in the latter case, terrorism of a State against its own nationals or against other sovereign States.

74. The very formulation of terrorism offers major difficulties, since this is an area where subjective approaches predominate that can be a source of arbitrary interpretation and can lead the developing States, in particular, to take part in the East-West conflict.

75. The guidelines of contemporary international law, including the resolutions of this international Organization, are sufficiently explicit to prevent our hastily treading on uncertain and dangerous ground for the effective implementation of the principles of the Charter and its respective resolutions.

76. Amendments introduced to the draft resolution on the inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism or any action by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system of other sovereign States have the advantage of attenuating the subjectivity of the original text, thereby expanding the list of illicit actions that might be carried out by a Government against another Government, for political or ideological reasons, to force change in the socio-political system of a State, or to avoid change in such systems.

They also extend this to all military actions of intervention or military occupation under any pretext, without exception.

77. It should be noted in passing that the contents of these amendments were not reflected in the preamble or in the title of the draft resolution before us.

78. All of these supposed actions, once having taken place, are illegal and condemnable because they infringe on principles contained not only in the Charter of the United Nations but also in specific resolutions, such as the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty [resolution 2131(XX)], the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734(XXV)], resolutions concerning the implementation of that Declaration, and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 2625(XXV), annex].

79. Given this situation, the Honduran delegation abstained when this draft resolution was put to the vote. None the less, we do want to reiterate how prepared we are to have the Assembly act promptly to develop a global definition of terrorism and legally condemn all its forms.

80. Mr. SORZANO (United States of America): As we approach the end of 1984, the Assembly is witnessing efforts by the Soviet delegation to produce yet another example of what George Orwell called "double-think" and "double-talk" before the year runs out. My delegation finds it hardly surprising that the Soviets should do this, in light of Orwell's description of the totalitarian practice of deliberately debasing the language, inverting the meaning of commonly accepted terms and generally accusing others of acts in which they themselves systematically engage. No better illustration of this Orwellian insight could be found than the Soviet use of the term "State terrorism" in the Assembly.

81. The use of terrorism as an instrument of State policy can be seen within two contexts: first, that of domestic usage to maintain a dictatorial régime and to prevent the free expression of the will of the people, and secondly, as an element of foreign policy, that is, the application of terror to other States as a means of achieving foreign policy goals. Our century has a tragic record of the use of the most violent and inhumane methods as instruments of State terror by fascist dictatorships. Yet, the removal of fascism from the face of Europe 40 years ago regrettably did not bring relief from the practice of State terrorism.

82. On the contrary. The ghastly record of Soviet terror continues. It has been well, and often very eloquently, presented by a host of its victims, from Nobel Prize laureates to the most humble survivors of the Gulag. This record dates from the very first days of Soviet power and is so vast that it requires large volumes of tightly printed pages only to give a general summary. Shelves of documentation now exist on the terrorism which the Soviet State has deliberately directed at peasants and workers alike, at soldiers and intellectuals, at believers and sceptics, even at loyal party members and the ranks of the secret police themselves. It has encompassed the creation of deliberate famines over large area in order to eliminate entire social classes, the forced

removal into the depths of Central Asia of entire nations which were suspected of lack of loyalty to the State, the planned annihilation of religious believers of a wide spectrum of faiths, including Orthodox Christians, Protestants, Roman Catholics, Jews, Shi-ite Moslems, Sunni Moslems, Buddhists and many others.

83. The breathtaking scale of the great Stalin terror was too much even for the Soviet régime to paper over completely, as is evident from the numerous revelations put before the twentieth and twenty-second Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Yet, just as Orwell predicted, the Soviet totalitarian régime has long since decided to rewrite the history of their party and to pretend not only that the crimes and abuses never took place, but even that their own revelations of some of these crimes and abuses never took place.

84. Lest anyone here prefer to regard the record of past Soviet crimes against the peoples under its control as some kind of "aberrations on the path to developed socialism", let me note that just a few days ago the Soviet Government chose to celebrate International Human Rights Day by arresting those of its citizens who attempted to mark the occasion at the monument to Pushkin which is located right in the centre of the Soviet capital. Those courageous individuals who lost their liberty on this occasion chose an appropriate location for their demonstration. The poet whose statue marks Pushkin Square spoke valiantly all his life for personal liberty and for freedom of expression and thought. Can we now forget that the current régime in Russia has engaged in thought control and suppression of ideas and thinkers on a scale undreamed of by those Czarist officials who censored Pushkin? Perhaps the demonstrators also recalled that the main speaker at the dedication of the monument to Pushkin was Dostoyevski, a writer whose eloquence in condemning political power based only on materialism and the lust for power has yet to be equalled.

85. Can we now forget that the human and spiritual qualities that Dostoyevski extolled have been the principal targets and victims of the Soviet State and that many of Dostoyevski's writings are still unavailable to readers in his own country, being regarded by the Soviet political masters as potentially dangerous to their own grasp on unlimited power? Perhaps these demonstrators also reflected on the fact that an ancient monastery once stood on the site of their demonstration, but was destroyed as a relic of a spiritual and artistic tradition for which the men in the Kremlin had no use. Can we now forget that in recent days there have been new and intensified attacks on believers in all parts of the Soviet Union, from the Western Ukraine and the Baltic States to the Caucasus and Central Asia? Those who have disappeared behind the walls of Moscow's infamous prisons cannot forget, and neither should we.

86. Evil though the use of State terrorism within the borders of the Soviet Union has been, and continues to be, we must devote at least as much attention to the extension of terrorism as State policy far beyond those borders. I trust that we are not yet so insensitive as to have forgotten the photographs of patriots who attempted to defend their national honour and independence, armed with nothing more than bricks, against Soviet tanks. I trust that we can also be equally sensitive to the continuing evidence of the brutality aimed at freedom fighters who must daily



witness the devastation of their homes and the death and maiming of their families by fiendish instruments such as bombs disguised to look like children's toys. To those who would regard these exercises of Soviet State terrorism as less than an integral part of its foreign policy, I would draw attention to the cardinal principle enunciated by Lenin on 28 February 1918, that "No Marxist could, without breaking with the foundations of Marxism and socialism generally, deny that the interests of socialism are higher than the interests of the right of nations of self-determination."

87. Lenin's theory has been put into practice with mind-numbing repetition—in the Caucasus; in Central Asia; in the Baltic States; in Moldavia; in Poland; in Finland; throughout Eastern Europe, with multiple doses in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland; in Viet Nam and Cambodia; and still, with increasing ferocity, in Afghanistan.

88. The reason why the Soviet Union has resorted to force on those occasions is clear. It is determined to maintain its hegemony in Eastern Europe and as far as possible to dominate other regions on its borders. In order to do so it must suppress, where necessary through armed intervention, any attempt by the peoples of the countries in its so-called zone of influence to develop democratic institutions and to assert genuine independence. In fact one might say that if internal State terrorism fails to ensure undisputed rule by the Communist Party, international State terrorism must be employed to this end. Sometimes the first works: take the case of Poland in 1981. But sometimes things go too far and we have Hungary or Czechoslovakia or Afghanistan. Thus the intensification of internal State terrorism obviates resort to international State terrorism.

89. In conclusion, the shameless introduction by the delegation of the Soviet Union of a draft resolution on State terrorism further demonstrates George Orwell's point that totalitarian régimes seek to hide their own despotic practices by debasing the language, inverting the meaning of commonly accepted terms and accusing others of acts that they themselves systematically engage in. For that reason the United States did not vote for this exercise in multilateral cynicism.

90. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): I wish to explain why my delegation abstained in the vote on the draft resolution, although we agree with much of its wording. To do this it is necessary to glance at the history of the draft resolution.

91. The Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union proposed the new agenda item in his statement in the general debate [10th meeting]. Despite considerable scepticism, we raised no objection to the inscription of the item on the agenda. That is our standard policy. However, in company with many other delegations, we had profound objections to the draft resolution that the Soviet Union proposed. It was a veiled attack on the policies of the United States of America. At the same time, it was cunningly drafted so as to avoid General Assembly disapproval of the Brezhnev Doctrine—that is, the doctrine by which the Soviet Union has sought to justify its physical intervention in the internal and external affairs of States that share its socio-economic system, but that have in some respects wandered from the path approved by the Soviet Union. Of course, the Soviet draft did not put the matter as clearly as that; the

Soviet Union aimed by stealth to twist principles to mean what suited it.

92. After testing the reaction of others, the Soviet delegation evidently judged, rightly, that the majority of the General Assembly was unlikely to support its original draft. It therefore put out a revision that somewhat softened the objectionable passages. But the revised draft was still unacceptable, both for what it omitted and for what it contained. My delegation, together with a number of other like-minded delegations, therefore introduced a set of amendments. A number of non-aligned delegations took the same view and also submitted amendments. In the light of those two sets of amendments, the Soviet delegation gave way further and accepted both of the amendments proposed by the non-aligned and several of the amendments proposed by my delegation and others of like mind. The resulting second revised draft is what the First Committee voted on and what we have before us today.

93. The Soviet delegation has retreated a long way; it has, I am glad to say, accepted some excellent language. But now the resolution says something different from what the Soviet delegation meant it to say.

94. In the circumstances, the Soviet delegation ought to have withdrawn its draft resolution—that is, unless it has changed its fundamental policies. It is cynical and damaging to international relations to say one thing and do another.

95. In its first preambular paragraph the draft resolution talks about "the obligation of all States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of any State". I emphasize the use of the word "any". How do we square this new-found probity with the events of 1956 and 1968? The first preambular paragraph also talks about "the inalienable right of all peoples to determine their own form of government and to choose their own economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion and constraint of any kind whatsoever". I emphasize the words "of any kind whatsoever". What about the people of Afghanistan?

96. Paragraph 2 reads as follows:

"Demands that all States take no actions aimed at military intervention and occupation, forcible change in or undermining of the socio-political system of States, the destabilization and overthrow of their Governments and, in particular, initiate no military action to that end under any pretext whatsoever and cease forthwith any such action already in progress;"

I emphasize "cease forthwith any such action already in progress". Again I ask: what about Afghanistan? I also ask whether the Soviet Union has ceased its attempts to undermine the socio-political system of States in Africa, in Latin America and in Asia.

97. In paragraph 1 the Assembly "*Resolutely condemns* policies and practices of terrorism in relations between States as a method of dealing with other States and peoples". Yet we have seen little sign of willingness on the part of the Soviet Union, in practice, to co-operate with other countries in trying to stamp out terrorism.

98. My delegation is in favour of all the passages of this resolution which I have quoted—and, indeed, some others—but in the plain and original meaning

of the words used, not in the twisted meaning that the Soviet Union is trying to imply they have. Some of the statements we have heard in connection with this resolution, and with the whole subject of State terrorism, remind me of Humpty Dumpty. "When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said in a rather scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean, nothing more, nothing less". This is an attitude which strikes at the roots of the proper conduct of international relations just as surely as terrorism against diplomats.

99. If words are not used honestly they become debased. It may be said that words are only symbols, but if the words are devalued what they symbolize is also devalued. This is particularly serious when the words in question are taken from the Charter of the United Nations. We have all sworn to uphold that Charter. It is very important that the principles it enshrines are not twisted to serve particular national ends.

100. My delegation stands by the plain and original meaning of the Charter. We are in favour of the Charter and against State terrorism. That is not our problem with this resolution. Our problem with it is the wide gap between the actions of the sponsor of the resolution and its language. It would be naïve to expect that the Soviet Union is about to change its fundamental policies, and it is therefore against this element of dishonesty in saying one thing and doing another that we protest. That is the reason for our abstention.

101. The PRESIDENT: The necessary technical discussions having been completed, the Assembly will now return to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 55 [A/39/745]. The Assembly will take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in paragraph 9 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of this draft resolution is contained in document A/39/795. The First Committee adopted this draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 39/160).*

102. The PRESIDENT: In the light of the statement made earlier by the Rapporteur concerning the venue of the meetings of the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, may I take it that the Assembly decides that the preferred venue for the Preparatory Committee should be Geneva, provided that this would not involve any additional expenditure for the United Nations?

*It was so decided (decision 39/424).*

103. The PRESIDENT: I call now on the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

104. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): As long as

the United States remained silent on the question of State terrorism, it behaved wisely. Evidently one does not speak of rope in the house of a hanged man. Today, however, when the General Assembly has adopted, by an overwhelming majority of its Members, a resolution against State terrorism, the United States has, in full view, committed an elementary stupidity: by expressing its irritation on this occasion the way it did, the United States quite voluntarily acknowledged that this resolution was aimed against it. We congratulate it on having accepted that fact. Now the General Assembly resolution condemning State terrorism has an unmistakable addressee: the United States of America.

105. The PRESIDENT: I wish to congratulate all delegations on the efficient way in which the work was conducted and on the expeditious disposal of a heavy agenda.

*The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The delegations of Saudi Arabia and Ghana subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of paragraphs 3 and 4 of the draft resolution.

<sup>2</sup>The delegations of Guinea-Bissau, Saudi Arabia and Somalia subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

<sup>3</sup>The delegation of Samoa subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

<sup>4</sup>The delegations of Iraq and Samoa subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

<sup>5</sup>The delegations of Nepal and Samoa subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution.

<sup>6</sup>The delegation of Brazil subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution.

<sup>7</sup>The delegations of Bolivia and Samoa subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

<sup>8</sup>The delegations of Nepal and Samoa subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

<sup>9</sup>The delegation of Cameroon subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution.

<sup>10</sup>The delegation of Liberia subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

<sup>11</sup>The delegations of Brazil and Liberia subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

<sup>12</sup>The delegation of Costa Rica subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

<sup>13</sup>The delegation of Liberia subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution.

<sup>14</sup>The delegation of Saudi Arabia subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution.