



General Assembly

UNITED NATIONS
DEPARTMENT FOR DISARMAMENT AFFAIRS
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GENERAL

A/CN.10/PV.88
17 May 1985

ENGLISH

DISARMAMENT COMMISSION

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE EIGHTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 9 May 1985, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman:

Mr. AHMAD

(Pakistan)

- Statement by the Chairman
- General exchange of views (continued)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN

The CHAIRMAN: The Secretary-General addressed a solemn commemorative ceremony yesterday to observe the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War in Europe. During yesterday's plenary meetings of the Disarmament Commission a number of speakers also referred to the significance of this anniversary and the urgent need for progress in disarmament.

The dates 8 May and 9 May mark the cessation of hostilities in Europe. It was in August 1945 that the Second World War finally ended, when hostilities ceased in Asia. The widespread destruction and the loss of millions of lives during that long and tragic conflict can only underline for us the paramount requirement of preventing another similar conflict. The phenomenal advances that have taken place in armaments, especially in weapons of mass destruction, during the last 40 years should convince everyone that mankind will not be able to survive another cataclysm of this kind.

As the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament aptly states,

"Removing the threat of a world war - a nuclear war - is the most acute and urgent task of the present day. Mankind is confronted with a choice: we must halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament or face annihilation."

(resolution S-10/2, para. 18)

As we commemorate this year the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War, which is also the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, let us set aside what divides us and reinvigorate our efforts to promote understanding between nations. We must pledge to work to reduce international tensions. We must undertake to conduct inter-State relations in accordance with the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter. We must resolve to pursue the goal of disarmament with the sincerity and the urgency that it deserves.

GENERAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS (continued)

Mr. CESAR (Czechoslovakia) (interpretation from Russian): On this solemn day, when the peoples of the world are commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the victory over nazism and fascism in the Second World War - a day that is also a

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national holiday in my country, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic - I have been given the great honour of speaking on behalf of the delegations of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and my own delegation, to make the following joint statement:

"Today marks the fortieth anniversary of the victorious outcome of the battle, unprecedented in history by its scale and fierceness, against the most reactionary strike force of imperialism - Hitlerite fascism, whose goal was to reverse the course of history and to establish its 'new order'. Forty years ago the gloomy night of Fascist slavery and genocide came to an end for the peoples of Europe and all the countries of the world. The future of world civilization, progress and democracy was saved from the plague of fascism.

"The decades that have passed since have demonstrated ever more clearly and fully the universal and historic significance of the great victory over nazism and fascism. It had the most profound influence on the entire course of world development, creating favourable conditions for the struggle of the peoples for their social and national liberation. The victory strengthened the positions of progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces; the world socialist system emerged and is developing successfully; the process of the disintegration of the imperialist colonial system accelerated to culminate in a complete collapse. A most important result of the victory was the establishment of the United Nations, which set as its primary goal that of saving mankind from the scourge of war for ever.

"The Soviet Union made a decisive contribution to the victory. The Soviet people and their armed forces, under the leadership of the Communist Party, during the course of the Great Patriotic War protected the freedom and independence of their socialist motherland. They brought freedom to many other States as well. The efforts of all the States and peoples of the anti-Hitlerite coalition were a major factor which contributed to the great victory over fascism. An important contribution to the struggle against the forces of fascism was made by members of the resistance movement and of the anti-Fascist underground. Communists, faithful sons of their peoples and ardent internationalists, were in the forefront of the liberation struggle.

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"The peoples of the world had to pay a terrible toll in that bloodiest and most destructive of wars in human history. Fifty million people died in the war, which caused untold destruction to the peoples and the countries. About 11 million people - men, women, old people and children of dozens of nationalities - were tortured to death in the Third Reich concentration camps alone.

"The great significance of the victory of the freedom-loving peoples over fascism was particularly noted in the communiqué of the recent summit meeting in Warsaw of the Party and State leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member countries. The communiqué says that the price of the victory was very high, and goes on to stress:

'In memory of the fallen and as a duty to present and future generations, the lessons of the war must not be forgotten.'

"The main lesson is that war must be opposed before it breaks out. (A/40/292, p. 5) History teaches us that what is needed to defend and preserve peace is united, co-ordinated and decisive action by all peace-loving forces against the aggressive, adventurist policy of imperialism.

"War is wrong; it is an unacceptable way of solving disputes. Neither a nuclear war nor the arms race nor confrontation can end in victory. For this reason it is more important today than ever before for all States - irrespective of their different social systems and ideologies - to unite in the struggle against the danger of another world war, for, if not averted, its destructive consequences would defy any comparison with the Second World War. This is the sacred duty we owe to the memory of the tens of millions who gave their lives in the struggle against fascism and nazism in the Second World War; it is the only way to preserve life on earth.

"Nor should it be forgotten that proponents of Fascist ideology are still with us today. They are re-emerging here and there and declaring their sinister plans on an international scale. Reactionary forces are again thinking in terms of changing the post-war face of Europe and in doing so are getting encouragement from certain quarters. These are dangerous trends that should be strongly resisted.

"The socialist States consistently support the elimination of the threat of war, the curbing of the arms race and the preservation of peace. They are

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doing everything in their power to defend peace, avert a nuclear catastrophe and prevent any disruption of the existing military and strategic balance.

"They favour the development of comprehensive, mutually advantageous international co-operation on a basis of equality. They have never advocated the division of Europe and of the world into opposing military blocs. They continue to call for the simultaneous dissolution of their alliance and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and for the dissolution of their military organizations as a first step.

"The socialist countries stress, however, that as long as the NATO military bloc exists as a threat to European and universal peace the maintenance of peace is well served by the fraternal alliance of the peoples and the armies of the Warsaw Treaty.

"The socialist countries will continue to work to avert the threat of nuclear war, to end the arms race, and above all the nuclear arms race, on Earth, to prevent an arms race in outer space, to bring about disarmament, and to revive the process of détente and co-operation in international relations. For these purposes they are prepared to develop a peaceful dialogue with other States in a spirit of good will and trust and to establish broad international interaction in the interest of ensuring universal peace and security.

"On this solemn occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the victory of progressive forces over nazism and fascism, the socialist States appeal to all Member States of the United Nations to direct all their efforts towards the achievement of practical results in the work of the United Nations Disarmament Commission. Once again they reaffirm their readiness to agree upon and adopt balanced, constructive and far-reaching recommendations on all the items on the Commission's agenda, to make it possible to reach an agreement without delay on substantive measures to curb the nuclear and conventional arms race, limit naval armaments and freeze and reduce military budgets and to take other genuine, practical steps to prevent nuclear war.

"The socialist States urge the nuclear Powers which have not yet done so to follow the example of the Soviet Union and renounce the first use of nuclear weapons. They call attention to the particular danger inherent in plans to extend the arms race to outer space. They stress their determination to do everything in their power to reach agreement without delay on measures

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which will ensure that outer space is ultimately used exclusively for peaceful purposes, to the benefit of all mankind. The socialist countries also call for the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament, in conformity with the decisions of the first and second special sessions of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament, and strongly advocate full implementation of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade.

"Peace is the greatest of all benefits, but peace does not come of itself: active efforts are needed to maintain and strengthen peace. In this connection, the socialist countries hope that the activities of the United Nations Disarmament Commission will contribute to the removal of the danger of another world war and towards reviving détente in international relations. Such is the imperative of our time. We owe this to the memory of those who gave their lives for the victory over fascism."

On 9 May 1945, as a result of the heroic operations of the Soviet troops which hastened to the assistance of the people of Prague, who had risen up against the oppressors, the last major units of the Hitlerite armies surrendered and the Second World War ended in Europe.

The memory of the victims of fascism and the lessons derived from the Second World War are especially dear to the people of Czechoslovakia. We shall never forget that the origin of that war was the shameful Munich diktat, when the Western Powers rejected their international obligations and tried to divert Hitlerite aggression to the east, leaving Czechoslovakia at the mercy of the Fascists. In concentration camps, in torture chambers of the Gestapo and on battlefields, 400,000 Czechoslovak patriots perished. The whole world well remembers the name of the village of Lidice, which was destroyed by the Fascists, sharing the fate of Oradour and Khatyn.

One hundred and forty thousand sons and daughters of the Soviet Union gave their lives for Czechoslovakia. Along with them today rest tens of thousands of soldiers, airmen and partisans of other nationalities in the anti-Hitlerite coalition. We honour their memory and shall do all in our power to prevent a repetition of the events that led to that war.

Therefore, once again today we firmly condemn the attempts of the re-emerging forces of revanchism and reaction and reject the policy of diktat and military

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adventurism. We favour the development of fruitful international co-operation on a basis of equality and the adoption of effective practical and political measures to reduce the dangerous level of military confrontation and halt the arms race in all its aspects. We wish to see a return to the policy of détente.

In the struggle to preserve peace and eliminate the threat of a nuclear war a decisive role must be played by the efforts of States to curb the arms race and promote disarmament. In this context, the socialist States, including Czechoslovakia, have submitted a wide-ranging, realistic programme of specific proposals dealing with all the relevant aspects of the problem of disarmament.

This programme contains, inter alia, the political declaration of the parties to the Warsaw Treaty adopted in Prague in January 1983. In full compliance with the priorities laid down by the United Nations and the objectives of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade, it contains concrete proposals for developing a comprehensive programme for nuclear disarmament. It calls for substantive progress in the negotiations at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament so that an agreement on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear testing may be worked out as soon as possible; the intensification of work on an international convention banning and eliminating chemical weapons; the commencement of work on a convention banning neutron weapons; the immediate commencement of negotiations on the prohibition of the deployment of weapons of any type in outer space; the conclusion as soon as possible, of an international convention banning radiological weapons; and the stepping up of the search for a solution to the problem of strengthening guarantees of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States.

The declaration also emphasizes the great significance of strengthening the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and proposes measures aimed at achieving this objective. It also stresses the urgency of concluding practical agreements in order not to increase, and consequently to decrease, military expenditures. Proposals are also made to come to an agreement on the total elimination of medium-range nuclear weapons and tactical nuclear weapons in Europe on the basis of equality and equal security. At the same time there are proposals to limit the conventional and naval arms race.

In order to reduce levels of constant tension and to create a situation that would promote the favourable development of international relations, the countries of the Warsaw Treaty have made a major proposal regarding the conclusion of a

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treaty with the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) regarding mutual non-use of military force and maintenance of peaceful relations.

All of these proposals were on numerous occasions supplemented and further worked on by countries of the Warsaw Treaty, and, if the States members of NATO had dealt with these proposals seriously, then right now there would have been no need to express disappointment regarding the non-implementation of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade; and, obviously, the situation in the world would have been completely different - it would have been much less tense and calmer.

However, the States members of NATO gave their answer to the constructive proposal of the socialist countries. They did not give that answer at the negotiating table; there we saw only obstruction, and in the area of increasing tensions over the last few years they have done all in their power to upset the approximate existing balance of forces and to achieve military strategic supremacy over the socialist countries.

Barely a year had elapsed after the adoption of the Prague Declaration when in Western Europe we saw the deployment of new United States medium-range missiles, which led to the establishment of a qualitatively new and even more dangerous military situation in Europe and made impossible the continuation of the Soviet-American negotiations that were then being conducted. And a year later we saw in definite form the sinister plans of the United States Administration to unleash the arms race in outer space as well. There can be no doubt whatsoever that the so-called strategic defence initiative has one goal only, namely, to defend and increase the nuclear strike potential of the United States. Once again, as in the past, efforts are being made to involve other countries also in this new military adventure.

In this connection, Czechoslovakia highly values the Soviet Union's constructive proposals on the adoption of a moratorium on the establishment - and this includes scientific research - testing and deployment of space strike weapons for the entire period of the Soviet-American negotiations and on both sides freezing their strategic offensive weapons. We feel that is extremely relevant, important and constructive and that such a moratorium, which has been unilaterally introduced by the Soviet Union on the development of its medium-range missiles, is also extremely important as is the implementation of other measures in response in

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Europe before November of this year. Thus the Soviet initiative regarding the key problems we have mentioned shows once again a way out of the existing difficult and dangerous situation, and we hope that this time the opportunity before us to continue on a policy of reducing confrontation and curbing the arms race will not be missed.

The delegation of Czechoslovakia believes that the United Nations Disarmament Commission can this year make a useful authoritative contribution towards resolving the burning problems of disarmament if, of course, all its members in fact show good will and a readiness to make clear, substantive and practical recommendations to the General Assembly in order to give fresh impetus to the negotiations under way. For our part, we are fully ready to do so.

I cannot conclude my statement without congratulating you, Sir, on your election to your high and responsible office. I should like to assure you and the other officers of the Commission of the full co-operation and support of the Czechoslovak delegation in this very difficult task.

Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I should like first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election to the office of Chairman of the United Nations Disarmament Commission. We know you, Mr. Mansur Ahmad, to be an experienced diplomat in one of the most complex spheres in international relations of multilateral diplomacy and we express the hope that under your chairmanship the United Nations Disarmament Commission will achieve success this year.

Today, as we mark the fortieth anniversary of the victorious conclusion of the battle of peace-loving peoples against fascism, the Soviet delegation would like to devote part of its statement to this historic event.

I belong to that generation whose lot it was to go through the severe and inhuman ordeal of the years of the war. My generation knows the horrors of war, not from textbooks or novels, not from movies or television, but from living experience. For that reason, regarding the lessons of history from the Second World War, I as a direct and immediate participant should like to pay tribute to the memory of the millions of my fellow-countrymen as well as to those who were fighters against fascism in all countries of the world and gave their young lives in the name of saving mankind from the Fascist plague. It is the memories of these, sometimes unknown, heroes which will live in our hearts forever. We, our

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children and grandchildren and future generations are indebted to them for the fact that we can live and work according to those political and social systems we have chosen. It is to these heroes that we owe the fact that the United Nations - the Organization in which we work together - has been in existence for 40 years now.

The great victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism was of world-wide historic significance. It is our common heritage, for it was gained by the common efforts of the peoples and armies of the countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, the partisans, the members of the resistance, anti-Fascists, democrats and patriots, and millions of freedom fighters. In those threatening years of the 1940s the battle against Hitlerite fascism was the struggle for the preservation of European and world civilization. More than 50 million lives were swept away in the Second World War. In my country it cost 20 million lives; adults and children and an enormous number of soldiers and civilians working in the rear died in that war. They gave their lives, their labour and their skills in that struggle. Not a single family in the Soviet Union escaped the flames of war. The pain and sorrow of our people are still great and profound indeed is the grief of soldiers' widows, mothers and orphans, who are inconsolable.

The Soviet Union is by its social nature a peaceful nation. It works actively and consistently for the consolidation of peaceful relations among States. The need to promote peaceful international relations is supported by the historical experience of the Soviet State, particularly the experience of the Second World War. The people of our country know only too well what foreign intervention and struggle against the aggressor mean.

The Fascist invaders destroyed or burned down, partially or completely, within the USSR, 1,710 cities and towns, more than 70,000 villages, more than 6 million buildings and nearly 32,000 industrial enterprises. More than 25 million people were made homeless. Overall, our country lost almost 30 per cent of its national wealth during the war.

Great losses and destruction were also suffered by some other countries. Thus, in Poland the Fascists destroyed almost 40 per cent of the national wealth, which was equivalent to the results of the labour of the two preceding generations. In Yugoslavia almost 40 per cent of the industrial enterprises were destroyed and 300,000 farms were devastated. France's losses amounted to \$US 21,145 million; those of Great Britain to \$US 6,383 million; and those of the United States to \$US 1,267 million.

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Soviet material losses accounted for over 40 per cent of the \$316 billion worth of material losses suffered in the Second World War. The direct damage alone inflicted by the Fascist aggressors in occupied Soviet territory amounted to \$128 billion.

But it goes without saying that the most abhorrent losses were the human casualties on the battlefield from bullets and shells, as well as the victims of starvation and destruction in the rear and those brutally murdered in the concentration camps. The Soviet and many other peoples are well aware of the monstrous atrocities committed by the members of the SS, who were condemned in 1946 by the Nuremburg international tribunal as members of a criminal organization. Honouring them in any way cannot but be regarded as insulting mankind's memory of the millions of people who were shot, cremated or gassed in the SS gas chambers.

Forty years have elapsed since the end of the war, but the barbaric acts of the Fascist torturers and SS murderers are still vivid in the memory of a shocked mankind, including the Soviet people. The memory of that policy of mass extermination will never be erased. The annihilation of more than 11 million European citizens in Hitler's concentration camps can be neither forgotten nor forgiven. The tragedy of war and the joy of that great victory will remain for ever in the human memory.

One of the main tasks of Hitlerite Germany was to liquidate the Soviet Union as a State with a new social system and to eradicate communism throughout the world. However, the results of the war were quite the opposite: the role of the Soviet Union in world affairs increased - it is now called a super-Power - socialism spread to a large number of countries and the ideas of communism penetrated all parts of the globe. Instead of defeating the Soviet Union, nazism and fascism were dealt a fatal blow. The same infamous end is in store for any who dare to embark on a crusade designed to destroy the Soviet Union, the socialist community or communist ideology.

The severe and instructive lessons of war cannot be forgotten. Above all, we should not forget one of the major lessons it teaches us - that we must struggle against aggression together, and determinedly, before another conflagration breaks out.

Throughout the history of mankind wars have taken their toll of hundreds of millions of lives. But, taking into account the qualitative changes in the

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means of waging war during the last few decades, it can be said with confidence that a third world war would threaten the planet with total destruction. A nuclear tornado, if it ever happened on Earth, would leave no trace of life on our planet.

In the years of the Second World War many States with different socio-economic systems were able to unite in the struggle against the common enemy in the face of the deadly Fascist threat. They proved that effective political and military co-operation was possible in the name of the single goal dear to all - freedom and peace. Nowadays too we have a common goal - to save mankind from the nuclear threat. The unity of peoples can become a solid barrier against those forces which are dragging the world towards a nuclear abyss.

Mikhail Gorbachev, General-Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said yesterday in Moscow at a solemn meeting commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War:

"It is the duty of the living to the millions of those who gave their lives for freedom and social progress, our common duty to the present and succeeding generations, to uphold man's sacred right to life and to ensure a lasting peace".

Regrettably, we are commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the victory in a tense and dangerous atmosphere. This is the result of the policies of the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) aimed at disrupting the military and strategic equilibrium and at achieving military superiority over the USSR and over Warsaw Treaty member States. However, all designs - so dangerous for all the peoples - to gain a dominant position in the world and to dictate one's will to other States, and to the Soviet Union in particular, are doomed to failure.

The situation in Europe causes special concern. It is in that part of the world that major armed forces and military arsenals confront each other. Western Europe is witnessing the continuation of the deployment of United States first-strike nuclear missiles and the growing activities of revanchists who seek to question the results of the Second World War and of the post-war development and, first and foremost, the existing political and territorial realities in Europe.

All efforts of certain forces within and outside Europe to undermine the historic Yalta and Potsdam agreements which laid the foundations of the post-war

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world are doomed to failure. These agreements have reliably served the security of the Europeans for 40 years and are unacceptable only to the forces of militarism and revanchism.

The extreme hardships of war demand most compellingly that solutions to the questions of arms limitation and disarmament be intensively sought. It is quite natural that all the post-war history of international relations is permeated, figuratively speaking, with Soviet proposals on these questions.

We are convinced that war is not fatally inevitable. There are no international questions that cannot be solved around the negotiating table. Détente and businesslike co-operation can and should be a natural and constant expression of international life.

We are deeply convinced that it is necessary to take actions so that this year of the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War and the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, an international organization which was created first of all in order to prevent another war, be marked by the intensification and pooling together of efforts by all States to achieve a decisive turn towards arms limitation and disarmament. We shall try to ensure that the work of the United Nations Commission on Disarmament contributes to that end. In this context it is important that concrete recommendations on the agenda items be worked out, recommendations which, if implemented, would serve the interests of progress towards arms limitation and disarmament.

Here I should like to say in the first place that the prevention of a nuclear disaster and the limitation and reduction of nuclear arms are the most urgent tasks of our time. An agreement on these questions is, however, unthinkable while outer space is being militarized. The extension of the arms race into outer space would lead to yet another and more dangerous spiral in this race and to a sharp decrease in strategic stability. Although the main responsibility for the elimination of the nuclear threat lies with the nuclear States, the struggle for the prevention of nuclear war and for the maintenance of strategic stability at progressively lower levels of nuclear armaments is of concern to each and every one of us.

As for the Soviet Union, it is doing everything in its power to this end. The USSR attaches great importance to the Soviet-United States talks that recently started, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, in Geneva. The purpose of the talks, as jointly stated by the two sides, is to elaborate effective agreements in

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order to prevent an arms race in outer space and to curb the arms race on earth, to limit and reduce nuclear armaments and to strengthen strategic stability.

In order to achieve right now the first concrete results at the Geneva talks and to facilitate the further progress of those talks, the USSR has proposed that for the whole period of the Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons the USSR and the United States observe a moratorium on the creation, including research and development, and the testing and deployment of strike space weapons and that they freeze their strategic offensive armaments. Simultaneously, a halt should be put to the deployment of medium-range United States missiles in Europe and, correspondingly, the build-up of measures in response on the part of the USSR. To emphasize convincingly its sincerity and good will the USSR has declared that it is stopping unilaterally until November the deployment of its medium-range missiles and that it is halting other measures in response in Europe.

On the whole, we think it is important that while considering and solving the problems of nuclear and space weapons in their interrelationship, these talks, along with other efforts, should be directed at eliminating nuclear weapons completely and everywhere.

A ban on nuclear-weapons testing could become a rather substantial move towards stopping the race in nuclear armaments. The USSR, for its part, is ready to resume without delay the talks on a total ban on nuclear-weapon tests, and it supports the proposal for a moratorium on all nuclear-weapon tests starting on 6 August 1985, which is the fortieth anniversary of the nuclear bombardment of Hiroshima. If there is a positive response by other nuclear Powers, such a moratorium could be declared even earlier.

To avert a nuclear war some other material measures should also be taken without delay - in particular, the freezing of nuclear armaments by all the nuclear Powers, and in the first place by the USSR and the United States, the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and the overall strengthening of the non-proliferation régime, which is based on the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Today it is more important than ever before for all the nuclear States which have not yet done so to undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons; that is in fact tantamount to the overall renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons. A definite positive effect could be achieved as a result of reaching an agreement between all the nuclear Powers to accept in their relations certain rules which are natural if the goal of averting a nuclear war is put forward.

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As to the problem of the reduction of military budgets, we think it important that the Commission's recommendations should set the aim of starting concrete talks on reaching agreements in this area. Practical and concrete measures in this field were proposed by the Warsaw Treaty member States and the NATO countries in the well-known proposal of 5 March 1984 concerning talks on not increasing and then decreasing military expenditures. Other States could also take part in these measures.

As far as the problem of the nuclear capability of South Africa is concerned, we wholeheartedly share the position of those who stand for putting an end to the growing nuclear threat to African countries and to international peace on the whole resulting from Pretoria's nuclear ambitions. We stand together with those who demand that South Africa sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and place all its nuclear activities under International Atomic Energy Agency control. We stand together with those who reaffirm the responsibility of certain Western States and transnational corporations for Pretoria's acquisition of a nuclear potential and who condemn them for their continuing nuclear co-operation with South Africa.

The Commission's agenda contains some new items, such as that on curbing the naval arms race. We deem it important that discussions of this question and the relevant recommendations be oriented towards holding multilateral negotiations on limiting naval activities and naval armaments with the participation of all major naval Powers and other interested countries. Such negotiations could be held, for example, within the framework of the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. A good basis for these negotiations is to be found in the concrete Soviet proposals contained in the letter from Andrei Andreyevich Gromyko addressed to the Secretary-General on 9 April 1984.

The Soviet Union has always attached great importance to the United Nations as an effective tool for peace. It is from that perspective that we approach the question of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament. We believe that United Nations efforts aimed at promoting disarmament measures and at saving humanity from the danger of a nuclear catastrophe are very important in the current tense international situation.

At the same time, we should like to stress that the real causes of the lack of progress in disarmament do not stem from deficiencies of the machinery or

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procedures of negotiation. Rather they stem from the reluctance of Western States to agree to real measures to end the arms race.

The Soviet Union shares the concern of many States at the lack of progress in the implementation of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade. Indeed, the danger of a nuclear catastrophe has increased while the level of confidence among States has decreased.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said yesterday in this connection that

"We firmly believe that the process of détente should be revived. This does not mean, however, a simple return to what was achieved in the 1970s. It is necessary to strive for something much greater. From our point of view, détente is not the end aim of politics. It is needed, but only as a transitional stage between a world cluttered with arms and a reliable and all-embracing international security system."

In conclusion it should be said that there exists an urgent need to restore dialogue, to search for realistic ways to ease tension in the world and help slow down the arms race. We hope that the United Nations Disarmament Commission will be able to make a contribution to the attainment of this objective.

Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (interpretation from French): I wish first of all, Sir, to convey to you the sincere congratulations of the Romanian delegation on your election to the chairmanship of this important Commission and to say that we are confident that under your guidance the work of the present session will lead to positive results. I should like also to congratulate the other Commission officers and to wish them every success in carrying out the responsibilities entrusted to them.

The work of this Commission is taking place in extremely difficult international conditions. There exists a grave threat to international peace and security, to the sovereignty and independence of many nations, and to life on earth itself.

The arms race has seen an unprecedented comprehensive intensification: There is virtually no sphere of armament in which there has not been very costly and dangerous quantitative and qualitative growth. The increasingly vast quantities of nuclear weapons constitute a genuine danger to the peace and security of each and every State and to the very existence of peoples, for another world war would, in present circumstances, inevitably lead to a nuclear catastrophe and to the destruction of the entire human race.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

A particularly dangerous situation has been created in Europe by the deployment of new nuclear missiles. There is an increased danger of the arms race spreading into outer space, which would lead to intensified military competition and heightened instability and risk of war.

As we commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism we must not forget that the Second World War broke out because of a lack of unity and determination among the anti-Fascist and anti-Hitler forces. Nor must we forget that victory was possible thanks to the formation of a broad anti-Hitler coalition and to the commitment to battle of all anti-Fascist progressive forces. It is all the more necessary that we recall these facts today, when the international situation is in its worst state since the end of the Second World War, and when the existence of nuclear weapons threatens civilization and life on earth itself.

Under these circumstances, halting the arms race, preventing war and safeguarding peace constitute the fundamental problem of the day. This demands more than ever that the peoples of the world - particularly those of Europe, who this century have borne the full consequences of two world wars - learn the lessons of history and unite their efforts and co-operate actively, before it is too late, to halt the dangerous course of events towards confrontation and war, towards nuclear cataclysm.

If we wish truly to pay a tribute to the immense sacrifices of those who perished in the flames of the Second World War, we must unite our efforts and overcome all differences to halt the trend towards nuclear catastrophe. We must act and continue to act to stop the mad spiral of the arms race and begin a genuine disarmament process.

This is indeed an urgent and extremely important task, which, as stressed recently by the President of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, can be carried out only through united action by all peace-loving forces, by all peoples.

The paramount aim of the United Nations is "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and it cannot but play a central role in the achievement of disarmament, which is a basic prerequisite for the maintenance of peace and security for all peoples.

Those are the main considerations which determine the approach of the Romanian delegation to the particularly important problems before the Commission at this session. Constructive consideration of those problems, with the active

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

participation of all States, can make it possible for the Commission to make a meaningful contribution to the establishment of the conditions necessary for moving on to disarmament negotiations.

Our first comments in this general exchange of views refer to the problems related to nuclear weapons and nuclear disarmament, to which we attach the highest priority. The attitude of my country in these matters was recently expressed in a series of position statements by the President of Romania and the Grand National Assembly.

In Romania's view, as expressed by President Nicolae Ceausescu, the only way to halt the present course of international events and to prevent nuclear war is to stop the arms race - first, the nuclear arms race, with an end to the production of nuclear weapons and then the gradual reduction of existing stockpiles, eventually leading to their complete elimination.

Romania, like all the other States of Europe and States in other parts of the world, welcomed the opening in Geneva of negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on the problems of nuclear weapons and space weapons. It is clear that the beginning of negotiations is not in itself enough to solve so many serious problems. Like other States, Romania expects the opening declarations to be followed by genuine, sincere negotiations, guided by a profound sense of responsibility, which will lead to acceptable agreements meeting the expectations of the peoples.

In the appeal that it made recently to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the United States Congress, the Parliaments of the European countries and the Canadian Parliament, the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania called on them to take action to halt, during the Geneva negotiations, the testing and production of new nuclear weapons, the installation in Europe of American intermediate-range missiles, the application of nuclear counter-measures announced by the Soviet Union and the militarization of outer space.

The adoption of such measures would contribute to the creation of an atmosphere of trust conducive to the progress and successful conclusion of the negotiations. Therefore, Romania welcomes the Soviet initiative concerning a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of its medium-range missiles and the suspension of the implementation of other retaliatory measures in Europe, as a positive contribution to the progress of the negotiations.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

In view of the statements made by the two parties, which we believe to be sincere, that the goal of the negotiations is radically to reduce the number of nuclear weapons until they have been eliminated from Europe and the world, there is no reason for them to continue the production and installation of new nuclear weapons during the negotiations.

As the problems of nuclear weapons concern not only the two super-Powers but all the peoples, other States should be able to take a more active part in the efforts to reach agreements to end the nuclear danger on earth and in space. In parallel with the Soviet-United States negotiations there should be intensified negotiations in the international bodies and conferences devoted to security and disarmament. Above all, there should be a speeding-up of the negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, in the work of the Conference on Confidence and Security Measures and Disarmament in Europe and in the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe. At the same time, it is necessary to intensify, in parallel with the negotiations on the reduction of nuclear weapons, the efforts to reach agreements on conventional disarmament.

The debates every year in the General Assembly, the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva and other disarmament forums, as well as the work of this Commission, have expressed the profound concern of States faced with the irrational growth in expenditure on arms. Reports and studies constantly appearing in the specialized literature and in the other media highlight the harmful political, economic and social consequences for the life of peoples of the wasteful devotion of vast human and material resources to destructive purposes.

We believe that two basic conclusions justify firm, urgent action to freeze and reduce military budgets. First, at the military and political level, the increase in military budgets is based on the mistaken belief that national security can be maintained and strengthened by the continual acquisition and improvement of weapons. Experience shows that the constant increase in military expenditure has not led to increased security for any nation or for mankind as a whole. On the contrary, security has continually been reduced, with increased international mistrust, instability and tension, as well as an increased risk of war.

Secondly, at the economic level, increased military expenditure represents an irrational and often immoral waste of vast resources vitally necessary for the development of peoples and for a healthy economy. Military expenditure is inversely

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

proportional to international assistance to the developing countries. In the most heavily armed States, in which the growth of military expenditure in recent years has been among the highest, unemployment continues to be very high, as does the national debt, while there is uncertainty about a real recovery in economic activity.

Because of the need to put an end to this scourge, which saps the energy and resources of peoples, Romania has on several occasions made specific proposals aimed at freezing and reducing military budgets. Moreover, my country has decided to freeze its expenditure on armaments at the 1982 level, and has suggested that the States of the two military alliances - the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact - agree to reduce their military expenditure.

Resolution 39/64 A, which the General Assembly adopted by consensus at its last session, requests our Commission to finalize this year the identification and elaboration of the principles which should govern further actions of States in the freezing and reduction of military expenditure. That is a specific, well-defined and limited task.

As is well known, the identification and elaboration of those principles is based on a joint initiative of Romania and Sweden submitted to the Commission in 1981 and aimed at harmonizing the position of States and establishing trust between them, so that agreements on the reduction of military budgets may be reached.

We express the hope that the Working Group created to consider the agenda item concerning the reduction of military budgets will be in a position to begin specific negotiations on formulas spelling out the various principles, in order that they may be adopted and recommended to the General Assembly. While recognizing the complexity of this problem, we believe that an agreement on its principles is possible.

It is encouraging that the resolutions proposed by Romania on the reduction of military budgets were adopted by the General Assembly by consensus. This shows that general agreement in this field is possible.

I wish to emphasize that Romania intends to act constructively to overcome the present difficulties in the consideration of the problem of the freezing and reduction of military expenditures, including those concerning the communication of data on military budgets. It was in that spirit that Romania recently decided to transmit such data to the Secretary-General.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

My delegation actively took part in the drafting in this Commission of the United Nations General Assembly Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade. The consideration of the implementation of that Declaration the Commission has been called on to undertake will, no doubt, show that the goals and measures relating to disarmament advocated in that document adopted five years ago are far from being achieved and that a situation in quite the opposite direction has developed. Despite this totally unsatisfactory result which prevails at present, the Second Disarmament Decade may still serve as a useful framework for the mobilization and organization of the efforts of all States with a view to initiating a genuine disarmament process. Hence Romania feels that the evaluation that will take place should preferably be directed towards the identification of fresh ways and means and modalities for action that would give new impetus to the implementation of the goals and measures of the Decade.

That is why my country believes that the suggestions the Disarmament Commission has been requested to make and report on to the General Assembly at its fortieth session should include the reaffirmation of the commitment of States Members to the purposes and measures of the Decade. At the same time, in view of the fact that during the period that has elapsed since the proclamation of the Decade weapons have been developed in such a way that the priority of certain measures is more important than ever before or that fresh measures are now at the forefront, it would be appropriate to make suggestions to the General Assembly asking it to update and supplement the provisions of the Declaration adopted in 1980.

The Romanian delegation attaches particular importance to the review of the role to be played by the United Nations in the field of disarmament. The considerations and specific suggestions we would like to make on this problem are contained in the reply from the Romanian Government conveyed to the Secretary-General in conformity with resolution 39/151 G.

In our view, the present situation more than ever before calls for the adoption of measures that will ensure the central role to be played by, and the paramount responsibility of, the United Nations in the field of disarmament and a more effective exercise of its functions. As a universal body, the United Nations must direct its main efforts at enlisting the political will of all States - and, in the first place, the nuclear-weapon States and other heavily armed States - so as to take action to prevent war, bring a halt to the arms race and achieve nuclear disarmament.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

In our opinion, the review of the role and responsibility of the United Nations in the field of disarmament and the identification of measures intended to strengthen them should be given far broader scope, as called for by the interdependence between disarmament problems and other major problems that confront mankind today.

Action intended to strengthen the role of the United Nations in achieving disarmament should be carried out in close harmony with the efforts aimed at increasing the Organization's role in the peaceful settlement of disputes between States, the maintenance of international peace and security, the elimination of the phenomenon of underdevelopment and support of peoples for their economic and social development.

The Romanian delegation feels that the consideration of the problem of curbing the naval arms race, should form an integral part of all efforts aimed at reducing military activities and achieving disarmament. The measures to be recommended in this field should also be based on the principles and goals set out in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

It is in that spirit that Romania is in favour of the reduction of naval activities and weapons and the reduction and elimination of foreign military presence in various parts of the world's oceans.

Finally, Romania believes that South Africa's nuclear capability constitutes a serious danger for international peace and security, in particular for the security of African States, and increases the risk of proliferation of nuclear weapons. We believe that the concern of African countries and the international community is well founded in this respect and we support the request contained in resolution 39/61 B that the Disarmament Commission give detailed consideration to this matter, on the basis of the conclusions contained in the report of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) on South Africa's nuclear capability, with a view to formulating appropriate conclusions on this serious issue.

Those were the considerations my delegation wished to set before the Commission within the framework of this general exchange of views. We would reserve our right to speak again on specific items on the Commission's agenda when they are taken up in the Committee of the Whole and in the Working Groups.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

I wish to assure you once again, Mr. Chairman, of our full co-operation in the Commission's work and to express the hope that the results we shall be able to achieve will contribute in promoting the cause of disarmament and of international peace and security.

Mr. RACZ (Hungary): Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the chairmanship of the United Nations Disarmament Commission and wish you every success in discharging your responsible and difficult tasks. My congratulations and best wishes go also to the other officers of the Commission.

Today mankind is under the threat of an extremely grave danger. In these circumstances the most fundamental claim and right, as well as the most urgent task, of every nation and people are to strengthen peace and avoid nuclear catastrophe. The Hungarian People's Republic takes a stand in favour of curbing the arms race and preventing its extension to new areas. My country supports every initiative that contributes to the elimination of the danger of nuclear war, to the complete and definitive banning of nuclear weapons and, finally, to general and complete disarmament.

The Hungarian Government gives practical attention to such measures because they can contribute directly to improving the international atmosphere, strengthening confidence among States and international security and, ultimately, creating a world free from nuclear weapons.

My Government considers that the non-first-use of nuclear weapons would be a major step towards the prevention of nuclear war. It deems it useful for all nuclear Powers to undertake - following the example first set by the Soviet Union and later by China - not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. The creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world, particularly in Europe, would also be a useful contribution to the prevention of nuclear war.

Agreement by the nuclear-weapon States on a quantitative and qualitative freeze, under an appropriate verification system, of their nuclear arsenals would be a major step forward on the road to the reduction and complete elimination of nuclear arsenals, thereby definitively removing the threat of a nuclear war.

The evolution of the international situation has reached a point at which the question arises what future direction we can take. There is an acute need for international co-operation in developing a dialogue and searching for realistic solutions that would ease tension in the world and help curb the arms race. All

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States, large and small, should be involved in this. Obviously, a special role belongs to the nuclear Powers, above all the Soviet Union and the United States.

On 8 April 1985 the Soviet Union once again demonstrated its goodwill by declaring a moratorium on the deployment of its medium-range missiles and suspending the implementation of other measures of response in Europe. On the other hand, everyone has heard a lot about the so-called star wars plans of the United States of America. The United States Administration speaks about defence, but is seeking military superiority: it advocates a space shield, but is forging a space sword. It even claims, without foundation, that by developing space weapons it is possible to achieve the liquidation of nuclear weapons. This is a fraudulent contention. Just as the appearance of nuclear arms did not eliminate conventional weapons but only accelerated the nuclear as well as the conventional arms race, so the development and deployment of space weapons would have but one result - the arms race would become even more intensive and encompass new spheres.

At the meeting of the leaders of Warsaw Treaty member States held on 26 April 1985 in Warsaw, it was emphasized that the parties to the Treaty would continue to fight to prevent the threat of nuclear war, to halt the arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race, to prevent such a race in outer space, to bring about disarmament and to restore the process of détente and co-operation in international relations. To this end the member States are ready to undertake a peaceful dialogue with all States in a spirit of goodwill and confidence and to initiate wide-ranging international joint action in the interest of ensuring universal peace and security.

It is time for those who shape the policies of States to stop and think and to prevent decisions being taken that would push the world towards a catastrophe even more devastating than the Second World War, the end of which is at present being commemorated all over the world.

The commitment of our generation and the duty of the United Nations to the peoples of the world is not to fulfil the past but to draw a lesson from it and to fulfil the future.

We know that some are not particularly eager to remember the victory over nazism and fascism achieved through the united strength of the anti-Fascist coalition and the peoples of the world. But, as the American philosopher George Santayana put it, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

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In its unanimously adopted resolution 39/114 the General Assembly declared 8 and 9 May 1985 the days of the fortieth anniversary of victory in the Second World War. Forty years ago today German fascism was defeated and its ravages came to a standstill in Europe. On the fortieth anniversary of Hitler's defeat we should remember the millions of victims, all those who fought against fascism, who struggled for mankind and freedom. We should honour the heroes of the Soviet Union, which lost 20 million men, all brave fighters, as well as the soldiers of the anti-Fascist coalition of the United States, the United Kingdom and France and the people's resistance, the members of which, if necessary, selflessly sacrificed their lives.

In this respect we believe that it is very important that we make a distinction between the victims of war and those who also died but who had been the fanatical killers of the victims - all those who resisted them.

The victory won by the Allied Powers over fascism saved mankind from barbarity and liberated the peoples, among them the Hungarian people, from Nazi tyranny, bringing to completion what millions of freedom fighters in different countries had fought for.

The experience of the Second World War and of the anti-Hitler coalition, the co-operation among the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain, taught us a very timely lesson: that the differences between States with different social systems do not preclude a common interest in peace and joint action against the forces of war if the political will exists. Unfortunately this has been lacking in recent years on the part of those in some imperialist circles. Engagement in ideological crusades against socialism and the socialist countries is certainly not a suitable way of demonstrating constructive political will. However, we are of the view that it is still possible to create the necessary political will to reach agreements on the basis of equality and equal security.

During previous substantive sessions of the United Nations Disarmament Commission my delegation has set forth in detail its views on the questions of the reduction of military budgets and the nuclear capability of the racist South African régime. Those views remain valid and, guided by the wish to save the precious time of the Commission, I shall refrain from repeating them and turn to the new items on the agenda.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic wishes to do its utmost to promote lasting peace, disarmament and constructive co-operation among States as

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well as to strengthen the role of the United Nations, an international organization of paramount importance founded in furtherance of the attainment of those goals.

My Government is firmly convinced that the United Nations, in accordance with its Charter, has an important role and responsibility in the field of disarmament, and that the strengthening of that role may well advance the cause of world peace, facilitate more efficient efforts to curb the arms race and promote better understanding between the countries and groups of countries concerned. As an organization which has uniquely broad participation by States and a forum that has accumulated highly valuable experience over the past 40 years, the United Nations and its organs concerned with disarmament are capable of continuing to provide an appropriate framework for the promotion of efforts to solve problems of peace, security and disarmament, which are issues of the greatest importance for the future of mankind, taking into account the viewpoints of all interested parties, without the use of force and through negotiations, and of creating the calm international atmosphere indispensable to progress in the process of disarmament.

The Hungarian Government, aware of the threat to the peace of the world caused by the naval arms race, supports such concrete measures as the conclusion of an agreement on the limitation of naval armaments and the limitation and reduction of naval activities in certain regions, such as the Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and the Gulf area.

Another significant step could be the prohibition of enlarging naval activities in areas of conflict. All these steps could be combined with various confidence-building measures.

Looking back to the period since the proclamation of the Second Disarmament Decade, in conformity with the relevant resolution of General Assembly resolution 39/148 Q, we can state that the decade of the 1980s started with ominous signs of deterioration in the international situation: the arms race has further increased. Nevertheless, on the basis of initial positive developments over the last months, the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States of America in Geneva, we can state that there are not only elements of tension and confrontation present in international relations but common interests too with regard to co-operation and peaceful coexistence - although, regrettably, negative tendencies still prevail.

The Hungarian Government has taken and continues to take a stand in favour of the elaboration of concrete measures in the interest of disarmament, both in

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bilateral relations and in multilateral forums. According to our view, the year 1985 could be of great significance, a year in which the parties concerned should take decisions of fundamental importance in connection with disarmament and the strengthening of world peace. The Hungarian People's Republic is ready to consider most seriously and to participate actively in the elaboration of disarmament proposals that take into consideration the interests of all parties concerned.

I should like to conclude my statement by assuring you, Sir, that my delegation will participate in the present session of the United Nations Disarmament Commission in a constructive spirit and is willing to support every effort aimed at promoting the achievement of the aforementioned objectives.

Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): Permit me, Sir, to congratulate you on behalf of my delegation on your election as Chairman of this year's session of the Disarmament Commission. At sessions of the First Committee of the General Assembly and at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, we appreciated your diplomatic skill and your profound knowledge, and we wish you every success in guiding the work of the Disarmament Commission.

We congratulate also our other colleagues on the Bureau of the Commission on assuming their functions and assure them of our close co-operation.

The Disarmament Commission begins its work on a significant historic anniversary. On this day peoples all over the world, including the people of the German Democratic Republic, commemorate the fortieth anniversary of victory over Hitlerite fascism and of liberation from Nazi rule.

My delegation's point of view is contained in the joint declaration of socialist States, which was read out at the beginning of this meeting by the Permanent Representative of Czechoslovakia, Ambassador Cesar, to whom I transmit heartfelt congratulations on the National Day of the fraternal Czechoslovak people.

In addition let me emphasize the following.

The delegation of the German Democratic Republic would like to take this opportunity today, 9 May, the day of victory in the Great Patriotic War, to convey our fraternal greetings and heartfelt thanks to the Soviet delegation, the entire Soviet people and its glorious army. They bore the brunt in the Second World War and had to suffer the greatest losses. We greet on this day of victory and liberation the American, British and French peoples and all peoples and States of the anti-Hitler coalition. We greet and honour the millions of fighters against

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fascism, militarism and war who by joint struggle put an end to Nazi tyranny.

On 25 April last, the day of the historic meeting of the armies of the Soviet Union and the United States at Torgau on the Elbe River in 1945, war veterans from both countries - the Soviet Union and the United States - comrades-in-arms of the Second World War, in a joint declaration of Soviet and American war veterans on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the Elbe River meeting renewed the pledge they gave 40 years ago to do their utmost for the first human right of all nations - to live in peace - for ending the arms race and preventing war.

Today my delegation can declare with satisfaction and pride that the German Democratic Republic has fulfilled the legacy of the anti-Hitler coalition and drawn the lessons from the devastating Second World War. It has implemented in spirit and letter the obligations laid down in the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. Militarism, fascism and nazism have been eliminated, root and branch. We used the chance given by the liberation, the chance for a new beginning, and we have established a society of democracy and freedom, of social security and human dignity. The pledge laid down in our Constitution to do everything so that war will never again start from German soil is regarded by the German Democratic Republic as the maxim of its foreign policy. In this sense my State pursues a policy of constructive dialogue and understanding, of broad international co-operation and good-neighbourliness. This is the peace doctrine of the socialist German State in action.

Nobody is able to make us stray from this course, which has stood the test of time - not even those forces that seek reconciliation with the SS and Gestapo murderers and war criminals and are haunted as in a nightmare when remembering the smashing of fascism, that regard the day of victory and liberation as a catastrophe, a disgrace or a failure. It is those forces, as even the newspapers in Western countries have mentioned, that in their thinking have remained in the trenches of the Second World War and are still today lost in old delusions.

The main lesson to be drawn from the Second World War - to fight against war before the weapons speak, to rally all forces in order to prevent a nuclear inferno - is more topical than ever before.

The Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, declared recently in that context:

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"We must bring together all those who love peace, create a coalition of common sense and realism. When mankind's survival is at stake no difference of any kind must be allowed to stand in the way of joint action, of a political dialogue which will strengthen those forces which rightly see in a secure peace the only alternative to confrontation and arms build-up, to the threat of a new world war. The anti-Hitler coalition was an example of how States with differing social systems and ideological and political positions can act jointly to attain a basic objective common to them, which was the defeat of fascism at that time. This should be recalled all the more as there exists at present the danger of a nuclear war, which would have neither victors nor vanquished and after which it would be impossible to bring to an end opposing conceptions of the way the world should evolve."

Such a broad alliance of all peace-loving forces is not only urgent, but also possible. While the danger of war has grown, those forces that are capable of stemming and removing it have gained strength - a fact that is not least evidenced by the growth of the international peace movement, in which the German Democratic Republic and its citizens are reliable partners. It is becoming clearer than ever before that more weapons do not spell more security.

Here, the logical inference is that the vicious circle of the development of ever newer means of mass destruction on the one side, causing the other side to take counter-measures, must be broken. In this endeavour, the German Democratic Republic is at one with all the allies of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, who, at their meeting on 26 April 1985, unanimously reaffirmed the following:

"The Communist and workers' Parties, Parliaments and Governments of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty will continue to fight to remove the threat of nuclear war from the world, to halt the arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race on earth and prevent such a race in outer space, to proceed to disarmament and to restore the process of détente and co-operation in international relations. To this end, the socialist States represented at the Meeting are ready to expand peaceful dialogue with other States in a spirit of goodwill and confidence, and to initiate wide-ranging international joint actions in the interest of ensuring universal peace and security.

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This is precisely the objective also underlying the Delhi joint declaration of six Heads of State or Government, which the German Democratic Republic fully supports since it is an exemplary expression of willingness to do everything in order to prevent a nuclear catastrophe and to end the nuclear-arms race.

In March, the USSR and the United States started new negotiations in Geneva on the whole complex of questions concerning space and nuclear weapons, both strategic and intermediate range, with all questions to be considered and resolved in their interrelationship.

It was with relief and satisfaction that the world public welcomed the start of these negotiations and it expects that those negotiations, no matter how complicated they may be, will produce results which are consonant with the above-mentioned objective. That objective can be achieved on condition that the questions relating to space and nuclear weapons are considered in the context of their interrelationship, the principle of equality and equal security is strictly respected and the negotiations are not misused as a cloak for a continued massive arms build-up by one side. In that context, it would be of significance if the negotiations were not fatefully overshadowed by the development, including research and testing, of space-based weapons, the continued growth of strategic nuclear arsenals in terms of both the number of warheads and delivery vehicles, the deployment of further intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe.

The history of past negotiations on arms limitation and disarmament demonstrates that a successful outcome remains jeopardized as long as the arms race continues unabated during the negotiations. On the contrary, progress seems more probable if during such negotiations all activities that run counter to the objective of the negotiations are discontinued. Therefore the German Democratic Republic supports the recent Soviet proposals on a moratorium on activities towards the creation of strike space weapons, a freeze on strategic offensive arms and the discontinuance of American medium-range missile deployment in Europe and, correspondingly, of Soviet counter-measures. There can be no doubt that favourable prospects for negotiations will open up if and when such proposals are accepted.

In addition, the German Democratic Republic wishes to draw attention to yet another aspect. With its proposals the USSR has once again demonstrated its preparedness to work consistently towards the implementation of United Nations

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programme decisions which reflect the demands voiced by the international public and which are carried by the overwhelming majority of States.

The Soviet initiatives are a practical step towards the implementation of the resolutions on freezing nuclear arsenals and preventing an arms race in outer space which were adopted at the last session of the United Nations General Assembly.

In that context, it is also noteworthy that the Soviet Union has introduced, as a goodwill gesture, a moratorium on the deployment of its medium-range missiles and has suspended other counter-measures in Europe. We hope that the United States will not fail to respond and for its part halt the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe.

At its current session the Disarmament Commission should also use the opportunity when it comes to discussing questions of nuclear and conventional disarmament to point to the specific danger emanating from space weapons. Their key role in the achievement of progress at the new bilateral negotiations in Geneva is evident. The prevention of the militarization of outer space is urgently necessary in order to avoid an unprecedented and sudden escalation of the arms race and to prevent incalculable danger to the disarmament negotiations. By the same token, my delegation welcomes the establishment of an ad hoc committee of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament on the prevention of an arms race in outer space. We express the hope that after an initial stage of substantive and comprehensive discussion of all questions pertaining to the prevention of an arms race in outer space, multilateral negotiations will be started, as foreseen in resolution 39/59. The proposals submitted by the USSR, in particular the 1983 draft treaty on the prohibition of the use of force in outer space and from outer space against the earth, provide a valuable basis for such negotiations.

It would be useful if at this session of the Disarmament Commission thought were given to the following:

The recommendations concerning such agenda items as nuclear and conventional disarmament, the reduction of military budgets and the limitation of the naval arms race should as initial steps envisage such measures as will lead to a halt to these armaments, thus creating favourable conditions for negotiations on arms reductions. What we have especially in mind in this context is a freeze on nuclear weapons and military budgets.

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Unless such steps are taken, there is a real danger that, as happened in the past, armaments and military spending will develop a greater momentum than the negotiations on limitations and reductions in these areas. It is common knowledge that this danger keeps growing as a result of the creation of ever new types of weapons with parameters that make it more difficult or entirely impossible to verify their reduction.

Concerning measures aimed at curbing the naval arms race by limiting naval activities, limiting and reducing naval armaments and extending confidence-building measures to seas and oceans, the German Democratic Republic emphatically supports the commencement of relevant negotiations in which the major naval Powers in particular should participate.

When considering the agenda item "Review of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade", emphasis should be placed on those tasks that must be given priority in the second half of this decade in order to lessen the danger of a nuclear war. My delegation regards the following as important steps that should have priority: the prevention of an arms race in outer space; a pledge by all those nuclear-weapon States that have not yet done so to renounce the first use of nuclear weapons; the freezing of all nuclear armaments both in quantitative and in qualitative terms; an agreement on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests; the prevention of the further spread of nuclear weapons in any form; the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various regions of the world as well as of a zone free of battlefield nuclear weapons along the dividing line between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Treaty Organization in Central Europe; and the complete prohibition and the destruction of chemical weapons, including their latest types - binary weapons - and, as a step in that direction, the removal of chemical weapons from Europe.

At this year's session the nuclear capability of South Africa is also one of the agenda items. My delegation notes with particular concern and alarm that the Disarmament Commission has not yet made a statement or a recommendation concerning South Africa's activities in the nuclear field, which threaten international peace and security. That is all the more true since the Third Review Conference on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, to be held in September, is called upon to strengthen that important Treaty. A consistent stand on nuclear non-proliferation

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requires that all States not be content with making statements condemning the nuclear ambitions of the apartheid régime but also arrange for the necessary steps to prevent the emergence of a racist nuclear Power.

My delegation is well aware of the difficulties and complexities presented by the matters facing this session of the Disarmament Commission. If all sides adopt a constructive approach with a view to settling the main issues in order to prevent a nuclear catastrophe, it will be possible to make this session a success; that would be of special significance in the year of the fortieth anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations. The preparation of concrete recommendations by this Commission is a direct way to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament - a concern which, as is well known, is the subject of another item on our agenda. My delegation is prepared and willing to make an active contribution to this endeavour.

Mr. NOWAK (Poland): Mr. Chairman, allow me to start by joining in the congratulations and recognition expressed to you by other delegations on the occasion of your assumption of the chairmanship of this Commission. I wish also every success to all the members of the Bureau. Please be assured of our continued support and readiness to co-operate.

Let me briefly recall that, pursuant to a General Assembly resolution, the days of 8 and 9 May are commemorated as the fortieth anniversary of the victory over nazism and fascism in the Second World War. My delegation spoke extensively in this connection at yesterday's meeting of the Economic and Social Council, emphasizing inter alia the moral dimension of that war and the importance to mankind of the great struggle of the forces of right and democracy against those of evil and fascism. Today I wish to emphasize only that had it not been for the triumph of the Grand Alliance the United Nations would not have come into existence. In memory of the fallen and as a duty to present and future generations, the lessons of the war must not be forgotten. In this respect my delegation fully shares the noble sentiments expressed so eloquently by Ambassador Issraelyan of the Soviet Union earlier in this meeting. This anniversary undoubtedly has a direct link with the United Nations disarmament efforts as well as our own deliberations here.

(Mr. Nowak, Poland)

On this solemn occasion we are recalling the horrors of war and the crimes perpetrated by fascism and militarism in order to see to it that there will never be another war. As Poland's Prime Minister, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, said a few days ago in Warsaw:

"Let us try, despite so many adversities, to roll back the spectre of a new war. Let us once again try to reach understanding, to restore the climate of co-operation and common sense so deeply weakened by the forces of evil".

This session of the Disarmament Commission begins its deliberations at a particularly sensitive point, when concrete measures should be taken by those who shape the policy of States in order to stop pushing the world towards nuclear catastrophe. In this respect my delegation wishes to point to three basic problems:

First, the deployment by the United States in some Western European countries of new types of nuclear weapons has indeed aggravated the situation, increasing both the danger of an outbreak of nuclear conflict and political tension, for this is a step clearly aimed at obtaining a first-strike capability. My Government feels strongly that the attempt by certain States to gain military superiority, while solving no problems of security, can in no way provide a basis on which to seek the attainment of the goals of the Second Disarmament Decade. That course leads only to undermining international stability and initiates yet another, more costly, spiral of the arms race.

Secondly, the plans to place super-sophisticated weapon systems in outer space give rise to the most serious concern. This question has been dealt with extensively by my delegation in various forums, so I shall limit myself only to emphasizing that the development of such weapons is bound to destabilize the strategic military balance, radically increasing the danger of nuclear conflict as well as triggering a tremendous waste of financial and material resources.

Thirdly, attempts to negotiate from a position of strength block the negotiations and violate the principles of equality and equal security. We are witnessing a militarization of diplomacy. New strategic arms programmes are being strongly pushed through the United States Congress. It is with dismay and concern that we see a steady development of the arms race coupled with attempts to make it look rational.

In this highly charged atmosphere there is an acute need to restore proper conditions for the fair conduct of serious negotiations on matters of disarmament

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and for the search for realistic solutions which would ease tension in the world. The policy of détente and peaceful coexistence requires, first of all, respect for the interests of other States and the development of dialogue and international co-operation.

Without underestimating the role of all States in international relations, it is beyond question that the state of Soviet-American relations determines the overall tenor of international disarmament efforts. Poland welcomed the opening of the Soviet-American disarmament talks in Geneva, considering them to be a very positive development. The comprehensive nature of the dialogue would allow for the halting of the nuclear arms race and the prevention of the militarization of outer space. The two great Powers should do their best to make full use of this opportunity. The concrete positive results of these negotiations so anxiously awaited by the international community would certainly represent a major accomplishment of the Second Disarmament Decade.

Together with other Members of this Organization, Poland is deeply convinced that the prevention of nuclear war is the most urgent and important problem facing mankind at present. That is why it should be at the centre of our deliberations here.

My Government thinks that the practical measures for the prevention of nuclear war called for in General Assembly resolutions 38/183 G and 39/148 P should include, inter alia, a commitment by all nuclear-weapon States not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. As will be recalled, the Soviet Union and China have already made such commitments; they should be joined by the other nuclear Powers. Those measures should also include: a freeze by all nuclear-weapon Powers on the production and deployment of nuclear weapons and on the production of fissionable materials for military purposes; a moratorium on the explosion of all nuclear devices; and prevention of the militarization of outer space, including an immediate moratorium on anti-satellite weapons.

These measures should be supplemented, to the extent possible, by additional steps, such as the further consolidation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, conclusion of a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and maintenance of peaceful relations between States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty and States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the working out of binding norms regulating relations between nuclear Powers.

(Mr. Nowak, Poland)

As members are aware, a short time ago the leaders of Parties and States members of the Warsaw Treaty met at Warsaw to consider the question of extending the validity of the Treaty, which was concluded on 14 May 1955 after the Federal Republic of Germany joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which had been created more than five years earlier.

During their meeting they emphasized the importance of the Warsaw Treaty, which for the last 30 years has safeguarded the sovereignty, security and inviolability of the frontiers of the States Parties to the Treaty named, not coincidentally, after the capital of my country, Warsaw, which is a symbol both of Poland's heroic struggle and of untold human and material losses.

As our Prime Minister, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, has recalled, "The existence of military blocs in Europe is neither our invention nor our objective". The decision to extend the validity of the Warsaw Treaty was dictated by the necessity of ensuring the security of its States members, of maintaining their common defensive capability at an appropriate level, and of ensuring peace in Europe. Like the decision of 30 years ago, this decision is in answer to consecutive phases of the intensification of armaments, for it is certainly not for defensive puposes that long-term contracts for billions of dollars are being signed, that plans for so-called deep strikes into the territories of Warsaw Pact member States are being elaborated, and that new United States missiles are being installed in Western Europe.

But at the same time, the States Parties to the Treaty reaffirmed that they do not seek military superiority, although they will not allow military superiority over them. They have always been and continue to be in favour of ensuring a balance of forces at the lowest possible level.

As members know, in view of the present international situation, it was decided to extend the validity of the Treaty for 20 years, with the possibility of its further extension for another 10 years. At the same time, States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty declared their readiness to favour and develop comprehensive, equitable and mutually advantageous international co-operation. They have never been in favour of the division of Europe and of the world into opposing military blocs. Now too they are ready to consider the simultaneous dissolution of their own alliance and of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to begin with the dissolution of their respective military organizations.

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But until that becomes possible, and as long as NATO exists, they will reinforce their defensive alliance while at the same time striving for effective disarmament, for peace and security, and for the restoration of détente. They will also support every effort undertaken in the world, from whatever quarter it may come, aimed at eliminating the threat of nuclear catastrophe. They will decisively oppose any attempt to use outer space for military purposes.

As Poland was the host country to the meeting to which I have referred, our delegation was instructed to arrange, on behalf of the participants in the meeting, for the distribution of the communiqué of the Warsaw meeting as an official document of the United Nations. I am pleased to announce that the communiqué has just been issued by the Secretariat as document A/40/292-S/17164, dated 8 May 1985. My delegation hopes that it will be studied with the full attention it deserves.

The Polish delegation believes strongly in the important role of the Disarmament Commission, and wishes to contribute meaningfully to the main topics on our agenda.

As I have already stated, the work aimed at averting the threat of nuclear war will continue to be the priority objective of my delegation.

As far as the reduction of military budgets is concerned, my delegation supports initiatives aimed at the gradual reduction of the military budgets of all States - first of all nuclear-weapon Powers and other militarily significant States. In this respect, the position specified in an aide-mémoire of the Government of Romania, of 5 March this year, enjoys our full support.

We deplore the fact that the Commission has so far been unable to adopt recommendations on the issue of the nuclear capability of South Africa. My delegation offers its full support to African countries on this issue, and will be in favour of resolute measures by the international community against the Pretoria régime, in accordance with the United Nations Charter and relevant decisions of the General Assembly.

Poland appreciates the primary role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament. The full exercise of its authority in this field is indispensable for meaningful results and to ensure the consolidation of peace and international security. The achievement of the objectives of the Second Disarmament Decade should, in our view, result in a further consolidation of that role of the United Nations.

The Polish delegation reserves its right to return to particular topics on our agenda at a later stage.

Mr. SHELDON (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): Mr. Chairman, our delegation joins in the warm congratulations to you and the other officers of the Commission, and expresses its sincere wish for the success of your work and the fulfilment of the responsible tasks entrusted to you in this Commission, one of the most important bodies of the United Nations.

Today's meeting is taking place on a date that is significant for the whole of mankind. Forty years have elapsed since the memorable day of the victorious conclusion of the struggle against Hitlerite fascism, a struggle unprecedented in history in terms of its scale and ferocity, when fascism's objective was the enslavement of peoples and entire continents, under the banner of its hateful racist ideology.

It is impossible to over-estimate the historic significance of that great victory for the whole world, and for its present and future. It was a victory of life over death, of reason over insanity, of civilization over barbarity, with the hope that never again would mankind experience the horrors of war.

The agreements reached in Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam, together with the establishment of the United Nations, the fortieth anniversary of which will also be celebrated this year, laid the foundations for the post-war face of the earth. To a great extent it is thanks to them that peoples have been saved from a world war for more than four decades now. The blows struck at those foundations by all types of distortions and falsifications, which some short-sighted politicians in the West have blindly and selfishly engaged in, threaten to destroy the whole edifice of peaceful relations.

The Soviet people, whose decisive role in achieving the victory is indisputable, and other peoples are determined not to allow a repetition of that tragedy - especially a nuclear tragedy.

The sons and daughters of Byelorussia, together with all the peoples of the Soviet fatherland, fought courageously against the Hitlerite invaders. More than 1 million natives of Byelorussia struggled with the enemy in the ranks of the Soviet army and approximately 500,000 in partisan divisions and in the anti-Fascist resistance movement. The partisans and underground resistance fighters, acting on the territory of the Republic temporarily occupied by the Fascists, were constantly assisted by millions of patriots and by the entire Byelorussian people. The genuine heroes in that struggle of the entire people behind the front lines were the partisan fighters, youths, old men and women. They engaged in genuine military

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actions. They served as liaison with the underground fighters, and hid and nursed the wounded, defying death, sadistic torture and horrendous acts of cruelty, with which the Hitlerite occupiers, the SS monsters, tried to crush the will of the people to achieve freedom. The memory of those heroes is immortal. The greatness of their deeds will not fade as the years pass.

The years of war are becoming the legacy of history. But nothing - not even omnipotent time - can sooth grievous losses. Our people and their destiny endured that Nazi policy of genocide and scorched earth carried out by the Hitlerites, who, as is well known, set as their objective the destruction in Eastern Europe of tens of millions of people. The Fascist barbarians caused enormous losses to Byelorussia. Hundreds of cities and villages were reduced to ruins and ashes. Half of the national wealth of the Republic was destroyed. A total of 186 Byelorussian villages were burned, along with their inhabitants. Many of those villages were not restored; there was no one left to restore them. Children, women, old people perished in the flames. Men gave their lives at the front and in the partisan struggle.

One's mind refuses to believe these things when one sees the materials of the investigation of the crimes of the Nazis, the SS butchers, perpetrated on our territory, or when one sees the testimony of eyewitnesses.

In Byelorussia more than 2,230,000 people were poisoned by the Fascists in the gas chambers, burned in the ovens of the crematoria, tortured in the death camps, shot and hanged after barbaric tortures. Every fourth inhabitant of the Republic perished.

Ponder those figures - so numerous were the victims and so monstrous were the crimes of the Nazi executioners, and victims for ever remain victims and executioners for ever remain executioners. That is why the Byelorussian people are so disposed to value peace and to fight for it. It is why we cannot be indifferent to mockery of the memory of those victims. Their memory lives on in the hearts of our peoples. Here I should like to quote, as follows:

"We were burned alive in the flames. Our request to everyone is 'May grief and sorrow turn into your courage and strength to enable you to reassert for ever the reign of peace and calm on the earth, so that from now on and for ever life will never perish in the swirling flames.'"

That is the call of those who are no longer with us. It is engraved on the memorial at the site of one of the Byelorussian villages burned by the SS.

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Today it is particularly appropriate to stress that we must not repeat the mistakes of the past; we must learn from them, extract the lessons of the last war and grasp them. Such is the impetus, such is the way of thinking that must be given to mankind by this important anniversary of victory in the most bloody and destructive war in world history. Only on that basis will the struggle for peace and for disarmament be effective.

This is the import of the joint statement of a number of socialist countries which was read out at this meeting by the Permanent Representative of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Ambassador Jaroslav Cesar.

The most important lesson of the past war is that war must be fought against before it begins. Another is that the joint action of all peoples and States is necessary to defeat a common enemy. All this has a direct bearing on the efforts to halt and restrain the arms race and promote disarmament undertaken by the United Nations and, among other bodies, the United Nations Disarmament Commission.

The common lethal enemy at the present time is the threat of world nuclear catastrophe. The danger is great, but we are convinced that, given the necessary joint effort, the prospect can be improved. An effective contribution in this respect can be made by the United Nations Disarmament Commission, which is called upon to be a kind of programme centre for work in the appropriate areas in accordance with the items included in its agenda by the General Assembly.

The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR is convinced that the Disarmament Commission, as one of the elements of the machinery created at the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, has all the necessary means to carry out its task. The only thing that is preventing its working at full strength is the lack of political will of the Western States. This has been mentioned on numerous occasions, including our previous meeting. This must not become something that is generally accepted. The political will is the key that can help to unlock all the doors blocking the way of this body and blocking real progress towards disarmament.

If the United States and other Western States which follow it would recognize the full degree of their responsibility for the future of mankind and give evidence of readiness to support disarmament measures undertaken not unilaterally by the other side but reciprocally, on a basis of equality and equal security, which would not harm the security of either side - and, incidentally, this has been

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recognized and agreed by the United Nations - the ice would break and the Disarmament Commission, as well as other multilateral and bilateral bodies, would be able to make progress.

The agenda of the present session of the Disarmament Commission reflects to a certain extent the full complexity and urgency of present world problems. It covers such major problems as the prevention of nuclear war, the promotion of nuclear disarmament and the growing danger of the militarization of oceans and seas; concern about the excessive growth of military expenditures on the one hand and the critical situation in the area of development on the other; alarm in connection with the nuclear ambitions of the aggressive racist régime of South Africa; and, finally, appraisal of progress towards the recognized objectives of disarmament and consideration of the role which the United Nations should play in this.

The issues of the prevention of nuclear war and the promotion of nuclear disarmament have been on the Commission's agenda for several years now. However, progress towards agreement on concrete recommendations has to all intents and purposes been nil, because of the position of a well-known group of delegations. Such a situation is contrary not only to resolution 37/78 H, which has been referred to in a number of statements at the present session, but also to the urgent need for security for all mankind. The threat of nuclear catastrophe is so serious that the international community cannot allow consideration of recommendations on practical steps for the elimination of that threat and the reversal of the nuclear arms race to drag on for years.

We are convinced that the measures that should be undertaken include: the freezing of nuclear arsenals; the cessation of the arms race on Earth and the prevention of one in outer space; a general and complete ban on nuclear-weapon tests and, pending the conclusion of an appropriate treaty, the declaration of a moratorium on all nuclear explosions and the renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons. The ultimate goal must be the complete elimination of nuclear weapons - a direct, practical guarantee that would prevent nuclear war.

From discussions in the First Committee of the General Assembly, at the Conference on Disarmament and here in the United Nations Disarmament Commission we see clearly that the overwhelming majority of States support the adoption of such measures. In addition, the slogans of the mass anti-war, anti-missile movement throughout the world reaffirm that it is precisely those measures that are expected and demanded by the peoples of our planet.

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The danger of war in the world today is growing significantly as a result of the escalation of the naval arms race. The objective of the Western Powers which have been developing on an ever greater scale new military and naval weapons and building up their naval presence in various parts of the world's oceans is to acquire world military supremacy. They threaten to use force on a massive scale in all regions of the world that they arbitrarily declare to be spheres of their vital interests. In addition, some Western Powers make direct use of their naval forces for acts of aggression against sovereign States, particularly developing sovereign States, exert pressure on them and interfere in their internal affairs in an attempt to preserve the vestiges of colonialism.

In the light of all this, the assertion of some delegations that it is not necessary to consider this issue are totally unfounded. The problem of the limitation of naval activity and naval arms requires immediate solution. The world's oceans are enormous and peace-loving States cannot ignore the danger that emanates from two thirds of the world's surface. The Disarmament Commission must, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 39/151 I, make its contribution to resolving this problem.

The expenditure of enormous material and intellectual resources on the arms race, which has been imposed by imperialism for military, political and economic purposes, is already having severe consequences for mankind as a whole. The States of the socialist community have for many years now called for the reduction of military budgets and the solution of this problem is a matter of ever-increasing urgency. It must be clearly understood that putting forward unacceptable preconditions camouflaged by the term "transparency" is a way to block, not promote, progress in this area.

Despite the fact that the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade was adopted by the General Assembly without a vote, not all United Nations Member States, unfortunately, have shown readiness in deeds instead of words to promote its implementation. In fact, we have seen a reverse movement in several areas. The first half of the 1980s has been marked by the sharp increase in tension to dangerous levels in international relations.

If the Disarmament Commission is to put into correct perspective the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration and the attainment of the objectives of the Decade it is necessary to have a clear understanding of what was and is the source of the threat to peace and why the objectives of the

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Second Disarmament Decade are not being achieved. The attainment of the objectives of the Decade and the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control proclaimed by the United Nations requires the participation of all States, regardless of size, power, geographical situation and other factors. It is precisely for this reason that the Byelorussian SSR believes that the United Nations is the body that can fulfil these tasks. The United Nations can and must play a significant role in the struggle to prevent nuclear war and promote disarmament. For this purpose all the necessary elements exist, including a wide-ranging mechanism based on decisions of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and an entire system of objectives and means of achieving them set out in General Assembly resolutions.

Each of the problems I have mentioned is in itself an important, key problem and all of them closely and tightly interlinked.

Our delegation wishes to emphasize that this problem of linkage and interdependence has acquired special, global significance. Gone for ever is the time when the security of States or groups of States could be assured at the expense of the security of other countries and peoples. It is time for those who formulate policy in the West to understand that the nuclear century dictates its own imperatives. Today, genuine security means security for all.

This is the kind of understanding that must permeate the approach of responsible Government officials in the West in the task of preventing nuclear war and ensuring the full elimination of the nuclear threat. It is precisely this approach that lies at the basis of the policy of States of the socialist community on these issues. This was once again reaffirmed in the communiqué of 26 April 1985 on the meeting on that day of the leaders of Parties and of States parties to the Warsaw Treaty. This has already been dealt with in detail by the representative of Poland, Ambassador Nowak.

The recent new steps taken by the USSR, the introduction by the USSR of a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of its medium-range missiles and the implementation of other measures in Europe, and the proposals it made at the Soviet-United States negotiations in Geneva provide the best evidence that socialism, not in words only but in deeds, not through hollow rhetoric but through tangible measures, is promoting the strengthening of international security and the attainment of the objectives of disarmament.

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In conclusion, I hope that all States participating in the work of the Disarmament Commission at this session will show the same profound understanding of their responsibility both to their own peoples and to mankind as a whole. Only then will the Commission be able to work at full strength. For its part, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR will do everything it can to make this possible.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.