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CESSATION OF ALL NUCLEAR-TEST EXPLOSIONS

PREVENTION OF AN ARMS RACE IN OUTER SPACE

IMPLEMENTATION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION **40/88** ON THE IMMEDIATE
CESSATION AND PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR-WEAPON TESTS

PROHIBITION OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND MANUFACTURE OF NEW TYPES OF
WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND NEW SYSTEMS OF SUCH WEAPONS

REVIEW AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT OF THE
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CHEMICAL AND BACTERIOLOGICAL (BIOLOGICAL) WEAPONS

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ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS TENTH SPECIAL SESSION

GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

Letter dated 21 January 1986 from the Permanent Representative
of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics addressed to the
Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you the text of **the** statement made by
M. S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union on 15 January 1986.

I request you to circulate the text of this statement as an official document
of the General Assembly under the items entitled "Cessation of all nuclear-test
explosions", "Prevention of an arms race in outer space", "Implementation of
General Assembly resolution **40/88** on the immediate cessation and prohibition of

nuclear-weapon tests", "Prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons", "Review and implementation of the Concluding Document of the Twelfth Special Session of the General Assembly", "Chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons", "Review of the implementation of the recommendations and decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth special session", "General and complete disarmament" and "Relationship between disarmament and development".

(Signed) O. TROYANOVSKY

ANNEX

Statement made by the General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on 15 January 1986

The **new** year of 1986 is now **under** way. It will be an important year, one may say a **turning** point in the history of **the** Soviet State, the year of the Twenty-seventh **Congress** of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The Congress will set guidelines for the political, **social**, economic and **spiritual** development of Soviet society in the period up to the **next** millenium. It will adopt a **programme** for **accelerating** our peaceful construction.

All the efforts of the CPSU are directed towards **ensuring** further improvement in the life of the Soviet **people**.

A **turn** for **the better** is also needed on **the** international **scene**. This is expected and demanded by the peoples of the Soviet Union and **by** peoples throughout **the** world.

Mindful of **this**, the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government **at the start of the new year** took a **decision on a number of major foreign policy actions** of a fundamental **nature**. Their purpose **is** to promote the **greatest** possible improvement of the international situation. They are prompted **by** the need **to overcome the negative trends** of confrontation that have been **eroding** in recent **years** and to **clear the way** towards curbing the nuclear-arms race on earth and preventing **such** a race in **outer** space, generally **reducing** the danger of war and **building** confidence as an integral part of relations **among** States.

I

The **most** important of these actions **is** a specific programme for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world **covering** a precisely defined period of **time**.

The Soviet Union **is** proposing a **step-by-step** and consistent process of **ridding** the earth of nuclear weapons, to be undertaken and **completed** within the next **15 years**, before the end of this **century**.

The twentieth **century** **has** presented mankind with **the** energy of **the atom**. Yet **this great** achievement of the intellect **can become** the **instrument** of human self-destruction.

Can this contradiction be resolved? We are convinced that **it** can. Finding effective ways to eliminate nuclear weapons is a feasible **task**, provided that it is tackled **without** delay,

The Soviet Union is proposing a **programme** to rid mankind of the fear of a nuclear catastrophe, to be carried out **beginning** in 1986. And the fact that **this** year has been declared the International Year of Peace by the United **Nations** provides a further political and moral incentive.

What is required here is to rise above national self-interest, tactical **calculations**, disputes and differences, **whose significance is nothing** compared with the preservation of what is most valuable - peace and a safe future. The **energy** of the atom should be placed exclusively in the service of **peace**, a goal that our socialist State has invariably advocated and continues to pursue.

It was our country that as early as 1946 **first** raised the question of prohibiting the manufacture and use of atomic **weapons** and **utilized** nuclear **energy** for peaceful purposes to benefit mankind.

How in practical terms does the Soviet Union **today** envisage the process of **reducing** nuclear weapons - both delivery vehicles and warheads - and their eventual complete elimination? **Our proposals can be summarized** as follows.

Stage one. Within the next five to **eight years**, the USSR and the United States would reduce by one half the nuclear weapons that can reach each other's territory. On the remaining delivery vehicles of this kind each side would retain no more than 6,000 **warheads**.

It stands to reason that such a reduction is possible only if the USSR and the United States **mutually** refrain from the development, testing and deployment of **space strike weapons**. As the Soviet Union has repeatedly warned, the development of space **strike weapons** would **crush hopes** for a reduction of nuclear weapons on earth.

In the first **stage**, a decision on the complete elimination of the medium-range missiles of the USSR and the United States in the **European zone** - both ballistic and cruise missiles - would be reached and implemented as a first step towards **ridding** the **European continent** of nuclear weapons.

At the same time, the United States should undertake not to supply its **strategic** and medium-range missiles to other countries, and the United Kingdom and France should pledge not to build up their respective nuclear weapons.

From the very outset, the USSR and the United States **must agree to stop any nuclear explosions and must call upon other States** to join in such a moratorium as soon as possible.

The first **stage** of nuclear disarmament concerns the USSR and the United States because it is **for them to set an example to the** other nuclear Powers. We stated this very frankly to President **Reagan** of the United States during the meeting in Geneva.

Stage two. At this stage, which should commence no later than 1990 and last for five to seven years, the other nuclear Powers would **start to engage** in nuclear disarmament. To **begin** with, they would pledge to freeze all their nuclear weapons and not to have them in the territories of other countries.

In this period, the USSR and the United States would continue the reductions **agreed upon by them** at the first **stage** and would also carry out further measures to eliminate their medium-range **nuclear weapons** and freeze their tactical nuclear systems.

Following the completion by the USSR and the United States of the **50-per-cent reduction** in their respective weapons at the **second stage**, yet another radical step would be **taken**: all nuclear Powers would **eliminate** their tactical nuclear weapons, that is, weapons with a range (or radius of action) of up to 1,000 kilometres.

At the **same stage**, the Soviet-American **accord on the prohibition of space weapons** would have to become multilateral, with mandatory participation in it by the major industrial Powers.

All the nuclear Powers would stop nuclear-weapon tests.

A **ban** would be imposed on the development of non-nuclear weapons based on new physical principles and having a destructive capacity close to **that of nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction**.

Stage three would **begin no** later than 1995. At this **stage**, the elimination of all remaining nuclear weapons **would** be completed. By the **end** of 1999 there would **be no** nuclear **weapons** left on earth. A universal accord **would be** drawn up to the effect **that no such weapons** would ever again **come** into being.

It is intended that special **procedures would be** drawn up for **the** destruction of nuclear weapons and for the dismantling, re-equipment or destruction of delivery vehicles. In the process, agreement would be reached on the numbers of weapons to **be** eliminated at each stage, the **stages** of their **destruction**, and so on.

Verification with **regard** to the weapons that are destroyed or limited would be carried **out** both by national technical facilities and through on-site **inspections**. The USSR is ready **to reach agreement on** any **other** additional verification measures.

The adoption of the nuclear-disarmament programme which we propose would undoubtedly have a favourable impact on the negotiations being conducted at bilateral and multilateral forums. The programme would **set out** clearly-defined schedules and guidelines, establish specific dates for reaching agreements and implementing them and would **make the negotiations** purposeful and goal-oriented. This would overcome the dangerous trend whereby the momentum of the arms **race is** **greater** than the progress of negotiations.

In short, we propose that the third **millennium** should begin without nuclear weapons, on the basis of mutually acceptable and strictly verifiable agreements. If the United States Administration is **indeed** committed to the goal of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere, as it **has repeatedly** stated, **it is being** offered a real opportunity to undertake this in practice. Instead of wasting the next 10 to 15 years on the development of new, extremely dangerous weapons in outer space, allegedly designed to make nuclear weapons unnecessary, is it not more sensible to start destroying those weapons and eventually reduce **them to zero**? The Soviet Union, I repeat, suggests precisely this path.

The Soviet Union calls **upon** all peoples and States, and above all the nuclear States, of **course**, to support the **Programme of** eliminating nuclear weapons by the year 2000. It is absolutely clear to any unbiased person that if such a **programme**

were implemented, nobody would lose and everyone would gain. This is a problem of importance to all mankind, and it can and must be resolved only through joint efforts. The sooner this programme is translated into practical action, the safer will be life on our planet.

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Guided by this approach and the desire to take yet another practical step within the context of the programme of nuclear disarmament, the Soviet Union has taken an important decision.

We are extending by three months our unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions, which expired on 31 December 1985. Such a moratorium will remain in effect even further if the United States, for its part, also halts nuclear tests. We once again invite the United States to join in this initiative, whose significance is evident literally to everyone in the world.

Clearly, taking such a decision was by no means simple for us. The Soviet Union cannot display unilateral restraint with regard to nuclear tests indefinitely. However, the stakes are too high and the responsibility too great for us not to try every possibility of influencing the position of others through the force of example.

All experts, scientists, politicians and military men agree that halting tests would indeed securely block the channels for refining nuclear weapons. And this is a task of the highest priority. A reduction of nuclear arsenals alone, without a prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, does not offer a way out of the dilemma of the nuclear danger, since the remaining weapons would be modernized and there would still be the possibility of developing increasingly sophisticated and lethal nuclear weapons and trying out new types of such weapons at test ranges.

Therefore, the haltina of tests is a practical step towards eliminating nuclear weapons.

I should like at the outset to say the following. Any reference to verification as an obstacle to the establishment of a moratorium on nuclear explosions would be totally unfounded. We declare unequivocally that verification is not a problem so far as we are concerned. Should the United States agree to stop all nuclear explosions on a reciprocal basis, appropriate verification of compliance with the moratorium would be fully ensured by national technical facilities as well as through international procedures - including on-site inspections whenever necessary. We invite the United States to reach agreement to this effect.

The USSR strongly advocates that the moratorium should become a bilateral, and later a multilateral action. We are also in favour of resuming the trilateral negotiations (involving the USSR, the United States and the United Kingdom) on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. This could be done immediately, even this month. We are also prepared to begin without delay multilateral test-ban negotiations within the framework of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, with all the nuclear Powers taking part.

The non-aligned countries are **proposing** consultations with a view to making the 1963 **Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water** now apply also to underground tests, which are not covered by the Treaty. The **Soviet Union** also endorses **such a measure**.

Since last summer, we **have been calling upon the** United States to **follow our** example and stop nuclear **explosions**. **Washington has** still not done so in spite of **public** protests and demands and the will of most States of the world. **By** exploding more and more new nuclear devices, the **American side is continuing to pursue the** elusive **dream** of military **superiority**. This is a futile and **dangerous** policy and one that is not worthy of the level of **civilization which** modern society has reached.

In the absence of a positive response from the United States, **the Soviet side** had every right **to resume nuclear tests** from 1 January 1986. According to the **conventional "logic"** of the **arms race**, that would evidently have been the action **to take**.

The **point is, however, that this** is precisely the kind of **spurious** logic that *must* be firmly rejected. We are **making** yet another attempt in **this** direction. **Otherwise, the process** of military rivalry will **turn into** an avalanche and any control over **the course of** events would become impossible. **To submit to the** demands of the nuclear-arms **race** is inadmissible. This would **mean acting against the voice of reason** and **the human instinct** for self-preservation. What is required are new and bold approaches, new political **thinking** and a heightened sense of responsibility for the peoples' destiny.

The United **States** Administration again has **more time to weigh our** proposals on **stopping** nuclear explosions and to give a positive answer to them. It is precisely this kind of response that people everywhere in the world will expect **from** Washington.

The Soviet Union is making an appeal to **the** President and the Congress of the **United States**, and to the American people. There **is an opportunity to halt the** **Process of** refining and developing new nuclear weapons. **It should not be missed**. The **Soviet** proposals place the USSR and the **United States** in an **equal position**. They do not involve **any** attempt to outwit or outplay the other side. We are proposing **the course** based on sensible and responsible decisions.

III

In order **to implement the programme** of reducing and **eliminating nuclear** arsenals, **the entire existing system of negotiations has to be set in motion** and the highest possible efficiency of disarmament machinery must be ensured.

In a few days, **the Soviet-American** talks on nuclear and space-based **weapons** will **resume in Geneva**. **At the meeting with** President Reagan in Geneva last November, we had a frank discussion on the whole range of **problems which constitute the subject of those negotiations**, namely, outer space, strategic offensive weapons and **medium-range** nuclear systems. It was decided **to speed up the talks**, and that agreement **must not remain a mere** declaration.

The Soviet **delegation** in Geneva will be instructed to act in strict **conformity** with that **agreement**. We expect the same **constructive** approach **from** the American **side**, above all on the question of outer space. **Space** must remain **peaceful** and strike weapons must not be deployed there. **Neither** must they be developed. And let there also be the most rigorous control, including the opening for inspection of the relevant laboratories.

Mankind is at a crucial stage in the new **space age**. It is time to abandon the thinking of the Stone **Age**, when the main concern was to **have a bigger stick or a heavier 9 tone**. We are against weapons in outer space. **With** its material and intellectual capabilities, the Soviet Union can develop **any weapon** if compelled to do so. But we are fully aware of our responsibility to the **present and future** generations. It is **our** profound conviction **that** we should approach the third millennium not with a "**star Wars**" programme but with large-scale projects for the peaceful conquest of **space through the efforts of all mankind**. We propose the start of practical work **on such** projects and their implementation. This is one of the most important ways of **ensuring progress** on our entire planet and of **establishing** a reliable system of security for all.

Preventing the arms **race** from extending into **outer space means removing** the obstacle to deep cuts in nuclear **weapons**. There is a Soviet proposal on the negotiating table in Geneva **for reducing by one half** the respective nuclear **weapons** of the USSR and the United States, and **that** would be **an important step** towards the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. Barring the possibility of resolving the problem of outer space **means not wanting to stop the arms race on earth. This must** be said frankly and openly. It is not by chance that **the** proponents of the nuclear-arms **race** are also ardent supporters of the "**star wars**" programme. These are two sides of the same policy, a policy that is hostile to the people's interests.

Let **me** turn to the European aspect of the nuclear problem. It is a matter of extreme **concern that**, in defiance of reason and contrary to the national interests of the European peoples, American first-strike missiles continue to be **deployed in certain West European countries**. This problem **has been** under discussion for many years *now*. Meanwhile, **the security situation in Europe continues to** deteriorate.

It is **time** to put an end to **this course** of events and **cut** this Gordian knot. The soviet Union has **long** been **proposing** that Europe should be freed from both **intermediate-range and tactical nuclear weapons**. This proposal remains valid. **As** a first, radical step in this direction, we are now proposing, as I said earlier, **that even** in the **first stage** of **our programme** all intermediate-range ballistic and **cruise** missiles of the USSR and the United States **in the European zone** should be **eliminated**.

Achieving tangible results at the Geneva talks would give real material substance to the programme for the total elimination of nuclear weapons **by the year 2000** which we are proposing.

IV

The Soviet Union considers that the task of completely eliminating, even in this century, such barbaric weapons of mass destruction, as chemical weapons is entirely feasible.

At the talks on chemical weapons being conducted at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, certain signs of progress have recently emerged. However, these talks have dragged on intolerably. We are in favour of accelerating them in order to conclude an effective and verifiable international convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons and the destruction of existing stockpiles of such weapons, as agreed with President Reagan at Geneva.

In the matter of banning chemical weapons, just as in other disarmament matters, all participants in the talks should take a fresh look at things. I wish to make it perfectly clear that the Soviet Union is in favour of the early and complete elimination of those weapons and of the industrial base for their production. We are prepared to make, at the appropriate time, a declaration concerning the sites of enterprises producing chemical weapons and to cease their production, and we are ready to start developing procedures for destroying the relevant industrial base and to proceed, soon after the convention enters into force, with elimination of the stockpiles of chemical weapons. All these measures would be carried out under strict control, including international on-site inspections.

A radical solution to this problem would also be facilitated by certain interim steps. For example, agreement could be achieved on a multilateral basis not to supply chemical weapons to anyone and not to deploy them in the territories of other States. As for the Soviet Union, it has always strictly abided by those principles in its actual policy. We call upon other States to follow that example and to show equal restraint.

V

In addition to eliminating weapons of mass destruction from the arsenals of states, the Soviet Union is proposing that conventional weapons and armed forces should become subject to agreed reductions.

Reaching agreement at the Vienna talks could signal the beginning of progress in this direction. Today it would seem that a framework is emerging for a possible decision to reduce Soviet and American troops and subsequently to freeze the level of armed forces of the opposing sides in central Europe. The Soviet Union and our Warsaw Treaty allies are determined to achieve success at the Vienna talks. If the other side also really wants this, 1986 could become a landmark for the Vienna talks, too. We proceed from the understanding that a possible agreement on troop reductions would naturally require reasonable verification. We are prepared for this. As for observing the commitment to freeze the number of troops, permanent verification posts could be established in addition to national technical facilities in order to monitor any military contingents entering the reduction zone.

Let me now mention such an important forum **as** the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and **Security-Building** Measures and Disarmament in Europe. **It** is called upon to erect barriers **against** the use of force and covert preparations **for** war, whether on land, at **sea** or in the air. The possibilities for **this** have now **become** evident.

In our view, especially in the current situation, it is essential to **reduce** the numbers **of** troops participating in major military manoeuvres that are notifiable under the Helsinki Final Act.

It is time to begin dealing effectively with the problems still **outstanding at the Conference**. We know that the bottle-neck there **is** the **issue** of notifications regarding **major** ground-force, naval and air-force exercises. Of **course**, these are serious problems and **they must** be **addressed in a serious manner, in the interests** of building confidence **in** Europe.

However, if a comprehensive solution to these problems cannot yet be found, why not **seek** partial **solutions**? **For instance**, we could **reach agreement now** on **notifications of major** ground-force and **air-force** exercises, the question of naval activities **being** postponed **until the next stage** of the Conference.

It is no accident that a considerable number of the new Soviet initiatives are directly addressed to Europe. In **making** a distinct **turn** towards a policy of peace, Europe **could have a new mission**. That **mission** is the rebuilding of detente.

For that purpose, Europe has the necessary historical - and often **unique** - experience. Suffice it to recall that the joint efforts of the European, the United States and Canada produced **the Helsinki Final Act**. If there **is** need for a practical and **vivid** example of new **thinking** and political psychology in approaching the problems of peace, **co-operation** and international trust, that historic document could in many ways **serve** as such an example.

VI

To the Soviet Union, a major Asian Power, **ensuring security in Asia is** of vital importance. The Soviet **programme** of eliminating nuclear and chemical **weapons** by the end **of this** century is in harmony with the sentiments of the peoples of the Asian continent, for whom the problems of peace and security **are no less urgent** than for the peoples **of** Europe. We **cannot** fail to recall here that **Japan and its** cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki became the **victims of nuclear bombing** and **Viet Nam a target of chemical** weapons.

We highly appreciate **the constructive initiatives put** forward by the socialist countries of Asia and by India and other **members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries**. **We view as very important the** fact that the two Asian **nuclear Powers** - the USSR **and** China - have both undertaken not to be the first to **use** nuclear weapons.

The implementation of our programme would fundamentally **change** the situation in Asia, rid the nations in that part of the **globe**, too, of the fear of nuclear and chemical warfare, and **bring security** in that **region** to a qualitatively new level.

We regard our programme as a contribution to the search, together with all Asian countries, for an overall, comprehensive approach to **establishing a** secure and durable peace in this **continent**.

VII

Our new proposals are addressed to the whole world. The **taking** of active steps to halt the **arms** race and reduce weapons is also an essential prerequisite for coping with increasingly acute global problems: destruction of the human environment, the need to find *new* energy sources, and the **struggle** against economic backwardness, hunger **and** disease. The militarist principle of arms in **place** Of development **must give** way to **the very opposite** - disarmament for development.

The noose of the trillion-dollar debt which is now strangling dozens of countries and entire continents is a direct consequence of the arms race. The over \$250 billion annually **wrong** from the developing countries is an amount **roughly** equal to the size of the mammoth United States military budget, and in fact this is far from a coincidence.

The Soviet Union wants each measure for limiting and reducing armaments, and each step towards ridding the **world** of nuclear weapons, not only to bring nations **greater** security but also to make it possible to allocate more funds for improving people's lives. It is no accident that the peoples seeking to put an end to backwardness and achieve the level of highly-developed industrial countries **associate** the prospects of freeing themselves from the burden of debt owed to imperialism, which is draining their economies, with limiting and eliminating weapons, reducing military expenditure and **switching** resources to the goals of social and economic development. This theme will undoubtedly figure most prominently at **the** International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development to be held this summer in Paris.'

The Soviet Union opposes the approach whereby the implementation of disarmament measures would be made dependent on the solution of so-called regional conflicts. Behind this approach lies both an unwillingness to follow the path Of disarmament and a desire to impose upon sovereign nations an alien order which would **make** it possible to maintain profoundly unjust conditions whereby some countries live at the expense of others, exploiting their natural, human and spiritual resources for the selfish imperial purposes of certain States or aggressive alliances. The Soviet Union will continue to oppose this. It will continue consistently to advocate freedom for the peoples, peace, security and a stronger international legal order. Its **goal** is not to fan regional conflicts but to eliminate them through collective efforts on a **just** basis, and the sooner the better.

Today there is no **shortage** of statements professing a commitment to peace. What is really lacking is concrete action to strengthen its foundations. All **too** often, peaceful words conceal war preparations and power politics. **Moreover**, some statements made in important forums are in fact intended to eliminate any trace of **the** new "spirit of Geneva", which is **having** a salutary effect on international relations today. It is not only a matter of statements: actions are also **being** taken that are clearly designed to incite animosity and **mistrust** and to revive confrontation, which is the antithesis of **détente**.

We reject such a way of acting and thinking. We want **1986 to be not just a** peaceful year **but** one that would enable us to reach the end of the twentieth century under the sign of peace and nuclear disarmament. The set of new foreign-policy initiatives that we are proposing is intended to make it possible for mankind to approach the year 2000 under peaceful skies and with peace in **outer** space, without fear of a nuclear, chemical or any other threat of annihilation and fully confident of its own survival and the continuation of the human race.

The new, resolute actions now **being** taken by the Soviet Union **for** the sake of peace and of improving the whole international situation represent the substance and the spirit of **our** domestic and foreign policies and their organic linkage. They reflect the fundamental historical law emphasized by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin: the whole world sees that our country is holding even higher the banner of **peace**, freedom and humanism hoisted over our planet by the Great October Revolution.

When it is a question of preserving peace and saving mankind from the threat of nuclear war, no one must remain indifferent or stand aloof. It concerns each and every one of **us**. Every State, **large** or **small**, socialist or capitalist, has an important contribution to make. Every responsible political party, every social **organization** and every individual can also make an important contribution.

No task is more urgent, more noble and humanitarian than that of uniting all efforts to achieve this lofty **goal**. **This** task is to be accomplished by our generation, without **shifting** it on to the shoulders of posterity. This is the imperative of our time: we must assume the burden of historic responsibility for our decisions and actions in the time remaining until the **beginning** of the third millenium.

The **course** of peace and disarmament will continue to be pivotal to the foreign policy of the **CPSU** and the Soviet State. In actively pursuing this course, the Soviet Union is prepared to engage in wide-ranging co-operation with all those who advocate positions of reason, good will and awareness of responsibility for ensuring the future of mankind, without wars and without weapons.