



President: Mr. Ismat KITTANI (Iraq)

AGENDA ITEM 8

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: This afternoon the Assembly will hear a statement by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Head of Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Mr. Hussain Muhammad Ershad. I have great pleasure in welcoming him, and I invite him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. ERSHAD (Bangladesh): I bring to the Assembly the warm and friendly greetings of the peace-loving people of Bangladesh. I have much pleasure in expressing my sincere felicitations to you, Mr. President, for the leadership you have given to the proceedings of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

3. I should also like to congratulate the Secretary-General on his assumption of office and wish him all success.

4. My presence here reflects the importance which Bangladesh attaches to the second special session of the General Assembly on disarmament and the deep anxiety felt in my country about the deteriorating structure of global peace. I have come here all the way from Bangladesh to share with the Assembly our growing concern about the very survival of the human race. I earnestly hope that I shall be able to take back with me at least a ray of hope that our generation of the human race will eventually witness a triumph of rationality. The fate of mankind rests in our hands.

5. The eyes of the world, whether it be the developed or developing, strong or weak world, are focused on us today. We are meeting at a crucial juncture in the history of mankind. We are gathered here to discuss ideas, exchange views and suggest measures that might change the destiny of man. This planet of ours is beset with problems. It would indeed be naive to attempt to solve all the problems at the same time, but there are some problems that we can certainly solve provided we pool our ideas, endeavours and resources. The issue that takes foremost priority is that of disarmament: how man can forsake the means of perpetrating conflict and dissension and co-operate to further peace and progress.

6. Never before in its entire history has the human race been so dangerously close to the precipice of total self-destruction. The lack of co-operation and understanding in the conduct of relations between States is bringing the entire human race towards extinction. Irrational responses are bred by mutual

fear, suspicion and mistrust, which cannot be allowed to continue as the basis of inter-State relations. The human race has conquered space, but have the nations been able to conquer mutual fear, suspicion and distrust? The question is, have the nations of the world been able to expand the frontiers of rationality and objectivity in keeping with their outstanding success in extending the suicidal capacity for violence and destruction? The question is whether our awareness of the grave dangers posed by this mad race for armaments and our consensus for taking urgent practical steps towards disarmament can be translated into reality in time, before the final breakdown of the fragile structure of global peace overwhelms the collective capacity of mankind to deal with this crucial problem in a rational, civilized, peaceful and orderly manner.

7. The great enthusiasm generated by the first special session on disarmament in 1978 seems to be fading away. The decade of the 1970s was described as the decade of peaceful coexistence and détente. There were new hopes for mutual understanding between the two super-Powers.

8. The normalization of relations between the United States and China was a great stabilizing factor in world politics, particularly in Asia. Similarly, the SALT I agreement and summit meetings between the two super-Powers gave rise to hope for a new era of peace and prosperity for mankind.

9. Unfortunately, however, before the end of that decade we were saddened to see military interventions and military occupations in many regions of the world. We must remember that disarmament cannot be achieved when there are serious threats to peace and stability. Disarmament is a noble cause, but basically it is a means to a nobler end—the establishment of a world order where every nation, large or small, strong or weak, must enjoy freedom from fear, fear of foreign aggression. We must realize that there cannot be any genuine progress towards disarmament as long as we fail to establish world peace through the rule of law. As long as smaller and weaker nations remain at the mercy of the stronger and bigger States there cannot be any success for disarmament.

10. Disarmament and the reduction of world tension are interlinked. We cannot separate the one from the other. We must therefore devote all our energies to the creation of a world order in which international disputes must be settled by peaceful means and not by force, without which disarmament will remain a distant and vague dream.

11. To my mind there are three major challenges to mankind's continued progress and ultimate survival. They are first, the arms race, second, under-develop-

ment, and third, the unlawful use of force for solving international disputes. I shall discuss each briefly.

12. As regards the arms race, in order to ensure peace and security which would preserve our planet for succeeding generations we must put an end to the continuing escalation of the arms race. Since only a fraction of the weaponry that we have in our possession could destroy our civilization many times over, such an exercise is one of illogical redundancy. We must therefore strive towards the goal of achieving total and complete disarmament, with nuclear disarmament as our immediate and central objective. The goal must be pursued by substantive means. The role of the Committee on Disarmament and the Disarmament Commission should be enhanced and encouraged. This session has provided us with a great opportunity, of which we must take advantage. We must not allow the second special session on disarmament to pass without taking action.

13. The problems are complex and there is no point in denying it. They warrant the attention of leaders invested with the highest responsibilities. A comprehensive programme of disarmament is the linchpin of our disarmament efforts. The step to be taken immediately should be a resolve by world leaders to ban all nuclear tests, to ban chemical and biological weapons and to freeze and reduce military budgets and transfer the resources thus released to development purposes. May I take this opportunity to launch an appeal to all States, in particular to the more powerful States, to display self-restraint and moderation and enter into serious negotiations on disarmament. Disarmament depends upon mutual understanding among the major Powers. Tensions and threats to peace must be removed.

14. May I reiterate here that Bangladesh's policy on disarmament is based on its constitutional commitment, according to which we are wedded to the concept of general and complete disarmament. We are prepared to take concrete and tangible action in the appropriate context. It was our total dedication to the cause of general and complete disarmament that led us to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. We are dismayed and distressed that, despite the fact that over 100 Member States have acceded to the Treaty, nuclear proliferation, both vertical and horizontal, continues unabated.

15. Current global spending on armaments has exceeded \$600 billion a year and is still rising. By contrast, official development assistance is on the decline and today totals less than 5 per cent of the amount spent on armaments. A large segment of the globe continues to be deprived and underprivileged. That brings us to the second issue which threatens global peace and stability: underdevelopment.

16. This planet of ours, which was meant by Allah the Almighty to be one, is now virtually divided into two, rendered thus through developments in history. What are these two planets-in-one? One is that of the rich, the other that of the poor; one is of the developed, the other of the underdeveloped; one is of the privileged; one is of growth, the other of decay. Hundreds of millions of human beings are spread out throughout the world—the deprived, the hungry, the destitute, the

wretched of this earth—for whom, day in and day out, life is a ceaseless struggle for survival, a world where children die of starvation or are physically or mentally crippled because of malnutrition, where people are doomed to a subhuman existence haunted by poverty, disease and despair. The gap between the two worlds is ever-widening. It is not enough to prevent the gap from widening further; it is not even enough to build bridges across it. The gap must be closed. The two planets must be forged into one.

17. Within the poor segment of the globe, there are again those who are poorer. They are those who live not just in misery but in squalor, those who are not just hungry but dying. Theirs is an agonizing march to extinction. The pace of the march grows more rapid with every passing day. This march must be halted and reversed.

18. The combined foreign debt of the developing countries is now in excess of \$300 billion. Forty billion dollars is spent annually on servicing foreign debts, which amount to more than 20 per cent of the total export earnings of the developing countries. Partly owing to this and partly because of the trade policies of the developed countries and the increase in the prices of their products, the developing countries suffered a balance-of-payments deficit of more than \$60 billion in 1980. Imagine what a boon it would be if the \$600 billion expended on arms was severely curtailed and the savings devoted to ensuring a better quality of life for the teeming masses of the underprivileged of the globe.

19. It is indeed a great pity that, despite all our pledges to abjure the use of force or the threat of the use of force as a means to solve international disputes, such acts continue with impunity all around the globe. Conflicts between States arise from conflicting claims or interests or ideologies or perceptions, fuelled by social and psychological drives which we have perhaps not made very serious efforts to understand. War is still acceptable as a legitimate means to solve international disputes. Should it remain so? What good is the conquest of space and other achievements of man, if the weak should still remain at the mercy of the strong? I should like to stress that without faithful adherence to the principles of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, non-use of force, peaceful settlement of all disputes and non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, there can be no durable and just peace in this world.

20. Bangladesh has always honoured these noble principles in the conduct of its foreign relations, in particular in dealing with its neighbours. The Assembly will be happy to know that for the first time in history more than 200,000 refugees, who came to Bangladesh from Burma in 1978, have peacefully returned to their hearths and homes in honour and security. This has been possible because both Burma and Bangladesh are firmly committed to the principles of peaceful and negotiated settlement of all international problems. In the same spirit Bangladesh is constantly pursuing efforts towards a peaceful and negotiated settlement of outstanding problems with its other neighbours. Bangladesh is also working relentlessly towards building a framework for regional co-operation, as we firmly believe that it will lead towards promotion of

confidence-building among the countries in the South Asian region.

21. Bangladesh is fully convinced that the threat or use of force is no longer counted among the civilized options in the conduct of international relations. For Bangladesh, peace is the only option. In this session the world community should once again clearly and unequivocally reiterate its commitments to the cherished principles mentioned earlier. Let us make the forsaking of force the principal achievement of our generation. We shall then have earned the eternal blessings of generations yet unborn.

22. In the context of what I have just said, I should like to present before the Assembly the following points for urgent consideration. It is my belief that at this special session on disarmament the Assembly should adopt a programme of action, which should include, *inter alia*, the following elements. There should be a complete prohibition of the use and threat of use of force as a means of settling disputes and a joint declaration, or individual declarations, by the nuclear-weapon States not to use nuclear weapons. The Security Council may consider practical and urgent measures to avert the danger of nuclear war through accident or miscalculation. All States should make a commitment to refrain from testing nuclear weapons pending the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty. There should be a total freeze on the production, development, deployment and research on and development of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems, to be followed by the application of universal and non-discriminatory safeguards to all nuclear facilities in the world. All nuclear-weapon States should provide negative security guarantees to non-nuclear-weapon States and neutral countries. Production, development, deployment and research on and development of new chemical weapons should be suspended pending the conclusion of a chemical-weapons treaty. Indiscriminate arms sales should be stopped, and special levies should be imposed on all international sales of arms and the funds thus generated should be placed at the disposal of the United Nations for development purposes all over the world. There should be a declaration that outer space is a common heritage of mankind to be used for humanity at large. A decision should be made to convene a conference on the Indian Ocean peace zone in conformity with the relevant General Assembly resolutions. Practical efforts should be made for the proper use and deployment of surplus resources to be released for the development efforts of all countries in the world. The Secretary-General should undertake studies in the following areas: new weapon systems and their delivery, military research and development and its impact on the arms race, the concept of zones of peace, and the principles and guidelines for conventional disarmament. We must make efforts to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the disarmament process in order to enable the entire world community to play an active role in that field. The United Nations ought to publicize world wide the main elements of the expert group studies on disarmament and international security as well as on the economic and social consequences of the arms race and military expenditure. The Secretary-General, while playing the central role in reactivating the disarmament

efforts on a global basis, should launch a public relations campaign in order to apprise the world of the deleterious impact of the unrestricted arms race. There should be a pledge for all countries in the world, particularly the smaller ones and the non-nuclear-weapon States, of undiminished security at a level in conformity with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

23. It is my firm conviction that, given the necessary political will, the priorities I have just enumerated are not beyond realization. Let us therefore pledge that this special session, this distinguished gathering of world leaders of vision, will be a point of departure. Let this be a springboard which will launch us onward to our projected rendezvous with history. For the hungry billions of this world life has been one long period of suffering, undivided by seasons. Their life is rendered immobile, inflexible, unchanging. Their sorrows will not be in vain if out of them we can build a new world, a world where all will help to ameliorate the pains of those who suffer so that the joy that follows can be shared by all. Let us not falter in embarking on this noble endeavour in real earnest, for if we fail, history will not forgive us.

24. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Head of Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for the important statement he has just made.

25. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): Mr. President, please accept my renewed compliments on your election. By now you will have set a new world record in the number of meetings over which you have so ably presided.

26. Four years ago, the Assembly adopted by consensus the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*]. At that time the optimists amongst us hailed what they believed to be a substantive advance in new ideas, new perspectives and newly defined areas of accord, complemented by improvements in the disarmament machinery. Some even discerned the emergence of a greater high-level commitment to effective disarmament measures.

27. In reality, of course, we achieved universality in participation and a reasonably adequate mechanism for representation, but that was all. That was the cumulative result of over 30 years of effort. We improved the structure and we comprehensively defined the objectives. We have had four years to achieve practical positive results but in this respect—we must all admit—we have failed, and failed very miserably.

28. Today we still live under the menace of the mushroom cloud. Not a mushroom cloud, however, of the previous dimensions, but an enormously enlarged cloud, which some would even seek to camouflage under the euphemistic title of "enhanced radiation". The heady aspirations of 1978 stand in stark contrast to current realities. The ultimate goal of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons has receded daily in the intervening period, and this negative trend shows no sign of reversing itself.

29. The inherent instability of the nuclear-weapon equation is further increased by policy-makers and defence strategists who, with a tenacity worthy of a better cause, cling to old shibboleths.

30. Perceptions of nuclear strategy now seem to have completed the doctrinal circle. The post-1945 concept of massive retaliation was replaced by emphasis on the urgent necessity of preventing nuclear war. Today, with chilling logic, it is argued in some quarters that a containable form of nuclear war is feasible. The natural tendency of retaliation with superior force is once again viewed as a realistic response according to a scenario in which nuclear weapons may well be used in the event of deterrence breaking down. And thus, the fulcrum on which the theory of deterrence rests—the very kernel of the doctrine—is broken. What is conveniently not stated is that the probable practical result would then be global self-annihilation—sooner perhaps, rather than later.

31. This oscillation in strategy and the current untrammelled expansion of nuclear capabilities have combined to stretch even further the gap between our theoretically stated goals and our meagre practical achievements. We still await positive action on most items in the catalogue of goals enunciated at the first special session on disarmament.

32. In fact, the gap is widening even in other fields. Despite agreement in 1978 on the fact that the complete prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons is one of the most urgent tasks for multilateral negotiations, we face today the awesome prospect of a new arms race in chemical and biological weapons, a race that will surely penetrate branches of science previously untainted by militarism.

33. Who can doubt that a chemically re-armed world will be—to put it mildly—an immeasurably less safe and serene place to live in? Already allegations of actual use have been made and vehemently denied. The statistics are pouring in. A recent computer simulation calculates that the ratio of civilian to military casualties would be eight to one for battle-field nuclear weapons and 20 to one for chemical weapons.

34. Those macabre statistics tell their own story. The perverse logic of developing such weapons can only reinforce the current trend towards exterminism, and accelerate the pace towards the ruinous production of ever more lethal weapons against which there can be no protection for innocent citizens throughout the world. Not even the stunned survivors of Nagasaki and Hiroshima can envy us our present-day lot.

35. Even if we continue to assume, as we must, that the theory of deterrence can still prevail in practice, history surely reminds us that so many weapons cannot indefinitely be held immune to accident, misunderstanding, mishandling or an unintended escalation of tension. The cumulative result of 35 years of weapons production at such a tragic cost is the daily nightmare hovering over the survival of civilization as we know it today.

36. Is it not therefore time at least to shift the current concentration of science and technology? The scientific community has a special role to play in the search

for a saner, safer and healthier world, for chemical warfare is still very largely a scientist's weapon. Today's biologists, like yesterday's physicists, are uniquely equipped to emphasize for us—and even to resist—the dangers of the technologies emerging from their laboratories.

37. We know, of course, that science and technology have an irreversible momentum of their own. There can be no neat separation into peaceful and military components; the laser technology that can destroy a communications satellite is theoretically the same as that which prevents blindness. But surely we can pledge to give greater encouragement and financial backing to the peaceful thrust of science.

38. It is somewhat encouraging in this connexion that the medical branch of science has recently graphically attempted to awaken public opinion to the effects of nuclear warfare—information which previously had tended to be hidden from a blissfully unaware public; this in turn has aroused a popular swell of revulsion and protest which, for as long as it remains spontaneous and independent, will inevitably influence popularly elected Governments.

39. Those, then, are some promising areas to explore, and there are others that are equally promising.

40. The first special session on disarmament called for significant reduction of and qualitative limitations on strategic weapons. Despite the fact that independent research institutes, no doubt at some considerable effort, seem to have no hesitation in producing reputable annual statistical compilations of weaponry, arms control experts repeatedly invoke the difficulties of monitoring adversary nuclear military capability and research. They claim similar difficulty in verifying compliance with any agreed future weapons reduction. All too often these difficulties are posed under the guise of almost insurmountable barriers to real progress.

41. However, both major military alliances now possess vast networks of reconnaissance and surveillance equipment in space. Much of their military intelligence relies on this equipment.

42. Of the 3,000 or so satellites launched so far, about two thirds either have been entirely military in scope or have fed information into defence projects. One such surveillance vehicle is reportedly capable of detecting objects 12 inches across from a height of 100 miles by means of high-resolution cameras.

43. If, as has been claimed, these systems are able to identify a golf ball from space, I have no doubt that they would also be able to identify the uniform worn or the weapons and the equipment carried by one or more soldiers, or, for that matter, to identify a clandestine nuclear explosion.

44. It is now almost possible to spot from outer space the proverbial needle in a haystack. The skies are criss-crossed by a web of surveillance satellites operated by military forces. Surely here is one example where we can use modern technology as a medium for peace. Verification of arms control agreements by independent but sophisticated United Nations-operated surveillance systems should not be beyond our current capabilities. Like Austria, France, Senegal and many other countries, we believe that the study

of such a system should deservedly become a major priority on which disarmament negotiations should be concentrated, and we urge those who are at present dragging their feet on this matter to make the contribution to the realization of this project commensurate with their capability.

45. Another area of concentration could be educating the public at large. It is becoming increasingly difficult for the layman to understand the nature and the potential of developments in the field of military science. Groping in the dark is no substitute for expert advice and guidance. There is a constant need for a United Nations-appointed panel of highly qualified and concerned experts which would objectively unravel the technicalities and impact of military technology in a lucid and comprehensible manner.

46. Such a panel would be able to evaluate independently and pronounce itself openly on conflicting claims by the super-Powers, shed light on new discoveries and rationally assess the prognosis for new arms agreements. Its independent assessments should be made available to the United Nations and, through the United Nations, to the public at large. This is one aspect which we should like to see included in the public campaign for disarmament. The report of the Palme Commission, entitled "Common Security: A Programme for Disarmament",¹ not only deserves to be disseminated, but should also be followed through so that the implementation of its recommendations can be monitored.

47. The very fact that today the world's military arsenal does not exist in a vacuum of isolated bunkers, manned by invisible personnel and remote from the everyday lives of ordinary men and women, has aroused public concern as never before. The arms race, they have found, is a many-headed hydra whose pervasive effects reach out and touch us all. No citizen, no scientist can any longer remain indifferent.

48. The annual costs of the manufacture and improvement of weapons are in sombre contrast to the want and misery in which two thirds of the world's population lives. But the perception of the pervasive effects of this abhorrent waste has struck a responsive chord even among citizens of the richest countries. Econometric studies suggest that each extra dollar spent on arms reduces domestic investment by roughly 25 cents and agricultural output by 20 cents. Similar studies indicate that the countries with the largest defence budgets have the most seriously stagnating economies. We commend in this regard the study by the Group of Experts on the Reduction of Military Budgets [A/S-12/7, annex]² appointed by the Secretary-General. It speaks conclusively for itself.

49. It is also being argued, and argued persuasively, that the escalating costs of weapons do not necessarily render them more effective. As far as conventional weapons are concerned, evidence has been produced during the most recent conflicts that have ravaged the face of this earth on land and at sea that smug assumptions of performance are often grossly overstated. Both military alliances now possess imperfect and vulnerable systems of command, control and communication. Many failures in these systems have already been reported. No doubt, of course, many more have been hidden from public knowledge. It is

known that much expense is being devoted to constant improvement. This process, and the next generation of nuclear weapons, will propel the super-Powers towards a state of hair-trigger alert, where a simple communications failure could cause world-wide calamity.

50. It is becoming increasingly evident that the economic stagnation and disarray of the super-Powers will not only become inevitable but will not ensure effective military capability and security. On the contrary, the action-reaction cycle over the past three decades has steadily reduced the security of both sides, while robbing their national treasuries, as well as the world's, of resources which no nation or group of nations can afford to waste indefinitely.

51. The arguments of economists, scientists, physicians and sober-minded military men against the perils of the arms race and nuclear confrontation can be augmented at another level by those of the lawyer.

52. The Final Document of the Tenth Special Session indicates that the use of nuclear weapons is a crime against humanity. The *sui generis* nature of nuclear war should make previous definitional categories of war completely obsolete. Such a war would not be fought for any rational, positive aim; all of us would be the losers. Most certainly it would be contrary to the laws of humanity and the dictates of public conscience, as outlined in the preamble to the Hague Conventions of 1907³ and in the Geneva Conventions of 1949.⁴

53. Even a cursory look at existing international law would refute the widely held tacit assumption that the mere technological availability of instruments of horror such as nuclear weapons has invalidated the fundamental rules of warfare. In fact, the body of the laws of war rests upon the fundamental prohibition of indiscriminate killing of innocent civilians and includes separate prohibitions against weapons which cause unnecessary suffering or disproportionate damage.

54. The tragic evidence of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the statistics already quoted on casualty estimates of today's enhanced weapon systems should at least shock strategists and national leaders into a reappraisal of the facile assumptions that have so far prevailed. The limits of permissible violence are not set by technological potentialities, but by the sum total of general and specific rules established by the international community in its mutual common interest. In the words of His Holiness Pope John Paul II were echoed the ethics of the moral conscience of mankind: The world wants peace, the world needs peace. As His Holiness stated, "Today the scale and horror of modern warfare, whether nuclear or not, make it totally unacceptable as a means of settling differences between nations".

55. Looking back over the past four years, we may gain some small comfort from the fact that the super-Powers are once again sitting around the negotiating table, trying to put limits to the arms race. It is an indication of the abysmal state of international relations that they have not done so since the SALT II Treaty was signed in June 1979. In the nuclear age the world simply cannot forgo attempts by the super-Powers to bring their rivalry under some degree of

control. None know this better than the super-Powers themselves. Yet, in the past, one opportunity after another has been squandered.

56. Recently, one of the super-Powers serenely announced that preparations were being completed for talks directed towards the goal of substantial, militarily significant and verifiable strategic arms reductions. While positive rather than negative pronouncements are always preferable, surely it is not out of place to observe that, with so much at stake, dialogue on disarmament should never have been interrupted in the first place. Moreover, we must analyse the real significance of any statement in the light of statements made in the past, which subsequently resulted in little or no tangible progress.

57. Already the familiar pattern is being followed. The pot, covered in soot, calls the kettle black. With impeccable rhetoric, and in a blaze of publicity, self-styled proposals, some allegedly new, are advanced by the two super-Powers, but each one is finely tuned so as to ensure that the other side will find it impossible to accept and so that all disarmament bodies will have such a welter of items to discuss that none will be discussed in depth, much less carried to any conclusion. In the meantime, the arms industries churn out the weapons, and it is in the third world that the arena is provided in which these weapons are tried out in real combat.

58. The very institutions where these vital matters are discussed have been rendered lifeless by the super-Powers, among them the negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions at Vienna, the strategic arms limitation talks at Geneva and the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The latest victim of inertia seems to be the Security Council in New York. Each of these bodies desperately requires a new lease on life. We venture to hope that this special session will at least provide that.

59. But, if the truth must be told, the experience of past arms talks does not encourage euphoria. The deep-rooted suspicion and fear by each side of the other, the vast investments each has made in nuclear armaments, the tendency to fish in troubled waters and the bureaucratic inertia of the military will continue to make the negotiating process a tortuous one. At the end of the day, efforts to overcome super-Power tensions may once again be reduced to a mere updated totalling of missiles and warheads, while yet another empty acronym takes its place in the arid history of disarmament negotiations.

60. Above all, we still suffer from a tendency to discuss nuclear weapons within an outmoded conceptual framework. If one side has more, it is regarded as carrying greater political influence and as capable of winning the war should politics fail. In reality, the detonation of even one nuclear weapon would unleash a military and psychological situation of a kind even the best informed among us can hardly begin to imagine. Any sane analysis of the feasibility of a winnable nuclear war would surely destroy the insidious cant of present-day strategists.

61. For two decades primary responsibility for arms reduction has fallen to the major nuclear-weapon Powers. Now, the paucity of results achieved should

cause us to stop and seriously ponder the validity of relying heavily on such an approach. The problem of negotiating agreements on definitions or on numerical standards of comparison between the military alliances is by itself almost enough to dispose of the efforts before they begin. The hallmark of these efforts would appear to be false starts, abeyance, postponement and, eventually, suspension—in short, zero results. This has rightly engendered world-wide protest. From all over the world, the peoples of the United Nations—those we are supposed to represent—are saying to us and to their Governments in unison and with concerned insistence: turn back from the precipice; stop before it is too late.

62. We are here to turn their aspirations into concrete measures. In Malta's view, while it is self-evident that the search for agreement must continue, it is equally evident that universalist efforts must go hand in hand with regional efforts. All too often the poorer nations among us face strong pressure from advanced countries to accept larger, costlier imports of arms. For the former, this means pressure to participate in regional military groupings, thus indirectly encouraging the spread of super-Power conflict to previously untouched areas of the world. For us, the developing, non-aligned world, it could be a prescription for conflict. The third world has suffered more wars since 1945 than in any other equivalent historical period.

63. The non-aligned countries must therefore resolutely turn away from this trend. We have other paths to tread. It is all the more important for us to do so when we consider that the breeding-ground for a potential nuclear confrontation is likely to be a regional conflict which escalates out of control, rather than a recklessly suicidal attack by one super-Power upon another.

64. No dangerous area stands out more starkly than the Middle East. It is in fact the region over which a nuclear alert was most recently raised. At this moment, a friendly country has been violently assaulted and a homeless people driven to further desperation, while we watch in impotent horror and revulsion—another fatal legacy of conflicting super-Power confrontation.

65. Against this background, and as a small nation strategically situated at the centre of a turbulent region of the world, Malta is convinced that we should concentrate more on concerted political approaches designed to eliminate tension and mistrust in different regions of the world. This, we believe, is where the real dividends from co-ordinated efforts can accrue.

66. The majority of littoral States of the Mediterranean have already stated publicly their desire to create a zone of peace and co-operation in the Mediterranean. In 1978 Malta advocated the inclusion of such a measure in the Final Document. Those efforts were met then with hesitancy and reluctance by the members of the major military alliances, which seemed loath even to consider concepts of peaceful change. It is a sad fact of life that logic and necessity do not always translate into effective action. For small countries, that omission was extremely disappointing, and it is only natural we should renew our efforts.

67. Even if we assume that it is primarily owing to nuclear deterrence that a measure of stability may have prevailed over the last 37 years, we cannot but admit that each year we become even more vulnerable to factors likely to interrupt that peace. But still the sceptics among us argue that the zone of peace concept is not clear, that it has not been adequately defined.

68. Is it not high time that we opened our eyes to fresh remedies, to new avenues of approach that offer a way out of potential conflict? As the distinguished diplomat George Kennan has pointed out:

“Sooner or later, and the sooner the better, all the Governments on both sides of the East-West division will find themselves compelled to undertake the search for positive alternatives to the insoluble dilemmas which any suicidal form of weaponry presents, and can only present.”

69. The zone-of-peace concept responds to that challenge. It is a political, not a legal, concept. The absence of any precise definition should not be allowed to stifle sorely needed prescriptions for peaceful change. More important, it can be shown that positive results can be achieved, even in the absence of any precise definition.

70. The point is, in fact, that it can be done. My own country has proved this with success and against great odds. In all modesty, in terms of its national capability Malta's contribution to both Disarmament Decades has been second to none.

71. The 1970s dawned with Malta still being considered the unsinkable aircraft carrier of the Mediterranean. Within living memory Malta has been used as a base for the massive invasions of North Africa and southern Europe, during the last world war, and subsequently for the Anglo-French Suez invasion. Yet the years of the 1970s were deliberately chosen as those in which the people of Malta had to build a new economic structure so that the island would no longer depend for its livelihood on military services to foreigners. Both the economic and the political climate of the world could not have been more difficult to imagine. Yet by March 1979, in the short span of seven years, the last remaining military base in Malta was closed down completely, never to return. Two centuries of history had been reversed at one stroke.

72. That was a formidable and daunting task, yet the challenge was accepted and overcome. Today it has been made clear that Malta will refrain from joining any military alliance and from maintaining any foreign military bases. Our foreign policy is one of neutrality, based on the principles of non-alignment. Our quest for political, economic and military guarantees in support of this policy has borne fruit. Today Malta's policy of neutrality is recognized in general by the entire non-aligned movement and in practical form by a score of countries near and far, on both sides of the East-West divide.

73. The zone-of-peace principle, in effect, has been applied in practice by Malta even though it has not yet been formalized in a regional approach and even less given a legal connotation. The results of our search for avenues of peaceful change are there for all to see. In 1970 military expenditure accounted for around 30 per cent of Malta's gross national product. Today

it accounts for a mere 1.3 per cent of all Government spending. Up to 1970 Malta's trade was concentrated mainly in Europe. Today our trade with the countries of North Africa and the Gulf has increased from scratch in a spectacular penetration of the area's great potential, while at the same time our trade with previous traditional partners has maintained a steady growth. A dispute with a neighbouring country was settled peacefully and honourably. All this was achieved in the face of a hostile international economic climate shortly after the dismantling of the last foreign base on the island. I submit that what one small country can do on its own with the understanding co-operation of its neighbours can be multiplied immeasurably by other, more powerful countries. We firmly believe that it is through a deep vision of regional unity that new avenues of economic, social and political co-operation can be pursued which will give true peace and stability in the Mediterranean as well as in other regions.

74. Argument, statistics and logic have all had their day during the course of this debate, as they have with regular similarity in these debates over the last 37 years. Speaker after speaker has presented a case which is in effect unanswerable and which shows many elements of convergent views. Committees, commissions and learned bodies of experts have added to the wealth of indisputable facts and figures before us. The General Assembly regularly devotes around 20 per cent of its agenda items directly or indirectly to the question of disarmament. We have before us a most impressive list of documents, the fruit of so much effort.

75. Yet, despite all this, the arms race continues. The nuclear disciples among us forget that history indicates that to date man has used every weapon he has ever devised. Current estimates show that some 60 per cent of all research expenditures is devoted to military purposes and military development. Our inability to control such a mindless, amoral technological momentum can easily spawn humanity's final blunder.

76. But it is not too late to halt the march towards the nuclear Rubicon. The high level of representation at this special session on disarmament shows that the dedication to do so exists. Priorities have been defined and extended, goals have been catalogued anew and procedures have been developed. A framework exists which would ensure that the doomsday scenarios with which we are by now unfortunately all too familiar will remain firmly within the realms of fantasy. But failure to grasp these opportunities for progress will bring about a state of affairs which is incompatible with a world order in which, as the Charter of the United Nations says, the peoples can live in peace as good neighbours.

77. Today, therefore, let us recognize that the United Nations as an organization has been rocked to its very foundations. Let us respect it as the only one we have or will ever have. Let us not only speak of interdependence but also act on the logic of this new state of international affairs. Let us assiduously study the means already contemplated in the Charter and provided by this Organization alone to strengthen the mechanics of security.

78. Collective security as originally envisaged in the Charter is not a starry-eyed hope, it is a practical

necessity. Once again it must revert to the centre of our attention, and in this effort Malta again, as in the past, pledges its maximum contribution. As we have proved, we do translate our words into practical action.

79. Mr. MLADENOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, please accept my congratulations and my best wishes for fruitful work.

80. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, upon his election to his important post and to wish him success in his difficult but noble task of preserving peace and security throughout the world and resolving the major problems facing mankind.

81. The world situation in recent years has deteriorated strikingly and has reached such a qualitatively different state that joint efforts for the preservation of universal peace have become the greatest imperative of our time.

82. In view of the constant accumulation of armaments, the tempestuous rate of development of military technology and the perfection of means and methods of waging war, it has become extremely difficult to prevent crises arising, and the danger of the outbreak of nuclear war has risen considerably.

83. Responsibility for the increase in international tension is clearly to be borne by the militarist and aggressive circles of the imperialist States, primarily the United States, which are aiming at achieving military superiority and pursuing a policy of global domination and diktat and deliberately undermining and eliminating the positive results of détente achieved at the cost of enormous efforts in the 1970s.

84. Even at the very time that we have been meeting here Israel has been carrying out a new barbaric aggression against sovereign Lebanon, killing the civilian population of that country and committing genocide against the Palestinian people. It is clear that Israel would not have ventured to do that without the massive material, political and diplomatic support of those who are backing it.

85. Against the background of that alarming situation the current session of the General Assembly assumes even greater importance. The peoples expect it to outline ways to avert the threat of a thermonuclear conflict, to curb the arms race and to lend an impetus to adopting concrete disarmament measures.

86. In our view it is imperative for this session to reaffirm the position of principle which is of fundamental importance for the future of mankind, that nuclear war is unthinkable and inadmissible. Such a war would be madness which would lead to the annihilation of hundreds of millions, billions, of people—the whole of mankind. The sole alternative is peaceful co-existence between States with different social systems, the curbing of the arms race and disarmament. This incontrovertible truth, which underlies the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session, found a new expression in the Declaration on the Prevention of Nuclear Catastrophe [*resolution 36/100*], adopted by the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. That Declaration emphasizes that States and statesmen that first use nuclear weapons would be committing the gravest crime

against mankind. The Declaration was highly valued and welcomed by all peace-loving forces.

87. Regrettably, however, there are still politicians and State leaders who contend that a nuclear war could be “limited”, “moderate” or “acceptable”. That is a dangerous delusion which is being deliberately spread. The socialist countries have a clear and categorical position on this question: any use of nuclear weapons, no matter where, would immediately lead to a world-wide thermonuclear conflict.

88. A nuclear war would constitute a mortal threat to all peoples of the world. That applies particularly to Europe. It is precisely that continent that some regard as a theatre of military activities with a limited use of nuclear weapons, while nourishing the hope that the territory of their country will remain unscathed. All this has caused deep concern among the peoples of the world and led to the upsurge of a powerful anti-war movement.

89. To ensure peace it is very important to preserve the established balance of forces. The existing approximate parity of the armed forces of the Soviet Union and the United States, of the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*], is the basis of equal security, thanks to which it became possible to develop the process of détente in international relations, to reach a number of important agreements on arms limitation and to create conditions for concrete actions designed gradually to reduce the levels of arms. Recently, however, we have often been confronted with attempts to distort the substance of this question.

90. Those who count on upsetting the existing balance of forces are persistently resorting to allegations of what they call “Soviet superiority” as a justification of their plans. It is worth while pointing out that the Soviet Union and the other members of the Warsaw Pact have declared repeatedly and most categorically, and have proved by practical deeds, that they have no ambitions to establish military superiority. It is evident that every effort of the West to gain superiority, to impair parity, leads to a new round of the arms race, further undermines confidence and increases tension.

91. The policy of the deliberate linkage of disarmament problems with problems which are extraneous to them also serves these militaristic plans. This policy is used, in fact, as a pretext for refusing to conduct serious negotiations on curbing the arms race. The problem of disarmament is crucial to the future of all mankind, to its survival, and for that reason it must have priority and its settlement must be given the green light.

92. When analysing the problem of disarmament one must not overlook such an important aspect as the absurd dimensions that armaments outlays have acquired. One million dollars are being squandered every minute on military preparations world-wide, whereas at the same time hundreds of millions of people are starving and are deprived of elementary living conditions, medical care and education.

93. There is no nation today which does not feel directly or indirectly the deleterious social and economic consequences of the arms race. Its impact

on the least developed regions of the world is especially adverse. The colossal waste of human and natural resources for purposes of destruction is becoming an increasingly serious obstacle to the attainment of the legitimate aspirations of the developing countries to eliminate the burdensome legacy of colonial domination and to restructure international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. The countries of the non-aligned movement, too, actively struggle against the arms race, militarism and aggression. Their active participation in the resolution of the issues of peace and war exerts an increasingly tangible and positive impact on contemporary international life.

94. The current complex situation requires, more than ever before, a restoration of the positive processes in international relations, a resumption of dialogue, and a start of serious negotiations to terminate the arms race and achieve disarmament. These negotiations must be conducted on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security, without any pre-conditions, in an atmosphere of goodwill, business-like co-operation and respect for the legitimate rights and interests of all sides.

95. The Peace Programme adopted by the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is fully in keeping with the most pressing needs of international life and with the aspirations of nations during this decade.

96. We warmly welcome the obligation assumed by the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, a decision announced in the message of L. I. Brezhnev to this special session of the General Assembly [12th meeting]. This is a new clear manifestation of the peace-loving nature of Soviet foreign policy. We hope that this extremely important step, aimed at averting nuclear war, will be followed by reciprocal steps by the other nuclear Powers.

97. In recent years the Soviet Union has taken other significant unilateral steps designed to reduce the nuclear danger. It has declared a moratorium on the deployment of its medium-range missiles in the European part of the Soviet Union and has even proceeded with reducing them. Its readiness to work for agreement on a total renunciation by both sides of all types of medium-range weapons which could strike at targets in Europe, or even on the total elimination of both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons from the face of Europe, is aimed at promoting the success of the Geneva negotiations on the limitation of nuclear armaments in Europe.

98. We welcome the understanding reached on the beginning of Soviet and United States negotiations on the limitation and reduction of strategic armaments. The Soviet Union and all other peace-loving forces in the world have long been demanding that. The readiness of the United States to take part in these negotiations is no doubt a positive step, although we cannot but note that its concrete proposals are one-sided. The proposals of the Soviet Union that there should be a freeze on the strategic armaments of the Soviet Union and the United States with effect from the moment of the beginning of these talks, that both sides should do nothing which might upset the strategic stability and that they should preserve everything

positive achieved thus far are designed to create a solid basis for the achievement of success in the talks.

99. Both the Geneva negotiations on the limitation of nuclear armaments in Europe and the negotiations on strategic armaments are of key significance, and the peoples of the world will be following their further development most attentively and with great expectations. But for success to be achieved both sides must show goodwill. It is only in that way that we can dispel well-founded doubts which exist both in the East and in the West about certain circles aspiring to use these talks as camouflage for the arms race and in order to gain time to put into effect their plans for over-armament and the emplacement in Western Europe of new American nuclear missiles.

100. The countries of the socialist community have always been in favour of limiting, reducing or prohibiting all forms of weapons, and that encompasses the attainment of complete and general disarmament under strict and effective international control. There is no sphere of disarmament where they would not come forward with constructive initiatives, with regard both to nuclear weapons and to conventional weapons and such forms of weapons of mass destruction as the chemical and neutron weapons, and with regard to the prevention of the arms race in outer space, and so forth. Further proof of that policy is provided by the documents which have been submitted at this session, namely, the Soviet Union memorandum entitled "Averting the growing nuclear threat and curbing the arms race" [A/S-12/AC.1/11 and Corr.1, annex] and "Basic provisions of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction" [A/S-12/AC.1/12 and Corr.1, annex].

101. The Madrid meeting could lead to the substantial strengthening of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world if it takes a decision this autumn to convene a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe. The proposals of the socialist countries make it possible to overcome the stagnation also at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe. But in both cases the result will depend on whether the Western countries take a constructive position.

102. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is doing everything in its power to make a contribution to solving the major problems of our day. Our country attaches great significance to the questions connected with the consolidation of peace and security in the Balkans. A further manifestation of its peace-loving foreign policy has been its proposals to strengthen peace, mutual understanding and good-neighbourly co-operation in that area, put forward at the twelfth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party. An expression of that consistent policy is the initiative of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, which is designed to give practical effect to the idea of turning the Balkans into a nuclear-weapon-free zone. The interest shown in those proposals and the positive response to them indicate how vital and timely they are. We are firmly convinced that the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in other parts of Europe also and in the whole world

will be a substantial contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security.

103. With regard to the unfailing devotion of our country to the cause of peace and disarmament, I should like to stress that in the past few days we have been celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov, our outstanding compatriot and a major international statesman, who made such an important contribution to the mobilization of the broad masses of the people in the struggle against war and fascism.

104. Unfortunately, the results of the implementation during the past four years of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session cannot satisfy us.

105. Decisions of an organizational type have, it is true, been implemented. The Committee on Disarmament, in which five nuclear Powers participate, is fully in a position to serve as an effective multilateral negotiating body in the field of disarmament. We believe that the existing organizational structure is appropriate to the tasks that exist in the disarmament field. But if we look at the Programme of Action of the Final Document [*resolution S-10/2, sect. III*], we cannot but note that over the period which has elapsed since it was adopted, the only concrete result has been the conclusion of the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects.⁵ It is my pleasure to announce that the People's Republic of Bulgaria has already ratified that Convention. Considerable efforts have also been exerted on other disarmament problems. Nevertheless, the fact remains that with regard to none of the fundamental measures provided for in the programme has any final text of agreement been reached. We are particularly discouraged by the fact that the Committee on Disarmament was not able to resolve even the preliminary questions connected with the beginning of negotiations on nuclear disarmament. Responsibility for that lies with those who unilaterally broke off dialogue and impeded the holding of serious talks.

106. An important place on the agenda of this session is held by the item on the elaboration of a comprehensive programme of disarmament. We hope that in spite of the major difficulties it will be possible, through the joint efforts of all those taking part in this session, to carry out that task successfully.

107. We attach great importance also to the questions connected with the mobilization of world public opinion in support of efforts in the field of disarmament, and we welcome the official opening of the World Disarmament Campaign.

108. In order to achieve its goals, it would be helpful also to launch under the auspices of the United Nations a world-wide campaign for the collection of signatures in support of measures to prevent a nuclear war, to curb the arms race and for disarmament, in accordance with resolution 36/92 J, which was adopted by the Assembly on the proposal of Bulgaria.

Ms. Gonthier (Seychelles), Vice-President, took the Chair.

109. In conclusion, I should like to quote from a recent statement of Comrade Todor Zhivkov:

"So far as the People's Republic of Bulgaria is concerned, we shall continue to make our contribution to the cause of strengthening peace, curbing the arms race, bringing about disarmament and preventing a thermonuclear war, because there is simply no alternative for the survival of mankind and the preservation of our planet than peace. The question of peace is today a crucial one, since it concerns the lives of all people, the survival of civilization and nature's crowning achievement—man himself."

110. That statement sums up the very essence of the foreign policy of our country on the most important problem of our day, which is also the subject of this special session of the General Assembly.

111. Mr. HLAING (Burma): I should like first to extend to Mr. Kittani, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, sincere congratulations on his unanimous election as President of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. His experience and outstanding qualities in multilateral forums are well known. I am confident that under his stewardship the task before us, difficult as it is, will surely be fruitful and rewarding.

112. Our warmest greetings and felicitations go also to the Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, whose guidance and wise counsels will certainly prove invaluable in the deliberations ahead.

113. Man was grappling with the question of disarmament even before and between the two world wars. When this Organization was founded in 1945, the predominant thought in the minds of the founding fathers was clearly, in the words of the Charter, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

114. It is therefore truly pertinent that the decisions of the Organization on disarmament figure very prominently among the very earliest decisions adopted during the first couple of years of its existence. I refer here to the Assembly's decision of 24 January 1946, whereby the Atomic Energy Commission was established, and to the decision of the Security Council of 13 February 1947 establishing the Commission for Conventional Armaments.⁶ Since its inception the United Nations has thus been seized of the question of disarmament, which has been, still is, and will continue to be the greatest challenge to the collective wisdom and ingenuity of the international community.

115. Consultations, deliberations and negotiations have been afoot throughout the post-war years. They have been carried on at different levels of bilateral, trilateral and multilateral talks on various aspects of disarmament. Initiatives are taken. Some are positive, others less positive. Some are genuinely designed to bring about disarmament, others are apparently aimed at propaganda and short-term gains. For those of us who have at heart nothing but genuine disarmament as a *sine qua non* for the peaceful and stable international order, there have been occasions to be gratified but, more often than not, to feel frustrated as well. None the less, the point is that the international community has never lost sight of the urgent need for genuine disarmament.

116. In a short period of time, the dangerous spiral of the arms race, particularly the nuclear-arms race, has even threatened the very survival of mankind. In this nuclear age, any nuclear war would be of such proportions, with so many ever-more sophisticated and destructive weapons, that it would involve us all directly or indirectly and have a global dimension. The task of halting or reversing this danger had become the most urgent challenge confronting human society today.

117. Faced with this urgent task, and in the context of the abiding interest shown on all sides by the world community, the first special session devoted to disarmament took place four years ago and adopted by consensus the Final Document, containing a Declaration of Principles, a Programme of Action and recommendations concerning the international machinery for disarmament negotiations. The tenth special session was the most broadly representative forum where serious, concerted and wide-ranging attempts to come to grips with the problems of disarmament had ever been made.

118. The Final Document adopted then provides us for the first time with an integrated, comprehensive and universal strategy on international security and disarmament. It represents a clear landmark in the history of man's long march towards a peaceful international order, in which law and reason prevail over force and violence. Consequently, there has been ample cause for rejoicing, optimism, hope and even expectation.

119. The twelfth special session has now afforded us a very welcome opportunity to examine the record of disarmament negotiations during the four years between the two special sessions. Today, four years after the tenth special session, mankind faces an even worse and more dangerous situation as regards international security and the arms race. More wars and tensions are erupting around us. The Programme of Action remains largely unimplemented. The principles for effective implementation of the security system provided in the Charter of the United Nations and the principles and priorities defined in the Final Document have not been fully respected. The Committee on Disarmament has been unable to do much beyond tackling certain procedural and peripheral issues. The lofty goals and principles enunciated in the Declaration are as remote from attainment as ever. The long and the short of the comprehensive appraisal made thus far by speakers preceding me at this rostrum is that there has been little progress or none whatsoever during the last four years.

120. The arms race has been even further intensified and pursued at an accelerated pace. Global annual expenditures on armaments have gone up from \$300 billion in 1978 to \$600 billion in 1981. Over 200 nuclear-weapon tests have been carried out since 1978. Forty per cent of the world's research and development expenditures have been utilized—or rather squandered—for military purposes. Negotiations on different aspects of disarmament have been suspended or have simply proved abortive.

121. The right of each State to security is of primary importance to that individual State, and it is a very sensitive area for every nation. The international

climate over the past four years has been deteriorating and still is, and there is no doubt that in any realistic approach to international disarmament a favourable climate is the predominant and essential prerequisite for enhancing mutual trust and confidence. But how can this climate be created? The arms race and armaments in irrational proportions are generally the result of instability and certain situations born of policies and practices that are incompatible with the principles laid down in the Charter for the establishment of relations among nations based on justice, equality, independence and co-operation. A congenial climate is created only by new trends in the relationships between States with increased respect for mutual and legitimate interests, co-operation, the lessening of tensions and increased trust and confidence, upon which a reliable system of international security can be based.

122. It appears to my delegation that the most succinct assessment of the situation was made by the Secretary-General in his address on the opening day of the current session, when he said:

“The fact must now be faced that the Programme of Action has largely remained a dead letter. Indeed, the goals set forth in the Programme are further from our reach now than they were four years ago. The hope and euphoria of 1978 have been replaced by stalemate. The arms race—which had already reached such dangerous and irrational proportions four years ago—has continued to spread and intensify. Weapons of terrifying destructiveness are being piled up at an increasing tempo and new ones added to them. New regions of the globe have been drawn into frantic competition for more armaments. The arms race extends into the oceans of the world and into outer space.” [*1st meeting, para. 39.*]

123. That sums up perfectly the situation we are in today. There has certainly been a lamentable lack of progress, but we are not here simply to lament the past. We must of course and of necessity take a hard look at the past, carefully ponder over it and, more important, decide to forge ahead firmly towards the goals set forth in the Final Document.

124. The United Nations has been accorded, as it should be, a central role and primary responsibility in the field of disarmament. We must reaffirm and keep faith with the international disarmament strategy, the objective of which is the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament should be sought through gradual and phased agreements with the vitality of a comprehensive approach.

125. Clear priorities have been established in paragraph 45 of the Final Document. Nuclear disarmament must come first. My delegation is not unmindful of the fact that concurrent negotiations on all priority items are not altogether precluded. To my mind, however, that does not take away or detract in the slightest degree from the importance and urgency of nuclear disarmament as a matter of top priority.

126. From all accounts and on the basis of public statements by those scientists and experts who are in a position to know, of all types of modern weapons and weapon systems, the nuclear weapon poses the

greatest danger to humanity, transcending national boundaries. Its immediate and obvious destructive power apart, the dreadful aftermath of the use of the nuclear weapon cannot be limited in space, nor can it be limited in time. For the radioactive fall-out will gradually permeate the atmosphere, spreading over a period of many years, with disastrous effects not only for existing populations but also for generations yet to be born.

127. The destructiveness of nuclear war cannot be localized and confined to any nation or enemy of a nation. It will be global, pervasive and ultimate, thereby threatening the very survival of mankind as a whole. Here I can do no better than quote our own Head of State. As long ago as 1965, during his visit to Moscow, he said:

“No nation can feel at peace with itself or with the world unless general and complete disarmament becomes a reality. To those nations which have nuclear potential, as to those which have nuclear capability, it must be obvious, as it is to us here in this historic city of Moscow, which has witnessed the signature of the partial nuclear test-ban Treaty, that nuclear capability, if it decreases the areas of international understanding and heightens international anxiety, is in the end futile and self-defeating.”

128. Consequently, my delegation believes that the objectives stipulated in the Final Document and the priorities accorded therein to various aspects of disarmament should not be shifted, altered or in any way tampered with. Nuclear disarmament must be the first priority. General and complete disarmament must be the ultimate goal.

129. This brings us to the subject of the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty. In the preamble to the partial nuclear test-ban Treaty of 1963⁷ it is expressly stated that continued efforts are to be made to extend the nuclear test ban to all environments, including under ground. In appending their signatures to it, nations have pinned their hopes on the possibility of the conclusion in the not-too-distant future of a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty. Those hopes are so far unfulfilled, even after the lapse of nearly two decades.

130. It is true that a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty would leave the existing nuclear arsenals intact. It is also undeniable that as long as nuclear arsenals exist the risk of a nuclear war by accident, design, miscalculation or failure of communications remains a very real one. Needless to say, the best way to prevent a nuclear war is by the total elimination of nuclear weapons. In the meantime, while such a step does not seem to be within the bounds of possibility, the early conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty would halt the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons and nuclear proliferation. In this spirit, my delegation heartily welcomed the establishment for this purpose of an *ad hoc* working group on a comprehensive test-ban treaty at the spring session of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva [see A/S-12/2, chap. III, para. 38]. My delegation hopes and expects that the *ad hoc* working group and the Committee on Disarmament will succeed in their task, since the ground they will be covering

is not entirely new, some essential first steps having been taken as long ago as the early 1960s.

131. With regard to radiological weapons, the requested serious consideration of the inclusion of a provision prohibiting attacks on nuclear facilities, because of the risk of mass destruction through the spread of radioactive substances as a result of such attacks, held up the conclusion of negotiations in the Committee on Disarmament. Efforts at conciliation should be made between the negotiating parties to enable a draft convention to be prepared for adoption.

132. Effective assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons is another priority issue which deserves serious consideration. Pending the achievement of nuclear disarmament, such assurances from the nuclear-weapon States are vital to safeguarding non-nuclear-weapon States from the danger of nuclear holocaust. To find a solution, continued efforts should be made in the search for international arrangements which would give explicit assurances against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States.

133. In the past two decades, scientific and technological advances have greatly increased the destructive power of chemical weapons. This dangerous result was noted in the negotiating body, and considerable progress has been made in the past two years of negotiations in identifying major elements of this problem. In our view, the work on the actual text of a chemical weapons convention should begin without delay.

134. Inasmuch as the exploration of outer space has very great bearing on the economic and social development of all States, there lies ahead the most serious danger to all forms of life on earth if military confrontation with nuclear capability is pursued in outer space. Every effort, therefore, should be made with urgency to keep space free from all weapons and to prevent the environment from becoming a new sphere of the arms race.

135. The first special session on disarmament called for submission of the text of a draft comprehensive programme of disarmament to this second special session [A/S-12/2, appendix I]. My delegation earnestly hopes that the outstanding issues remaining to be agreed upon in the comprehensive programme of disarmament, which will play a very central role in the disarmament effort, will be successfully resolved at this special session under the able stewardship of Mr. García Robles.

136. With regard to disarmament measures leading to the goal of general and complete disarmament, our views remain consonant with the tenets of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session. Among the top priority issues are: agreement on a nuclear test-ban treaty; cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament; adoption of effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons; the complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons; the prohibition and prevention of new weapons of mass destruction; the prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and use of

radiological weapons; agreement on a comprehensive programme of disarmament; prevention of an arms race in outer space; and, above all, adoption of effective measures relating to nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war. Those measures should be given the highest priority, as specified in paragraph 50 of the Final Document.

137. In saying what we have said just now, we are not unmindful of the extreme complexity which characterizes all disarmament negotiations, with their several facets, dimensions and ramifications. We are also fully conscious of the relationship between disarmament and international security. We are equally aware of the concept of strategic deterrence, which holds that the balance of deterrence or the balance of terror has somehow helped maintain international peace and security in the contemporary world. For two reasons, my delegation believes that curious thesis to be untenable.

138. First, that thesis or doctrine presupposes a readiness to resort, if and when necessary, to the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, which is precisely and clearly forbidden by the provisions of the Charter, the Definition of Aggression and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

139. Secondly, that thesis will inevitably result in an endless process of balancing, or competition, among all nations with a view to maintaining military superiority at any time by one adversary over another, thereby setting in motion the vicious circle of distrust, suspicion, fear and insecurity, with the concomitant spiraling arms race, which has no upper limit.

140. That would undeniably result in the most irrational type of unbridled competition among nations to achieve the ultimate and most lethal in weaponry. Perhaps this extraordinary thesis of the balance of deterrence largely explains the present situation in which the nuclear Powers taken together possess in their arsenals the capability to wipe out the entire human race many times over. If they are maintaining international peace by developing those nuclear arsenals, their method of maintaining peace is too vicious and carries with it a tremendous amount of risk: the risk of the destruction of mankind and human civilization.

141. It therefore follows that only concrete and verifiable measures of disarmament under effective international control—definitely not the balance of terror—can create a condition of mutual trust and confidence conducive to the maintenance of lasting international peace and security. It is accordingly imperative for all of us not to let ourselves be ensnared or bogged down in the vicious circle of suspicion, distrust, fear, insecurity and the spiraling arms race, with each element constantly feeding on the others. We therefore believe that there is no alternative for the world today but to build greater national and international security and to do so only by enhancing understanding and co-operation between States, thereby creating a situation conducive to building political will and reaching fair agreements among nations.

142. My delegation has confined its remarks to a few of the aspects of disarmament, the ones it considers to be most important. These few remarks have been made in the hope that they may contribute in some small way to the deliberations at the current special session, whose paramount responsibility it is to reaffirm the objectives and principles contained in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session and, what is more important, to give renewed impetus to the implementation of the Programme of Action by having taken appropriate decisions by the time we conclude our work at this session.

143. Mr. GALLIMORE (Jamaica): Madam President, it gives me much pleasure to see you presiding over this portion of our deliberations.

144. I wish also to congratulate Mr. Kittani on his election to the presidency of this second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. We are convinced that with his skilful guidance we shall indeed make headway on the important issues entrusted to our care.

145. We are currently passing through a very troubled and disturbing phase in international relations. Tensions at the global and regional levels are on the increase. Wars are breaking out. The fabric of international peace and security is weakening. The fighting in Lebanon following its invasion by Israel and the conflicts in the South Atlantic and Western Asia overshadow our present deliberations and are painful reminders of the tragedy of death and devastation involved in modern warfare. We are witnessing a period in which the forces of moderation, which call for dialogue, negotiations and conciliation, are on the wane. The use of force and military power in the pursuit of national interests is threatening to become the dominant reality in international relations today. Central to all of this is the massive buildup of weapons in the arsenals of States and the tremendous boom in the arms trade.

146. My delegation recalls that the decision to hold the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament in 1978 was largely instigated by developing non-aligned countries such as mine, which were becoming increasingly alarmed by the danger of modern warfare and the risks created by the escalation of conventional and nuclear stockpiles. For this reason, we consider the measures adopted at the first special session to be a landmark in the quest for disarmament.

147. However, these provisions have remained largely unfulfilled. The virtual absence of positive results, together with an unabated arms race, contradict the high hopes and expectations created by the adoption of the Final Document in 1978. Instead, the threat of conflict has become greater, and the drain on our national economies because of the refinement of these instruments of war has increased.

148. Jamaica believes that this is largely due to adverse international circumstances, in particular a deteriorating relationship between the two major Powers and their respective allies, as well as a number of local and regional conflicts which have contributed to poisoning the international climate. This situation is particularly aggravated by the constant search for parity or superiority on the part of the great Powers,

even though they already have weapons capable of destroying the world several times over.

149. At present, the international situation is even more explosive than it was prior to the tenth special session. The multiplication of nuclear weapons systems has not resulted in the enhanced security expected, particularly as the concept of limited nuclear warfare seems to be gaining ground. On the contrary, the nuclear Powers have exposed themselves, and the world in general, to an even greater danger of nuclear warfare. Furthermore, in the present climate of heightening tensions, regional conflicts such as that in the Middle East are constantly threatening to assume world-wide proportions. What is now necessary is to convince all States, particularly the major Powers, of the folly of producing ever-increasing quantities of increasingly sophisticated and deadly weapons, and that they can seek legitimate national security at a much lower, mutually balanced and verifiable level of armaments.

150. Since 1978, this heightening tension has been reflected in a massive increase in military expenditures and a considerable expansion in nuclear arsenals. Between 1978 and 1981, such expenditures rose from \$360 billion a year to approximately \$600 billion. The total number of nuclear warheads is today reckoned to be nearly 54,000, and at the same time new generations of nuclear weapons are being developed.

151. To this quantitative increase in both nuclear and conventional weapons have been added qualitative refinements owing to the research of some 500,000 scientists all over the world and stimulated by the progressively more lucrative nature of the international trade in armaments. It is frightening to contemplate that the arms race is also moving into the deep sea and outer space and to note that since the end of the Second World War, some 40 per cent of the world's research and development expenditures have been directed to achieving military ends. It is quite significant to note that the accumulation of arms is one of the few expanding industries in a period of economic depression.

152. It is against the background of a singular lack of progress in bilateral and multilateral negotiations that Jamaica notes the initiation of talks between the major Powers on intermediate-range nuclear missiles, as well as the proposed commencement of strategic arms reduction talks. We urge the two sides to approach these talks in a constructive spirit with a view to adopting concrete measures aimed at the cessation of the nuclear-arms race and the reduction of existing stocks of nuclear weapons, although this is clearly only part of what must become a global effort towards nuclear disarmament.

153. We also welcome the broadening of efforts being made within the Committee on Disarmament towards achieving a comprehensive test-ban treaty [see *A/S-12/2, chap. III, sect. A*], which had been given the highest priority at the tenth special session. We subscribe to the proposition, already endorsed by the General Assembly, that the use of nuclear weapons under any circumstances would constitute a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and a crime against humanity.

154. In this regard, Jamaica welcomes the recent declaration by the Soviet Union that it would never be the first to use nuclear weapons [*12th meeting*]. It follows the declaration made some time ago by the People's Republic of China and therefore facilitates a general agreement. Accordingly, we call on other nuclear Powers to undertake similar commitments. In the meantime, a moratorium should be declared on any further nuclear tests.

155. In our view, a comprehensive test-ban treaty would help curb nuclear proliferation by strengthening the implementation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. In this regard, Jamaica deplores the fact that the nuclear Powers have not honoured their obligations under that Treaty and have instead embarked upon unrestrained vertical proliferation. This has given little inducement to the States not parties to that Treaty to accede to it and strengthens the contention that the obligations of the Treaty vis-à-vis non-nuclear-weapon States are of a discriminatory nature. As a party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, Jamaica is firmly committed to supporting an effective safeguards system against nuclear proliferation. In this regard, we are particularly concerned at the continuation of nuclear collaboration between Western States and the *apartheid* régime of South Africa, which is reported to have enabled the racist régime to acquire nuclear-weapons capability. We call once again for a total cessation of co-operation with South Africa's nuclear programme, which represents a dangerous threat to Africa's aspirations to be a continent free of nuclear weapons.

156. There is today a greater need than ever for full and effective disarmament. We therefore earnestly hope that the twelfth special session will set in motion a genuine disarmament process, ensuring a transition from declarations and recommendations to concrete disarmament measures.

157. Central to the session must be the adoption of a comprehensive programme of disarmament.

158. The comprehensive programme of disarmament should commit nations, particularly the nuclear-weapon States, to engage in substantial negotiations on disarmament issues in accordance with the priorities set out in the Final Document. Accordingly, Jamaica believes that setting time-frames for the implementation of each phase is both desirable and appropriate. The comprehensive programme of disarmament ought to be a solemn undertaking and a programme of action with binding commitments on States.

159. As regards the Committee on Disarmament, we regret that, despite a new mandate [*resolution S-10/2, para. 120*], it has made little progress with its agenda over the past four years. The lack of progress on the proposed chemical weapons convention is of particular concern to us. In fact, we have been concerned about allegations regarding the use of chemical weapons in recent times, as well as the plans for development of new chemical weapons, all of which, indeed, strengthen the need for early conclusion of such a convention. In this regard, we shall be examining the draft convention recently submitted by the Soviet Union [*A/S-12/AC.1/12 and Corr.1, annex*]. We also regret that the Committee has not found it

possible to conclude its work on security guarantees for non-nuclear-weapon States.

160. Although our prime concern relates to the growing threat posed by weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons, we are keenly aware of the ever-mounting danger posed by increasingly sophisticated and destructive conventional weapons. The international community has to find ways of addressing the problem posed by the accumulation of increasingly sophisticated conventional weapons that accounts for the greater part of the expenditure on world armaments. Furthermore, since all recent wars have been fought with conventional arms in developing countries, ways have to be found to curb this massive flow of armaments to those countries, the disastrous consequences of which we are all aware.

161. Accordingly, Jamaica believes that the limitation and reduction of conventional armed forces need to be promoted principally in the context of each region. This need is most apparent in Europe, which is the most heavily armed region in the world and where the potential exists for triggering a world-wide holocaust. We are encouraged by the continuing efforts being made toward a balanced arms reduction in Europe, as well as for the creation of confidence-building measures facilitating arms control and disarmament measures in various regions of the world.

162. In our own subregion, Jamaica has long called for the establishment of a zone of peace and tranquility in the Caribbean. This proposal is now being studied by the States members of the Caribbean Community. It is hoped that this session will further advance the concept of zones of peace for other regions. Latin America has the benefit of a treaty for the non-nuclearization of Latin America, the Treaty of Tlatelolco,⁸ but it is clear that other measures relating to conventional armaments are necessary in order to ensure peace and security in our region. However, whether in Latin America or elsewhere, both regional and global approaches must be pursued in parallel in order to maximize the chances for and fully promote the objectives of general and complete disarmament.

163. We also look to this special session to recognize definitively the link between disarmament and development. The economic and social problems of our time are being compounded by the diversion of resources and energies to the wasteful pursuit of the arms race. The international community is spending one million dollars per minute on the arms race in a world where 40,000 children in developing countries are dying every day from hunger, disease and malnutrition. This folly must be stopped, and resources presently being spent on armaments must be applied to improving economic and social conditions, particularly in developing countries.

164. The growing danger of a nuclear holocaust, as well as the mounting expenditure on armaments, have resulted in a growing and increasingly assertive public movement against the arms race. This popular process is prompting Governments to be more responsive to the calls for disarmament.

165. We believe that the World Disarmament Campaign could also further contribute to this end, and we therefore support it as a means to stimulate and encourage the process of disarmament.

166. We also support proposals to improve the effectiveness of existing institutions in the field of disarmament and the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in this respect.

167. Full advantage has not been taken of the potential of the Committee on Disarmament largely because of the unwillingness of the major Powers to use it for the purpose of negotiating meaningful disarmament proposals. We hope that this special session, therefore, will promote the better use of this potential.

168. Looking ahead, we favour all arrangements that could facilitate the achievement of the more ambitious goals that are being set in the field of disarmament for the future.

169. As we debate, let us be conscious of the millions of people around the world who are following our discussions with great expectation. They, like ourselves, hope that we will find a way, before it is too late, of arresting the arms race and allaying the fears of a nuclear holocaust. Let us not forget that what is at stake is the very survival of humanity, particularly because the world today possesses a destructive capacity equivalent to more than 100 million Hiroshima bombs. Let us not forget, too, that the arms race is already imposing an unsupportable economic cost on the world as a whole. In conclusion, may I quote from a recent book by Jonathan Schell:

“In weighing the fate of the earth and, with it, our own fate, we stand before a mystery, and in tampering with the earth we tamper with a mystery. We are in deep ignorance. Our ignorance should dispose us to wonder, our wonder should make us humble, our humility should inspire us to reverence and caution, and our reverence and caution should lead us to act without delay to withdraw the threat we now pose to the earth and to ourselves.”

170. Mr. BEKELE (Ethiopia): May I first of all express my delegation's satisfaction at Mr. Kittani's election as President of this second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and assure him of the full support and co-operation of the Ethiopian delegation in the discharge of his heavy responsibilities.

171. I should also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, for the dedication and commitment he has already demonstrated in the short period since he assumed his post to the cause of peace and international security.

172. The first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was held four years ago on the initiative of the non-aligned countries. The results of that special session, as embodied in the Final Document, which was adopted by consensus, have been of historic significance. It was unanimously declared that the arms race, particularly in its nuclear aspect, runs counter to efforts to achieve further relaxation of tension, to establish international relations based on peaceful coexistence and trust between all States and to develop broad international co-operation and understanding. It was emphatically stressed that the arms race not only impedes the achievement of the purposes but is also incompatible with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, especially those relating to respect for the

sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States, the non-use of force or the threat of force, the peaceful settlement of disputes and non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

173. Four years ago it was declared by the General Assembly that existing arsenals of nuclear weapons alone were more than sufficient to destroy all life on earth. The choice confronting mankind was also formulated simply and unmistakably: either we proceed to disarmament or face annihilation. The paramount objective of the Final Document, adopted by consensus, was and continues to be the creation of a world free of the imminent threat of nuclear extinction. The declaration of principles, the formulation of the Programme of Action, including priorities in the field of disarmament, and the revitalization of the machinery for the necessary negotiations and deliberations on the subject have justifiably led to a growing awareness of the impending global catastrophe and to an explosion of hopes and expectations of global peace and security through disarmament. The fact that following the first special session on disarmament all the nuclear-weapon States took their respective seats for the first time in the newly formed Committee was seen as yet another encouraging development in the process of multilateral negotiations on disarmament.

174. Yet a review of developments over the past four years shows that the arms race, particularly in its nuclear aspect, nor only has continued unabated but has in fact assumed an accelerated pace, thus bringing the world ever closer to the brink of global catastrophe.

175. The present international political and security climate is characterized by mounting tension, erosion of confidence and trust between and among States and revival of the cold war. All regions of the world are faced with intimidation, threats of war and aggression. This bleak international situation is the direct and natural outcome of the formation and deployment of rapid intervention forces, imperialist declarations of so-called vital interests over vast areas of the world, the conducting of military manoeuvres and war games and the expansion of existing military bases and the acquisition of new ones.

176. In view of the present tense international situation and the emergence of new and dangerous military doctrines, the need for concrete progress in the field of disarmament has become ever more pressing and urgent. The United Nations has a central role, and the major nuclear-weapon States, particularly those which possess the largest arsenals, have a primary responsibility in the field of disarmament, particularly in reducing the risk of the outbreak of nuclear war. It is for this reason that people all over the world are clamouring for the cessation of the arms race, the total elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and the immediate prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests.

177. The first special session on disarmament explicitly requested the Committee on Disarmament to initiate as a matter of high priority negotiations on the cessation of the qualitative improvement and development of nuclear-weapon systems and the cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, as well as a

comprehensive programme for reducing the stockpiles of nuclear weapons. Unfortunately, however, practically nothing definitive has been accomplished so far.

178. Ethiopia regrets the lack of progress in the field of disarmament during the years following the tenth special session. It is disheartening to note that the attainment of the goals set forth in the Programme of Action appears more remote today than it was four years ago.

179. I should like to refer briefly to recent developments which in our view constitute a setback to the disarmament process and run counter to the goals of general and complete disarmament.

180. I refer first to the decision by the United States Government to manufacture, stockpile and deploy the nuclear neutron weapon. Ethiopia, like the overwhelming majority of States, has already expressed strong opposition to this decision, since the production of this weapon would open a new and dangerous chapter in the nuclear-arms race. The fact that this weapon exposes human beings to deadly radiation while minimizing destruction to property clearly makes a mockery of the sanctity of human life. Moreover, the deployment of this weapon would lead to a further lowering of the nuclear threshold, thus increasing the risk of nuclear war. In view of this, the need for an agreement banning the manufacture and stockpiling of new weapons of mass destruction, including the nuclear neutron weapon, is now more urgent than ever before.

181. The second recent development about which my delegation wishes to express its concern is the decision of the United States to manufacture the binary chemical weapon. After the cessation of the manufacture of chemical weapons for more than a decade, the introduction of a new generation of chemical weapons and the reported quadrupling of budgetary provisions for chemical warfare would obviously undermine and complicate the achievement of a chemical weapons convention, which had been within reach until recently and to which Ethiopia attaches the greatest importance.

182. In this connexion Ethiopia warmly welcomes the Soviet initiative in submitting to this special session a draft document containing provisions of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction [A/S-12/AC.1/12 and Corr.1, annex]. We are particularly gratified to note that the Soviet Union has accepted the possibility of systematic international on-site inspections to verify both the destruction of chemical weapon stockpiles and the production of chemicals to be specified and permitted in a future treaty. This and the other substantive Soviet initiatives, including the unilateral undertaking not to be the first to use nuclear weapons [A/S-12/AC.1/10 and Corr.1, annex], are not only in line with the socialist States' commitment to peace and security through disarmament but also represent the first positive response to the public outcry for peace and disarmament throughout the world.

183. The urgency of stopping the nuclear-arms race and nuclear disarmament cannot be over-emphasized. The *Comprehensive Study on Nuclear Weapons*⁹

annexed to the Secretary-General's report has focused international attention on the extent of the destructive capacity of nuclear weapons if they are ever used on major world cities.

184. The horrors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are nothing compared with what would happen to a major population centre if one of the 50,000 nuclear warheads were used. The total megatonnage of those weapons is equivalent to over 1 million times the destructive power of the atomic bombs used on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, which resulted in the extermination of over 200,000 people. That the administration of a major nuclear-weapon State is proceeding with a "business as usual" attitude while the entire human race is on the brink of nuclear catastrophe is, therefore, incomprehensible to us.

185. The attempt to escalate the arms race and to advocate new military doctrines, such as the doctrine of limited nuclear war, is even more unacceptable. Ethiopia rejects the thesis that a limited nuclear war can be waged and won.

186. The signing of the SALT II Treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union gave the world some hope that the two leading nuclear Powers might be making efforts that would facilitate the enhancement of international peace and stability. That hopeful sign of June 1979 was later dashed by the decision to delay the process of ratification. There is no denying that that action contributed to an erosion of the process of détente and the subsequent deterioration in the relationship between the two major nuclear Powers.

187. Nevertheless, the world is still anxiously awaiting the gradual reduction of existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons, which would materially contribute to the reduction of the risk of nuclear war. In so saying, I should also add that we are encouraged by the recent announcement that the provisions of SALT II will be observed and that bilateral negotiations on the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons will start at Geneva at the end of this month.

188. The mass demonstrations in various cities of the world protesting the deployment in Western Europe of the new medium-range missiles have been singularly eloquent in their opposition to the growing intensification of the arms race. This growing public awareness of the danger of nuclear war and the world campaign in support of measures to prevent nuclear war, to curb the arms race and to bring about genuine disarmament, as demonstrated in New York City on 12 June 1982, give unmistakable evidence of the enormous desire for disarmament throughout the world.

189. The arms race also represents a squandering of scarce resources and is carried on at the expense of development in general. Over \$600 billion is spent annually on the arms race, while some \$20 billion is earmarked for official development assistance to developing countries. A small fraction of the colossal cost of the arms race could be usefully redeployed for the well-being of the peoples of the world, thus alleviating economic deprivation and injustices that give rise to conflicts and distrust among nations. While two thirds of the world's population suffer from abject poverty, disease and hunger, the pressing need for disarmament and development cannot be

postponed indefinitely. Emphasis was placed on the importance of this link by the Head of State of Ethiopia, Chairman Mengistu Haile Mariam, in his message to the tenth special session of the General Assembly, the relevant section of which read:

"An equally fundamental requirement in any disarmament process is the question of coping with problems of human and social inequities. While the majority of the world's population live in a state of abject poverty, we should not delude ourselves into believing that disarmament alone can bring about peace and security. Coupled with disarmament, a commitment should be made towards genuine efforts to divert the resources released as a result of disarmament measures to improve the quality of life of the world's neediest peoples. Ethiopia, being irrevocably committed to the earliest achievement of social justice at the national level, can but lend its strongest support to similar world-wide objectives." [13th meeting, para. 34.]

190. Ethiopia fully supports the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace in various parts of the world and believes that such measures can contribute towards limiting the spread of nuclear weapons. One of the regions declared by the United Nations a zone of peace is the Indian Ocean. Although this Declaration was adopted by the General Assembly in 1971 [resolution 2832 (XXVI)], and despite the numerous subsequent resolutions urging the speedy implementation of the Declaration, so far no tangible results have been achieved. On the contrary, the efforts to strengthen military facilities and installations, particularly the upgrading and expanding of the military base in Diego Garcia and the attempts to torpedo the convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean as scheduled, continue to be pursued with increasing determination. Ethiopia believes that security and peace in the area strongly demand the immediate dismantling of all military bases and installations. We consider, therefore, that the holding of the Conference on the Indian Ocean at Colombo not later than the first half of 1983, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 36/90, constitutes an important step towards the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

191. All efforts over the past 18 years to ensure the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa have been frustrated. The racist régime of South Africa has persistently refused to accept international safeguards over its nuclear facilities and has refused to give a commitment to refrain from acquiring nuclear weapons. Its frenzied activities to acquire nuclear-weapons capability continue to be assisted by the United States and other Western countries. The negative attitude maintained by South Africa and its allies on the denuclearization of Africa leaves no shadow of a doubt as to their intentions and plans in that part of the world.

192. South Africa's record of violence and repression resulting from the policies of *apartheid* and the continued intimidation, subversion and unprovoked military aggression against neighbouring independent States clearly show that the acquisition of nuclear weapons by the racist régime entails a grave danger not only to Africa but to international peace and security as a whole. It is indeed deplorable that some

Western countries that avowedly advocate and champion the non-proliferation régime continue to frustrate the efforts to prevent the introduction of nuclear weapons into the African continent by providing the Pretoria régime with nuclear and related technology.

193. South Africa's intransigence and defiance of the decisions of the international community must be recognized for what they are—utter contempt for the United Nations. Ethiopia strongly believes that such lawlessness and the menace that it entails for international peace and security justify the urgent adoption of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. In this connexion, I should like to reiterate Ethiopia's strong condemnation of South Africa's continued brutal aggression against, and illegal occupation of, Namibia, as well as the plundering of its natural resources, in collaboration with imperialistic monopolies, in utter disregard of the relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions.

194. The most effective assurance against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons is their total elimination through general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Pending the achievement of nuclear disarmament, however, the nuclear-weapon States have the obligation to provide, in the form of an international agreement of a legally binding character, assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons without an additional undertaking by those non-nuclear-weapon States that have already renounced the production and/or acquisition of nuclear weapons.

195. Likewise, the Ethiopian delegation attaches great importance to the urgent need to conclude an agreement or agreements to prevent the emergence of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons. Experience has repeatedly shown how difficult it is to eliminate weapons once they are developed and deployed. Our position on this question is based on the provision in paragraph 77 of the Final Document which stresses that "effective measures should be taken to avoid the danger and prevent the emergence of new types of weapons of mass destruction based on new scientific principles and achievements".

196. The extension of the arms race to outer space is yet another disturbing trend. The concern about this problem felt by the tenth special session of the General Assembly is expressed in paragraph 80 of the Final Document. Although the consideration of this issue in the Committee on Disarmament has not yet formally commenced, the prohibition of stationing weapons of any kind in outer space deserves the earnest attention of the international community. In order to prevent the extension of the arms race into outer space, thereby converting it into another arena of confrontation, tension and conflict, the early conclusion of an international treaty is a matter of great urgency.

197. The consideration and adoption of the comprehensive programme of disarmament is the central task of this special session. I cannot over-emphasize that further negotiations to be undertaken on the draft

comprehensive programme of disarmament [A/S-12/2, appendix I] which is now before the General Assembly would require the goodwill and genuine commitment of all States.

198. In our view, proposals submitted by the non-aligned countries dealing with the various sections of the programme deserve a careful examination. Outstanding issues reflected in the draft comprehensive programme concern the questions of time-frame and the nature of the programme. The Ethiopian delegation believes that for such a programme to be effective through a stage-by-stage implementation, it should include indicative and corresponding time-frames. We find that arguments to the contrary are not only unconvincing but also impractical. As regards the nature of the programme, it is to be hoped that it would not become just another series of recommendations of the General Assembly.

199. Any assessment of progress in the field of disarmament since the adoption of the Final Document at the tenth special session would show that the failure to implement the decisions and recommendations contained in it represents four years of lost opportunity. The expression of regret over that failure is not enough. It is, therefore, incumbent on all States, big and small, to be forward-looking and to chart a new course of action for a new beginning. Such a new course may well be determined by the outcome of this session and especially by the comprehensive programme that would emerge. The danger is real and the time is short. Either we act now, or it may soon be too late.

200. Finally, I have the honour to conclude my statement by reading out the text of a message from the Head of State of Ethiopia, Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council and of the COPWE, to this second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The text reads as follows:

"Disarmament remains one of the central issues of our time that affects not only the destiny but also the very survival of the human race. The history of wars, particularly the last two world wars, is a living testimony to the immense loss of human lives and destruction of property. It is, therefore, the historic responsibility of the international community to exert concerted efforts to avert an unprecedented catastrophe in the future by bringing about genuine disarmament without further delay.

"The convening of the second special session on disarmament at a time of growing strains in international relations reflects the world community's strong desire for lasting global peace and genuine disarmament. It is yet another concrete manifestation of the collective will of nations to tackle vigorously the delicate problems of disarmament and to make progress in this vital area of mankind's overriding concern.

"It is regrettable, however, to note that much has not been done to curb the threats posed by the intensification of the arms race. On the contrary, over the past years armaments have increased to the extent of seriously undermining the existing shaky foundations of international peace and security. The production and stockpiling of all

types of weapons of mass destruction and particularly the destructive capacities of nuclear weapons have reached an alarming stage.

“These ominous trends have not only gravely affected the process of détente and the basis for peaceful co-operation among nations, but have also exposed mankind to the danger of global nuclear holocaust. The unprecedented escalation of the arms race has generated an enormous waste of material and intellectual resources, which otherwise could be rationally utilized to solve burning economic and social problems confronting humanity.

“Ethiopia attaches paramount importance to the struggle for the consolidation of international peace and for genuine disarmament. In view of this, Ethiopia believes that this session should exert determined efforts to create a propitious and constructive atmosphere for resolving the complex problems of disarmament so essential to the realization of mankind’s most cherished aspirations for peace.

“Hoping that this session will take appropriate steps to strengthen and further deepen the positive, though meagre, achievements so far obtained in the sphere of arms limitation measures, I wish to reaffirm that Ethiopia will continue to make positive contributions for the successful completion of all negotiations now under way on the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction. Ethiopia’s unflinching commitment to the struggle for the achievement of the ultimate objectives of genuine disarmament will, likewise, continue with vigorous determination.

“As peace, security, disarmament and development are indivisible, so should the political will of nations be in the common interest of the survival of the human race.

“It is with this thought in mind that I express, on behalf of the people and Government of socialist Ethiopia and on my own behalf, best wishes for the success of the work of the second special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

(Signed) Mengistu Haile Mariam”

201. Mr. TRAORE (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): Since its creation, humanity seems to have opted for the use of weapons in the quest for solutions to problems which pit communities against each other. Following lengthy research, historians have noted that in the centuries before Jesus Christ and nineteen centuries after him, man has cavalierly embroiled himself in more than 3,000 years of war. In only one year out of 13 has there been any respite. But it is not only past generations that are to blame, for the same historians teach us, the signatories of the Charter of the United Nations who solemnly pledged to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, that since 1945 we have reached our 127th exercise in carnage.

202. The establishment in 1920 of the first permanent Disarmament Commission, under the auspices of the League of Nations, the holding in 1978 of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the adoption by the General Assembly

at its thirty-third, thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth sessions of more than 80 resolutions on disarmament and international security and the proclamation of the 1970s as the Disarmament Decade have changed nothing.

203. Weapons still seem to be the only instrument likely to bring a final solution to international disputes.

204. But as war expenditures become heavier, as the preparations for war become more and more costly and as the machinery of war more and more escapes control, the choice being offered to humanity is a simple one: stop the arms race, stop conflicts, or be destroyed.

205. The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament faced that bitter fact at its opening, too—even if from the streets we hear the echoes of the voices of thousands and thousands of people, from all parts of the world, appealing to us to respect our commitments flowing from our support for the noble ideals and objectives of the Charter.

206. The twelfth special session, whose convening was agreed upon four years ago, should have been held in an atmosphere if not of world peace at least the relative silence of the guns. Unfortunately, the contrary is the case. The language of weapons continues to strifle the voice of diplomacy. An odious illustration of this is the brutal invasion of Lebanon by Israeli armed forces and the occupation of Beirut. The Palestinians have yet to reconquer their homeland. The South Atlantic region has been bombarded. In southern Africa the Azanian people have been subjected to the most despicable régime in the world. Namibia is still at war to recover its independence. The military attacks by the racist régime of South Africa against Angola, Mozambique and other neighbouring countries have become almost a ritual, a painful ritual which has been allowed to develop as it wishes. The people of the Western Sahara have not yet been able to exercise their right to self-determination. South-East Asia is still living in turmoil. In short, as was stated by the Head of State of Mali, General Moussa Traoré, from this rostrum on 2 October 1981, during the thirty-sixth session, “Ideological differences are unfortunately being settled on the battlefield”. [23rd meeting, para. 12.]

207. Thus, in various places the provisions of the Charter are being disregarded; they are being scorned. The rules of international law, in particular those relating to human rights and to respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of States, are being blasted away by bombs.

208. Silence or inaction in response to such facts dangerously impairs principles which are the basis of the Charter and in very clear terms poses a problem for the maintenance and safeguarding of international security. Mature reflection would seem to indicate that this security would only apply to the existence of privileged States. But such privileges cannot exist. They would prejudice all the recommendations for the peaceful settlement of disputes and for good-neighbourliness. And would it be futile to perceive the concept of security and development as an intellectual initiative that could cure our reactions of anguish and lead us on to the path of a real new international order?

209. The security of States is based on universal principles known to all. A fragmentary approach is to a large extent responsible for the arms race because, instead of establishing trust among States, it has established a generalized climate of distrust and competition in the stockpiling and perfecting of ever more deadly weapons.

210. Thus the arms race continues. Wars succeed each other, often between States acting as intermediaries, but do not yield real solutions to the problems that they are supposed to solve. The fact is that the path which the most militarized Powers have chosen is blocked by their own stage of development in science and technology.

211. Indeed, the borders of States can now be breached in this century of intercontinental missiles, a century in which all day long satellites circle above our heads gathering impersonal but exact and precise information.

212. The competition in the arms race can only be fatal to us all.

213. Although we may not learn the lessons of history and even if we do not correctly evaluate international facts, we must none the less remember that we have stated, in paragraph 11 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session, in which the highest dignitaries of all continents participated, "Mankind today is confronted with an unprecedented threat of self-extinction arising from the massive and competitive accumulation of the most destructive weapons ever produced". And we have drawn up a programme to make progress towards disarmament.

214. But unfortunately, the wars go on. New generations of even more devastating thermonuclear weapons are developed. The bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki seem mere firecrackers compared with the multiple-warhead missiles guided to their targets at the whim of electronic technology. The neutron has entered the arms race. Negotiations on the conclusion of substantive agreements on problems relating to the arms race continue to confront other thresholds of distrust. This also goes for the question of the balance of forces.

215. The wish to establish a reasonable balance between the forces of hostile blocs before concluding decisive agreements on disarmament would be tantamount to transforming effect into cause. Indeed, the quest for superiority in weapons stems from the existence of the weapon and not from the number of them or the state of their sophistication. To re-establish balance presupposes at least a knowledge and a precise evaluation of the elements to be counter-balanced. However, in the present state of international relations, marked by alarming crises, a mere miracle would not be enough to open up the weapons silos to international monitoring, because in the field of monitoring also it is the international community as a whole which is concerned, since it is that community as a whole which is playing an integral role in questions of war and peace.

216. From the purely technical point of view, the maintenance of the balance of forces presupposes without doubt an exact evaluation of the destructive power and the degree of sophistication of the weapons,

and certainly a correct evaluation of the number and qualification of people who are eventually supposed to use them. Such a theoretical evaluation is highly hypothetical, since military secrets can be considered, like discipline, as one of the main strengths of armies. In practice, that cannot be true, because atomic and biological and chemical weapons cannot be tested, as the specialists say, in "a real atmosphere". We are in agreement merely that at the present level of the arms race about two tons of TNT is available to each of us for the "final jump".

217. It has been said that the arms race saves us from war. That is the theory behind the old adage, "If you want peace, prepare for war", but it has always failed. It cannot guarantee peace, because it is certainly one of the best expressions to be used to encourage the arms race. In real terms, it means that whoever wants war prepares for war. It has certainly given rise to theories of victory by surprise attack, by limiting war to localized wars or through so-called positions of strength, which leave no choice to the potential adversary but to recover from the surprise attack and in turn launch a counter-offensive, using weapons whose range and destructive capacity we can only guess.

218. Disarmament therefore takes on a human dimension. We recall the following sentence by Friedrich Hacker in his work on aggression and violence in the world:

"Our century of barbarism and insecurity has invented the atomic bomb and the Molotov cocktail, perfected the technique of terror and the terror of technology and, almost against its will, has discovered this new value: the importance of man."

219. The importance of man is certainly not a recent discovery. Let us say merely that the peoples have not authorized us to propose alternatives to death; they have entrusted us with achieving, together, their aspirations to economic, social and cultural development.

220. To sum up, satisfactory solutions to the problems of disarmament are not to be found in a technical approach. They are political. They lie in the strict observance of the noble ideals of the Charter.

221. We have said that Africa would certainly not be a theatre of conflict had the United Nations, faithful to its principles, taken the measures dictated by its Charter to eliminate *apartheid* and the last bastions of colonialism.

222. Peace and freedom are inseparable, as are freedom and development.

223. The third world would not have embarked upon the arms race to the detriment of its real national priorities had it not become a field for the rivalries and military tests which endanger its very existence.

224. In its introduction the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly laid down specifically the relationship between disarmament and development and stressed the constraints which the arms race imposes on the economies of developed as well as developing countries. It is hardly necessary to point out once again that that document was adopted by consensus.

225. In one of its series of studies on disarmament, UNESCO expressed the view, rightly, that the problems of disarmament and of development will be the greatest challenge of our century. The objectives in both areas must be attained in order to ensure, as called for in the message addressed by UNICEF to the twelfth special session, on 18 May 1982, "safer, more constructive lives for the children who will be the world citizens of tomorrow" [A/S-12/AC.1/3, annex, para. 2].

226. This challenge will become even more acute in the present decade. The end of the arms race, which is desired by all, since that alone can create real security and confidence, would release vast sums of money to the benefit of all. It would free more than 600,000 experts and technicians and tens of thousands of men and minds now engaged in useless production and enable them to tackle successfully the problem of the sustained and harmonious development of all economies.

227. For millions of children just born the hope of life could be increased; thousands of schools and hospitals could be opened; the earth could at last nourish us.

228. According to a recent report of the World Bank there are 800 million illiterate persons, 1.5 billion people have no access to elementary medical care and 250 million children do not attend school.

229. In the last 30 years, 5 per cent to 8 per cent of all the world's resources have been devoted to armaments. According to the same source, in 1980 hundreds of millions of people lived in such total destitution that for them the expression "standard of living" was meaningless.

230. The situation has worsened. In less than two years expenditures on armaments have risen from \$500 billion to \$600 billion. In order to appreciate what will happen over the coming decades if there are no substantive agreements on disarmament, to appreciate the low level of development aid compared to the vast amounts swallowed up by armaments, it is sufficient to refer to the report entitled *The Relationship between Disarmament and Development*,¹⁰ the fifth in a series of studies published by the Group of Governmental Experts established in accordance with paragraph 94 of the Final Document.

231. The delegation of Mali takes this opportunity to pay a warm tribute to the members of that Group for the high quality of the report.

232. According to recent studies, more than \$20 billion are wasted every day on armament activities.

233. Development needs, the need to rationalize and ensure sustained expansion of the world economies are such that this absurdity becomes an outrage when, as has been pointed out, "The price of a fighter plane is the equivalent of 15,000 tons of wheat and that of a destroyer the equivalent of living accommodation for 8,000 people, while the cost of a bomber equals that of 30 schools, or two centres, each for a city of 60,000 inhabitants, or two fully equipped hospitals, or 80 kilometres of cement road". The thermonuclear weapon is not the only one that devours funds and not the only one that constitutes a major danger for mankind. The atomic bomb was dropped only in the last days of the 1939-1945 war. Millions of deaths

during that war resulted from the use of so-called conventional weapons. Those too, with the help of science and technology, have been perfected and stockpiled in large quantities.

234. All the hotbeds of war in the third world are led by conventional weapons. The progressive reduction of these weapons until they are completely eliminated is therefore essential, as is the elimination of all kinds of weapons, including chemical, biological and bacteriological weapons.

235. Already at the conclusion of the First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade from 1 to 6 September 1961, the non-aligned countries pointed out that

"War has never threatened mankind with graver consequences than today. On the other hand, never before has mankind had at its disposal stronger forces for eliminating war as an instrument of policy in international relations".¹¹

236. That prophecy stands. But in spite of the resounding failures in the negotiations for the conclusion of final agreements on disarmament, it is something of a comfort to note the strengthening and development of the forces for the elimination of war.

237. The Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries held from 31 May to 5 June 1982 at Havana echoed this when it sent a message of reflection and commitment to the Assembly at its present session [A/S-12/AC.1/1].

238. Men of goodwill—often naïvely accused of utopianism—have many times tried to make use of those forces in order to abolish war. What they preached did not fall on deaf ears; indeed, the Atlantic Charter of 14 August 1941—that is, a time when weapons had reached a very high degree of devastating and destructive power—solemnly proclaimed the abolition of war. That idea was taken up again the following month at the Moscow Conference.

239. The first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was convened at a time when one dared hope that there was a stronger trend in favour of a freeze or reduction of nuclear weapons. Goodwill—or perhaps I should say political will—had thus narrowed the ideological gaps and the differing approaches to the problems of peace and security. After the successful outcome of the negotiations on the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the signing of the SALT agreements was certainly a resounding victory for dialogue over mistrust and attempts to settle international disputes by force.

240. The international community thus embarked upon a course of lessening international tension from which nothing should be able to divert it, a course which it should be able to maintain with all its might, for it is the course which reflects the profound and legitimate aspirations of all peoples.

241. As proof we need only recall the demonstrators of all ages, all races and all faiths who came last week in front of United Nations Headquarters to call upon us to declare a merciless war against war.

242. The path to the establishment of final peace is long and slippery, but we are committed to climb it.

That is why the delegation of Mali welcomes any initiative taken towards the maintenance and safeguarding of international peace and security.

243. International, regional and subregional agreements already concluded on armaments have their shortcomings of course, but they have the virtue of existing, and they are glittering illustrations of those great forces for the elimination of war.

244. The Soviet-American agreement to resume, at Geneva on 29 June, talks on the reduction of nuclear armaments ends a long period of inactivity in the battle against armament. We hope that those talks will break down the wall of doubts and misunderstanding which has unfortunately been raised between the two greatest nuclear Powers in the world and that those negotiations will go beyond nuclear matters and tackle all the essential aspects of the maintenance of peace and security throughout the world.

245. The Committee on Disarmament, in the special report it submitted to the Assembly, makes a number of recommendations which seem to us to be fundamental [see A/S-12/2]. Those relating to the membership and working methods of the Committee deserve our full attention, as do, in particular, those concerning the early adoption of a comprehensive programme of disarmament, much of which had already been sketched out at the conclusion of the tenth special session.

246. While awaiting the conclusion of substantive agreements on disarmament, many non-aligned or neutral countries have decided not to acquire atomic weapons. That decision must of necessity be matched by the certainty that they will be protected from nuclear attacks. The nuclear military Powers should all without exception give the firm guarantee that they will not use nuclear weapons against countries which do not possess them and which have deliberately chosen not to possess them.

247. In order to enlarge the sphere of activity for the maintenance of peace, many developing countries have set up in their respective regions zones of peace or nuclear-weapon-free zones. In this connexion, the Treaty of Tlatelolco and its Protocols are often cited as an example. Efforts have been made to extend that example, for instance to the Middle East and the Indian Ocean region. Furthermore, as is known, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, at its first session, held at Cairo from 17 to 21 July 1964, adopted the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa.¹²

248. It is worth stressing that that Declaration was adopted at a time when Africa was engaged on every front in terrible fights against the outmoded colonial system. Its value is all the greater for that. Yet, while the continent embarked resolutely on the course of détente, the illegal racist régime of Pretoria on the other hand joined in the nuclear-arms race, succeeding in developing—with the scientific, technological and financial complicity of certain Members of the Organization—the techniques of building the atomic bomb. Lacking strong measures against such immorality, measures which would force the Pretoria régime to become a party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and to subject all its nuclear activities to IAEA safeguards, there is no doubt that many African States will feel

obliged to think about their own accession to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. For, in its relations with the international community, South Africa has used only the language of force. With its superabundance of the most sophisticated conventional weapons, it has carried war into Angola, Mozambique and other neighbouring countries. It recently made an attempt to destabilize the régime of the Seychelles. It holds Namibia in thrall, thus defying the Organization daily. Since it has gone unpunished, it will not stop when it becomes a nuclear Power.

249. Brute force does not lead to peace. Peace is the outcome of creative imagination, of mutually agreed sacrifices, of dialogue and of trust.

250. Soon the talks on arms reduction in central Europe will be resumed at Vienna. The strategic arms reduction talks will bring together the Americans and the Soviets in a few weeks. Dialogue will resume in an international climate which must be free of drama.

251. While trust is one of the most important driving forces in the progress of negotiations, we must not forget that it too must be won. To try to establish trust before deliberately engaging in negotiations would be tantamount to never wanting to establish a time-table for the completion of those negotiations, for, as it can be won, trust can sometimes be lost, too.

252. The main thing is for these disarmament negotiations to bring together men of goodwill, of great heart and great competence, resolved to open a frank dialogue on disarmament and firmly supported by the political will of their respective Governments.

253. Then, the establishment of the balance of forces, the limitation of strategic and tactical devices, the opening up of outer space to the needs of our development and the reduction of military budgets will seem to us exercises to which we shall be astonished to find relatively easy solutions in keeping with the aspirations of our peoples.

254. We will be heavily accountable to our peoples if we abandon the courses of concrete and possible action in order to engage in empty rhetoric. We must constantly bear in mind that peoples rebel and go to war when their bellies are empty and their heads are crammed full of stupid prejudices.

255. Mr. BALETA (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): Madame President, first of all I should like to say how happy my delegation is to see you presiding over our work.

256. In the present Assembly debate many delegations have once more quite rightly voiced the serious concern of their peoples and Governments over the continuous intensification of the arms race. They have expressed their sincere wishes that all means should be used to curb that race and to make world public opinion more sensitive to the danger to humanity of the frenetic arms escalation. At the same time, it must be underscored at the outset that it is imperative to draw a clear distinction between the genuine concern of freedom-loving countries and the fallacious statements made by the super-Powers.

257. Four years have passed since the tenth special session of the General Assembly. As everyone knows, the General Assembly adopted at that time the

Final Document on disarmament which contains a certain number of provisions and recommendations, as well as a long Programme of Action. The States Members of the United Nations, including the Powers that possess the largest arsenals of weapons, expressed themselves in favour of that document. But, as was to be expected, it was not implemented, just as hundreds of resolutions and United Nations documents and those of other international organizations concerned with disarmament were not implemented but thrown into the waste-paper basket. Life and events constantly confirm that the vote of the imperialist Powers in favour of disarmament resolutions were nothing but a hoax and demagoguery and that the interminable discussions on this problem within and outside the United Nations were used by the United States and the Soviet Union and the other imperialist Powers as a mask to lull the vigilance of peoples.

258. As in the past, the super-Powers, while swearing hand on heart that they would do everything to bring about general or regional disarmament, have in fact raised to an unprecedented level their weaponry and the mad rivalry between them and between the two aggressive military blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Year after year they have been increasing their already colossal military expenditures and their arms trade. Disarmament, therefore, in the mouths of the super-Powers, is only a word to disguise their armament, to disguise their intensive preparations for a general imperialist war with which they threaten freedom-loving peoples and countries.

259. If we look at the present world situation, we see that it is confused, complicated and much more tense than it was four years ago when the tenth special session was held. Throughout this period, the rivalry between the imperialist super-Powers for hegemony and world domination has further increased. In order to attain their expansionist goals, the super-Powers have been practising intensely, in their international relations, a policy based on positions of strength. There are abundant examples of this. In the Middle East, imperialist interventions and aggression continue. The United States and the Soviet Union are hatching continual plots and intrigues against the valiant peace-loving people of Iran. Throughout the Persian Gulf an explosive situation has been created. The imperialists are fanning local conflicts and are brutally intervening and indulging in all sorts of machinations with very serious consequences for the people of that area. The Soviet socio-imperialists have committed open acts of aggression against Afghanistan and continue to maintain that country in a state of occupation. Throughout this same period, peoples have witnessed the hegemonistic policy of the Chinese socio-imperialists, who have launched their aggression against Viet Nam.

260. In the South Atlantic, British imperialism, which does not want to give up its former colonial policy, has created a new hotbed of war in the Malvinas Islands, which have become a ground for testing the most sophisticated weapons of the imperialist Powers. Supported by its allies, particularly American imperialism, it has used its gunboat and bloc policy against the people of Argentina. Thus, the United States and the aggressive NATO bloc have shown their real aims against the peoples of Latin America.

261. At the very time that this special session devoted to disarmament is meeting, the Israeli Zionists have unleashed a new fascist large-scale armed attack against the people of Lebanon and the Palestine resistance and are waging a barbaric war in the ravaged territory of Lebanon. This new and very dangerous escalation of brutal imperial Zionist aggression in the Middle East, undertaken by the monstrous war machine that the Israeli Zionists have built with the multifarious and direct assistance of the United States, shows once more why the imperialist super-Powers and the reactionary fascist régimes oppose efforts and demands for disarmament and continue to increase their arsenals and to refine them constantly.

262. While the international community is discussing disarmament here in the Assembly, while hundreds of thousands of people have gone down into the streets of the cities of Europe and America to raise their voice of protest against weapons and against preparations for an aggressive war, the super-Powers, the imperialist Powers and the Zionist, racist and reactionary régimes continue to brandish weapons, to use them to kill, to massacre and to destroy in various regions of the world.

263. The most recent bloody tragedy that the Israeli Zionists, supported as ever by American imperialism and encouraged by the effects of the anti-Arab game of the two imperialist super-Powers, are acting out today with unparalleled cynicism to the detriment of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples must serve as a warning of even more serious events to come which are being prepared by the sworn enemies of the freedom of peoples and the independence of sovereign States; a warning of the dangers to humanity posed by the aggressive policy, the expansionist ambitions and the arms race of imperialism and socio-imperialism, the aggressive designs of reactionary régimes such as that of the Zionist Israelis, the racists of South Africa and others who practise similar methods.

264. The Albanian delegation vehemently and indignantly condemns the criminal war the Israeli Zionists are pursuing in Lebanon, as it does the intrigues which the imperialist super-Powers have hatched thus far and those they are planning within the framework of their rivalry in the Middle East.

265. Many examples have been cited in the Assembly of the colossal expenditures of the imperialist super-Powers on their frenetic arms race and on their preparations for war. Their nuclear-weapon stockpiles are continually increasing and, parallel with this, they are constantly adding at an ever-growing rate to their arsenals of conventional, chemical and bacteriological weapons. The seas and oceans are criss-crossed by the war fleets of the super-Powers. The Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and other seas and oceans are being converted into arenas of harsh rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. The super-Powers have stepped up their military manoeuvres for offensive purposes in the vicinity of other States. They have created special rapid-intervention forces and, in the guise of defending their interests, they maintain these on a war footing in order to be able to use them anywhere they deem it necessary in order to establish, by fire and sword, their domination over

other peoples and countries. A frenetic race with military and strategic goals is also developing in outer space.

266. Although the super-Powers make much of the fact that they possess weapons with which they can reach any target in any part of the world, and that their weapons potential is so powerful that it is even capable of destroying our planet several times over, under the pretext of the "need" to maintain or establish the balance, they are nevertheless continuing to pursue their arms race.

267. It is now clear, and many facts bear witness to this, that the super-Powers have turned nearly every region of the world into an arena for political, economic and military confrontation, that there is no area of tension, no armed conflict on any continent in which they do not have a hand. All of this confirms that the imperialist Powers, and in particular the United States and the Soviet Union, far from changing their purpose or their nature in any way, have become even more ferocious and aggressive in their international relations.

268. The world is going through a period in which, while there is the possibility that imperialism may bring about a new catastrophe, it is also possible that sovereign and freedom-loving peoples and countries will by their struggle prevent imperialism from perpetrating that criminal act, thereby saving mankind from the incalculable consequences. Peoples desire to avert the threat of war, to preserve international peace and security, but the imperialist Powers must not be allowed to gamble on those aspirations. If we want to make a contribution, however modest, to safeguarding peace, it is essential to speak openly about the explosive situation that persists in the world today and about those that are really responsible for it.

269. For years the two super-Powers have been pursuing their discussions and haggling among themselves about so-called disarmament. The two parties have accompanied such talks with noisy propaganda. They have even adopted the habit of beginning, just prior to some international meeting devoted to problems of disarmament, such as this special session of the General Assembly, to launch some demagogic initiatives. The truth is that all the propaganda of the super-Powers on disarmament is aimed at camouflaging their arms race, at disarming sovereign and freedom-loving peoples and States and more easily imposing their domination. Comrade Enver Hoxha, the leader of our people, has said:

"The fine words spoken about disarmament at the United Nations and in various international conferences organized by the imperialists are demagogic. They defend and uphold the monopoly of strategic weapons, they are conducting a large-scale arms trade, not to guarantee the peace and security of nations but to gain excessive profits and to crush the revolution and the peoples, in order to unleash wars of aggression."

270. The peoples are increasingly encountering the intervention and threat of the aggressive policy of the United States and the Soviet Union, which unabashedly flout their ambitions and designs for world hegemony. Thus we can never expect the problem of disarmament to be resolved by the so-called Soviet-

American dialogue, which disguises deals made by the super-Powers at the expense of sovereign peoples and countries. The Vienna talks on the reduction of troops stationed in Europe, the Geneva negotiations, the proposals put forward by the super-Powers—such as the moratorium suggested by the Soviet Union with regard to Euromissiles or the American thesis of the "zero option"—are not designed to lead to disarmament but are, rather, attempts by each of the super-Powers to guarantee its supremacy over the other in the field of nuclear and conventional weapons.

271. Each time a super-Power has invented or produced a new weapon or has committed itself to a new phase of armaments, it has justified its action by the pretext that the other party is more powerful, that the balance has been upset and that that balance must be reestablished, and so on. Even if the United States and the Soviet Union were to agree, during the negotiations going on between them, to ban temporarily the manufacture of some new weapon, that would in no way serve the ends of genuine disarmament, for such decisions would in no way affect their enormous arsenals or reduce the threat to the peace and freedom of peoples.

272. Because of their hegemonistic policy, the super-Powers also promulgate theories about the establishment and maintenance of balance, about détente, about bi-polarism, theories that they attempt to fob off on people as the key to the solution to the problems of concern to mankind. On the pretext of maintaining the balance, the super-Powers arrogate to themselves the right to legitimize the frenetic arms race and the colossal expenditures on war, to interfere brutally wherever they feel their strategic imperialist interests are at stake, to justify the escalation of their hegemonistic activities in international relations and to legalize the maintenance of their domination as an essential norm of international political life.

273. In spite of the great problems the serious economic crisis has created for them, the imperialist Powers, and foremost among them the super-Powers, have continued to increase their expenditure on armaments, on stationing their troops and establishing their military bases on the territories of many countries in the world, and on preparations of every other kind for war. At a time when millions of unemployed have been forced into the streets, the arms and war industries are operating at full capacity, expanding and multiplying. In short, industries of that sort are flourishing. This demonstrates the fact that the militarization of the economy and of the entire life of the imperialist countries is accompanied by a deepening of the financial crisis and their increased aggressiveness in the international arena.

274. With regard to initiatives for establishing so-called zones of peace or nuclear-free zones, the course of events in the world has shown that their establishment is practically impossible because peace and security at the regional level cannot be dissociated from international security and from peace in general. The facts show that it is precisely in and around regions where an attempt is being made to establish such zones that the super-Powers have concentrated large arsenals of weapons and huge land, air and naval forces, and that their military and aggressive alliances are actively operating.

275. This is how we view the ideas put forward and the steps advocated to create a zone of peace in the Balkans. The situation in that zone is not peaceful because the activities of the United States and the Soviet Union have intensified as they vie with each other to strengthen their strategic positions. The dangers to the peoples of the Balkans have also increased because of the participation of certain countries in the political and military blocs of the super-Powers, because of the presence of the latter's military bases and because of the permission granted the American and Soviet war fleets to enter and remain in the ports of countries providing such facilities.

276. The Socialist People's Republic of Albania believes that the true aspirations of the peoples of the Balkans and peace and stability in that area can be served by preventing the imperialist super-Powers from intervening in that region. The situation in the Balkans would be greatly improved were the States of the peninsula to undertake practical measures to prevent the super-Powers from threatening neighbouring countries from their territories. We believe that the adoption of such an attitude by the States of other zones would likewise serve the interests of true international peace and security.

277. The desire of States to curb the arms race is very justified, but, as many other delegations have noted, the threat to peace and the danger of a war, of a world conflagration, does not come from small, freedom-loving countries. Obviously, it is not the weapons possessed by democratic peoples and States for the defence of their freedom and national independence that threaten world peace, but rather the colossal arsenals of the super-Powers and other imperialist Powers, their ambitions and neo-colonialist plans to subjugate and exploit peoples, their policies of aggression and war.

278. In present international conditions, in which the global strategy of imperialism and socio-imperialism seeks world domination through force of arms while they are engaging in all kinds of intrigues to lead the small and medium-sized peoples and countries to wage war among themselves, it is essential that peace-loving peoples and countries vehemently and openly denounce their expansionist and hegemonistic policies. They must resolutely oppose the war preparations and the aggressive dealings of imperialism and socio-imperialism. The solidarity and unity of peoples constitute a great force. Their continued strengthening and the resolute struggle to isolate and unmask imperialism and socio-imperialism are a historic necessity, which is today all the more imperative because actions by the United States and the Soviet Union affect, in varying degrees, the interests of all peace-loving peoples and countries and because the two super-Powers have triggered this offensive to carry out their hegemonistic designs.

279. Notwithstanding the great economic and military potential of the super-Powers and their claims of invincibility, reality demonstrates the contrary. The history of recent decades gives us many examples of victories by peoples in their just struggle for liberty and national independence against the imperialist Powers.

280. The Albanian people and the Socialist People's Republic of Albania resolutely support genuine and effective disarmament. They staunchly oppose the arms race and the aggressive policy of the United States and the Soviet Union, the most ferocious enemies of the freedom and independence of peoples. Our people, which has known the imperialists and the socio-imperialists well—and still does—has struggled and continues to struggle unswervingly to defend the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the country, and, relying on its own forces, it works tirelessly to promote socialist construction and to defend the fatherland. Albania is a small country which has not allowed and will never allow itself to be turned into a base for imperialism and socio-imperialism. Article 91 of its Constitution explicitly stipulates that "The installation of foreign bases and military forces on the territory of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania is prohibited". This is a specific contribution that our people and our country have made and continue to make to the cause of peace and friendship among peoples.

281. The delegation of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania holds that disarmament can never be achieved through reliance on the will of Powers that base their policies and their behaviour in international relations on the use of force, oppression and the exploitation of peoples. Democratic States that love freedom and are making sincere efforts to preserve peace must work to eliminate the aggressive military blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, to bring about the withdrawal of American and Soviet troops from Europe and all other regions of the world. It is just as important not to give the super-Powers and other imperialist Powers new military bases, and to make them withdraw from existing bases, because that is how the interests of peoples can be defended and that complete sovereignty can be exercised. We also feel that we should fight more vehemently against the pressure and blackmail used by the super-Powers to obtain naval bases for their war fleets. They should not be allowed to enter and leave the ports of other countries, even under the pretext of making supposedly friendly visits or refuelling or making repairs. Nor must they be allowed to use other countries' air space for their military aircraft.

282. Of course, such measures are not easy to implement because the imperialists and socio-imperialists pursue their policies; they do not easily give up their positions. The interests of the peoples and the safeguarding of peace require that we act responsibly to prevent the super-Powers from laying down the law throughout the world. Concessions and surrenders to imperialism bring with them great dangers for the freedom and independence of peoples and for peace and security throughout the world.

283. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation is gratified to see Mr. Kittani presiding over this special session of the General Assembly, which has such profound significance in light of the hopes of the peoples and which is so clearly identified with the very *raison d'être* of the United Nations.

284. I should like to congratulate a most distinguished Latin American, Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, on his lucid and forceful statement

at the opening meeting, in which he described the task of the Assembly at this session as one of the utmost and most immediate urgency.

285. Ecuador joins in the mourning of the brother country of Saudi Arabia at the passing of His Majesty King Khalid, a man of peaceful and universal vision and of human understanding of the problems of the developing peoples.

286. At a time when the world is overwhelmed by the onerous burden of the arms race, when the major Powers are competing for sinister nuclear supremacy, when anachronistic colonialist wars are multiplying along with armed actions and squabbles for territorial or religious reasons, or the outright imposition of political systems through the military occupation of countries, it seems illusory to think of this session as one seeking a return to sanity, the operation of principles and the rule of law in international relations.

287. But the great voice of the peoples of the United Nations which gives authority to the San Francisco Charter cannot go unheard despite the manoeuvres through disinformation, the gag imposed on the communications media, the political repression and the stubborn attitudes of pride of Governments indifferent to the clamour of their own masses which act as though the world, its continents and oceans were their own personal property. Today the great masses of human-kind have decided that they will no longer be ignored. The peoples of the developing world, and all non-nuclear countries in general, which are equal owners of this planet, have joined hands to protect this spaceship which belongs to us all and which some want to lead into a nuclear holocaust. For that purpose, the youth of all regions and languages have turned their eyes to this world Organization and addressed their demands to it. Finally, the United Nations has affirmed its true strength, that of world public opinion. And that public opinion is reaching the United Nations.

288. Thus the masses have begun to feel the concern that Einstein, the father of the nuclear era, himself felt when, frustrated in the face of the political underdevelopment of certain leaders that were devoting to war the fruits of scientific development, he warned that "if the next war begins with atomic bombs it will end with the throwing of stones".

289. Ecuador believes that this special session is of exceptional importance since it ought to focus on the true causes of the arms race and its consequences. But we also believe that this gathering is being held at a time when the international situation has deteriorated gravely, when there are grave breaches of international peace, growing threats and ensuing dangers for the independence and security of the peoples, particularly the developing peoples.

290. In those circumstances, there is the possibility of this special session devoted to disarmament being used for confrontations between the Power blocs and between the parties to current conflicts, with the resulting risk of the frustration, to a greater or lesser extent, of the purposes for which this session was convened. The developing countries are very interested in a successful outcome of this session. Therefore, there is a need for joint action by those countries in order to have a decisive influence on the start of an effective disarmament process and, to that

end, to obtain from the major Powers serious and detailed commitments, above all on nuclear disarmament.

291. Ecuador views with greatest concern the arms race between those Powers, for we recognize it as an instrument of domination and of encouragement of the most dangerous kinds of doctrines and a mentality which might well lead to the nuclear holocaust. Ecuador is convinced that, in general, security based on arms is precarious in the best of circumstances, since arms perpetuate and increase distrust and fear between nations and thus lead to a permanent danger of war.

292. The adoption of the Final Document and Programme of Action of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament gave rise to some hopes. Nevertheless, the behaviour of some countries shows that they have forgotten that legal and moral commitment, and now, four years later, we find ourselves faced with an even more negative and tragic situation that is undermining the economies especially of the poor countries, which certainly cannot continue without bold action to prevent disaster. Two tragedies distress the people of that majority of the human race: nuclear tragedy, which would mean the destruction of the human race, and the growing cost of conventional weapons for wars caused by the merchants of death, which causes economic imbalances and raging inflation and deprives us of what we need for the essential constructive tasks of development.

293. Ecuador fully shares the conviction that there is a relationship between disarmament and economic development. The arms race is a prime factor in the international economic crisis, which most affects the poor countries. Therefore disarmament is a powerful instrument for bringing about economic stability and an effective and adequate real transfer of resources for the benefit of the developing countries, which is indispensable for the establishment of the new international economic order. Peace and security among nations are incompatible with international economic injustice.

294. Therefore, disarmament must take place in order to release the resources that must be devoted to the great global undertaking of development, which continues to be the greatest challenge to the intelligence of man and the only alternative if we are to move towards the new international economic order. This would be a good opportunity for the wealthy countries to achieve full employment of their labour forces and their installed industrial capacity; if they finally decide and have the vision to devote themselves to solving the problem of the shortages afflicting developing peoples. Those peoples, with their natural resources and vast markets, can in turn constitute a world of economic revival and growth, which could result in a more just and more dignified life for all.

295. For armaments to be recognized as superfluous, the international community must act decisively to eliminate the pretexts which protect the huge levels of military expenditures world wide. That means the peaceful solution of international disputes by concrete, viable means as provided for in the Charter.

That necessitates eliminating warlike actions and armed interventions, which can never be the basis of law.

296. We must bring about the withdrawal of the foreign occupation forces of countries that are today arbitrarily occupying others in defiance of resolutions of the world Organization. The occupied territories must be returned to their legitimate owners. Ecuador is loyal to the principle that occupation does not confer territorial rights. Therefore, we have voted in favour of those resolutions, which have not yet been heeded, calling for the withdrawal of foreign forces from the Middle East, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Cyprus and Namibia. We believe that that also applies to the regrettable case of the Malvinas Islands, where a Power from outside the continent seeks to deny Argentina's right to sovereignty through an unequal and bloody bellicose act, supported by other great Powers, in a regrettable and anachronistic neo-colonialist expedition that the Latin American peoples will not forget.

297. The President of Ecuador, Dr. Osvaldo Hurtado, has stated in this respect:

"The rights over territories of Latin America must be based on the essential legal principle of *uti possidetis juris* of 1810 and therefore [Ecuador] has never recognized territorial acquisitions achieved by threats or the use of force. Therefore, Ecuador believes that the mere occupation of territories that legitimately belong to our countries cannot be validated with the passage of time, no matter how long. From the very beginning this is simple usurpation. This is coupled with the strong determination of Ecuador, expressed on many occasions, to spare no effort to bring about the eradication of colonialism throughout the world, and particularly in Latin America."

298. I should like also to mention resolution XXXII of the Xth Inter-American Conference, held in 1948, which stated that the emancipation of America will not be completed as long as there remain in the continent peoples and regions subjected to colonial régimes or whose territories are occupied by non-American countries.

299. Those are instruments based on inter-American international law which we shall continue to support, despite problems. They are certainly not mere outbursts of emotion, as some ill-informed people venture to suggest. We must recognize the need to speed up the process of the eradication, without exceptions, of colonialism which has just unleashed against the territories of America the fury of its war machine in a desperate attempt to prolong anachronistic enclaves threatening the territorial integrity, security and independence of the peoples of that continent.

300. Much innocent blood has been shed in this sad episode of abuse by the big Powers. The only hope for a return to the rule of law and constructive co-existence is the resumption of the negotiations in the context of the United Nations, leading finally to the recognition of Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas, with due attention to the rights of the people who were placed there by the colonial Power.

301. It is paradoxical and sadly significant that, at the same time as the bigger industrial Powers are

increasing their war budgets, they are cutting down their already modest contributions for reducing the gaps and tensions in the multilateral transfers of funds for development, and simultaneously delaying the global negotiations which constitute an irreversible process in the progress of this century towards a new and more just new international order.

302. A sad and significant indication of the lack of will for peace is found in those countries that have reduced their contributions to UNDP, ignoring the appeal of the General Assembly for a minimum increase of 14 per cent a year [*resolution 36/200, para. 8*]. They are thus causing, in view of increasing inflation, the paralysis of a programme which is one of the few successful indications of the North-South activities in matters concerning the transfer of technology and, certainly, the greatest international undertaking of all time. All of this is taking place despite the fact that they are receiving in payments for services, experts and fellowships twice or three times as much as their voluntary contributions. Furthermore, we now begin to see intolerable political overtones in an essentially non-political and universal programme. It is significant that of the 35 countries that increased their contributions in 1982, 26 were developing countries, which was most generous, courageous and exemplary. Of those, 16 were Latin American countries, which in this manner reaffirmed their confidence in the United Nations and its vital and effective institutions.

303. We are also encouraged by the fact that signs of self-help and South-South co-operation are growing. Despite the fact that Latin American countries receive, on a percentage basis, less co-operation from those universal programmes, they respond with generosity not only by increasing contributions, but also by a higher proportion of national counterpart inputs and tens of millions of dollars earmarked in the cost-sharing system, particularly in the last two years, by means of technical co-operation for development.

304. Disarmament means a reaffirmation of mutual confidence that disputes can be settled by peaceful means. It is therefore an opportunity to express the political will in a positive style of international conduct.

305. Thus it is necessary for the international community once again to demand general and complete disarmament. Disarmament is also, therefore, a basic requirement for the very existence of the United Nations in its constant efforts to ensure and maintain peace. Ignoring the demand of the universal conscience for disarmament, and especially nuclear disarmament, is what causes the weakening of the constructive action of the world Organization, expressed, for example, in the debilitation of the Economic and Social Council, the principal organ created specifically to channel the efforts to improve standards of life and ensure permanent employment for all and conditions of economic and social progress and development, in accordance with the Charter.

306. True disarmament does not reside merely in the reduction of military expenditure, some of which is necessary for internal order and self-defence. It is in what an Ecuadorian sociologist, the internationalist

Luis Bossano, calls "the disarmament of the consciousness" when he indicates that "the resolve for peace or for war rests in the quarter which embodies the government of the peoples". Therefore, the final decision for the destruction or the survival of the species really rests with the people whose Governments we represent in this Hall.

307. Disarmament consists in doing away with economic aggression, such as blockades, tariff barriers, unfair terms of trade and the arbitrary appropriation of the oceans for purposes of war or in order to plunder the marine resources of the coastal peoples, within their maritime jurisdiction.

308. Disarmament consists in respect for the rights of the weaker, including their rights in the new dimension, outer space, which began with the arbitrary occupation by those who got there first, thanks to their economic and technical advantage, and continues with the military use of outer space, using satellites for warlike ends, military espionage and anti-satellite activities. In this connexion, equatorial countries meeting in April 1982 at Quito reaffirmed in their joint declaration their desire to maintain outer space as a dimension of peace and co-operation for scientific and technical development for the benefit of all mankind and in particular, the developing countries.

309. Ecuador is confident that, if we avoid half-measures, we shall succeed in arriving at the total elimination of nuclear arsenals, which now include the neutron bomb, a weapon praised by investors because, they say, it destroys only human resources. But Ecuador also believes that we must effectively expand the opportunities for the peaceful use of nuclear energy by the poorer countries, at the same time as we adopt measures to ensure that this source of energy is not used for the destruction of mankind. Ecuador agrees that the utmost priority must be attached to nuclear disarmament, including the negotiation of a treaty banning nuclear-weapon tests. Ecuador believes that the twelfth special session of the General Assembly should devote particular attention to measures that will succeed in focusing disarmament negotiations in the United Nations, without prejudice to regional agreements, which must be encouraged.

310. We also believe that this session should make an effective contribution to ending the climate of confrontation between the military blocs of the two super-Powers, which has become so dangerously exacerbated in the last few years. We must also lay the foundations for reversing the process of the constantly increasing expenditure on armaments, which is a great burden on the developing countries and constitutes a hidden contribution by them to the prosperity of the war industries of the industrialized nations and increases their dependency on them. Ecuador believes that this session should devote proper attention to the causes of the arms buildup, overcome the mistrust which exists with respect to guarantees of international security and strengthen the procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

311. Ecuador has consistently shown its confidence in the United Nations, and we advocate that it be strengthened as an organization for peace. We are a founding Member of the United Nations and a party

to the Treaty of Tlatelolco.⁸ Similarly, we have consistently supported all the resolutions of the General Assembly dealing with disarmament. Ecuador was the fourth country to ratify, in May of this year, the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects and its three additional Protocols,⁵ in accordance with the action taken by the Constitutional President of Ecuador and with prior legislative approval.

312. Ecuador is proud of allocating the highest proportion of its budget to free public education. This, together with the amount allocated to health and housing, is more than twice the expenditure on all other items from our limited resources. We have begun to announce this month the total eradication of illiteracy in some provinces of Ecuador, and we hope that we can do this throughout the nation over the next two years.

313. The latest neo-colonialist ventures and the abandonment by major Powers of their traditional links with and commitments to Latin American countries have had the effect of reaffirming the bonds of our own identity by strengthening the true unity of Latin America which goes back to the anti-colonialist expeditions of Bolivar, whose ideals point the way in our march towards a common destiny on the basis of political independence.

314. Yesterday we joined in the well-deserved tribute to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, because of his understanding of Latin America; his attitude was endorsed by a young leader of the New World, John Kennedy. Today there is special emphasis on the Four Freedoms which are the philosophical foundation of the United Nations, particularly freedom from fear, which means banning nuclear war and bringing about disarmament, and freedom from want, which means development and the new international economic order.

315. There have been many conferences on disarmament which have alternated with wars throughout the century. We hope that general and complete disarmament can be achieved before, and if, we reach the twenty-first century, thus putting an end to the frustration, which causes a few people to take the tragic decision of war, while the rest of us are left with the theoretical compensation of conferences.

316. The General Assembly should take proper action to strengthen the mechanisms of collective security, as well as the methods for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, to which President Reagan of the United States referred this morning.

317. Two fundamental tasks must be accomplished by this special session: the evaluation of the implementation of the recommendations of the tenth special session and the adoption of a comprehensive programme of disarmament. Ecuador will co-operate actively in these efforts, in close co-operation with the non-aligned countries and the other developing countries.

318. The statement made by China in this session, advocating a declaration not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and to guarantee the non-use of

nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States was a positive step, as was the statement of the Soviet Union unilaterally committing itself not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. If such a commitment becomes unanimous among the nuclear Powers, this session of the General Assembly will not have met in vain.

The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.

NOTES

¹ A/CN.10/38. See also A/CN.10/51.

² The report was subsequently issued with the title *Reduction of Military Budgets—Refinement of international reporting and comparison of military expenditures* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.IX.4).

³ Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1915).

⁴ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, Nos. 970-973.

⁵ A/CONF.95/15 and Corr.2, annex I. For the printed text of the Convention and its Protocols, see *United Nations Disarmament Yearbook*, vol. 5: 1980 (United Nations publication, Sales No. 81.IX.4), appendix VII.

⁶ *Official Records of the Security Council, Second Year, Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council, 1947*, resolution 18 (1947).

⁷ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480, No. 6964, p. 43).

⁸ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326).

⁹ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.11.

¹⁰ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.IX.1.

¹¹ *Documents of the Gatherings of Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-1973* (Belgrade, Yugoslavia: Federal Executive Council, Secretariat for Information, 1973, p. 3).

¹² *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 105, document A/5975.