



President: Mr. Ismat KITTANI (Iraq)

resent their Governments at all sessions of the Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 1

Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Iraq

1. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: In accordance with rule 30 of the rules of procedure, I declare open the twelfth special session of the General Assembly, the second special session devoted to disarmament.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

2. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silent prayer or meditation.

The representatives, standing, observed a minute of silence.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the twelfth special session of the General Assembly:

(a) **Appointment of the members of the Credentials Committee**

3. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: In accordance with rule 28 of the rules of procedure, and taking into account the recommendation of the Preparatory Committee for the Second Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament [see A/S-12/1, para. 23], which was endorsed by the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session, I propose that the Credentials Committee consist of the same members as those appointed for the thirty-sixth regular session, namely: China, Ghana, the Netherlands, Niger, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America. If there is no objection, I shall consider the Credentials Committee constituted accordingly.

It was so decided (decision S-12/11).

4. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: In this connexion I invite the attention of the members of the Assembly to a note verbale from the Secretary-General, dated 20 May 1982, in which it was stated that credentials should be issued for all representatives to the twelfth special session, in accordance with rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, except with regard to those permanent representatives who are already authorized to rep-

AGENDA ITEM 4

Election of the President of the General Assembly

5. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I now invite the Assembly to proceed to the election of the President of the General Assembly. In this connexion I call on the representative of Nigeria.

6. Mr. ADENIJI (Nigeria): Mr. President, it is a great honour for me to be the instrument through which this special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament will take its first important decision. The expectation of the international community, which is growing increasingly restive at the dangerous escalation of the race in armaments, particularly in the nuclear field, is that this special session will make a significant contribution to the process of halting the arms race and proceeding to effective disarmament measures. By a consensus of the General Assembly at its tenth special session, the first special session devoted to disarmament, held in 1978, the United Nations, in accordance with its Charter, has a central role and primary responsibility in the sphere of disarmament. This second special session devoted to disarmament, therefore, has the great task of allaying humanity's genuine fear of self-extinction by agreeing on positive measures that will lead to disarmament.

7. To say that this will not be an easy task is to say the obvious. It is my conviction, however, that the accomplishment of this very difficult and admittedly very complex task will be greatly facilitated by competent and informed leadership of the negotiations which will preoccupy us in the next five weeks.

8. In submitting to members of the Assembly the candidature of Mr. Ismat Kittani, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Iraq, for the presidency of this special session, I reflect the unanimous view of the members of the Preparatory Committee that he will adequately fulfil the role envisaged for the leader of our negotiations during the next few weeks.

9. Mr. Kittani has had a most distinguished career both as a diplomat of his country and as an international civil servant. In both capacities he has demonstrated consistent competence coupled with excellent human relations. Those qualities won him ample reward when he was elected President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. His performance in guiding the deliberations of that session is still so fresh in our memories that I need not dwell at length on it. Suffice it to say that the confidence shown in him by his election last September has been more than amply justified. I have no doubt, therefore, that if elected President of this special session of the

General Assembly devoted to disarmament he will equally enrich the work of the session by his leadership.

10. I therefore propose that we elect by acclamation Mr. Ismat Kittani as President of this second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

11. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The Assembly has heard the proposal of the representative of Nigeria, Mr. Oluyemi Adeniji, that the President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly be elected by acclamation President of the General Assembly at its twelfth special session. I take it that that proposal is accepted by the Assembly.

It was so decided (decision S-12/12).

Statement by the President

12. The PRESIDENT: It is my privilege and honour, as President of the General Assembly, to open this second special session devoted to disarmament. We gather today at a time of extreme tension, uneasiness and armed conflicts, when the mounting threats to international peace and security are not in the distant future but already upon us. The present extremely dangerous international situation should add a new dimension to our concern and our search for ways and means of bringing about a more peaceful and more stable world order through security for all at a much reduced level of national armaments.

13. As we speak of disarmament, war is all around us. We are concerned primarily with the universal devastation that nuclear weapons could cause, but we must be ever mindful of the fact that as we meet people are dying through the use of conventional weapons.

14. The presidency of this body involves not only privileges and honours but also duties and responsibilities. This afternoon I feel one such responsibility very strongly—that of reflecting the deep preoccupation of all the millions of people in the world who are following these deliberations with hope, with concern and with fear: hope that we shall take meaningful steps towards the solution of the most dangerous dilemma of our time, concern over the consequences for humanity if the arms race is not checked, and fear that we may fail. Everything—the world, civilization—is at stake. This is not empty rhetoric; it is a fact.

15. Four years ago the United Nations convened the first special session on disarmament. Many of the representatives present were here in this Hall when that session adopted a Final Document [resolution S-10/2] which was hailed by many as a breakthrough in the frustrating search for a workable formula for halting the arms race. What has happened in the intervening four years? What measures have been taken that have resulted in a reduction in armaments? In short, what have the Governments of the world done to respond to the fervent demand of the people of the world that this insane arms race be stopped? We all know the answer, but I want to state it loudly and clearly for the world to hear. Nothing. Not a single weapon has been destroyed over the past four years as a result of a disarmament agreement. Nothing of

significance has been done to reduce the imminent threat of self-extinction that makes the present so dangerous and the future so uncertain. It is a sorry record of failure.

16. Indeed, in a perverse way we should be forced to regard it as an achievement if our world were in as good a condition today as it was four years ago. Sadly, that is not the case. In the years since the first special session the situation has deteriorated seriously in several important aspects.

17. First, the level of global military expenditures, even if computed in constant terms, has increased steadily. World expenditures on armaments have now passed the \$US 600 billion figure annually. This almost incomprehensible amount of money is financing the continued refinement of existing weapons systems, increases in their numbers and the development of new and more effective means of death and destruction. In this regard, it is shocking to realize that since the end of the Second World War some 40 per cent of the world's research and development expenditures have been directed at achieving military ends.

18. Secondly, the strategic arms negotiating process has stalled. However, in this regard there is a ray of hope. We all welcome the decision by the Soviet Union and the United States to resume later this month negotiations on strategic nuclear weapons, and it is our fervent hope that these talks will continue in earnest after the adjournment of this session and produce significant early results. The General Assembly has consistently urged the two nuclear super-Powers to negotiate these matters on an urgent basis. It is the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that in particular bear a heavy burden; they must lead the way if there is to be movement towards ending the arms race.

19. Thirdly, in the past four years there has been an alarming increase in the potential for the military use of outer space. This development, if unchecked, could have the gravest consequences for the future.

20. Fourthly, the picture as regards a key element in curbing the development of new and more effective nuclear weapons, the comprehensive test-ban treaty, is today less hopeful than it was in 1978. This is an especially disturbing turn of events, since earlier the momentum towards achieving a comprehensive test-ban treaty seemed strong.

21. Finally, over the past four years the tendency has been clearly increasing in some circles to accept the idea of a limited nuclear war, to speak of its inevitability and to argue that one country or another can win a nuclear war. This is not merely analytically foolish; it is dangerous. Goethe said, I believe, that there is nothing more painful than ignorance in action. I wonder if he anticipated the arrival of those who think today that nuclear wars can be won.

22. I can think of no better comment than that of His Holiness Pope John Paul II in the letter he so kindly sent to me last December. He spoke of the conclusion reached in a study of nuclear warfare made by the Pontifical Academy of Science that it is impossible to ward off previously, or to limit afterwards, the disastrous effects that are foreseen as a certain result of the use of such weapons. His Holiness continued

that the only possible choice was that of total prevention; there was no other recourse conceivable. The last great epidemic of our civilization could be prevented only by putting an end to the arms race.

23. In short, as we begin the twelfth special session the situation concerning these and other significant aspects is more dangerous and the need for disarmament thus greater than was the case when the tenth special session was adjourned four years ago.

24. Why do we find ourselves in this incredible situation? We have the choice of on the one hand wholesale destruction—both physical and moral, I might add—and on the other coexistence, based on a shared determination not to commit global suicide. The choice seems simple enough. Who would choose destruction as an alternative to survival? Who would deliberately plunge the human race into what could well be the final conflict?

25. Some would say that this lacks realism and sophistication and would draw attention to the requirements of national security. There is no quarrel with the emphasis on the importance of national security. The first responsibility of any national Government is to assure the security of its citizens. The problem is rather with their idea of what it requires to attain that security in the last fifth of the twentieth century: the continuing production of ever-increasing quantities of increasingly sophisticated and deadly weapons. That is what the quarrel is with.

26. Where is the security? Who feels secure? Nations? People? What are we doing to ourselves—to ourselves, to our children and to generations yet unborn? This is not the time to discuss in detail the reasons for this frightening and shameful situation. But it is clear that to seek national security in more arms, in more destructive power, is doomed to fail. You cannot destroy the enemy—or the earth, for that matter—more than once. I firmly believe that we must step back from the conventional wisdom of seeking constantly to be stronger than the perceived adversary. We must seek legitimate national security at much lower, mutually balanced and verifiable levels of armaments.

27. Despite this gloomy picture, I am not fundamentally pessimistic about the future. I should like to give three reasons for my feeling this way. First, the economic factors related to the arms race are working in favour of rationality and moderation. I have already spoken of the enormous costs of the arms race. This economic burden is becoming increasingly difficult for any nation to bear indefinitely. If only a portion of the money wasted on armaments—say, one third, about 200 billion dollars—could be diverted to economic development of the developing countries and that of the poorer segments of the population within the developed countries, I am certain a much greater contribution would surely be made to the real and collective security of all nations. In this regard, the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues—the Palme Commission—has made some valuable suggestions on strengthening United Nations peace-keeping capabilities with a small fraction of the amount spent on armaments.

28. My second reason for not being discouraged—and this is certainly the most encouraging develop-

ment in the disarmament picture since 1978—is the growing and increasingly organized and assertive public movement against the arms race. This groundswell of public opinion is world-wide and cuts across the entire political spectrum. It is, to me, particularly significant that in many countries religious leaders are in the forefront of this movement. We are witnessing the truly democratic process of public opinion moving Governments to adopt more—not less—rational approaches and to take more seriously the decisions they agree to at the international level, especially in this Hall.

29. My third reason for not being pessimistic is less concrete than the first two but it is, in the final analysis, of far greater importance. It is my deep belief in the rationality of the human mind and of human beings, a rationality which, if we do not wait too long, can lead us to apply ourselves to the business of disarming this world.

30. In November 1957—only 12 years after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but twice that length of time ago before today—Omar Bradley, a distinguished American general, spoke of the search for peace and the reality of nuclear war. He asked:

“Have we already gone too far in this search for peace through the accumulation of peril? Is there any way to halt this trend—or must we push on with new devices until we inevitably come to judgement before the atom? I believe there is a way out. I believe it because I have acquired in my lifetime a decent respect for human intelligence”.

General Bradley continued:

“I confess that this is as much an article of faith as it is an expression of reason. But this is what we need: faith in our ability to do what must be done. Without that faith we shall never get started. And until we get started, we shall never know what can be done.”

31. Perhaps the single most frequently quoted statement to emerge from the first special session on disarmament is the formulation of the central choice facing humanity: disarmament or annihilation. This choice has still not been made. In one sense, perhaps, we are fortunate that it has not been made for us, that the increasingly frightening mathematics of nuclear armaments has not carried us over the edge and into the abyss. We still have, in June 1982, the opportunity to grasp the most urgent and the most dangerous problem before us. In a very real sense, as we begin our deliberations, there is but one item on our agenda: survival.

32. I am pleased that so many of the world's leaders will be here in the next four or five weeks. This high level of participation has already contributed greatly to the level of public awareness of and support for this session. I trust that these distinguished leaders will not spend their time repeating and defending old, sterile and even dangerous positions, but that they will contribute new, realistic and constructive suggestions. We will be listening carefully. More important, in the months and years to come, we will eagerly await the delivery of what they undoubtedly will promise.

33. I am likewise pleased to note the broad and impressive representation and activities of non-

governmental organizations at this session, both in this Hall and outside. That alone is an indication of public interest and concern. I should like to welcome them and tell them that their participation is most important, and on behalf of the Assembly I want to thank them for their continuing efforts in the cause of peace.

34. We still have a chance. We still have time, but not much. The odds are lengthening against humanity. It is time to put an end to the arms race and begin the peace race.

35. The Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, wishes to address the General Assembly at this time.

Statement by the Secretary-General

36. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament has been scheduled for a considerable time, and much effort and careful planning have gone into its preparation. Its manifold purposes and lofty goals look far into the future. Yet, it happens to be taking place at a time when war is raging in several corners of the earth. Lives are being lost in great numbers and, at the same time, the world lives under a standing threat of uncontrolled conflagration. Most directly relevant to those gathered here, the modern technology of war, short only of weapons of mass destruction, is being practically displayed in all its virtuosity.

37. And so I ask the Assembly to feel, as I do, that its task, while ponderous and difficult, is of the most extreme immediacy and urgency. I invite the Assembly to husband the necessary political will to cut through the undergrowth and to treat the subject at hand with the boldness which is required in a situation of emergency.

38. Four years ago, when the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was convened, it was widely recognized that the long quest of the international community for means to halt the arms race required some vital new impulse. That quest, which has been a major preoccupation of the United Nations since its inception, had achieved some limited success. But it was evident to all that there was no abatement in the ever more menacing growth of nuclear and other arsenals. The main objective—to arrest and reverse this process—had not been achieved. At the most representative international meeting ever convened to deal with this vital issue, a Final Document was produced which contained a Programme of Action [*ibid.*, sect. III] providing a solid framework for progress towards the unanimously accepted goal of disarmament in peace.

39. 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. In fact, it is ironic that the accumulation of arms is one of the few expanding industries in a period of economic depression and gloom. An appalling proportion of human and material resources that should be directed to better ends continues to be wasted on this endless and ultimately illusory search for security through arms.

40. The more basic premises of the arms race deserve continual reiteration: the fundamental fact about the present arms situation is that neither in quality nor in quantity can it be compared with any ever faced in the history of mankind. National security, of course, has always been, and will continue to be, the foremost concern of Governments everywhere. The search for security through strength is as old and as deeply rooted in the life of nations as the desire to live in peace. But what puts the present arms race in an altogether different and still more dangerous category are two of its basic characteristics: first, it derives its momentum not so much from well-considered security goals as from the inexorable advance of military technology, and secondly, it is a pursuit whose consequences do not accord with its assumed aims. This holds true, to one degree or another, in the fields of both nuclear and conventional weapons.

41. Before the invention of the nuclear weapon, man was concerned with the death of the individual, alone or in groups. In the nuclear age, however, he is faced with the very real and mounting threat of the death of the whole species. Apocalypse is today not merely a biblical depiction; it has become a very real possibility. Never before in human experience had we been placed on the narrow edge between catastrophe and survival. Today, the world possesses a destructive capacity equivalent to more than one million Hiroshima bombs. One single submarine equipped with nuclear warheads is estimated to have more explosive power than was used during the entire period of the Second World War. In fact, each one of us in this Hall—indeed, each one on the face of this earth—possesses a statistical share of three tons of high explosives. As Winston Churchill observed, the nuclear age revolutionized the entire foundation of human affairs. The supreme challenge to the world's statesmanship is to grasp this new and infinitely ominous dimension and formulate a course of action which would eliminate it eventually.

42. All decision makers know that, by its very nature, a nuclear war cannot remain limited. Once a nuclear exchange begins, there will be no way to contain it within a predetermined framework. It will not be a two-sided battle after which the survivors will gradually emerge from their shelters and painstakingly build a new world on the ruins of the past. It will not be a situation which people in the more remote places of the world would watch unhurt and then subsequently be able to repair. An all-out nuclear confrontation would affect the entire world, the entire ecosystem. Vital parts of the ozone layer, which protects the earth from ultraviolet radiation, would be destroyed, with catastrophic consequences for human beings, animals and vegetation. All services essential to sustain life would be detrimentally affected. The

infrastructure of civilization would be shattered. In the ensuing political and economic anarchy, a battle for survival, with no restraints, would take place, both nationally and internationally. To all this would be added the far-reaching genetic consequences that would affect coming generations, regardless of what part of the earth we have chosen as our sanctuary. There is no possibility of winning a nuclear war in any conceivable sense of the word "win"; the end of civilization could hardly be anyone's victory. A very apt description of the consequences of a nuclear confrontation is: "The living will envy the dead". This is the background of the pronouncement in paragraph 18 of the Final Document of the tenth special session of the Assembly: "Mankind is confronted with a choice: we must halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament or face annihilation."

43. Heedless so far of this admonition, we have allowed the arms race to spread rapidly throughout the international community. We are devoting the talent and treasure of humanity to amassing means of destruction when a majority of mankind seeks the means to live a life free from hunger, fear and despair. We spend more than one million dollars a minute on the arms race in a world where 40,000 children in the developing countries die—not every year or month, but every day. We have thus created a grotesque situation in which we can destroy ourselves many times over without yet having mustered the political will and moral impetus to save great masses of our fellow human beings from starvation.

44. While the nuclear-arms race threatens mass self-extinction, the drive for the accumulation of conventional arms also wreaks havoc with the life of societies in several respects. It drains resources which are badly needed for social and economic development. As each new generation of weapons is always more costly than the old, the burden of the arms race becomes progressively heavier, particularly in developing countries in view of their scarce resources. Instead of easing local conflicts, it tends to exacerbate them. Moreover, by causing a militarization of societies, it jeopardizes their political stability and progress and creates a threat to both national and international security. Since 1945, no nuclear bomb has been used in military action, but the world has experienced well over 100 wars fought with conventional weapons. These have caused vast suffering and destruction and the loss of an untold number of human lives. I do not, therefore, support the opinion that disarmament is a problem exclusively for the industrialized countries. In developing countries, military spending stands in stark contrast to the resources devoted to health, the production of food, education and other life-related goals.

45. In fact, even apart from the disasters which it portends, the arms race is already imposing an insupportable economic cost on the world as a whole. It is evident that no country or any group of countries can, in the long run, hope to solve the problems of inflation, recession, unemployment, depletion of energy resources and the international economic imbalance while it incurs the increasing expense of the arms race. Some figures give an idea, admittedly simplistic but relevant none the less, of the distortion of priorities which the world helplessly condones at

present. The amount of nearly \$600 billion consumed by annual military outlays works out at a per capita expense of \$112 over the world as a whole. This is more than the per capita gross domestic product of some developing countries. The price of two strategic bombers of the latest type, approximately \$200 million, could sustain a world-wide literacy campaign. It cost WHO less than \$100 million to eradicate smallpox, while a considerably larger amount was spent on the development of a more advanced version of an air-to-air missile. One half of one per cent of one year's world military expenditure would pay for much of the farm equipment needed by low-income and food-deficit countries to achieve self-sufficiency in food by the end of this decade. In the annex to the Secretary-General's report on the relationship between disarmament and development, it is emphasized that

"the world can either continue to pursue the arms race with characteristic vigor or move consciously and with deliberate speed toward a more stable and balanced social and economic development within a more sustainable international economic and political order. It cannot do both."¹

46. In sum, whether in the nuclear or in the conventional field, the arms race represents an abdication of our responsibilities for human welfare, a perversion of ingenuity and an offence against the dignity of man. Some 500,000 scientists all over the world are devoting their knowledge to the search for weaponry more sophisticated and more deadly. Unless it is restrained by political decisions backed by a moral will, the advance of military technology is a process that, by its very nature, can never exhaust itself. At present, it is always creating new possibilities, new breakthroughs leading to new applications, strategies and doctrines, paving the way to the point of no return.

47. The Assembly faces the question: Is there to be no end to this folly?

48. One can, of course, readily grant that this situation has arisen neither out of some criminal motive of destruction nor from a suicidal urge. I mentioned earlier the concern with national security which has always been the justification for acquiring arms. But security through armaments is proving more and more to be a mirage. At the end of an immensely destructive war, the United Nations was designed to provide an international system which would guarantee the security of all. That system was based on the acceptance by all Member States of certain principles of behaviour, including respect for the independence and territorial integrity of States, and the renunciation of the threat or use of force in international relations. The causes of our present desperate situation go back to the breakdown of confidence in that system almost as soon as it was established. It was this breakdown which led to the subsequent formation of two great Power blocs, with profound distrust towards each other, and the weakening of the general will to abide by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

49. To say all this is to admit the complexity and difficulty of the task with which we are confronted. It is to recognize that the need to put an end to the present wasteful and infinitely dangerous arms race, which every Government perceives, is bound up

tightly at almost every point with the deeply felt need for security in a terribly insecure world. Yet we, gathered here in the United Nations, must somehow cut this Gordian knot, if we cannot unravel it. We cannot afford to wait for ideal conditions, and I would be neglecting my duty if I failed to state my deep personal conviction that we must find a way now, before it is too late, to arrest the arms race and, above all, to allay the fear of a nuclear holocaust which burdens humanity as a whole. It is a tragic irony of our times that the arms race goes on despite the awareness on all sides of its potentially devastating consequences. Surely, we need to be realistic and acknowledge the right of every State to national security, but it is no part of realism to suppose that security has to be sought on ever higher levels of armaments. It can be attained on gradually much lower, less dangerous, less costly levels in the long and painstaking process leading towards the final goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. This was the consensus goal established at the first special session.

50. I am well aware that the present international situation is far from conducive to the creation of confidence and of the increased sense of security among States which would facilitate solid progress towards a disarmed world. The climate of relative relaxation which in large part characterized the last decade has been seriously disturbed. Relations between the two military alliances, on which so much of the responsibility for the current level of armaments and for the very future of mankind rests, continue to be strained. However, we must not ignore the hopeful signs in recent developments. Outstanding among these are the public pronouncements on disarmament matters, including specific proposals for negotiations, which have been made recently by both President Brezhnev and President Reagan.

51. The prospects that the two sides may now initiate a forward movement in curbing the arms race are to be warmly welcomed. The resumption of bilateral negotiations between them on intermediate-range missiles, the recent announcement that negotiations will shortly begin on the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons and the prospect of a summit meeting between the leaders of these two major Powers all augur well for ending the sense of hopelessness about the possibilities of real disarmament.

52. I must also express my deep gratitude for the participation in this session of a number of heads of State and Government. This is a most reassuring indication that Governments are conscious of the mounting and widespread concern over the threat which ever-growing armaments pose to human survival and progress.

53. The General Assembly is meeting in this special session at a time when there is a great wave of public concern over the measureless perils of the arms race. What is felt to be in danger is not only peace, stability, social progress and civilization, but human survival itself. Millions of people in all walks of life—scientists, physicians and other experts not least among them—have voiced a growing fear and anxiety about the present disastrous course. For many years it seemed that the unleashing of the most destructive power ever known, the nuclear weapon, had be-

numbed the human mind and inured it to the remorseless pace of military technology. There are indications now that popular opinion is no longer settled in that fatalistic pose. With the reaching of what may well be a saturation point, it has begun seriously to question the basis of the whole wasteful enterprise which has made our age the most militarized peace-time period in history.

54. This new expression of popular concern and resolve is an encouraging phenomenon. In a divided and distracted world we witness an upsurge of feeling over an issue that transcends all political differences and is related to our common survival. This should enable Governments to look at their arms policies in a fresh perspective. At the same time, it places an unparalleled responsibility on this gathering. If we fail to rise to it, if we continue to temporize, there will be massive disillusionment about the credibility of the professed allegiance of Governments to the aims of peace and progress around the world.

55. I have spoken of the intimate interrelationship of the need for security and the arms race as a kind of Gordian knot. Indeed, the whole complex of disarmament problems with which we have been struggling for so long is itself a kind of Gordian knot. We face a situation in which every strand seems to be so entangled with another that any attempt to undo one only serves to knot the whole complex more inextricably together. But though today security is as indivisible as peace itself, I would not wish this comparison to be carried too far. On the contrary, it is my firm belief that, with patience and the necessary political will, many elements of this complex set of problems could be singled out and resolved.

56. The question of the cessation of the nuclear-arms race and nuclear disarmament should not be neglected any further. Solutions may not be easy to achieve, but we cannot wait any longer. The prevention of nuclear war is not only a moral imperative but also a question of survival. The long-awaited conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty could and should be achieved without further delay, and recent negotiations in the Committee on Disarmament may be promising in this respect. Action can and should be taken to prevent an arms race in outer space.

57. A new effort can and should be made to strengthen and extend the existing non-proliferation régime, as well as to discuss and study the application of confidence-building measures and the prevention of the military utilization of the sea-bed. Negotiations on the conclusion of a treaty prohibiting all chemical weapons can and should be held, with the purpose of reaching early agreement, and in this respect the word from Geneva has been positive. The verification and monitoring of disarmament and arms limitation agreements should continue to be an important element of negotiations on each measure.

58. These, of course, are only a few examples which serve to show that over-pessimism about the possibilities of real forward movement towards disarmament is unwarranted. There is, of course, no ground for complacency either. What is required of us now is imagination interlaced with realism and deep resolve. The time has come for mankind to put

an end to the madness and immorality of the arms race, most particularly the nuclear arms race. The powerful expressions of public opinion on this issue which we have witnessed recently have been accompanied by an outpouring of new ideas for ending the present impasse. Many of these innovative ideas can be useful, as they are put forward by public figures with long experience of arms negotiations.

59. The Assembly is no doubt a meeting-place of Governments. Yet let us not forget that the Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations begins with the words: "We the peoples". While it is Governments that must take part in negotiations, their activities here are undertaken on behalf of the peoples—all peoples. The heavy responsibilities that representatives bear are, therefore, not solely to Governments but also to humanity itself. Enormous public concern and attention are now focused on the United Nations and on you, the representatives who have gathered here to consider these issues. Perhaps this concern, arising from the mass of humankind and expressing itself through you, will serve at last, like the sword of Alexander in the old Greek story, as the instrument with which the Gordian knot of the arms race can be severed.

60. The significance of your deliberations here reaches far beyond the five-week period of this session itself. World statesmanship faces a new challenge, so it must think anew and act anew. All the peoples ask for a creative response which would give a fresh and hopeful direction to human affairs.

AGENDA ITEMS 5 AND 6

Organization of the session

Report of the Preparatory Committee for the Second Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament

61. The PRESIDENT: The report of the Preparatory Committee for the Second Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament is before the Assembly in document A/S-12/1.

62. In this regard, I call on the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, Mr. Oluyemi Adeniji of Nigeria.

63. Mr. ADENIJI (Nigeria), Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Second Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament: Allow me at the outset, Sir, to congratulate you warmly on your election as President of this special session of the Assembly. I am sure that you will more than justify the confidence which we all repose in you.

64. I have the honour to present for the consideration of the Assembly the Report of the Preparatory Committee for the second special session, over which I had the privilege of presiding as its Chairman. The report in document A/S-12/1, dated 24 May 1982, contains a concise account of the work done by the Preparatory Committee in pursuance of resolutions 33/71 H, 35/47 and 36/81 A. The entire report with its annexes is contained in a single volume. Consequently I can confine my remarks to a few points which require explanation or special emphasis, because even by the standards of United Nations

reports it is so concise that I am sure that delegations will find time to read it in full.

65. The report consists of two main parts. The first deals with the work and recommendations of the Preparatory Committee up to the end of the year 1981. It appears in sections II and III. The second part deals with the Committee's work and recommendations during 1982 and appears in sections V and VIII. In addition to those two main parts, there is section I, which contains an introduction; section IV, which deals with action taken by the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session; and sections VI and VII, which contain the lists of documents for the Preparatory Committee as well as for the special session itself.

66. The work of the Preparatory Committee began on 4 December 1980, and during the 18-month period the Committee held four sessions and a total of 42 plenary meetings and a number of informal working group and drafting group meetings.

67. The task entrusted to the Preparatory Committee in paragraph 2 of resolution 35/47 was

"to prepare a draft agenda for the special session, to examine all relevant questions relating to that session and to submit to the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session its recommendations thereon, including those in respect of the implementation of the decisions and recommendations adopted by the Assembly at its tenth special session".

In accordance with that resolution, recommendations on the provisional agenda and the dates and duration of the special session, as well as on a number of other organizational questions, including public-information activities and the role of non-governmental organizations and peace and disarmament research institutes, were contained in the report of the Preparatory Committee that was submitted to the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session.² Those recommendations were endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 36/81 A, but for the sake of completeness the Committee found it advisable to reproduce them again, in paragraphs 17 to 29 of the present report.

68. Paragraph 18 of the report contains a 14-point provisional agenda for the special session covering both the organizational and the procedural items as well as the substantive issues. Paragraph 25 contains the recommendation that the rules of procedure of the General Assembly should apply in the special session without amendments, on the understanding, of course, that, with regard to the adoption of decisions by the Assembly at the special session, every effort would be made to ensure that as far as possible decisions on matters of substance would be adopted by consensus. May I say that the Preparatory Committee was guided in its own work by this same principle.

69. In resolution 36/81 A, as I have mentioned, the General Assembly endorsed those and other recommendations, including the one concerning the future work of the Preparatory Committee, namely, to

"continue consideration of substantive issues related to the session, including the implementation of the decisions and recommendations adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth special session . . .

for incorporation in the document or documents to be adopted at the second special session devoted to disarmament, and any remaining organizational and procedural matters”.

70. The work done by the Preparatory Committee in pursuance of that resolution is described in paragraphs 31 to 36 of the report. I should like to call attention to the proceedings of the two working groups that the Committee established, one on the review of the implementation of the recommendations and decisions of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and the other on a preliminary consideration of the comprehensive programme of disarmament.

71. The result of the work of the first-mentioned working group is the composite paper contained in annex I to the report of the Preparatory Committee now before the Assembly. The report of the working group incorporates all the elements contained in the submissions made by delegations as well as groups of delegations. The Preparatory Committee took note of the composite paper which covered every aspect of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session, with the understanding that it had been prepared solely with the aim of assisting the twelfth special session. Needless to say, therefore, it does not prejudice or prejudice the position of any delegation on any point.

72. The Preparatory Committee also took note of the document entitled “Commentary of the Informal Working Group on the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament”, submitted by the other working group and contained in annex II of the report now before the Assembly. The Preparatory Committee was aware of the mandate given to the Committee on Disarmament to elaborate a comprehensive programme of disarmament and was careful, therefore, not to confront this special session with two competing texts on the same subject.

73. I should now like to draw the attention of the Assembly especially to the recommendations contained in paragraphs 40 to 54 of the report. It was the desire of members of the Preparatory Committee to save the special session from having to devote any of the short time available to it to a prolonged consideration of matters of procedure which will necessarily have to be resolved. I am happy to say that the Preparatory Committee succeeded in agreeing on an all-embracing series of recommendations that cover all the conceivable important issues of procedure that could be anticipated. These recommendations cover, *inter alia*, the duration of the general debate, the allocation of items between the plenary and the committee of the whole, the creation of working groups and the number of documents to be adopted.

74. In paragraph 52 it is recommended that the special session should adopt two documents: one containing the comprehensive programme of disarmament and the other encompassing all other items on the agenda of the special session. In paragraph 53 of the report the Preparatory Committee recommends that the President of the special session should at this opening meeting launch the World Disarmament Campaign, following a formal decision to that effect. The special session will, of course, later consider and

adopt a programme of the Campaign to be submitted by the Secretary-General.

75. Finally, in paragraph 54, the Committee recommends that four meetings of the committee of the whole, on 24 and 25 June, should be allocated for the hearing of oral statements from 56 non-governmental organizations and 23 peace and disarmament research institutes listed in annexes III and IV of the report. This recommendation represents an increase of one meeting over the number of meetings allocated for oral submissions by the non-governmental organizations during the first special session, but we thought that, as you, Mr. President, and the Secretary-General have rightly pointed out, the enthusiasm that was generated among the non-governmental organizations both as a result of the first special session and in anticipation of the second special session ought to be encouraged.

76. Having thus dealt with the main aspects of the report of the Preparatory Committee, I should like to express the hope that the Committee through its recommendations, which have been formulated after painstaking and conscientious consideration of the different views expressed by delegations, has established both a solid organizational framework and an adequate basis for the substantive deliberations of the second special session devoted to disarmament. Regarding the prospects for a successful outcome of the special session, I was very much encouraged by the conciliatory attitude and the spirit of co-operation shown by all members of the Preparatory Committee, especially during its last session, which ended a few weeks ago. It is my ardent hope that this spirit will also pervade the negotiations during the special session itself, since we must all bear in mind that the expectations aroused by this session demand that meaningful results be achieved.

77. In conclusion, I should like to express my gratitude to the officers of the Preparatory Committee for their help and constant encouragement. Special mention should be made of the two Vice-Chairmen, Mr. Hepburn of the Bahamas and Mr. Venkateswaran of India, who presided over the working groups set up by the Preparatory Committee. I should like also to single out for mention the Rapporteur, Mr. Ersun of Turkey, whose devotion to his duties contributed immeasurably to the results achieved by the Preparatory Committee. My deep gratitude goes to the Secretary-General, who showed a lively interest in the work of the Preparatory Committee during its last session, notwithstanding his preoccupation with current issues at that time. My gratitude also goes to the staff of the United Nations Centre for Disarmament, and especially to the Secretary of the Preparatory Committee, whose constant assistance was of immense value to the Committee and to me as its Chairman.

78. The PRESIDENT: I thank the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for his report. The General Assembly is indeed grateful to him and to those who participated in the Preparatory Committee's work for their efforts to expedite our business and get the second special session devoted to disarmament off to a good start.

79. May I take it that the General Assembly endorses the recommendations of the Preparatory Committee concerning the establishment of an *Ad Hoc* Committee, the creation of working groups and the documents to be adopted?

It was so decided (decision S-12/21).

80. I take it that the General Assembly wishes now to approve the report of the Preparatory Committee [A/S-12/1], just submitted, and the recommendations contained therein.

It was so decided (decision S-12/22).

81. The PRESIDENT: On the basis of the decision just taken by the General Assembly and the practice of previous special sessions, the chairmen of the Main Committees of the thirty-sixth session who are present at this special session—the Chairman of the First Committee, Mr. Ignac Golob of Yugoslavia; the Chairman of the Special Political Committee, Mr. Nathan Irumba of Uganda; the Chairman of the Third Committee, Mr. Declan O'Donovan of Ireland; the Chairman of the Fourth Committee, Mr. Jasim Yousif Jamal of Qatar; the Chairman of the Fifth Committee, Mr. Abdul-Rahman Abdalla of Sudan; and the Chairman of the Sixth Committee, Mr. Juan José Calle y Calle of Peru—will serve in the same capacity at the special session.

82. The Secretariat has been informed that, pending the arrival of Mr. Leandro Verceles, Chairman of the Second Committee, Mr. Arturo Tolentino of the Philippines will replace him.

It was so decided (decision S-12/13).

83. The Vice-Presidents of the thirty-sixth session—who are the representatives of the following Member States: Australia, Benin, Botswana, China, Cuba, Cyprus, France, Indonesia, Mexico, Morocco, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Rwanda, Seychelles, Sweden, Togo, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America—will serve in the same capacity at the twelfth special session.

It was so decided (decision S-12/14).

84. Concerning the election of the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Twelfth Special Session, who will also be a member of the General Committee, I call on the representative of Cuba.

85. Mr. GONZALEZ LOPEZ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I have the honour, on behalf of the delegation of Cuba, to congratulate you as the officer who will preside over the work of this second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which promises to be a landmark in the consideration of this important subject by the international community. We are sure that your experience will contribute decisively to the success of this event, which has awakened such great interest and aroused such great expectations in the world community.

86. My delegation has asked for the floor at this initial stage of our deliberations, as chairman of the group of non-aligned countries, to nominate the

Ambassador of Nigeria, Mr. Oluyemi Adeniji, as Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the session.

87. Mr. Adeniji has an extensive diplomatic background, going back 22 years, which is well known and respected in the United Nations, particularly for his valuable contributions to the consideration of disarmament items. We have had the opportunity to work with Mr. Adeniji on a number of occasions and to observe his outstanding personal qualities and his acknowledged capacity for work and for taking advantageous initiatives. From 1960 Mr. Adeniji represented his country in various world capitals and at the United Nations and at IAEA. From 1977 to 1981 he was Ambassador of Nigeria to Switzerland and permanent representative to the United Nations Office at Geneva. At present he is in charge of the Department of European Affairs in the Foreign Ministry of Nigeria.

88. We particularly recall the active role played by Mr. Adeniji when the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was held in 1978. At that time he was the brilliant Co-ordinator of the Drafting Group on Nuclear Disarmament Measures for the Working Group dealing with the Programme of Action. On behalf of his country he also introduced the proposal to establish a programme of fellowships on disarmament, which has been functioning successfully since 1979.

89. To conclude this brief presentation, I merely wish to add that Mr. Adeniji presided over the United Nations Conference on Prohibitions or Restrictions of Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects, which adopted a convention and three protocols. Since 1980 he has presided over the meetings of the Preparatory Committee for the Second Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament, during which time his abilities were decisive in the success that was achieved.

90. For all these reasons, we are convinced that his election will prove of great benefit in the important activities we are beginning today.

91. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): In my capacity as chairman of the group of Eastern European States, I wish to extend to you, Sir, most cordial congratulations on your election to the office of President of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. We are convinced that under your able chairmanship the second special session will be able to accomplish its function as a highly important world forum which must live up to the peoples' demands for and aspirations to peace and disarmament. Today as never before the peoples place their hopes and expectations in the work of the United Nations. They undoubtedly expect this session of the General Assembly, under your experienced guidance, to decide, above all, on concrete measures to prevent nuclear war, to halt the arms race and to limit and gradually abolish nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction.

92. I feel both greatly honoured and pleased to support, in my capacity as chairman of the group of Eastern European States, the proposal submitted by the representative of the Republic of Cuba on the candidacy of Mr. Oluyemi Adeniji of Nigeria for the

post of Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the special session. This proposal, which has been made on behalf of the non-aligned countries, is a high tribute to the outstanding merits of Mr. Adeniji in his commitment to the noble goal of halting the arms race and achieving disarmament. At the same time, the proposal reflects the important role of the non-aligned movement in the efforts to ensure peace and disarmament.

93. The candidacy has been most persuasively supported by the representative of Cuba. In addition, I might point out one further aspect. Under the chairmanship of Mr. Adeniji the Preparatory Committee for the special session has done constructive work and dealt with important issues. There has been wide agreement in the Committee that progress in the vital area of disarmament should indeed be possible, at a time marked by aggravated international relations and exacerbated tensions, provided all the parties concerned share the will for constructive co-operation and jointly meet the great responsibility for preventing a nuclear catastrophe and ensuring a peaceful future for all mankind and its existence in security and prosperity.

94. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): I should like first, Sir, to renew our sincere congratulations on your unanimous re-election to preside over this crucial session on disarmament. The leaders of the delegations of the Western European and other States will have the opportunity to renew their congratulations to you in the forthcoming days.

95. As you and the Secretary-General have so forthrightly indicated, and as we can all see with consternation and regret, we live in cruelly, even senselessly, tormented times. As never before, with deeper awareness and in greater numbers, hundreds of millions of people throughout the world, men and women, rich and poor, young and old, without distinction as to race or religion, will focus their attention on this session with renewed hope, tempered by realism, that the tangible progress we seek will not elude us in the crucial weeks ahead. It is therefore all the more essential that, with the benefit of our studies and experience so far, we redouble our efforts in the future. It is only proper that as we embark on our work we should utilize the services of the best expertise we have available to aid us.

96. The countries on whose behalf I am privileged to speak today, the members of the group of Western European and Other States, representing shades of opinion that span three continents and including countries large and small, see in the person of Mr. Adeniji of Nigeria not only an experienced diplomat but also a dedicated humanist who has worked tirelessly and efficiently for the common goals we seek. Consequently, on their behalf I am pleased to second the nomination of Mr. Adeniji, a distinguished son of Africa and a cherished colleague, for the post of Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Twelfth Special Session of the General Assembly, the second special session on disarmament.

97. The details of Mr. Adeniji's distinguished career have already been highlighted by the representative of Cuba. His work on the Preparatory Committee needs no introduction. I shall therefore limit myself to

extending an assurance from the members of the group of Western European and Other States to the Chairman designate that on his merited election he will enjoy the confidence and willing co-operation of us all so as to help him in the difficult tasks he faces. His warm personality and charm, his skill in negotiations, give us the benefit of a good start. Success, of course, does not depend only on the Chairman and his colleagues in the bureau. It is a collective contribution to which we, for our part, will endeavour to make a maximum contribution.

98. Mr. ERSUN (Turkey): I should like first, Sir, as the current chairman of the group of Asian States, to extend to you my warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the second special session devoted to disarmament. I need not dwell on your outstanding qualities, which are well known to every delegation here. I wish only to add that I fully share the views expressed by the representative of Nigeria in his statement nominating you for the presidency of this special session. Under your able guidance and proved leadership we are embarking today on a course of work that may lead to conclusions of unparalleled importance.

99. On this important occasion I should like to say a few words, on behalf of the group of Asian States, on the nomination of Mr. Adeniji of Nigeria for Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee. His election would undoubtedly contribute greatly to our work in the days to come. As members of the group of Asian States, we are totally confident that under his chairmanship we would all enjoy nothing less than superb leadership. He is a dear friend to us, and his qualities, not only as a very able diplomat but also as a leading figure in various collective disarmament efforts in the past, are well known to everyone. Suffice it to cite only the successful conclusion of the Conference on Prohibitions or Restrictions of Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects and the progress achieved in the meetings of the Preparatory Committee, paving the way to the opening of this special session, as ample testimony to those qualities of outstanding leadership.

100. Therefore, on behalf of the group of Asian States, I warmly support the candidacy of Mr. Adeniji as Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and I offer him, through you, Mr. President, a sincere pledge of full co-operation by the group in the efforts to come.

101. The PRESIDENT: Members have heard the nomination of Mr. Oluyemi Adeniji of Nigeria for Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the special session.

102. In the absence of any objection, I declare Mr. Adeniji elected by acclamation as Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Twelfth Special Session of the General Assembly.

*It was so decided (decision S-12/15).**

103. The PRESIDENT: I congratulate Mr. Adeniji on behalf of the General Assembly and on my own behalf and wish him well in the difficult task ahead of him.

* For the election of the other officers of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, see also A/S-12/AC.1/PV.1, p. 7.

104. The General Committee for the twelfth special session of the General Assembly has now been fully constituted.

Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations

105. The PRESIDENT: I should now like, in keeping with the established practice, to invite the attention of the General Assembly to document A/S-12/25, which contains a letter addressed to me by the Secretary-General informing the Assembly of the situation with regard to the Member States in arrears in the payment of their financial contributions to the United Nations within the terms of Article 19 of the Charter.

AGENDA ITEM 7

Adoption of the agenda (A/S-12/10)

106. The PRESIDENT: The provisional agenda of the twelfth special session of the General Assembly, consisting of 14 items, appears in document A/S-12/10. In order to expedite its work, the Assembly may wish to adopt the provisional agenda in the plenary meeting without referring it to the General Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly agrees to this procedure?

It was so decided.

107. The PRESIDENT: The provisional agenda has already been endorsed by the General Assembly. May I therefore take it that the Assembly adopts the provisional agenda as it appears in document A/S-12/10?

The agenda was adopted (decision S-12/23).

108. The PRESIDENT: Regarding the allocation of items, the Preparatory Committee recommends in paragraph 42 of its report that, while items 1 to 8 and 14 should be dealt with by the General Assembly in plenary meetings, the Assembly should allocate items 9 to 13 to the *Ad Hoc* Committee, which would be entrusted with the task of considering all the proposals submitted under those items during the special session and reporting to the Assembly.

109. May I take it that the General Assembly approves those proposals by the Preparatory Committee?

It was so decided (decision S-12/23).

110. The PRESIDENT: With regard to item 13 (b) of the agenda, the General Assembly a few minutes ago endorsed the report of its Preparatory Committee and its recommendations. Those recommendations include, *inter alia*, the steps to be taken in connexion with the launching of the World Disarmament Campaign. The Committee recommended:

“At its 41st meeting, on 14 May, the Committee recommended that the President of the special session of the General Assembly should launch the

World Disarmament Campaign at the opening meeting of the session, following a formal decision to that effect. It also recommended that the President of the General Assembly should carry out the consultations he deemed appropriate in connexion with the best modalities of pledging contributions to the Campaign. At the 38th meeting, on 12 May, the Assistant Secretary-General of the Centre for Disarmament presented a tentative outline of some of the elements of a programme for the World Disarmament Campaign to the Preparatory Committee at its request. The Committee took note of the outline and recommended that the General Assembly should request the Secretary-General to submit a programme of the Campaign for consideration and adoption by the Assembly at the second special session.” [See A/S-12/1, para. 53.]

111. May I take it that in endorsing the report and the recommendations of the Preparatory Committee the General Assembly approves this recommendation?

It was so decided.

112. The PRESIDENT: It follows from this recommendation just approved by the General Assembly that when launching the World Disarmament Campaign, using the solemn occasion of our opening meeting, Member States are looking forward to the consideration and adoption of a draft programme for the Campaign on the basis of the report to be submitted by the Secretary-General. As the Assembly knows, the agenda recommended by the Preparatory Committee and already adopted by the Assembly provides ample opportunity for doing so.

113. As requested, I have conducted consultations on the subject with representatives of delegations in connexion with the best modalities of pledging contributions to the Campaign. It appears from these exchanges that, while some delegations may prefer to wait until the discussion of the Secretary-General's report before making commitments, others would like to avail themselves of the opportunity of the general debate, during which they would be making pledges. I believe either of the suggested alternatives is feasible and both procedures have their merits.

114. I therefore now have the honour and pleasure solemnly to declare that, as the first substantive step taken by this second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the World Disarmament Campaign has been officially opened.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *The Relationship between Disarmament and Development* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.IX.1), para. 391.

² *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 49.*