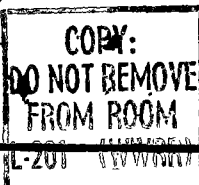


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THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION

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FIRST COMMITTEE
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Chairman: Mr. GBEHO (Ghana)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 39 TO 57, 133, 136, 138 AND 139 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. HANDL (Czechoslovakia): Our Committee faces tasks that are by no means small, tasks relating to the key issues of today: preventing nuclear catastrophe, and doing everything to halt the arms race and to strengthen international security.

Those tasks are all the more significant in the current international situation, which has been further complicated as a result not of something beyond our control but of the initiation of dangerous actions by the circles of imperialism - American imperialism in particular - which are stepping up the rate of the arms race in an effort to disturb international stability and to achieve military superiority. They are advocating doctrines of limited nuclear war, preventive nuclear strikes, protracted nuclear war, winnable nuclear war and other doctrines based on the first use of nuclear weapons. By developing ever new, more perfect and more destructive types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, they lower the threshold separating us from the actual use of nuclear weapons. They pursue a policy of strength, threats and diktat. They try to expand "spheres of influence" and to impose their will on other States and peoples.

In that way they are undermining the only realistic foundation for the solution of outstanding international problems, that is, the foundation of negotiations based on mutual respect, independence and sovereignty, equality and the legitimate interests of all parties.

New conflicts and crisis situations arise, and world economic problems are becoming more acute. All that poses a growing threat to peace, to the independence of nations, to détente and to peaceful international co-operation.

(Mr. Handl, Czechoslovakia)

In this situation, we do not see any task more urgent than the adoption of effective, realistic and concrete measures as would lead in the direction of actually eliminating the danger of a nuclear apocalypse, halting the arms race, consolidating peace and, in real terms, strengthening international security, because, as was noted in his statement in the general debate by Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chmoupek:

"In the conditions of the nuclear age there is no other reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence in relations among States"

(A/37/PV.21, p. 56)

- that is, the development of such international relations as would not only eliminate the danger of war and the arms race but, at the same time, through the fruitful advancement of international co-operation, encourage the economic and social development of States in general and of the developing countries in particular.

Czechoslovakia, together with the other socialist countries, has always proceeded and continues to proceed from this basic political reality. All of the wide-ranging sets of constructive disarmament proposals of the Socialist countries are imbued with profound concern for the fate of peace and the desire to prevent nuclear war and achieve tangible progress in disarmament on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security. One also has to realize that not a single incentive to increased armaments has originated from the Socialist countries. The countries of the socialist community have never conceived any doctrines for waging aggressive, limited or global war, either nuclear or conventional, nor have they ever striven for military superiority.

Today too this continues to be our guiding precept in seeking answers to the key issues of today and tomorrow. It is reflected in our active and constructive approach to disarmament negotiations and to the safeguarding of international security.

As was stated in the communiqué adopted by the session of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty States held in Moscow on 21 and 22 October:

"The participants in the session expressed their conviction that the general interest of European countries and peoples, of progressive and democratic parties and organizations, of all realistically minded circles, in the safeguarding of durable peace and security will prevail over the policy of force and confrontation. The States members of the Warsaw Treaty

(Mr. Handl, Czechoslovakia)

will continue to contribute to that end through their policies, their peaceful initiatives, their concrete proposals."

That is what we strove for also at the second special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament which, however, because of the unconstructive approach of certain States, did not fulfil the hopes placed in it by the world public. This fact notwithstanding, the second session on disarmament represents an important stage in the efforts to prevent nuclear catastrophe. It clearly demonstrated the urgency of this task and the will of the overwhelming majority of Member States, socialist and non-aligned countries, to meet it with concrete deeds. A decisive role in that respect was played by the obligation undertaken by the Soviet Union, formulated in the message of the highest Soviet representative, Leonid Brezhnev, not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. That historic step is of immense importance; it is an example of how the idea of preventing a nuclear apocalypse and of nuclear disarmament can simply and effectively be filled with tangible content. That is why we believe it necessary that other nuclear Powers too should follow this example by assuming analogous obligations.

The second session on disarmament furthermore demonstrated the strength of the peace movement throughout the world, which is an important part of the struggle against war and for disarmament. The World Disarmament Campaign, which Czechoslovakia fully supports, can give new impetus to the movement and stimulate its development as an expression of the will of the peoples of the world to put an end to the feverish nuclear arms race and to the enormous squandering of resources that could be used much more reasonably to eliminate poverty and unemployment and to increase the prosperity of nations.

The second special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament thus clearly showed that the threat of nuclear arms hangs over mankind as a true sword of Damocles and that energetic steps must be taken to remove that menace. Czechoslovakia, therefore, actively supports the elaboration, adoption and implementation of a programme of nuclear disarmament in stages. We fully support the implementation of a broad programme of disarmament measures, including halting of the development of new systems of nuclear weapons, halting of the production of fissionable materials for the development of various types of nuclear arms, halting of the production of all types of nuclear warheads and their carriers and the gradual reduction of the stockpiles of nuclear weapons till their

(Mr. Handl, Czechoslovakia)

complete elimination. We have also repeatedly expressed our support for the concept of a mutual freeze on nuclear arsenals as a first step towards their reduction and subsequent elimination.

We welcomed the opening of Soviet-American talks on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms, on the results of which the overall prospects of nuclear disarmament largely depend. We believe it necessary that both sides approach these talks with equal responsibility and seriousness, because at this point it is necessary that the talks continue constructively towards an agreement reached on the basis of respect for the legitimate interests of both sides and, above all, the principle of equality and equal security -- and, of course, while preserving all the positive results that have already been achieved. The talks must not be misused as a mere screen for continued feverish arming or for attempts at disturbing the present approximate parity. The Soviet proposals are based on precisely the aforementioned principles and, in our view, deserve to be followed.

As a Central European country that has not been spared any major conflict in that part of the world, Czechoslovakia is also vitally interested in the achievement of positive results in the Soviet-American talks on the limitation and reduction of nuclear arms in Europe. In this case, too, we believe that it is necessary to follow the expression of sincere political will to reach agreement demonstrated by the Soviet Union through such initiatives as the unilateral moratorium -- both qualitative and quantitative -- on the further deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in the European part of the Soviet Union, the halting of the construction of launching facilities and the substantial unilateral reduction of the number of such missiles. Those talks can be successful if they are steered in the direction of working out -- again on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security -- such an agreement as would envisage the radical reduction and effective limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe to the lowest possible level.

The successful solution of these timely questions is all the more important since further concentration of these weapons in Europe would unbearably increase the risk of a possible conflict and would launch yet further rounds of the arms race. Thus what is at stake is the security of Europe; this would not be strengthened but, on the contrary, it would be deeply undermined. In this context too we should like to express again our support for the view that the most effective solution would be the complete liquidation of all nuclear weapons - strategic, medium-range and tactical weapons - of course with the participation of all nuclear Powers. The resources thus released at each stage of nuclear disarmament could be fully applied to peaceful purposes, including effective assistance to developing countries.

A decisive contribution to nuclear disarmament would be made by an immediate discontinuation and prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. Czechoslovakia therefore welcomes as most timely the Soviet draft of the fundamental provisions of an agreement on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, referred to in draft resolution A/C.1/37/L.6. We give it our full support and shall strive in the Geneva Committee for the respective negotiations to be initiated without delay. We proceed from the assumption that such a prohibition would not only prevent the continued perfecting of nuclear weapons and the development of new types of such weapons, but would simultaneously also strengthen the nuclear non-proliferation régime.

Czechoslovakia attaches great importance to the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and has consistently supported the universality of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The non-proliferation régime, as well as international stability, would greatly benefit from the conclusion of an international agreement not to deploy nuclear weapons in those countries where as yet they are not stationed and to refrain for the time being from further steps in the deployment of nuclear weapons on the territories of other States.

A significant step towards preventing nuclear catastrophe and ensuring the safe development of nuclear energy would be made by adopting the draft resolutions contained in document A/C.1/37/L.7 which, as we indicated earlier, we fully support.

(Mr. Handl, Czechoslovakia)

As a non-nuclear State we attach great importance to the question of working out an agreement on strengthening the security safeguards of non-nuclear countries. We are fully in favour of granting such safeguards to those States which do not possess nuclear weapons and do not permit their deployment on their territories. We wish to point out that the obligation assumed by the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, which in itself represents a guarantee for the non-nuclear States from one of the nuclear Powers, is also of extraordinary importance in this context.

A very significant step towards preventing nuclear catastrophe would be made by concluding an agreement prohibiting the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons. At this point we think it is necessary to establish a special group of experts in the Geneva Committee on Disarmament to tackle this question. The group's work can provide a spring-board for the initiation of substantive negotiations on the prohibition of the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. One has to realize that unless concrete results are achieved in this field in the foreseeable future, we may witness in the years to come yet further, equally dangerous steps, such as the decision by the United States last year to launch the production of neutron weapons.

A task of particular importance in our view, especially when we take into account the negative position of the United States on the continuation of bilateral negotiations with the USSR, is the activation of work on an international convention on the complete prohibition of the development, production and use of chemical weapons and on the liquidation of their stockpiles. This convention would, of course, provide for verification which, along with the use of national means, would also include international procedures such as on-the-spot inspection on an agreed basis. The necessary basis on which to proceed is provided by the draft of the basic provisions of a convention on chemical weapons, including questions of verification, submitted by the Soviet Union. However, we have to note with concern that the Geneva Committee on Disarmament, despite the extension of the working group's mandate, has not as yet initiated the drafting of the text of the convention in the true sense of the word. Any further procrastination in the solution of this question is dangerous. The United States has already started the production of binary chemical weapons and their further modifications are

being developed. That is one of the reasons why we advocate that States should refrain from steps that could complicate negotiations on the agreement and, above all, should refrain from deploying chemical weapons in those countries where they are currently not stationed.

While on the subject of chemical weapons, we wish to denounce once again the malicious propaganda campaigns concerning their alleged use by this or that Socialist country. The true objective of those behind this campaign is nothing but an effort to draw attention from their own development of new types of these horrible weapons of mass destruction, including binary weapons.

As a State which is actively participating in the peaceful exploration of outer space, we consider the prohibition of the stationing of any weapons in outer space very important and most timely. The Geneva Committee on Disarmament should embark without delay on the preparation of an appropriate international treaty, a draft of which has been available since last year.

We regard the Geneva Committee on Disarmament as an irreplaceable negotiating body on questions of disarmament. We are an active participant in it. We are consistently working for negotiations to be initiated in the Committee on further vitally important questions, including the prohibition of neutron and radiological weapons and the completion of the comprehensive programme of disarmament. However, we should not stand idly by when the creative energy of that Committee is misused as a mere screen for armaments. Those Western countries which proceed in this way have to accept the blame for the fact that the productivity of that Committee is so badly lagging behind the needs of the time.

As a European country, we are eminently interested in the further peaceful development of that continent. Therefore, as was reaffirmed in the communique from the Moscow session of the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Warsaw Treaty States, we are in favour of a successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting of States signatories of the Helsinki Final Act, which is to be resumed shortly. It is in our interest that it should be concluded as soon as possible by the adoption of a substantive and balanced final document containing - and that in our view is particularly important - the mandate for the convening of a conference on confidence-building measures, security and disarmament in Europe. We are convinced that the draft of the final document submitted by the neutral and non-aligned countries provides a good basis for the successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting. What is needed now, to that end, is only the political will of all the participating States.

(Mr. Handl, Czechoslovakia)

Speaking of Europe, we cannot overlook the importance of the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe in which my country is a direct participant. We have to note with regret that neither in the last draft of the Western participants did we find a retreat from the old concepts, in particular from the old asymmetrical model of reduction, motivated by an endeavour to gain considerable unilateral military advantage. In other words, we did not find a constructive response to the compromise proposals of the socialist States formulated in the draft agreement of last February, a draft which we are convinced is an equitable basis on which to proceed without delay with the drafting of the text of an agreement. That is, after many years of impasse, to embark on a road leading to the achievement of concrete results.

Czechoslovakia attaches importance also to disarmament measures in the field of conventional weapons. This has already been attested to by the fact that it was among the first to ratify 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.

We are convinced that the cause of disarmament would also benefit from other measures that, in Czechoslovakia's view, are of great importance. We refer here first of all to the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones, not only in Europe, but also in other parts of the world. We therefore support proposals for their establishment in northern Europe, on the Balkan peninsula, in Africa and in the Middle East. We believe that special attention in this context should be devoted to the question of convening a conference on transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace which, for well-known reasons, is constantly being postponed. Of equally great importance would be the transformation of South-East Asia and the Mediterranean into regions of lasting peace and fruitful co-operation.

We fully share the views so forcefully voiced in this Committee about the inseparable interrelation between disarmament and international security. We have always asserted that disarmament measures must be accompanied by political and legal guarantees of the security of States. We do so here again. We proceed from the premise that the most effective measure in this respect would

(Mr. Handl, Czechoslovakia)

be the speedy conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations that would significantly strengthen the system of collective security on the basis of the Charter of our Organization. Unfortunately, it is precisely the United States and other NATO countries which have, from the very beginning, blocked its drafting, which has been on the negotiating table for a number of years now.

Numerous statements in the general debate of the thirty-seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly and here in the First Committee pointed out that the possibility of reaching progress in questions of disarmament and simultaneously in the question of creating political and legal guarantees of the security of States depends to a decisive degree on the political will of the negotiation participants to reach the results that are expected. Undoubtedly one of the basic prerequisites of such political will is the readiness of States for constructive mutual co-operation helping to overcome the problems that arise and to resolve disputes in a fruitful climate of respect for the interests of all participants and for the principles of equality and equal security. Czechoslovakia has always adhered to the opinion that in the interest of creating a favourable international climate, in the interest of détente, which facilitates the solution of even the most complex problems, States should concentrate on what they have in common and not vice versa. Guided by this approach, we came forward with the initiative for the adoption of a Declaration on International Co-operation for Disarmament, which was adopted by the General Assembly in 1979 with the support of the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations. The ideas contained in the Declaration are, in our view, timely even now. And more than that, in the light of the tense and complex situation that has developed in international relations, they have gained new importance. Taking this fact into account, the Czechoslovak delegation will, at a later stage of our work, submit concrete proposals on this question.

Let me assure members of the Committee in conclusion that the delegation of Czechoslovakia is fully prepared to co-operate actively with all delegations in the spirit of a constructive dialogue facilitating the elimination of the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, the relaxation of international tension, the halting of the arms race and the achievement of tangible results in disarmament.

Mr. ALEINIK (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Developments over the last few years and the trends that are emerging in the arms race, which is being intensified by the aggressive forces, primarily the United States of America, and the plans they have publicized about giving fuller material effect to those trends lead us to an indisputable conclusion, namely, that there is no task more vital in the world today than removing the threat of nuclear war that is now hanging over the human race and achieving a halt to the nuclear-arms race. The unprecedentedly broad anti-war movement among the public and the concern expressed by most representatives of States at the second special session of the General Assembly on disarmament and also at this session of the General Assembly show that the conclusion that this is the main threat, and accordingly the main task, facing the human race is shared by people throughout the world. In other words, the collective wisdom of the human race says: it is time to stop this; it is time to change.

And indeed the arms race, including the nuclear-arms race, is catching up and overtaking measures to curb it. The nuclear arsenals of States are increasing the already horrifying potential for multiple elimination of everything that is alive, and swelling the already wasteful and, in the final analysis, senseless expenditure of trillions in money that is spent further to refine means for destroying people. Moreover, doctrines are now being evolved declaring that a nuclear strike is permissible, and even acceptable, and mad plans are being developed to try to win such a nuclear catastrophe and then, in a cloud of radiation, to dictate political conditions among the still smoking ruins and remnants.

In recent years, dangerous aspects have developed in the area of weaponry which were not to be found earlier. Systems of weaponry are being developed, primarily weapons of mass destruction, which can make their monitoring or verification, and accordingly their limitation and reduction, extremely complex, if not even impossible. Furthermore, this increasing sophistication of new systems of nuclear weapons which have now acquired surgical precision and the shortening to the minimum of the time one has after knowing that an attack has started, inevitably increase the potential for a possible aggressor to launch a nuclear strike first. And all these factors destabilize even further the strategic situation.

Mankind has now reached a stage at which it is literally vitally essential to stop this accelerating motion towards complete disaster and death. It is still possible to stop, but there is no time to lose.

It is essential to oppose such anti-human doctrines, which would threaten the complete annihilation of life on earth and which would invoke the use of more dangerous systems of nuclear and other weapons.

The General Assembly's Declaration on the Prevention of Nuclear Catastrophe was an important milestone. It declared the first use of nuclear weapons the gravest crime against humanity. In connection with that Declaration, the Soviet Union undertook the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. That was indisputably a step of historic significance confirming the unwaveringly peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union. It was also an example of a concrete, tangible step, taken voluntarily and unilaterally, which helps to reduce the nuclear threat and to strengthen the security of peoples. If the nuclear Powers which are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) were to follow the example of the Soviet Union and make comparable declarations, that would be tantamount to a general prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

Yesterday, the United States delegation attempted to question the concept of the non-first use of nuclear weapons. In this connection it is certainly worth drawing that delegation's attention to the statement on this matter made by the Committee on War and Peace of the United States National Conference of Catholic Bishops in its pastoral letter:

"We do not perceive any situation in which the deliberate initiation of nuclear warfare, on however restricted a scale, can be morally justified".

When the United States delegation quoted from that letter it preferred "not to notice" that particular passage.

The problem of preventing nuclear war is closely linked to the need to prevent war as such. The world community is now faced with the problem of how to exclude the use of force in any form, whether through nuclear or conventional weapons.

(Mr. Aleinik, Byelorussian SSR)

The United States concern that the concept of non-first use of nuclear weapons supposedly implies the use of conventional weapons is, to put it mildly, hypocritical. In 1979, the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty proposed to all the participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe that a treaty be concluded on the non-first use of both nuclear and conventional weapons. More than three years have passed since that time. Where is the positive reaction of the United States? There has been none.

An effective step towards the prevention of all war, both nuclear and non-nuclear, would be the conclusion of an international treaty on the non-use of force. Who is placing artificial obstacles in the way of drafting such a treaty in the relevant United Nations bodies? Once again, the United States and some of its friends. Yet the conclusion of such a treaty would indisputably be in the interests of the entire human race; such a treaty would make the relevant principle of the United Nations Charter into an inviolable law of international life.

Political measures and international legal measures to strengthen security need to be supplemented in tangible ways, by practical steps towards genuine disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament. In order to minimize and ultimately eliminate the nuclear threat it is essential to achieve a radical goal: the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. As far back as 1977, the Soviet Union proposed a prohibition of the production of nuclear weapons in all their forms and a phased reduction of stockpiles until their ultimate elimination. That proposal was further developed and later became a phased programme of nuclear disarmament, in which one of the first stages would be a halt to the development of new nuclear-weapon systems.

The nuclear arms race proceeds in accordance with the principle of "action-reaction". The United States was the first to begin the production of nuclear bombs, strategic bombers, nuclear submarines, missiles with multiple independently-targeted warheads, and cruise missiles, and each time that a new weapon appeared it was a threat to the stability of the world strategic balance. In those circumstances, the Soviet Union was forced to take the necessary steps.

It is time to break out of this vicious circle, particularly since the newest nuclear-weapon systems put international stability to a particularly dangerous and difficult test. An important role in the resolution of this problem could be

played by a treaty on the full and complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. That is what the Soviet Union has proposed in its initiative entitled "Immediate cessation and prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests". If all testing of such weapons is prohibited, then any new and more sophisticated systems will remain in their laboratory "cradles", which would curb the development of technology for use in achieving a qualitatively new nuclear superiority. In that way the régime of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons would also be strengthened.

(Mr. Aleinik, Byelorussian SSR)

In the light of these desirable results, the reaction of the present United States Administration to the drafting of such a treaty clearly confirms the existence of dangerous intentions. At the Spring session of the Committee on Disarmament in 1982 the Director of the United States Agency on Arms Control and Disarmament said:

"We do not believe that in the present circumstances a comprehensive test ban would help to reduce the threat of nuclear weapons or to maintain the stability of the nuclear balance."

As we can see, by repudiating an internationally recognized goal which, incidentally, was enshrined in a commitment entered into by the United States under the 1963 Treaty on the suspension of nuclear-weapon tests in the three environments and the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the United States representative is trying to slip through terminological loopholes. However, if that is compared with the public statements made for domestic consumption in the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and a statement made in May 1982, the reason for abandoning this goal of a test ban for nuclear weapons can be seen to emerge more clearly and more openly, one might say: that is, "the need to establish the new systems of weapons and to update them".

The position was described even more plainly in December 1981 by the Chief of the United States Yucca Flats Test Site, which is used for nuclear tests:

"The current Administration is demonstrating incomparably greater enthusiasm on this question of nuclear-weapons test than the preceding Administration."

It was on United Nations Day that The New York Times reported that the United States had carried out more nuclear-weapon tests in this one year of 1982 than in any other year since 1970.

A good deal of constructive work has been done towards the prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, the basis for which was the 1963 Moscow Treaty, which prohibited the parties to that Treaty from engaging in tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. In 1974 and 1976 the Soviet Union and the

(Mr. Aleinik, Byelorussian SSR)

United States signed treaties on the limitation of underground nuclear-weapon tests and nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Very important work was also done in the talks between the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom on the question of a full and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. For over three years -- that is, until the talks were broken off by the United States -- it was possible to work positively on many complicated aspects of this problem, and that created good conditions for a successful conclusion.

An objective analysis of the situation that has now developed shows that all that is required for the conclusion of a treaty on a full and comprehensive nuclear-weapon test ban exists at present. All that is needed is the political will of the States involved. The initiative of the Soviet Union at this session of the General Assembly offers another opportunity for a demonstration of the political will that is so greatly needed. The draft of the fundamental provisions for such a treaty which has been submitted for consideration at this session takes into account all the positive achievements of many years of consideration of this problem of the prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests in various forums and it also reflects additional comments made by many States, in particular on questions of monitoring compliance with the proposed treaty.

Statements by the United States delegation to the effect that the new Soviet initiative lacks any provisions on verification simply do not correspond to the facts: such provisions are there in response to the need to ensure compliance with the treaty and they are realistic and generally acceptable in their nature. We are in favour of verification, particularly when one is dealing with a party which, like the United States, is known for not complying with its obligations and even for repudiating commitments into which it has entered. Our delegation hopes that this timely initiative of the Soviet Union will help to release this question of a nuclear-weapon- test ban from the deadlock in which it finds itself at present. The creation of favourable conditions for drafting a treaty would also be helped considerably by a moratorium on nuclear explosions as proposed by the Soviet Union. It would be

(Mr. Aleinik, Byelorussian SSR)

a moratorium declared by all nuclear-weapons State beginning on an agreed date, with effect right up to the conclusion of the treaty. |

Another important step would be the ratification of the Soviet-United States treaties of 1974 and 1976. Reports about a United States desire to revise these treaties are indeed disturbing. On the other hand, the willingness displayed by the Soviet Union at this session to ratify the treaties immediately on a reciprocal basis and its willingness to resume the tripartite talks with the United States and the United Kingdom are very constructive.

The Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty held a meeting a week ago in which it came out strongly in support of an immediate resumption of those talks that were broken off by the United States Government. It made an urgent appeal to all interested parties, acting in a spirit of good will and political responsibility, to work towards a rapid conclusion of that treaty.

It is to be hoped that consideration in the First Committee of the proposals of the Soviet Union and of the issue of the prohibition of nuclear tests in general will be unbiased and directed towards positive results. That would create favourable conditions for actual progress in the right direction in the Committee on Disarmament as well. A world with no nuclear-weapon tests would be a more stable, safer and healthier place. Therefore we feel that this item should be given high priority among the range of measures to limit nuclear weapons and achieve nuclear disarmament.

Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (Angola): On behalf of my delegation, Sir, may I be allowed to congratulate you on your election to the chairmanship of the First Committee, whose work may ultimately spell out the fate of this planet. I also welcome the staff members of the Office.

In the past few years the debate on disarmament has intensified and expanded to cover an increasing number of issues. No longer is disarmament a question of simply cutting back on the production of weapons, it encompasses wider measures on the prevention of conflict and war and the ever-closer relationship between disarmament and development. Of the 23 items included

(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

in the present debate, I shall confine my remarks to those that are of particular concern to the People's Republic of Angola.

For obvious reasons, one such item is the implementation of the Declaration on the denuclearization of Africa. It is Africa's misfortune and tragedy that the one fully operational nuclear capability on its continent should be in the hands of the illegitimate, racist, non-representative minority régime, and its nuclear capability is used, or its use is threatened, against southern Africa's independent States and also to deny the people of the illegally-occupied territory of Namibia their inalienable right to self-determination and freedom. It is also used to oppress the majority of the inhabitants of South Africa itself and to deny them their human, civil, political and economic rights.

(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

South Africa's State terrorism, its armed aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and its continuing military occupation of parts of southern Angola rests largely on the apartheid régime's military and nuclear capability, which has been acquired through the co-operation of some of the racist régime's western, industrialized allies. For example, in May 1982 the United States Administration decided to adopt "a more flexible policy" on the sale of nuclear materials to South Africa, although there is a 1978 United States law prohibiting the export of nuclear fuel to countries which do not submit their nuclear installations to international inspection. The apartheid régime has not allowed inspection of its nuclear-fuel enrichment plant and has not signed the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty. Despite this, five known export licences for purchases for South Africa's nuclear programme have been approved since May 1980. These include licences for the sale of equipment used to test the reliability of warheads and ballistic re-entry vehicles, as well as computers and analysers for data at nuclear-test sites.

Eighteen per cent of South Africa's national budget - almost \$3 billion - is spent on defence, which includes one of the world's deadliest artillery systems. South Africa's ARMSCOR, the State-owned armaments-development corporation, receives almost half of the military budget. South Africa's 155-mm howitzers, equipped with a series of radar-guided rangefinders, are capable of firing 3-kiloton "nuclear bullets" such as those supplied by the United States to members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The denuclearization of Africa will remain an empty declaration unless the arms embargo against the racist régime is more effectively implemented and monitored. Those Powers which are engaged in negotiating peace in southern Africa through independence for Namibia would do well to examine their relationship with Pretoria as regards arms and nuclear weapons; otherwise, Africa in general and southern Africa in particular will continue to be menaced by the racist régime's repressive and aggressive policies.

(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

South Africa's racist ally in the Middle East, the apartheid State of Israel, has developed a similar nuclear capability, with the assistance of Pretoria and their mutual allies. We condemn this collaboration as detrimental to peace efforts both in southern Africa and in the Middle East.

Another item of great interest to Angola, a third world developing country struggling with national reconstruction and against South African military aggression, with the burden which that imposes on our economy, is the relationship between disarmament and development. To quote Mrs. Inga Thorsson;

"The arms race and development are to be viewed in a competitive relationship. Or to put it in another way: the arms race and underdevelopment are not two problems; they are one. They must be solved together or neither will ever be solved."

The appalling connection between disarmament and development is not fully understood, even by those who talk about the \$500 billion spent each year on nuclear and conventional arms, but it is understood, in the gut, by the 600 million malnourished, the 800 million illiterate and the 1,500 million who have no access to health services. And it is not merely the earth's natural resources that are being used up at an alarming rate. The earth's most precious resource, mankind, is being viciously and violently misused and abused both in the service of military machines, and as their victims.

The production of guns and bullets and neutron bombs or the production of food and basic services - the choice is ours; or perhaps I should be more specific and say that the choice is for those who run the world's military and nuclear machines. The tragic fact is that the world's vast and poor majority are victimized by the policies and politics of a handful of Powers.

However, there are a few sane voices, and they must speak more loudly and more clearly; and the rest must listen, and support them. There is no selective annihilation or partial survival. Given the nature of advanced weapons, in particular, nuclear weapons, we shall all live or die together.

(Mr. de Figueiredo, Angola)

The Soviet Union has from time to time put forward concrete and useful suggestions on disarmament, suggestions which have the support of a number of non-aligned countries such as the People's Republic of Angola. The most recent such measure, fully supported by my delegation, is the draft resolution on the immediate cessation and prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests.

It appears that no one was too happy with the results - or lack thereof - of the second special session devoted to disarmament. We must try to salvage what we can, by applying political will and working on concrete plans. In this connection we support general and complete disarmament, the non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present and the conclusion of effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. Disparate in military status, we can at best be equals in the desire and the struggle for disarmament and survival.

Mr. AL-ALFI (Democratic Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): As we are speaking for the first time in this Committee, Mr. Chairman, please allow me to express our pleasure at seeing you preside over the Committee. We express our congratulations also to the other officers of the Committee. We are certain that, thanks to your skill and your long experience, you will be able to bring our work to the successful conclusion we all expect.

We should like also to congratulate Mr. Alfonso Garcia Robles, representative of Mexico, and Mrs. Alva Myrdal, of Sweden, on the award to them of the Nobel Peace Prize, in tribute to the efforts they have made in the field of disarmament.

(Mr. Al-Alfi, Democratic Yemen)

The discussion here of the question of disarmament reflects the importance that the majority of countries attribute to disarmament with the aim of restoring peace and denuclearization under international control. This is especially true since international relations are deteriorating and the threat of war, including nuclear war which is a threat to all mankind, is escalating. The whole world is threatened by imperialism. The imperialist military structure, the increase in the alarming nuclear race and the creation of sources of tension throughout the world are an obstacle to disarmament. The territorial integrity of peoples, their sovereignty and political independence are threatened by growing imperialist intervention. The production of the neutron bomb, theories of aggression advanced by the United States, its refusal to sign SALT II, the creation of new weapons of mass destruction, the formation and training of rapid deployment forces, its theories regarding the use of food as a political weapon, the creation of chemical weapons, all prove its aggression aimed at exercising its hegemony and military power throughout the area.

Different parts of the world today are suffering from the policies of aggression pursued by the United States, particularly in the Middle East and in southern Africa where the United States Administration is helping Pretoria and Tel Aviv. Those two racist régimes are like military. Besides having traditional weapons which they produce thanks to the help they receive from the United States and other Western countries and thanks to bilateral mutual assistance, they now have nuclear weapons and because of this threaten not only African and neighbouring Arab countries but also international peace and security.

Lebanon was recently the theatre of imperialist and Zionist aggression at its height. Israel used every type of weapon, including cluster bombs, fragmentation bombs and other weapons provided by the United States Administration. It was given the means to exterminate the Palestinian people, to practise all forms of terrorism, to bring to bear all forms of pressure to prevent the Palestinians from returning to their homeland under the auspices of their sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

(Mr. Al-Alfi, Democratic Yemen)

The Foreign Minister of my country, at the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly, raised the question of the threats which exist in the Indian Ocean. The United States Administration has been expanding its bases, particularly in Diego Garcia, and its aggressive fleets continue to move about and to engage in manoeuvres in the Arabian Sea and the Arabian Gulf. These are threats to the people of the area, threats to their independence and threats to international peace and security and bring us back to the cold war. We shall speak again on this question in the course of the general debate.

In spite of the hopes that we had placed in the second special session devoted to disarmament, in spite of the fact that we had hoped for positive results, in spite of the non-aligned countries' efforts to make that session a success, the obstacles raised by the United States Administration and its allies are most disturbing. We must redouble our efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament. We believe that the text of the Final Document of the first session on disarmament provides a good basis for the comprehensive programme of disarmament. We must make every effort at this session to secure effective implementation of the resolutions of the first special session.

In this connection Democratic Yemen attributes great importance to the initiatives taken by the socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union, to achieve disarmament, to safeguard international détente and to bring about peaceful coexistence in the world in the interest of all peoples. The fact that the Soviet Union has declared that it would never be the first to use nuclear weapons and also the initiatives adopted recently regarding a nuclear-test ban and an end to the perfecting of these weapons, are all positive steps. We would like the other partners to cease their delaying tactics, particularly the United States which continues to seek hegemony and military superiority.

We wish to stress the dangers of attempts by the United States to hinder disarmament efforts. The Secretary-General of the United Nations took up the question in his annual report to the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Al-Alfi, Democratic Yemen)

We would stress the role to be played by the United Nations in solving the world's problems. We would stress the question raised by the Foreign Minister of my country at the thirty-seventh session. He said that Democratic Yemen would make every effort to safeguard world peace and security.

We wish to stress the importance of world public opinion and the role that it can play in creating a new awareness and prevent imperialism from engaging in dilatory tactics. We stress the positive role which non-governmental organizations can play in mobilizing world public opinion in support of the resolutions adopted at the first special session on disarmament. We would reiterate the importance of public demonstrations and marches which have taken place in certain capitalist countries against nuclear weapons and for peace.

(Mr. Al-Alfi, Democratic Yemen)

Peace is desired by all peoples, but in order to achieve it we must halt the arms race; we must reallocate the vast sums spent on armaments to the development of peoples - in particular, those of the developing countries - and to the establishment of a New International Economic Order. The arms race, military development and military budgets weigh most heavily upon those who are victims of hunger, poverty and disease and hinder the advancement of the developing countries.

The central theme of the Final Document of the first special session on disarmament stresses that disarmament - nuclear disarmament in particular - is a priority question of capital importance. Disarmament, peace and development are inter-related matters which must not be separated if we are to fulfil the aspirations of our peoples to peace and stability. We must agree on the text of a convention banning nuclear tests, neutron weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, and all countries in the world must take part in negotiations on the banning of the use of those weapons and strive for global disarmament. Non-nuclear countries must be guaranteed against the threat or use of those weapons against them.

We would also stress the need for an agreement on chemical weapons, as well as for a global convention banning the use of all weapons of mass destruction. There must also be a general agreement banning the use of outer space for military purposes. If international tension can be reduced, we believe that disarmament can be achieved, provided, however, that all peoples and nations co-operate.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, my delegation assures you of its desire to co-operate with you in the successful completion of your task.

Mr. DAVIN (Gabon) (interpretation from French): Speaking here for the first time, I am particularly pleased, Sir, to extend to you the congratulations of the delegation of Gabon on your election as Chairman of the First Committee. Your accession to this high post is a tribute to your qualities as an enlightened diplomat and ensures the high tenor and success of our debates. I need hardly add that it is also a tribute to your country, Ghana, as well as to the entire African continent.

(Mr. Davin, Gabon)

My congratulations, of course, go to the other officers of the Committee, who will, we are quite sure, render valuable assistance to you in the execution of your difficult duties. Rest assured that the delegation of Gabon also will give you its full assistance, to the utmost of its ability.

Our Committee has the great honour of including among its most loyal members Ambassador Garcia Robles of Mexico, co-winner of the 1982 Nobel Peace Prize. I wish to take this occasion to extend hearty congratulations to him, as well as to the other co-winner of that prize, Mrs. Alva Myrdal of Sweden. I am convinced that Ambassador Garcia Robles will continue to give us the benefit of his invaluable experience and that, as in the past, his co-operation will be a dynamic factor in, and an additional guarantee of, the quality and success of our work.

The first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was held in 1978. Since then, far from improving, the situation has only worsened, and today we are even closer to the brink than we were four years ago. Indeed, the major Powers, far from being satisfied with their formidable stockpiles of all sorts of weapons, which they have been building up for decades and which are already more than enough to destroy life on this planet, seem to be caught up in a kind of frantic rush to self-destruction, since in the event of a confrontation none of them would survive the cataclysm.

The major Powers, on the pretext of wishing to ensure their own security, do not hesitate, in so doing, to jeopardize everyone else's security. Thus they go about inventing, developing and accumulating ever-more sophisticated and lethal weapons - weapons which, unfortunately, are more and more of a financial burden.

But what is more serious, this arms race is taking place not only among the super-Powers: little by little, like a gangrene, it has now spread to the developing countries, which, regrettably, are now devoting a significant portion of their meagre resources to it.

And there lies an important and serious aspect of the problem, because at a time when huge sums - \$600 billion a year, according to reliable estimates - are being devoted to excessive armament, in other words, to destruction and annihilation, hundreds of millions of human beings are still dying of hunger or suffering from malnutrition, disease and illiteracy.

(Mr. Davin, Gabon)

In view of the poverty gripping three quarters of mankind, the chronic under-development in third-world countries and the alarming present economic situation, nothing can justify this senseless waste of resources on armaments; for it is precisely those insane expenses which create and maintain unemployment and inflation - at least in the developing countries - since those funds are being devoted to an unproductive sector. In addition, their effect is to make those countries even more dependent on the wealthy countries. Every country wants to be stronger and better armed than its neighbour, and this calls for more foreign capital, technology and technical assistance, all of which are factors serving to increase those countries' political and economic imbalance and, hence, their vulnerability and instability.

(Mr. Davin, Gabon)

It is not unrealistic to think that a reduction in arms expenditures, and even more so, general and complete disarmament, would improve the situation in the developing countries considerably. Indeed, if that were to happen the wealthy countries could increase the portion of their income given to development assistance, which has not yet even reached the modest figure of 0.7 per cent of gross national product, the objective set by the First International Development Decade. As for the developing countries, they could finally devote themselves more to the tasks of economic construction.

Gabon strongly desires general and complete disarmament which, in addition to nuclear weapons, would include all categories of weapons, conventional, chemical and biological.

I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm Gabon's strong support for the work of the Committee on Disarmament. My delegation hopes that as a result of political will finally forthcoming from all parties, an international convention on the prohibition of nuclear-weapon testing will soon be signed. Here my delegation regrets that some countries are taking advantage of the consensus rule to obstruct the work of the Committee and thus render it ineffective.

My delegation strongly supports the idea of making Africa a nuclear-free zone, like Latin America where, since the Treaty of Tlatelolco, nuclear weapons have been prohibited. But of course the nuclear-weapon States must give security guarantees. To say the least, they do not seem to be moving in that direction.

In the opinion of my delegation, the second special session of the General Assembly on disarmament was an undeniable failure. This was because some countries did not wish to give priority to the general interest and thus showed little spirit of co-operation. Perhaps we should pay more attention to the millions of men and women who regularly demonstrate in the streets, everywhere in the world, people of all shades of political opinion, to demand an end to nuclear terror and call for peace. These men and women are trying to arouse the consciences of the major Powers, that have nuclear weapons, that new and terrifying sword of Damocles suspended over mankind.

All the fears and all the doubts that I have just expressed should not make us pessimistic. On the contrary; we still hope that common sense will prevail in the end and that everyone will be convinced eventually that general and complete disarmament is an urgent necessity for the survival of mankind.

That is particularly true in the present international situation. The world needs peace to cope, with any chance of success, with the crisis of conscience that is affecting us. It is urgently necessary to strengthen peace in the world, particularly in the developing countries, the primary victims of tension between the big Powers, and the theatres of remotely controlled conflicts, born of the arms race and of the confrontation between Power-bloc interests.

That is why my delegation welcomes the efforts of the United Nations over the past few years, efforts that have led to the conclusion of important agreements on the limitation and control of armaments. In 1959 there was the Antarctic Treaty, prohibiting all military activities in that part of the world; in 1963 there was the Moscow Treaty, prohibiting nuclear-weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water; in 1967 there was the Outer Space Treaty, prohibiting the stationing of nuclear weapons in outer space; in 1968 there was the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, that finally came into force in 1979, calling on nuclear-weapon States not to transfer, and on non-nuclear-weapon States not to accept, nuclear weapons.

Everybody agrees that these treaties are necessary for the survival of our species. However, if they are not to remain a dead letter, they must be supported by a firm political determination to implement them.

Gabon believes that the United Nations has an important role to play in the area of disarmament. Furthermore, Article 1 of the Charter says that the primary purpose of the Organization is to

"maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;".

My delegation believes that it is time to return to strict respect for the letter and the spirit of the Charter.

(Mr. Davin, Gabon)

This is a primary condition that must be fulfilled if the United Nations is to recover its full effectiveness and play its proper role. The major Powers must show a greater determination to co-operate sincerely in bringing about general and complete disarmament, and that implies that they must abandon any form of procrastination aimed only at obstructing the negotiations that we all want.

Gabon values highly the unilateral decision by one of the super-Powers not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. We think that is an important contribution to the safeguarding of peace. However, we greatly regret that this decision, the generous and positive nature of which is obvious to everyone, is so restrictive. Indeed, we would have preferred it to refer not merely to nuclear weapons, but to all weapons, and to be a renunciation of the use of any form of weapon.

(Mr. Davin, Gabon)

We would appeal to the other nuclear Powers in turn to make a declaration committing themselves to renounce the first use of the nuclear weapon and the use of force in general.

The delegation of Gabon earnestly hopes that this thirty-seventh of the General Assembly will be used to study together, seriously and honestly, ways and means to begin finally the process of such disarmament so that we can, as we are called upon to do by the United Nations Charter, save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which unfortunately has already ravaged many areas of the world and more than ever before threatens to spread into a world-wide war.

Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): Mr. Chairman, my delegation was pleased to see you, a son of Africa endowed with wisdom and vast diplomatic experience, and one with whose country my delegation enjoys friendly relations, presiding over the affairs of this important Committee, which is devoted to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the prevention of either a nuclear or a conventional holocaust that would destroy life on our planet.

Your election, Mr. Chairman, could not have taken place at a more propitious moment, given the present state of affairs in the world, in which the very existence of our States is increasingly imperilled through armed conflict, while the United Nations, entrusted with safeguarding the sovereignty and independence of small and weak nations, is increasingly perceived to be incapable of defending our independence and maintaining the peace.

We also view your election, Sir, as a tribute to your great country, Ghana, whose contribution over the years to the maintenance of international peace and security, and to its restoration when it has broken down, is a matter of public record. We therefore feel confident that under your able leadership the United Nations, through this Committee, will register significant progress in meeting its goal of world peace through collective security.

May I also, through you, Sir, extend my delegation's felicitations to the other Officers of the Committee, and also to Ambassador Garcia Robles of Mexico and Mrs. Myrdal of Sweden, the Nobel laureates, on the well-deserved recognition of their quest for world peace.

(Mr. Koroma, Sierra Leone)

My delegation is appearing before this eminent assembly today on an important and urgent matter which at once engages the very existence of all our States and indeed the existence of this Organization itself, namely, the implementation of the collective security provisions of the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

As may be recalled, the fundamental purpose of this Organization is to maintain international peace and security, and in furtherance of that fact to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and breaches of the peace, and the suppression of acts of aggression. Also in furtherance of this objective, the Charter lays down the framework for prohibitive or remedial action with a view to maintaining or restoring international peace and security whenever it has broken down.

However, since the inception of this Organization and notwithstanding the numerous occasions on which there has been an actual breach of the peace, let alone the threat thereof, no successful effort has been made in implementing the collective security provisions of the Charter, namely, concerted diplomatic, economic and military action to deter and terminate all armed attacks.

This inability to maintain the peace has come about as a result of the inability and failure on the part of the permanent members of the Security Council to agree among themselves, notwithstanding the high privilege of membership and the special veto granted them. As a result the perception developed, and this has today been accentuated, that the collective security provisions of the Charter would never be implemented, and those States which had reposed intrinsic belief in an expectation that at the end of the day the Security Council would defend and protect their independence and sovereignty felt betrayed.

On the other hand, the failure to implement the collective security system has been regarded as a licence to resort to force in breach of the Charter and a repudiation of the collective machinery under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security. As a consequence, this inability or failure on the part of the Security Council to maintain the peace has had more than a debilitating effect on the Organization. First, it has encouraged those who are so disposed to continue to use force in violation of Article 2 (4) of the Charter. Secondly, it has eroded the confidence of those who had entrusted their

(Mr. Koroma, Sierra Leone)

security to the Organization. Thirdly, it has demonstrated that the Organization was not to be trusted with its most important function, as no good would come of it whenever it was challenged.

The Security Council itself, charged with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, has been reduced to a mere forum where complaints are aired, uttered with eloquence, sometimes with folly, but always to no avail. Increasingly, it has been bypassed, even on issues that are manifestly within its competence.

The role of the Secretary-General has been relegated to the issuance of statements of regret and calls for restraint.

In the face of all this, the authority and integrity of this Organization have been thrown into doubt and its authority and efficacy impugned, and it is seen as unable to act effectively to implement its decisions or otherwise offer solutions to intractable crises.

It was against this background that the Government of Sierra Leone had requested the inscription of this item on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly. In doing so, my Government seeks to point out, and draw the attention of this Organization to, the massive betrayal of the goals and ideals which had inspired the efforts culminating in the founding of the United Nations, a betrayal which has contributed to the increasing and heightening of global tensions and insecurity on an unprecedented scale.

As the Secretary-General himself stated in his report on the work of the world Organization at the thirty-seventh session:

"Certainly we have strayed far from the Charter in recent years.

Governments that believe that they can win an international objective by force are often quite ready to do so, and domestic opinion not infrequently applauds such a course. The Security Council, the primary organ of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security, all too often finds itself unable to take decisive action to resolve international conflicts and its resolutions are increasingly defied or ignored by those that feel themselves strong enough to do so. Too frequently the Council seems powerless to generate the support and influence to ensure that its decisions are respected, even these are taken unanimously. Thus the process of peaceful

(Mr. Koroma, Sierra Leone)

settlement of disputes prescribed in the Charter is often brushed aside. Serner measures for world peace were envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter, which was conceived as a key element of the United Nations system of collective security, but the prospect of realizing such measures is now deemed almost impossible in our divided international community. We are perilously near to a new international anarchy." (A/37/1, p. 3)

As my Foreign Minister stated in his address to the General Assembly on 29 September this year, my delegation feels at one with this cri de coeur of the Secretary-General. In requesting the inscription of this item on the agenda, my Government was also motivated by a chilling sense of insecurity, which we, as a small nation - and, I believe, many others present here - have increasingly felt, and by the fact that this Organization is increasingly regarded as helpless in its efforts to play its role of safeguarding peace and protecting the independence of nations and peoples.

The urgency and relevance of the matter further derives from the fact that in the present circumstances the effectiveness of the Organization has been so seriously undermined that even its capacity for peace-keeping is now called into question. When on 30 August 1982 my Government addressed its letter to the Secretary-General, wars or situations which could explode into new wars existed in southern Africa, in the Middle East, in South-East Asia and in the South Atlantic. Those were situations which represented a real threat to international peace and security, but regarding which this Organization felt unable to assume the effective and decisive role the Charter envisaged for it.

The collective security system was intended to prevent war, to maintain peace, or, failing that, to defend States subjected to force and armed aggression in defiance of efforts to maintain the peace. It was in order to achieve that objective that the Charter laid down an institutional framework, namely, a system of collective security to support the decisions of the Security Council, and within which the Security Council is granted the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. In other words, the Security Council, in cases where there have been breaches of the peace or acts of aggression, is to decide what action to take for the restoration of the peace and for the implementation of its decisions.

Unfortunately, as we have noted, since the inception of the Organization this intrinsic belief in, and these expectations of, the collective security system have not been fulfilled. Thus, since it became apparent that the Security Council would not institutionalize the collective security provisions of the Charter and that it would not deploy concerted diplomatic, economic and military action to deter or terminate all armed attacks, States started to

seek refuge in armaments. Today almost all nations - large and small, rich and poor - are pursuing the elusive goal of national security through the strength of national arms. But one assured lesson of history is that there is no security in armaments, even less in their accumulation.

This may explain the fact that, notwithstanding two special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to the question of disarmament and the efforts of this Committee to come to grips with the issue, that goal has remained elusive.

The escalating arms race will continue to endanger our independence and existence unless and until effective measures are taken to maintain the peace. The logic of this is that we cannot violate the primary principles of the Charter, or ignore its axioms, only to fall back on corollaries in seeking solutions to our problems. The non-use of force and the collective security system are among the Charter's first principles, while disarmament is a corollary.

As a matter of historical record, the League of Nations itself discovered that disarmament was impracticable without the assurance given by collective security. Therefore, in order to achieve disarmament, we submit, the implementation of the collective security provisions has become even more urgent and even more imperative today.

It is in this sense that we make bold to say that it is time that equal emphasis and equal focus in the work of this Committee be given to the twin issues of collective security and disarmament.

Since the inclusion of this item on the agenda, there has been a universal manifestation of support for it and for the restoration of the authority of the United Nations. The Non-Aligned Movement, in its ministerial communiqué issued earlier this month, welcomed the proposal. The delegations of Egypt, Yugoslavia, Japan, Jamaica, Norway, Cyprus, the Philippines, and many others, have addressed themselves to this issue during the current session of the General Assembly and have made very useful suggestions. In his report, the Secretary-General has advanced some specific ideas.

My Government, in calling for the implementation of the collective security provisions of the Charter, proposes as a practical first step, and one in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter, that Member States contribute to

(Mr. Koroma, Sierra Leone)

the success of this effort by declaring, prior to signing the special agreement or agreements called for in Article 43 of the Charter, that they will make available to the Security Council the armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

Such a move, in the view of the Sierra Leone Government, would encourage and inspire the Security Council to carry out its responsibilities.

It may be recalled that during the early years of the Organization considerable efforts were made to formulate "General principles governing the organization of the armed forces made available to the Security Council by Member Nations of the United Nations" (S/336, p.1). Despite the exertions of the Military Staff Committee it was not possible to reach agreement on those principles.

Since the report of the Military Staff Committee of 30 April 1947 on this matter, no agreements under Article 43 of the Charter have been negotiated or signed. In June and July 1947, the Security Council considered an item entitled "Special agreements under Article 43 of the Charter and the organization of the United Nations armed force". However, no definitive decision was reached on the matter by the Security Council. On numerous occasions discussions in the General Assembly have made reference to the provisions of Article 43 of the Charter.

It is therefore time for this all-important matter to be seriously and urgently addressed once more, and action taken once and for all. In this connection, my delegation would formally propose that a committee of experts be set up to undertake a study, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, on how to implement the collective security provisions of the Charter with a view to maintaining international peace and security, and that this committee should report to the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session.

My delegation does not minimize the difficulties and obstacles ahead of us in any effort to implement and strengthen the collective security measures provided for in the Charter of our Organization. Nor do we intend to ignore the factors that up to this time have conspired against a convergence of views on this vital matter.

(Mr. Koroma, Sierra Leone)

It has been said that in an environment where both super-Powers have an effective second-strike capability, it would be inconceivable to envisage the Security Council undertaking effective collective security measures. While my delegation understands these arguments, it could not accept them. The drift towards international anarchy is accelerating and all Member States have an obligation to arrest this trend.

In the mid-1950s, peace-keeping operations were seen as an adequate stop-gap to fill the void caused by non-implementation of the collective measures of our Organization. Despite the very credible record of peace-keeping, we have seen recently that even this noble endeavour is beginning to lose its effectiveness. My delegation does not believe that the increasing tendency to establish multinational forces outside the framework of the United Nations is an adequate answer. That is all the more reason why we believe that a serious re-evaluation of the collective security measures under the Charter is urgently called for, and my delegation is confident that all Member States will rise to the occasion.

The implementation of the collective security provisions of the Charter will serve both as an exercise in practical utility and as a reaffirmation of our faith. On the one hand it will demonstrate to those who are so minded to resort to the unilateral use of force that the rest of us can and will stand up to them, and on the other it will reaffirm our faith that only in our collective security and its maintenance and pursuit lies our individual salvation and safety. Furthermore, the implementation of the collective security provisions of the Charter will give assurance that in all cases of aggression, irrespective of the degree of concern in the conflict, sanctions will be applied by all, and that can be achieved only if sanctions are made obligatory. With the implementation of the collective security provisions, my delegation believes that the authority of the Organization would be restored and never again would aggression go unchecked for want of collective action.

(Mr. Koroma, Sierra Leone)

As the Secretary-General himself has put it in his report, our most urgent goal is to strengthen the role of the Organization in the maintenance of international peace and security and

"... to reconstruct the Charter concept of collective action for peace and security so as to render the United Nations more capable of carrying out its primary function." (A/37/1, p. 5)

To strengthen the United Nations is to abide by the principle of collective security, which is by no means the product of idealism but a practical measure towards the security of all States. In that way we shall begin to reconstruct that new system which provides for the safeguarding of peace by the assertion of reason and collective security.

The CHAIRMAN: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401:

"Delegations should exercise their right of reply at the end of the day whenever two meetings have been scheduled for that day and whenever such meetings are devoted to the consideration of the same item."

"The number of interventions in the exercise of the right of reply for any delegation at a given meeting should be limited to two per item."

"The first intervention in the exercise of the right of reply for any delegation on any item at a given meeting should be limited to ten minutes and the second intervention should be limited to five minutes."

Mr. STRULAK (Poland): In his statement here on Wednesday, 27 October, the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. van Well, took the liberty of referring to the internal situation in my country. The Polish delegation firmly rejects these references. They are definitely out of place on more than one count. From the legal point of view they constitute an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of a sovereign State, which the United Nations Charter, so readily invoked by the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, clearly forbids. Politically, these remarks only

(Mr. Strulak, Poland)

harm the otherwise difficult process of normalization of relations between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany and thus the cause of détente in Europe, to which we would like to believe that the Government of the Federal Republic remains committed. Such remarks, completely extraneous as they are to the subject matter of our debate here, also unnecessarily -- and one may ask whether intentionally -- divert our attention from the burning issues of disarmament discussed here.

Last but not least I would impress on the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, the State which considers itself to be the successor of the Third Reich, that for his country to use the language of demand directed to Poland is also highly immoral. In this United Nations, born in the wake of the defeat of German fascism in the Second World War, we are all bound to remember who started that terrible war and how it was begun.

Mr. LODGE (United States of America): Yesterday, the Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Mr. Eugene Rostow, spoke to this Committee. Mr. Rostow sought, in a constructive and methodical manner, to put the facts on record concerning the various aspects of the arms control programme of the United States. The United States therefore deeply regrets that, speaking only one day later, the Soviet representative, Mr. Vladimir Petrovsky, failed to exercise similar restraint or respect for the important work of this Committee, devoting himself instead to an exercise in cold war propaganda and misstatement.

We recognize, of course, that Ambassador Petrovsky was merely echoing the belligerent stance of Party Chairman Leonid Brezhnev who, speaking to the command personnel of the Soviet Armed Forces on the same day - 27 October - said:

"It is of exceptional importance to wield weapons in a masterly way, to be able to use in full their combat possibilities."

I would note also Brezhnev's pledge that the Party Central Committee will adopt whatever measures are necessary to equip the Soviet forces with the most advanced weapons and military hardware.

Frankly, this kind of tough talk calls into serious question the sincerity of the various offers the Soviet Union claims to have made in the disarmament field.

But of course this is not new. As early as 1962, the Soviet publication Soviet Military Strategy said:

"On the battlefields the decisive role will be played by fire of nuclear weapons. The other means of armed combat will utilize the results of nuclear attacks for the final defeat of the enemy."

In 1979, Chief of Staff Ogarkov, the Soviet Union's top-ranking professional military officer, called for the "timely and many-sided preparation of the country" for what could be a "protracted" nuclear war; and in February of this year, on the Soviet Army-Navy Day, Ogarkov published a booklet deploring "elements of pacifism" among citizens of the Soviet Union.

(Mr. Lodge, United States)

While President Brezhnev was thus dedicating the Soviet Union to a new round in the arms race, Mr. Rostow noted to the Committee that the first step back from the edge of the abyss is to achieve a change in the minds of men, and that such a change must precede effective action. Mr. Rostow pointed to contradictions between, on the one hand, complex proposals for the control of specific weapons systems and, on the other hand, invasion of neighbouring non-aligned countries.

The Soviet Union may speak, as Mr. Petrovsky irresponsibly did this morning, of nuclear brinkmanship by the United States but, as President Brezhnev stated yesterday, it is Soviet foreign policy that rests on Soviet military power - power which, he emphasized, has been and will be increased. The Soviet attitude towards President Reagan's proposal, made last June during the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, for a conference on military expenditures - which Mr. Petrovsky described as sterile polemics - is a further illustration of Soviet hypocrisy; Moscow, it seems, has no desire to engage in discussion or provide facts on Soviet military expenditures. These are figures, not subject to the scrutiny of a free press, which the Soviet Union guards very jealously.

Speaking in the debate in the plenary meeting on 27 October, the Soviet Ambassador, Mr. Troyanovsky, engaged in the luxury of bolstering his arguments with quotations from The Washington Post, The Los Angeles Times, The Christian Science Monitor, The Philadelphia Enquirer and The New York Times. I need not point out that independent scrutiny by a free press of Soviet military expenditures, or any other aspect of Russian life, does not exist in that repressive and state-controlled environment.

The proposal regarding a conference on military expenditures is just one of several major disarmament proposals by the Reagan Administration which the Soviet Union has chosen not to address. On 18 October 1981 President Reagan offered to cancel deployments of the Pershing Two and ground-launched missiles if the Soviet Union would eliminate its SS-20, SS-4 and SS-5 missiles. On 9 May the President announced a two-phased approach to the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks which began on 29 June 1981. On 10 June 1982 the President

(Mr. Lodge, United States)

announced a major new initiative by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for the talks on mutual and balanced force reductions in Vienna to seek common collective ceilings for ground forces. I shall not take up the Committee's time with a further listing of offers and counter-offers in this complex field.

I should like, however, to note several preposterous and unfounded political charges by the Russian representative. He actually charged that the United States was exploiting the internal problems of Poland, and spoke of the inalienable right of Poles to solve their own problems. As we all know, Russian troops remain in Poland precisely to prevent Poles from solving their own problems. The millions of Poles who belong to or support Solidarity are committed to solving their own problems, and it is the military régime of General Jaruzelski, obedient to its Soviet masters, that is frustrating their will.

This morning the Soviet representative sought to reopen the tortuous history of Indo-China at a time when, as all here know, the Soviet Union is in flagrant occupation of Afghanistan with over 100,000 assault troops, and he also sponsors Viet Nam in its occupation of Cambodia with twice that number. The Soviet representative has also referred to United States weapons used by Israel in Lebanon, but conveniently neglected to mention that the arsenals against which they were deployed - and over which they prevailed - were Russian made and supplied.

In conclusion I cannot fail to note that the Russian representative, in daring to criticize the United States this morning - and this is most surprising - actually referred to the circumstances of the opening of the Second World War in 1939. Forty-three years is surely too short a time for any of us to forget the infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of August 1939. It was just after the signature of that pact that, on 1 September, the Hitlerite armies attacked Poland from the west, while from the east Hitler's Russian allies invaded that very same Poland whose right to solve its own problems Moscow asserts today. Let no one here forget that the next month, October, Soviet troops occupied and rolled over the Baltic Republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Finally, let no one here forget the Soviet invasion on 30 November 1939 of gallant Finland, subdued only in 1940 by fourteen Red Army divisions. All this represents an interesting and instructive display of Russian concern for the principle of non-intervention. So much for the start of the Second World War and for Russian sincerity to date in taking concrete, verifiable steps to avert an unthinkable third world war.

Mr. PETROVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I think that these rather gross and unworthy attacks by the United States representative against the Soviet Union and against our delegation are not worthy of our attention, so I would not have exercised my right of reply had it not been for this clear illustration of the style resorted to by the American delegation in international forums and of the methods of deception and misinformation it uses in order to cover up its plans, for an arms build-up, plans for attaining military superiority, so that it could dictate its will to other peoples and countries. I should not like to take the ten minutes allowed for right of reply to illustrate this with concrete facts. I have a whole file. I shall not quote all of it but I could distribute it on request.

As an example of the gross distortion of the facts and rearrangement of reality, there was the interpretation of the statement of our Head of State, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev. In his statement yesterday he said, and I quote so that it is perfectly clear here how the American representatives are lying to 151 representatives of States Members of the United Nations. Brezhnev said: "the policy of the United States and those that go along with it is to increase tension and exacerbate the situation to the utmost. They dream about politically isolating and economically weakening the Soviet Union and its friends. They are unleashing an unprecedented arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, and are trying to attain nuclear superiority. Having set forth on this path of imperialism, the United States is irresponsibly playing with the destiny of the peoples.

"Our policy" - and I would emphasize this, at least for the American representative - let him hear this - "is one of détente and consolidating international security. We shall never abandon this policy and we shall intensify our efforts and support initiatives in international affairs."

(Mr. Petrovsky, USSR)

On military expenditures, I would just say that since 1973 the Soviet Union has unwaveringly tried any path - radical, interim or intermediate - to reduce military expenditures and has not been deceiving the peoples on the comparability of military budgets. We have been seeking a real solution to reduce the military budgets and not allow them to get into the trillions. The Soviet Union firmly supports disarmament negotiations but what do we have now? We have talks in Geneva where two negotiations are underway. There are also talks in Vienna. But are they worthy of diplomacy? They are for the sake of negotiation, not on the substance of the matter.

Instead of solving problems according to the balance of interests and the principles of equality and equal security, the United States talks about imposing unilateral solutions, unilateral disarmament. I would not take up your time and repeat what I said this morning.

Just one last point. The United States representative should be the last to pose as defender of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. But he is trying to mix black and white; he is turning everything upside down, completely forgetting the facts.

The history of international relations, Mr. Ambassador, convincingly bears witness to the fact that the Soviet State, from the very beginning of its existence in 1917, has opposed intervention against sovereign States. In contrast to this, the United States has intervened in internal affairs and has used all methods for crushing national liberation struggles and elevated that to official State policy. In the history of the United States, its armed forces have always played a dominant role. During the two centuries of its existence the United States has unleashed more than 200 wars and colonial crusades.

I could refer to the Brookings Institute which says that from 1946 to 1975 the United States, directly or indirectly, used armed force against other countries and threatened other States with military intervention 215 times. I would like to add that there is now a revision of the figures in the Brookings Institute: it now says that 215 is not the correct figure and that there are about 240 cases of military intervention. This is a fact of history.

(Mr. Petrovsky, USSR)

Many here in the room today are witnesses of the increase in aggressive actions by the United States in Africa and see what the American policy in the Middle East is. If we are to be just and believe the facts of history, then we have to throw out all these dirty accusations and consider them completely unfounded.

We are meeting here - and I agree with the representative of Denmark - not for sterile polemics, but in this serious international situation, created by the adventuristic actions of the United States, to consider ways out of the crisis. We are diplomats. The business of diplomacy is to hold serious negotiations. This is true political realism, which the current United States representative sometimes likes to deny.

Mr. KLINGLER (Federal Republic of Germany) (interpretation from French): My delegation is giving very careful attention to the statement by the representative of Poland in exercise of the right of reply to the statement made yesterday by Ambassador van Well of the Federal Republic of Germany. My delegation deeply regrets that the statement was made. We do not intend to continue a dialogue on matters which are not the primary subjects of this debate. However, my delegation naturally reserves the right to reply later to the statement made by the representative of Poland.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.