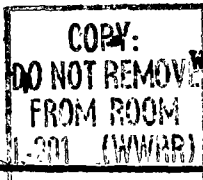


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THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION
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FIRST COMMITTEE
23rd meeting
held on
Wednesday, 3 November 1982
at 10.30 a.m.
New York

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 23RD MEETING

Chairman: Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway)
(Vice-Chairman)

later: Mr. CARSALES (Argentina)
(Vice-Chairman)

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Mr. Marinescu (Romania)
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The meeting was called to order at 10.50 a.m.

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

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. RAJAKOSKI (Finland): Since this is the first time I have spoken in this Committee at this session, I should like to start by saying that it is a pleasure for me to express our congratulations to the Chairman and to his fellow officers of the Committee. We wish Mr. Gbeho every success in his difficult task which is more demanding than ever, and not only in terms of quantity.

At this point in our general debate I have chosen not to dwell on the international situation and its consequences for our efforts to achieve results in disarmament negotiations. I shall concentrate mainly on the question of chemical weapons, and before that make a few remarks on some other topics of interest to us.

Before doing so, I should like on behalf of the Finnish delegation to congratulate warmly Mrs. Alva Myrdal of Sweden and Mr. Alfonso Garcia Robles of Mexico on the honour of receiving the 1982 Nobel Peace Prize. The Committee feels a justified pride on this occasion, even more so as we see Mr. Garcia Robles leading his delegation in this very Committee.

We welcome the resumption of strategic talks. The main responsibility for constraining the nuclear arms race is in the hands of the two Powers with preponderant nuclear might. While no reductions in nuclear arsenals have been achieved through the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) negotiating process, it has proved that the leading nuclear Powers have recognized their responsibility to try to halt the nuclear arms race. The SALT I agreement and the SALT II, even unratified, do mark significant efforts towards restraint in the nuclear arms race and have achieved some limitations in the threat posed by nuclear weapons.

(Mr. Rajakoski, Finland)

Furthermore, the strategic dialogue between the two major Powers constitutes in itself a confidence-building measure of vital importance. It is important to note that the two parties have both implicitly and explicitly observed the provisions of the SALT II agreement in practice. We therefore hope that the Treaty on anti-ballistic missiles (ABM) concluded in 1972 will continue to be in force with all its provisions when it is under review. It is important that nothing should be done to erode the restrictions the Treaty imposes. The rapid advances in technology related to ballistic missile defence serves to underline the potential risks which anti-ballistic systems would entail for the nuclear strategic balance.

The question of nuclear parity in Europe has been, as expected, one of the main difficulties in the bilateral talks concerning theatre nuclear forces in Europe. Intermediate-range nuclear weapons are difficult to conceptualize in military terms and they are, of course, politically intricate because of their capability of striking almost any point on our continent. Therefore there is a continuous argument about the European nuclear balance vis-a-vis the central balance between the two major nuclear Powers. It is thus very important that a constant co-ordination should be kept between these two negotiating processes.

Due to the timing of the second special session on disarmament, the summer session of the Committee on Disarmament was exceptionally short. It took place in the aftermath of the special session. It seems that at the Committee's summer session, in-depth work was possible only on chemical weapons and that the general balance must be termed disappointing. From the Finnish point of view, one of the deplorable shortcomings was the fact that the Committee on Disarmament was unable to fulfil its clear mandate, as stipulated in paragraph 55 of the Concluding Document of the second special session, to take a positive decision

"...to expand the membership of the Committee in a limited and balanced manner, consistent with the need to enhance its effectiveness,"

(A/S-12/32, para. 55)

(Mr. Rajakoski, Finland)

It is our interpretation of the relevant part of the concluding document of the second special session that the Committee on Disarmament was requested to take action and not merely to consider the issue. Instead, the Committee on Disarmament decided to refer the matter to its session in 1983.

For almost 20 years now, ever since the conclusion of the limited test ban, a comprehensive test ban has stood highest on our priorities here as well as in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and the Committee on Disarmament. No other arms control measure has received as intensive a treatment or as much attention as the comprehensive test ban. None would be more effective as a non-proliferation measure in itself as well as in underpinning the Non-Proliferation Treaty both in political terms and in terms of disarmament. Many proposals, old and new, for the resolution of this question were extensively discussed during the second special session. More recently, we have noted with satisfaction that a special working group on the comprehensive test ban has been established at the Committee on Disarmament as a result of an agreement reached between nuclear and non-nuclear States. Thus, we have the machinery now to consider also the new proposal by the Soviet Union. It is obvious that the vast majority of the world community considers the comprehensive test ban already long overdue. It is, furthermore, very regrettable that the trilateral talks between the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union have broken down. This development has in turn hampered serious efforts to achieve progress in other questions of equal importance. Repeated failure in the negotiations on a comprehensive test ban have strained relations between the nuclear-weapon States on the one hand, and the non-nuclear-weapon States on the other, and to a considerable extent have slowed down efforts to strengthen the non-proliferation régime.

(Mr. Rajakoski, Finland)

The debate in the Committee on Disarmament has demonstrated that there are enormous difficulties to be solved before any progress towards nuclear disarmament can be made. Therefore, it might be advisable to study what has been accomplished during earlier negotiations and what the countries concerned have been able to accept in earlier agreements. That could be of assistance in our present endeavours. Such documents as the United States-USSR agreement on the prevention of nuclear war of 1973, the threshold test-ban Treaty between the United States and the USSR of 1974 and the additional peaceful nuclear explosion Treaty of 1976 might contain provisions possibly applicable to some of the items under discussion in the Committee on Disarmament today.

In 1975 the United Nations conducted a comprehensive study on the question of nuclear-weapon-free zones in all its aspects. The study, while it did not give a final answer to all possible questions that might be raised on the occasion of establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone, was nevertheless of considerable utility. It exposed the problems, solved some of them and assisted, in a general way, in the discussion concerning possible zones. In the seven years that have since elapsed many new proposals have been made in various parts of the world. In this connection, it is significant to note that the Treaty of Tlatelolco has been further strengthened by the signature and ratification of the First Additional Protocol to it. Also, discussion and further elaboration of proposals concerning the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world, that is, Central Europe, the Balkans, Africa, the Middle East and South Asia, is a significant development. The five Nordic countries have continued their contacts concerning the idea of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Northern Europe -- an idea which was first put forward almost 20 years ago and to which my Government continues to attach great importance. Furthermore, many issues that are closely linked with the establishment of such zones have been developed and clarified and new research work has been carried out.

The new developments in this field have led Finland to the conclusion that, as was pointed out by the Prime Minister of Finland in his statement at the second special session devoted to disarmament, there is a need to update the 1975 study to reflect new realities. My delegation has in the course of the past week engaged

(Mr. Rajakoski, Finland)

in a series of consultations on the merits of our idea and on the best way of dealing with it. We have received encouragement and much practical advice which will assist us in our work. Our aim is to work out a draft resolution capable of commanding the wide support which the importance of the issue obviously demands.

I shall now turn to the question of chemical weapons. A ban on chemical weapons ranks very high on our list of priorities, and with good reason. Chemical weapons are, to our mind, extremely repulsive weapons of mass destruction. Therefore major efforts should be made by all delegations to do what the international community has unanimously demanded for so long.

Finland for its part has devoted special attention to the question of banning chemical weapons. Already in 1971 we announced in the First Committee that we would start a research project on analytical verification of chemical warfare agents in order to facilitate on the technical level negotiations on a comprehensive ban on chemical warfare agents. Finland has also offered its services in the verification of compliance with the treaty, if and when it comes into existence.

It is evident that a comprehensive ban could not be reached without adequate methods of reliable verification of compliance with the treaty. Such a treaty would cover several activities: the production of chemical warfare agents, the destruction of existing stockpiles of chemical warfare agents and munitions, and even the use of chemical warfare agents, which is also forbidden by the Geneva Protocol of 1925. The Finnish analytical project was conceived with all those purposes in mind.

The project started in 1972 in the form of laboratory research, the first aim of which was to create sufficient scientific experience and methodological capacity in this field. The progress of the project has been reported to the First Committee each year since 1972.

The first substantial report with concrete laboratory results was published in 1977. Its title was "Chemical and instrumental verification of organophosphorus warfare agents". The project dealt particularly with the most lethal agents, because of their prime importance to the ban.

(Mr. Rajakoski, Finland)

In 1979 a larger handbook-type work was presented to the Committee on Disarmament. It was entitled "An approach for the standardization of techniques and reference data". It introduced the application of several highly sensitive instrumental techniques and described how they might be automatized in order to improve the reliability of the identification of individual compounds. With regard to the verification of the non-production of warfare agents, possible degradation products of such agents can also play an important role the identification of degradation products of all important nerve agents was therefore studied in 1980.

In 1981 an approach for the environmental monitoring of nerve agents was presented in a more comprehensive way. In 1982 the same automatic methods were applied to 20 of the most important non-phosphorus agents. The latest of those reports was circulated at the meeting of the Committee on Disarmament this summer. It will be made available to delegations in the First Committee later in the current session.

Together, the three sections on systematic identification, published in 1979, 1980 and 1982, form an identification handbook in which collection and concentration, retreatment and analysis by five instrumental methods - that is, high resolution gas chromatography, high performance liquid chromatography, mass spectrometry, infra-red spectrometry, nuclear magnetic resonance spectrometry and immunoassay - are presented.

In those three handbooks more than 100 chemical warfare agents or related compounds synthesized by the project are analysed by the five above-mentioned methods; and detailed analytical results are presented. In the 1983 handbook results using those five methods on some 20 further non-phosphorus agents will be described.

Since both the methods and the results are described in great detail, these works should help various countries in obtaining comparable results while carrying out verification analyses of the compounds in question. If the presentation proposed in these handbooks is followed, all countries can compare and interpret each other's results unambiguously.

High resolution gas chromatography combined with high resolution mass spectrometry form the most sensitive and effective instrumental-analytical system for organic compounds for the time being. The Finnish work published this year describes in some detail also the automatization of verification analysis, which is important in several respects. First, automatic analytical systems can be applied to "black boxes" which can carry out verification work for long periods of time without human attention. Such "black box monitoring" would form a relatively non-intrusive form of international verification, if agreed upon in the treaty. Furthermore, such automatic systems can be programmed to carry out analyses of only certain types of samples. This would reduce the possibility that verification be used for obtaining, for instance, commercially sensitive data not relevant to the purpose of verification. Thirdly, automatic methods are very rapid in providing a large number of results which may prove important in urgent field studies.

The Finnish project aims at developing two types of verification systems. The first is a fully automatic system called retention index monitoring (RIM) which can be transported in a van and gives rapidly quantitative analytical results in the field. Such an analysis can be based, for instance, on high resolution gas chromatography together with a library of gas chromatographic results, available in a computer memory. This method is limited to identifying volatile compounds which are known as to their structure, which must be analysed beforehand and the results included in the reference library.

Another highly sensitive method which may be used for chemical analysis is the so-called immune chemical method. This is also super sensitive, very specific and could be developed into an automatic system for identification of known agents. This system, however, has not been elaborated to such capacities as yet.

(Mr. Rajakoski, Finland)

The identification based on gas chromatography alone is not 100 per cent certain. In order to achieve complete certainty, the results have to be confirmed in a central laboratory by other instrumental methods, particularly by mass spectrometry where such a certainty regarding the identity of the agent can be achieved. This type of analysis is also necessary for any unknown compound of which the spectral data is not included in the existing data library of the automatic system. In a central library, more than three different analytical methods are usually applied in order to have an unequivocal result.

The future work of the Finnish project will be devoted to a more comprehensive description of sample collection and sample preparation. With high-volume collection of air samples it is hoped that the identification of relatively small releases of substances can be carried out at distances of hundreds of kilometres.

The identification of agents and related compounds from environmental water samples is often complicated because of the fact that surface waters are heavily contaminated by other compounds, natural and man-made pollutants. To achieve high sensitivity, very large water volumes have to be treated and the compounds prefractionated to several chemical groups, in order to be able to show the presence of minute amounts of agents in a large amount of other impurities.

A third goal of the project is further to automatize the sampling and the pre-treatment of the sample so that the system could be used as a sensor in a fully automatic "black box" system. So much for the chemical agents verification project.

In arms control the significance of the regional approach is rapidly increasing. The global approach - where all nations share the ultimate interest in disarmament - can be usefully supplemented with systematic efforts at the level of different regions or subregions where politico-geographical conditions call for such an approach. This regional approach has been at issue within the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) and its follow-up meetings. All States responsible for security

(Mr. Rajakoski, Finland)

in Europe have shown interest in developing and enlarging confidence-building measures (CBMs), initially contained in the 1975 Helsinki Final Act. In Madrid, at the second follow-up meeting of the CSCE, a central issue was the possibility of convening a special conference on CBMs and disarmament in Europe. Negotiations concerning a concrete mandate for such a conference have been under way now for nearly two years. The conference is conceived as a phased meeting of all 35 signatory States of the CSCE which would, in its first stage, deal with militarily significant confidence and security-building measures, and proceed thereafter to other questions of arms control and, subsequently to disarmament.

When the negotiators reconvene at Madrid next week, Monday, 9 November, after an eight months' adjournment, it is our hope that, in spite of the complexity of issues and notwithstanding the difficult international situation, the necessary political will prevails in order to conclude the Madrid CSCE follow-up meeting by the adoption of a substantial and balanced concluding document also containing a decision to convene the said disarmament conference.

Mr. PETROVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The delegation of the Soviet Union wishes to make a statement on agenda item 133 (d), concerning the World Disarmament Campaign.

The current work of our Organization is taking place against the background of very active demonstrations by the representatives of world public opinion. In that regard, the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was highly significant. We can be satisfied that at the second special session it was possible to agree on the fundamental principles of a World Disarmament Campaign, and to do this by consensus. This was an idea put forward by Mexico and other non-aligned countries and its adoption was one of the few concrete, tangible results of the session. We share the view expressed by many delegations in this Committee that this is a matter of great importance.

The Soviet Union considers it very useful to carry out a World Disarmament Campaign. We believe it is an important means of mobilizing all the peace-loving forces on our planet, which is of particular significance in the current international situation.

In his recent response to the appeal by political and social leaders of Venezuela, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, emphasized that

"Today more than ever before collective action by all States, large and small, and by all peace-loving forces, irrespective of their ideological views and political convictions, is essential for the defence of peace."

We note with satisfaction that the movement in favour of disarmament among broad sectors of public opinion is not losing, but rather gaining, ground, and is playing a significant role in creating the conditions necessary for States to take practical steps towards averting the threat of nuclear war and halting and reversing the arms race. A whole series of proposals put forward by the world public has been incorporated into agreements between States, and others are being considered in international forums and at other talks.

The basic requirements of society reflect the most important tasks facing the world today: to avert nuclear war; to ensure that all nuclear Powers

(Mr. Petrovsky, USSR)

undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, to prohibit such weapons, to halt all tests, and to freeze their arsenals, with subsequent phased reductions until their complete elimination; and to ensure that States fulfil the obligation they have entered into at the international level to curb the arms race.

The Soviet people, who lost 20 million of their number during the Second World War, hold disarmament very close to their hearts. They regard it as a material guarantee of international peace and security. During public consideration in the Soviet Union in 1977 of the draft constitution of the USSR, in which 140 million people participated, one of the many proposals discussed was a provision - subsequently incorporated into the fundamental laws of the USSR - that the Soviet Union would strive for general and complete disarmament. Among the many Soviet organizations which work energetically for the curbing of the arms race and for disarmament are the following: the Soviet Committee for the defence of peace; the Soviet peace fund; the Soviet Committee on solidarity with the countries of Asia and Africa; the Soviet Committee for European security; the Union of Soviet friendship societies; the Soviet women's Committee; the Soviet Committee of war veterans; and the Committee of youth organizations of the USSR. The scale of their action shows convincingly that the Soviet fighters for peace indeed occupy an important place in the world anti-war movement.

In the Soviet Union the peace movement has now become truly broadly based. This year alone there have been over 20,000 demonstrations in our country, in which 60 million Soviet citizens participated. There has been a large number of conferences, seminars and meetings, including international meetings. And there have been two international walks for peace, the routes of which were Stockholm-Turku-Helsinki-Leningrad-Moscow-Minsk and Moscow-Kiev-Uzhgorod-Bratislava-Budapest-Vienna respectively.

The World Conference of religious leaders on the preservation of the sacred gift of life from nuclear catastrophe was held in Moscow this year. It was attended by representatives of Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Islam, the Sikhism, Shintoism and Christianity from 90 countries spread over the six continents of the world.

In the address by participants in the Soviet peace movement to the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly, it was emphasized that

"The Soviet people, like all people of good will in the world, have the right to expect that at its thirty-seventh session the United Nations General Assembly will make a constructive contribution to the struggle of peace-loving forces to reduce and ultimately eliminate the threat of nuclear war, overcome crisis situations and restore a climate of confidence in international relations". (A/C.1/37/4, annex, p. 2)

Our Organization can and must play an important role in support of society's efforts to avert the nuclear threat and to achieve disarmament.

The Soviet delegation agrees with the general thrust of the report of the Secretary-General on the World Disarmament Campaign (A/37/548).

(Mr. Petrovsky, USSR)

The conclusions and recommendations it contains on the whole respond to the task of mobilizing world public opinion for peace and disarmament. Implementation of these measures would ensure better use of the potential of the United Nations and its specialized agencies to make the Disarmament Campaign a truly universal undertaking.

As the report indicates, there are three main goals in the Campaign: to inform, to educate and to promote understanding and support on the part of world public opinion and society in aid of the goals of the United Nations in curbing arms and achieving disarmament. We consider this a broad ranging and important undertaking. In this connection, I would recall that, in response to the appeal of the second International Congress of "Doctors of the World to Avert Nuclear War", addressed by the leaders of the USSR and the United States of America, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev stated:

"To make people understand the threat hanging over mankind and the consequences of this threat would be to make a real contribution to the struggle to avert this threat and to do away with this unspeakable evil accumulated in nuclear arsenals."

The report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations contains important provisions relating to the holding of this World Campaign. It indicates that the United Nations system, States Members - with all respect to their sovereign rights - and other organs, for example, non-governmental organizations, can make a contribution to achieving the goals of this Campaign and, indeed, its success will depend to a large extent on their efforts. The report of the Secretary-General notes the role of the mass communications media which are called on to serve as an important channel for the World Disarmament Campaign. The document also refers to a number of areas of work for the World Disarmament Campaign. Work has already begun in some of these areas, and in others practical steps still have to be taken.

(Mr. Petrovsky, USSR)

An important role in mobilizing world public opinion in support of disarmament is played by the annual Disarmament Week. One of the more active proponents of this idea was the Mongolian People's Republic. Experience in holding this Week in various countries shows clearly that it can be useful in broadening support for the goals of disarmament.

One of the important specific areas of activity for the World Disarmament Campaign was that approved at the thirty-sixth session, put forward by the People's Republic of Bulgaria, a proposal for a campaign to collect signatures in support of measures to avert nuclear war, to limit the arms race and to achieve disarmament. This form of expressing the will of the masses would make the World Campaign more goal-oriented and it would keep broad sectors of the population in various countries informed of the struggle to curb the arms race and achieve disarmament. The USSR has considerable useful experience in this area. Our last campaign to collect signatures was in 1976 in connection with the signing of the new Stockholm Declaration of the World Peace Council. This important document was signed by virtually the entire adult population in our country. A successful worldwide collection of signatures would be helped if we had a short text of an appeal which could then be recommended for dissemination in countries Members of the United Nations. Collection of the signatures, as part of the World Disarmament Campaign in each country, could be carried out according to local conditions and taking account of local traditions and experience. It seems to us that non-governmental organizations, particularly those representing mass movements - trade unions, women's organizations, youth organizations - could themselves select the most acceptable form of action for them, either individual or collective, to ensure their participation in this campaign to collect signatures.

The successful collection of signatures within the context of the World Disarmament Campaign under the auspices of the United Nations, just like the actual holding of the Campaign, will to a significant extent depend on the existence of the material resources needed for this.

(Mr. Petrovsky, USSR)

The Soviet delegation has been authorized to pledge a voluntary contribution by the USSR to the special fund for financing the World Disarmament Campaign of 1.5 million roubles. It is the view of the Soviet Union that the holding of this World Disarmament Campaign, and the collection of signatures in support of disarmament under United Nations auspices, could also use existing resources, and this would help to mobilize the peoples of the world to avert the threat of war and halt the arms race. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it is willing to do everything possible to promote this goal.

Mr. OKAWA (Japan): It is somewhat belatedly that I am speaking in this debate but I wish to follow those who have preceded me in offering to the Chairman of the Committee and to you, Sir, as well as to our colleagues from Norway and Mongolia the congratulations of my delegation on their election as officers of the Committee. We also pledge our fullest co-operation to facilitate their onerous task.

My feelings of the deepest respect go to the late Lord Noel-Baker, who entertained a very special affinity vis-à-vis my country and whose hand I reverently had the honour of shaking in Geneva last March.

I wish to applaud the two recent Nobel Peace Prize winners, Mrs. Alva Myrdal and Ambassador Alfonso Garcia Robles, and express on behalf of the Japanese delegation our warmest congratulations to both of them, and in particular to our distinguished colleague from Mexico, who I understand has been prevented from being with us this morning.

(Mr. Okawa, Japan)

The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which was held here in the summer, was entrusted with the aspirations of the peoples of the world to lasting peace, and a great many Member States were represented there at the highest political level. Very serious discussions were held to find the right path for promoting the cause of disarmament, but the special session was not able to adopt a comprehensive programme of disarmament. The strong feeling of mutual distrust which continues to prevail among nations has to be recalled as the background to this failure. On the other hand, the special session unanimously recognized that arms control and disarmament have an increasingly important role to play in the maintenance of world peace and security in the harsh international climate of today. Consequently, since arms control and disarmament are the task of the day that should be undertaken with the greatest urgency by the entire membership of the United Nations, perhaps we should once again reflect on the ways and means of extricating ourselves from the present state of distrust among nations, which is the principal obstacle to the accomplishment of that task.

There is no denying the fact that international peace and security are maintained by a balance of force between and among nations. This stark reality is precisely why nations endeavour to possess armaments to guarantee their security. Therefore, attempts to promote arms control and disarmament - which simply cannot be isolated from the security considerations of each nation - have to begin by lowering the level of the power balance little by little, taking into account the realities of the contemporary world. The true basis from which such attempts may be launched is the establishment of a congenial relationship of mutual trust among nations.

I should now like to address four aspects of the way to the deepening of trust among nations: the widest possible dissemination of knowledge and information about disarmament; the need for procedures to verify compliance with arms control and disarmament agreements; the strengthening of the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations; and crisis management, or practical means of averting imminent disaster.

(Mr. Okawa, Japan)

I shall deal first with the dissemination of knowledge and information. Efforts by Governments to promote disarmament must be consistently supported by a strong will for peace and an enlightened understanding of the problems of disarmament on the part of the people that the Governments represent. It is the existence of world-wide public opinion based on a correct knowledge and understanding of disarmament questions that can play a positive role in promoting disarmament. For that purpose, objective information and a wide variety of views, knowledge and data on disarmament questions must be freely and broadly disseminated and made freely accessible to the people in all countries, regardless of their political, economic and social systems. If the people are given the chance to obtain an accurate understanding and knowledge of the subject, through free and frank discussion based on such information and views, this will nurture a firm basis for promoting arms control and disarmament and at the same time deepen mutual trust among the peoples of different nations.

It is the United Nations, as the universal international Organization, the main function of which is to maintain international peace and security, that should assume a central role in this field. It is in that sense that Japan welcomes the launching at the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament of a World Disarmament Campaign. A number of concrete proposals regarding the Campaign have been put forward by Japan and other Member States, and I express the strong hope of my delegation that the Campaign can be effectively implemented on a world-wide scale with the positive support and co-operation of Member States, and that its state of implementation can be reviewed from time to time.

When we talk about knowledge and information about "disarmament" we should mean this to encompass military matters in general. For instance, if the military expenditures of various nations were to be made public in an appropriate form, thus enabling countries to obtain accurate information about the scale of military expenditures of other countries on a continuing basis, this would surely contribute to dissipating mutual suspicion and distrust. Thanks to the efforts of a Group of Experts

(Mr. Okawa. Japan)

appointed by the Secretary-General, a standardized reporting instrument has been devised to facilitate the fair calculation and comparability of military expenditures; furthermore, resolutions have been adopted by the General Assembly recommending all Member States to report their military expenditures to the Secretary-General by using the reporting instrument. Japan accordingly reported on its defence budget last month. In order to establish a basis for concrete consideration of how to bring about the reduction of military expenditures in the years ahead, and how to make effective use of resources released as a result of disarmament for the revitalization of the world economy and economic and social development, especially of the developing countries, my delegation appeals to all Member States to disclose the details of their military expenditures in accordance with the said reporting instrument.

Secondly, I come to the question of the verification of arms control and disarmament agreements. The importance of such agreements does not lie only in the achievement of arms control; their conclusion can help to deepen mutual trust among the contracting parties and thus consolidate the basis for moving on to even further agreements. In order to set in motion this process of one arms control or disarmament agreement facilitating the conclusion of more such agreements, it is important that effective verification provisions be incorporated to prevent violations, and that all parties faithfully comply with the agreements that they themselves have concluded.

It was from this standpoint that at the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament Japan expressed the hope that an international verification organ could eventually be established within the framework of the United Nations, and requested that, as a first step, a special unit be set up in the Centre for Disarmament to collect and classify information and knowledge relating to verification of, and compliance with, arms control and disarmament agreements. Various proposals are on the table to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament, and my delegation strongly hopes that this idea of ours will be given full consideration in the context of discussions to reinforce the institutional set-up of the United Nations in this field.

(Mr. Okawa, Japan)

We also hope that more energetic efforts can be made to reach agreement on effective verification measures in the two fields to which we accord the highest priority: the comprehensive test ban and the prohibition of chemical weapons. Japan will continue to play an active role in such discussions, notably with the participation of Japanese experts.

A few words on the United Nations' investigations into the alleged use of chemical weapons may be appropriate here from the point of view of compliance with agreements. Two years have passed since these investigations were initiated, but no conclusion has been reached, and the relevant countries continue to withhold their full co-operation. I again appeal to the States parties to the 1925 Geneva Protocol for their faithful compliance with it, and I appeal to those States which have still not found it possible to accede to the 1925 instrument to abide by its spirit and act as if they were parties. I also request that all interested States offer every possible assistance to the United Nations in its efforts to elucidate this problem.

(Mr. Okawa, Japan)

Thirdly, efforts to strengthen the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations would not only enhance the credibility of the Organization in the eyes of Member States but would also contribute to the strengthening of trust among nations, the mutual trust that is the very foundation of the prevention of international conflicts and their peaceful settlement as well as the promotion of arms control and disarmament. It was from this viewpoint that at the second special session on disarmament Japan took up the question of the strengthening of the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations as one of our three principles to achieve peace through disarmament. Japan intends to offer its positive co-operation to the Organization in its efforts to strengthen its peace-keeping functions. We hope to explain in full our position on this question on another occasion.

Fourthly, regarding various measures for crisis management, the number of nuclear weapons accumulated on our planet has long reached the stage of overkill, and the entire human species will be facing the danger of annihilation once a nuclear war breaks out. It is surely at a moment like the present one, with the gravity of the international situation and the increasing tendency towards even greater instability, that measures need to be taken to improve communications between the nuclear-weapon States. We have an example in the establishment of a "hot line" between the Soviet Union and the United States so that the danger of a nuclear war being ignited, say by miscalculation or by sheer accident, could be diminished, however slightly. I am sure that keener efforts are called for to foster a greater degree of mutual trust between the nuclear Powers. From that point of view Japan would welcome the exchange of information between those Powers in the field of strategic nuclear weapons, and we listened with interest to the idea suggested at the second special session on disarmament by President Reagan that the two super-Powers might exchange information and data on their principal strategic weapon systems.

I have tried to emphasize from four different angles the importance of mutual trust among nations for the promotion of arms control and disarmament. I shall now describe Japan's basic position with regard to the principal items on the agenda of this Committee. Let me start by again appealing for efforts to achieve arms control and disarmament in the nuclear field.

(Mr. Okawa, Japan)

It is the fervent prayer of the Japanese nation that a nuclear holocaust shall never again be allowed to occur, and that is why Japan has been urging the countries of the world, and especially the nuclear-weapon States, to move forward step by step towards the realization of effective disarmament measures and in particular nuclear disarmament measures. The concrete measures that immediately come to mind are the acceleration of the START and INF negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States, a comprehensive test ban and the strengthening of the non-proliferation régime. In order to avoid a situation in which nuclear weapons would actually be put to use, all truly effective measures need to be taken. That much is crystal clear.

I once again urge the nuclear-weapon States and above all the two military super-Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, which have very special roles to play to advance nuclear disarmament, to take cognizance of the grave responsibility they shoulder for the future of the entire human race and to make maximum efforts towards nuclear disarmament and the total eradication of nuclear weapons, the common objective of all mankind.

Japan welcomes the commencement of START as a concrete move in the direction of the reduction of their nuclear arsenals. We urge emphatically that the two nuclear giants make real progress in their negotiations towards substantial reductions in this field. As to the INF negotiations, we maintain that they must contribute to peace and security not only in Europe but also in Asia and indeed on a global scale. Japan urges that the two negotiating Powers in the INF talks seek to find a solution that will not endanger the security of Europe or impair the security of Asia. In this connection I have to point out that the increasing deployment in the Far East of mobile SS-20 missiles and Backfire bombers by the Soviet Union is causing deep concern for the security of the countries of Asia, including my own country.

Turning to the comprehensive test ban, the great significance of such a ban lies not only in the fact that it would constitute a brake to the further sophistication of nuclear weapons; equally important, it would also help prevent the appearance on the scene of new nuclear-weapon States. Japan welcomed the establishment by the Committee on Disarmament last April of a comprehensive test-ban Working Group. However, it is highly

(Mr. Okawa, Japan)

regrettable that two nuclear-weapon States, China and France, are not participating in the work of that Working Group. Japan requests those two States to join forces with the other nuclear-weapon States by taking part in the Working Group to tackle the problem of the comprehensive prohibition of all nuclear tests.

In order to prevent the emergence of new nuclear-weapon States it is important, in addition to a comprehensive test ban, to achieve universal adherence to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Japan welcomes the recent ratification of that Treaty by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and by Uganda, and it once again calls on the other non-member non-nuclear-weapon States, as well as China and France, to adhere to the Treaty at an early date. At the same time there is hardly need once more to recall that under article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty the nuclear-weapon States undertook "to pursue negotiations in good faith" for nuclear disarmament and that the non-nuclear-weapon States placed their confidence in the good intentions of the nuclear-weapon States to carry out the legal responsibility they had thus assumed. That was why the non-nuclear-weapon States gave up their option to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons by joining the Non-Proliferation Treaty. It is therefore absolutely essential, in order to maintain the effectiveness of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, that the nuclear-weapon States respond to the confidence placed in them by the non-nuclear weapon States by negotiating - and I shall quote from article VI -

"in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament".

(General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII), Annex, article VI)

Otherwise it will not only become increasingly difficult to seek universal adherence to the Non-Proliferation Treaty but the Treaty's credibility will be lost and States will entertain doubt about its very *raison d'être*. I must again draw the attention of the nuclear-weapon States to this fact.

I should like next to take up the question of the prohibition of chemical weapons and radiological weapons, which are weapons of mass destruction ranking second only to nuclear weapons.

(Mr. Okawa, Japan)

The mandate of the Chemical Weapons Working Group of the Committee of Disarmament was revised this year as a result of proposals to that effect by Japan and other countries, and work has begun to elaborate a draft convention with a view to reaching early agreement on a chemical weapons ban. Japan appreciates this development as the first concrete step towards achieving such a convention.

Under the new mandate the Working Group conducted detailed discussions in 1982 on the draft elements of a convention. Among these elements it is those relating to the question of verification - the nucleus of a convention on chemical weapons - on which Japan places particular importance. We should endeavour to reach agreement on adequate verification measures, including on-site inspections by an international verification organ, at least with regard to the destruction of existing stocks of chemical weapons and chemicals for hostile purposes, as well as the dismantling of existing facilities for their production, filling and storage. At the same time it must be remembered that Japan, with an enormous chemical industry engaged in production for peaceful purposes, must be assured that the industry's legitimate interests in connection with commercial and production secrets will not be impaired when the industry's production facilities are submitted to verification. Sufficient consideration must also be paid to the administrative aspects of verification, and bureaucracies must be able to cope with the extra work. This is the position of the Japanese Government with regard to the verification aspects of a convention on chemical weapons.

With respect to radiological weapons, last September Japan submitted to the Committee on Disarmament a draft outline of a protocol on the prohibition of attacks against peaceful nuclear facilities -- a matter which has been pending in the context of the negotiations on radiological weapons. This is an attempt to find a solution to the problem of prohibiting attacks on these facilities within the framework of a convention on radiological weapons but in the form of an optional protocol which States would be free to sign only if they so wished, when joining the convention on radiological weapons. The draft protocol provides that the nuclear facilities which would be protected would be all nuclear facilities subject to International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards. At the present moment more than 800 facilities in the non-nuclear-weapon States are under IAEA safeguards, and this figure represents 98 per cent of the nuclear facilities in those countries. If an international agreement to prohibit attacks against peaceful nuclear facilities

could be brought into being along the lines of the Japanese proposal, and a great many such facilities were consequently to be placed under protection, we are convinced that this would be important in removing any apprehensions with respect to peaceful nuclear activities and would also be of help in strengthening the non-proliferation régime.

In the field of conventional weapons, Japan has been advocating the need to obtain an accurate picture of the existing state of conventional arsenals and the international transfer of conventional weapons, as a first step towards curbing the uncontrolled international traffic in conventional weapons. In so doing we are well aware that the question of conventional disarmament is a complex and far from easy matter, inasmuch as it is directly linked to the national security of each country and especially of the non-nuclear-weapon States. We are pleased that a group of experts was set up by the General Assembly last year to conduct a study on conventional disarmament and that it started its work last July with the participation of experts from 23 countries, including Japan. We trust that the expert group will be able to produce fruitful results.

In connection with conventional weapons, Japan ratified in June this year the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects. The early entry into force of this Convention would provide an impetus to progress in conventional disarmament, and Japan hopes that many more States will ratify it as speedily as possible.

Japan has supported from the outset the idea of creating a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean, as well as the holding of a conference on the Indian Ocean for that purpose. We stress the need for harmonizing the views of nations on the basic concept of the zone as well as a full study of the political and security climate in the area. Japan hopes for speedy progress in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee in this regard and intends to continue its active participation in that work.

Finally, the question of the prevention of an arms race in outer space cannot be said to have occupied the centre stage in disarmament discussions so far. Nevertheless, the tremendous progress made in recent years in science

and technology for the exploitation of outer space has brought into sight great possibilities for the future of mankind, while at the same time giving rise to concern about an arms race in outer space in the near future. Japan has been devoting much energy and resources to various projects for the peaceful utilization of outer space and consequently maintains a keen interest in the prevention of an arms race in that environment. We find it extremely timely that consideration of this problem has begun in the Committee on Disarmament this year. Japan hopes to co-operate actively in the work in this field.

Our ultimate goal is and must be general and complete disarmament; but the road leading to that goal is not an easy one. We must never give up our yearning to attain that goal; but we can approach it only by a long and arduous path, moving steadily forward one step after the other, piling up practical measures which are feasible in the realities of international relations in the present-day world. It was because of our conviction that arms control and disarmament cannot be achieved in the absence of a cordial relationship of trust in one another that I began this statement by putting particular stress on the importance of "mutual trust" among nations.

I wish to conclude by saying that the road to progress in arms control and disarmament based upon strong bonds of mutual trust among nations is clearly indicated in the Charter of the United Nations. Member States must abide by the principles and provisions of the Charter; they must exercise the utmost restraint in their relations with other States so as not to imperil whatever degree of trust may precariously exist; and they must avoid all rhetoric of a political nature and approach discussions in disarmament forums in an earnest and truly constructive manner, with deep humility.

Mr. SLIM (Tunisia)(interpretation from French): My first words are to express the pleasure of the Tunisian delegation at seeing Mr. Gbeho of Ghana preside over the work of the First Committee.

My delegation considers that his election as Chairman of this important Committee is a tribute and a sign of appreciation. It is a tribute to a man whose competence and dedication we have long been familiar with, and to his country, with which Tunisia maintains the best of relations. My country also believes that his election is a recognition of the role that the African continent and the non-aligned countries have together been playing to bring about a better world, a world based on greater justice and freedom, a world promoting development and discouraging oppression and destruction. Our congratulations also go to you, Sir, and to the other officers of the Committee, to whom we pledge our full co-operation.

Our Committee can be proud that this year it has among its members a Nobel Peace Prize winner. In the past the award of the Nobel Prize has sometimes evoked a mixed reaction, but it is a fact that in the case of Mrs. Alva Myrdal and Mr. Garcia Robles, two convinced and tireless fighters for peace and disarmament, the decision of the Nobel Committee has won unanimous satisfaction and approval. In addition, in the case of Mr. Garcia Robles, the award augurs well for the future of the United Nations and its image. Our warmest congratulations go to Mr. Garcia Robles and to the Swedish delegation on this award.

On the 10 July last, the closing day of the twelfth special session, 43 delegations came to the rostrum of the General Assembly and, although their views were expressed in different ways, were at one in voicing their regret and disappointment over the complete failure of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

The same sense of disappointment and bitterness has emerged from the general debate in the plenary Assembly at this session and from the debate in our Committee. However, of all these statements, those that have been made at the present session and those that were made at the special session, my delegation has not noted a single one that has not been in favour of general and complete disarmament and that has not advocated urgent action to put an end to the arms race and to spare the world the threat of war, which seems to be ever more menacing.

(Mr. Slim, Tunisia)

But there has been no practical measure to transform this collective profession of faith into reality. No collective decision has yet been made which might start some process justifying a glimmer of hope for those who, throughout the world, are clamouring for their right to life and their desire for peace, far from the horrors of war.

Once again we shall soon be dealing with a new flood of resolutions, to be added to those that have already been adopted, all of which contain or will contain excellent provisions and laudable intentions. That will of course make us feel that we have done our duty and assumed our responsibilities.

But will that mean that the cause of world peace will have been advanced? We should like to think so, but given the gravity of the situation, we have the right to ask this question openly. We are asking this question because we are wondering whether the world has not entered a stage where the levers of power respond to the logic of the various situations rather than to any deliberate political decision. When we see there is a serious economic crisis, with a recession in full swing, with unemployment, even in the most industrialized societies, at record levels, and with entire peoples going hungry and living in squalor, while at the same time the money swallowed up by military activities exceeds the fantastic figure of \$500 billion, then we must wonder with anguish about the nature of the rules being followed by decision-makers in the various capitals of the world.

When some who cannot produce both bread and guns decide firmly on more armaments, they must be obeying some sort of logic. We ourselves detect in this logic an inability to control political, ideological or economic crises, or to comprehend and assimilate the changes and transformations that are taking place in the international community today.

Weapons are thus seen not only as the sole guarantor of security, but also as a sign of power, the only way to cope with the inevitable changes that are taking place in the world.

(Mr. Slim, Tunisia)

Because of these changes, the world no longer belongs to anyone. And so it is that there is a new scramble for its possession, in which might is right and the law of the jungle determines who is the victor. All this is taking us a long way from the rules and laws which are supposed to govern our civilized world, and from the principles contained in our Organization's Charter. Instead as our Secretary-General says in his report (A/37/1), a report which, in our opinion, has perhaps not been sufficiently studied, we are in a situation which is "perilously near to a new international anarchy". (A/37/1, p. 3)

In this Gadarene rush the world, launching itself blindly into an accelerated arms race, is proving its inability to solve the crises which are being produced by its own anarchy. The cause of this anarchy is essentially, in our view, the obstinate refusal of some people to accommodate themselves to the establishment of an international order more in keeping with the realities of our era.

What in fact are we being offered? A proposition; a proposition that world peace rests on a balance of power between the two super-Powers. Any asymmetry constitutes a threat to peace, according to them, a threat to world peace, to the peace of each and every one of us. Each of the major two Powers blames the other for any imbalance and, with implacable logic, thereby justifies starting up the arms race again and making qualitative improvements in the weapons they are trying to make more and more destructive.

(Mr. Slim, Tunisia)

The other countries - those of the third world - have no choice but to bow to this law and offer battlefields and testing grounds when necessary, whether it be in the Middle East or in southern Africa, in West Asia or in South-East Asia or in other parts of the world. They do so directly in certain cases and indirectly in others. Now that this process has gained a following, new Powers are coming into being which, like Israel and South Africa, are more and more, and for their own account, engaging in classical games of domination and supremacy, influence and territorial control.

If the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament met with failure, as we are aware, it is because, in the final analysis, what it tried to do was to go beyond the professions of faith contained in the Final Document of 1978 and try to adopt measures of a binding nature. It would in a way have posed a threat to the concept of balance and deterrence - that is to say, to the concept of seeking supremacy, a concept which, as we have seen, has engendered the international anarchy which the Secretary-General of our Organization described for us, bringing the full weight of his office to bear.

We continue to believe that rather than try vainly to base peace on some hypothetical balance of forces - that is, on the balance of terror - we must base international security and peace on the principles of independence and respect for the rights of peoples to self-determination and development in that order.

These principles to which we all subscribe inasmuch as they are inscribed in the Charter of the United Nations, constitute for all of us a common denominator and a basis for a meeting of minds. To respect them, in words and deeds, is to pave the way for the re-establishment of confidence among States and to embark on a true process of negotiation that would lead to disarmament, which we hope will be general and complete, and to the banishment of the spectre of nuclear disaster which threatens all mankind.

(Mr. Slim, Tunisia)

While the two super-Powers have a primary role to play in restoring confidence and beginning the desired process, each of us here in this hall has a duty to assume some responsibility for, and to make a contribution to, the strengthening of peace and security in the world for which, needless to say, the United Nations was created.

That is why we deem it essential and urgent to strengthen the United Nations and to call for the application, without restriction or selection, of the principles and provisions contained in the Charter.

That is why we deem it essential that the Security Council regain its credibility and its effectiveness in maintaining and defending international peace and security. The recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General in this connection must be taken into consideration in the most urgent manner possible.

That is why we believe it necessary to strengthen the role of the agencies within the Organization entrusted with disarmament questions, such as the United Nations Centre for Disarmament, which is doing particularly useful work and should be able to fill the irreplaceable role that has fallen to it without procedural or administrative questions impeding its work. The Committee on Disarmament, for its part as, the sole negotiating and decision-making body, must be allowed fully to carry out its task by equipping itself with the means that it deems to be most flexible and effective on the basis of its own experience. In view of the universal nature of disarmament, it will necessarily be called upon to bring together on a more equitable basis the largest possible number of Members of the international community interested in the search for effective solutions to the serious problems posed by the arms race.

The seriousness and complexity of the present international situation should prompt us to give further thought to substantive questions of peace, security and disarmament, rather than to engage in confrontation.

(Mr. Slim, Tunisia)

We believe that at this stage, rather than leveling accusations, we must work together with the necessary political will to seek ways and means to establish an era of coexistence and détente based on confidence and co-operation. It is to recall those principles, which have always been the basis for our own foreign policy, that Tunisia has felt it must speak today in the general debate of our Committee. We reserve for ourselves the right to speak in further detail on other agenda items

Mr. PHAM NGAC (Viet Nam): Sir, On 29 October, Ambassador Vo Anh Tuan of my delegation had the opportunity to congratulate Mr. Gbeho and the other officers of the Committee. I should today like to associate myself with his remarks and congratulations.

In the first statement we made in this Committee, my delegation focused on a most crucial issue - the prevention of nuclear catastrophe and the achievement of nuclear disarmament. Like most others, my delegation continues to give the highest priority to this matter, which has in fact dominated the general debate of our Committee and occupied the minds of peoples elsewhere.

Meanwhile, my delegation in no way takes lightly other aspects of disarmament which are directly relevant to us all, such as conventional war, zones of peace, chemical weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. My delegation has many good reasons for not bypassing them. Against the backdrop of a long war, in which 15 million tons of bombs and shells and 100,000 tons of toxic chemicals were used, and under the present threat of the northern nuclear Power, the Vietnamese heard with indignation that the very same kinds of weapons that left scars on their flesh have been used against the people in Lebanon and Namibia and in other parts of the world.

(Mr. Pham Ngac, Viet Nam)

As the world situation deteriorates, tensions build and the arms race gains in tempo, the security of States and, in fact, international peace and security are critically endangered. This has been eloquently proved by the statements of almost all delegations in the general debate of the General Assembly when referring to the situation either in Central America, the Caribbean, the South Atlantic, the Middle East, southern Africa, the Indian Ocean, the Gulf area or South-East Asia.

The root cause of all these situations can be found squarely in the policy of confrontation pursued by the United States and its allies. Blinded by the search for selfish interests and haunted by the desire for military superiority, these forces have intensified the arms race, built military bases and deployed nuclear weapons all over the world.

The Final Document of the first special session on disarmament mentions in clear terms:

"In the task of achieving the goals of nuclear disarmament, all the nuclear-weapon States, in particular those among them which possess the most important nuclear arsenals, bear a special responsibility." (resolution S-10/2, para. 48)

However, we have often heard the argument of a nuclear Power to the effect that its nuclear arsenal is small in comparison with those of the two super-Powers, and that it is therefore free to continue its nuclear build-up for its own security and to wait until the two super-Powers reduce their arsenals by 50 per cent before acting. This logic is most dangerous, in the sense that when no such agreement is reached, it would be safe to continue nuclear tests and the arms race, and in the same light, I am afraid, Israel and South Africa could develop their own nuclear potentials.

My delegation considers that all nuclear-weapon States and, as a matter of fact, the permanent members of the Security Council, must discharge their responsibilities towards peace and international security. The collusion and misbehaviour of those nuclear-Powers in relation to the events from the Malvinas to South-East Asia will not escape the condemnation of the peoples of the world.

(Mr. Pham Ngac, Viet Nam)

Among the proposed zones of peace, the Indian Ocean was once considered as most promising. Indeed, it was included in the agenda of the General Assembly as early as 1971 and the solemn Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace was adopted. A year later, the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean was set up and since then its membership has repeatedly expanded. The Ad Hoc Committee has held no less than 50 meetings and the General Assembly has adopted unanimous resolutions every year on the Indian Ocean, the last one with a specified date and venue for the Conference to be convened.

However, all these peace endeavours were marred by war efforts. The peaceful island of Diego Garcia is being turned into a huge United States military base. This is not merely a gross violation of the sovereignty of Mauritius, but also a threat to the independence of States and to peace in the region.

The Rapid Deployment Force -- and I am now quoting The New York Times -- "... assigned to defend United States interests, primarily oil, in the Middle East, the Horn of Africa and around the Persian Gulf ... is swiftly expanding in size as well as in its potential mission and area of operations ... with 230,000 soldiers, sailors, marines and Air Force personnel available for duty now, the new unified command ... will acquire nearly twice that many in coming months".

(The New York Times, 25 October 1982, p. A-1)

One wonders what interests the United States claims to defend in an area on the other side of the world. Is it not a hegemonistic claim after all? It is precisely this claim and the deployment of forces in the area that impeded all efforts to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

My delegation considers that the establishment of a zone of peace must be based in the first place on the desire and interests of the countries in the region. If outside Powers cannot encourage these efforts, they should not block them.

It is the common desire of the States in the region and indeed of almost all Members of this Organization, that the talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on the reduction of military presence in the Indian Ocean must be resumed and the Conference on the Indian Ocean be held in Colombo in the first six months of 1983.

(Mr. Pham Ngac, Viet Nam)

The countries in South-East Asia, adjacent to the Indian Ocean, have attempted to establish a zone of peace in their region. Paragraph 64 of the Final Document of the first special session on disarmament reads:

"... the General Assembly notes the proposals for the establishment of zones of peace, inter alia, in

(a) South-East Asia where States in the region have expressed interest in the establishment of such a zone, in conformity with their views," (resolution S-10/2, para. 64)

Here again, the obstacle to the establishment of such a zone is created by an outside Power which benefits from the instability in the region for its hegemonistic expansionism.

The three Indo-Chinese countries, for their part, have made untiring efforts and put forth a series of constructive proposals. It is the conviction of my delegation that finally justice and reason will prevail and countries in the region will overcome obstacles, show a sense of collective responsibility in preserving peace and stability in the area and developing co-operation and friendly relations.

I wish to turn now to another matter which was also the subject of intensive discussion in the Committee on Disarmament during the last session -- chemical weapons.

If the nightmare of Hiroshima and Nagasaki make mankind more determined to support the campaign for nuclear disarmament, the gas chambers of the Nazis during the Second World War, and the United States chemical warfare in Viet Nam, urge them to redouble their efforts to prevent a repetition in the future.

The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is now preparing for an international symposium on the effects of toxic chemicals used by United States troops during the Viet Nam war in an attempt to redress the immediate and long-term damage to human beings and the environment caused by toxic chemicals. This is a most serious approach to the problem. It will help the treatment of the victims in Viet Nam as well as of over:

(Mr. Pham Ngac, Viet Nam)

"... 90,000 American servicemen who have claimed injury -- ranging from dizziness and nausea to cancer and birth defects in children from contact with Agent Orange in Viet Nam." (Washington Post, 1 November 1982)

In view of the decision on the production and deployment of binary weapons, the politically motivated campaign on the alleged use of chemical weapons clearly serves as a smokescreen. One does not need much time to realize that those who were guilty of the Viet Nam war and who kept quiet on United States chemical warfare are now participating most actively in this campaign.

My delegation welcomes the efforts made by the Ad Hoc Working Group on Chemical Weapons of the Committee on Disarmament, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Sujka of Poland, and hopes that the Ad Hoc Working Group will be able to elaborate, at an early date, a draft multilateral convention on the complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction. My delegation considers that document CD/294 of 21 July 1982, submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union, the flexibility of which has been acknowledged in this Committee, could serve as a sound basis for such a draft.

Together with the Protocol of 1925, the bacteriological warfare Convention of 1972 and the environmental modification Convention of 1977, the new convention would make the efforts to end the race in chemical weapons more complete. However, in these negotiations as well as in all other, my delegation is aware that political will must be shown by all sides, without subterfuge of any kind.

While mankind expects progress in science and technology to be in the service of their well-being, the military-industrial complex has missed no chance to enrich itself on death-dealing merchandise. With ever greater imagination they now develop more horrible weapons of mass destruction ranging from neutron bombs to laser and beam weapons.

In a future war one might be able to see in military textbooks as well as on television screens those weapons being deployed everywhere, even in outer space, for the cynical purpose of exterminating the human race.

This Committee has before it various proposals and draft resolutions for preventing the development of new types of weapons of mass destruction and preventing an arms race in outer space. My delegation is of the view that it is never too early to tackle these matters, for once they become reality it will be much harder to deal with them and too late to stop them.

The Soviet Union has proposed negotiations on an international agreement on the prevention of the spread of the arms race to outer space and expressed its readiness to resume negotiations with the United States on anti-satellite systems. Of course, it takes two to conduct any negotiations; thus, the refusal of one side would frustrate all the efforts and drive the whole process of negotiations into an impasse.

Last week the Vietnamese people organized a nationwide campaign in connection with Disarmament Week, held between 24 and 30 October. Meetings and seminars on disarmament were held throughout the country. On 25 October 1982 a mass rally was held in Hanoi, the capital of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, and a resolution was unanimously adopted expressing the determination of the Vietnamese people that peace and disarmament should be achieved.

Needless to say, the ardent desire of the Vietnamese people for peace and disarmament is most understandable, since they have been denied a life in peace for the last three decades. The Vietnamese people, like other peoples, must be allowed to live in peace. The Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is sparing no effort in the search for peace and in its support of any proposal for real disarmament.

Guided by those principles, my delegation assures the Committee of its full co-operation.

Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (interpretation from French): In today's statement we should like to refer to the agenda item entitled "Economic and social consequences of the armaments race and its extremely harmful effects on world peace and security," and to the report on this subject prepared by the Secretary-General with the assistance of a Group of Consultant Experts. As representatives know, this is the third edition of the report which first appeared in 1972 as a result of an initiative of the Romanian delegation.

We should like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General and to the 12 consultant experts, as well as to the United Nations Centre for Disarmament, especially Mrs. Swadesh Rana and Mr. Abdelkader Bensmail who, thanks to their hard work and well-known competence, and the spirit of co-operation which prevailed at the Group's meetings, were able to prepare the report now before the Assembly.

The debates both in plenary meetings and in this Committee have highlighted the growing concern of States at the accelerated pace of the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, and at its serious effects on the entire development of contemporary society. The continuous build-up of weapons and the ceaseless growth of military expenditures are symptoms of the present international situation. These phenomena both reflect and aggravate

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

international tensions, stir up conflicts in various regions of the world, impede efforts to improve the political climate, intensify feelings of insecurity, and increase the threat of a nuclear war.

On more than one occasion the United Nations has drawn attention to this very disturbing situation, stressing that the peoples of the world should not be lulled by the illusion of being able to live peacefully while the arms race continues and while immense material and human resources are being squandered on what are, to say the least, unproductive goals. It is from that perspective that we view the report presented to us which reflects the United Nations concern to study in depth the effects of the arms race on the life of peoples and to inform Governments and public opinion on this matter.

It is not our intention to discuss here the contents of the report. It has been distributed as an official United Nations document and will doubtless be thoroughly studied by all delegations.

But we should like to touch on a few general ideas which emerge from a reading of this document, on its significance and its impact on the international community's effort to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament.

First of all, it is satisfying to see this document keep its place in the broad action of the United Nations to study and understand the complex problems of disarmament.

It is well known that since the first special session devoted to disarmament, the studies and reports prepared by the United Nations on the subject of disarmament have grown in number. Yet they have primarily concerned specific problems or aspects of disarmament. The report on the economic and social consequences of the arms race and of military expenditures is the only document to have dealt with this subject as a global phenomenon and to have given a consistent picture of its extremely harmful effects on all the aspects of the political, economic and social life of States.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

It should be pointed out, moreover, that some of the ideas and conclusions contained in the preceding editions provided useful elements in the exploration and study of specific aspects of the arms race and disarmament.

Secondly, we should like to say that this report is particularly timely because of the way it has organized the study of the subject under consideration, and because of its conclusions that there is an over-riding need for practical action to contain the arms race and the growth of military expenditure, and to move directly forward to negotiations on disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament. The report draws attention to the increased pace of the arms race and the growth of military expenditure during the past four years, compared to the preceding period. That development had not been ignored, but the report makes it very clear by means of a wealth and variety of figures, and a highly scientific analysis.

This analysis is particularly valuable because it points to tendencies and trends in the future. It provides an answer to the question of what will happen to mankind if the unbridled arms race and military expenditure are not curbed. The answer, which is as clear as it is tragic, is that the prospects for mankind are gloomy indeed.

Thirdly, the great value of the report is that it goes into the internal structure of the arms race and other matters, and deals in detail with the qualitative aspects. This is one of the more active aspects of the arms race, where developments are very rapid, an aspect that contains the germ of permanent instability which makes it extremely difficult to control and curb the arms race. The technological advances foreseen for the early 1980s have placed the problem of the limitation of the arms race and disarmament in a completely different context.

It must be pointed out that, in addition to the information and data contained in the report, more information has appeared in the daily press and specialist publications which announce new generations of weapons and systems of weapons of mass destruction, based on the most recent discoveries of science and technology.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

If the qualitative level of armaments, beginning with nuclear weapons, has caused particularly difficult problems of verification, as some claim, one is entitled to ask what will happen when weapons far superior to existing weapons from the qualitative point of view are produced and deployed. Logic requires that we ask another question, based on the paragraphs dealing with qualitative development in armaments. Can the statements in support of disarmament go hand in hand with a process of arming that makes disarmament impossible?

Fourthly, the conclusions of the report which are particularly instructive in terms of the best guidelines for and development of the process of disarmament are those which stress the priority of nuclear disarmament and the need for nuclear-weapon States to be the first to begin negotiations aimed at the adoption of effective disarmament measures. The primary responsibility of the nuclear Powers is borne out by the data and figures which show the high proportion of total expenditure on armaments represented by the expenditure of these Powers, in their effort to perfect these weapons and produce even more destructive ones.

The responsibility of the nuclear Powers does not diminish in any way the role required of other States, which constitute the great majority of the international community, in the common effort to stop the arms race and to bring about disarmament. The report points out that the security and peace of these countries are directly threatened by feverish military competition, that they are constantly having to contend with conflicts and tensions, and that their right to develop in freedom and independence is frequently ignored.

Disarmament presupposes, as stressed in the report, participation by all States, regardless of their size or military might, and requires resolute action in the renunciation of the use of force or the threat of force in international relations, in the peaceful settlement of disputes among States, in the strengthening and adaptation of United Nations machinery to the requirements of the present situation and in encouraging States to use that machinery.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

Only a few States account for the most significant share of military expenditures, but the harmful consequences of these expenditures in economic and social terms are felt by all States.

We are well aware of the impact of armaments and military expenditures on the developing countries. This has been a source of constant concern to the United Nations. It is a very disturbing matter, and it should be noted that the report gives full attention to this matter, and reveals the particularly harmful effect of the arms race on the efforts of the developing countries to achieve an economic take-off, as well as on efforts to narrow the gap between the wealthy and poor countries and establish more just and equitable relations among States.

However, a new note is struck in the report by a more detailed study of the consequences of the arms race and military expenditures on the economic and social life of the highly industrialized countries. The conclusions of the report refute theories that increases in military expenditures and the intensification of research for military purposes are likely to stimulate economic growth and provide a way of escaping from the present economic crisis.

The analysis of the effects of increased arms production and the swelling of military budgets on various aspects of economic life lead us to conclude that the diversion of vast material and human resources creates additional inflationary pressures, reduces investments for productive purposes, and aggravates budgetary and balance-of-payments deficits. Military expenses, the report points out, have no long-term favourable effect on economic growth. They are necessary neither to preserve the technological base of a nation's industry, nor to correct trade imbalances and, far from solving inflationary and employment problems, aggravate them.

The countries with the highest economic growth rates are notoriously those which have spent the smallest percentage of their gross national product on armaments.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

The present economic growth rate and the decrease in the productivity of the developed countries are not due to technical factors. These phenomena should rather be regarded as the long-term effects of a diversion to the military sector, that has taken place over decades, of a substantial part of the funds needed by civilian science and technology.

The report shows, on the basis of a strictly scientific analysis, that now more than ever before world economic development is closely dependent upon real progress in the area of disarmament.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

The Romanian delegation regards the report as a practical tool of undeniable value to support by social and economic arguments the growing need to put an end to the arms race and military expenditures and to begin disarmament negotiations as a matter of urgency. Faced with the serious consequences of military competition, the report is an appeal to all States and international organizations with responsibilities in the field of disarmament to take action without delay. We therefore hope that the General Assembly, under which the Secretary-General and the experts have been working, will endorse the conclusions of the report and commend them to the attention of all Governments.

There is every indication that, like the two earlier editions, this third edition will be an essential United Nations document, used and appreciated by scientists and workers in the media, who are anxious to gain a better understanding of the complex phenomenon of the arms race.

In addition, its careful consideration of the facts, its approach to the subject and its language, which makes it accessible to all, give the document a particular importance at a time when world public opinion - the masses of all countries - is taking a particularly keen interest in the problems of peace and disarmament. The report provides a source of objective, accurate information on the present armaments situation, and it could lead to practical action, based on a knowledge of the facts in support of an end to the arms race and of disarmament.

We believe that it would be useful for the report to be brought to the attention of international public opinion by being distributed in as many languages as possible, as one important form of action in the World Disarmament Campaign.

Finally, we believe that the value of this third edition of the report fully confirms the validity and soundness of the decision taken by the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament to ask the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly periodic reports on the economic and social consequences of the arms race and military expenditures.

(Mr. Marinescu, Romania)

In our opinion, the resolution to be adopted with regard to the report should recommend that the item entitled "Economic and social consequences of the armaments race and its extremely harmful effects on world peace and security" be kept under constant consideration and be included on the agenda of the fortieth session of the General Assembly.

The Romanian delegation is at present having consultations with a view to preparing, with many other delegations, a draft resolution in keeping with those ideas, one that we trust will command the support of all Member States.

Mr. MEDINA (Portugal) (interpretation from French): The convening this year of the second special of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament should have been a major event in disarmament matters, because of the hopes for peace and security that it raised. Unfortunately, those hopes were not reflected in the final results, but we cannot consider the session a failure, for some practical results were achieved, including the mobilization of public opinion on this problem of prime importance.

The representatives of Member States of the United Nations and of various non-governmental organizations also had an opportunity to express their different but converging points of view on preserving and strengthening international peace and security. Moreover, the World Disarmament Campaign was formally launched, and the validity and relevance of the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly as a guideline for disarmament efforts was reaffirmed. Those results are worth emphasizing, although they were less than we had hoped for.

We must analyse the facts on which those results were based, so that we may draw conclusions enabling us to improve our work in the future. The causes of disappointment were many and varied, and I shall confine myself to describing those that seem to us to be the most important.

(Mr. Medina, Portugal)

The first point to be mentioned is the development of the international situation, which was particularly adverse to the cause of disarmament. After the tenth special session of the General Assembly there were many violations of the United Nations Charter, including the military occupation by the troops of a major Power of a sovereign, non-aligned State the invasion of other States and intervention in the internal affairs of some countries. New hotbeds of tension appeared on the international scene, and some degenerated into armed conflict. As a result, an element of distrust entered into international relations, leading States to base their security more on military force than on reaching agreement and holding frank, constructive dialogues, and that did not help the adoption of effective disarmament measures.

Mention should also be made of the ambition of some of the proposals, which did not take account of the constraints of the current trend in international relations. For disarmament must be regarded as an integral part of international relations and not as a separate category. That being so, it experiences favourable and unfavourable influences, and measures designed to attain the goals of disarmament must take account of that if they are to have real effect on the level of armaments.

My country believes that disarmament efforts should concentrate on objectives that can be achieved in current circumstances, with the other, more ambitious proposals being deferred until international conditions are less adverse to them. We are certainly not suggesting that the international community should sit back and passively await a spontaneous improvement in the situation. On the contrary, the difficulties inspire us to act without delay to create conditions favourable to negotiation and the adoption of effective, verifiable measures, acceptable to all the parties. In this context, the creation of a climate of confidence and trust between States is essential for the attainment of that goal.

(Mr. Medina, Portugal)

Portugal participates actively in the proceedings of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and is deeply involved in the Madrid negotiations, where it will support all measures to improve the climate, as is their aim. The study prepared pursuant to General Assembly resolution 34/87 B offers interesting conclusions that could serve as a basis for negotiations on measures to increase confidence between States, bearing in mind in particular that these measures, to be considered at the regional level, have a potential that merits their being exploited to the utmost.

The voluntary publication of military expenditures, in the form devised by a Group of Experts pursuant to General Assembly resolutions, is an example of measures to improve confidence between States, thus opening the way to the adoption of measures of major scope and significance.

(Mr. Medina, Portugal)

It is desirable that as many States as possible participate so that all the various systems of national accounting will be represented to ensure accuracy of the final results.

Although the General Assembly at its tenth special session declared that nuclear weapons should have the highest priority in disarmament negotiations, the nuclear threat still constitutes the most serious challenge facing the international community.

The efforts of the international community have not been effective in curbing the trend to stockpile nuclear weapons and towards their technological improvement, nor has it affected vertical proliferation.

The requirements that impel mankind to resort increasingly to nuclear power as an alternative source of energy will lead to an increase in the number of countries at the threshold of nuclear technology, a stage at which the production of nuclear weapons becomes basically a political decision. Thus we may witness an increase in horizontal proliferation, which has so far been contained.

Accordingly nuclear disarmament must become the focus of major efforts to ensure success in negotiations leading to verifiable and acceptable effective measures. These efforts should be directed towards two general objectives that are different but complementary: on the one hand, we must seek to prevent an increase of existing arsenals, quantitatively and qualitatively, and, on the other hand, we must seek to prevent the horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons. In these efforts a special responsibility rests with those States that possess nuclear weapons and particularly those with the largest arsenals; but that does not exclude any States from responsibility for contributing actively to the negotiations.

In this context, my delegation wishes to express its satisfaction at the fact that the two Powers with the largest nuclear arsenals have begun negotiations on strategic nuclear weapons and on medium-range weapons.

(Mr. Medina, Portugal)

We are also pleased that, in the view of the two parties, these negotiations should deal not only with limitations but also with reductions and we trust that these intentions will culminate in specific and verifiable measures.

We take note with pleasure also of the fact that the two Powers have declared their intention to continue to respect the SALT II Agreement. However, we are of the view that, while negotiations can play an important part in the efforts to curb the nuclear arms race, they are far from being the only course of action for reaching that goal. Some measures are already being negotiated, within the Committee on Disarmament, but so far progress has been very meagre. Thus it seems clear that the time has come to give a new impetus to the talks on these measures. The concluding of an agreement on a comprehensive prohibition of nuclear tests, for which the study on means of verification is already well advanced, and the formulation of negative security guarantees constitute examples of such measures.

With regard to horizontal proliferation, Portugal continues to believe that the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to which it is a party, is still an essential element in the non-proliferation system. Unfortunately, some States have not signed that important instrument of international security, including some with major nuclear facilities. This situation weakens the non-proliferation system and prompts my country to make an appeal to all those States that are not yet full parties to the Treaty to accede to it as soon as possible.

The creation of nuclear-weapon free zones constitutes another instrument for the strengthening of the nuclear non-proliferation system; but to be effective this must be in accordance with certain principles, particularly those requiring the consent of all countries in the zone, the co-operation of the nuclear Powers and that there be no diminution of the security level of States - to all of which my country attaches paramount importance.

Chemical weapons constitute another area of concern for my country. The General Assembly at its tenth special session declared:

"The complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and their destruction represent one of the most urgent measures of disarmament." (resolution S-10/2, part III, para. 75)

(Mr. Medina, Portugal)

However, the negotiations in this area have not made any significant progress; in fact there are some grounds for thinking that we are close to a chemical arms race, carried on by a small number of countries that possess the sophisticated technology necessary for research, development and production of such weapons. In these circumstances, the concluding of an agreement aimed at the total prohibition of development and production of chemical weapons and also the destruction of existing stockpiles is of extreme importance and a matter of high priority.

While speaking of chemical weapons, we should not forget the allegations made regarding the use of such weapons, already prohibited by the Geneva Protocol of 1925, by the armed forces of certain States. My country, which is a party to that Protocol, supported the establishment of a group of experts entrusted with carrying out an impartial investigation of those allegations. Unfortunately, the group of experts encountered unexpected difficulties in the carrying out of its mandate, due to the lack of co-operation of certain States. In spite of everything, we hope that it will be able to arrive at some conclusions this year. Portugal attaches great importance to respect for agreements freely entered into and thus expects that these allegations will be fully investigated, a matter that is particularly important, and we hope that effective procedures will be established to verify the facts.

The use of outer space for military purposes, which has been made possible by improved technology, is a matter of concern to my delegation. We note with satisfaction that the Committee on Disarmament has decided to include in its agenda the question of the prevention of an arms race in outer space and we hope that it will soon be able to begin discussions leading to effective and verifiable agreements on weapons that could be used in outer space.

Lastly, my delegation considers that the question of conventional weapons should be among those deserving of priority consideration by the international community. The part that such weapons have played in armed conflicts since the Second World War requires that measures be taken urgently, as an integral and essential part of the disarmament progress. In this context, the study of all the aspects of conventional weapons decided upon by the General Assembly, which Portugal has always supported, is a step in the right direction.

(Mr. Medina, Portugal)

My delegation hopes that its conclusions and recommendations will help us to achieve that goal.

In Europe negotiations on that subject are being dragged out from year to year, for well-known reasons. However, we hope that the recent introduction of new proposals by the Western countries will make it possible for these negotiations to enter a decisive and progressive phase, so as to strengthen the political and military stability of Central Europe.

The Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, which was devoted to disarmament, recognizes, in paragraph 28, that all States have the right to participate on an equal footing in the multilateral disarmament negotiations and, in paragraph 120, that the membership of the Committee on Disarmament will be reviewed at regular intervals.

(Mr. Medina, Portugal)

My delegation feels that the time has come to implement those provisions. Portugal and other States accordingly submitted in that Committee draft resolutions that were adopted by a large majority, recommending that the Committee should complete the review of its membership during the second special session of the Assembly devoted to disarmament.

However, the membership of that body has remained unchanged. My delegation hopes that the Committee on Disarmament will, in the immediate future, take due account of the recommendations of the General Assembly..

After four years in its present form, it does not seem that we can really invoke the effectiveness of this negotiating body as a reason for indefinitely postponing a review of its membership. In our view, a modest increase in membership could be in keeping with its character without prejudicing its effectiveness. In connection with this review, the Committee should also study adequate machinery for improving the opportunities for non-member States to participate in its work, bearing in mind the practical implementation of paragraph 28.

The situation created by the continuing distrust in international relations does not help us to reach disarmament goals. However, it is at difficult moments that we must act most forcefully and most decisively to avert the dangers which loom over international peace and security. This is one of the essential aspects of the task before us.

The meeting rose at 1.20 a.m.