



*President:* Mr. Peter FLORIN  
(German Democratic Republic).

**AGENDA ITEM 8**

**General debate (continued)**

1. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will first hear an address by the President of the Republic of Afghanistan. On behalf of the Assembly, I have the honour to welcome Mr. Najibullah to the United Nations and to invite him to address the Assembly.
2. Mr. NAJIBULLAH (Afghanistan):\* I am happy, Sir, to congratulate you sincerely on your well-deserved election to preside over the General Assembly during its third special session devoted to disarmament. I am confident that with your vast diplomatic experience and wisdom you will skilfully guide the Assembly's deliberations to a very successful outcome.
3. I am very pleased to participate in this session and to address such an important gathering.
4. The question of preserving peace and promoting disarmament is deeply rooted in the minds of all peoples of the world. Defending peace and eliminating destructive weapons in all continents is no longer a general and collective responsibility alone, but is also an individual responsibility of all inhabitants of our planet. The bitter experience of human society and the dreadful destruction of the Second World War have confirmed this fact.
5. In comparison with previous wars and the events within the last few decades, our world today is witnessing great progress in the technology of destruction. This undeniable factor necessitates harmony between the development of the ethics of coexistence and the growth of technology. The possibility of a nuclear war has posed a great threat to human life and civilization. The question of removing this threat is, therefore, the most urgent and most serious of all problems.
6. It is obvious that we shall succeed in solving none of the world's problems unless we first and foremost resolve the problems related to war, peace, disarmament and peaceful co-operation. Therefore, the situation and those factors which would lead to the solution of other world problems depend upon the decisions and measures which are taken and implemented to solve the disarmament problems.
7. We must clearly admit that the world does not have much time at its disposal to take practical steps towards eliminating the nightmare of a nuclear confrontation. The peoples and countries of the world are impatiently waiting for logic and common sense to prevail over short-sighted and selfish perceptions of attempting to guarantee security under the shadow of a nuclear umbrella.
8. Major steps have been taken along the road to disarmament, and important arms limitation treaties have been signed. They have created promising grounds for world disarmament and real and lasting peace. Nevertheless, if they are not coupled with further steps in conformity with the demands of our times they will be covered by clouds of distrust.
9. We believe that the conclusion of the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles—the INF Treaty—is the sort of practical step that brings mankind much hope for a secure future. It is only the beginning, but, as Aristotle said, "To begin is more than half of the whole." The conclusion of this treaty is evidence of the fact that by indefatigable endeavours, with the awakening of world opinion and with compromise, we can reach a balance of interests on the most sensitive matters related to security.
10. While welcoming the recent progress in the Soviet-American disarmament negotiations, we believe that similar advances in all aspects of relations between the two great Powers, together with understandings on regional problems and major economic and humanitarian problems, are of great importance. All these factors have brought about favourable conditions for the improvement of the overall international situation and the promotion and expansion of international co-operation, in the interest of all parties concerned.
11. The question of consolidating mutual confidence, which should be solved by each party through ensuring order in its own house, is of prime importance. The experience of negotiations on European missiles and the Stockholm accords clearly manifest this fact. In other words, in their dialogues the parties should demonstrate their readiness to reassess their positions in the light of the new political spirit. Preparations for concluding an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on a 50 per cent reduction in offensive strategic arms will greatly help to promote this spirit.
12. The recent Soviet-American summit meeting in Moscow was a further step towards improving the atmosphere of confidence. Peoples have welcomed

\*Mr. Najibullah spoke in Pushtu. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

the outcome of the meeting with satisfaction. We see the emergence of hope and trust that contacts between the two major Powers are acquiring a continuous and permanent character and are contributing to improving the situation throughout the world.

13. We believe that to advance in this direction requires not only great efforts by the nuclear States, but also the mobilization of world public opinion, particularly in those countries where such means of destruction are stockpiled. With the technological advance of the means of destruction, the peoples of the world should become more aware of the nature of its dangers.

14. In our view the conditions exist for halting the arms race. Wisdom commands that instead of attempting to attain military superiority and to obtain a nuclear-strike power, we must strive to preserve the existing parity and, even better, gradually to reduce the level of this balance. Why not think about the reduction and elimination of nuclear arms, instead of thinking of defence against them?

15. We share the opinion of the leaders of the Six-Nation Initiative that in today's conditions no question is as urgent and important as a comprehensive ban on nuclear tests.

16. The surest security is universal and indivisible security. No country can build for itself an island of security and prosperity in one corner of the globe with a wall of missiles, while the rest of the world burns in the flames of war. We strongly believe that we should not give the notion of security a dual character by dividing the world into nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon countries.

17. Afghanistan fully supports all initiatives to establish a comprehensive system of collective security. The core of this system consists of eradicating the nuclear threat and blackmail, eliminating the danger of confrontation between East and West, bridging the wide gap between the developed and developing countries, ensuring a balance of economic interests among all States based upon humanitarian values and the accepted norms of international law, and, ultimately, creating mutual confidence.

18. The present discussions testify to the fact that an interrelationship exists between political and economic life. Understanding this, we should work together towards a just solution of human problems. Neither the strongest of States nor any group of States can single-handedly find the solution to questions regarding the survival and progress of mankind. The need for simultaneous movement in the main directions of solving international problems such as disarmament, regional crises, development of economic co-operation, preservation of the environment and protection of human rights has gained significance. How could one ardently speak of human rights while the most rudimentary human right, that is, the right to live in safety, is permanently threatened by the stockpiles of horrifying devices of mass destruction? Non-nuclear-weapon countries are faced with that permanent threat. We consider necessary reliable international guarantees, on the basis of an

international instrument, concerning the non-use or threat of use of nuclear arms against these countries.

19. The United Nations, as an authoritative world organization, is an important place where the serious concerns of mankind over the possibility of the outbreak of yet another war in this era of nuclear arms could be expressed. At the same time, the United Nations has become an important forum for assessing the problems related to war and peace and security at the world level and has, fortunately, scored valuable achievements in strengthening understanding concerning these issues.

20. The United Nations cannot, however, achieve its aims in the field of disarmament without the political will and the serious endeavours of its Member States. We highly commend the efforts of the United Nations in developing the theoretical and practical aspects of preventive diplomacy in order to strengthen peace and disarmament.

21. In the field of international relations and in the struggle for disarmament, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries plays a special role as an active force struggling for the removal of confrontations and the establishment of mutual co-operation and understanding among all groups of States based on internationally accepted norms and principles, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

22. Afghanistan, as one of the least developed countries, has time and again stated that these countries should not be regarded as confrontation spots between East and West and that relations with them should not be based on politico-ideological or military protectionism, but rather on mutually beneficial economic, scientific, technological and cultural exchanges.

23. The member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, which constitute the majority of participants at this session, will never allow their destiny to be determined by others. The documents of the Movement's Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government, held at Harare in September 1986, reaffirm this fact.

24. Unity of action and serious adherence to agreed norms and goals are essential to disarmament, for without them it would be impossible to achieve any progress towards solving regional conflicts and developing normal diplomatic relations among countries.

25. No country or group of countries can monopolize the establishment of a new international security order. No country, including the Soviet Union and the United States, can serve as a high court determining the destiny of other countries and peoples. The peoples themselves have the right to determine the destiny of their own countries, while only the human community is entitled to determine the destiny of mankind. The pressing political, social and economic problems and the existing contradictions in the developing world should not be viewed as grounds for consolidating two rival systems, for that would present the danger of confrontation between the two systems and block the solution of problems.

26. In solving these problems, the developing countries benefit first of all from the effective functioning of the system that ensures international legal order, which is provided for in the Charter. Wars and bloodshed among the developing countries, including the conflict between Iran and Iraq and the aggressive actions of the racist régime of South Africa, are some tragic examples of breaches of this system.

27. In the search for ways and means to achieve a world free from nuclear weapons, we should not only refer to the great Powers and members of the "Nuclear Club", but should also address all other countries, big or small. The New Delhi Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World<sup>1</sup> is a manifestation of a responsible approach to the most pressing problems of our time and enjoys significant importance.

28. The Republic of Afghanistan, as a non-aligned country, believes that stability cannot be ensured by using nuclear weapons as a so-called means of deterrence. In our opinion, nuclear deterrence means the acceptance of a world fraught with fear and terror and is a cause of the continuation of the nuclear arms race, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Our call for the cessation of the arms race and the reduction of nuclear weapons is aimed at the complete annihilation of nuclear arsenals.

29. We also believe that no effort should be spared towards preventing the stationing of nuclear weapons in outer space. The exploration and use of space should be conducted only for peaceful purposes for the benefit of all countries and to safeguard international peace and security.

30. The spread of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear-weapon countries is also regarded as another main reason for instability in the world. The emergence of the so-called mini-nuclear Powers is a grave threat to the peace, security and stability of various regions and of the world and can have unpredictable consequences. One should not ignore the fact that there are a number of non-nuclear States which are on the threshold of producing nuclear weapons, particularly with the use of plutonium.

31. The Republic of Afghanistan, as one of the signatories of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], appeals to all the countries of the world to abide by this Treaty. We believe it will become a factor in the peaceful use of nuclear technology in the interest of mankind and against the proliferation of such weapons to other countries.

32. We should use all means available to achieve disarmament and the creation of nuclear-free zones. The Republic of Afghanistan fully supports endeavours aimed at preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons in Latin America, creating a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East, eradicating nuclear weapons from the European continent and keeping Africa as a non-nuclear continent. Efforts to turn the South Pacific and South-East Asia into nuclear-free zones and to create such a zone in the Korean peninsula are of great importance and will result in the establishment of a reliable security system and strengthen the

international régime of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

33. The Indian Ocean has become a potential centre for a nuclear threat. The efforts of the international community, particularly those of the littoral and hinterland States, to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace have been seriously hampered by increasing military arrangements, including the deployment of nuclear and chemical weapons. Efforts to convene an international conference on the Indian Ocean at Colombo on the proposal of the non-aligned countries now constitute the pivotal struggle to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

34. The basis for a global movement—including in the developing countries—for the release of economic resources through disarmament, is gaining strength. In our present world there is a close interrelationship between disarmament and development. As was reaffirmed at the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, the two pressing needs of modern times—disarmament and development—are indissolubly linked. Major reductions in military expenditure should release considerable funds which would contribute to solving the serious problems faced by mankind. Therefore, the theory of armament instead of development should be replaced by the principle of disarmament for development.

35. We support a freeze on military expenditure at its present level and its subsequent reduction, so that the resources thus released could be used for developmental activities and to strengthen regional and international economic co-operation.

36. Although the production of nuclear weapons has been the focus of the attention of the military strategists, 80 per cent of world military expenditure is squandered on conventional arms and military equipment, which constitutes a permanent cause of increasing military budgets. If the general level of income is to be considered as a criterion, military expenditure in the developing countries is considerably higher than that in the developed countries. Therefore we also attach great importance to the negotiations on conventional disarmament within the framework of general and complete disarmament.

37. In our view the elimination of chemical and radiological weapons and banning the production and development of new types of weapons of mass destruction are among the basic and serious tasks before mankind.

38. One of the necessary conditions for disarmament, as we have stated before, is to build international confidence, particularly between the two major nuclear Powers. Regional confrontations and conflicts have a negative impact on the level of confidence existing between the Powers. We remember the cold war, when every serious effort to conclude accords on the reduction of combat preparedness, especially for a nuclear war, was hindered by regional conflicts. It is impossible to think that the nuclear Powers assume commitments related to arms limitations and at the same time persist in engaging in confrontation in different parts of the world. Taking

this fact into consideration, we should seek for ways and means to achieve just and peaceful solutions to those confrontations and conflicts in order to eliminate hotbeds of tension in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

39. We in the Republic of Afghanistan have launched a policy of national reconciliation. Together with that, by demonstrating flexibility and political will, we have been able to conclude the historic Geneva accords between the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. This has paved the way for a comprehensive political solution to the situation around Afghanistan. The path to the accords was very complicated and arduous. The Secretary-General, who initiated the process, made a great contribution to these negotiations. With persistent efforts his personal representative brought the process to a successful conclusion. On behalf of the people and Government of Afghanistan, I should like to express my appreciation of their tireless endeavours. I also wish to express our gratitude for the role of all countries concerned in demonstrating political realism in the successful conclusion of the Geneva accords. We wish to thank the United States and the Soviet Union for their role as the guarantors of the accords.

40. The Geneva agreements have laid a solid foundation for non-intervention and non-interference in the affairs of an independent, non-aligned and neutral Afghanistan. They have provided reliable conditions for the return of our refugee compatriots. The Republic of Afghanistan believes that there exists a favourable opportunity for turning our region into a zone of confidence and co-operation. Likewise, the Geneva accords have provided favourable conditions for the normalization of relations, ensuring good-neighbourliness, non-interference, mutual co-operation and peaceful coexistence between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

41. The Geneva accords entered into force on 15 May and the return of the limited military contingent of the Soviet Union began. One quarter of the forces have already returned to their peaceful country. The United Nations Good Offices Mission for Afghanistan and Pakistan has commenced its work in the Republic of Afghanistan and in Pakistan. Work on the opening of the UNHCR office in Kabul is under way.

42. The signing of the Geneva accords shows that through political and peaceful means, we can solve differences and conflicts. Afghanistan, as in the past, will sincerely and faithfully abide by its obligations arising from these accords. Their sincere implementation is the sole test of professed peaceful intentions and will prove a good example for resolving other regional conflicts. Any action aimed at playing down or ignoring the Geneva agreements will damage their successful implementation and will jeopardize peace, security and stability in the region. This is a test for all those who have for so long been speaking of peace and security.

43. We sincerely hope that the United Nations and its Member States will support us in the process of implementing the Geneva accords. If we really want the establishment of peace and security in our region

and in the world, we should refrain from any action that might violate these accords.

44. However, to our deep regret and contrary to the provisions of the accords, camps and centres for training the extremist Afghan opposition still exist on the territory of Pakistan. The delivery of deadly weapons to opposition bands in Afghanistan is being continued, and huge amounts of such arms are being transported for subversive and terroristic acts. Actions are being taken by Pakistani authorities and armed extremist groups to hinder the voluntary return of Afghan refugees to their homeland. Such actions are sheer violations of the letter and spirit of the Geneva accords and an affront to the United Nations.

45. They, in Islamabad, will be gravely mistaken should they think that only one part of the Geneva accords, that is, the return of the Soviet troops, will be implemented and the other parties will not live up to their commitments. If the Pakistani side does not adopt appropriate measures to end interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan from its territory, Afghanistan reserves its right to react in a manner warranted by the situation.

46. We resolutely state that the people and Government of Afghanistan repudiate any imposition of a political or economic system on us by any country. However, we sincerely welcome the efforts of all countries for the restoration of peace in Afghanistan, because the scourges of a devastating war have left deep marks in the economy of our country.

47. According to the statistics collected by us up to the present time, as a result of the undeclared war against the Republic of Afghanistan from 1978 to the present day, the number of those killed from among the armed forces and civilian supporters of the State alone reaches a figure of 243,900 people, of whom 208,200 were men and 35,700 were women. That figure also includes 20,700 children up to 10 years old. During the same period 77,700 people were injured, of whom 17,100 were women and about 900 were children. In spite of the present problem of collecting accurate statistics, it is estimated that the national economy has sustained a loss of several billions of dollars, equal to three quarters of all developmental investments in the 50 years prior to the revolution.

48. International assistance is urgently required for the rehabilitation of the economy. I hereby call upon all countries, financial and monetary institutions, non-governmental organizations, UNHCR and other relevant United Nations agencies and the International Committee of the Red Cross to co-operate in restoring normal life and in the reconstruction of our war-stricken country. The recent visit to Kabul by Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan, co-ordinator of United Nations humanitarian and economic assistance relating to Afghanistan, and by representatives of United Nations agencies concerned was a first step towards the co-ordination of this assistance.

49. Our call on all opposition forces for reconciliation and the establishment of a coalition government shows Afghanistan's serious determination to resolve this grave regional conflict, a determination stem-

ming from a profound desire to ensure tranquillity for our people and the other peoples of the region.

50. Our policy clearly shows that we do not believe in resolving conflicts by resorting to armed force. In our view our problems can be settled through a broad-based coalition, a society with a multi-party system and a multi-faceted economy, with broad political and social participation by all classes and strata of people. The legal groundwork for the establishment of such a society has been laid in the Constitution of the Republic of Afghanistan. This is the first time that our Constitution has clearly stipulated that Afghanistan will join no military bloc and will allow no foreign military bases on its territory.

51. The flexibility of the present leadership of Afghanistan is also shown in its decision to give up a monopoly on power, to introduce a parliament chosen through a competitive party system and to grant all political, social and economic rights and privileges to those returning to the country.

52. The Parliament of Afghanistan, elected in conformity with the country's Constitution, started its work on 28 May 1988 with 184 deputies and 115 senators. With a view to realizing the policy of national reconciliation, 62 seats in Parliament have been left vacant for the opposition. Soon, the Prime Minister-designate, a renowned non-party personality, will introduce his cabinet and socio-economic programme for a vote of confidence in Parliament; the cabinet will have a coalition character.

53. We hope that the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament will hold fruitful discussions on the need for disarmament. We hope too that the session will usher in a new stage of dialogue and negotiations on the prevention of nuclear war and elimination of the threat of nuclear weapons and that it will lay a genuine foundation for the limitation and prohibition of those weapons. We hope that the session will adopt practical measures to solve the main problems, with a view to freeing the world of nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

54. Let us say goodbye to the nuclear weapon, that most horrible brainchild of man. Let us respect and comply with the Charter of the United Nations, on which the global security system is based. That is our responsibility to future generations. The collective, united efforts of mankind can save our civilization.

55. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Afghanistan for the important statement he has just made.

56. The Assembly will now hear an address by the Prime Minister of Barbados. I have great pleasure in welcoming Mr. L. Erskine Sandiford and inviting him to address the Assembly.

57. Mr. SANDIFORD (Barbados): It is an honour for me, on behalf of the Government and the people of Barbados, to extend congratulations to you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its third special session devoted to disarmament. I am confident that through your

diplomatic experience the deliberations of the Assembly will be brought to a successful conclusion.

58. A short distance away from this Hall is an inscription which has direct relevance to this debate. It reads as follows: "And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

59. Disarmament—and indeed, as is implicit in that prophetic quotation, disarmament for economic development—has been the constant goal of mankind throughout the ages. Our presence here today could inspire the pessimists to rush to the conclusion that we are giving testimony to the failure of mankind to achieve that goal.

60. Indeed, we have witnessed two devastating world wars. Out of the Second World War came a universal desire that the scourge of war should never be visited upon succeeding generations. That desire was given substance in the founding of the United Nations. Yet the disarmament for which mankind has yearned for so long has not been realized. Since 1945 the threat of nuclear war has intensified, even as regional conflicts have occurred on an unprecedented scale. It has become evident that while few would deny the need for disarmament, there is wide divergence among nations on how it can be achieved.

61. This world body continues to grapple with the elusive problem of how to deal decisively with the question of disarmament in all its forms. We have now embarked on the third special session of the General Assembly devoted exclusively to this complex subject. However, the results of the first and second special sessions left our desires unfulfilled. Indeed, a number of the disarmament objectives which were given the Assembly's solemn approval have not yet been achieved.

62. Yet this session comes at a time when the prospects for progress in disarmament seem better than ever before. This is so mainly as a result of the perceptible warming in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. The 1987 Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles from Europe has contributed significantly to relieving some of the threat of nuclear war. This small step on the long road towards complete nuclear disarmament is very encouraging.

63. The record of negotiations on disarmament has been compared to walking on a treadmill. Even as some progress has been made towards reducing one level of nuclear weapons, new weapons and variations of weapons are emerging. Each year hundreds of millions of dollars are spent on research and development for devising quicker, more silent, more undetectable ways of killing—millions of dollars which could be used to alleviate the suffering that is all too prevalent around our globe. The question of disarmament, therefore, must be approached not only in terms of the actual elimination of existing conventional and nuclear arms, but also in terms of the elimination of existing capacities to produce new types of armaments.

64. Closely related to the need to end research and development for such destructive purposes is the need for a ban on all nuclear testing. One may well ask why it has not been possible to agree on a comprehensive nuclear-test ban when none of those directly concerned would deny the dangers of nuclear war and the need to eliminate its threat. And why test nuclear weapons if there is indeed agreement that such weapons should be eliminated? Barbados welcomed the decision by the Soviet Union to declare a temporary moratorium on nuclear testing. We have joined other members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in calling for an agreement on the prohibition of all nuclear-weapon tests. Such an agreement would be an indication of the commitment of those concerned with nuclear disarmament.

65. Such a commitment would also be reflected in a pledge by those States with the relevant capabilities to keep outer space free of nuclear-weapon installations. Barbados has long supported the call that outer space be explored and used for the benefit of all mankind. Urgent and concerted action is necessary to enhance the legal régime applicable to outer space to provide guarantees for global peace and security.

66. Since the Second World War the world has witnessed an increase in the number of States with the capacity to manufacture, stockpile and deploy nuclear weapons. This increase carries with it a heightened possibility of nuclear war, as well as the real danger of accidental nuclear explosion. Moreover, nuclear weapons have introduced a new and more frightening element into regional conflicts because of their capacity for destruction beyond their geographical confines.

67. International concern has also been focused on the proliferation of chemical weapons and the increased capacity for their production. Chemical weapons are more readily and cheaply developed and produced than nuclear weapons. They carry the perverse appeal of causing immediate mass destruction of life while leaving inanimate objects intact. The bald fact is that chemical weapons are no less barbarous as instruments of mass destruction of mankind than are nuclear weapons.

68. Developing countries have long insisted that the case for linkage between disarmament and development is incontestable. In developing countries today close to 1 billion people subsist below the poverty line, 780 million people are undernourished, 850 million remain illiterate, and 1.5 billion have no access to medical facilities. In stark contrast to this human degradation, we observe that global military spending accounts for approximately 6 per cent of world gross domestic product, or 20 times as much as official development assistance to developing countries. This military expenditure has grown during the 1980s on average at a faster rate than during the second half of the 1970s even as developing countries have been saddled with debts of over \$1,000 billion.

69. Ours is not an appeal to morality only. It is an appeal rooted in the conviction that disarmament for development offers an opportunity for the resources now squandered on destructive purposes to be utilized for productive ends. Barbados believes that the true cost of such military production is the loss of

what could have been produced with the same capital, labour and raw materials in improving human health and educational standards, enhancing agricultural and energy productivity and controlling pollution of the Earth's environment. Each year military production consumes a significant proportion of world energy resources, non-energy minerals, skilled human resources and industrial productive capacity.

70. While the bulk of global military spending is concentrated among the industrialized countries, the countries of the developing world also feel constrained to import arms, the cost of which contributes to the debt burden. The level of expenditure on the implements of war, even if it is related to defensive policies, has a direct and adverse impact on the level of investment expenditures, taxation, consumption and inflation.

71. The Government of Barbados is conscious of the fact that disarmament for development will itself entail certain costs. It will not be an easy road. For some the armament industry is a major employer and foreign-exchange earner. The lessons of the past suggest, however, that there are even greater gains to be obtained from diverting resources to non-military uses. In the period immediately following the Second World War the industrialized nations reaped the benefits of converting capacities for military production to developmental uses.

72. Considerable debate has already taken place on this issue. Barbados regrets that at the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, held in New York from 24 August to 11 September 1987, it was not possible to agree on specific mechanisms to channel resources released from disarmament into development. Not only is such a mechanism feasible, but it clearly falls within the sphere of competence of the United Nations. This special session of the General Assembly affords an opportunity for concrete steps to be taken to set up a fund under the auspices of the United Nations to channel for development purposes the resources released as a result of the implementation of disarmament measures.

73. Perhaps the single greatest obstacle to comprehensive disarmament is in the area of verification. Again and again the position has been articulated that there is willingness to make progress in disarmament but for the absence of acceptable mechanisms to enable each party to be certain that the other is doing what it has undertaken to do. Barbados believes that further advances can be made in this area if progress is achieved in the elaboration of principles applicable to verification. Above all, we are convinced that the complex issues surrounding verification could be more easily resolved if brought within the multilateral ambit of the United Nations.

74. Barbados is committed to general and complete disarmament as one of the priorities of its foreign policy. We strongly believe that the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations must play a pivotal role in this process. This third special session on disarmament, following closely on the special ministerial meeting devoted to disarmament of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-

Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 26 to 30 May 1988, must do all it can to implement the Programme of Action that came out of the 1978 special session on disarmament [*resolution S-10/2, sect. III*].

75. Developing countries are not so naïve as to hope that disarmament can take place in a vacuum. There must first be relief from the tensions, both political and economic, which cause States to accumulate arms. Nation-States arm themselves because they feel threatened or because they lack confidence in their neighbours. It follows, therefore, that the true potential of disarmament cannot be realized without the elimination of those factors which lead to insecurity and to the violation of peoples' integrity. In addition, international security will be guaranteed only to the extent that peaceful and negotiated solutions to regional conflicts are pursued.

76. The situation in southern Africa and that in the Middle East are today two of the greatest sources of tension and instability in the world. The Government of Barbados has no doubt that if we could successfully resolve those two issues we would witness a dramatic reduction in the levels of military spending by all those nations affected by those two sources of tension.

77. The objective of providing security without recourse to arms has proved to be elusive, but security is a fundamental objective for all States. Unfortunately, the myth has been perpetuated that security can be bought through armaments and that world peace can be based on superiority in the possession of weapons.

78. I wish to submit to the Assembly that security can be found in greater reliance on the mechanisms made available by the United Nations. The goal of creating an age of peace and security is at the very foundation of the Charter of the United Nations. We are convinced that the effective implementation of the collective security provisions of the Charter would enhance the prospects for international peace, thereby reducing the need for Member States to seek security by resorting to the accumulation of arms.

79. One recent encouraging sign is the agreement reached in December 1987 between the Soviet Union and the United States on the elimination of their intermediate-range and shorter-range nuclear missiles. That is an important breakthrough, both as an actual disarmament instrument and as a confidence-building measure. It needs to be followed up by further agreements on reductions of the still-overwhelming nuclear arsenals of both super-Powers. The recently concluded discussions between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States have been a source of great encouragement and rekindled our hopes that substantial arms limitation is possible in the near future. We must now seek to ensure that there is a comprehensive ban on all nuclear testing, that outer space is kept free of all nuclear weapons, and that more and more of the Earth's territory is freed from nuclear threat.

80. Barbados is equally convinced that more rapid and significant progress in disarmament will be made only in the wake of a rededication to the principles

enshrined in the Charter. We are dealing with a question which has its manifestation in the accumulation of arms. Yet the root of the problem is not on the battlefield or in the corridors of military and defence establishments; it is in the mind, in the fear and uncertainty which make the accumulation of armaments, at whatever cost, seem all too logical. The Charter offers a reminder of the horrendous effects of that kind of thinking in an earlier era and a guide to avoiding a recurrence in the future.

81. This session provides a historic opportunity to deal with the question of disarmament in all its aspects. Some progress has been made with individual components of the issue. It is now time to seek agreement in principle with regard to all areas. Only the United Nations provides the universal representation which is necessary for dealing with an issue that affects the future of all mankind.

82. Let us see this session as a test of our commitment to bequeath to our sons and daughters a world free from the threat of war. Let us see this session as a test of the will of nation-States not to learn war any more. It is a test we cannot fail.

83. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of Barbados for the important statement he has just made.

84. Mr. NWACHUKWU (Nigeria): May I, on behalf of the Nigerian delegation, add my voice to the numerous expressions of warm sentiments which you, Sir, have already received and convey my delegation's best wishes for the successful completion of your role as President of the General Assembly at this special session devoted to disarmament. Our two countries—the German Democratic Republic and Nigeria—share a common vision in which mankind will have the courage and foresight to halt the seeming inexorable slide into what is evidently doomed to be self-imposed obliteration. We earnestly hope that the result of this session will contribute significantly to the United Nations' unceasing efforts towards the objective of general and complete disarmament. I am pleased therefore to assure you of our co-operation and support in the performance of your arduous task.

85. May I also extend warm greetings to the Secretary-General, whose dedication to the cause of peace continues to be steadfast notwithstanding all the crises to which the multilateral process has been subjected.

86. The Nigerian delegation is not here to moralize or to assume the pretentious posture that the issues and problems relating to disarmament can be subjected to simplistic prescriptions. So long as the inordinate pursuit of national interests, conflicts of ideologies, the quest for domination and for spheres of influence and glaring social and economic inequalities which characterize international relations persist, so long will the instinct for the acquisition of the means for offence or defence preoccupy the conduct of States and peoples. However, I believe it is possible—indeed imperative—to reverse that trend, particularly since it is now clear to all that the acquisition of arms for the régime of unilateral or

sectional security breeds insecurity. To attain peace and security, States must change those concepts which promote reliance on weapons, particularly that ultimate weapon of mass destruction, the nuclear weapon. They must give up concepts of partial security in favour of those of global or common security, thereby ensuring the removal of both the military and the non-military threat to mankind as a whole. In the United Nations we have an enduring instrument of global peace. Let us use it to maximum effect, instead of marginalizing or neglecting it, as is often the case.

87. In taking the initiative for the series of special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, of which this is the third, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries sought to revive the vision of the founding fathers in creating the United Nations to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The Final Document adopted at the first special session, held in 1978 [*resolution S-10/2*], was in the true spirit of the aims and objectives embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. Peace, so well espoused in the Charter, undoubtedly flows from an abiding faith that violence and aggression should not threaten the sovereign right of States to exist within secure borders. Nevertheless, the delicately prescribed balance of rights and obligations embodied in the Charter appears increasingly to bind only the small and weak nations. The large and technologically well-advanced States arrogate to themselves the right to choose which rules to obey and which to defy.

88. That is why, 10 years after the Final Document of the first special session on disarmament was adopted by consensus, the accumulation of nuclear weapons has dramatically increased in numbers and in lethality and the arms race between the super-Powers and their alliances has escalated. In the process the weak nations have become testing-grounds—obviously to their detriment—for new generations of conventional weapons, which are so dangerous and devastating.

89. The acquisition of weapons, besides inflaming tensions, has another dimension as regards global instability. One of the greatest threats to the economic sanity of the world today is the horrendous waste of resources on armaments and armed forces. It is indeed a threat that has grown more menacing when looked at against the increasing deprivation of the elementary needs of a large segment of humanity.

90. In 1978, the estimated expenditure of \$500 billion on armaments appeared staggering, but today the projection of \$1,000 billion tells only a part of the truth. Immeasurable costs are subsumed in research and further modernization of weapons which already possess the lethality that could assure global annihilation several times over. The 1945 perception of nuclear weapons as “a miracle of deliverance” may have had justification in Winston Churchill’s hard-pressed and war-weary evaluation, but the albatross which it now constitutes around the neck of the security of our planet led the international community to conclude at the Assembly’s first special session on disarmament that “the accumulation of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, today constitutes much

more a threat than a protection for the future of mankind” [*see resolution S-10/2, para. 1*].

91. A special session of the General Assembly on disarmament must therefore have as its first subject of attention nuclear weapons, both on account of the unprecedented global danger they pose and in accordance with the priorities in disarmament negotiations accepted by consensus at the first special session.

*Mr. Mahbubani (Singapore), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

92. Today it is believed that well over 50,000 nuclear weapons of all categories are in the arsenals of the nuclear-weapon States. The use of even some of those awesome weapons of great lethality and unbelievable accuracy in delivery could create what has been described by experts as a nuclear winter from which there could be no shelter. It is to their credit that in their first meeting President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev stated jointly that a nuclear war could not be won and must never be fought. That is certainly the most reassuring statement of our age. However, not even the two most powerful rulers in the world are immortal; therefore, they cannot guarantee that their successors will be men of equal vision. As long as nuclear weapons exist in the arsenals of their States, the possibility of their use cannot be ruled out. That is particularly so in view of the dogmatic clinging to the theory of nuclear deterrence, a theory which in my view has no longer either validity or credibility. Flowing from the Gorbachev-Reagan statement on nuclear weapons, the logic of nuclear disarmament has become one not to be attributed only to the non-aligned and neutral States but to all States which are genuinely concerned with common global security.

93. In that context I warmly congratulate the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States on the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, ratified a few days ago. As the first agreement that will actually reduce the awesome nuclear arsenal, that treaty provides assurance to those who labour for nuclear disarmament within and outside the United Nations that theirs is no longer a voice crying in the wilderness.

94. However, the international community has the right to expect that a measure which would eliminate only 4 per cent of the nuclear arsenals of the two super-Powers must be only the first step in a continuous process. The target of an immediate 50 per cent reduction of their strategic nuclear weapons must be pursued with determination to reach agreement soon. In addition, conditions must be created to bring into the negotiating process the other nuclear-weapon States, whose arsenals, although modest by comparison, are being modernized and made more lethal.

95. Logically, it serves little purpose to continue the process of refinement of nuclear weapons in parallel with an undertaking to negotiate nuclear disarmament. If the nuclear-weapon States are to have the moral right to insist on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, they must show readiness to give up the means of vertical proliferation. It is dangerous and



hypocritical to be selective about the spread of nuclear weapons. To engage in selective transfer of nuclear technology and condone diversion of materials so transferred into non-peaceful pursuits is to undermine the non-proliferation régime. Even more serious is the insistence of the nuclear-weapon States on continuing nuclear-weapon tests.

96. If the objectives of nuclear non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament are to be attained, the highest priority must be accorded to a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty. My delegation believes that such a treaty is the surest means of ending nuclear proliferation, whether vertical or horizontal. It is the most effective constraint the nuclear-weapon States can impose on themselves, taking into consideration the strategic instability created by the breakthrough in new systems and the greater sophistication of nuclear weaponry. A comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty will reinforce mutual trust and will be a confidence-building measure not only between the super-Powers or among Europeans, but in all regions.

97. In my own region of Africa, the effect of a universally agreed comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty will be to strengthen African resolve to free the region of nuclear weapons. It will be the most effective check on *apartheid* South Africa's nuclear-weapon ambition. That pariah State has already conducted a nuclear-weapon test. As is well known, the nuclear-weapon programme of *apartheid* South Africa is a flagrant affront to the collective wish for a nuclear-weapon-free Africa proclaimed by African Heads of State and Government in the 1964 Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa. The effective realization of the objective of that Declaration has been frustrated by the Pretoria régime, which in the process has defied the United Nations, relying on its powerful friends to protect it from well-deserved sanctions. If African countries are to be encouraged to continue along the path of nuclear non-proliferation, this special session must propose further measures to remove the danger imposed on them by South Africa's nuclear programme.

98. While speaking on South Africa's nuclear threat, I wish to refer to a new danger to Africa arising from the attempt to convert Africa into a dumping-ground for nuclear waste from industrialized countries. Nigeria considers that to be totally unacceptable. We see the attempt as most callous and insensitive on the part of those who conceived it. It is insulting and humiliating to the African countries, coming as it does after several decades of exploitation in the colonial era. My delegation therefore calls on the General Assembly at this special session to support resolution CM/Res. 1153 (XLVIII), adopted at the forty-eighth session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa from 19 to 23 May 1988, which declares that the dumping of nuclear and industrial wastes in Africa from industrialized countries is a crime against Africa and the African peoples. Only a clear and unequivocal statement on this issue will satisfy Nigeria and indeed the rest of Africa. For our part, Nigeria will take appropriate action against any country that dumps nuclear and toxic industrial wastes in our country.

99. The use of chemical weapons in an ongoing war has highlighted the urgent need for an international convention on the prohibition of the production and stockpiling of this category of weapons of mass destruction. The 1925 Geneva Protocol<sup>2</sup> prohibiting the use of chemical weapons has guided the conduct of States until recently. However, the breach of the Protocol is a sad reminder to us all that when weapons exist in the arsenals of States there can be no absolute certainty that in certain circumstances they will not be used. In consideration of the danger they posed, chemical weapons ranked next to nuclear weapons in the order of priority for disarmament negotiations agreed upon by the international community at the first special session devoted to disarmament in 1978. Negotiations on the issue have been actively pursued by the Conference on Disarmament. It is distressing that this one issue which the multilateral disarmament negotiating body has been permitted—I use the word “permitted” advisedly in the light of the veto which some powerful States exercise on the work of the Conference on Disarmament—actively to negotiate could not be concluded before this special session. The Assembly should now direct the Conference to produce the convention on chemical weapons for universal adoption without further delay.

100. My delegation is not unaware that the major excuse for the delay in the conclusion of negotiations on chemical weapons is the issue of verification. Indeed, verification is the bogey invoked to shy away from several concrete disarmament agreements. I do not wish to underrate the need for effective verification measures as part of disarmament agreements; it goes without saying that the security of States should be enhanced, not undermined, by such agreements. However, it should also be realized that verification is not an end in itself; it is a means to ensure with reasonable certainty that parties to disarmament agreements fulfil their obligations. The most critical factor in reaching such agreements is the political will of States to ensure their security at lower levels of armaments. Where the will exists verification provisions can always be worked out, as witness the INF Treaty.

101. In that connection, my delegation believes that verification will carry maximum weight if there is universal monitoring, at least in part, bearing in mind the agreement concerned. Verification of bilateral agreements will necessarily place the burden of monitoring on the parties. However, my delegation believes that even in such cases the international-organization system should be able to play a complementary role. Permit me to take the example of the verification provisions of the INF Treaty, which consist of three points: on-site inspection, unobstructed use of satellites, and inspection by challenge. If the necessary facilities were available at the multilateral level, there would be no reason why the relevant organ of the United Nations could not act as an impartial participant in inspection arising from challenge.

102. Bearing that possibility in mind, my delegation is in agreement with the suggestion for the development of a multilateral verification system within the United Nations. That will be a way of ensuring that the Organization can effectively exer-

cise its central role in disarmament. We therefore intend to explore with like-minded delegations the ways and means of implementing this very pertinent idea.

103. My delegation is deeply concerned that outer space, the last frontier of mankind, is being threatened with militarization. It is obvious today that the legal régime governing the activities of States in outer space is grossly inadequate, particularly in so far as non-peaceful uses are concerned. It is essential, therefore, that this special session adopt the needed decisions for the prevention of an arms race in space. My delegation believes that the efforts of the Conference on Disarmament to initiate negotiations on this subject in accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolutions should be encouraged.

104. The issue of conventional weapons can no longer be swept under the carpet or shrouded in rhetoric. Ten years after the first special session on disarmament, which called for voluntary restraint in the supply as well as the acquisition of conventional weapons, we all have to admit that the situation in that area has worsened. We in the developing part of the world, who have had to endure the consequences of the more than 150 wars since 1945, continue to be the victims of the aggressive marketing of conventional weapons by the arms producers.

105. Very often developing countries have been accused of not wanting to address the issue of conventional weapons, hiding under the priority accorded to nuclear weapons. We have been accused of devoting scarce resources to the accumulation of conventional weapons in excess of security needs. I shall be less than frank if I do not admit that there is some degree of justification in those observations. However, the fact has to be recognized also that countries that would otherwise have preferred to spend their resources on social and economic development are obliged to react to the easy supply of weapons—often very sophisticated—to favoured countries or even rebel groups in areas of tension. That process has fueled the escalation of regional conflicts as well as heightened the destabilization of countries. It is all the more reprehensible when the profit motive of increasing arms sales or ideological one-upmanship becomes the primary consideration.

106. Therefore, my delegation hopes that this session will agree on an unambiguous statement to the effect that an essential element of the disarmament process is an undertaking by the major exporters of conventional weapons to reduce progressively arms exports to the third world. For too long have African, Asian and Latin American nations been made victims of the ideological rivalries which have wreaked havoc and caused untold sufferings in the third world through senseless conflicts in which the big Powers contrive to determine the efficacy or otherwise of their new sophisticated conventional weapons. We demand to be allowed to make our own choice of political options. That is all the more true of Africa, where scarce resources are better utilized for the cause of social and economic growth and development. In this connection, the Nigerian Government and indeed all Africa will not accept the late-twentieth-century repetition of the scramble for control of the continent. The policy of divide and rule is

unacceptable to our peoples. Regional arrangements must be made at the instance of African Governments themselves, without any external influence or blackmail. We demand that peace be given a chance in our region.

107. In 1978 the first special session on disarmament affirmed by consensus the interrelationship between disarmament and development. A number of high-level studies on the subject paved the way for the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, held in this same Hall last year. There is no doubt any more that the economic and social consequences of the arms race contribute significantly to the present world economic and social situation, which is having catastrophic effects in many countries. The non-military threats to international security must be seen in their true perspective. So long as inequalities persist between groups of nations in the exploitation and consumption of the world's resources, so long will there be a potent threat to world peace and security.

108. It should not be lost on the international community that while \$1,000 billion dollars are being poured into the unproductive arms race, multilateral co-operation for development within the entire United Nations system, including the World Bank group and IFAD, attracts no more than \$5.5 billion, or 0.55 per cent of the military expenditure, at a period of growing poverty, starvation, crushing debt and general economic stagnation in the developing countries. Therefore, the implementation of the action programme adopted by the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development<sup>3</sup> must be seen as an integral part of the effort to create a more stable peace in the world.

109. As we all agreed in the Final Document of the first special session on disarmament and reaffirmed in the Concluding Document of the second such special session,<sup>4</sup> the United Nations has a central role and primary responsibility in the sphere of disarmament, in accordance with the Charter. Regrettably, the super-Powers, in their bilateral negotiations, have failed to take cognizance of that dictum and have tended to go about their business as though the body hardly existed. Yet even they will agree that the international interest generated by the United Nations through its activities in the field of disarmament which have helped in mobilizing world opinion and in sensitizing the attitudes of Governments has had an influence on their willingness to undertake negotiations not on arms control but on effective disarmament. Indeed, the World Disarmament Campaign, which was solemnly launched by the second special session devoted to disarmament, has helped tremendously in creating the requisite favourable environment from which the newly signed INF Treaty has finally emerged. Similarly, the modest investment which the United Nations has made in the creation in many countries of a cadre of well-informed officials through the establishment by the first special session on disarmament of the United Nations programme of fellowships on disarmament has contributed to better-informed debates on the complex issues involved.

110. My delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and his staff for the efficient and impartial manner in which they have ensured that the benefits of the fellowship programme are equitably shared. We should also commend the super-Powers, which, suspicious if not totally opposed to the Programme at the time Nigeria proposed it during the first special session, have now fully recognized its usefulness, to the point that their two capitals form part—on their invitation—of the annual itinerary of the Fellows.

111. Thus, rather than being seen as an irritant, the United Nations, through its numerous activities in this field, should be recognized as a constructive instrument for stimulating disarmament negotiations. My delegation therefore calls for a rethinking by the major Powers of their attitude towards the United Nations by seeking to associate it with their bilateral agreements and by encouraging rather than hindering multilateral initiatives and multilateral negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament. In this connection the two super-Powers should have given recognition to the role of the United Nations in disarmament by inviting the Secretary-General to the ceremony of the exchange of instruments of ratification of the first-ever nuclear disarmament treaty—the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles.

112. Disarmament mechanisms already established under the auspices of the United Nations are, in our estimation, quite satisfactory and should meet the desired objectives. This is not to say that they cannot be improved upon. Obstacles in the path of those mechanisms are certainly not in the nature of their structure but arise mainly from the lack of political will on the part of those strong members of the Organization in making use of the multilateral process. The General Assembly, the First Committee, the Disarmament Commission, the Conference on Disarmament and the Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Studies are useful tools whose contributions can be further harnessed.

113. Let me appeal to the conscience of the nuclear-weapon States to decelerate the stockpiling of nuclear weapons, to accelerate their contribution to development programmes of the developing countries and to support the right of all men to human dignity. All people of good will agree with and commend the efforts by President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev to make the world safer for mankind. As they take the lead along the path towards achieving nuclear sanity, so also should they take the lead along the path of sustained international co-operation and development.

114. Peace, development and stability can be attained only in a world in which all men are equal, have equal rights to freedom, equal claim to development, equal say as to how their environment—being land, sea or outer space—is managed, and equal conscience in spirit and strength for the protection of man, no matter what his colour or creed. Then and then only can we begin to hope that world peace, security and development will be attained and maintained.

115. In conclusion permit me to summarize some of what I believe this special session should seek to contribute to the process begun with such great hope when the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was adopted in 1978. This third special session should: first, emphasize that the arms race, in particular the nuclear-arms race, has gone far enough and must be arrested and reversed; second, acknowledge that the arms race is the cause, not the consequence, of distrust of each other's intentions by the two alliances that are the main actors; third, urge the nuclear-weapon States to accept the fact that nuclear weapons threaten not just their security and their existence as nuclear-weapon adversaries but the existence of all other States as well; fourth, demand that the nuclear-weapon States take such measures of nuclear disarmament as to make our world safer and accept that an irreversible programme of nuclear disarmament is of universal interest; fifth, emphasize that security—national, regional or global—is threatened rather than ensured by the accumulation of nuclear armaments; sixth, take effective measures to ensure that Africans' determination for their continent to be nuclear-weapon-free is not frustrated by the nuclear-weapon programme of South Africa, which, unfortunately, is aided and abetted by the favoured transfer of nuclear technology to the *apartheid* régime; seventh, send a clear message calling on the multilateral and transnational corporations not to dump or seek to dump nuclear and industrial wastes in Africa; eighth, recognize that the non-military threats to security, such as hunger, disease and the virtual economic collapse of many developing countries arising out of the burden of debt and the unjust international economic order have greatly increased since the first special session on disarmament and therefore this special session should carry further the link between disarmament and development and must explore further ways and means for the diversion of resources from the wasteful arms race and for the conversion of arms technology into credible tools for social and economic development; and, last, reaffirm that the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament must be accepted and be seen to be enhanced by all Member States.

116. Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): In the name of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, I am pleased to congratulate Mr. Peter Florin on his election to the presidency of the fifteenth special session of the General Assembly, the third to consider the subject of disarmament between States and the achievement of an essential goal of the United Nations—eliminating the danger of war—by working for disarmament and bringing a halt to the arms race and ensuring peaceful relations based on sound and just rules in dealings between States and peoples. I congratulate the Secretary-General for his continuous efforts towards the realization of this goal.

117. On behalf of my country, it gives me pleasure as well to pay respects to this great gathering of statesmen and judicious personalities and to wish it success, and to share some ideas we believe are fundamental to the realization of what we all seek: stable peace based on justice and trust. The United Nations has never relented in its efforts in this field, despite the political, material and psychological

difficulties and obstacles it faces in this sphere, all of which are known to you.

118. The Almighty said, "O ye who believe, enter into peace, all of you" [*The Koran, Surah II, v. 208*]. He said also, "O ye who believe, when ye go abroad in the cause of God, investigate carefully and say not to anyone who offers you a peace greeting: Thou art not a believer" [*ibid., Surah IV, v. 94*]. And that is God's sacred truth.

119. As we all know, aggression and wars start in the minds of men. And when these tendencies toward hostility and aggression become State policy, then the way is paved to crises which escalate into conflicts and wars unless dealt with collectively. Therefore, Saudi Arabia considered the creation of the United Nations, based on the principles of its Charter, to be the right way to set out on the path to safety. We have shared in all the activities of the United Nations as a whole and have supported States in their unilateral and bilateral efforts in this field. To reach the end of that path we should act to eliminate, by the institutionalized constructive effort which the United Nations represents, the tools and other means which those longing for aggression could use to destroy humanity and obstruct its progress. We should address the causes of lack of confidence between peoples, which is a fertile ground for crises, conflicts and wars, and in so doing we should use all the means of progress, intellectual and political maturity and technological advances available to the world community today.

120. Those factors and causes should be dealt with collectively, to deter those yearning to carry out aggression and to redress the injustice suffered by peoples under the yoke of foreign occupation. That is an imperative, unavoidable task, as part of the awareness of responsibility for developing human relations at the level of both States and peoples. The task should be carried out on the basis of complete conviction of its importance as one of the effective forces in the march of the United Nations in dealing with questions of war and peace.

121. Disarmament is the most important stage in weakening the tools of aggression, eroding doubt and fear and working towards building trust and preparing the means for co-operation for peace based on justice. Disarmament, starting with the weapons most destructive to humanity, is a beginning on the path to confidence and the conviction that the world community has entered a new phase of maturity in dealing with its affairs, now that modern communications and sophisticated scientific and technological achievements offer speedy transmission between nations of the good as well as the evil. The whole globe has been turned into one arena; frontiers have been transcended and distances shortened.

122. A look at the centres of conflict in the world shows the need to eliminate the causes of aggression and to return usurped rights. Foreign occupation, the usurpation of rights, the denial of human values to peoples and the deprivation of peoples of the fruits of progress and economic development are unfavourable reflections on the world community and weaken all our efforts to reach peace based on justice. We have to confront these problems and deal with them.

123. The revolution of the Palestinian people on its land is one of the most significant of such cases, having the deepest effect on regional as well as global peace and stability. Rights must be returned to their owners, however long it may take. The destructive and meaningless war in the Gulf, which continues because of failure to implement United Nations resolutions, should come to an end, in compliance with the relevant Security Council resolutions. The continued occupation of Namibia and the situation in South Africa are tragedies which should also be ended, in accordance with United Nations resolutions and the collective efforts of its Members. The deteriorating economic situation in some parts of Asia, Africa and the southern half of the Western hemisphere, which causes man anxiety about his present and future, is a grave matter which needs to be addressed.

124. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, in recognition of the constructive role of the United Nations as a means to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, in order to protect succeeding generations from the possibility of nuclear war, which would turn everything to ashes, has decided to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], which the General Assembly adopted in 1968. We hope that the noble goal of the United Nations will be achieved, that is, all the States of the world acceding to the Treaty and the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones.

125. Here we point to Israel and South Africa, which are acquiring nuclear weapons in the heart of the Middle East region and in the African continent, threatening the security and safety of both areas. They should submit to the international will on this matter.

126. The international community knows the importance of the positive economic, cultural and social aspects of the realization of phased disarmament and the elimination of the causes of conflict and tension and creating the right climate in which to build a society that is healthy spiritually, materially and politically, and it is aware of the far-reaching impact on society in the future.

127. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, under the leadership of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Fahd ibn Abdul Aziz, is at one with the President and the other representatives at this special session, supporting every constructive effort based on disarmament to secure a stable peace founded on right and justice, both regionally and globally. We hope that the two super-Powers will continue their progressive efforts to reach an agreement on the stages of disarmament. We appreciate what they have achieved so far and hope that their successful efforts will cover a wider and more comprehensive field.

128. Mr. TADESSE (Ethiopia): I have the honour and great pleasure, on behalf of the delegation of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, and on my own behalf, to congratulate the President on his election to preside over the General Assembly at its third special session devoted to disarmament. I assure him of my delegation's readiness to assist him in the discharge of his onerous responsibilities.

129. A decade has elapsed since the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament adopted its Final Document. A dispassionate examination of our achievements and failures in the field of disarmament clearly indicates that the international community had to wrestle with obsolete military doctrines which purported to legitimize astronomical expenditures on nuclear armaments. Consequently, many opportunities were lost and possibilities of serious negotiation in various fields of disarmament remained unexplored. In the first half of the decade relations between the leading nuclear-weapon States were so reminiscent of the cold-war era that early attainment of meaningful bilateral arrangements in the field of arms limitation and disarmament seemed elusive. The rigid position maintained by some not only undermined the gains achieved previously, but negatively affected the bilateral and multilateral disarmament process. In the mean time, military technology continued to outpace disarmament negotiations, and expenditures on arms reached the \$1,000 billion level.

130. During this period, too, the international community's worst fears were confirmed when a nuclear facility and a space shuttle malfunctioned, causing immense disaster and great alarm. Those tragic events revealed, beyond any shadow of doubt, that in spite of the considerably high level of technology attained thus far, dangers arising from human or technical errors remain unavoidable.

131. Although the international political climate was fairly cloudy, particularly during the early years of the decade, there were none the less rays of hope in more than one sphere of disarmament.

132. During the decade not only was the World Disarmament Campaign waged effectively, but institutions of peace and disarmament were established in Africa and Latin America. A nuclear-free zone was established in the South Pacific on the basis of the Treaty of Rarotonga. The Stockholm meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe yielded concrete results with regard to confidence-building. But most of all, since the two major nuclear-weapon States declared in 1985 that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought, realism seems to have prevailed. Thus, painstaking negotiations between the two nuclear-weapon States led to the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, better known as the INF Treaty.

133. It is our view that the signing of this treaty is perhaps the most significant of the positive developments in recent years, not only because it eliminates an entire class of nuclear weapons but also because of the lasting impact it is likely to have on disarmament negotiations involving other categories of weapons. For this reason, Ethiopia has welcomed the signing of this historic instrument by the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States and expresses its satisfaction at its ratification. We should like, at the same time, to urge the two nuclear-weapon States to persist in their quest for further accords, especially in the reduction of strategic armaments.

134. Another issue of concern to the international community relates to the prevention of an arms race

in outer space. In regard, my delegation expresses the hope that the bilateral space negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union, which are linked to their negotiations on strategic nuclear arms reduction, will lead to an early outcome. In view of the rapid changes taking place in science and technology and the application of such know-how to space-related activities, the early conclusion of an agreement on this important matter is of utmost importance. Likewise, it is our considered view that the Conference on Disarmament should discharge its responsibility by undertaking multilateral negotiations on the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

135. The complex negotiations on chemical weapons which have been under way in the Conference on Disarmament for a number of years are a matter which continues to engage the attention of the international community. As a country whose defenceless civilian population were victims of poisonous chemical gasses half a century ago, Ethiopia condemns the use of chemical weapons anywhere and underlines the urgency of concluding a convention prohibiting the development, production, stockpiling and use of all chemical weapons.

136. As far back as three decades ago Ethiopia maintained that any use of nuclear weapons was at variance with international law and as such constituted a crime against humanity. The eventuality of the use of nuclear weapons cannot be averted unless all nuclear weapons are eliminated. The first concrete step in this direction would be the cessation of all nuclear-weapon tests, which would be instrumental in curbing the nuclear arms race. My delegation therefore reiterates its call for an urgent and comprehensive nuclear-test ban.

137. The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and peace zones in various parts of the world demonstrates the will of the people of those regions to create a climate of peace and security in their immediate vicinity. We support the establishment of such zones, as these regional arrangements would undoubtedly contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security.

138. A peace zone of particular interest to my delegation is that of the Indian Ocean. In spite of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)], the increasing presence of foreign warships and military aircraft continues to exacerbate tension in the region. Such military presence increases the chances of all forms of interference and the threat or use of force against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the littoral and hinterland States of the region and also generates a sense of insecurity among them. Thus, it is imperative that the status of the region as a zone of peace be respected.

139. As a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean, Ethiopia appreciates the efforts made over the years to convene the Conference on the Indian Ocean at Colombo. It is a matter of regret to my delegation that the Conference has had to be postponed several times owing to the lack of political will on the part of some maritime Powers.

140. One other issue of particular importance to my delegation is the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa. In spite of Africa's firm commitment to prevent the introduction of nuclear weapons into the continent, the racist régime of South Africa and its collaborators continue to undermine the spirit and letter of the Declaration. The Pretoria régime, by its acquisition of the nuclear-weapon capability, has defied Africa's will to maintain a continent free from nuclear weapons. The grave implications of the possession of nuclear weapons by a régime that officially practices *apartheid* and destabilizes the region are quite obvious. It is our hope that this special session of the General Assembly will accord due importance to this grave situation.

141. As much as we are concerned with the nuclear arming of the racist régime, we are equally alarmed by the dangerous trend of dumping nuclear and toxic wastes in Africa. Such acts not only constitute a threat to us, the present-day inhabitants of the continent, but also endanger succeeding generations as well as the entire ecosystem of our continent. We further consider this attempt to convert our region into a nuclear wasteland as a demonstration of the lack of respect and concern for the African peoples. Therefore, we vigorously denounce such callous acts.

*Mr. Florin (German Democratic Republic) resumed the Chair.*

142. Many of the developing countries, especially those in Africa, are confronted with intractable problems, such as drought, famine and foreign debt. Viewed against this sad state of affairs, the absurdity of the staggering expenditure on armament becomes particularly obvious. As no real peace can prevail while the world situation remains disquieting, it is absolutely essential that this global imbalance be rectified. We are of the firm conviction that savings derived from reductions in military expenditures would release resources of considerable magnitude that could be used for peaceful and productive purposes. While the mechanism for the most equitable utilization of such resources needs to be worked out, it is our view that those concerned should take due account of the special needs of the developing countries.

143. The most pressing problem today is the struggle to save mankind from self-extinction. The United Nations, which from its very inception was dedicated to saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war, is in the forefront of this tireless effort. While the United Nations remains the only global forum for deliberations and negotiations in the field of disarmament, its potential in this area of human endeavour has not been fully utilized. That is indeed why we remain convinced that the United Nations, as the global Organization, should be rendered continued support so that it might play a central role in disarmament. In this regard we believe that the implementation of the Programme of Action in the Final Document provides a meaningful framework for the enhancement of the role of the United Nations.

144. The People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia pursues a foreign policy which promotes peaceful

relations and co-operation with all countries on the basis of sovereign equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and peaceful resolution of conflicts. An important aspect of that policy is the strengthening of good-neighbourly relations on the basis of strict respect for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, as well as those upheld by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

145. Accordingly, Ethiopia has actively promoted confidence-building measures aimed at the relaxation of tension in its own region, the most recent of which is evidenced by the accord concluded with one of its immediate neighbours, namely the Somali Democratic Republic.

146. The problem confronting mankind as it relates to the nuclear arms race can hardly be overemphasized. As is well known, the threat generated by the ever-escalating arms race is real. It is therefore imperative that this unwelcome development be brought to an end. While we continue to believe that the problem at hand is among the most complex issues of our time, we are nevertheless convinced that given the good will and resolve of the international community the problem of the arms race can be effectively addressed. For our part, while we remain committed to the pursuit of peace in our region, we shall continue to contribute our modest share to global disarmament efforts within the framework of the United Nations.

147. Mr. AL-SHAKAR (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to say how pleased the delegation of Bahrain is to have you presiding over the meetings of this third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The choice of you as President of this important session testifies to the skill and diplomatic ability which you demonstrated in conducting the work of the forty-second session. Your qualities are the best assurance of success for the present special session.

148. The limitation of armaments and disarmament and related issues, as well as peace-keeping and maintenance of international peace and security, are priority concerns for the international community. The cause of this growing concern is the fear of a military confrontation between the major Powers, particularly between the two super-Powers, which could degenerate into a third world war inevitably resulting in the employment of nuclear weapons. A war of that kind would mean the annihilation of mankind.

149. To avert such a catastrophe, in the aftermath of the Second World War a new awareness emerged of the grave realities of the nuclear age. It was in order to prevent a nuclear war, one that would spare no one, that the non-aligned countries in the early 1960s proposed general and complete disarmament as the practical concretization of the principle of the maintenance of international peace and security, a principle enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, in order to preserve future generations from the scourge of war and to preserve the civilization achieved by mankind over thousands of years. The

position of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries was not one of mere chance. It derived from a firm conviction that collective security is an international responsibility which should be shared by all Members of this international Organization.

150. The theory of deterrence, which postulates that nuclear weapons serve as deterrents and have made it possible to preserve international peace and security since the end of the Second World War, has proved to be a failure. Fortunately the majority of States have not espoused these mistaken precepts despite the obstinacy of the States which possess deadly weapons of mass destruction in clinging to it. There can be no doubt now—indeed it has become clear over the past 40 years—that absolute security for a handful of States based on the theory of deterrence results in practice in total insecurity for everybody. In order to correct that state of affairs, therefore, it is essential to adopt new concepts of collective and national security built on co-operation, confidence, concord, interdependence and mutual interest. All this requires a policy of dialogue and negotiation instead of a policy of armament and confrontation.

151. We wish to reaffirm yet again that we are convinced of the fact that collective security, and accordingly real disarmament, will be possible only if there is scrupulous respect for the principles and purposes of the United Nations, together with respect for the principle of peaceful coexistence, good-neighbourliness, non-interference in the domestic affairs of States, and non-use of force or of the threat of the use of force in international relations. All this in its turn implies decolonization, an end to aggression, domination and all forms of foreign occupation, and an end to *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination.

152. It is heartening that this special session on disarmament is taking place in an atmosphere of favourable international conditions and an encouraging political climate, in particular the developments in the relations between the two super-Powers, which should foster success in the Assembly's work. There have been positive developments and an improvement in a range of areas in United States-Soviet relations. Clearly, the Geneva agreements on a political settlement of various aspects of the problem of Afghanistan have also helped build bridges of confidence and promote dialogue between the two giants. The visible outcome of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit would suggest that future super-Power relations are likely to be more stable and mature and that they have transcended the stage of confrontation and uncertainty to enter a period of trust and mutual understanding.

153. My delegation cannot fail to welcome the exchange at the Moscow summit of instruments of ratification of the 1987 Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. Ratification of that treaty offers the prospect of future agreements to limit nuclear weapons. To be sure, the treaty will effect but a small reduction in world-wide nuclear arsenals, but its political significance must not be minimized. It is an important step by two super-Powers which possess the ultimate weapon of mass destruction.

154. We sincerely hope the two super-Powers will succeed in the near future in overcoming present stumbling-blocks in the strategic arms limitation talks and conclude a treaty on a 50 per cent cut in United States and Soviet strategic weapons. That would be of great significance for nuclear disarmament. In that connection, this special session devoted to disarmament should take advantage of the momentum generated by the bilateral accords between the two super-Powers, which could be an incentive to achieve multilateral disarmament agreements. The process of general and complete disarmament requires that international measures be adopted at all levels: bilateral, regional and international. Multilateral disarmament agreements do not preclude or contradict bilateral accords; on the contrary, they support and strengthen them.

155. While we emphasize the need to concentrate on nuclear disarmament to avoid nuclear war, the significance of conventional disarmament must not be minimized. Studies and reports have shown the danger of conventional weapons; indeed, sophisticated conventional weapons have been used in every war and conflict since the end of the Second World War. Regrettably, the majority of these wars and conflicts have taken place in the third world, spreading their devastation to its countries and peoples. Some conflicts are under way at this very moment, despite the adoption of many United Nations resolutions calling for a peaceful, just, lasting, comprehensive and honourable settlement.

156. Despite United Nations efforts to curb the arms race in accordance with the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the first special session of the General Assembly on disarmament [*see resolution S-10/2*], progress has been meagre. The arms race continues unabated. It is common knowledge that world military expenditures total more than \$1,000 billion annually, far exceeding what is spent on health care, education and economic and social development in the developing countries as a whole. It also almost equals the total external debt of all those nations. We wish to emphasize the danger of the persistence of that glaring contradiction of spending millions of dollars on weapons of mass destruction on the pretext of safeguarding peace and security, while millions of people suffer from deprivation and poverty. That is why we consider that at this session the Assembly must put forward proposals and recommendations to achieve gradual agreed reduction of military budgets, particularly those of the major Powers, and to reallocate the resources now being used for military purposes to economic and social development, particularly for the benefit of developing nations.

157. We live in an interdependent world; that is why peace is one and indivisible, just like development. Thus the concept of the relationship between disarmament and development has emerged, with a view to helping ensure complete security at lower levels of armament and reallocating the resources now being spent on weapons to development purposes and to meet the economic, social and humanitarian needs of the majority of the world's population, who suffer from deprivation, underdevelopment and famine. That is why the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarm-

ament and Development, held in New York from 24 August to 11 September 1987, laid such stress on the need to end the arms race and to initiate the disarmament process. The implementation of the action programme adopted by the Conference<sup>3</sup> would certainly solve the economic problems of the world, first and foremost the external debt crisis, the instability of exchange rates, the world trade imbalance and desertification and drought.

158. In conformity with its established policy, which is based on the principles and objectives of the United Nations, Bahrain supports the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVII)*], as well as the establishment of other nuclear-weapon-free zones, especially in the Middle East, Africa and Asia.

159. However, we must draw the attention of the international community to the danger of the nuclear capability of Israel and South Africa and of their acquisition of nuclear weapons. There is close cooperation between those two régimes in the field of armament, particularly nuclear armament. This cooperation has been denounced on many occasions by the international community. Despite the terrible destruction and devastation caused by Israel's repeated attacks in its war of aggression against the Arab States in the Middle East, and those launched by the Pretoria régime against the front-line States, those two racist régimes have striven to acquire nuclear weapons in order to jeopardize stability and peace in Africa and the Middle East, thus ensuring their domination of those regions. What makes matters worse is that South Africa and Israel refuse to submit their nuclear facilities to international inspection and to accept IAEA safeguards.

160. The acquisition of nuclear weapons by South Africa and Israel will not only impede the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in Africa and the Middle East but will also complicate efforts to bring about a just solution for the Israeli-Arab conflict and for the question of Namibia and to bring the South African white minority régime to an end.

161. For the past 40 years Israel has launched wars of aggression against its neighbours, the Arab States, thus hindering their aspiration to meet the development challenges and to deal with progress and scientific achievements. A most obvious proof is its 1981 aggression against Iraq's nuclear reactor, which was being constructed for exclusively peaceful purposes. Therefore, in view of this situation, it is imperative that the Assembly at this special session adopt appropriate measures to avert the danger entailed by the growing nuclear capability of Israel and South Africa as well as their ability to manufacture other weapons of mass destruction.

162. My country, Bahrain, has subscribed to the principles and priorities contained in the Final Document adopted at the first special session on disarmament. Similarly, we have supported the World Disarmament Campaign launched by the second special session on disarmament. It is our hope that this third special session will contribute, as did the first one, to the movement of the process of genuine disarmament, thus sparing mankind the horrors of war and other growing threats to its

survival. We can be sure of the session's success if we do not lose sight of the fact that the United Nations, which was established at the end of the Second World War, is the embodiment of the hopes of our peoples and their desire to preserve future generations from the scourge of war and to bring about a safer and more stable world. On behalf of Bahrain I declare that my delegation is quite prepared to work with others to achieve these noble objectives.

163. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now hear an address by the Prime Minister of the State of Israel. I have great pleasure in welcoming Mr. Yitzhak Shamir and inviting him to address the Assembly.

164. Mr. SHAMIR (Israel): Sir, I congratulate you on your election as President of this special and important session of the General Assembly. It is my ardent hope that under your balanced leadership the Assembly will have meaningful and constructive deliberations and will arrive at positive conclusions that will offer a better future not only for the people of the region in which we live but for all mankind.

165. I have the privilege of representing a people with a very long history, whose ancient moral code has been adopted by the entire civilized world. Peace, according to this code, is the highest of human ideals. War is a terrible curse that we must do our utmost to remove from the face of the Earth.

166. No one is more aware of the horrors of war than the Jewish people. We have experienced virtually all the sufferings, ravages, brutalities and atrocities that human imagination can invent. Even after regaining independence and sovereignty in our ancient homeland, we have had to fight five wars in defence of our existence and security. There is not a man, woman or child in Israel who does not know the tragic meaning of war. Tens of thousands of our homes have lost parents, sons or relatives to war or to terrorist attacks. We all share the pain and agony of war. We all share an overwhelming detestation of war. That is why we all pray that the deliberations at this session will be fruitful and productive. We pray for the success of any effort at disarmament that will reduce tensions and diminish the likelihood of war.

167. Today there are at least 25 major and minor armed conflicts in the world in areas of tension and danger. One of these is the Middle East, a complex and strife-torn region in which the Arab-Israeli conflict is but one of many difficult and tragic problems.

168. In our case, the core of the problem is the consistent refusal of the Arab States—with the exception of Egypt—to accept the existence of Israel in any boundaries. The moment that refusal is replaced by a willingness to recognize our legitimacy and our permanence, peace between us and our neighbours will have a chance. But we do not propose to sit idly until that day. As the only country in the Middle East whose very existence is continually threatened, we have a vital interest in reaching agreements that will curtail the arms race and reduce the threat of armed conflict. We must hope that one agreement will beget another, until we completely



remove the threat of war and achieve full political accommodation.

169. The agreements concluded between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the further reductions now being negotiated between them should serve as our example. Those agreements are of course important in themselves, but they are even more important as testimony to a political will to resolve conflicts through negotiations and to renounce the use of arms. Israel has taken two initiatives in the same direction.

170. As early as 1980 we proposed in the General Assembly the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, based on free and direct negotiations between the States of the region. We did so in addition to our repeated declaration that Israel would not be the first country to introduce nuclear weapons into the Middle East. Such zones have been established in Latin America by direct negotiations among the countries of the region, and recently the States of the South Pacific reached a similar agreement in the same manner. The mode of negotiating those agreements and the mutual assurances built into them are vital components in establishing and maintaining such nuclear-weapon-free zones. This has been expressly stated by the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, headed by the late Prime Minister of Sweden, Mr. Palme.

171. We made that proposal because we assumed that the process of reaching those agreements and their successful conclusion would in effect serve to reduce not only the risk of nuclear war but also the more real and immediate danger in the region—the prospect of conventional war.

172. Many have urged us to sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, but we have seen that that treaty has in no way prevented wars between its signatories. It is our view that, if establishing and maintaining a nuclear-weapon-free zone can make conventional wars less likely, then its benefits will far outweigh anything that can be gained from a non-proliferation treaty.

173. We have repeatedly invited the Arab States to negotiate the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone, but they have rejected the idea. They have refused to sit down with us. They have refused to negotiate with us. They have refused to apply the procedures of Latin America and the South Pacific. And they have refused to adopt the recommendations of the Palme Commission on the manner of creating such a zone in the Middle East.

174. We do not understand this blanket refusal. It reflects a consistent attitude of rejection of any kind of dealings with Israel, even on matters of vital concern to the security and future of the peoples of our region. Nevertheless, our offer stands. It is testimony to our faith that common sense, logic and the yearning for peace by the peoples of the Middle East will in time induce the Arab Governments to come to terms with Israel's existence.

175. From this rostrum, I should like to address an appeal to the leaders of the Arab States in the Middle

East. We are entering an era of greater openness and understanding between former rivals, of accommodation between the great Powers and of unprecedented steps in nuclear disarmament. Let us join this wave of good will and seek together a new path that will lead us away from past hostilities and belligerence and from barren and futile options that are imported from outside. Let us meet and reason together. Let us listen to each other directly. Let us negotiate even in the present rough seas, and not relent until we reach the shores of mutual accommodation, understanding and peace.

176. We did not let the rejection of our proposal deter us from taking yet another initiative in the United Nations. In 1986 we proposed to negotiate a reduction of forces in the Middle East. We know that the burden of the arms race is devastating to the economies of all the countries in the region, and it is getting worse.

177. What the countries in our region are spending for the purchase of arms is alarming and tragic. Iraq, Iran, Syria, Libya and Saudi Arabia are among the biggest arms importers in the world. Each of them buys more arms than Israel. Syria alone has four times as many warplanes as Belgium or Hungary, ten times as many tanks as Belgium and four times as many tanks as Hungary. I mention those two countries because their populations are about the size of Syria's and they are members of military alliances.

178. The weight of arms is expressed not only in quantity but also in quality and destructiveness. We have long been troubled by the supply to some Arab régimes of ground-to-ground missiles of varying ranges and by reports of the development of such missiles by their own defence industries. As recently as the beginning of August 1987 Iraq announced the development and testing of a missile with a range of 615 kilometres. Missiles have been employed by both Iraq and Iran in the devastating Gulf war. Recently we learned of the supply of intermediate-range missiles by China to Saudi Arabia. We never forget that Arab States not bordering on Israel have sent their forces to participate in the wars against us. Neither can we ignore the fact that both Iraq and Iran proclaim that their ultimate aim is to "liberate" the Holy Land and Jerusalem from us.

179. The arms race is dangerous and costly to us all. Acquisition of arms by one side will only precipitate efforts by the other to acquire more arms. Have we not realized that this cycle is endless, that its price is exorbitantly high, that it will provide no answer to the malaise of our region, and that the security of all States in the region can be assured at much lower levels of armaments? Let us—even as we search for a political settlement—pursue any initiative that can stop and reverse the arms race. It will benefit all the States in the region. It will bring the day of peace closer.

180. The Government of Israel maintains the deep conviction that the use of chemical weapons is a most odious method of destruction of human life. We are greatly troubled by the introduction of those means of calamity into the Middle East and by the world's indifference to the brutal use of chemical weapons, creating thousands of innocent victims. The presence

and use of chemical weapons constitute a real threat to the peace of our region and to the peace of the entire world. All enlightened peoples should be alarmed by the arbitrary use of such weapons.

181. Our awareness in Israel of the dangers to humanity posed by chemical weapons, as well as our deep concern regarding the proliferation of chemical weapons, has led my Government to take steps directed at limiting that proliferation. Those steps involve strict legal control over the export of any material which might be used in the production of such weapons.

182. Deriving from Israel's deep concern for the peace and safety of our region and that of the world generally, we would make the following proposal. We believe it is essential for the nations of our region to establish a chemical-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, on the basis of arrangements to be arrived at freely among all the States of the region. In such a manner we might safeguard the mutual security of our peoples as well as the security of the entire region and thus make a major contribution to the cause of world peace.

183. Lastly, I must decry and protest at the employment and production of poison gas in our region. By its own admission, Iraq has used that vicious means of indiscriminate killing in its war with Iran. That is a gross and blatant violation of the Geneva Protocol,<sup>2</sup> to which Iraq is a signatory. The use of poison gas in the Iran-Iraq war has also been established by the Secretary-General, albeit without his identifying the culprit. Syria, too, has built facilities for the production of poison gas and its leaders have brazenly threatened to use it against Israel.

184. It is inconceivable that the international community should be reacting to this contemptuous defiance of international agreements with indifference and helplessness. It must rapidly and resolutely conclude the protracted negotiations on a convention that would remove chemical weapons from the arsenals of nations and must devise an inspection mechanism that would assure universal compliance.

185. Most nations—unlike Israel—are happily not directly confronted by implacable enemies or by a threat to their very existence, but in our shrinking globe security is indivisible. A conflagration in one corner can quickly engulf the world. The establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone, the ending of the arms race in the Middle East and the universal banning of chemical weapons are measures urgently needed, not only for the sake of the people in our region, but for the sake of all mankind.

186. It was the Hebrew prophet Isaiah who, twenty-seven hundred years ago, articulated the vision of disarmament and peace. His words “and they shall beat their swords into plowshares”, which are inscribed outside this building, have represented the ultimate ideal of mankind from time immemorial. His vision was the goal of the United Nations at its inception. Let us hope that this session of the General Assembly will be true to that noble and lofty goal and help bring us closer to its realization.

187. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of the State of Israel for the important statement he has just made.

188. Mr. MOCUMBI (Mozambique): It is indeed a great honour for me to be addressing the Assembly for the first time on an occasion when it is considering the most crucial and urgent task of our time, the struggle for disarmament and peace. I am profoundly happy that a distinguished diplomat representing a country with which my country entertains historic and friendly relations should be presiding over the affairs of the present special session. It therefore gives me great pleasure, Mr. President, to congratulate you upon your unanimous election to your high office. Knowing your high qualities and experience, I am confident of the successful outcome of our deliberations. May I take this opportunity to express my appreciation to the Secretary-General for the untiring efforts he has undertaken for the advancement of the cause of peace and disarmament in the world.

189. Nearly a decade ago, in this very Hall, mankind made its first effort of this nature and these dimensions, allowing itself some time to think about its future and its destiny. At the end of that delicate exercise we agreed by consensus on some principles that would guide us in our endeavours towards peace and disarmament and our efforts to find a space in the universe where the human being could achieve total self-fulfilment, free from the spectre of war and the threat of the extinction of the human race. The Programme of Action adopted at the first special session devoted to disarmament, still regarded as valid and important, contains measures which are a guide to our present and future activities. It is therefore understandable that some of us refer to it as the bible of disarmament.

190. The arms race and the struggle for disarmament are not new phenomena. What may be new is the universal dimension this struggle has gained in view of the universal character of the threat posed by existing military arsenals, particularly the nuclear ones.

191. Our generation has the sad distinction of being the one from whose womb the first nuclear weapon was born. For this reason, our generation bears the heavy and unparalleled responsibility of restoring to the world and humankind the relative tranquillity which once existed, before the world was witness to the birth of the first nuclear infant.

192. This is a commitment to ourselves and to succeeding generations. The keys to the future are in our hands. We may be the reason why there may be no future after our generation. Even if only the minimum potential of existing nuclear arms were used, a nuclear war would eliminate humankind and would consequently eliminate culture and civilization. We are faced with an unprecedented challenge in our history. That challenge calls for a new approach to disarmament problems. It is the view of my delegation that such an approach may start with a redefinition of the direction we want to give to the struggle for disarmament and of the scope of our

intervention in that respect. In the final analysis, a new look at disarmament is in order.

193. In the many years we have been tackling problems of disarmament and peace, many have been the dimensions or levels at which we have intervened to halt the arms race. Agreements have been signed on many categories of weapons. The common denominator in all these disarmament initiatives is that they all focus on weapons themselves, either limiting their vertical and horizontal proliferation or eliminating some categories of weapons. These efforts are commendable and must proceed. However, we believe that the solution to disarmament issues depends on man. It is he who manufactures weapons and operates them. It is man who determines the targets at which they are aimed.

194. Weapons are made for use in wars, conflicts. Wars and conflicts have underlying motivations. In this context, disarmament today must be conceived of as encompassing measures or actions aimed at eliminating the causes of war, tensions and conflicts, at both the regional and the international level. Disarmament must ultimately focus on the elimination of the reasons why countries feel the need to arm themselves.

195. If it can be said that the arms race, confrontation and war result from deterioration in international relations, it is obvious that peace and disarmament rest upon the adoption of measures intended to restore harmony in relations among States. Thus, it is our belief that the success of the exercise we are engaged in lies in our will and determination to impose genuine détente on the prevailing climate in international relations.

196. It is fundamental that good faith prevail over mistrust, that cold war be forgotten and that the principles of peaceful coexistence be the dominant factor in international relations. It is imperative that co-operation, respect for the sovereignty and independence of States and solidarity be taken as cardinal principles in the foreign policy of States. That is the position advocated by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries since its inception. This position was reiterated at the special ministerial meeting devoted to disarmament which the Movement's Co-ordinating Bureau held at Havana from 26 to 30 May 1988. At this special session the General Assembly will certainly benefit greatly from the outcome of that meeting.

197. We are aware of the differences in political and social systems prevailing among States as a result of the fact that all peoples are endowed with the right to self-determination and the right to seek to affirm it as they please within the context of their standards of justice, culture and mores. However, those differences should be taken not as a cause for division but as a source of mutual understanding and respect. We should not seek the foundation of a salutary relationship among States in these differences; such a foundation must be built on the awareness of interdependence that nature has imposed on us. The principles and objectives of the United Nations, to which we all belong, and the precepts of international law constitute the legal and political framework upon which must rest our relationship as States that are

sovereign and independent, yet bound by the ties of our common desire to survive.

*Mr. Jacobovits de Szeged (Netherlands), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

198. The Organization of African Unity [OAU] attaches great importance to this special session. In that context, the twenty-fourth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of that organization devoted some time to the consideration of the issues to be presented before this session. The results of that consideration are reflected in the African common position issued on that occasion.

199. Ours is a continent with a long tradition of struggle for peace and disarmament. The history of Africa in the last half of this century is one of struggle for the national liberation of our peoples from colonialism and fascism. Our struggle for national liberation was an important contribution to peace and disarmament, for colonialism is a system based on violence and war. The independence of our countries contributed to the strengthening of this Organization, a primary institution for the promotion and preservation of world peace.

200. In the annals of history, Africa appears as the first continent to declare itself a nuclear-free zone. In Africa the idea also flourishes of the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. It is therefore justifiable that we should be concerned about the delay in the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI) on the Indian Ocean, and about South Africa's nuclear capability. The possession of nuclear weapons by the *apartheid* régime represents a serious threat not only to the region but also to the African continent and the international community as a whole. It also violates the OAU Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa.

201. Ours is a continent endowed with great economic potential, but colonialism left us a legacy of misery, poverty and illiteracy. A solution to these problems demands the mobilization of financial and economic resources. There are, however, demands on those resources made by the defence of our sovereignty and independence. Seen from that perspective, for us peace is an instrument of combat against hunger, misery and illiteracy; it is an instrument for development. Disarmament and development are two interrelated processes competing for the same limited resources. Therefore the success of the disarmament process would release resources to be invested in social and economic development. Without peace and disarmament there can be no true development.

202. Peace is the deepest aspiration of the Mozambican people. That is the reason why we never give up sowing the seeds of peace, although all we get in return is war. We are moved by a strong belief that one day the tree of peace will rise and grow. We are convinced that peace is infinitely superior to war.

203. Geography and history—two realities beyond our control and will—have imposed on us the land of *apartheid* as our neighbour. *Apartheid*, as everyone knows, is a symbol and incarnation of the most

anachronistic values of our time. Its philosophy and the practice which it engenders can only be compared to the policies and the practices of Hitlerite nazism. The price we pay for being the neighbour of such a régime is very high. Our people are at war—a war that has been imposed on us by the *apartheid* régime in its attempt to perpetuate its hegemony over the region.

204. War in Mozambique is a word known to all, hated by all, but a sad reality that we have experienced for the last three decades. The aggression and terrorism perpetrated against the Mozambican State and people are a real tragedy, of a dimension that can hardly be quantified. There is not a single family that has not experienced suffering and death as a result of the barbaric acts perpetrated by the terrorists. The international community has had the opportunity to learn about the atrocities and genocide committed by the terrorists from a report prepared by an American consultant and issued recently. Shocking as the report is, it depicts the reality.

205. As a consequence of this war and the effects of natural calamities, we are faced with an emergency situation in Mozambique. On 26 and 27 April the Conference on Emergency Assistance to Mozambique was held at Maputo, with satisfactory results. I wish to seize this opportunity to thank the international community for the generous assistance and support rendered to us.

206. Despite our critical situation, we are determined to proceed with our development efforts. We are a country at war, but with our eyes focused on the future. We count on the hard-working Mozambican people. We have the wealth of our land. However, we lack financial resources, know-how and technology. We lack peace, a strategic weapon in our development arsenal. We shall continue to invest in peace and man—two key factors for the success of our struggle for the consolidation of our independence. We shall continue to work towards the strengthening and expansion of our co-operation within the framework of the front-line States and the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference [SADCC].

207. The struggle for peace and disarmament in southern Africa has a concrete meaning and expression. It demands total eradication of the *apartheid* system, the sole cause for the climate of tension, war and instability prevailing in the region. Peace requires that Namibia be independent and that democracy, liberty and equality be established in South Africa. Peace in our region runs through assistance to the front-line States in the form of support for their peace initiatives and their efforts to strengthen their defence capability, so that they can effectively face South Africa's aggression, and through support for the objectives of SADCC.

208. I would be remiss in my duty were I to conclude my statement without welcoming the dialogue that has evolved in recent years between the two major nuclear Powers. We hope that this new relationship between the two countries will set the stage for a successful outcome of the deliberations at this special session. The People's Republic of Mozambique at the appropriate time welcomed the conclusion of the Treaty between the United States

of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. On this occasion, I should like to reiterate our hope that this treaty will open new prospects for more and most significant commitments.

209. The recent summit meeting in Moscow between General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan was yet another important step towards disarmament and peace. I therefore echo the encouragement expressed here for the continuation of the constructive dialogue between the two countries, and I underline the significance of this dialogue for global peace and security.

210. These initiatives, however, are far from exhausting all disarmament issues. It is important that similar progress be achieved in the field of conventional disarmament. In fact, while nuclear weapons are still a threat, conventional weapons are used in every war and are accountable for the loss of many human lives and for the destruction of social and economic infrastructures.

211. The United Nations set for itself the responsibility of saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war and destruction. In that context, it is called upon to play an influential role in all disarmament initiatives, including bilateral negotiations, so as to ensure that these initiatives and the commitments resulting therefrom may find their necessary place in the universal perspective of the struggle for disarmament and peace.

212. This is the only world we have. It may be small, it may be big, but there is enough room for all of us. Since world resources are finite, we must ensure that they are justly and rationally distributed so that each one of us may be able to get what is indispensable. Nobody has a greater right to live than anyone else, or to receive more than he ought to. Peace and harmony must rest upon the recognition of that basic principle. Let us always remember that genuine peace and disarmament are intimately linked to the principles of justice and respect for the rights of peoples and States to sovereignty, self-determination and independence.

213. People the world over expect that the General Assembly will send the first signals of hope that peace and disarmament will be restored to our planet. Humankind harbours the hope that the outcome of this special session may turn the memories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki into lessons of the past and, consequently, mistakes that will never be repeated. My delegation would like to believe that we shall constantly bear that in mind as we continue our deliberations.

214. *A luta continua.*

215. Mr. RITTER (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Panama is prepared to contribute to ensuring that the work we are now doing will lead to agreement on concrete disarmament actions and to making clear the aspirations of all nations to genuine security and a peaceful future.

216. The challenge of the present international situation is to affirm the multilateral nature of the world of today and firmly to reject recurring trends towards a system of bipolar power. Hence, the continued building of multilateralism, represented by the United Nations, must be one of our most important aims.

217. The task of disarmament is, of the many tasks with which the organized international community continues to have to deal, perhaps the one which reflects this need most clearly. The enormous amount of nuclear and other weapons accumulated today by the militarily most powerful States in the world is the product of the abandonment of multilateralism and of the system of collective security enshrined in the Charter, as well as of the placing of that same confidence and sense of security in the deadly capacity of arms.

218. It is well known that since time immemorial nations have sought their security in the possession of arms for their defence, and on many occasions their survival has depended on them. But in the nuclear era this concept is ethically unacceptable and morally condemnable. To maintain the human species as hostage to a handful of Powers which, with the same impunity as the terrorists that we so vigorously condemn, threaten to reduce to ashes vast segments of the planet cannot constitute lawful or even tolerable conduct. No matter how important the preservation of the national security of a State or group of States, its price can never be the annihilation of those whom it proposes to protect and certainly not the disappearance of billions of human beings who live in countries that are not even involved in the nuclear race.

219. The study which was so opportunely presented to us by the Secretary-General on the climatic and other global effects of nuclear war<sup>5</sup> is illuminating and conclusive in this connection. It clearly confirms that in a nuclear war there can be no winners and that therefore a war of this type should never be started. With categorical clarity that study concludes that the direct effects of a major nuclear confrontation would be the death of hundreds of millions of people, but its indirect effects would lead to the loss of billions of lives.

220. Panama forcefully rejects any attempt to make legitimate the accumulation of nuclear weapons and the threat of using them on any pretext whatsoever. Neither as a first-strike weapon nor in response to conventional attacks nor as an element of an alleged doctrine of deterrence can we morally or legally justify the possession or use of nuclear weapons.

221. The assertion that such weapons might prevent direct confrontation between the super-Powers conveys the malicious reminder that in the last three decades more than 12 million human beings have died in at least 81 localized wars or regional conflicts waged with conventional weapons. It also attempts to hide the fact that this overwhelming nuclear power has not only not avoided but, on the contrary, exacerbated the use of force or the threat of the use of force in relations between States, intensifying tensions and conflicts ironically referred to as regional. As we can see, this decade has the dubious merit of

having seen more armed conflicts than any other decade in contemporary history.

222. This is the reality of today's world, and therefore this special session must deal with the crucial problem of accepting the inevitability of nuclear annihilation or co-operating in order to have mankind survive.

223. Responsibility for establishing the course of concerted, world-wide action towards disarmament, which was mentioned by the Secretary-General in the 1st meeting, demands that the leaders of the whole world engage in profound thought on the effects which their policies, attitudes and concepts of security have on the establishment of a stable, safe and just international order. This concerted action was more clearly set out in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, and we must continue to make every effort to ensure that it is complied with.

224. Panama, an active participant in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, attaches the greatest importance to all disarmament measures, be they bilateral or multilateral, regional or universal, general or partial. They all constitute to some extent progress towards our final goal.

225. It is for this reason that, for the purposes of the objectives we have proposed, it is encouraging to see that while our discussions were beginning the United States and the Soviet Union finally succeeded in formalizing the first agreement through which they commit themselves to freeing the world from an entire category of nuclear forces: the intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear forces. While it should not be overestimated or blown out of proportion, this deserves international encouragement, although it actually represents merely the elimination of less than 5 per cent of all existing nuclear arsenals.

226. This step, historic as it may be, is but the beginning of an encouraging stage in which mankind aspires to a substantial reduction of the more than 50,000 nuclear warheads at present in existence, the smallest of which has more than 12 to 14 times the destructive power of those which reduced Hiroshima and Nagasaki to ashes.

227. At a multilateral level those of us who are not members of the Conference on Disarmament continue to follow attentively the development of the work of that Conference, and we are discouraged to see that very little, if any, progress has been made by this multilateral negotiation body in the sphere of disarmament over the last 10 years. With the exception of some valuable work carried out towards the conclusion of a convention on the elimination of chemical weapons, there was no topic on its lengthy agenda that might allow us to harbour any hope of tangible results being achieved in the short term.

228. On the contrary, that small encouragement is dampened by the recalcitrant attitude of a very small group of delegations which, despite the special responsibility falling upon them because of their military power, have year after year and session after session systematically created insuperable barriers to the work of the Conference.

229. Perhaps the clearest example of such conduct is what happened in the process of elaboration of the comprehensive programme of disarmament, which was co-ordinated by Mr. Alfonso García Robles of Mexico with such great political flexibility, diplomatic skill and patience. We all know the great courage which the General Assembly devoted, in both its first and second special sessions on disarmament, to the preparation of a general and operational document on the international community's strategy for achieving its final goal, that is, general and complete disarmament under effective international control in a world that enjoys international peace and security and in which the new international economic order is fully established. Those efforts suffered a tremendous setback because of the inflexibility and lack of understanding of the United States delegation to the conference.

230. Disarmament is a process that can be achieved only by means of sustained, balanced and simultaneous reductions of arms, both nuclear and conventional, beginning with those who have the most such weapons.

231. The numerical reduction of such arsenals will be without real meaning if it is not accompanied by the cessation of qualitative improvements in weapons, a goal which can be reached only through the general and complete cessation and prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests everywhere and forever.

232. Countries that continue to lag behind and to experience the frustration of their aspirations to a fair share of the benefits of progress naturally regard the arms race as a waste of material and human resources that could be better used for the development and prosperity of all. Thus with each effective disarmament agreement we welcome the freeing of resources that are indispensable for the development of the majority—the less privileged.

233. However, neither negotiations on disarmament nor disarmament measures themselves can be successful if our actions are not based on respect for the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and on strict observance of the principles of international law, especially important among them being respect for the right to juridical equality, the political independence and territorial integrity of all States and strict compliance with the principles of non-intervention, non-interference in the internal affairs of others, the self-determination of peoples and the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

234. It is true that any reduction of nuclear arsenals contributes to doing away with the storm clouds of universal extermination which have hung over mankind since that morning of fire in Hiroshima. It is true that a renewed atmosphere of détente between the super-Powers reduces the danger of the rest of us being caught up in global destruction. But new threats to world peace are beginning to appear on the horizon, foreshadowed by an era of low-intensity conflicts, resulting from the belief that the third world is a battlefield where the strategic interests of the super-Powers are to be determined. It is believed that in East-West relations whoever has the better

position there will have a strategic advantage over his adversary.

235. The General Assembly at this special session devoted to disarmament, which may correctly be regarded as a way of ensuring peace and security, cannot ignore the fact that the persistence of conflict in the Central American Isthmus results not from war and instability being epidemic in the region, but from the irrational, brazen belief that there it is possible to flout international law and attack whole peoples, ruining their economies and sabotaging their development projects, in order to impose strategic designs. Nor can the Assembly at this session ignore the fact that the extraordinary campaign of aggression unleashed by the Government of the United States against Panama, in an unusual display of economic coercion and military arrogance, is born of the hegemonistic appetites of that country, which inspire Washington's policy towards my country, with Olympian scorn for the norms of international law and reason.

236. Those sinister appetites were fully revealed by the recent publication of a document marked "Secret", dated 8 April 1986, in which the United States National Security Council set out, in an outrageously callous way, steps to be followed to abrogate the Panama Canal Treaties, thus ensuring control of the inter-oceanic waterway beyond the year 2000 and guaranteeing that the Canal's security would continue to be in the hands of the United States. Referring to the Council's policy towards Panama and the Treaties, this revealing document made the following statements, among others:

"1. We need a policy aimed at assuring our control over the Panama Canal far beyond the year 2000. Reports about corruption among some high-ranking officials of Panama's defence forces will give an opportunity to unleash a campaign to destabilize Panama and to legally abrogate the Treaties.

"2. Our objective is to destabilize the country without endangering our presence and influence there and at the same time to have legal grounds for abrogating the Treaties.

"3. We must continue our participation in the trilateral feasibility study with Panama and Japan. It would be convenient to encourage Japanese technical participation, without allowing Japan to dominate the project. We must avoid participation in it by Western Europe and Latin America. The plans must clearly specify that security will continue to be in the hands of the United States and that Panama can have no hope of individual jurisdiction.

"4. We must follow this up with psychological operations aimed at convincing the people of the United States and Panama that the Soviets are considering building an inter-oceanic waterway through Nicaragua. That would harm bilateral relations between Panama and Nicaragua and discredit the Sandinistas in the Western Hemisphere."

237. Deeply convinced that the present aggression against my country results from the same appetites as those of colonial times, we have come here once again to confirm that the people of Panama are dedicated to peace and that, although our country is small in terms of territory and is economically and militarily weak, it is unquestionably noble and ready to struggle. Our military and economic weakness is compensated by the support, friendship, co-operation and solidarity we receive from all the peoples of the world.

238. Ten years after the signing and ratification of the Panama Canal Treaty the United States Government has re-evaluated its strategic-military interests in Panama and redirected its policy to ensure the prolongation of the presence of its bases and its troops in the Panamanian territory beyond the year 2000. The main impediment to that goal is, however, a provision in the Torrijos-Carter Treaties and the determination with which the people, the Government and the military establishment of Panama demand that the agreements be scrupulously observed.

239. Adversity, such as we confront today, has run through our history. But our history also proves that, with the political will, the greatest international differences and the most fundamental national claims can be peacefully resolved.

240. The international community, which is the main beneficiary of the efficient, neutral and peaceful running of the Canal, must be as interested as we are in faithful compliance by both parties with the treaties regulating it. That would be an effective contribution to détente, to peace and to disarmament. The Latin American community and the other peoples of the world, which made such a significant contribution to the peaceful drawing up of those treaties, must continue to show solidarity with us to ensure that the treaties are effectively complied with and respected in a harmonious way at all times.

241. At the beginning of my statement I spoke about the need for deep reflection by world leaders to achieve the objective of concerted world action towards disarmament. I wish now to add that in that process of reflection the countries with large armies and powerful economies must begin to realize that they do not need to put on one side of the balance their national security and interests and on the other the independence and sovereignty of other nations. I say that because, for example, the desire of Panamanians for independence and sovereignty has never been a threat to the American people, nor has it ever constituted a danger to the United States. It is also necessary, with the world moving in the direction that it is today, that the countries to which I have referred begin to see how much more promise there is for the well-being of their peoples in the replacement of the hegemony of the forces of war and subjection by the hegemony of the forces of friendly agreement and harmonious co-operation.

242. When a nation like Panama will be able to have and enjoy fully its independence and sovereignty and to live in friendship with all nations, without becoming a danger to any other nation, and when a people such as the Panamanian people will be able to

expect compliance with international treaties on the basis of the value and authority of the international legal order, without becoming the target of anyone's strategy of destruction and domination, it is then that we shall have made progress towards the achievement of the sublime purposes which inspired the founders of this Organization, and it is only then that we shall have helped the powerful to identify the course to follow to achieve disarmament and peace.

243. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker for this afternoon. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

244. Mr. FRIEDERSDORF (United States of America): My delegation must protest against the attempt by the representative of Panama to confuse this session and waste this body's valuable time with inaccurate and unnecessary attacks against the United States. Our delegation would like to remind General Noriega's representative that this is a special session on the subject of disarmament. To cloud the atmosphere with political accusations does not advance the work of this session nor does it in any way foster peace and disarmament in Panama or elsewhere. The people of Panama and the United States have long enjoyed a close friendship and working relationship. The Government and people of the United States sympathize with those Panamanians who are attempting to restore genuine civilian democracy to Panama. The United States recognizes, however, that it will not be easy for them to reverse two decades of military control. The United States Government, of course, remains fully committed to fulfilling its agreements under the Panama Canal Treaties.

245. Mr. KAM (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We are more and more surprised by the great ability of the United States delegation to be cynical. Its representative has said here that we are trying to confuse this session and that we are wasting somebody's time. That statement, however, does not change reality. The entire world, the whole international community, has indeed witnessed with indignation the aggression which the Government of the United States has unleashed against my country—economic aggression, political aggression, diplomatic aggression as well as military aggression. Perhaps this aggression has not been fully included within the terms of the definition of aggression adopted by the Assembly [*resolution 3314 (XXIX), annex*]. But the sending of more than 3,000 troops to Panama to intimidate us, a number which is in excess of the provisions of the Panama Canal Treaty, is a fact which I denounce as a threat of the use of force against Panama.

246. The representative of the United States cannot limit our concept of disarmament or our concept of security. He said that we have made inaccurate and unnecessary statements. Perhaps for the United States it was unnecessary for us to denounce them, as we have done today, but for the 2 million Panamanians who are suffering from the consequences of United States intervention in our internal affairs and from the consequences of that aggression, it is absolutely necessary for us to tell the world categorically that we are being attacked by the main military

Power in the world. It is not unnecessary for us to do so; it is indispensable.

247. The representative of the United States has accused us of engaging in political accusations. All the representatives here know better than I do that in the consideration of the item on disarmament no one has ever cut anyone short or defined what was or was not political in one's concept of disarmament. Those who believe that they have a monopoly over truth are those who are trying to curtail the rights of people to speak about any item that may affect them. We shall always exercise the right to defend our national dignity, our independence and our sovereignty above and beyond anything that anyone wishing to deny us that right might say.

248. Undoubtedly, the Panamanian people have for a long time enjoyed a constructive working relationship and friendship with the United States. The Government and people of Panama are ready to maintain that course. But if that course has been changed, I want to assure members that it was not by the will of my people or my Government, but rather because of the clumsiness, shortsightedness and aggressive actions involved in the policy of the United States towards Panama.

249. I categorically reject and condemn the statement made by the representative of the United States, who tried to tell us that they intend to work to restore civilian democracy in Panama. We do not need the United States or any other country to tell us how we are to develop our democracy. This is a task that we Panamanians will carry out and carry forward in accordance with our own desires, our own sovereign rights and as our own people dictate.

*The meeting rose at 7 p.m.*

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NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Signed by the Prime Minister of India and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at New Delhi on 27 November 1986 (A/41/929, annex).

<sup>2</sup>Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925 (League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XCIV (1929), No. 2138).

<sup>3</sup>United Nations publication, Sales No. E.87.IX.8, para. 35.

<sup>4</sup>*Official Records of the General Assembly, Twelfth Special Session, Annexes*, agenda items 9-13, document A/S-12/32.

<sup>5</sup>A/43/351, annex.