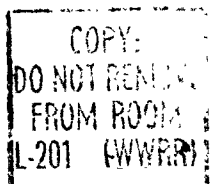


GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION

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FIRST COMMITTEE
27th meeting
held on
Tuesday, 8 November 1983
at 10.30 a.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 27th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway)

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GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS (continued)

Statements were made by:

Mr. Jamal (Qatar)

Mr. Arsov (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.50 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 50, 51, 56, 59, 60, 62, 63 and 139 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): Since this is my first intervention in this Committee, I have the pleasure of addressing to you the sincere and warm congratulations of my delegation on your election as Chairman of this important Committee. We wish you every success in the task before you, and we are convinced that, thanks to your experience and skill, the Committee will be able to deal effectively and comprehensively with the questions before it. I should also like to extend my sincere congratulations to the other officers of the Committee.

We are living at a time when the majority of the developing countries are faced with an extremely serious economic crisis due to balance-of-payment deficits, a lack of liquidity, extensive foreign debts, and the inability of some States to service their increasing debt, when there is a shortfall in the resources of the international monetary institutions which play an important role in the economic and social development of the developing countries, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, and when international efforts are being made to do whatever is possible to remedy this extremely serious situation and to prevent further harmful effects of this state of affairs on the development of the developing countries. In these very difficult times, expenditures on arms, that is on instruments of death and destruction, have attained a level of almost \$800 billion this year. The significance of this astronomical figure is that the world is spending ten times more money on death and destruction than on development efforts, and on human living standards in the developing countries. It also means that the developed countries, who have a monopoly in arms production, are more interested in improving instruments of death than in the development of mankind, aspiring to a better life. What is even more important is that apart from these economic and social indicators, the situation is a disturbing reflection of the deterioration in world conditions, above all with respect to East-West relations and, in particular, great Power relations.

I do not think that I need to go into detail. A glance at the political map of the world is sufficient to show that sources of international tension that

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yesterday were merely dangerous threats have now exploded into a series of conflagrations in the most sensitive regions of the world, regions of strategic and economic importance, in the form of armed conflicts and localized wars which threaten to turn into a nuclear confrontation between the two super-Powers.

In the light of these developments, our call to disarmament is of major significance. The rapid and serious deterioration of the international situation requires all of the parties concerned a review of their approaches and of the methods they have used thus far at all levels, particularly in the Committee on Disarmament, in order to arrive at a practical formula that could lead to some tangible progress in this Committee.

We think that practical reflection will make it convincingly clear that all efforts at disarmament without the participation of the two opponents in the arms race will be a waste of time and cannot lead to any solid result.

A voyage of 100 miles starts with a single step, and the first step here must be to establish confidence. This aim is simple enough, but it is not easy to achieve. Thus, the call for the restoration of confidence has become a complex problem closely related to the international political situation. In other words, we need measures capable of gradually building up confidence between the two super-Powers, with due regard for the fact that confidence is not something that can be exchanged across the negotiating table like expressions of mutual esteem.

We think that confidence-building measures should not be confined to the super-Powers, which would be to admit that there are only two effective wills in the world, and to deny the liberty of all other independent countries. That would be not only to deny the truth, but to bow to the logic of force. Consequently we support the view that confidence-building measures must also extend to relations of the two super-Powers with the smaller countries which do not have the nuclear weapons necessary to defend themselves, especially since these countries are often the victims of the rivalries directed to gaining spheres of influence. No proof of this is needed, since examples can be found throughout the world.

The development of the international situation in recent years, whether in terms of the technology of weapon systems or of the arms race, or of bilateral negotiations on arms control or of United Nations efforts, goes to prove that the principle of deterrence or balance of terror is no longer a valid principle for ensuring international security.

There can be no doubt that today we all agree that the principle of collective

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collective security is the only logical alternative to the doctrine of the balance of terror - the doctrine that eliminates all will except the will of the super-Powers and puts the fate of mankind and the world at the mercy of the development of relations between them. As for the principle of collective security, it is based on the refusal to divide the world into two blocs, because such a division does not reflect the reality of the present international situation, particularly following the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement, of which the majority of the countries of the world are members.

Thus the appeal to strengthen collective security is more a necessity than an option with alternatives. It is on this basis and on that of the principle of shared responsibility - and that is the meaning of collective security - that it is the responsibility of all the countries of the world, above all the countries that do not possess the nuclear weapon, to press for negotiations on disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament.

It is quite clear that the obstacles to disarmament have increased over the years, but the most serious obstacle is mistrust among States, which has a negative effect on all negotiations. In this connection, we welcome the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, which is to be held in Sweden next year. We hope that that Conference will yield results which will provide a model to be followed in other disarmament fields, reinforce efforts to stop the arms race, in the interest of all the countries of the world, and find solutions in conformity with the principles of the Charter and the norms of international law.

We believe that confidence-building measures can be divided into two categories. The first of these is respect for existing principles of international law, above all the principle of the non-use of force or the threat of the use of force in international relations. Scrupulous respect for this principle and for other principles of the United Nations Charter is obligatory for all States Members of the United Nations and could prevent further bloodshed and tragedies due to wars caused by military aggression in different parts of the world.

The second category of confidence-building measures consists in the demonstration of practical and consistent political will. This should follow the simple declaration of good intent and respect for the principles of the Charter and should be on a reciprocal basis. The consistent co-ordination of positions should lead to a progressive growth of confidence not only between the super-Powers but

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also universally. We mean by this that the major Powers must show through their behaviour at times of crisis, whether or not they are directly involved in the crisis and whether or not their interests are directly threatened, that they adhere to the principles of the Charter and seek peaceful solutions through negotiations.

Unfortunately, that is not what happens nowadays. The role of the United Nations is being diminished and the Organization is becoming a forum of frustrations in which the States Members give expression to their disappointment in statements which are merely oratorical jousting or in resolutions which are never applied. International and regional problems are settled outside the United Nations, either by military force or through bilateral or multilateral negotiations under the aegis of one of the super-Powers, according to the demands of their national interests. In other words, respect for the principles of the Charter, including the principle of the prohibition of the use of force or the threat of the use of force against the territorial integrity of a State, and negotiations under United Nations auspices could enable the United Nations to regain its original and essential role in the settlement of international disputes and could enhance its credibility and increase confidence between the two super-Powers on the one hand and between the super-Powers and the rest of the world on the other.

This peaceful approach, based on negotiations, would require the elimination of all foreign military bases and the dissolution of military alliances, as well as the elimination of all military installations everywhere in the world. The void which some say will be created by the elimination of military alliances and bases could be filled by the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace in various parts of the world, in particular in strategically sensitive areas. Once again we stress the importance of the commitment of the great Powers, especially the nuclear-weapon Powers, to respect the conventions on the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, since the implementation of such conventions is the objective we all seek to achieve.

The simple declaration of the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones is not an end in itself. In view of the vital importance of this question for security in the Middle East and, in particular, in the Arabian Gulf area, which are now threatened by all kinds of dangers, my delegation must express its profound concern at the extreme dilatoriness in implementing the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI). No tangible progress has yet been made in this connection. On the

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basis of this principle, my delegation supports the holding of the Colombo Conference on the Indian Ocean within the near future and without preconditions. We hope that the holding of that Conference will be a first step towards the practical implementation of the Declaration in question.

I also want to stress the difference between resolutions and their application, that is between words and deeds. I say that, not because I wish to cast doubt on the efforts of the United Nations, but because the world public has at last begun to be aware of the gap between resolutions and reality.

During its thirty-seventh session the General Assembly adopted a certain number of resolutions on the application of the Final Document of the second special session devoted to disarmament (A/S-12/32), in particular resolution 37/100, calling upon the Soviet Union and the United States to declare an immediate nuclear-arms weapons freeze. The application of this resolution by both parties would have led to some mutual confidence between the great Powers and it might also have limited the increase in nuclear arsenals and efforts to improve them and develop new types of nuclear weapons. The freeze would have made possible balanced reductions of nuclear weapons, and verification of such reductions. We are entitled to ask what real impact this resolution has had.

First, neither super-Power has declared a nuclear-arms freeze as required by this resolution.

Secondly, international tension is steadily increasing, the arms race and the production of arms which only yesterday were beyond the imagination of science, are continuing at a feverish pace, and it may well be asked what has happened to the commitment of the nuclear Powers to respect the partial test-ban Treaty. Those States have ignored their commitment and continued their tests.

If the super-Powers do not respect their international commitments, how can the international community deal with the nuclear threat from South Africa and Israel, which are trampling under foot the law and the fundamental principles of the Charter?

As concerns chemical weapons, despite the unanimous adoption of the report on these weapons, the United States has taken a decision to develop chemical binary weapons, which could bar the way to any agreement on a treaty prohibiting their use. Is this what the world expected when the nuclear-weapon States signed the partial test-ban Treaty in 1963?

Thirdly, the Geneva negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United

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States have been at an impasse since the signing of the SALT I Treaty. For years these negotiations have been locked in a vicious circle because the two parties are advancing impossible proposals, purely for purposes of propaganda in order to obtain the support of international public opinion, without making any progress whatever in the reduction of nuclear weapons. We can sum up the present situation by saying that things have reached an impasse. Since the United States, on the one hand is determined to station intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe, and the Soviet Union, on the other, is threatening to break off the negotiations in Geneva if the United States carries out its plans. The basis for all this is the belief that the nuclear forces in Europe are in balance, and that the new United States missiles can change the whole military strategic situation in favour of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries according to the view of the Soviet Union.

In the light of the experience of previous years, I should like to emphasize the importance of the recent Soviet proposals, which include an offer to reduce the number of medium-range Soviet SS-20 missiles located in Europe by 100 to the level of 140, which would be the equivalent of the number of delivery systems now in the possession of the British and French, according to Soviet estimates. The President of the United States has undertaken to study that proposal and have it discussed at Geneva. We hope that the Soviet proposals, together with a not-unfavourable response from the United States, will usher in a new and fruitful stage in the history of disarmament negotiations.

The Middle East is threatened by Israel's adoption of a policy of nuclear deterrence. There is an extremely serious military imbalance between the countries of the region in favour of Israel, which is occupying a large part of Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem, as well as the Golan Heights and part of Lebanon. Having concluded that Israel has a nuclear capacity, we can also deduce from Israel's actions and the information issued by its Government what its intentions are. It is certain, in light of Zionist expansionist policy, and the conclusions of experts and analysts, that no international law or moral dissuasion could induce Israel to renounce the use of nuclear weapons, even if only as a last resort to enable it to cling to the Palestinian territories it seized by force from their rightful owners. Israel will continue to deny that it is producing nuclear weapons, but it will drop hints about it, through official and unofficial channels. Moreover, it will try to destroy nuclear installations in the Arab

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world, as happened with the Iraqi nuclear reactor, to prevent the Arab countries from developing their scientific potential and from profiting from nuclear technological data for the purpose of technical and social development and to raise the standard of living of their peoples.

In this respect, we must warn the Committee that the nuclear weapon threat will continue to menace the peoples of the region until, through the efforts of the United Nations, with the co-operation of the States that provide various forms of technical assistance to Israel in the nuclear field, we can ensure that Israel's nuclear activities are subject to the control of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Mr. ARSOV (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) (interpretation from French): In its Final Document, the General Assembly, meeting for the first time in a special session devoted to disarmament, asked UNESCO to undertake several important tasks, which the organization has done its best to carry out in the course of the past five years.

In the same year, 1978, the General Conference of UNESCO adopted an important resolution entitled, "Role of UNESCO in the creation of a climate of opinion conducive to the halting of the arms race and the transition to disarmament". In that resolution the Director-General was invited to ensure that UNESCO would in the areas of its competence, participate in the implementation of the relevant provisions of the Final Document of the tenth special session.

Since then, at every session of the General Assembly, UNESCO has submitted a report on its activities in the realm of disarmament. UNESCO and its Director-General welcomed the opportunity of giving the Committee an account of the many activities that it has carried out pursuant to the mandate entrusted to it by the tenth special session of the General Assembly in four main areas: information, studies and research, co-operation with non-governmental organizations and, disarmament education. It should also be noted that UNESCO's mandate in this area was confirmed and expanded last year in General Assembly resolution 37/78 B, entitled "International co-operation for disarmament".

The purpose of this statement is to explain as briefly as possible the activities which UNESCO has carried out in the areas of education, the exact and natural sciences, the social and human sciences and communication, as well as through its means of information, since the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly, thus completing the information in document A/38/144, which is before the Committee.

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An event of particular importance with regard to the implementation of the UNESCO resolution in the area of education which I have mentioned was the Intergovernmental Conference on Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms with a view to Developing a Climate of Opinion favourable to the Strengthening of Security and Disarmament. That Conference was held at UNESCO Headquarters in April 1983.

There was a general conviction at the Conference of the importance which attaches not only to intensifying but also to systematizing the action to promote education with an international base. Thus, certain recommendations relate to measures to be adopted to strengthen education in its various aspects, and one recommendation advocates the preparation of a plan for the development of education for international understanding, co-operation and peace, to be submitted to the General Conference.

In the area of education for disarmament, UNESCO organized two regional training seminars for university professors. The seminar for the Asian and Pacific region was held in Jakarta, Indonesia, in August-September 1982. Working sessions covered eight items. The first three dealt with substantive questions basic to any teaching programme on disarmament and the other five related to questions of the preparation of teaching material in that field. The second regional seminar will be held in December 1983 in Dakar, Senegal.

A manual for teachers on the implementation of the 1974 recommendation, entitled Education at the primary level for international co-operation and peace, contains a chapter devoted to international peace and security and disarmament. That manual has been published in English and Spanish this year and publication in French will follow.

As regards education at the secondary level, a work entitled Disarmament: A Teacher's Guide, is being prepared with the co-operation of the International Peace Research Institute, based on an outline submitted by the Secretariat to the World Congress on Disarmament Education.

With regard to education for disarmament at the university level, a work entitled Armaments, Arms Control and Disarmament was published in 1981.

Disarmament was one of the three themes of an interregional pilot project on the study of contemporary world problems carried out in 1982 in secondary schools in nine member States within the framework of a project of associated schools on

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education for international co-operation and peace. The results of that pilot project, including the explanation of a whole range of methods and teaching materials used to inform the young with regard to world problems was submitted to the International Congress held in Sofia, Bulgaria, in September 1983, on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the associated schools' project.

A research project was undertaken on research and military development, with the co-operation of an international team of experts and in co-operation with the Finnish National Commission for UNESCO, which was host to a meeting of the drafting committee. The results of that research project were published in the UNESCO International Social Science Journal, No. 1, 1983, under the title "The Burden of Militarization". This series of articles had a preface by Alfred Kastler, a Nobel Prize laureate. This important publication is available to members of this Committee.

From 2 to 5 November 1983, UNESCO convened in Paris an international meeting of experts to examine perceptions of threat and concepts of security. The purpose of the meeting was to take stock of the information and knowledge in that field, to examine critically current theories and to review new orientations for future research. Eighteen experts from 16 countries of different regions of the world considered the historical and structural dimensions, the psychological and legal aspects of the problems, the role of the mass media in the formation of attitudes and the methodologies used in empirical research.

Three numbers of the publication UNESCO Yearbook on Peace and Conflict Studies appeared between 1980 and 1983. The 1982 issue contained studies on approaches to the problems of peace and security and detailed information on the activities of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR).

The question of the media and disarmament was the object of a colloquium held in Nairobi from 18 to 22 April 1983. The results of the World Congress on Education for Disarmament, the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and the Declaration on information media, of 1978, were the reference papers for that colloquium, which was also intended to be a contribution to the World Disarmament Campaign. The goals of the colloquium were to develop better understanding of the way in which information organs deal with armament and disarmament and the effects of such treatment on public attitudes concerning security, as well as to explore ways and means of facilitating the task of those in authority in information organs in this field.

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Of particular interest for the implementation of the relevant decisions of the General Conference is the special number of the UNESCO Courier of March 1982, entitled "From War to Peace". That number, published in 27 languages, was prepared on the basis of the United Nations study on the relationship between disarmament and development, which has had a wide distribution.

UNESCO organized special activities with regard to Disarmament Week, as it has done since Disarmament Week was proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its tenth special session, in 1978. During Disarmament Week in 1981 and 1982 an exhibit containing photographs and texts was organized in the main lobby of UNESCO Headquarters. During that exhibition a large number of UNESCO and United Nations publications emphasizing the massive shift of resources towards armaments to the detriment of objectives of development and peace were distributed. The exhibit was also shown during the twelfth special session of the United Nations General Assembly in June-July 1982 and was sent to several Member States, in order to inform public opinion.

UNESCO Features, a monthly publication, devoted several articles to disarmament and related questions during the period 1981-1983. A record of the UNESCO anthology, Peace on Earth, appeared in a 1981 issue. A 1982 issue contained an article entitled "War means anticulture" by the Soviet poet Evgeny Yevtushenko. An interview with the American poetess Jane Cortez, entitled "A poet against the bomb, racism and inequality", appeared in a 1983 publication, and so on.

During 1982-1983 relations were maintained with various organs of the United Nations system directly or indirectly concerned with studies on peace and disarmament, and in particular with the Department for Disarmament Affairs and the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, as well as with the United Nations University and the University for Peace in Costa Rica.

Within the framework of UNESCO's co-operation with the International Peace Research Association, UNESCO participated in the Association's tenth General Conference, held at Gyor, Hungary, from 29 August to 2 September 1983. That co-operation has also taken the form of contracts for research activities. The secretariat of UNESCO has been regularly represented at Pugwash conferences on science and world affairs. Reference has already been made to a joint project with Pugwash.

Furthermore, within the framework of co-operation between UNESCO and the International Political Science Association, during that Association's twelfth

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World Congress, held at Rio de Janeiro in 1982, a working group on disarmament and the limitation of armaments was established. Working groups on similar topics were established during the annual Conference of the International Studies Association held in Mexico in April 1982. Those two organizations have received financial support from UNESCO.

The CHAIRMAN: I regret to say that only two of the representatives whose names had been inscribed on the list of speakers for this meeting actually honoured their pledge to speak. I should again like to appeal to delegations to give the secretariat of the Committee as accurate information as possible about when they intend to speak. I know that this is a very busy time for delegations and that the work load is very heavy. I know, too, that it is not always possible to make detailed plans ahead of time, and I am very grateful for the co-operation that members of the Committee have shown me so far. I would only repeat that if representatives inscribe their names on the list of speakers and then do not actually speak, that entails a loss of the time of the interpreters, conference officers and others who attend our meetings as well as a loss of money.

I have requested the secretariat of the Committee to approach representatives who have inscribed their names on the list of speakers for the remaining meetings this week and ask them if they do actually intend to speak. I once again appeal for members' co-operation in this respect.

The meeting rose at 11.35 a.m.