



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 7TH MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina)

later: Mr. HEPBURN (Bahamas)
(Vice-Chairman)

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Distr. GENERAL
A/S-10/AC.1/PV.7
13 June 1978
ENGLISH

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

STATEMENTS BY NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (continued)

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): To continue the business we began this morning, on this day devoted to listening to statements made by the representatives of non-governmental organizations, I call on the first speaker at this afternoon's meeting, the representative of the Organization of Traditional Religions of Africa, the Rev. Onyioha.

Rev. ONYIOHA (Organization of Traditional Religions of Africa):

Permit me to preface my short address, which is merely an extract from a 22-page paper which I have already handed to the Chief of the Non-Governmental Organizations Section of the United Nations for circulation to representatives, with expressions of gratitude to the United Nations General Assembly first, for convening this special session devoted to the very important question of world disarmament; and, secondly, for allowing non-governmental representatives, of whom I am one, to speak. My gratitude goes also to the Preparatory Committee for the great pains and mental exertion that produced the draft final document on which the deliberations of this disarmament session are based.

I attended the opening meeting of this session of the General Assembly on the afternoon of 23 May 1978 and listened to what I would call the despairing account in which the President of the Assembly revealed that from 1946 until 23 May 1978 the United Nations had adopted some 228 resolutions on world disarmament which, given the continuing escalation of the arms race, had proved abortive. I read the draft final document of the Preparatory Committee as published in the Disarmament Times of 27 April 1978 and, since the document is full of bracketed annotations of contentious and alternative words, clauses and paragraphs, I, setting the draft against the failures of the past, became so scared that I began to pray that the document would not in the long run turn out to be merely another protracted exercise in the semantics of diplomacy, with nations preferring "could", "would" or "should" in the clauses of the document and insisting that their preferences be asterisked and spelt out at

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the foot of every page - such insistence showing the bewildering extent to which the nations of the world have not yet achieved aggregatio mentium, a coming together of minds, on this vital issue. I knelt and prayed: may the Governments of all nations of the world not have gathered in this session under the massive and dizzy heights of the United Nations building just to kid the world in this horrific matter of whether mankind should continue to exist or be wiped from the surface of the earth. May God not allow the resolutions of this special session to fail in the same way as past United Nations resolutions have failed. As it is a special session in name, so may it also be a special session in its achievements.

By way of introducing myself, I am a non-governmental representative from Nigeria representing the Godian religion and the Organization of Traditional Religions of Africa. Godianism is a philosophical synthesis of black Africa's traditional religious behaviours which, first, offers itself as a protective philosophical umbrella under which the traditional religions of Africa, which had hitherto been misrepresented by those who do not understand as paganism, can continue to reform, grow and interact harmoniously without prejudice to their individual identities and independent existences; and which, beyond Africa, offers itself to all religions of the world as a co-ordinating and harmonizing philosophy whose mission on earth is to end religious quarrels and give the world a new civilization of spiritual balance and everlasting peace.

In paragraph 7 of the section on principles of the draft final document in the report of the Preparatory Committee, there is a sentence which reads:

"Any State using nuclear and thermonuclear weapons is to be considered as ... committing a crime against mankind and civilization."

(A/S-10/1, p. 23)

The question arises, what in fact should the United Nations regard and declare as the true civilization that would be offended by such nuclear aggression? This makes the title of my short address, which is "Redefining civilization as a conceptual approach to world disarmament", very pertinent.

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The question of world disarmament and the security of man on earth is a question of the human mind. Disarmament presupposes the coming together of the minds of men; it calls first and foremost for the reorientation of the mind of man towards peace.

Denouncing armament in resolutions against the proliferation of nuclear weapons, as the United Nations has been doing all these years, can lead nowhere on the road to disarmament and human security. Not even if you reduce the stockpile of the much-dreaded nuclear weapons from 100 per cent to 1 per cent can you claim to have made any progress towards peace on earth; for as long as 1 per cent of the stockpile of destructive weapons is lying carelessly somewhere in a world in which the minds of men are poles apart and mutually antagonistic, man is in danger, because, any time one crazy man - and just now there are more crazy men than sane ones in this hate-pulverized world - picks up one weapon from the 1 per cent of the stockpile which remains and shoots across a border, the target shot at feels at once in danger and, for self-preservation, immediately proceeds to rearm in self-defence - and, pronto, the world is aflame once more.

On the other hand, you may have 100 per cent of the stockpile in a big mound in your back yard, but if your mind is not oriented towards war, if your mind is cultivated for peace, the stockpile will rot away and be of no danger to the human race, because man has to pick up a weapon to shoot; the weapons cannot shoot themselves.

The lament contained on page 11 of the Work Book of the Second World Conference on Religion and Peace held in 1974 in the Catholic University of Leuven in Belgium, which I also had the honour to attend, that despite disarmament deliberations in the United Nations General Assembly since 1946 "the arms race has outrun efforts to stop it", is a red light signalling the need for an immediate dramatic change of approach - indeed, for a conceptual approach - to the disarmament problem if the world is to survive.

So the hullabaloo over the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and other disarmament agreements is chasing shadows, leaving the substance severely alone. At the present session, therefore, the General Assembly should not engage in the old exercise of revamping its old resolutions on disarmament which time has proved worthless.

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We must take the opportunity offered by this special session of the United Nations General Assembly to redefine civilization for mankind to mean not just economic opulence or hair-raising technological advancement. You may have all the luxuries of good living that economic opulence bestows; you may have journeyed to the moon 10 times; but, if your heart is not so cultivated that you can live in harmony with your fellow-men, regardless of creed or colour, you are simply a brute at heart, the equal of the lower animals, uncivilized. For, threshed to its basic cob, civilization simply means living together, and living together presupposes harmony among those who so live together. It is this harmonious gregariousness that makes man the superior he is of the lower animals. The moment the ability of man to live in harmony with his fellow-men, regardless of creed or colour, is destroyed, man has become sub-human, on the same level as the lower animals, uncivilized.

It would seem that up till now the world, for the past many centuries, has been holding the stick of civilization by the wrong end and upside-down, with emphasis on technological advancement and economic development. In this misconception of what is civilization the heart of man has been left to rot away and has become overgrown with the bush of hate for fellow men. In this misconception, too, some nations have been spitefully categorized as the third world, without our being told which make up the first world and which the second world in a world which should be seen as one world. In this "bushism" of the human heart man has become amoral and gone on a rampage all over the world to ferment trouble and kill in order to enhance his economic interests and flaunt his technological advancement in destruction as the yardstick for measuring the degree of his civilization.

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Should this United Nations session redefine true civilization to mean "a cultivation of the human heart to live in harmony with fellow men despite creed or colour" and declare "as a brute heart equal to the lower animals, uncivilized, that heart which, despite all its hair-raising technological advancement and economic development, is not so cultivated as to live in harmony with fellow men despite creed or colour", the United Nations would take a devastating conceptual step towards world disarmament.

For with that kind of declaration from the United Nations to humanity of what civilization really is, every nation would be forced back to self-re-examination and self-re-evaluation, to resolve whether, set upon the balance of this new United Nations interpretation of civilization, it can really pass as civilized - a self-reassessment that is more likely to compel nations to seek to outclass one another in the race for world peace than in the race for the production of larger stockpiles of strategic weapons for the destruction of God's own creations and the provocation of unrest all over the world.

This psychological reaction cannot be doubted, for, given this new United Nations concept of civilization, no nation could again brandish weapons with pride among men and expect to be classified and respected as civilized. Surely no nation would want, for brandishing weapons, to have itself and its citizens treated with contempt in the comity of nations as a bunch of uncivilized brutes.

Under the spell of this United Nations new concept of civilization, the super-Powers would find it more rewarding to divert the many billions in money they have been burning for the production of nuclear armaments and in space research to the production of more food to eat, clothing and shelter from the badgerings of weather for the poor millions of human beings all over the world now dying every day from hunger, and to develop the so-called under-developed third world.

To cap this redefinition of civilization, the United Nations should institute a trophy of civilization that would be awarded to any nation that had been watched over a period of five years and had been seen to have given its citizens domestic peace and to have contributed largely to international harmony, so as to convert the arms race into a new competition as to which nation would win the United Nations Trophy of Civilization to become the super-Power of peace that would sit on the throne of love among all the nations of the world. For

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until a nation had won the United Nations Trophy of Civilization it would remain regarded as uncivilized. I am convinced that, if the recommendations of the Preparatory Committee are pursued under the shadow of such a United Nations declaration as to what constitutes true civilization, the world would be mentally prodding itself towards total disarmament, consciously or unconsciously, more than it has ever done in the past.

For years now the world has been run on the ideologies of the white European world which, though it is painful, we must admit have been valueless because of the chaos they have inflicted upon our tumultuous world. An African proverb says, "Knowledge and wisdom are a big forest which no one person can contain." Surely the European forest of wisdom does not contain all the answers to the world's problems. We even seem now to have exhausted all it can offer and to be cascading downhill in retrogression to barbarism. For many years now old Africa's forest of wisdom has remained neglected and unexplored by humanity for what it could yield in the interest of world peace.

I have come to this special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to disarmament to invite all human races to the hitherto neglected but virgin forest of African wisdom and experience for exploration. For through the mist of the throes of the present chaos in which the world is now tormented I can see the light of a new world flickering in the darkness of black Africa. Let us turn to Africa and reach that light of the new world.

There must be no more pretences. We must now admit it. What hitherto we have flaunted, with pride and contempt for everybody around as Western civilization has collapsed. The world is once more in the darkness of conflicts. The dark age of vandalism is once more with us.

True, Western civilization has bestowed on man economic opulence and advanced technological know-how. But it has, on the other hand, churned the heart of man dry of the milk of human kindness and made man a wolf to his fellow man, to the chagrin of world peace. Of what value, then, is civilization, if it cannot make man live in harmony with his fellow man?

For all these reasons I put this suggestion of redefining civilization to the United Nations for adoption as one positive conceptual approach to world disarmament.

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Traditional Religions of Africa)

I hold that no declaration by this session on disarmament could be more heart-piercing, more conscience-tormenting and more heart-possessing than this.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the representative of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, Mr. Bernard Feld.

Mr. FELD (Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs): Twenty-one years ago, in the Canadian village of Pugwash, a small band of scientists and scholars from 10 countries met to consider how to avert nuclear war. This was the beginning of the Pugwash Movement, which now comprises thousands of scientists from all over the world - east and west, north and south.

It is more than two decades since the famous appeal by Albert Einstein, Bertrand Russell and their distinguished colleagues which warned us that mankind had reached the stage where "we must face a stark, dreadful and inescapable choice between the renunciation of nuclear weapons (and of war itself) and the future continuation of the human race". Today, as I speak to you on behalf of the the Pugwash Movement, the danger is even greater than it was then.

The great majority of people alive today were not even yet born 33 years ago when two atomic bombs, in each case a single bomb dropped by a lone aircraft, completely annihilated two Japanese cities together with their inhabitants. Most people, and indeed most nations of the world, now think, when they think about the problem at all, that nuclear war is not possible, that Hiroshima and Nagasaki could never happen again.

We pray they may be right. But what is the real situation? Today, in 1978, six nations have already demonstrated their ability to wage nuclear war. The United States and the Soviet Union alone, the two so-called super-Powers, together possess more than 50,000 nuclear bombs having an explosive power ranging from a fraction of the destructive force of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki weapons up to bombs of more than 1,000 times the explosive intensity of those horrible but primitive instruments of death.

An all-out nuclear war today between the two super-Powers would annihilate the populations and destroy the treasure of both nations - and this is irrefutably true, irrespective of any measures, offensive, protective or otherwise, that either

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of the two giants is able to take. Both countries would for all practical purposes cease to exist. But that is far from the whole story. The lethal radio-activity, carried by the prevailing winds well beyond the borders of the victim nations, would take a toll of many tens of millions of innocents throughout the northern hemisphere. And yet the devastation would not be confined to the countries of the northern hemisphere alone.

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Radioactivity, spread throughout the globe by stratospheric air currents, would eventually rain down on all peoples, everywhere, from the arctic tundra to the vast continent of the Antarctic, not intense enough to be lethal to all, it is true, but enough to claim a vast toll through radiation-connected diseases in this generation, and incalculable damage to future generations in hereditary malformity and lethal mutations. Not enough is known about the effect of such a large genetic load to be able to say at this time whether the survival of the species would thus be placed at risk, but there is no doubt that the sufferings would be fantastic and the risk very great indeed.

Yet what to me at least is even more frightening is that the current and anticipated rates of accumulation of materials capable of being made into nuclear weapons - through peaceful nuclear fission energy programmes in addition to military programmes - are such that by the end of this century, enough weapons material will be available, and perhaps a sufficient number of weapons as well, for their use in an all-out nuclear war to guarantee the elimination of the human species from the entire earth.

Admittedly, I have presented an extreme picture. It is difficult to believe that we, the human race, could be so short-sighted, so stupid as to put ourselves knowingly into the kind of jeopardy I have just described. But humankind has got itself into serious trouble before - through pride, through misplaced national chauvinistic sentiments, through greed, through thoughtlessness, through accident, through stupidity and through the madness of false prophets. If the weapons are around, the danger of their being used, no matter how small, is too large a danger for us to tolerate.

But it is not enough just to talk about disarmament, nuclear disarmament or any other kind. We have been talking nuclear disarmament for 30 years, and the stockpiles continue to grow and the weapons continue to proliferate.

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A journey of a thousand miles, desperately as that journey may be needed, still must begin with single steps. We of the Pugwash movement believe that such steps, so long as they move us resolutely in the right direction, are not only essential, they are also possible. We have been presenting and pushing for such steps for many years with small success, but with success. Pugwash conferences were the first to introduce the concept of the test ban, and we hope that soon that test ban will become comprehensive and universal. The cut-off of the production of fissile materials for nuclear-weapons use is another step which is long overdue, as is the limitation of budgets. The Non-Proliferation Treaty, which we helped to introduce, must be strengthened. A recent example of the kind of small step which could help the move towards disarmament is the idea first introduced in the Pugwash conferences a few years ago and brought to the attention of the special session of this Assembly by the President of the Republic of France is that of using modern satellite technology to monitor and improve disarmament prospects and verification possibilities.

Thus the proposals that we have already presented to the Preparatory Committee for this session, and which we hope will at least be looked at, considered, and perhaps discussed, even if no definite conclusions are reached before its deliberations are adjourned, are relatively modest, but we believe that they are of far-reaching significance.

We draw our inspiration on this occasion from the fact that the one really successful disarmament measure of this century, relating to the elimination of a weapon of mass destruction, took almost 50 years of patient but steady effort. I refer to the treaty banning the production, stockpiling and use of biological weapons, the lineal descendent of the Geneva Protocol of 1925. The next step, incidentally, that of the banning of chemical weapons, is well within our grasp; one of the Pugwash proposals before this session now, which we have circulated to the Preparatory Committee, relates to the final and, we hope, imminent achievement of that goal.

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With respect to the elimination of nuclear weapons, a goal which we all desire and which we all of course must work for, the aim of our proposal which we placed before the Preparatory Committee is to build up and to reinforce the universal acceptance of an obviously new tenet of international morality, that such weapons can never again be used. To us, the important barrier on which world survival depends is not between good and bad nuclear weapons - they are all bad; not between small and large nuclear weapons - there is no small nuclear weapon; but between the use and the non-use of nuclear weapons, between any nuclear weapon and none ever again.

The purpose of our proposed convention for the renunciation of nuclear weapons, then, is to begin the essential process of building, strengthening and reinforcing this barrier to the point that any use of a nuclear weapon will become unthinkable to all sane and civilized human beings and their Governments.

To accomplish that end, our proposed convention draws simultaneously on a number of precedents: the nuclear-free zone concept, the pledge of non-use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against nations adhering to the convention, and the concept of mutual security guarantees for non-belligerent States already embodied in the original idea of the United Nations. Primarily, our convention attempts to establish a distinct security advantage in the adoption of and the adherence to the status of membership in a club of non-nuclear-weapons States.

Unfortunately, I have not enough time on this occasion to explain the details of our proposed convention for the renunciation of nuclear weapons, but the idea is simple and straightforward, and for those who have not yet had the opportunity to read and study the proposal, copies of it are available through the Secretariat.

Allow me to end by recalling a few more of the immortal words from the manifesto of Albert Einstein and Bertrand Russell that started our Pugwash movement:

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"There lies before us, if we choose, continual progress in happiness, knowledge, and wisdom. Shall we, instead, choose death, because we cannot forget our quarrels? We appeal, as human beings to human beings: remember your humanity, and forget the rest. If you can do so, the way lies open to a new Paradise; if you cannot, there lies before you the risk of universal death."

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I call now on the General Secretary of the Socialist International, Mr. Carlsson.

Mr. CARLSSON (Socialist International): It is my privilege to be able to speak on behalf of the Socialist International to the special session on disarmament of the United Nations. We welcome the initiative of the non-aligned States which has led to this Conference, and hope that it will be able to give new impulse to the policy of disarmament. In this connexion we especially welcome and support the action by our comrades in Japan in their campaign to collect more than 20 million signatures in support of their three-point programme against nuclear weapons. We also welcome the initiative of the International Council of Social Democratic Women in its efforts to mobilize public opinion in support of disarmament.

In Articles 11 and 26 of the Charter of the United Nations, disarmament and arms control are referred to as instruments safeguarding world peace and security. However, since the United Nations Charter was signed on 26 June 1945, the international arms race has basically remained unchecked.

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But since 1945 there have also been more than 100 initiatives aimed at stabilizing world peace and world security by means of arms control and disarmament. In some areas it has been possible to come to an arrangement limiting the arms race. That has led to stabilization in those areas, but as a consequence the arms race has been switched to areas for which there are no such treaties and which are not covered by such negotiations. That applies in particular to the qualitative arms race.

So far it has not been possible to negotiate the renunciation of weapon systems which are not yet available to the other side. Whatever technology has made it possible to develop has been developed.

New qualitatively superior nuclear weapon systems are being fully developed and can be introduced at any time. Unless the utmost effort is made to put a stop to any further qualitative growth and if instead the qualitative arms race is continued unhindered right into the 1980s, the States concerned will no longer be able to exercise control. The instruments of crisis management will become blunt. Politics and diplomacy are in increasing danger of losing the race against technology.

We have concepts on defence, on arms control and on disarmament; but if we are honest we have to admit that there is still not a political will strong enough to enable us to stop the arms race and initiate disarmament. In order to protect themselves, the States have armed to a degree that might cause rather than exclude risks of war. Now courage and imagination must be shown in order to initiate a policy of arms control and eventual disarmament. To bring that about we need to eliminate causes of distrust and include in negotiations a dialogue on questions of conflict.

We also need to establish mutual ties of all kinds which make recourse to force more difficult by being detrimental to the interests of those who apply it. In this context, it could for example be stated that, if the trend towards protectionism in the trade policies of major industrial States continued, it might in the end have an effect which would be detrimental to the promotion of arms control and disarmament. The same applies also if there is no progress in the development of a new international economic order.

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Further, we need to develop practices and rules for the controlled and, above all, peaceful settlement of conflicting interests. A disarmament policy can be successful only if the political and psychological causes leading to any feeling of being threatened are investigated, since arms and weapon systems also are a political reaction to a real or imaginary threat.

The Socialist International is of the opinion that disarmament concepts ignoring the basic interests of the two great Powers are bound to fail. For that reason we want to support the great Powers in the development of a consistent disarmament policy. There must be a condition made for that support, however: that the two great Powers show sincerity in promoting disarmament and do not use negotiations on arms control as an excuse for catapulting themselves into ever higher levels of parallel destructive capacity.

The renunciation of force on which all States - judging from the speeches at this special session on disarmament - have reached political agreement must now be put into effect in the military field. The Socialist International proposes that in this connexion the following problems should be considered.

Competing States and alliances must take it for granted that the other party is prepared to keep the peace and stop insinuating the opposite. Defence measures are often the result of an overreaction, and as such influenced by fear and distrust. In order to do away with them an attempt must be continued to level out unbalanced military capabilities by reducing, rather than increasing, armaments. The excessive fear of surprise attack which has been so paramount in the strategic thinking of the two great Powers only serves to increase the risks through the development of technology.

The demands made upon arms control and disarmament policy must not be exaggerated. Détente is only possible step by step; for that reason alone it is not realistic to think that major disarmament steps will be possible in the initial phase, particularly in the field of conventional arms.

Further, we shall have to give the security concept a realistic dimension. Security is not only a question of military force but also includes all sorts of factors which must be taken into account, such as geographical situation, economic power and infrastructure. Stability would be achieved only if we aimed at an understanding in the political sphere, if all those factors were taken into account.

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We must also get away from the idea that military potentials can only be defined in figures. More important than the number of weapons and soldiers is the question of how those potentials can be used politically.

The subjective need for security must be given more room in the deliberations. At the present time it would be asking too much to give even an approximate definition; it is only through continuous talks and negotiations, increasing in intensity, that it will be possible to understand the motives which form the basis of military doctrines and of the structures of armed forces and organizations.

Also, it is important to develop instruments against the qualitative arms race. In that particular area studies should commence into the redirection of military research and development. The decision to refrain from producing the neutron bomb at this stage should, for instance, be welcomed as an attempt at reducing the qualitative arms race. That decision makes it possible to include arms options in the negotiating process. Even if that first attempt should not succeed, a staged plan must give an opportunity to return to negotiations both during a production phase and during a deployment phase. A political decision to develop new weapon systems must not automatically lead to their production, and the decision to produce them must not automatically lead to their deployment.

All nuclear arms developments must be included in the negotiating process. This has not been the case so far and therefore it is possible to continue a free and unlimited arms race in the grey zones - a possibility which has actually become a reality and is one of the big dangers of our time.

The problems of converting the economies from armaments to products covering civil requirements must be overcome to prevent results on arms control from being delayed owing to concern about internal pressures. That conversion must especially benefit States in need of development assistance. Any amounts that may be released from the defence budgets of the industrialized nations should be fully used to provide such assistance. Their allocation should be the responsibility of a United Nations body.

A fixed framework for negotiations must be established. That means that any further stabilization depends on the ability and willingness to associate political problems realistically and to continue negotiating in spite of temporary

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setbacks. It is absolutely necessary to resist pressure to depart from the factual framework of the agreed subjects to be negotiated or to burden it even more by linking it with new problems. All arms control and disarmament negotiations on a world-wide or regional scale ought to be closely linked; no one element should be separated from any other. Particular attention must be given to the problem of the international trade in arms. The policy of arms control must be given a central position both in the internal and the foreign policies of the States concerned. The appropriate international instruments will have to be developed for that purpose.

The Socialist International is therefore of the opinion that the United Nations should have a more influential role in this international negotiating machinery.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the representative of the Women's International Democratic Federation, Mrs. Valentina Nikolayeva-Tereshkova.

Mrs. NIKOLAYEVA-TERESHKOVA (Women's International Democratic Federation) (interpretation from Russian): I have the honour to represent the Women's International Democratic Federation, a mass-scale organization, uniting millions upon millions of women on all continents.

The Federation is one of the organizations that have been persistently advocating the convening of the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament. Allow me to express, on behalf of all the members of the Federation, our profound satisfaction over the convening of the special session and to wish every success to this meeting.

I have the honour and the responsible task of informing the representatives of the United Nations Member countries of the aspirations and hopes of the women who are consistently working in the Women's International Democratic Federation for universal peace, equality of women, happiness of children, national independence, democracy and social progress.

Women in different countries, representing different nationalities, professing different ideologies and faiths, and belonging to different classes and social strata are profoundly alarmed for the lives of their children and their future. They are brought together by the desire to ensure that an end be put to the arms race, that détente be consolidated and that war be banished forever from the life of society.

It is becoming increasingly clear today that détente and a lasting peace are major conditions of social progress and of the resolution of many problems facing humanity. That is why the congresses and seminars sponsored by women's organizations of different orientation attach priority to the problems of peace and disarmament.

At the session of the Council of the Women's International Democratic Federation in Moscow, last May, representatives of 126 women's organizations from 117 countries expressed their profound concern over the continuing arms race which is escalating beyond precedent. They unanimously concluded that

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International Democratic Federation)

the endless piling up of armaments and the development of new, ever more sophisticated types and systems of weapons of mass destruction were aggravating the threat of world conflict. They expressed alarm and concern that one day it might be too late to curb the arms race and stop the mad rush to the precipice of war.

Women stressed that in many countries the arms race was one of the reasons behind the growth of inflation, and were both critical and sorry about the fact that the arms race, both nuclear and conventional, consumed colossal resources, while many countries were faced with such pressing problems as the need to improve the housing conditions of the working people and mother-and-child protection, to build preschool child-care centres, and to improve public education, social welfare and public health. A reduction in military budgets could markedly speed up the solution of such problems as the abolition of hunger, disease, illiteracy and unemployment, and also the protection of the environment. Disarmament could make a favourable impact on the economies of all countries, whatever social and economic system they belong to. It could help many countries within a historically short period of time to overcome the economic and cultural backwardness they inherited from the colonial past.

The arms race today is not only an obstacle to the solution of the cardinal problems facing all mankind, but also a threat to the very existence of mankind.

Women as mothers and educators will not reconcile themselves to this situation. Together with other mass forces, the women's organizations are taking an active part in the anti-war movement. They want their voice to be heard at the special session of the United Nations General Assembly, and they hope that this session will contribute towards progress on the way to disarmament and the implementation of the objective written into the United Nations Charter, that is, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

The members of the Women's International Democratic Federation are aware of the great danger posed by the continuing arms race and of the

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complex nature of the problems of disarmament, and are convinced that public forces are capable of influencing further developments and contributing towards the establishment of a lasting peace on earth. This is exemplified by the strong opposition of the world public at large to the plans of the United States Administration for the production and deployment in Western Europe of a new type of weapon of mass destruction, namely, the neutron bomb.

The Women's International Democratic Federation and its national organizations have been resolutely opposing this awesome weapon and will continue to do so. Nuclear weapons tests must be completely discontinued in all media and by all those who conduct them. The situation in which some of the countries continue nuclear weapons tests, ignoring the will of the peoples and disregarding the harm done to millions, should be abolished.

We do not wish to view the future with pessimism and we believe that man who builds weapons also can fight them. Weapons can be banned, taken away from arsenals and eliminated.

The Women's International Democratic Federation proceeds from the assumption that war cannot be a means of settling international conflicts in the age of nuclear-missile weapons. The principles of peaceful co-existence provide the only reasonable base for building relations between States with different social and economic systems.

The women of the world have learned with great alarm that at its recent session the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Council at the summit level discussed and adopted plans for fresh war preparations for many years to come, plans for the production of new weapons to destroy human lives. Enormous resources will again be used for military purposes instead of for promoting the cause of human life and happiness.

Women throughout the world pin great hopes on this meeting. In all corners of the globe they look forward to the results of this session and, what is more important, wonder how the recommendations of the United Nations will be implemented in practice, in reality. There should be only one result, namely, the ending of the arms race and a ban on nuclear weapons tests by all countries.

(Mrs. Nikolayeva-Tereshkova, Women's
International Democratic Federation)

On behalf of millions of women the Women's International Democratic Federation addresses the participants in the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament with an urgent appeal to:

Do everything necessary to avert the threat of nuclear war and to ensure a halt in the production of all types of nuclear weapons;

Work for ending the development and production of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, above all, the prohibition of the production of the neutron bomb;

Reach agreement on specific measures to outlaw all nuclear weapons tests and to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons;

Work for reaching agreement on nuclear disarmament and on the non-use of force in international relations;

Facilitate the elaboration of an agreement on banning the production of chemical weapons and on eliminating their stockpiles;

Contribute to the achievement of understandings and agreements with the purpose of ending the development of new conventional weapons of great destructive force and renouncing the extension of armed forces and an increase in the conventional armaments of States with a large military potential;

(Mrs. Nikolayeva-Tereshkova, Women's
International Democratic Federation)

Work to reduce the military budgets of States in order to use part of the means thus saved to meet the needs of the developing countries;

Work for the peaceful settlement of all international conflicts;

Urge the Governments of all States to join all treaties and agreements aimed at limiting the arms race, ensuring peace and averting the threat of war;

Give fresh impetus to the current talks on disarmament both on a bilateral and multilateral basis;

Contribute to the earliest possible convening of the world disarmament conference.

Allow me once again to wish success to the special session of the United Nations General Assembly and to express the hope that this representative forum of Governments will bring nearer the practical implementation of the objective sought by the peoples of the world, that is, the achievement of universal and complete disarmament.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the representative of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Mrs. Ballantyne.

Mrs. BALLANTYNE (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom): It is a privilege to address this Assembly, in response to the recognition by Governments of the efforts that non-governmental organizations are exerting towards the achievement of world disarmament. We look forward to ever closer links with the United Nations organs dealing with the question of disarmament.

I speak on behalf of an organization two of whose leaders have received the Nobel Peace Prize and I speak in the place of the widow of another Nobel Peace Prize laureate, Mrs. Coretta Scott King, who is unable to be here today because of unavoidable personal circumstances.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom since 1915 has consistently pressed for total and universal disarmament and for peace. We appreciate the opportunity to voice our concerns here and hope that this special session will heed our urgent appeal and that of people everywhere for concrete steps towards world disarmament.

(Mrs. Ballantyne, Women's International
League for Peace and Freedom)

The women of the world are inequitably represented in the councils of government and, therefore, in this United Nations special session. We in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom therefore are endeavouring to speak for women and other under-represented people of the world whose eyes are upon you and whose fate is in your hands: the children so often overlooked, the poor so often neglected by Governments which have chosen armament before nutriment. We speak for the afflicted majority, many millions of whom suffer, starve, die - victims of the arms race, deprived by its costs, threatened by its dangers, oppressed by its injustices and offended by its immorality.

The arms race disproportionately victimizes women. Households are the first affected by the militarily-induced inflation. Women have trouble finding and keeping jobs because military production is capital- rather than labour-intensive. The social deficit attributable to excessive military expenditure includes the fact that the world's illiterate adult women number 48 per cent more than men. Women who are the water-carriers of the world see little hope of clean or piped water systems while the world's spending priorities are so gravely distorted.

We believe that war is premeditated, cold-blooded mass murder. It is a man-made phenomenon and therefore can and must be renounced by man. The women of the world deeply desire peace. We know that there can be no peace without disarmament. The goals nations have set in the Programme of Action for the United Nations Decade for Women and for the International Year of the Child cannot be met without peace and disarmament. The new international economic order, so crucial to the lives of the vast majority of the world's population, cannot be implemented while the world's resources go into the wasteful and dangerous arms race.

The people's cry for a halt to the arms race and for general and complete disarmament is loud and clear. It is expressed in the recent message to the special session from the International Non-Governmental Organization Disarmament Conference held in Geneva this spring, through which millions of people the world over were heard. They concluded that:

"The qualitative arms race must be ended; the quantity of arms must be reduced; military budgets must be cut and the use of nuclear weapons must be banned."

(Mrs. Ballantyne, Women's International
League for Peace and Freedom)

It is expressed in the message to this session from more than 80 representatives of mass organizations in 21 countries from all continents assembled in a Women's World Disarmament Seminar in Vienna in April of this year which asks the special session

... to commit itself to a programme of action that will ensure general and complete disarmament within a limited time.

It is expressed in the rising tide of mass demonstrations and meetings held in many parts of the world.

What are the obstacles impeding the decision to disarm? Among them is certainly the "enemy" image fostered and perpetuated by the cold war. Profound differences exist and are likely to continue between the major economic and ideological systems, but war and threats of war will not resolve them, nor are they morally acceptable means of trying to settle political disputes. We believe that nations must be free to change and develop their economic and political systems to systems that best respond to meeting the needs and aspirations of the majority of their population and that ensure their political and economic independence. Acceptance of that reality will go a long way towards eliminating tensions and paving the way for general and complete disarmament. The crucial political decision to live together on this beautiful earth, to compete and co-operate in peaceful economic, social and cultural endeavours, must now be made.

This critical moment in history demands that there result from this special session devoted to disarmament a signal to the world that the arms race is ending. Specifically, the world waits for an agreement to stop all testing of nuclear weapons, an agreement to outlaw the use of nuclear weapons, an agreement to proceed immediately with negotiations on a treaty prohibiting the development and production of all new weapons and weapons systems of mass destruction.

That would constitute a brake to the arms race, a first step towards disarmament measures. We recognize that together with those decisions there must be the early conclusion of an agreement on strategic arms limitations. We endorse all efforts to limit the transfer of conventional weapons. We urge initiatives and above all agreements that could cut off or cut back the

(Mrs. Ballantyne, Women's International
League for Peace and Freedom)

production of arms and military budgets. We support measures to improve the effectiveness of the disarmament negotiating machinery and its closer integration with the United Nations. Proposals for strengthening procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes need to be implemented. Those are immediate, necessary measures.

More important, however, the special session must adopt procedures for the outlining of a comprehensive plan for general and complete disarmament and to see that it is implemented within a specific time frame. We urge the convening of a world disarmament conference to bring such a plan to a conclusion before, at the latest, the end of another decade.

Those decisions are absolutely essential for the implementation of the New International Economic Order and for the solution of the many global crises such as hunger, unemployment, inflation, pollution and the waste and depletion of our precious resources.

Disarmament is possible. Hundreds of millions of women and men look to this Assembly for precisely such decisions. We trust that you will not fail them.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I now call on the representative of the World Association of World Federalists, Donald Keys.

Mr. KEYS (World Association of World Federalists): Mr. Chairman, allow me, first of all, to express to Members and to you personally the appreciation of the World Association of World Federalists for this historic opportunity.

We have listened now for many days to comments on the arithmetic and implications of the arms race. Therefore I will go directly to a few aspects of the matter which have not received much emphasis. One group of these I shall call the "software" aspects of disarmament, another the "security" aspects.

As to the software aspects, the foremost concern is the atmosphere in which negotiations take place. That atmosphere must be conducive to progress. One way to affect it positively is for concerned Governments to take steps which would lower the level of perceived threat. Unfortunately we have a situation in which new weapons systems are being developed and deployed continuously, while disarmament negotiations take place. This raises the threat perception, suspicion and fear. An ambiguous situation is created: for each move towards peace, there is a move which can be interpreted as warlike.

We have learned from experience that steps taken nationally can lead to early agreements, as in the case of the prohibition of bacteriological and biological weapons.

The major nuclear Powers could, for instance: announce a moratorium on the testing and deployment of new strategic weapons systems; announce a halt in the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes, the transfer of fissionable materials from stockpiles, and their use for peaceful purposes; announce a moratorium on the testing of nuclear weapons and on peaceful nuclear explosions, until a comprehensive ban is ready; announce a moratorium on the production of nerve gas and other lethal chemical weapons, and a programme for their destruction, while a treaty is completed. These steps, or others like them, taken by either major party, would lay the basis for reciprocation and early formal agreements. The "balance of risks" in any of them would be small indeed, and yet their impact in improving the prospects for arms agreements would be very great indeed, for they would, by mutual

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example, set in motion a process of restraint opposite in kind to the escalation of the arms race.

Other aspects of the software problems of disarmament include additional psychological problems, to which nations, like people, are subject, and which have received very little attention. There is the information filtering problem. Like individuals, nations tend to accept information- which reinforces what they already know and believe, and to reject new information which would require a change in perception. This filtering process greatly inhibits improvements in inter-State relations of all kinds, and most particularly in the field of disarmament. Nations are also afflicted with the "virile image" notion. They must, in their view, appear strong and invincible in order to be convincing to their possible adversaries. Unfortunately, they appear to other parties, on the contrary, to be aggressive, intransigent, unyielding and unwilling. The psycho-social problems among nations have, as yet, received very little attention or study, yet often they are the critical factors in the achievement or non-achievement of professed goals or agreements.

There is another major aspect of the problem of disarmament which I should like to stress. It has to do with the relationship between disarmament and international security. Arms reductions are one thing; general and complete disarmament, which is and must remain our goal, is another. Parity and mutual deterrence may be maintained either at ever-escalating levels, or at very low levels. But such an arrangement is inevitably in danger of reversal. With an increase of sufficient magnitude in international tensions, the arms race will inevitably be resumed in full force. We must not be deluded into thinking otherwise.

Thus, general and complete disarmament is seen as essential to any lasting peace. Yet, its achievement depends on factors to which the international community has, as yet, given very little attention indeed. Disarmament in any human society is a function of the development, within that society, of institutions for keeping the peace, and of the development of the mores and values upon which, by common consent, those institutions rest. The

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maintenance of international peace and security in a disarming or disarmed world depends on the evolution of effective international institutions in peace-making and peace-keeping, to provide the security which nations are unable any longer to provide for themselves. In the absence of such means nations will not, and cannot be expected to, disarm. Thus it is obvious that "parallel track" efforts are required, both in disarmament negotiations and in institution building. The world community must be equipped for peace. Peace is not going to fall like a gentle rain because we destroy some, or even all, of our arms.

Thus an immediate question arises: to what extent are Members prepared and willing to commit themselves to the erection of machinery, in which they themselves can have trust and confidence, to keep the peace in a world of few or no arms? At present the answer is not encouraging, although there are some hopeful developments. We call attention to the interim report of the Secretary-General on the interrelationship between international security and disarmament, a document which is before this special session. In its fuller development, this study could lead to a new understanding of the dynamics of the maintenance of peace in a disarmed world.

We call attention also to the important proposal of the Government of the Netherlands for the establishment of an international disarmament organization, to begin, in a modest way, by managing and rationalizing the increasingly complex group of disarmament or non-armament measures which have already been agreed upon - a proposal to which that of Sri Lanka is closely related. In our view, the proposal of the Government of France for United Nations processing of satellite reconnaissance data could easily be incorporated as one function of such an international disarmament organization. We appreciate also the suggestions of the Secretary-General on the concept, in a sense, of a "self-tax" on arms, to be used for work on disarmament, and for contributions to new efforts by an expert body. Likewise, we anticipate the further expansion and development of the excellent work of the Disarmament Centre, while noting that its relationship to a possible international disarmament organization, of which it is the obvious nucleus, must be worked out.

(Mr. Keys, World Association of
World Federalists)

We are on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand, the arms race is incompatible with human survival, and numbers our days. On the other hand, Member States have yet to take note of the fact that peace will result not from the absence of arms, however desirable that is, but from the consolidation of the world community, from an acceptance of full responsibility as mutually dependent community members in our small global village, and from the pooling of that responsibility by giving our world organization all the instruments needed for the maintenance of international peace and security. ~~Until that time, disarmament will remain a chimera which will taunt and~~ elude us.

(Mr. Keys, World Association of
World Federalists)

As important as any arms agreement is a shift in perspective by the human community. In the new perspective, humanity is seen necessarily as unitary in nature, global in scope, with a range of essential and basic needs to be met in common. The destiny of nations and peoples is no longer separable. It is integral. It requires integral and common approaches, setting aside unachievable individual advantages at the cost of others. We were strongly reminded by the Prime Minister of India, His Excellency Morarji Desai, of the "oneness of the human family". In the historic sense, because of global implosion, only measures taken from this perception of communal good will suffice for human survival and well-being.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I now call upon the representative of the World Conference on Religion and Peace, Mr. Niwano.

Mr. NIWANO (World Conference on Religion and Peace) (spoke in Japanese, text furnished by the speaker): I should like to express my gratitude for the opportunity to address the special session on behalf of the World Conference on Religion and Peace. I would also express my personal gratitude that, at the United Nations - an international political forum - a representative of religion, like myself, is given an opportunity to speak.

I am a Buddhist. In the parable of the burning house, the Buddha tells of a concerned father who has escaped the flaming wreckage of his decaying home but cannot convince his children to join him because they are so absorbed in their amusements that they remain oblivious to the danger that surrounds them. Viewing our world, the Buddha says, "This world is not a safe place for ordinary men. It is like the burning house." In the Buddha's eyes, mankind's unrestrained greed - like the children who were too busy - exposes us to danger and causes us to suffer. He laments that we are completely unaware of the danger that surrounds us. Yet we Japanese in Hiroshima and Nagasaki have already experienced the truth of the burning house. Also as a Buddhist I cannot forget the words of Pope Paul VI after extending to me an invitation to attend the Second Vatican Council. The Pope said: "Christians must pray for Buddhists and Buddhists must pray for Christians. Unless religious people do so, there is no way they can help mankind."

(Mr. Niwano, World Conference on
Religion and Peace)

The World Conference on Religion and Peace held its first meeting at Kyoto in 1970 and then set up its international headquarters in this United Nations community. Participants in our organization are drawn from all the major world religions and from more than 60 States in all social systems. The proximity of our international headquarters and our close contact with the United Nations help keep us alert to the grave problems confronting mankind. We are concerned, however, not only to stop the arms race, to end economic injustice and to eliminate violations of human rights, but also to free the human spirit for a quality of life more in keeping with the dignity and destiny of the person and a life in community at all levels based on freedom, justice and love.

The abolition of war or, better still, the removal of the conditions that lead to war, is a specific and limited objective but it is a crucial first step. The first meeting of our organization in 1970 declared, "A society based on the strength of arms is the negation of a community based on justice."

We Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Jews, Muslims, and other living faiths each cherish our own religious traditions and seek to use our combined ethical insights and religious experience for global peace and justice. In this spirit we have obtained consultative status with the United Nations and our Secretary-General has had the honour of being Chairman of the Non-Governmental Organizations Committee on Disarmament at United Nations Headquarters since its inception in 1973. Our Secretary-General is Dr. Homer A. Jack.

We shall use these precious minutes, not to comment on the wording of the draft final document, but to suggest some fundamental approaches to disarmament, some taken from the findings of our two world conferences in Japan and Belgium.

First, may we, motivated by our several religions, suggest a greater sense of urgency to you world diplomats in acting to end the arms race? The danger of nuclear war by calculation, miscalculation, accident, or terrorism is increasing. We implore you to act with all deliberate speed, even incautious speed, since - in the words of one of our own congresses - mankind's "continued existence on this planet is threatened with nuclear extinction."

"The human race must end the arms race before the arms race ends the human race.

"The most basic human right is survival.

(Mr. Niwano, World Conference on
Religion and Peace)

Secondly, may we, motivated by our several religions, suggest that the most complex, technical problem in the domain of international peace and security must, in the end, depend upon ethical decisions which must be explained and justified to the common people? No arms control jargon must be allowed to conceal life-denying decisions of Governments.

Thirdly, may we, motivated by our several religions, suggest that risks must be taken by statesmen for peace as they are obviously taking risks today with arms? I ask especially President Carter and First Secretary Brezhnev, "Instead of taking risks with arms, please take major risks for peace and disarmament." We urge national and regional initiatives for disarmament, which may or may not require immediate reciprocation. We pray that some State, out of strength and not weakness, will take major risks for peace and disarmament,

Fourthly, may we, motivated by our several religions, suggest that there is a great constituency for peace? The victims of the uninterrupted wars of this generation and those praying for peace may be silent, inarticulate and not as influential as those in all social systems with a vested interest in the arms race. Yet all peoples yearn for the freedom from fear of nuclear holocaust and of death and destruction by conventional war. They yearn for world peace and, in the third world and all worlds, they also yearn for the economic and social consequences of an end to the arms race.

Fifthly, may we, motivated by our several religions, suggest that a new appraisal must be made of national and world security? We assert that no nation and no people is secure in a world of more than 15,000 strategic nuclear warheads.

Sixthly, may we, motivated by our several religions, underline the goal of general and complete disarmament? If humanity is to survive this century, it can only be through general and complete disarmament. May the proposed comprehensive programme on disarmament be a bridge to general and complete disarmament. Certainly arms control has been a failure. This is symptomatic of the deeper failure to reconstruct a social and economic order centred on humanity.

(Mr. Niwano, World Conference on
Religion and Peace)

Seventhly, may we, motivated by our several religions, thank the special session for allowing non-governmental organizations to speak and participate so fully. We hope that this non-governmental relationship to disarmament issues in the United Nations might be institutionalized.

(Mr. Niwano, World Conference on
Religion and Peace)

May we also pay tribute to the Non-Aligned Group for taking the initiative in calling for this special session. We are with the non-aligned in asserting that nuclear disarmament is the first priority of this world Organization. We suggest this priority not only for reasons of implementing article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, but because it is ethically, morally and religiously right. The very possession of nuclear weapons must become a crime against humanity.

The use of nuclear weapons in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the resulting devastation and human suffering, is on photographic display in this building, thanks to the Japanese delegation to the United Nations. Because some of the pictures were considered too gruesome, I understand that there were requests for their removal from that display. I sincerely hope that people will not turn a blind eye to such hellish scenes of human agony caused by human error. Indeed, we can but affirm the draft sentence in the declaration of this special session which asserts: "We must halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament or perish."

We believe that the United Nations has the ability to extend the realm of peace and the rule of law in our troubled world. We have called upon our religious constituencies to engage in prayer and meditation for the success of this historic meeting. We look to you Member States of the United Nations to reverse the present trends, to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, and to rally the nations in the search for peace, justice and true human progress. That is our hope.

To those who would say that disarmament, including the total abolition of nuclear weapons, is a vain dream, I would repeat the words of the thirteenth century Japanese Buddhist priest, Nichiren. He said: "The prayers of believers in the Sutra of the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law will never go unanswered." I think that no prayers will ever go unanswered.

(Mr. Niwano, World Conference on
Religion and Peace)

And this is what Buddha says: "The universe is my domain; the living beings in it are all my sons. But now this place abounds with distress. I alone am able to save and protect them."

It is also said that the whole world has to adhere to the true law, and I believe that all religions are essentially one, as taught by Buddha. Bound together in heaven and on earth, we are many in body, yet one in mind. If the whole of mankind would pray for world peace, the Lord will surely save us. Unless all human beings become one of heart, the establishment of a strong United Nations as a world government cannot be achieved, nor can total disarmament be realized without the establishment of a world government.

Therefore, in conclusion, I sincerely hope that you, the leaders of the Governments of the world, will go all out to achieve an everlasting peace. May God, whom we call the Eternal Buddha, bless and protect you.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I now call on the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Mr. Ottone.

Mr. OTTONE (World Federation of Democratic Youth) (interpretation from Spanish): It is a great honour for me to express my thanks for this opportunity to speak to you on behalf of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, as well as in the name of many youth organizations throughout the world. Indeed, I am speaking for millions of young people from different backgrounds and of diverse ideological, political and religious beliefs who, nevertheless, forcefully and unanimously demand their right to live in a world of peace.

It is because of this deep desire and fundamental aspiration that we have whole-heartedly supported the holding of this special session, initiated by the Group of 77, the first of its kind to be held on a problem which is undoubtedly the most important and urgent in present-day international relations, the solution of which is decisive for coming generations, and which cannot be achieved without the support of world public opinion, including the support of the world's youth.

(Mr. Ottone, World Federation of
Democratic Youth)

In recent years, due to many positive factors in the life of peoples, the tensions among States with different social systems have had to give way to new relations based on peaceful co-existence. This process, of which the European Conference on Security and Co-operation, held in Helsinki, was an outstanding event, is the only realistic alternative to confrontation, which, in an extreme situation, could lead to a new world war of utter destruction.

Therefore, in our opinion, it is of utmost importance that all Governments realize that the process of détente can be made irreversible only if complemented by concrete steps to limit the arms race and achieve general and complete disarmament. That is why we voice the hope that this special session will yield concrete results. It was for this same reason that we learnt with concern of the simultaneous summit meeting in Washington the theme of which is in direct contradiction to that of this session.

Various youth and student organizations on the five continents have long been fighting to support and strengthen the process of disarmament and to educate the younger generation in the spirit of peace against militaristic propaganda. This is only natural, for the future of the younger generation, its struggles and aspirations, its prospects for life, work and study, as well as its opportunities for a fuller and freer life, are linked to the strengthening of a lasting peace and to the final attainment of general and complete disarmament.

Youth and student organizations in Europe, representing the full range of ideological trends, political and social tendencies and different religious beliefs, have long been engaged in fruitful co-operation. This has resulted in a number of joint initiatives in different fields, including disarmament. Hence they were able successfully to convene the European Youth and Student Conference on Disarmament, held in Budapest earlier this year. I have been authorized to convey to the Member States of the United Nations the greetings of the participants in that Conference, which was the broadest, most representative youth meeting devoted to a single subject ever held in Europe with the participation of so many different organizations.

(Mr. Ottone, World Federation of
Democratic Youth)

They all expressed their wish that this session would contribute to enhancing the role of the United Nations in matters of disarmament and to the attainment of concrete results in the process.

In the final document of the Budapest Conference it was strongly emphasized that the youth of Europe commit themselves to promoting the success of this session, and hopes were expressed that its recommendations would be implemented within the United Nations system and in other activities, such as the world conference on disarmament.

(Mr. Ottone, World Federation
of Democratic Youth)

They also made a number of concrete recommendations, in one of which they called on the youth organizations of Europe, among other things, to: stage different types of initiatives by various youth and student organizations in Europe as well as on a world-wide scale in support of strengthening the process of disarmament as one of the basic aims of all-European youth co-operation in the period ahead; strengthen the co-operation of youth organizations in the implementation of the provisions of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe; contribute to guaranteeing broad international public support at the national and international levels for all initiatives concerning the curbing of the arms race and the attainment of general and complete disarmament; support the establishment of the necessary political conditions for the gradual suppression of military blocs in Europe, leading eventually to their simultaneous dissolution; and carry out joint and individual action through national, regional and international organizations of different orientations aimed at curbing the arms race in favour of détente.

On this basis, the same youth organizations declared the European Youth and Student Day of Action for Disarmament, which was held in Helsinki just prior to the opening of the special session on disarmament and adopted an appeal to this session. Both the final document of the European Youth and Student Conference on Disarmament and the appeal resulting from the Helsinki Day of Action have been presented to the Secretariat and the Disarmament Centre of the United Nations by a joint delegation representing organizations of different orientations. A further step towards strengthening world youth co-operation in this field would be the organization of a world youth conference on disarmament.

Together with various other organizations we are now concluding preparations for the eleventh World Festival of Youth and Students, the most representative in world youth festival history. It is supported by the major youth movements of the world and is to be held in Havana, Cuba, at the end of next month. It will be an extraordinary event in the international youth movement, and will deal with, among other things, questions relating to peace, security, co-operation and disarmament, and the problems faced by developing countries in their struggle for independence and a new international economic order based on justice and equality.

(Mr. Ottone, World Federation
of Democratic Youth)

The youth of the world see clearly that all possible support must be given to the Member States of the United Nations if they are to achieve their principal objectives. The arms race, with its enormous cost and waste of natural resources and its disastrous social effects at the national and international levels, constitutes a serious threat to the peace and security of the world and hinders the solution of problems of a world-wide nature and especially those of the underdeveloped nations, such as unemployment, hunger, the problems of the environment and socio-economic development in general. It also has a negative effect on the development of international relations and is incompatible with the development of relations among States on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, and in particular with the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

The World Federation of Democratic Youth has joined in the big public movement in Europe and throughout the world against plans to produce qualitatively new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, such as the neutron bomb. We support the idea of the renunciation by all States of the production of that bomb.

At the same time, we welcome all new proposals concerning concrete measures aimed at general and complete disarmament, the non-use of nuclear weapons against States which renounce the production and acquisition of such weapons and do not have them on their territories, and the non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present. We are in favour of the cessation of production of all types of nuclear weapons, the cessation of the production and the prohibition of all other types of weapons of mass destruction, the ending of the manufacture of new types of conventional weapons of great destructive capability, and the renunciation of the expansion of the armies and the building up of the conventional armaments of the permanent members of the Security Council and the countries which have military agreements with them. We also support all efforts to create nuclear-free zones and zones of peace.

We hope that the time is not far distant when the threat of war will be completely eliminated and lasting peace established among all nations.

(Mr. Ottone, World Federation
of Democratic Youth)

We hope that the second round of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the Soviet Union and the United States will be successfully concluded and that progress will be made in existing negotiations on disarmament.

In conclusion, we wish to express the commitment of our organization - and, I venture to say, all organizations representing youth and students all over the world - to continuing to unite their desires and efforts to strengthen the process of disarmament and contribute actively to the positive steps in this area which the United Nations and its members are taking. We wish you success in your important work and hope that it will result in concrete progress towards disarmament, thus meeting the aspirations of people, and particularly youth, all over the world.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the next speaker, Mr. E. H. S. Burhop, representative of the World Federation of Scientific Workers.

Mr. BURHOP (World Federation of Scientific Workers): May I first, on behalf of my organization, express sincere appreciation of the honour this Assembly has accorded us by inviting us to speak at this rostrum.

The organization which I represent, the World Federation of Scientific Workers, is a federation of 43 organizations of scientists in 31 countries. Those organizations include in their membership around 400,000 scientists and engineers. The Federation was formed in London in 1946 soon after the birth of the nuclear age, and the problems of the abolition of nuclear weapons and disarmament have always been central to our whole programme. We aim to ensure to scientists in all countries conditions in which they can carry out their work efficiently, but we are also concerned to see that science and technology are applied constructively and for the benefit of society. We try to inculcate in scientists and engineers a sense of social responsibility for the way their work is applied.

(Mr. Burhop, World Federation of
Scientific Workers)

Science and technology are deeply involved in the arms race. About 10 per cent of industrial workers are employed in defence-oriented industry. For skilled workers this figure is closer to 20 per cent. For the highly qualified scientists and engineers belonging to organizations affiliated to the World Federation of Scientific Workers the figure is between 40 per cent and 50 per cent. Without their co-operation the development of new and sophisticated weapons - the so-called qualitative arms race - would grind to a halt.

Many of our affiliated organizations are trade unions, and are naturally concerned about the changes in employment of their members following extensive disarmament measures. We are very appreciative of the excellent study of the economic and social consequences of disarmament that has been carried out under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and are in complete accord with its conclusions. The arms race gives a very poor return in the way of jobs provided for a given capital investment, and it also feeds inflation. The ending of the arms race would make available the creative potentialities of our most brilliant scientists and the inventive genius of our most talented engineers for tackling the great crises of energy, raw materials, environment and so on, that plague our society. Capital investment in these areas would open up intellectually challenging avenues of employment in socially valuable directions.

(Mr. Burhop, World Federation of
Scientific Workers)

However, all this transition needs organizing in a detailed way appropriate to the conditions applicable in individual establishments and requires the co-operation of management, trades unions and Governments. Sometimes, unfortunately, the necessary encouragement is not forthcoming. I would refer to the case of the engineering workers in a large enterprise in Britain who discovered that when, as a result of a most comprehensive and imaginative study, they presented to their management detailed proposals for feasible alternative and profitable production lines that could be opened up to replace production of components required for armaments, the management gave no encouragement and in effect told them to mind their own business.

Problems of redeployment, however, are not simply a question of replacing one job by another. It is an unfortunate reality that the arms and aerospace industries often bring forward problems of the greatest intellectual challenge, employing the most sophisticated technologies. Alternative forms of employment require the solution of problems of a less challenging, more pedestrian nature. Undoubtedly this is a temporary problem reflecting the disproportionate resources that have been squandered on the arms race. But it surely requires much more serious study than it has so far received.

In the World Federation of Scientific Workers, our standing committee on disarmament is devoting much attention to problems of redeployment, and we are very grateful to our affiliated organizations for the enlightened and principled support they have given our disarmament policy even when it has raised problems for them. This is of course only one aspect of our policy in the disarmament field. Our main lines of policy have been set out in detail in our submission to this special session. Here I shall refer to just one other aspect, and a very important one - the problem of the qualitative arms race, in which the role of the scientist is so vital. Our tasks in this field have been greatly helped in recent years by the steady flow of authoritative and objective information about new weapons that has come from the Peace Research Institutes. We have the task of popularizing and making known this information among our affiliated organizations. In face of the flood of slanted information about new arms developments that is fed to the press by the arms lobby, scientists with the

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Scientific Workers)

knowledge necessary to assess new developments have a most important role to play. Take, for example, the neutron bomb. From official press briefings one would think this to be a purely defensive weapon for use in breaking up massed tank attacks. It may well have such a role. What is not mentioned, however, is that the neutron bomb could also prove to be the weapon par excellence for control of dissident populations in dependent areas or for an aggressor aiming to seize cities and industrial undertakings of another country with the crude aim of operating them for his own economic advantage. Think how Hitler and Goebbels would have wished for such a weapon.

Controversy also surrounds the use of the cruise missile, the back-fire bomber and other weapons in course of development. There is a clear need for independent assessment of the use of all the new types of weapons either under development or appearing on the horizon. Could not the General Assembly at this special session consider setting up such an independent expert advisory assessment body to discuss the effects of new weapons? This body could surely be linked to the advisory body suggested earlier by the Secretary-General. We must use our influence not only with Governments but also in informing public opinion. The outcome of the massive world-wide campaign against the neutron bomb illustrates how an aroused public opinion can influence Government policy.

Even among sincere and well-meaning people there still remain misconceptions that we must firmly and politely correct. Even here, from this very rostrum, we have heard the view expressed that the dangers facing mankind from the nuclear arms race have been exaggerated and that nuclear arms can be allowed to proliferate. With all earnestness and sincerity I ask Members to heed the warnings of the scientists when they say that a full-scale nuclear war fought with presently available weapons could mean the end of civilized human society, perhaps for centuries, perhaps for millenia, perhaps for ever. Not everyone would die, but hundreds of millions of unfortunate survivors would face a future of unimaginable suffering and misery.

It is precisely to avoid such an unspeakable tragedy that the organizations of scientists in the World Federation of Scientific Workers will fight to the very limit for real measures of disarmament. The arms race is not inevitable. The momentum towards détente must be restored. We call for the earliest conclusion

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of SALT II and a rapid transition to SALT III, which must lead to the halting of the qualitative arms race and to actual disarmament in strategic weapons. We call for a new impetus for the implementation of all moves, partial or total, for the reduction of all arms, atomic or conventional, leading to general and complete disarmament.

The CHAIRMAN: I call upon Mr. Mihaly Simai of the World Federation of United Nations Associations.

Mr. SIMAI (World Federation of United Nations Associations): The World Federation of United Nations Associations is a world-wide organization composed of 80 member associations in all the continents of the world and in countries of all social and political systems and stages of economic development. We constitute a people's movement for the United Nations dedicated to achieving the goals of the United Nations.

As a people's movement for the United Nations, we consider it one of our greatest tasks to support and strengthen the world Organization so that it may become a more efficient instrument of global peace, security and co-operation. These designs are interrelated with other vital issues of our age: the elimination of mass poverty, backwardness and the economic consequences of colonialism.

Recognition of this interrelationship was reflected also in the message of the twenty-sixth plenary assembly of our World Federation to this special session of the United Nations, which represented the consensus of all the delegates to our plenary assembly.

We are convinced that the improvement of the international climate, the cessation of the arms race and effective disarmament measures not only would strengthen international security but would allow mankind to deal, on a larger scale and in a more practical way, with the problem of development and to satisfy the acute economic, social and cultural needs of all peoples, particularly in the developing countries.

(Mr. Simai, World Federation of
United Nations Associations)

Therefore we strongly support the efforts of the United Nations system and its Member States, endorsed by world public opinion, to strengthen and extend détente, to expand its geographical scope and to settle disputes and conflicts between States by peaceful means. We welcome also such limited achievements as the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or any other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques, and we urge their signature and implementation by all States.

The message of the twenty-sixth plenary assembly of the World Federation expresses great concern that the vast accumulation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction constitutes a growing danger to the human race which, through error of judgement, miscalculation, madness or dictatorial ambition, may cause a world holocaust, and recognizes that a new international economic order and the global arms race are incompatible, that disarmament and development are closely interrelated and that neither can achieve their final goals without the other.

Therefore, we express our profound conviction that further progress towards the elimination of international tensions and towards disarmament would create more favourable conditions for broader and closer economic co-operation among nations, for the fuller use of scientific and technological advances for the purpose of development, and for the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis.

May I reaffirm here our fundamental commitment to general, complete and verified disarmament and may I welcome the tenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament as an important and constructive initiative. At the same time, may I express the hope of the overwhelming majority of our member associations that a world disarmament conference and other similar initiatives will contribute to further progress towards general and complete disarmament, which should remain a primary concern of the United Nations. That can only be effectively achieved, however, through a series of specific steps, and in this connexion we urge a speedy conclusion of the negotiations for the SALT II treaty and the conclusion of a SALT III treaty which will reduce and not merely limit the scale of armaments.

(Mr. Simai, World Federation of
United Nations Associations)

On behalf of the twenty-sixth plenary assembly of our World Federation, I should like to call on the United Nations and its Member States to intensify their efforts to achieve speedy and decisive progress towards disarmament and an end to the arms race, the prohibition of all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, including such new additions to military arsenals as enhanced radiation warheads - for example, neutron bombs - extremely accurate missiles and other destabilizing weapons, and the complete and general prohibition of tests of nuclear weapons and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, as well as towards the reduction of armed forces, conventional armaments and national military expenditure, with a view to achieving the ultimate goal, general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

We strongly support the idea of general and complete disarmament, and in this context the progress towards the establishment of a permanent United Nations peace-keeping force to maintain and promote international security in a disarming and disarmed world, and the idea of a moratorium on all research and development projects on all new weapons of any kind, and we urge all scientists to disassociate themselves from inhuman research and development projects.

We are also aware that, even without a new world war which threatens all nations, the economic consequences of the arms race have a devastating effect on the whole of mankind. No country, group or individual can disregard or isolate itself from the global dangers. The aggravation of the existing global problems and the emerging new problems can be solved only by eliminating the greatest waste, the arms race, and by devoting the funds, energies and talents to peaceful purposes. Therefore, we call on the United Nations, its Member States and the bodies involved in the preparation of the international development strategy for the Third Development Decade to be declared in 1980 to submit proposals at the same time for an international disarmament strategy, making explicit provision for linking the two strategies and ensuring that both strategies should contribute to the establishment of a new international economic order. This task could be considered to be one of the most important joint contributions of the United Nations Disarmament Centre and other United

(Mr. Simai, World Federation
of United Nations Associations)

Nations organs to the issues of development and international co-operation, and it should receive more moral and financial support from the Member States. The research and publications activities, however, should be better co-ordinated within the United Nations system and use should be made of the important channels of communication to the public represented by non-governmental organizations, including the World Federation of United Nations Associations.

Disarmament, being a vital issue, is not an end in itself. The end is human survival, security and progress. After many decades of the arms race it is evident that the true guarantee of these aims for every nation of the world is not the spiralling of new weapons but political détente and a sound and democratic world economy. We are all responsible for the achievements of these goals for the benefit of the future generations. The tasks are not insurmountable. We are sure, however, that they cannot be achieved spontaneously or at no cost. The World Federation of United Nations Associations is ready to share responsibilities and efforts in the common struggle for human survival, security and progress. Important as the special session is in itself, I am sure that everyone recognizes that it will be the follow-up of the special session which will be of vital importance in achieving the goals to which we are addressing ourselves. In recognition of that, in the future programmes of the World Federation, we shall give priority to projects on an international scale which will promote further and meaningful progress in the field of disarmament. We shall recommend that our member associations disseminate more information on the disarmament activities of the United Nations, prepare educational materials, organize meetings and use the mass media in their respective countries to enhance general public support for the follow-up of the special session. We are convinced that in the world, together with all the peace-loving forces, we have the power and the will to achieve our common goals and to ensure that the opportunities for human survival will not be lost.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the World Peace Council, Mr. Romesh Chandra, to speak.

Mr. CHANDRA (World Peace Council): I bring to this historic session the greetings and good wishes of the World Peace Council and the international and national organizations represented in it from over 130 countries of all continents.

The special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament can rightly be described as the most important gathering of the Governments of the world, exclusively dedicated to the most important cause facing the peoples of every country - the cause of ending the arms race and opening the way for rapid progress towards the ultimate goals of the prohibition of all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and of general and complete disarmament.

The World Peace Council always stresses that only the united action of the Governments and the peoples which have dedicated themselves to the cause of peace can ensure the carrying out of concrete measures for the ending of the arms race and for disarmament. All the resolutions, declarations and decisions adopted by the United Nations - however correct and praiseworthy they may be - cannot be implemented and made effective without the support of a world-wide movement of the peoples for peace.

At the very start of the work of this session the World Peace Council presented to the President of the special session and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations 500 million signatures to the New Stockholm Appeal to end the arms race. Those signatures represent a total of over 700 million people. Among them there are signatures of several Heads of State and Government, Members of Parliament, leaders of trade unions and of movements of farmers and the rural poor, of churches and other religious bodies, of women's organizations, youth and student bodies, workers in factories and in offices, peasants in the field, teachers and students in universities.

That Appeal, which represents the will of all the peoples of the world, proclaims that peace can be defended and a world of peace can be built. The peoples have the power, if they act together, to defeat the makers of war, who are the same as the makers of hunger and poverty.

The New Stockholm Appeal expresses the new hopes, the new confidence and the new optimism of the peoples of the world, following the many victories for peace and détente which have created a new international climate.

This is a period in human history which has seen the glorious victory against imperialist aggression of the peoples of Viet Nam, of Laos and of Cambodia. This is the period which has seen the great victories against colonialism and fascism of the liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe. This is the period which has seen victories over fascist régimes in Greece, Portugal and Spain. This is the period which has seen the success of the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe, held in Helsinki in 1975, which gave new strength to détente and a fresh impetus for defending and building peace in all continents. This is the period which has seen the emergence, as a major force in the world, of the non-aligned countries and of their united actions, together with the socialist countries, in supporting every struggle of the peoples for a new world from which aggression, exploitation and domination, hunger and poverty will have been banished for all time.

The principal obstacle in the way of the efforts to make the process of détente irreversible is the arms race, which threatens our planet with nuclear destruction. It is the arms race which keeps the threat of such a conflagration alive and thus endangers political détente itself.

Détente has provided fresh prospects of victories in the battles for the new international economic order, for the rights of the peoples to the wealth of their own soil. Détente is a weapon in the fight for ending the plunder of the peoples by the monopolies and the transnational corporations.

It is for that reason precisely that détente is constantly attacked by those who profit from the old economic order, who are precisely the same as those who profit from the arms race. It is the military-industrial complexes in the principal imperialist countries which gain billions of dollars through the profits they make from the manufacture of ever more barbaric weapons of mass destruction.

It is the arms race which encourages the forces of aggression, of militarism and fascism, of colonialism and racism. The consolidation of détente and the victories for détente are vital factors for the strengthening of the efforts of

(Mr. Chandra, World Peace Council)

all countries for national independence, for justice and for social progress. The arms race stands in the way of the solution of the most urgent international problems of the day. It stands in the way of the liquidation of the hot-beds of tension and conflict in various regions of the world.

The road to disarmament lies through the ending of the arms race.

World public opinion has viewed this special session of the United Nations with great hope, understanding fully the immense possibilities and, at the same time, the limitations of this session. The World Peace Council has described its attitude towards this special session as one of realistic optimism. We have therefore extended our full support to all the many positive proposals which have been made by representatives of several Governments, and in particular by the Governments of socialist and non-aligned States, for concrete and definite measures for real disarmament.

The World Peace Council is, however, gravely concerned - and this concern is shared by hundreds of millions all over the world - that a number of Heads of State and Government have appeared at this special session and at this rostrum immediately before or after attending a summit meeting in Washington at which an increase in the production of armaments was decided on not only for the immediate future but also for the period of the next 10 to 15 years.

Public opinion in all parts of the world naturally views with regret and dismay, as well as with a sense of shock, the fact that exactly at the same time as the General Assembly at the special session is seriously discussing concrete proposals for the ending of the arms race, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has decided on a steady quantitative and qualitative increase in armaments.

The World Peace Council also views with the greatest anxiety proposals that have been made for the production of new weapons of mass destruction and new types and systems of such weapons.

A massive movement of the peoples - demonstrations, conferences, meetings and signature campaigns - has spread across all continents condemning the proposal to produce and deploy the neutron bomb. We welcome the fact that, as a result of this world-wide campaign, many of the Governments in whose countries it had been proposed to deploy that infamous weapon have either refused to allow that bomb to be deployed on their soil or have expressed serious reservations with regard to such deployment.

(Mr. Chandra, World Peace Council)

The World Peace Council appeals to the Assembly at this special session to ensure that the call for the prohibition of the neutron bomb is included in the final document. Such a ban on the neutron bomb should be followed by a ban on the production of all other new weapons of mass destruction.

The World Peace Council believes that it is essential that the special session should express itself unequivocally in favour of convening a world disarmament conference, as has been proposed and agreed upon by the vast majority of Governments represented in the United Nations. Such a world disarmament conference would be a forum open to all States, and what is especially significant is that all the decisions taken by that world disarmament conference should be binding on all the participating States. Nothing should be allowed to prevent the convening of the world disarmament conference, which hundreds of millions of people earnestly desire.

The World Peace Council clearly sees the close connexion that exists between the three Ds - détente, disarmament and development. It is an abominable crime that on every single day over \$1 billion are spent on armaments, on the production of weapons for mass destruction; while at the same time, every single day, over 1 billion people all over the world suffer from hunger and starvation.

For the vast majority of the world's population the ending of the arms race is vital not only to prevent a nuclear conflagration with the universal destruction that it would assuredly entail; for that vast majority, the ending of the arms race is vital for the solution of the most elementary and urgent problems which face them at every hour and every minute of their lives.

(Mr. Chandra,
World Peace Council)

The ending of the arms race would be a tremendously important contribution to the fight against hunger and poverty - the fight for a daily handful of rice or wheat for every man, woman and child in the world.

The final goals of the World Peace Council and of all peoples remain those which have been repeatedly asserted by the United Nations. Nevertheless, it is necessary to consider what could be the most immediate and urgent steps which could be taken at this special session.

Proposals were put forward clearly and categorically at the recent Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations in Support of the Special Session on Disarmament which was held in Geneva in February and March this year. That Conference, in which over 100 non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council took part, emphasized the great significance of the partial agreements already reached in the field of controlling the arms race. Nevertheless, the non-governmental organizations expressed their dissatisfaction at the fact that the arms race had grown even more dangerous than before. The Geneva Conference, therefore, called for redoubled action by non-governmental organizations to halt the arms race.

The World Peace Council proposes that the Assembly at this special session should take a number of urgent and immediate steps:

The cessation of all further production of all types of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, with a view to the halting of a further build-up in numbers and quality of such weapons;

Secondly, progressive reduction of the existing armies and conventional weapons of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, together with those of all the countries associated with them in military agreements.

Such immediate measures could be of the greatest value.

I would like to end by reiterating our fervent support of the United Nations. The World Peace Council is the largest and strongest movement of world public

(Mr. Chandra,
World Peace Council)

opinion for peace that has ever existed. It is a vast mass movement of action by hundreds of millions of people of all continents. It seeks to defend peace and to build peace.

The World Peace Council pledges itself to do everything possible to make known the results of this special session and to bring the force of public opinion to bear for the implementation of all the positive measures for disarmament proposed during the session.

Together, the Governments and the peoples of the world, pledged to peace and disarmament, can surely succeed.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I call on the representative of the World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations, Mrs. Elizabeth Lovatt-Dolan.

Mrs. LOVATT-DOLAN (World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations): The World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations deeply appreciates the opportunity given us to speak to this Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole of the special session on disarmament, a session which we believe to be of unprecedented significance in the history of the United Nations.

The World Union is a federation of 129 organizations in 60 countries on all continents, with a membership of approximately 30 million women. A principal thrust of our programmes and activities is the promotion of integral human development and of the conditions of economic and social justice which make that development possible.

We are deeply concerned by the cruelly inhibiting effect on development produced over the years by the arms race and its spiralling technology, the expanding trade in increasingly sophisticated and expensive weaponry, and the great exaggeration of military budgets.

Since 1947, Members of the United Nations have repeatedly deplored, in various United Nations bodies and agencies, the tragedy of millions of human persons who bear intolerable burdens of preventable illness, malnourishment, illiteracy and general impoverishment. Yet, the imbalance between the

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Catholic Women's Organizations)

investments in development and the investments in weaponry keeps growing steadily from day to day. Again at this session we have heard expressed an almost universal concern for development. It is with hope, therefore, that we urge you to take this historic opportunity to meet that concern by agreeing to a reduction of military budgets and the establishment of a corresponding fund for development.

We believe that the basic security of people everywhere resides in the availability of food, health services, shelter, education, employment and a wholesome, unpolluted environment, and that it is the first responsibility of Governments to meet these fundamental needs of their citizens.

It is both irrational and immoral to commit almost half of the world's scientific research and technological development to increasing the already unimaginable potential for total destruction. We believe it is a moral imperative to direct the creative potential of science and technology to the service of human beings.

We believe the time has come to detach the concept of security from that of dependence on the military and on the fearful tension of deterrence. It is time to make the necessary investments in the solution of the problems that menace the quality of life, if not the very existence of every creature on the planet.

It has been a source of deep regret to us that the series of United Nations studies on the economic and social advantages of demilitarizing national economies has been largely ignored. We venture to hope that the proposal before this session of a many-tiered study of conversion from military to civilian production will lead to concrete plans and mechanisms for the reorientation of the industries involved. With Pope Paul, we consider it "unthinkable that no other work can be found for hundreds and thousands of workers than the production of instruments of death."

We believe that the nuclear-arms race must not only be stopped but must be reversed, and that the trade in so-called conventional weapons must also be brought under effective control. A necessary corollary to such controls and other disarmament measures must, we believe, be the development of ways other than armed conflicts to settle disputes - a sound basis for which already

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exists in the United Nations Charter - and of mechanisms for peace-making as well as peace-keeping.

We know from our members throughout the world the terrible effects of the absence of peace and the acceptance of violence, not only on women, but on entire populations and on the fabric of the society in which we live.

We agree with those representatives in the Preparatory Committee who emphasized that "disarmament is everyone's business", and we implore you to maintain the sense of urgency which that Committee has generated.

(Mrs. Lovatt-Dolan, World Union
of Catholic Women's Organizations)

As you consider the principles and proposals before you, we would ask you to keep in mind that disarmament is a global right-to-life issue; that you are dealing with the future of unique, precious, living human beings - not abstractions - that your children and our children have a right to grow up in an environment free from the dangers of radiation leaks and fall-outs, and from the destabilizing influence of the persistent possibility of annihilation.

The World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations is committed to the promotion of education for peace, to the changing of attitudes that underlie the acceptance of violence, and the formation of a public opinion that will create the climate of trust and political will necessary to make progress towards disarmament possible.

In conclusion we feel we can do no better than to repeat these words from Pope Paul's message to this Assembly:

"Do not depart without having laid the foundations and given the indispensable momentum to the solution of the problem that has brought you here together. Tomorrow may be too late." (A/S-10/AC.1/PV.3, p. 13-15)

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I call on the representative of the World Veterans Federation, Mr. Wourgaft.

Mr. WOURGAFT (World Veterans Federation) (interpretation from French): I have the honour to speak on behalf of 20 million veterans, resistance fighters, former prisoners in concentration camps and former prisoners of war, from some 50 countries from all continents, all social origins, all geographical regions and of all political and cultural persuasions, who have joined together within the World Veterans Federation.

Those 20 million include not only those who fought shoulder to shoulder but also those who faced each other with arms in their hands, people who having known destruction, the suffering of war and the struggle for national independence and whose bodies and minds are still scarred by that experience, have decided to work together towards better understanding and better international co-operation for a more peaceful, freer and more just

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Federation)

world within the framework of the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. That necessarily means working to put an end to the arms race and to make progress towards disarmament.

I have no need to remind representatives of the consequence of the arms race, its terrible dangers, the tremendous squandering of financial, technological and human resources it involves, to the detriment of the economic development of third world countries and the establishment of a new international economic order and, generally speaking, to the detriment of the well-being of all peoples in the world. Representatives of Governments and representatives of the community of non-governmental organizations who have spoken before me from this rostrum have dwelt at length and most eloquently on this topic.

This special session of the General Assembly has already yielded an initial result, the recognition of the need and the urgency to put an end to the arms race and to make progress towards disarmament and the assertion that this objective is not just a desirable ideal but represents an absolute imperative for the very future of mankind.

It is now up to States Members of the United Nations to shoulder the responsibility for facing up to this situation and to agree at this special session on concrete measures which will make it possible to advance towards that goal.

We are aware of the complexity of the political, military, economic and technological problems which have to be resolved and of their interdependence, particularly with regard to the security to which each State, large or small, is entitled.

But we are also aware that the solution to these problems is by no means beyond the reach of the means which science and technology have made available to mankind. Can we not reasonably assume that these solutions will be largely facilitated if a proportion of the human and financial resources immobilized in the scientific search for means of destruction were devoted to the problems of disarmament?

(Mr. Wourgaft, World Veterans
Federation)

We also know that there are psychological obstacles to disarmament and, primarily, the widespread fear that a reduction in arms might endanger national security.

Representing as it does men and women who have fought for the security and independence of their respective countries, men and women who are profoundly attached to that security and who would never allow it to be endangered, the World Veterans Federation is convinced that it is possible to put an end to the arms race and to make progress towards general and complete disarmament under effective international control while at every stage ensuring the security of all.

We are convinced that true security does not lie in the stockpiling of armaments, but rather in a satisfactory solution to problems which give rise to tension and conflict, particularly with regard to a more equitable distribution of world resources. But we also feel that progress towards that end requires a change in the very context of international relations so that confidence, co-operation and recourse to arbitration in resolving international disputes, replace distrust, fear, and the threat or the use of force. The road we must take has been pointed out, particularly by the San Francisco Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the human rights covenants which define the rights of individuals and peoples, by resolutions of your General Assembly and by the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

However, in order to encourage and strengthen political will and to make progress in this direction, it is necessary to promote a climate of confidence. That implies that the measures agreed upon should be adopted with the consent of all States, great and small, which also means that priority should be given to the search for possible agreements rather than exchanges of accusations and charges. The direction which that search should take has been laid down in the proposal submitted to the special session by Governments and in the message addressed to it by the community of non-governmental organizations following the Conference it held in Geneva.

(Mr. Wourgaft, World Veterans
Federation)

For our part, the veterans have been working and intend to continue to work to that end. Thus, in 1975 in Paris the World Veterans Federation, in co-operation with the European Confederation of Veterans, the International Confederation of Former Prisoners of War and the International Federation of Resistance Fighters, held a European symposium of veterans on disarmament which brought together representatives of associations from all European countries, of all political and philosophical persuasions and which produced a final declaration unanimously defining the principles and modalities of action for disarmament.

Thus those four organizations have just produced a poster which encourages us to believe that the concerns of veterans on the subject of disarmament and the action they advocate will very soon be expressed and widely disseminated with the same text (translated into the national languages) and the same illustrations in all European countries and in some other countries of the world. Thus, at the symposium of experts from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), as was mentioned by its Director-General, these organizations presented their common views on the psychological obstacles to disarmament and the means of overcoming them, a document, the outlines and recommendations of which were accepted by the experts. That is why we are preparing for a world meeting of veterans on disarmament which will deal particularly with the results of the special session so that they will become better known and can be implemented more rapidly.

(Mr. Wourgaft, World Veterans
Federation)

The armed conflicts of our time affect larger and larger numbers of people. Thus, veterans' organizations reflect more and more faithfully the social cross-sections of their various countries and constitute a microcosm of each national society, its tendencies and its aspirations. Hence, as we have noted so often, agreements reached within the community of veterans are significant, because they reflect a consensus, demonstrating that it is possible to translate these agreements into diplomatic facts.

On behalf of the World Veterans Federation, which reflects also the concerns of the community of non-governmental organizations, representatives of which we have just been hearing, I should like to repeat my appeal and to express once again the hope that this Assembly, which has seen the vast independence movement of the peoples of the world coming to fruition, will in the next few days record an agreement regarding immediate and concrete measures which would reflect the determination of Governments to work swiftly towards halting the arms race and towards disarmament, so that mankind might advance boldly on new ground, guaranteeing to all full development, with respect for the right to happiness, freedom and dignity, and within a climate of international trust.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I now call on the last speaker, who is Mrs. Avramov, the representative of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples.

Mrs. AVRAMOV (Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples): At the beginning of the Second World War the great leaders of the United States of America, the USSR and Great Britain, who headed the coalition that gave rise to the present United Nations, addressed their first words to people all over the world, calling on them to join their efforts, in a spirit of mutual confidence and trust, in the struggle against brutal force and Hitler's tyranny. It is symbolic that today the people have been given the right to be heard, when the very survival of civilization is again in question. This time, however, the danger proceeds not from outside,

(Mrs. Avramov, Yugoslav League for
Peace, Independence and Equality
of Peoples)

from "enemies", but from those whom the Charter has entrusted with primary responsibility for maintaining that international peace which was so hard won.

On 8 August 1945, the four Powers concluded the Agreement on the prosecution and punishment of the major war criminals of the European Axis and, in the annex to the Agreement, set forth the charter for the constitution of the International Military Tribunal. Article 6 of that charter includes, among the acts to be considered as crimes against peace, the planning and preparation of war, and, among the acts to be considered as crimes against humanity, mass annihilation and inhuman acts committed against any civilian population, not only during, but also before, a war.

In the name of the entire civilized community of nations, the General Assembly, on 11 December 1945, affirmed these principles as a part of positive international law. However, they appear to have been forgotten. In the last three decades, the manufacture of instruments for world destruction has been adopted as an official military programme by two blocs, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact. Scientific efforts have been misused in order to produce ever more powerful weapons of mass destruction.

One cannot escape the conclusion that double standards operate in international affairs, and that is unacceptable human behaviour. While the two super-Powers have proclaimed their desire for general and complete disarmament, both have increased their stockpiles of weapons. It is hardly necessary to lay stress on the moral, political and legal implications of the discrepancy between the words and the deeds of the great Powers.

It is not my intention to argue about power-ideology or armament policies, which are so contrary to reason and justice and so dangerous to the security of peoples, and are full of contradictions in relation to basic human values and the social aims of civilized mankind.

May I, on behalf of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples, simply draw attention to the reasons for our commitment to disarmament. The Yugoslav people have a special appreciation of peace, since the entire history of my country has been one of continuous struggle to achieve and safeguard independence and the right to its own path of development.

(Mrs. Avramov, Yugoslav League for
Peace, Independence and Equality
of Peoples)

As the arms race accelerated and disarmament negotiations consistently failed, a strong people's movement arose throughout the non-aligned world against power politics and against the two blocs as the representatives of those policies. The Yugoslav League for Peace, as one of the non-governmental organizations co-operating with many peace organizations in the world, has been contributing to these efforts.

The problem of armament is a drastic manifestation of the vast number of accumulated problems and contradictions which the world is facing: antagonistic military blocs; inequality in international economic and political relations; the use of force, threats and pressure as methods of solving disputes; local conflicts; and frequent violation of the principles of independence and non-interference in internal affairs. Historians are unanimous in their view that the system of competitive alliances and militarism are the principal factors that cause wars. The arms race reflects also the struggle of the great Powers for control over the economic resources of the world. In Africa and the Middle East today we can see the effects of this great-Power rivalry, which increases the risk of war, even between the major Powers. Today, on the other hand, we are confronted by a shortage of raw materials in many areas of industrial activity, owing, to a great extent, to the arms race, which consumes extraordinary quantities of energy and raw materials. This is why we will not achieve disarmament without establishing a new international economic order, one which will meet the needs not only of developing countries but also of the developed countries, and which will eliminate exploitation and dominance in the world economy. The New International Economic Order and disarmament are two sides of the same problem.

Of course, disarmament is a problem of great complexity. One aspect of it is related directly to the organization of peaceful coexistence among States, nations and people belonging to different social and economic systems. Armaments are a glaring symptom of a refusal to accept a relationship based on mutual respect. However, progress must be achieved in many other fields, such as the demilitarization of science, the improvement of methods for peaceful change, and the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

(Mrs. Avramov, Yugoslav League for
Peace, Independence and Equality
of Peoples)

In the opinion of the Yugoslav League for Peace, disarmament is, in essence, a global problem of vital interest to all mankind and can be solved only through a global vision of the world. It is for this reason that the problem cannot be dealt with by the two super-Powers alone, or by a group of States. Future machinery for negotiations should be global, universal in scope, and completely devoid of secrecy and mystification. Representatives of non-governmental organizations, as well as highly qualified scientists in their personal capacity, should form part of this machinery.

May I mention just one other aspect of the problem. Approaching disarmament in retrospect, one sees that two sorts of considerations bear on this problem: those of a juridical and technical character and those of an ethical and social character. The former have been given more weight, and the main reasons for the failure of negotiations are to be found in this field.

(Mrs. Avramov, Yugoslav League for
Peace, Independence and Equality
of Peoples)

We cannot accept the argument that problems of a technical nature bar the way to progress. The wide spectrum of disarmament problems has been discussed at hundreds of meetings both within and outside the United Nations. More than 9,000 books have been published by people who have made meaningful contributions to the solution of this problem. A number of approaches can be used. As regards the possibility of control over the observance of the disarmament process, modern science has at its disposal all the necessary means to guarantee such control, as has been shown by experts.

We find the reason for failure in a lack of good will, political courage and humanistically oriented policy. Future efforts in the disarmament field must be inspired by ethical and social considerations to a much greater extent. Only with moral and political clarity, by realizing the human essence of the problem is it possible to overcome the present apocalyptic situation.

In the eyes of world public opinion the goal of disarmament is quite simply the survival of the human race. This is the most crucial aspect of the arms race, in which the interest of the whole of mankind coincides.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): With this statement we come to the end of today's meetings devoted to speeches from non-governmental organizations. On behalf of all the members of the Ad Hoc Committee, I should like to express our gratitude to the representatives of those organizations who have spoken at both meetings today. After having listened to them very carefully and with interest, I think I can safely say that both the Preparatory Committee of the tenth special session and the General Assembly were fully justified in deciding to associate the non-governmental organizations with our work. The valuable proposals which have been made are a great contribution to our work and will undoubtedly be very carefully studied by all delegations and Governments. We shall transmit their concern to our Governments, and the General Assembly has received fresh momentum from them. This may very well mark the beginning of a very promising stage in the work of the United Nations in the field of disarmament.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.