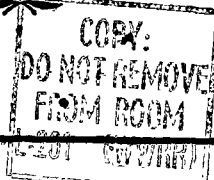


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at 3 p.m.
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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 24TH MEETING

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

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

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

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria): I should like to reiterate the position of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on some specific disarmament issues that were not dwelt on in our previous statements.

The Bulgarian delegation fully shares the serious concern of the international community over the manifest danger of the arms race being extended into outer space. From official statements and press reports it has become known that over the past several years the United States has been developing its potential for waging war in outer space. As is envisaged in a special directive, space-weapon systems shall be deployed and made ready for combat use in the next five years. There are also plans for still further sizeable increases in the already staggering funds earmarked for creating weapons for outer space.

These actions have been undertaken under the cover of a propaganda campaign alleging the existence of some imaginary "Soviet military threat" - this time in its outer space version - which allegedly justify the strengthening of military presence in outer space. It is also a fact, however, that the United States has broken off the negotiations with the Soviet Union on anti-satellite weapons. It is logical to assume that, in this case, what have prevailed are the considerations to seek military superiority also through the militarization of outer space. If history is any indication, such advantages are only temporary until the other side undertakes corresponding counter-measures. If this development is not checked in time, the end result would be an unbridled and frenetic arms race in outer space.

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

In the present complicated international situation there can be no doubt that this would have a destabilizing impact on international security and could increase many times the threat to world peace. Meanwhile, besides the vast resources that would be squandered on it, the militarization of outer space would undermine international co-operation in the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space, which have already proved their enormous potential to serve the goals of development and the progress of humanity.

For these reasons, the Bulgarian delegation, like other delegations, considers as an urgent and imperative task the adoption of effective measures to prevent the spread of the arms race to outer space.

It is well known that different approaches have been put forward for the solution of this problem. Several States have proposed a ban on anti-satellite weapons. More substantive and inclusive appears to be the approach reflected in the proposal made by the Soviet Union for concluding a treaty on the prohibition of the stationing of weapons of any kind in outer space. This approach, in the view of the Bulgarian delegation, transcends the problem of anti-satellite weapons. It is also our view that there is no time to be wasted, and that we should proceed forthwith to the achievement of the basic goal of averting an arms race in outer space.

All available means and methods should be employed to attain this goal. In this connection we should like to emphasize the great responsibility of the Committee on Disarmament regarding the speedy preparation of a relevant, universally acceptable instrument in this field. The first necessary practical step would be the establishment of a working group which should initiate dynamic negotiations on the substance of the issue. We also call for the resumption of Soviet-American talks on the prohibition of anti-satellite weapons.

It is the view of the Bulgarian delegation that the opportunities for keeping outer space free of weapons of any kind, as a sphere exclusively for peaceful endeavours and co-operation among States, should be exploited to the full.

The ever-growing trend of stepping up the military application of scientific and technological progress underlines the need to devote increased attention to this problem. The development of qualitatively new types of weapons, and

particularly weapons of mass destruction, would worsen the international situation and would increase dramatically the risk of military confrontation. Moreover, it would also considerably impede the efforts to limit and prohibit these weapons. There is also a real danger that they could get out of control. The Bulgarian delegation wholeheartedly shares the view that it is essential to initiate steps leading to the prohibition of the development and production of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, by means of a comprehensive agreement, while at the same time drafting individual instruments on the specific types of weapons. This urgent necessity has been repeatedly reaffirmed by the General Assembly. In our view, the Committee on Disarmament should intensify its efforts on this important issue and should put those efforts on a practical basis. It is particularly essential to set up a working group composed of competent governmental experts; this, regrettably, has not been done because of the opposition of some Western States.

Also in relation to the item under consideration, I should like to recall General Assembly resolution 36/89, in which the Assembly calls upon the States permanent members of the Security Council, as well as upon other militarily significant States, to make declarations, identical in substance, concerning the refusal to create new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons, as a first step towards the conclusion of a comprehensive agreement on this subject; such declarations would be approved thereafter by a decision of the Security Council.

My delegation is of the opinion that it is high time that a search was initiated for practical means of solving the more general problem of the renunciation of the use of scientific and technological achievements for military purposes. We have always maintained that these scientific achievements should serve not the goals of destruction, but the creative endeavours of man.

Among the topical issues before the Committee on Disarmament is also the problem of the complete prohibition of radiological weapons. We are confident that, by means of greater efforts, this problem can be successfully resolved, thus averting the appearance of yet another weapon of mass destruction in the military arsenals of States.

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

The plans for the manufacture of new types of neutron weapons and for increasing stockpiles of those weapons underscore the pressing need for the complete prohibition of this type of weapon, which can and must be achieved through the drafting of a relevant convention. A draft convention, of which my delegation is a sponsor, has long been pending in the Committee on Disarmament. It is high time that the Committee began negotiations on this question.

The Bulgarian delegation attaches particular importance to the question of the limitation and reduction of conventional weapons. In our opinion, in order to make headway in this respect, it is necessary to direct our efforts towards the formulation of specific agreements. The conclusion of such agreements could be significantly facilitated if an understanding were reached not to increase armed forces and armaments.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria has played an active role in the preparation of the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects. The conclusion of that Convention was an important step. My country has ratified it. However, we think that efforts in this direction should continue. In this regard, the latest example to be borne in mind is Israel's use, during its aggression against Lebanon and the massacres of Palestinians, of weapons having cruel or indiscriminate effects, such as cluster bombs.

The achievement of a specific agreement at the Vienna talks on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe would be conducive to the strengthening of the security of all States of the region and of military and political stability on the continent, and in the world as well. The People's Republic of Bulgaria, together with the other socialist countries, from the very opening of the talks - already in their ninth year - has been exerting consistent and constructive efforts, the aim of which is to reach the practical realization of such an agreement.

The objective analysis of the positions of the parties to the negotiations has indicated that a relevant agreement would long have been worked out if only the States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) had abandoned

their strivings to obtain unilateral advantages in the negotiations and had displayed the political will to reach an agreement. Their so-called new initiative, put forward in mid-1982 after two and a half years of silence, brings no new constructive element to their position and is, in essence, a step backward. For example, despite the agreed mandate of the negotiations, the question of mutual reduction of armaments has been completely ignored, and unsubstantiated contentions are being made alleging the existence of what they call a "large superiority" of the Warsaw Treaty Organization over NATO in the number of ground troops and in air forces, in complete disregard of the objective figures, which point to an approximate balance of forces.

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

Such a considerable positive step as the unilateral withdrawal by the Soviet Union of 20,000 of its troops from the German Democratic Republic has also been disregarded. Abandoning their own earlier proposal for a troop withdrawal over a period of four to five years, the NATO countries now propose a period of seven years.

In spite of these negative trends and developments at the negotiations, it is our view that there exist objective conditions for achieving positive results. The draft agreement put forward by the socialist countries on 18 February 1982 is a good basis for finding a solution which would not impair the security of either side. This mutually acceptable agreement is viable and would contribute to the strengthening of European security.

My delegation also shares the view that the successful completion of the work of the Madrid meeting would be of great importance for the improvement of the political climate in Europe and in the world. If the meeting adopts a decision to convene, within the framework of the European process, a conference on confidence-building measures, security and disarmament in Europe, this, together with the elaboration of its mandate, would help the formulation of concrete measures in this field.

I should also like to express our deep conviction that the success of the struggle against the nuclear threat, for curbing the arms race and for disarmament is dependent to a large degree on the unity of action of all peace-loving forces. The growing anti-war movement which has drawn broad strata of the international community and has rallied people from all walks of life and of different political, ideological and religious persuasions, has proved that it can play a major role in the attainment of these objectives.

This fact was recognized by the first special session of the General Assembly on disarmament. The second special session devoted to disarmament reaffirmed it by solemnly launching the World Disarmament Campaign. We support the goals of the World Disarmament Campaign and will work for their implementation. Furthermore, we are profoundly convinced that the

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

carrying out of world wide action to collect signatures in support of measures to prevent nuclear war, to curb the arms race and for disarmament could be an effective means of attaining the objectives of the World Disarmament Campaign. We believe that such world-wide action, which can be carried out by interested Governments, non-governmental organizations and other public institutions, would be an important manifestation of the will of the international community to help achieve progress in the field of disarmament.

In conclusion, I should like to inform this Committee of the decision of my Government to contribute 20,000 leva in national currency to the voluntary fund of the Campaign.

Mrs. AMAILUK (Uganda): Please allow me on behalf of my delegation most warmly to congratulate Mr. Gbeho on his unanimous election to the chairmanship of our Committee. We are particularly delighted to see him, a devoted son of Africa, a representative of Ghana, the land that blazed the trail for African freedom and independence, preside over the deliberations of this important Committee. We pledge to him our full and unqualified support and co-operation in the discharge of his heavy responsibilities. We should also like to associate ourselves with those who have preceded us in extending our heartfelt congratulations to the other officers of the Committee.

May I also take this opportunity to congratulate most warmly Mrs. Alva Myrdal of Sweden and Ambassador Alfonso Garcia Robles of Mexico on the award of the Nobel Peace Prize for their tireless and selfless devotion to the promotion of global peace, security and disarmament. Their contribution to the cause of peace and mankind's ultimate survival is worthy of emulation by everybody, especially by delegations present here.

Barely three months ago we witnessed the dismal failure of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. In spite of the popular demand of the international community for genuine peace and disarmament, that demand was largely unheeded.

(Mrs. Amailuk, Uganda)

The first special session acknowledged that the final objective of disarmament must be general and complete disarmament. Furthermore, it urged the cessation of nuclear-weapon testing by all States and an urgent conclusion of international instruments to curb the same. As we enter the second Disarmament Decade, we are weighed down by an immense sense of frustration, a frustration stemming from the unbridled arms race and the continuing deterioration of relations among nations in their international conduct.

New areas of international tension have surfaced. There is increasing resort to and threat of use of force in the resolution of international conflicts. The development, production and deployment of new weapons of mass destruction have intensified. Bloc rivalries have continued unabated.

We cannot afford to watch with callous indifference the drift of the world towards an abyss of nuclear catastrophe through the reckless conduct of the mighty few. Small emerging nations like my own treasure their national independence, peace and political stability in which to foster unhindered economic reconstruction and social development. In those countries, underdevelopment itself is a major source of insecurity. Disarmament would make a very important contribution towards the realization of the objectives and aspirations of the New International Economic Order. Peace, security, social welfare and the economic advancement of peoples are inseparable. Where there is economic insecurity, political unrest must thrive. It is deplorable that the gap between the rich and the poor has continued to widen, and yet the ardent desire for the establishment of a New International Economic Order has not to date been realized, while huge resources are squandered on the development, production and deployment of the means of mankind's destruction.

International peace and security would be considerably enhanced by the cessation of the nuclear arms race and measures of nuclear disarmament. The theory that the maintenance of a huge military capacity prevents war by demonstrating the ability to defend a State against potential enemies is obviously repugnant. There can be no doubt that any preventive nuclear strike is bound to provoke another no less powerful retaliatory response and

(Mrs. Amailuk, Uganda)

no region would be spared the consequences of nuclear war. The doctrine of deterrence, far from ensuring the maintenance of international peace and security, lies at the root of the nuclear arms race and leads to greater insecurity and instability in international relations. It is politically and morally unjustifiable for the security of the whole world and the survival of mankind to be made dependent on the state of relations between nuclear-weapon States.

(Mrs. Amailuk, Uganda)

We look, therefore, towards the establishment of a definite framework and legal machinery for a comprehensive programme of disarmament. Practical machinery for halting and reversing the arms race must be urgently agreed. This will be in conformity with the position and aspirations of the Non-Aligned Movement, whose position has been reaffirmed at several of its meetings. It is in this spirit also that we call for an urgent resumption of the trilateral negotiations on the Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty between the United Kingdom, the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and urge the other two nuclear Powers to join in these negotiations without delay.

To us in Africa the arms race, particularly in nuclear armaments, poses a serious and practical danger. Our continent, sandwiched between South Africa to the south and Israel to the north, lies at the crossroads of international tensions. In South Africa and Namibia, colonialism, racism and foreign oppression still rear their ugly heads.

In its rabid bid to perpetuate heinous systems, to dominate, intimidate and blackmail Africa, the South African racist régime has pursued a massive arms build-up, including the acquisition of nuclear capability, thus obstructing the genuine desire of our peoples to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in which peace would reign. The current session of the General Assembly must take cognizance of that grave situation, and prevail on the Security Council to assume its responsibilities and strengthen its resolution 418 (1977) on the arms embargo régime.

In a similar fashion, Israel continues with undiminished arrogance to occupy Arab territories, subjugate the Palestinian people and subject Arab States to perpetual aggression. True to its expansionist ambitions, it has once again unleashed wanton aggression and carnage against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples.

The continued arming of South Africa and Israel must be considered urgently in the light of their constant acts of aggression against African and Arab States, and the resulting threat to peace and international security. Those countries

(Mrs. Amailuk, Uganda)

which contribute to the nuclear arming of those régimes, through their political, economic and military collaboration, should live up to their responsibilities under the Non-Proliferation Treaty. They must respond to the security interests of the peoples of Africa and the Middle East.

The international situation is further aggravated by the serious developments in the Indian Ocean, developments which are in direct contravention of the 1971 General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI) which declared the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. The political and security situation in the Indian Ocean is so grave and fraught with danger that it warrants an urgent conference.

The establishment and expansion of foreign military bases and the development of foreign military forces in and around the Indian Ocean have serious implications for international peace and security in general and for Africa in particular. First, they impair the independence and security of the non-aligned countries in the region. Secondly, they erode and forestall the opportunities for peaceful settlement of inter-State conflicts, thus fuelling regional tensions. Thirdly, the involvement of South Africa in an Indian Ocean strategic alliance has made Pretoria assume a defiant posture and perpetuate apartheid in South Africa and its illegal hold on Namibia. Fourthly, that involvement provides Pretoria with added security to step up its efforts to intervene, destabilize and subvert neighbouring States that are opposed to Pretoria's abhorrent policies. The abortive South African-sponsored invasion last November of the sister republic of Seychelles by mercenaries was a concrete manifestation of that calculated plan of the Fascist régime.

We have therefore noted with serious concern that the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean has been unable to reach a consensus on the convening of the Colombo conference, which is a necessary step for the implementation of the 1971 Declaration. That conference, which in my delegation's view should be convened not later than next year, must address itself to the limits of the Indian Ocean zone, the elimination of big-Power military presence, the

(Mrs. Amailuk, Uganda.)

elimination of military bases, the denuclearization of the Indian Ocean, the non-use of force, regional co-operation and the free use of the Indian Ocean for peaceful navigation by vessels of all nations.

In the same vein, my delegation supports the convening of a world disarmament conference, an idea commended by the Heads of State of the non-aligned countries way back in 1961, and endorsed by the Sixth Summit Conference, held in Havana in 1979. A world disarmament conference is one of the most appropriate forums for the promotion of effective action in the field of disarmament. Proceeding on the basis of a detailed study of disarmament questions, the Conference could develop effective approaches to the question of halting the arms race and realization of real disarmament. The particular importance and usefulness of this forum lies in the fact that the conference will adopt not mere recommendations, but specific decisions that States will undertake to implement. Decisions adopted at the conference must be mandatory and binding.

My delegation is profoundly perturbed by the continued deterioration of international relations. This dangerous phenomenon, which has found its concrete expression in regional tensions, is further exacerbated by naked intervention in internal affairs and the flagrant violation of the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of other States. Destabilization, both overt and covert, has become more widespread. More and more countries have become victims of blatant aggression. Mercenaries and other undesirable bandits are recruited, trained, financed, armed and used to destabilize small but peace-loving countries.

All such actions, intent on the impairment of the sovereignty and independence of States, pose a serious danger to international peace and security, and contravene the norms governing relations between nations, and in particular the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty.

(Mrs. Amailuk, Uganda)

It is the sincere belief of my delegation that the early conclusion of international conventions against the recruitment, financing and use of mercenaries and in favour of the non-use of force in international relations will contribute substantially to the strengthening of international peace and security. However, we caution that such modest efforts directed towards the achievement of peace will be in vain unless the remnants of colonialism, racism, apartheid, foreign oppression and domination are totally eradicated.

We are delighted to acknowledge the tremendous contribution being made by non-governmental organizations of different political persuasions in educating and mobilizing international world public opinion about the real dangers posed by the arms race, particularly in nuclear armaments. That the peoples of North America, Europe and some parts of Asia have risen to the clarion call of peace and are exerting concerted and collective pressures on their respective Governments to pursue the cause of peace, and not war, offers great encouragement, and is a sign of relief to the peoples of the world, the overwhelming majority of whom desire and cherish world peace and nothing less. Governments and their institutions, workers' organizations and other independent organizations, including the mass media, must all be attuned to the dictates of peace so that the disarmament process is given a greater boost and momentum.

(Mrs. Amailuk, Uganda)

In conclusion I should like to reiterate my country's commitment to the cause of peace and disarmament. We support all efforts aimed at the conclusion of genuine concrete agreements that would contribute towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament. We wholeheartedly support a freeze of nuclear weapons and the adoption of an international convention on the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons as a first step towards their gradual reduction and total elimination. We are equally concerned about the danger of the arms race and possible wars in outer space, and the setting up of a working group of the Committee on Disarmament to undertake negotiations on agreements on the prevention of an arms race in outer space is in our view urgent and appropriate. Outer space, as a common heritage of mankind, must, as space technology advances be used for peaceful purposes and for the economic and social development of all nations and peoples.

Finally, at the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, my Prime Minister made the following announcement:

"I have come here to reaffirm the commitment of the Government and people of Uganda to the cause of disarmament and peace. Consistent with this commitment, I am happy to announce before this special session devoted to disarmament that the Government of Uganda has decided to accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

"The Government and people of Uganda will continue to contribute all they can to make our world a more secure and peaceful place to live in." (A/S-12/PV.11, p.71)

In accordance with that commitment, I am pleased to inform the Committee that Uganda acceded to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty last month, thus becoming the 119th Member to do so. This decision, which was conscious, deliberate and independent on our part, is a token of the positive contribution of a small non-aligned country towards disarmament. In taking this action we are fully aware that the nuclear Powers bear the heaviest responsibility regarding the burning issues before this Committee.

Mr. BEESLEY (Canada): It gives me great pleasure to address this important Committee of the General Assembly on the subject of arms control and disarmament for the first time under your able guidance, Sir. We congratulate the Chairman on his election and on the skilful manner in which he, and in his absence you, are conducting our proceedings. May we also offer our felicitations to the other officers of the Committee.

I should like to take this opportunity at the same time to offer our best wishes to Ambassadors Alva Myrdal and Alfonso Garcia-Robles, who have been honoured with this year's Nobel Peace Prize for their contributions in the field of arms control and disarmament.

The most pressing issue of our time is clearly that of arms control and disarmament. It is at once the most serious, the most controversial and the most urgent. The amount of activity in this field among nations and across a broad range of public opinion - a point to which I shall return - has been a major theme of this past year. One can point to other years when agreements were concluded, signed and ratified. While 1982 has not been such a year, it nevertheless represents a critical juncture in the arms control and disarmament process.

When this Committee convened a year ago there were no negotiations on nuclear weapons. This past year has seen the resumption of the crucially important talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on strategic arms limitation and reduction as well as the earlier beginning of the related talks on intermediate-range nuclear forces. It may be that our survival will depend on the outcome of these talks. Our interest in their success is fundamental, and indeed progress in talks on nuclear issues is in the interests of all because all will be affected by the results, and not only the parties directly concerned. Not surprisingly, in his address to the General Assembly on 27 September, the Canadian Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Allan J. MacEachen, emphasized that Canada strongly supports these negotiations.

I should like now to turn to a number of issues on our agenda, particularly those touching on nuclear matters, beginning with the concept of a nuclear test ban.

(Mr. Beesley, Canada)

At the second special session on disarmament Prime Minister Trudeau reaffirmed Canada's commitment to the achievement of a comprehensive test ban treaty as one of the elements in a coherent strategy to curb the nuclear arms race, a strategy of suffocation. In the multilateral negotiating body in Geneva, the establishment of a nuclear-test-ban working group is significant. We regret that it was not possible to agree on a work programme for that group, but we are confident that despite the difficulties work will proceed on real measures to verify an eventual test ban treaty.

We note the contribution of the Soviet Union in presenting a text on the outline of a test ban treaty. At the same time we note that the Soviet proposal contains elements which cause us concern. The question of a moratorium is one such element. Would a moratorium on testing simply be tantamount to agreeing to a treaty without ensuring that the necessary mechanisms for its enforcement were in place? We believe it would. Would such a development be in the interests of all parties to any such agreement? We strongly believe it would not. Also troubling is the reference to peaceful nuclear explosions. From a scientific and technical point of view, it is undeniable that there is no distinction between peaceful and weapons-related nuclear explosions. Thus we will have to look very closely at any wording that might suggest otherwise. At this point, **however**, I should like to take this opportunity to express our congratulations to the Government and people of Uganda on the decision just announced to accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Turning now to the question of seismic verification, Canada will continue to play an active role in resolving questions related to seismic verification of a test ban agreement. The discussions in Geneva on an international seismic data exchange have, we believe, shown the potential of enabling participating States satisfactorily to ascertain compliance with a test-ban treaty on the part of other States. Indeed we believe that the exchange could and should be fully operational at an early date and in advance of the treaty itself.

(Mr. Beesley, Canada)

What approaches should be followed with respect to other nuclear issues? At the second special session, Prime Minister Trudeau proposed a policy of stabilization which, he said, had two complementary components: the suffocation strategy, which seeks to inhibit the development of new weapon systems, and Canada's negotiating approach, aimed at qualitative and quantitative reductions in nuclear arsenals designed to achieve a stable nuclear balance at lower levels.

This is what we mean by the term "freeze": the halting of the technological momentum of the arms race should be accomplished by freezing at the initial or testing stage of development of new weapon systems and the number of nuclear arms should be frozen at lower levels. Here it is necessary to make two points. This approach cannot be applied unilaterally; it envisages concrete negotiations between nuclear Powers. Secondly, we note that a number of proposals of other kinds for a freeze have already been put forward. Many suffer from what we conceive to be the same fundamental flaw: not being verifiable, they do not contribute to creating the conditions of stability we all seek.

I should like now to address the question of chemical weapons, dealing first with the question of a convention on chemical weapons. For the third year, the Working Group on Chemical Weapons of the Committee on Disarmament has registered encouraging progress. Several working papers have been submitted. While this difficult subject requires further work, we consider that conditions are right to move forward on the negotiation of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and the destruction of existing stocks. While we do not underestimate the technical difficulties still before us, we are encouraged by the contributions made by all in the Committee and, indeed, by a number outside it.

As regards the use of chemical weapons, the past year has seen the continuation of the investigation of reports of the use of chemical weapons, which this Committee launched two years ago. Canada has sought to contribute to the work of the Group of Experts by submitting three reports, including an independent study on mycotoxins in certain regions

(Mr. Beesley, Canada)

in South-East Asia. We trust that the report of the Group of Experts will contribute to the development of procedures by which confidence can be developed and maintained in existing agreements, thereby contributing to the conclusion of future agreements.

I should now like to touch on some of the issues relating to outer space. Another positive development in the Committee on Disarmament was its consideration for the first time of the subject of arms control related to outer space. As a contribution to the task of defining the issues, Canada submitted a working paper. In this Committee during the past two years and at the second special session on disarmament, we have drawn attention to the urgency of addressing the development of new weaponry for use in outer space as well as the inadequacies of the Treaty on outer space of 1967. Quite apart from the inherent danger that arms competition could bring, there is the additional danger that such competition could be destabilizing.

I have been necessarily selective in illustrating some of the range of concerns confronting the international community. There have been a number of significant developments in 1982. Some of these I have discussed. I have not discussed, but nevertheless I would like to draw attention to, the United Nations study on conventional disarmament. Bearing in mind that at least 80 per cent of the world's military expenditures are on conventional arms, this is also a subject of fundamental importance to us all.

I should like to conclude by referring to the second special session on disarmament. Many have already commented on the results of that special session. Many have expressed their disappointment at the outcome, perhaps understandably. Yet the second special session has again shown the central role and importance of the United Nations in the international dialogue on arms control and international security matters. This dialogue has been maintained and, through the World Disarmament Campaign, will more than ever engage international public opinion. At the second special session on disarmament the consensus of the international community was renewed to the effect that the objectives set at the first special session for the continuation of the arms control and disarmament process had bridged not

(Mr. Beesley, Canada)

only divisions between East and West but also divisions between North and South. The preservation of consensus on our commonly shared goals was, I believe, a major accomplishment. Therefore we might look to the future certainly with a good measure of sobriety but also with confidence that we can move towards the accomplishment of a number of essential tasks before us.

Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic)

(interpretation from Russian): The thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly is taking place in circumstances of a further complication of the international situation as a result of the increasingly dangerous actions of imperialist circles, primarily United States imperialism, their policies of force, threat, diktat and intervention and their intensification of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, designed to destroy the strategic stability and achieve military supremacy. Thus the question of averting the threat of nuclear war and curbing the arms race has now become particularly acute and relevant.

If we were to sum up the debate now drawing to a close on the whole series of disarmament issues, we could say that what is necessary is effective action to avert nuclear war, an intensification of the talks aimed at curbing and halting the arms race and moving on to disarmament, and the early achievement of practical results at these talks. That is necessary because the nuclear clouds are gathering over mankind because of the policies and the actions of the United States. That is where there is reliance on force as an instrument for attaining political goals, jeopardizing peace and co-operation among the peoples. That is where there is an open declaration of the intention to establish the potential of absolute military supremacy. That is where insane strategic doctrines are advocated that are condemned by all of mankind. That is where the arms race is being whipped up, particularly in its most dangerous nuclear aspect.

(Mr. Gurinovich, Byelorussian SSR)

As was reported by The New York Times on 24 October 1982, in the last 30 years the United States has spent \$2,300 billion on the military and plans to spend another \$1,500 billion on it in the next five years, although according to some sources the figure will be approximately \$2,000 billion. In other words, the military expenditures of the United States are increasing at a horrendous rate, and this cannot be excused by citing inflation. Also to be noted is the tendency to ensure qualitative improvement of weapons by relying on the potential of various kinds of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and ultrasophisticated types of conventional weapons.

(Mr. Gurinovich, Byelorussian SSR)

Moreover, references are being made shamelessly to the "policy of restraint" which is supposed to preserve peace. We feel peace would be more stable if the United States were to pursue a policy of self-restraint. This is something which was in fact advocated by the Catholic Bishops of the United States, who declared:

"We cannot approve of every weapons system, strategic doctrine or political initiative advanced in the name of strengthening deterrence".

(New York Times, 26 October 1982, p. A22)

We would note in passing that there has recently been a growing tendency in the United States to place constraints precisely on matters that should be freed from constraints and supported. They are placing constraints on talks on disarmament matters. They are placing constraints on the process of decolonization and the struggle against racism and apartheid, and they are placing constraints on the development of equal co-operation among States and on the aspiration of the developing countries to economic independence, on the drafting of new international legal instruments and so on and so forth. The only area in which they are not applying constraints is on the Israeli aggressors, the South African racists and other dictatorial and anti-people régimes, and on their own militaristic aspirations and ambitions for world domination.

This last point is confirmed by the recent report about the launching in the United States of a programme for the production of third-generation nuclear weapons. The goal is to establish different kinds of these weapons that would make it possible by choosing one or another potential for destruction and annihilation to ensure for themselves the possibility of being able to make a first nuclear strike without fear of a counter-attack. The dream can never come true, but it is very dangerous under circumstances where the United States is refusing to enter into a commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, to agree on a comprehensive nuclear-weapon test ban, to freeze the production and deployment of nuclear warheads and delivery vehicles and to move along the path towards disarmament or to conclude a treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

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It is quite natural that under these circumstances people are increasingly disturbed by this idea of the threat of nuclear war, which has no parallel in history, and are concerned over how to avert this danger, how to preserve the great achievements of the human race and life itself for present and future generations. The task of averting a nuclear catastrophe and removing this sword of Damocles which is hanging over the human race is the cause that must become the cornerstone of international relations. Governments and all peace-loving societies must unite their efforts in order to place strong political, international, legal and material barriers in the path of this danger.

This attempts being made to detract from the significance of the historically significant step taken by the Soviet Union in its assumption of the unilateral obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons are futile. This commitment opens up prospects for prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons in general and it is a substantial impetus to expanding trust and achieving agreements on halting the production of nuclear weapons and eliminating their stockpiles, strengthening the principle of the non-use of force in international relations, both nuclear and conventional, and holding talks to draft agreements on real measures of disarmament, both nuclear and conventional.

Further progress towards eliminating the nuclear danger would be enhanced by a decisive statement by the General Assembly in support of an immediate full and comprehensive cessation and prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, as proposed by the Soviet Union at this session.

An important aspect of the struggle to lessen the nuclear danger would be the adoption of measures to ensure the safe development of nuclear power. The time has come when we have to think about this, and not only think about it, but also take practical action. Indeed, it is already becoming clear that nuclear power is considered in many countries as one of the necessary and important means of ensuring social and economic development. At a time when the non-renewable sources of organic fuel are gradually being exhausted and the cost of extraction is rising, there is a growing awareness of the irrationality of using these fundamental forms of organic fuel only as a source of energy. Every year the use of nuclear power is becoming increasingly economically attractive and advisable from an economic standpoint and, in the final analysis, simply inevitable. According to the

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forecasts of the International Atomic Energy Agency, the total capacity of nuclear power plants in the world will have increased three times compared with the present by 1990, and by the end of this century, about a quarter of all the electricity in the world will be produced by means of nuclear fuel. Not only is the share of nuclear power in the overall energy balance increasing, but there is also an increase in the number of countries that have nuclear power plants. The growing significance of nuclear energy for development and also the increase in the scientific and technical progress and nuclear and technological potential of a broad range of countries will inevitably lead to an increase in the number of research reactors. There will also be an expansion of the network of facilities, for example factories to produce and process nuclear fuel and storage areas for radioactive materials.

Taking into account these factors and trends, there is a problem of defending these kinds of facilities and ensuring the safe development of nuclear power. During the debate, data have already been cited to show that the destruction of nuclear power facilities even by means of conventional weapons would lead to effects similar to those of a nuclear explosion and the fall-out and scattering of a vast quantity of radioactive material with lethal consequences for the population. In this connection, it is not superfluous to point out that according to the specialists the quantity of one day's production, just one day's production of radioactive elements by a single nuclear power plant with a 1,000-megawatt capacity would be the equivalent of a nuclear bomb of 60 kilotons: in other words, equivalent to about four bombs of the kind dropped by the United States on Hiroshima.

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Research in many countries shows that catastrophes resulting from a military attack on a nuclear reactor could have deadly consequences for mankind over an area of 100 square kilometres, depending on the actual weather conditions at the time. This means that in densely populated areas with a developed nuclear power industry, a significant sector of the population would suffer. Today, this applies mainly to the developed countries, but in the near future, there would be many developing countries that would be affected, for they are now beginning to produce nuclear power and they could be faced with the same threat.

All of this refers to the immediate consequences of the destruction of peaceful nuclear power facilities. But in the long term, the radioactive consequences could be even more serious than the results of a nuclear explosion. Radioactive fall-out from a nuclear power plant as a result of the destruction of such a plant would lead to radioactive consequences which are difficult to evaluate, but for many decades there would be an extreme danger posed to many people over a considerable area. It is also clear that in most cases those consequences would affect, in most cases seriously, neighbouring countries as well.

The problem of defending facilities and installations containing such dangerous fuel has already been discussed in international legal instruments, and there is an agreement recognizing the advisability of having new international measures to ensure supplementary safety and protection for such facilities and installations.

Accordingly, we feel it would be very important for the General Assembly to declare the deliberate destruction of peaceful nuclear facilities, even using conventional weapons, as being essentially equivalent to an attack using nuclear weapons: that is to say, to actions of a kind which the United Nations has already described as the gravest crime against humanity. Such a step by the General Assembly could be a very useful measure to ensure the safe development of nuclear power.

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This question of establishing safe conditions for developing the peaceful use of nuclear energy is organically linked with the task of preventing the unleashing of a nuclear war. In particular, the destruction of peaceful nuclear facilities as the result of the use of nuclear weapons would have absolutely catastrophic consequences of a global nature. Moreover, at a time when there is a growing need for States to unite to solve a whole series of global problems such as energy, the environment, food and agriculture, there is virtually nobody, except for those infected with the virus of nuclear fever, who does not realize that the main obstacle is the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race.

The development and production of arms, particularly nuclear arms intensifies distrust among States and swallows up vast amounts of money that could be used for constructive ends. It creates obstacles to co-operation in the use of scientific and technical progress for the benefit of people. So international co-operation, particularly in the development of nuclear power, requires the limitation and subsequent elimination of the use of energy sources for building weapons.

And the very need for this broad, peaceful use of nuclear power objectively requires a reduction and in the final analysis, elimination of nuclear weaponry. The first, realistically possible and, indeed, easily implemented step in this direction would be what was proposed by the Soviet Union in draft resolution A/C.1/47/L.7: a simultaneous freezing by all nuclear States of the production and development of nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles and also a freezing of the production of fissionable materials for the purposes of manufacturing various types of nuclear weapons.

The freeze proposed in this document would prevent any further build-up of this mountain of lethal nuclear weapons and simultaneous implementation of it, along with the cessation and prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, also proposed by the Soviet Union, would prevent the development of new systems. Attempts by the United States delegation to besmirch the idea of such a freeze, maintaining that it plays into the hands of the USSR alone, which supposedly has more nuclear

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weapons cannot be taken seriously. Such claims are simply completely unfounded. We advise that delegation to read thoroughly the official report of the United States Secretary of Defence for the 1982 financial year. On page 43 of that document, it is quite clearly set forth in black and white that:

"Although the age of the nuclear superiority of the United States has gone, it is now replaced by parity with the Soviet Union."

I must say that freezing nuclear arsenals is not an end in itself. Rather, it is just a first step towards agreements on radical measures for nuclear disarmament. This freeze would be a logical step forward on the path towards such measures. After all, in order to reverse the nuclear arms race, we must first stop it.

All peace-loving forces are involved in this struggle. The removal of the nuclear danger should be promoted by the World Disarmament Campaign, which was decided on at the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.. We also attach great importance to the collection of signatures in support of measures to avert nuclear war, to curb the arms race and to achieve disarmament; this action is to be carried out under the auspices of the World Campaign.

Our people participate actively in the struggle for peace and disarmament. We advocate this in many national and international measures. War propaganda is prohibited in our constitution. Further proof of our support for these goals is the decision by the governing bodies of our Republic to pledge a voluntary contribution by the Byelorussian SSR for the special fund for financing the World Disarmament Campaign, and our pledge is for 100,000 rubles.

The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR reserves its right to speak on matters relating to the World Disarmament Campaign when decisions on that matter are being considered.

In conclusion, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR wishes to state that it is willing and ready to do everything within its power to make a constructive contribution to the adoption and implementation of decisions promoting this cause of averting the threat of nuclear war, the cause of true disarmament, and the strengthening of peace and international security.

Mr. KAMANDA wa KAMANDA (Zaire) (interpretation from French):

First of all, Sir, I should like to associate myself with earlier speakers who have conveyed to Mr. Gbeho, the representative of Ghana, cordial congratulations on his assumption of the chairmanship of the First Committee. He can certainly count on the full co-operation of the delegation of Zaire, which is all the more pleased to see him in the Chair in that he represents a brother country of Africa with which Zaire enjoys excellent relations. His well known abilities, together with his natural tact, pledge success for our deliberations on one of the most stormy issues of our time, disarmament.

I should also like to associate myself with the congratulations addressed to Mrs. Alva Myrdal and Mr. Garcia Robles, who truly merited the award to them of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1982.

I should also like to pay a tribute to and say how greatly we appreciate the work of the Secretary-General for the reports he has presented on disarmament matters, particularly in connection with the emphasis he placed in his report to the plenary session of the General Assembly on the question of the maintenance of international peace and security, which is closely linked to that of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

Since the founding of the United Nations in 1945 we have spoken regularly of disarmament, which is one of the principal objectives of the United Nations, and doubtless the matter to which the United Nations has devoted its most sustained efforts during the annual debates in the Assembly, the First Committee, the Disarmament Commission, the Committee on Disarmament and others.

So that while we have repeatedly discussed disarmament at the United Nations, we note today that the international community and the United Nations were talking about disarmament more particularly during the second half of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. Two special sessions, preceded by two preparatory committees, which worked very hard, were devoted to disarmament. The first of these, from 23 May to 30 June 1978 in New York, ended in the unanimous adoption of the Final Document of the first special session setting out the basis for international disarmament strategy, with a view to securing general and complete disarmament under effective international control, accompanied by a Declaration and Programme of Action.

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The second of these sessions was held from 7 June to 10 July 1982, during which several Heads of State and Government, and more than 140 Member States, expressed their Governments' views on various aspects of the escalating arms race and the disquiet caused by the lack of progress in this field. During this session we witnessed unprecedented mass demonstrations for disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, and we saw at the rostrum of the United Nations representatives of a number of non-governmental organizations, religious leaders, scientists and scholars expressing the legitimate fear which they felt at the dangerous current trends and theories which encourage the arms race, and particularly nuclear armaments.

The session was unable to adopt a comprehensive programme of disarmament and was also unable to agree on various items on the agenda, particularly those relating to the dangers of the nuclear-arms race, even if Members were unanimous in their recognition of the validity of the Final Document of the first special session, particularly the value of the priorities contained in the Programme of Action of that document.

In the 1970s and early 1980s the idea was also first launched of the convening of a world disarmament conference, together with that of the First Disarmament Decade and the declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade, and the launching of the World Disarmament Campaign.

It will be noted that the period between the second half of the 1970s up to the early 1980s, during which we have seen so many disarmament initiatives, is precisely the period during which the entire world began to feel the impact of one of the most serious economic, social and political crises in its history since the 1930s.

This parallel is well warranted when we reflect that it was the blindness of Governments and their inability to read in the events of the 1930s the signs of the Second World War, which resulted in their being unable to prevent one of the most deadly wars in the history of the world, during which use was made for the first time of a nuclear weapon, which in a single explosion decimated more property and claimed more victims than all other previous wars and weapons. Yet the improvement and production of such weapons has proceeded apace since then. Those now available to the world are more than a thousand times more powerful, in terms of their destructive capacity, and 50,000, even 100,000 times more numerous.

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Where is humanity heading, one wonders, when we think of our common duty embodied in the preamble of the United Nations Charter:

"... to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our life-time has brought untold sorrow to mankind; and ... to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, ... to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest ..."

In the field of disarmament we can safely say that the diagnosis has already been properly made and the remedy extensively prescribed, when we think of the Final Document of the first special session which was held in 1978, the debates before it and those which have been held regularly in the Committee on Disarmament, the Disarmament Commission, and various sessions of the General Assembly.

I should like at this point to break away from the traditional pattern of speeches in the First Committee and emphasize the central place occupied by the escalation of the arms race in the present world crisis, which is political, economic, and at the same time a moral crisis, in order better to emphasize the responsibility of States, particularly the militarily powerful States, in terms of the objective of general and complete disarmament, because they do not always show the necessary political will.

What would terrorism amount to today - and, of course, we all deplore terrorism - without weapons, without the disconcerting facility for obtaining deadly weapons, without this frightening circulation of death-dealing weapons of all sorts all over the world?

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Terrorism, or the resurgence of violence in the world, is, of course, first and foremost a question of mentality, of state of mind; but it is also a question of practical means. Quite simply, there are too many weapons stockpiled and in circulation in the world - and this does no service to the cause of peace.

Disarmament efforts should therefore be accompanied by the education of mankind in the spirit of peace and concord and not in the spirit of war and confrontation. It is primarily a question of mentality because the spirit of war and confrontation is fostered, at the expense of the spirit of peace and dialogue, by absurd theories about limited nuclear war, total "lightning war", deterrence, and the balance of forces, and by the deliberately created impression that a nuclear war can be won. Although one knows when and how a war begins, one cannot know today when and how a nuclear war will end.

And it is a question of practical means because, as I have said, a terrorist cannot hijack an aeroplane or take hostages without using the threat of a weapon in his possession. Easy availability and the proliferation and circulation of weapons bring no additional peace either for those who possess the weapons - because they become an element of reference and of cause in the escalation resulting from the desire to ensure the balance of power, and the frantic quest for the means of coping with the possibility that those weapons will be used against them - or for those who do not possess them and who consider themselves as possible victims.

Those who possess the most sophisticated weapons of destruction are potentially threatened because they undoubtedly have more weapons than they need for their own self-defence. At the same time, the possession of the most sophisticated destructive weapons, and especially nuclear weapons, is a threat to the security of all other countries - and like it or not, that is what they feel - as a possible cause of the escalation.

We agree with the view that the arms race is an instrument of terror and intimidation in the world, a stimulus to the policy of the use or threat of force in international relations, and a tool for dividing the world into spheres of influence and zones of domination. And thus it is a factor which conflicts

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with the principles of the non-use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes. Thus too the arms race conflicts with Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter, and the principles of the Charter, for the arms race proposes a world order not only different from but indeed the contrary and opposite the one set out in the Charter of the United Nations.

The arms race distils the venom which could poison the world order based on peace, trusting co-operation, justice and equity in relations between States which the San Francisco Charter attempted to establish nearly 40 years ago.

In fact, only 37 years have elapsed since the establishment of the United Nations. Those who were born in 1945 are not yet 40 years old and have not yet had the time to benefit truly from the new order set up after the Second World War and the dissolution of the League of Nations. But those who created the United Nations and who forged the principles of the Charter now bear the responsibility, through the arms race, for the rejection of change in the international economic order, for the great Powers' race for hegemony, for the balance of power, for theories of deterrence and others; they have jeopardized their own work, thus imposing unheard-of restrictions on the peace, the security and the development of others.

I should like here to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his report to the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session. He has made an appeal to us, the heart-felt appeal of a man completely dedicated to the achievement of the United Nations mission of the maintenance of international peace and security; that is the full thrust of his appeal.

The arms race is an instrument for the destabilization of States, like it or not, and an instrument for the destabilization of the foundations of peace, security and trusting co-operation, as well as development.

This is why the senseless arms race is at the centre of the multi-faceted crisis of today's world. Hence a central place must also be given to disarmament in the concerns of Governments, international agencies, non-governmental organizations and peoples, for it is an ideal to be pursued regardless of the difficulties of that pursuit.

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The fact that the General Assembly has felt obliged to call for detailed studies on the relationship between disarmament and development, between disarmament and international security and between disarmament and confidence-building measures, and particularly, on aspects of regional disarmament, clearly shows the preponderant role of the arms race in the world's present difficulties and, conversely, the primary importance which we must continue to give to disarmament. All of us here have an important role to play if we want to venture even a little way from the beaten path and emphasize something to which we have never before given enough importance.

To approach the problem of disarmament from the angle of security, peace, progress, development and the establishment of measures to build confidence in international relations is to form a new link with the spirit of the first international disarmament conference, which took the view more than 50 years ago that an armed peace is no guarantee against war and that the arms race, being itself a source of fear and mutual suspicion, paralyses the will for peace. Without peace, without stability and without security, efforts to foster the economic growth of countries are doomed to failure.

Without security it is difficult to resolve present tensions and disputes in the world. That is to say - if it needs to be said - that the arms race truly pollutes the international atmosphere, with an adverse influence on all aspects of international relations, and stands in the way of the establishment of true peaceful coexistence among States referred to in the United Nations Charter.

It hinders improvements and changes in relations among States on the basis of mutual co-operation and equality, and increases the resistance of the international political environment to necessary adjustments. It unfortunately fosters military alignments and raises the level of confrontation, at the very time when we are preaching against military alignments. In these circumstances, its ultimate effect is to impede the positive trends and processes in favour of progress, the emancipation of peoples and international co-operation.

In the sphere of development, the intensification of the arms race is a serious waste of resources to the detriment of economic and social development.

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It widens the gap between industrialized and developing countries and between rich and poor countries, thus impeding the efforts of all to establish the New International Economic Order. It is clear that the establishment of a balanced and generally acceptable structure of world economic and social development is indissolubly linked to disarmament.

It is not particularly original to point out that annual military expenditure amounts to \$600 billion for all countries, and that a mere 1 per cent of that amount would save the 17 million children that the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) tells us are going to die in 1982. In 1978, that is four years ago, 15 million children died of hunger according to UNICEF reports. What kind of a human society is this, which can find the resources to hurl itself into the destructive madness of the arms race, which could lead to the annihilation of our species, but which cannot find the resources to save the lives of its own children? What kind of a human society is this which regularly, year after year, talks of disarmament but which achieves nothing concrete and leaves 17 million children to die in 1982 for want of funds?

It can be seen that the arms race calls into question the essential principles and values of civilization and the moral values necessary to the existence and development of any organized community, and exacerbates international tensions to the point of where the very survival of mankind is threatened.

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I wonder whether we are entitled to assume the risk of irremediably jeopardizing and destroying the life which we have inherited through an act of love and which in love we should sustain and develop? Today, human civilization has reached a dangerous crossroads in its history. Our world is like a huge time bomb made of many frustrations, frequent violations of the principles and commitments proclaimed in the Charter, an unprecedented escalation of the already intolerable level of conventional and nuclear weapons, the denial of legitimate and fundamental rights of peoples, the constant use of force or the threat of force in relations between States and peoples, and the aggravation of underdevelopment and poverty in vast areas of the world. All of these are at the root of the disturbing deterioration in international relations. Only the United Nations can defuse this time bomb. If it were to fail in its prime mission of maintaining international peace and security, its mission in the cause of economic and social progress through the co-operation of nations and peoples and the rational and fair organization of interdependence, its mission as a privileged instrument for peaceful coexistence between different socio-political systems, the detonator would derive from its complete failure.

The increasing disappointment in the world at the absence of genuine progress in negotiations and other efforts for the cessation and reversal of the arms race, the just and warranted demands of the movements for peace and disarmament which are evidence of an unprecedented awareness and emergence of an international consensus, transcending political and ideological barriers, in favour of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, have not yet sufficiently aroused those who have the task of guaranteeing the realization of the aspirations of peoples. Thus, those demands have not yet been translated into concrete action or the political will commensurate with the magnitude of what is at stake, into practical conduct and the daily attitude of those who are in power in dealing with the objective of general and complete disarmament.

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The failure of the second special session was felt all the more acutely throughout the world in that it provided an opportunity to take measures to stop and curb the mad dash towards a holocaust by heeding the voice of common sense which has been raised in all four corners of the world against nuclear suicide and in favour of the comprehensive programme of disarmament.

However, if the second special session was a missed opportunity for historic achievements, it nevertheless made it possible to launch the World Disarmament Campaign through which we can embark upon a crusade for the recovery of mankind and the restoration of simple truths and common sense. That is why we feel that one of the most important things to be done now, after the second special session, is to educate man in the spirit of peace, in other words, to integrate education for disarmament into academic curricula. The prime importance of education for disarmament and other public information activities in United Nations work in general and in the work done by Governments and public opinion for peace and disarmament, cannot be overemphasized.

The objectives of education for disarmament, an integral part of education for peace, could be as follows: the development of the perception of the relationship between disarmament, peace, security, development and social progress; the promotion of an education imbued with ideas of peace, understanding and international co-operation; the promotion of the ideals contained in the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other relevant documents serving as a basis for international co-operation; the eradication of war propaganda, the constant notion of potential enemies, militarism and interventionism, and all hostility against other nations and the revelation of the causes of tension, crises and problems now afflicting the international situation; the promotion of understanding of the origins of the arms race, the manufacture and acquisition of weapons and the reasons for the profits which underlie the growth of military budgets and their consequences for societies, together with the demonstration of the possibilities for development and social progress.

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In our view, the importance of the World Disarmament Campaign is self-evident. The Campaign should concentrate on concrete problems and specific aims, and not on abstract topics which may provide food for speech-making. The concrete problems and specific goals should be the following: the immediate halting of the arms race; the resumption of substantive negotiations on disarmament; the freezing and reduction of nuclear weapons and the prohibition of the development of new means of destruction, the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones throughout the world; the link between the continuation of the arms race and the existence of focal points of international tension in the world; the disastrous consequences of nuclear war and the inadmissible nature of war in general; emphasis on the links between disarmament and development, the arms race and poverty, and also the benefits which mankind would derive from the cessation of the arms race and the transfer to development purposes of the resources now being consumed by armaments.

We believe, lastly, that the strict application of the principles of the Charter and other relevant instruments of international law would constitute a basic source of confidence. Any measure, guaranteeing to States the preservation of their rights and interests, if not duly taken into account, promotes the establishment of a climate of confidence, whereas the arms race, by virtue of the insecurity it creates, jeopardizes those rights and interests. International confidence is impossible without the strengthening of military confidence. It was the need for peace and the survival of our species which was felt all the more acutely because the most deadly war in the history of the world had just come to an end, that gave rise to the establishment of the United Nations in the first place. The work of the Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations assumes its full importance in this context. We have noted that, during the last two sessions, the Special Committee has done some very useful work of outstanding quality, outstanding also in terms of the support of the various parties, when compared to the work of previous years. This is also a sign of the growing concern

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which States, particularly small, weak and medium-sized States, are feeling at the frequent use of force in international relations. The use of force in international relations has taken several forms, which are as follows: armed intervention and aggression; interference of all sorts in the internal affairs of States, thus thwarting their desire for autonomy; the resurgence of political, economic, military and diplomatic pressures and other measures of intimidation; acts of reprisal and other hostile acts against the political independence of States adopting independent positions not shared by others, together with the race for big Power hegemony, and so on.

Therefore we feel that, as a matter of principle, the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force would be a valuable contribution to efforts to identify the components of the prohibition of the use of force in a binding treaty. At the same time, we feel that the principles of Article 2, paragraph 4 of the Charter are principles and rules of jus cogens. The conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force should thus not mean that those who might not, for whatever reason, ratify the treaty would escape the effect of those principles of jus cogens, or that those ratifying such an instrument would give it precedence over Article 2, paragraph 4 of the Charter, because of the fact that the treaty would embody in the principle of the non-use of force with certain shades of distinction.

There is a danger here of the forfeiture of the principle of non-use of force in the interests of ideology or propaganda which can only result in opposition. That would not help to strengthen the effectiveness of that principle.

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That is why we must be careful. We must above all avoid weakening the principles of the Charter by developing them, in separate international instruments, in such a way that they are accompanied by considerations and different points of emphasis designed subtly to weaken their scope.

That is why the normative elements should not occupy too important a place in relation to the institutional elements intended to strengthen the effectiveness of the principle. The norm of the non-use of force is already clearly established by paragraph 4 of Article 2 of the Charter. It would be dangerous to deal with the problem in such a way that the formulation of one new norm or another in the treaty weakened the first norm, contained in the Charter.

To speak of strengthening the principle of the non-use of force is also to speak of strengthening the effectiveness of the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes, another norm of the Charter, contained in Article 2, and of international law. That is why we fully subscribe to the draft Manila declaration on the peaceful settlement of disputes. This problem comes within the comprehensive framework of respect for the principles of the Charter.

To speak of strengthening the effectiveness of the principles of the non-use of force and of the peaceful settlement of disputes also implies that those who defend those principles must at the same time have the courage to reject all the consequences of the use or threat of force in international relations. We shall thus undoubtedly succeed in discouraging the proliferation of ventures contrary to the Charter -- including the arms race -- such as those which we have witnessed in recent years.

The present world climate can be changed by progress in reducing armaments. In our opinion there are two ways to improve international relations simultaneously: respect by all for the principles of the Charter and the ending and reversal of the arms race. We believe that progress is possible, but a number of conditions must be met for its achievement.

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Those conditions are: acceptance that the achievement of nuclear disarmament has the highest priority; the containment of certain forces which encourage the arms race - particularly the impetus developed by the process of the development and production of new sophisticated weapons and the creation of powerful industrial and military interests for their manufacture, production and deployment; rejection of the theory of limited nuclear war as unrealistic and dangerous, and of the theory of lightning, total nuclear war as being irresponsible and mad; drawing proper attention to the unprecedented development of public opinion, highlighted by recent mass demonstrations in favour of disarmament; deploring the fact that the political will of certain States does not reflect those attitudes demonstrated by active forces in the world; supporting the full application of the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament; adoption of a comprehensive programme of disarmament and making States sufficiently aware of the necessity to implement it; respecting the status and principle of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace. Coming from Africa, we cannot conceal our alarm at South Africa's acquisition of a nuclear capability in a continent which wants to keep out of the confrontation of the great-Power blocs in order to preserve international peace and security.

We must also freeze all nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles and begin negotiations to draw up a convention on the non-use of nuclear weapons. Finally, in the disarmament process we must observe the principle of equal security for all States.

In this way we shall prevent the world of today from preserving ancient anarchies.

Mr. IBRAHIM (Ethiopia): The delegation of Ethiopia has on a previous occasion expressed its special pleasure at seeing Ambassador Cbeho, the able and distinguished representative of a sisterly African country, Ghana and the other officers of the Committee guide the deliberations of the First Committee at this session of the General Assembly. Today I wish to add my own personal satisfaction at the manner in which, and the skill with which, they have discharged their responsibilities so far.

I should like to take this opportunity also to congratulate most sincerely Mrs. Alva Myrdal of Sweden and Ambassador Garcia Robles of Mexico on the joint award to them of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1982, in recognition of their devotion, as well as their outstanding contribution, to the cause of peace and security through disarmament.

Last year the discussion on disarmament issues in this Committee largely reflected expressions of hope for a successful conclusion of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The hopes and expectations of the international community for a successful second session were dashed, however, and, understandably enough, the general debate of the First Committee at the present session may be characterized as consisting merely of expressions of regret and disappointment over that failure. The reasons for, and causes of, the failure of the second session are many and complex. It has been rightly pointed out that the United Nations could not insulate itself from the general international, political and security climate and state of relations between Member States and produce miracles. The reality of the world is that no State can embark on a policy of armaments build-up on a scale unprecedented in history and strive for real progress in disarmament at the same time. Development of military doctrines such as that of "limited" or "protracted" nuclear war further complicate the situation, render the goal of disarmament more elusive, and lead the world ever closer to the brink of catastrophe.

In the nuclear era it has become clear that no State can achieve true security by the accumulation of weapons. Nuclear-weapon States and those States which do not possess nuclear weapons are equally vulnerable in the event

(Mr. Ibrahim, Ethiopia)

of a nuclear conflagration. In the nuclear age, security can be achieved only through disarmament, particularly in its nuclear aspect, by a conscious reversal of the present global instability and by the creation of a world order based on the rule of law, as envisaged in the Charter of our Organization. Indeed, the single most important conclusion of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues is that in the nuclear age security can mean only common security. This is a firm and unmistakable recognition that international relations can no longer be based on the assertion of power or the accumulation of ever-more deadly weapons. Rather, it must be based on justice: not on lawlessness, but on the rule of law; not on the pursuit of a policy of dominance, but on the recognition of the equality of the rights of all nations, big and small alike, and by the restoration of human dignity and racial equality wherever and whenever they are violated.

(Mr. Ibrahim, Ethiopia)

In the aftermath of the Second World War, 37 years ago, the Charter of our Organization was hailed as the embodiment of the determination and resolve of humanity to eliminate the scourge of war and to establish a global environment of harmony, peace, stability and progress. Yet the world today is not only fraught with tension and conflict but also heavily burdened with an unrelenting arms race, particularly in the nuclear field, threatening not only peace but the very survival of mankind.

The quest for disarmament today has no parallel in history. In this nuclear age disarmament appears to be the only viable means by which States can collectively guarantee their security. True, disarmament is a long, complex and arduous process requiring above all perseverance and community of interest. It is also true that in today's world the quest for disarmament leaves room for neither complacency nor despair. Therefore, despite the failure of the second special session on disarmament, or even because of it, the need for recommitment to the principles of the Charter of our Organization and for rededication to the cause of disarmament by each Member State is more pressing now than ever before. Such recommitment and rededication would mean giving common sense a chance to work and reversing the present dangerous trend, which, in the words of the Secretary-General in his report to the General Assembly, has brought the world close to "a new international anarchy".

The conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty has long been regarded as the necessary initial step towards halting the nuclear arms race and paving the way for the gradual reduction of nuclear weapons until they can be eliminated within the framework of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Since a comprehensive test ban is an issue which is accorded the highest priority, we are pleased to note that the Committee on Disarmament has established an Ad Hoc Working Group on the subject. That two nuclear-weapon States, China and France, have decided not to participate in the work of the Ad Hoc Working Group is a matter which has given rise to concern and disappointment. Similarly, we also regret that the trilateral negotiations on a comprehensive test ban remain suspended due to the absence of political will on the part of the United States.

(Mr. Ibrahim, Ethiopia)

In view of the setbacks and the impasse encountered in this field over a long time, we are pleased to note that this Committee now has before it a draft resolution together with a draft treaty proposed by the Soviet Union urging an immediate cessation and prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, including a moratorium on peaceful nuclear explosions. In this connection, in his statement in the general debate at this session of the General Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia said:

"At its current session the General Assembly has before it two important additional items proposed by the Soviet Union. While the first deals with the urgent task of the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, the second proposal underscores the growing need to redouble the efforts aimed at the elimination of the threat of nuclear war and the protection of peaceful nuclear facilities. As a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, Ethiopia not only welcomes these important proposals but also urges all Member States to seize the opportunity they provide to halt the arms race, to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and the outbreak of nuclear war and to enhance the development of peaceful nuclear technology." (A/37/PV.22, p. 24-25)

There is no doubt that a comprehensive nuclear test ban would constitute an important first step in nuclear disarmament by preventing vertical and horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons and strengthening the régime of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Ethiopia also attaches great importance to the establishment of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace. As early as 1965, the General Assembly endorsed the declaration of the Organization of African Unity on the denuclearization of Africa. Over the years Africa has persisted in its call for the realization of this objective, and several resolutions have been adopted by the General Assembly. Unfortunately, however, with the support and collaboration it has received, and continues to receive for that matter, from its Western partners, and with every intention of frustrating the legitimate aspirations and the resolve of the African peoples, the apartheid régime of South Africa is today able and fully equipped to produce a wide range of both conventional and nuclear weapons.

(Mr. Ibrahim, Ethiopia)

These ominous developments in southern Africa, and particularly the nuclear-weapon capability in the hands of the racist minority régime, represents a grave danger not only to Africa but also to international peace and security as a whole. We therefore urge this Committee to assess the gravity of the situation and to recommend appropriate mandatory measures in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

The denuclearization of Africa is closely linked to the issue of the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean. The endeavour to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace has now entered its second decade. These persistent efforts reflect the determination of the littoral and hinterland States to preserve their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and to solve their political, economic and social problems in conditions of peace and tranquillity. These are the preoccupations on the basis of which the States of the region are calling for the maintenance of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace free from the arms race, particularly in its nuclear aspect. We hope that the necessary political will and flexibility will be demonstrated in the coming days and thus enable the Ad Hoc Committee to discharge the mandate entrusted to it with a view to the early achievement of the objectives of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

The active interest shown by peoples all over the world is seen as a positive trend that will give a new impetus to disarmament efforts, particularly those aimed at preventing the outbreak of a nuclear war. The World Disarmament Campaign can also be of great importance in informing and educating, and in generating public understanding and support for the objectives of the United Nations in the field of disarmament.

Another subject which was able to command consensus at the second special session on disarmament, and one closely related to the World Disarmament Campaign, is the United Nations Fellowship Programme on Disarmament. This programme, which was started on the initiative of Nigeria, has served a useful purpose in promoting expertise on disarmament in more Member States, and in particular in developing countries. We are pleased to note that the activities of the programme have expanded steadily, and we hope that the General Assembly will provide it with the funds and personnel required for its continuation.

Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): As this is the first occasion on which I am speaking before the First Committee, I feel privileged to extend to our Chairman, Mr. Gbeho, the Permanent Representative of the friendly country of Ghana, my delegation's most sincere congratulations on his assumption of this high office and to wish his every success. I extend my congratulations likewise to the Vice-Chairmen and other officers of the Committee.

The agenda of the Committee comprises a long list of items which it is hoped will be moved closer to identification and eventual resolution. The task of the First Committee is specifically addressed to the attainment of international peace and security through various modalities, methods, approaches, mechanisms and strategies for the achievement of gradual, and ultimately general and complete, disarmament.

As we are about to conclude the general debate on that overall objective - it is not only natural but imperative that Member States highlight their principal concerns and attitudes before delving into each and every item on the agenda. Indeed, a close look at the items before us shows how interrelated they are, how each is contingent on the other and the extent to which each has an impact on the other. A detailed piecemeal approach, essential as it is, should not blur our vision of the totality, integrity, or the inseparability of one from the other. Hence the need for a global and comprehensive approach as the basic guideline for a more incisive understanding of the significance and the priorities of what are the byproducts of the overall situation.

The real question is war or peace, a continuance of human existence on this planet or its demise and termination. It does not in fact matter whether the present arsenals of thermonuclear destruction are sufficient to destroy our planet once or a hundred times over. Hence the question of a "freeze" - and the vast majority of mankind, at the levels of government and people, supports a "freeze" - represents only a stopgap measure in response to mankind's yearning to be saved from irrevocable destruction. It is increasingly evident that a mutual, verifiable nuclear freeze is the first essential step in any workable effort to stem the

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seemingly uncontrollable surge in the spiral of the nuclear, as well as the conventional arms race. The chain of action and reaction, more often subjective than objective, nourishes a profound sense of fear and insecurity and renders the super-Powers, as well as the rest of mankind, hapless hostages of perceptions and misperceptions. Mass destruction can likewise be achieved by means of radiological, biological or chemical weapons, though in limited wars certain types of weapons might be more bestial than others. The continuing militarization of outer space, quite apart from its frighteningly destabilizing influence on mutual deterrence, would, if carried on, destroy the ozone layer which protects the planet earth from the lethal rays of the solar system and could render our planet uninhabitable. Nuclear-free zones, while commendable in themselves, are becoming more obsolete and chimerical as the weapons of global nuclear war become more numerous and encompassing, sparing no region of the earth. Furthermore, it is a contradiction in terms to advocate the conversion of a region into a nuclear-free zone when one country of that region possesses a nuclear capability while others do not. This can be regarded as only a licence for blackmail and aggression, resulting in insecurity.

I should like to emphasize that security is the prerequisite to peace, and no peace can be attained when one party poses a threat to the rights, security and existence of others. Looking ahead, we may say that in the next decade or two no single continent, region or even country will be able to do without nuclear energy for peaceful uses. With the existence of hundreds of such nuclear installations all over the world, the destruction of a sizable nuclear installation would poison life in the whole region and possibly beyond it.

In the two decades after the First World War several disarmament conferences were solemnly held. The subject matter was parity and balance, which in those decades was symbolized by a reduction by one battleship here and one battleship there. All those efforts, as dedicated as our own efforts in the United Nations in the field of disarmament, are now a footnote to history. They did not prevent the outbreak of the

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devastating Second World War. On our agenda we have item 39, entitled "Economic and social consequences of the armaments race and its extremely harmful effects on world peace and security". It is ominous indeed that the arms race that preceded the Second World War came in the wake of the 1930 world depression, which had a devastating social, economic and psychological impact on so many societies all over the world.

Wars and conflicts are not, therefore, the consequences only of arms build-ups. The thrust of our endeavours is and should be to make timely identification and to make a serious effort to resolve the underlying causes of man's turning to the use of the limitless scientific and technological horizons for mass suicidal destruction. Many of these important aspects of world peace and security are being dealt with in other forums of the United Nations; but it is essential that our Committee not gloss over their enormous potential impact upon our immediate objective of controlling the arms race which today threatens mankind as it has never before been threatened in its recorded history. As one leading scientist remarked in sober tones, in the immediate aftermath of the atomic explosions in Hiroshima and Nagasaki the world will never be the same again. Today his remark is being more and more loudly echoed by scientists, doctors, moralists, scholars, clergymen, politicians and ever larger masses of humanity all over the world. Clearly, all those people who speak in such numbers are not the old-time pacifists who rejected war as a matter of conscience. Their protests are inspired by the knowledgeable realization that a nuclear war would mean the end of life on the only habitable planet that exists in our galaxy, this beautiful earth.

Therefore it is political will and consciousness which, in the final analysis, is the arbiter of our faith, which will decide whether we are to be or not to be. It is not inadvertent that the name of this Committee is the Political Committee, even though virtually all the items on the agenda present a litany of destructive military genes discussed in such frameworks as equivalence, a window of vulnerability, a balance of power or terror, mutually assured destruction - what a bleak thought - an edge

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of safety, theatre nuclear wars, first-strike capability, sustained nuclear wars, conveying the possibility of winners and losers, arms limitations, meticulously measured in terms of X-megatons and warheads, triads of safety, which in the not too distant future will be enhanced by the new dimension of outer space, and all the rest of the concepts which have been accumulating as the years go by and have been augmenting our agenda.

(Mr. Nuseibeh, Jordan)

From my delegation's point of view, the real question is and has always been: is war in the post-atomic era a feasible or tolerable instrument of policy? Does any party stand to gain, or more accurately, will any party survive to gain from its pursuit? It is only in the context of a considered answer to this question that we can meaningfully address arms limitation leading eventually to total disarmament.

Rather than facing up to this basic issue and acting accordingly to preserve both real security and genuine peace based on justice, legality and unity in diversity, policy-makers in some parts of the world continue to behave as though the world had not irretrievably changed and are totally oblivious to the new era which has since bottled us up in an untenable set of choices. An enormous cultural gap continues to exist between traditional political thought pertaining to relations among nations and the undreamed-of and ongoing scientific and technological breakthroughs which have vastly surpassed and rendered obsolete the contours which governed the rules of the game in international relations over the past generations of recorded history. Indeed, familiarity with the term "nuclear war" has created complacency to the point of acceptance. It has become a household word, unrelated to what it really is. Even though my delegation is fully supportive of the plea for a total cessation of nuclear-weapon tests, it may perhaps serve a purpose to gather policy-makers from time to time from as many countries as possible and detonate in a remote and unfrequented part of the world a nuclear device to remind the complacent and the unimaginative of what nuclear devastation is. This could well be an eye-opener to help guide the policy-makers in negotiations on nuclear disarmament.

An arms race, if continued unchecked, would overtax the resources of the super-Powers and others and so detract from the satisfaction of their more immediate needs that they would meet their demise from internal haemorrhage while their bloated arsenals remained helplessly in silos, airborne or beneath the bottomless seas, or even circling in outer space.

(Mr. Nuseibeh, Jordan)

It is high time that the process of disarmament was resumed before the arms race renders such a process totally redundant.

There seems to be a notion, which should be dispelled, that since war is inherent in human nature and since total war has become totally untenable, we should have an outlet for our pugnacious instincts in limited nuclear theatre wars. Again, this is a stupid fallacy and should be recognized as such. When two boxers enter the ring, they do so with the expectation of winning. They never make an agreement to use a quarter or a half of their prowess. If the balance should tilt in favour of one side, the other side would most certainly escalate rather than suffer defeat. The masses of humankind, especially in Europe, were right in protesting against the concept of a nuclear theatre war in which they would be the principal victims. But the fact is that, once ignited, fear alone will make it certain that all arsenals and peoples will unavoidably become involved. These are decisions which must be made within minutes and it is doubtful in the extreme that decision-makers would have the time or the powers of judgement to make sober decisions under such trying and unprecedented conditions which are, indeed hard to contemplate.

To dispel the concept that any national interest can be served, enhanced or preserved, especially in the shrunken village to which the world has been reduced in terms of distances and interdependence, it should be rationally recognized that no national interest can survive regional wars, let alone global wars. Even if nuclear weapons were not used, the level of sophistication in armaments has reached such a capability for destruction that little indeed could be saved.

All the hitherto classic books about the concept of the national interest as the be-all and end-all of foreign policy doctrine, as calculated in such factors as raw materials, bases, prestige, influence and other components, have become manifestly out of date. Resources can be assured only within a matrix of mutuality of interest; influence and prestige in an age of heightened awareness can best be ensured by a friendly, rather than an adversary, oppressive or confrontational relationship.

(Mr. Nuseibeh, Jordan)

And besides, even the alchemists of old recognized and achieved the transformation of matter from one essential commodity to another.

If, instead of fighting over what are regarded as non-renewable resources, a part of our scientific resources were mobilized to make what seem non-renewable ones actually renewable in other forms, then our understanding of a national interest would be drastically revamped.

In discussing international peace and security, we cannot realistically be unmindful of a set of imperatives which are genuinely and closely germane to the maintenance of that goal. This was clearly recognized in the Charter which, if it were complied with meticulously, would create and sustain the conditions of peaceful coexistence and general acceptability. If the Charter were observed on the basis of international law, justice and legality, then nations however committed to peace they may be, would understand that peace would allow them to live in security, legality and justice; otherwise the world would be reduced to the peace of the grave, as the late President Eisenhower once remarked.

It is therefore imperative that the General Assembly should do all in its power to prevent injustice and deprivation. The Charter itself recognizes under Article 51 the right of self-defence when all other avenues have failed.

The annual report of the Secretary-General advises that if only 5 per cent of the approximate figure of \$700 billion annually spent on arms were allocated annually to assist in galvanizing the international economic order, then the world would become a safer, better and more prosperous place to live in. In the international community, as in national societies, massive and ever-widening disparities and deprivations are as likely to undermine world peace and security as the accumulation of wasteful weapons of destruction. This is a subject which is better left to the Second Committee and other forums. But it would be irresponsible on our part to overlook the inseparable relationship between a spiralling arms race and the objective of forging a more stable and secure and prosperous world. This was brilliantly highlighted by the staggering facts and figures in document A/37/386 dated 27 September 1982.

My statement has hardly touched upon the specific and extremely important items which we shall be discussing in depth during this session, particularly in the wake of the dismal failure of the second special session on disarmament held in New York in June and July 1982.

(Mr. Nuseibeh, Jordan)

But I have dwelt upon such factors as political awareness and will, the readiness to live and let live, human nature and other prerequisites for peaceful coexistence and co-operation, in the absence of which the Programme of Action contained in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly on disarmament and the comprehensive programme of disarmament being negotiated in the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva will prove to be of no avail.

In summing up and in looking ahead to the possible threats to international peace and security that so alarm mankind, my delegation wishes to identify and focus attention on the following areas: First, although a relentless arms race has its own momentum, apart from any objective considerations, it is extremely unlikely that the super-Powers would engage in a direct nuclear war except as an act of lunacy, by accident or through morbid fear resulting from unforeseen technological breakthroughs which totally void the minimum power of deterrence. But even then, there is no gain to be had by destroying another nation, let alone by poisoning the world. That is why it is all the more imperative that scientists and policy-makers refrain from the pursuit of an "ultimate weapon" which could temporarily paralyse one or the other of the super-Powers.

Secondly, the super-Powers could very well stumble into a nuclear confrontation through regional conflicts in which the various parties perceive their vital interests to be at stake. I would single out hot spots in the Middle East, Asia and Africa as catalysts for such global confrontations.

Thirdly, as a result of diminishing national resources, particularly critical raw materials, and a gradual but inexorable population explosion, super-Power involvement may well transform regional upheavals into global conflict: hence the importance of embarking in earnest on the establishment of a New International Economic Order for the benefit of all mankind, including the developed as well as the developing world.

(Mr. Nuseibeh, Jordan)

Fourthly, we must find just and equitable solutions to long-festering conflicts in the Middle East and southern Africa, for these are real rather than subjective. The solution of such conflicts, which can never be whisked away or wished away, may well be the key to global peace.

We have only recently seen how Israel perpetrated a full-fledged invasion of a sovereign independent State, the Lebanon, and used in that invasion a variety of conventional weapons which are excessively injurious and have indiscriminate effects. I am referring to the massive use of five types of cluster bombs and phosphorus incendiary bombs, which burned the tissues unchecked and which have left large numbers of civilians with parts of their bodies amputated. These prohibited weapons were used indiscriminately against civilian concentrations and Palestinian refugee camps. We shall be discussing this question when we come to item 51.

Only adherence to the Charter, international law and United Nations decisions and forceful action by the world body could guarantee that the Middle East might be spared devastation - even nuclear exchanges, which some world strategists are predicting as this century draws to a close, in the light of Israel's acquisition of a nuclear capability and its adamant refusal to accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. A temporary military edge is a very tenuous foundation upon which to build regional and global peace. All the other stupendous problems such as those involving raw materials and the population explosion - and even fear and insecurity - are hypothetical, manageable and controllable. But unbridled injustice and expansion are real and not hypothetical. This should be of paramount consideration as we debate the wide range of items on our agenda.

The CHAIRMAN: Speaking on a personal note, and I am confident that Members will join me in this, I should like to express my deep satisfaction to the Ambassador of Uganda for the important step taken by her country in acceding to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. This is an important contribution which will strengthen the spirit of the Treaty.

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(The Chairman)

Furthermore, at this meeting the acting Chairman noted with pleasure the announcement of a contribution to the World Disarmament Campaign by the Ambassador of the Soviet Union, and I should also like to express appreciation to the delegations of Bulgaria and the Byelorussian SSR for their announcements this afternoon of contributions.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.