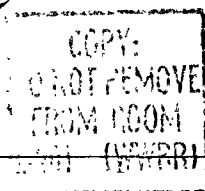


*United Nations*  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**  
THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION  
*Official Records\**



FIRST COMMITTEE  
29th meeting  
held on  
Thursday, 10 November 1983  
New York



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 29th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway)

CONTENTS

GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS

Statements were made by:

Mr. Stephanou (Greece)  
Mr. Erdenechuluun (Mongolia)  
Mr. Bronnikov (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic)  
Mr. Garvalov (Bulgaria)  
Mr. Tari (Israel)  
Mr. Lundro (Norway)  
Mr. Krutzsch (German Democratic Republic)

\*This record is subject to correction. Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief of the Official Records Editing Section, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session, in a separate fascicle for each Committee.

Distr. GENERAL  
A/C.1/38/PV.29  
30 November 1983  
ENGLISH

The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.m.

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

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. STEPHANOU (Greece) (interpretation from French): In the statement which I made in the general debate on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Economic Community I reminded the Committee:

"... that every year an enormous part of the resources of the world is devoted to military ends. These resources could be used to resolve the economic and social problems with which mankind is confronted". (A/C.1/38/PV.4, p. 28)

In another context, in the same statement, I stressed:

"The reduction of military expenses would pave the way to a better allocation of resources which have thus far been used for military purposes, and would facilitate economic and social progress, in particular in the developing countries". (A/C.1/38/PV.4, p. 33-35)

Today, I should like to underscore the importance which my Government attaches to item 56 of our agenda on the relationship between disarmament and development. In this connection, might I recall in this forum that the Charter in its preamble calls on us, inter alia,

"to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, ... to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and ... to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples".

Furthermore, among the purposes of our Organization as set forth in Article 1 of the United Nations Charter, we read in paragraph 1:

"To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, ...",

and in paragraph 3:

"To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, ...".

(Mr. Stephanou, Greece)

Thirty-eight years have passed since the Charter was signed. Among the efforts which our Organization has made to preserve peace, we wish to refer to two factors, namely, disarmament and international security. Unfortunately, however, the third factor of development, on which the economic, social, humanitarian and scientific progress of our endangered planet depends - a factor closely linked to world peace and stability, as well as disarmament - has surfaced too late; it is only recently that world public opinion has become sensitive to it. Joint efforts initiated by certain governments, as well as action taken thanks to the keenness and vigilance of the United Nations system, have set in motion the necessary process of identifying the various aspects of the relationship between disarmament and development. This has been done with a view to reaching solutions which, while taking account of the deleterious effects of the arms race, by means of disarmament could lead to a preservation and consolidation of peace and, at the same time, contribute to the development of the underprivileged countries of the third world. These countries are the first victims of our current over-emphasis on armament, and they would be the first to benefit from a gradual process of disarmament if whatever tangible assistance they received were commensurate with the reduction of military expenditures.

In this connection, the Government of Greece wishes to congratulate the Secretary-General and the group of government experts on the thorough report (A/38/43 B) on the relationship between disarmament and development. It opens the way to any constructive initiative which our Governments might take in that field. What is needed now is the imagination and political will to overcome the bureaucratic red tape that has kept this important element of international peace largely under wraps.

When we refer in our statements to the threat of war, to the dangers inflicted by fear, disease, chauvinism and all the other calamities engendered by human passions, we feel we understand the destabilizing phenomena which we face. But why overlook stabilizing factors that could consolidate peace - for example, the linking of disarmament to development and international security? We speak of an economic crisis. Its causes may be complex, and over-simplification would be risky, but economic and social development is the priority objective of the

(Mr. Stephanou, Greece)

international community. Since the rechannelling of resources through disarmament could solve that problem, it is our duty to pursue that course.

My delegation is satisfied that the Secretary-General's report analyses all the problems adduced by the group of government experts; hence we support all efforts to integrate the study of the relationship between disarmament and development, as described in the report, with current United Nations activities. We are pleased that the task will be entrusted, among others, to the Department for Disarmament Affairs, whose experience and professional skills have been proven many times. Increased public awareness of the relationship between disarmament and development is one of the principles of the socialist Government of Mr. Andreas Papandreou, the Prime Minister of my country, who has made several statements on this subject.

Without dwelling on the detailed report of the Secretary-General, I should like nevertheless to highlight, among its noteworthy points, the contribution of the International Labour Office (ILO) through its two programmes: one on the rechannelling of labour used in the military sector; the other, on the economic and social implications of the allocation to developing countries of resources previously used for military purposes. We should also take into account the implementation of Article II of the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which states that it "shall seek to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity throughout the world".

Moreover, at the Second Ministerial Conference on Social Protection, as well as at the third session of the Social Development Committee of the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, several member countries expressed concern over the increasing allocation of huge amounts of the world's limited and valuable national resources to arms, as it could be detrimental to the implementation of social programmes and to the economic and social development of countries. The approach to the problem advocated in the General Assembly by the President of France encourages us to subscribe to any action to that end.

We welcome the United Nations recognition of the relationship between disarmament and development. Nevertheless, our responsibility is enormous, and if we wish to fulfil our task we must bear in mind that \$600 billion went last year to

(Mr. Stephanou, Greece)

military expenditures, while malnutrition affects one fourth of all the children on the planet, and less than half of all children of primary-education age actually attend school.

With reference to regional disarmament, item 63 (e) of our agenda, I should like to mention a few points to which my Government attaches the highest importance - points covered in the Secretary-General's report (A/38/376) of 7 October 1983, which was prepared pursuant to resolution 37/100 F, adopted by consensus.

Greece, as a country in the European continent, in the Balkan Peninsula and on the Mediterranean, cannot but support any initiative aimed at promoting co-operation and preserving peace at the regional level. This is based on the principle that initiatives of a regional nature cannot harm the implementation of global measures. General Assembly resolution 37/100 F also specifies the two-fold function in this regard, taking into account the interrelationship among regions and between regions and the rest of the world.

Greece, therefore, welcomes the convening in Stockholm, beginning on 17 January 1984, of a Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe as an integral and substantial part of the multilateral process started by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

In addition, the Government of Greece is firmly committed to the provisions of the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament relative to the establishment of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace.

We are convinced that such zones can make an important contribution to an effective disarmament process and to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. To this end, I wish to recall that Greece has always voted in favour of all resolutions intended to bring about such zones, to the extent that all interested States are willing to subscribe to them on the basis of agreements freely entered into.

More specifically and still within the regional context, I wish to stress the high importance which the Government of Greece attaches to the promotion of peace in the Balkan Peninsula, taking into account the characteristic relations of friendship and good-neighbourliness among States of that region. It is in that

(Mr. Stephanou, Greece)

spirit that our Prime Minister, Mr. Andreas Papandreou, considers it a duty of the Heads of Government of the interested Governments to consider the possibilities of developing co-operation in various sectors, including security in the Balkans.

The Government of Greece is particularly concerned over the prevailing lack of security worldwide and regionally and considers that a new common effort towards Balkan co-operation could not only yield good results for the peoples of the region, but have a positive impact elsewhere.

Mindful of the fact that the States of that region have different political and economic systems, the Government of Greece is firmly committed to the principle that international problems should be approached with a spirit of understanding reflecting the deeply felt will of all peoples of the world to live in peace. In the same spirit, the Government of Greece considers that co-ordination in the adoption of certain common measures for the countries of the Balkan could help promote both their national interests and a climate favourable to the strengthening of peace and security in the Balkans.

I consider it my duty here to emphasize that this proposal is in no way intended to hamper the bilateral Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START), the parleys on intermediate-range weapons underway in Geneva, or the Vienna negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions. In that connection, I wish to recall that the Government of Greece has repeatedly expressed its conviction that those negotiations should lead to an agreement among the parties concerned.

As a result of the efforts made to resolve this issue, the interested Governments agreed to a meeting of qualified experts in January 1984 in order, in the initial phase, to consider the possibilities for closer regional co-operation.

We hope that that meeting will be fully successful and that it will lead to attainment of the final objective: the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Balkans.

We remain convinced that such undertakings are an important step in the field of disarmament.

Mr. ERDENECHULUUN (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): Today's statement of the Mongolian delegation is devoted to the question of preventing an arms race in space, and, in this regard, to the new initiative of the Soviet Union

(Mr. Erdenechuluun, Mongolia)

for the conclusion of a treaty on the prevention of the use of force in outer space and from space against earth. The problem of preventing an arms race in space has now become more urgent than ever. The statements of many delegations here in the Committee have expressed growing alarm in the face of the danger of transferring the arms race to outer space.

The urgent need has been noted for creating a reliable barrier against the actions of those who would attempt to convert outer space into an arena of military confrontation. Indeed, most recent events demonstrate that leading circles in the ruling circles of the United States are laying ever greater stress on the creation of military space technology, new sophisticated forms of arms systems, which, according to their plans, could help them to achieve military supremacy over the other side. What we are dealing with here is anti-satellite systems, arms based on new physical principles, primarily laser and beam weapons, in addition to traditional forms of weaponry.

The United States Air Force has created a special Space Command. Now there is talk about organizing a Joint Space Command which would embrace the space weaponry of all branches of the armed forces. In March of this year, the United States announced the beginning of a large-scale, highly effective earth- and space-based anti-missile defence system. This constitutes a dangerous step which opens up an entirely new area for the deadly arms race. This step, inter alia, is camouflaged by arguments about the need for strengthening the strategic defence of the United States.

This space system is designed, allegedly, to ensure the survival of the United States, but it is not difficult to see, behind these specious arguments, the same old attempts to promote the notion of the permissibility and acceptability of nuclear war. In actual fact, the concepts of survival and space defence are predicated on the delivery of a pre-emptive first strike. We must stress that all these actions can only threaten existing international agreements and treaties protecting space from being converted into an arena of the arms race in some of the most important areas. For example, in accordance with the Treaty prohibiting nuclear-weapon-testing in the three environments, outer space was excluded from test explosions of nuclear weapons or any other nuclear explosions. The Treaty on Principles

(Mr. Erdenechuluun, Mongolia)

Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies (General Assembly resolution 2222 (XXI)) establishes an international legal obligation not to place in earth orbit any objects bearing nuclear weapons or any other weapons of mass destruction.

An important measure for the limitation of the military use of outer space was the concluding in 1977 of the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques. Provisions to reduce considerably the possibility that outer space will be used for military purposes are contained also in the bilateral Soviet-American agreements concluded in the 1970s. The Treaty of 1972 on the limitation of anti-satellite defence systems, supplemented by the 1974 protocol, obliges the parties to refrain from producing, testing or deploying in outer space any systems or components of anti-missile defence. The temporary agreement of 1972 with regard to certain measures in the field of the limitation of strategic offensive weapons established definite limits to the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Progress towards the prevention of an arms race in outer space would have been even greater if the United States had ratified the SALT II Treaty, signed in Vienna on 18 June 1979, which provides for not only quantitative but also qualitative limitations on the weapons in question. It contains provisions to limit the possibility of producing means of stationing nuclear weapons in earth orbit or partial earth orbit.

All the aforementioned international legal documents, however, do not exclude the possibility of the stationing in outer space of types of weapons which do not fall within the definition of weapons of mass destruction. In view of this, the United Nations General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session put forward a proposal for the conclusion of an international treaty prohibiting the stationing of weapons of any type in outer space. It provided for the assumption of the obligation not to place in earth orbit any object carrying nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction, install such weapons on celestial bodies or station such weapons in outer space in any other manner, which would include placing them on reusable manned spacecraft of existing types or of any other type that may be produced in the future.

(Mr. Erdenechuluun, Mongolia)

In resolutions 36/99 and 37/83, the General Assembly requested the Committee on Disarmament to work out an international agreement on this subject. To our profound regret, because of the essentially negative attitude of one side, that is, the United States, specific negotiations on this matter have not yet begun. In order to promote progress in this matter, the Mongolian delegation submitted to the Committee on Disarmament on 9 August 1983 a working paper containing our points of view on specific aspects of the matter, including the question of the mandate of the special working group.

This year the Soviet Union has put forward some new and very important initiatives which could do a great deal to promote negotiations for the prevention of the militarization of outer space.

First, it has expressed readiness to resolve the question of anti-satellite weapons in a radical manner, that is to say, to come to an agreement on the elimination of existing anti-satellite systems and the prevention of the manufacture of new ones.

Secondly, the Soviet Union has assumed the obligation not to be the first to place in outer space any types of anti-satellite weapons. That is to say, it established a unilateral moratorium on such launchings for as long as other States refrain from stationing any type of anti-satellite weapons in outer space.

Thirdly, the General Assembly at this session has before it a proposal for the concluding of a treaty on the prohibition of the use of force in outer space and from space against the earth. A draft treaty on this subject has been submitted for consideration. This new initiative on the part of the Soviet Union, in our view, goes much further than earlier proposals. It raises the question of banning altogether the use of force in outer space and from space against the earth. The concluding of such a treaty would be an important measure of a political and legal nature which would give substance to the principle of the non-use of force as applicable to outer space. The draft treaty provides for prohibiting not only the deployment of any space-based weapons but also the testing of any such weapons. Furthermore, it would prohibit the creation or testing of new anti-satellite systems and also the use for military, including anti-satellite, purposes of manned spacecraft. The proposal has been made to eliminate existing systems of

(Mr. Erdenechuluun, Mongolia)

anti-satellite weapons. In more specific terms, the question of monitoring compliance with the treaty is raised. Along with the use of existing technical means of control, provision is made for appropriate international procedures within the framework of the United Nations, including use of the services of the Consultative Committee of States Parties to the Treaty.

In a word, the new proposals and the unilateral actions undertaken by the Soviet Union testify to its sincere desire to achieve mutually acceptable understandings and agreements. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic welcomes them and wishes to express its wholehearted support for them. Of course, we expect a parallel approach from the other side. The Mongolian delegation expresses the hope that the General Assembly at this session will place itself on record in a clear manner as being in favour of the earliest possible practical solution of this important problem.

Mr. BRONNIKOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): The Byelorussian delegation intends to devote its statement today to the question of the World Disarmament Campaign, the strong expression of world public opinion against the threat of nuclear war and in favour of the strengthening of peace. The world-wide anti-missile and anti-nuclear movement has now become an important factor in favour of peace. The ever-growing awareness of the increasing threat of thermonuclear catastrophe has lent this movement a massive dimension unprecedented in history.

Public opinion throughout the world is today increasingly aware that no honourable man can possibly stand aside from the struggle for the fate of our planet. In Europe and other continents the struggle of millions of people against the nuclear arms race is being stepped up with each passing day. All sensible people are particularly alarmed by the actions of the United States Administration and the Governments of certain other North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries, which, in defiance of the clearly expressed will of their peoples, are accelerating preparations for the deployment in Western Europe of United States medium-range nuclear missiles.

(Mr. Bronnikov, Byelorussian SSR)

The new Soviet proposals at this session of the General Assembly on negotiations to limit nuclear armaments in Europe have again demonstrated that the Soviet Union is doing everything in its power to prevent one more twist - this time an extremely dangerous twist - in the spiral of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race. The constructive nature and flexibility of the new Soviet initiatives are, as is shown by the responses in various countries, entirely in keeping with the interests and demands of the members of the fast-growing anti-war movements, and are increasing their determination to prevent the implementation of the adventuristic designs of the United States and NATO.

We are reminded of this by the universal wave of anti-war demonstrations held in the recent Disarmament Week, in response to the appeal of the United Nations General Assembly and the World Peace Council. These actions by people of good will belonging to anti-war movements of various political colours demonstrated a desire to act in solidarity, jointly, as was unanimously called for at the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, held this year in Prague. This movement is making itself increasingly felt. An active part in this important international forum was taken by representatives of the anti-war movement from many countries of the East and West.

Disarmament Week was marked by a powerful new upsurge of anti-war activity backed by public opinion. Mass demonstrations were held in many States of West and East Europe, in the United States and in other countries.

In Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia, about 70,000 people took part in one demonstration alone, held on 29 October this year. Mass rallies were held in other towns in Byelorussia. As has happened before, the mass media gave wide publicity to these demonstrations.

The anti-war and anti-missile movement has now assumed a genuinely mass character. In the first half of this year alone various anti-war movements held such actions as marches, rallies, demonstrations, meetings and peace watches and vigils, with more than 5 million people - more than half the population of Byelorussia - taking part. The participants were acting in support of the movement of public opinion in Western countries, which are increasing their activities in the struggle to prevent the deployment in Europe of new medium-range missiles so as

(Mr. Bronnikov, Byelorussian SSR)

to eliminate the threat of nuclear war. Many messages have been sent to the United Nations General Assembly.

Certain circles in the West are clearly annoyed that these actions are not aimed at the defence policies of the Governments of the Socialist countries, but there are perfectly legitimate reasons. If the United States Administration and the Governments of other NATO countries did as the Soviet Government has done and consistently and honestly promoted the elimination of the danger of nuclear war; if they promoted the freezing and reducing of nuclear and other weapons, the immediate, total and comprehensive banning of nuclear weapons tests and the peaceful use of outer space; if they joined the Soviet Union in assuming the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons; and if they adopted a just, realistic stand on limiting nuclear arms in Europe and on other matters affecting the limitation and ending of the nuclear arms race, then the anti-war actions of their peoples would also be of a different character.

People actively participating in the struggle against nuclear folly have no reason to reproach a Government which is acting in accordance with the will of its people, and such a Government has no reason to fear any mass anti-missile, anti-war movement. Unfortunately, the situation is quite different in the West, where doctrines of the permissibility of nuclear war are adopted, the right to strike the first nuclear blow is championed, and dangerous plans for the build-up of armaments are being put into effect. Then, the rising tide of anti-war public opinion naturally arouses alarm in the minds of the ruling elite, generals of the United States and NATO, and a campaign begins to be organized against partisans for peace. The truth behind all the talk about respect for the opinion of the average voter is clearly shown by the attitude to the movements in favour of peace and against the nuclear arms race. In March this year the Secretary-General of NATO, Mr. Luns, said:

"If these movements prevail we shall be approaching chaos and then democracy as we understand it will be under the most serious threat. If you allow the man in the street to take command, you will face disaster."

That is a strange understanding of democracy, especially in view of the results of the many surveys of public opinion which have been carried out.

(Mr. Bronnikov, Byelorussian SSR)

It seems that NATO would regard as a disaster the limitation and reduction of nuclear armaments for which public opinion is calling. In order to avoid that "disaster" the ruling circles of Western countries are beginning to provide generous financing for a campaign of their own - against disarmament - and of course they are making no contributions to the fund for the World Disarmament Campaign. They stop at nothing in that cause, deceiving public opinion, attempting to discredit the anti-war movement and repressing all those who take part in it. The campaign is developed in many different areas. They are trying to accustom people to the notion of the acceptability of nuclear war and the possibility of limiting it. They are trying to deceive people into believing that nuclear war is not all that awful, that it is not a catastrophe. They even go so far that in school textbooks prepared by the United States Administration on what happens during an emergency we find the following passage on the consequences of atomic radiation:

"The result is somewhat similar to sunlight. Long exposure in the course of a single day could be harmful, while the same radiation staggered over a period of several weeks can give you a nice tan."

That quotation speaks for itself.

Another area is an unbridled slander campaign against the anti-war movement. It has been claimed at the very highest level that these movements are "acting at Moscow's bidding". Of course, we do not mind having any actions in favour of peace linked with the policy of the Soviet Union, but the hand of Moscow has no place in this story. People everywhere are spontaneously expressing in their anti-war actions the aspiration to defend their right to life. Accusations that participants in the anti-war movement are paid agents of foreign Powers have been roundly defeated.

These attempts have aroused particular indignation and protest, since even in the United States the majority of the population opposes nuclear armament and favours a nuclear freeze and the reduction of existing atomic arsenals. This group includes eminent senators, congressmen, businessmen and leaders of religious organisations who are in no way connected with arms production. A major role in this campaign being waged in the West against the popular anti-war movement has

(Mr. Bronnikov, Byelorussian SSR)

been played by the leaders of countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in their stubborn attempts to split the movement and to patch together a similar organization that would support the United States and NATO. There have also been attempts to split up the new Western European and American anti-war movements and separate them from old, directing them against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, while charging the socialist community with responsibility for the arms race. Needless to say, the anti-war militants are not being taken in by the ludicrous allegations of a Soviet threat hanging over the world.

Mention must also be made of the widespread acts of police terror, intimidation and cruel repression against peace partisans in the West. The glaring evidence of police brutality against participants in anti-nuclear demonstrations in the United States and other NATO countries is well-known. We shall refrain from citing examples, which would only take up too much of the Committee's time.

Those participating in anti-war actions are being arrested and injured; draconian laws are being applied against them. According to a report in The Nuclear Times, an American magazine:

"In recent months, the courts have taken a more brutal and severe attitude towards peace demonstrators. Federal authorities have also stated that they will be asking for longer terms of imprisonment."

The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR attaches great importance to the World Disarmament Campaign. We therefore oppose any attempt to distort its purport, to emasculate its content and to replace a serious discussion on the question by gross attacks on States whose peoples are actively participating in the Campaign and whose Government heed their opinion. Such was yesterday's statement by the United States representative - a statement that can hardly be described as favouring the World Disarmament Campaign. In addition, the representative of the United States overlooked one fundamental difference in the attitudes of the governments of different countries to the expression of the will of their peoples. In our country the people genuinely expresses its opinion by actively taking part in a great variety of actions in support of peace and nuclear disarmament. Unlike the situation in the United States, our Government not only heeds the people but

(Mr. Bronnikov, Byelorussian SSR)

actually gives effect to its will. Our people is convinced that its interests will always be protected in every way, and this will continue to be the case.

Let no one nurture the hope that odd individuals, quite often with a criminal record - renegades subsidized from abroad, who have nothing whatsoever in common with the people or with fighters for peace and disarmament - will determine our position.

I should like to remind the representative of the United States that United Nations decisions with regard to accurate and objective information - decisions based on proposals by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics - have not been observed by the United States, especially in recent days. The whole world has witnessed a further example of the manipulation of the mass media in the United States and the heaping of falsehoods at the very highest American governmental levels in connection with the aggression against Grenada. The wave of anti-war feeling which has engulfed both East and West is a kind of popular referendum. In the question of war and peace, adherents of this movement do not waver: they stand firmly in favour of peace and against preparations for war, particularly nuclear war, as well as against the continuation of the insane arms race. The World Disarmament Campaign being waged by the United Nations should promote the attainment of this vital goal.

Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria): In this statement I should like to concentrate on the questions of the World Disarmament Campaign and the mobilization of world public opinion in support of peace and disarmament.

Today we can say that it was most relevant and expedient for the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament to recognize the important role world public opinion has to play in favour of peace and disarmament. Today we witness how the unprecedented and large-scale movement of the broadest circles of the international community, which speak out for peace and against the threat of nuclear war, is growing virtually from day to day.

This is a movement composed of millions of people from all walks of life, of various affiliations and of different religious, political and other persuasions, but who, nevertheless, are united in their striving to avert a nuclear catastrophe. Their will has now become an undisputed factor in international life, one that must not, and cannot, be disregarded.

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

This factor has overriding importance today, when the efforts to limit and reduce armaments are in actual fact stalled, when the arms race and military confrontation are reaching their limits and when new actions, pushing mankind to the nuclear precipice are now being undertaken.

As Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, said at the recent International Trade Union Meeting and Dialogue on the subject of peace and the trade unions:

"Peace can be saved. What is required is to have the collective efforts and goodwill of all peoples and nations of all parties, organizations and movements, of all men. ... It is the imperative of life to rise above all differences and prejudices, to realize that we have common interests and responsibility, that, above all, there is the need for unification and unity of action in the name of peace and its salvation."

In its efforts to be heeded, world public opinion on behalf of peace and disarmament has sought and found adequate expression in a great number of actions. Throughout the world there have been thousands of meetings, conferences, demonstrations and peace marches, signature-collection campaigns, as well as statements by eminent political and public figures. Of particular importance were the mass demonstrations to commemorate the thirty-eighth anniversary of the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and their victims - demonstrations which were held all over the world under such slogans as "The Tragedy of Hiroshima Must Not Be Repeated" and "No to the Nuclear Arms Race".

These actions on the part of the international community clearly demonstrate its profound concern with the ongoing stockpiling of nuclear and other weapons of mass-destruction and with the plans to deploy new United States nuclear missiles in Western Europe and to devise adventurist doctrines for waging nuclear wars.

A broad-based popular movement for peace and disarmament with the direct participation of a number of non-governmental organizations has also swept across my country, Bulgaria. In conformity with the appeal of the World Congress of Women held in Prague in 1981, the Committee of Bulgarian Women launched one of the largest campaigns to collect signatures in favour of peace. The Secretary-General

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

of our Organization was notified of the results of that action, in the course of which over 20,000 public meetings were held and 2,350,000 signatures collected.

On the initiative of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences a meeting of scientists from Romania, Greece and Bulgaria was held in Sofia earlier this year to discuss the idea of turning the Balkans into a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

The International Trade Union Meeting and Dialogue, "Peace and the Trade Unions," which took place in Sofia from 25 to 27 October of this year with the participation of representatives of over 100 national trade-union organizations from all continents, as well as of 13 international organizations, issued an appeal to the working-class people throughout the world. A meeting devoted to Disarmament Week and to the conclusion of the International Trade Union Meeting and Dialogue was attended by thousands of working people from Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria.

In Bulgaria public opinion is unanimous in sharing the objectives of the World Disarmament Campaign and supports its goals. The popular mass movement against the nuclear danger has acquired world-wide proportions, gaining in momentum and closing in its ranks. This is because an ever-greater number of people are coming to realize that nuclear war endangers all countries and peoples and that the problem of preventing the nuclear catastrophe is of truly universal significance.

This year, which is a very eventful one, has reaffirmed this tendency and has demonstrated the common goals and endeavours of the international community. The problems of peace which were the subject of the Pugwash Conference, the International Conference on the Prohibition of Nuclear and Thermonuclear Arms held Nagasaki, the international conference on proposals for averting the threat of war in Europe, the Vienna meeting of the International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament - the so-called Dublin Committee - and the Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches, held in Vancouver, in addition to many others, have been of vital interest to all of mankind.

Of particular importance also is the world movement of physicians for preventing nuclear war. Bulgarian physicians have been active participants in that movement. Initiated two years ago as a series of meetings between Soviet and United States physicians, the movement grew and now has hundreds of thousands of followers. Its goal was and remains today to study in an impartial and unbiased

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

manner the possible medical consequences of a nuclear war, to publicize the conclusions reached and to propose ways of curbing the nuclear threat. The movement's first Congress in 1981 was attended by physicians from 11 countries; the third Congress, convened in Amsterdam earlier this year with the motto "Nuclear illusions - the price for humanity to pay," was attended by physicians from 43 countries.

The world assembly "For Peace and Life, against the Nuclear War" was held in Prague last July. The assembly became a most eloquent and impressive demonstration of the increased strength of the peace-loving forces the world over. Despite the differences in political and national interests, in perceptions, in religious affiliation, in culture and ways of life, the participants in this forum were unanimous with regard to the cardinal and crucial issue of the present day, namely, the issue of safeguarding peace and preserving life on our planet.

The mass demonstrations of the anti-war movement and the slogans under which they are organized provided and will continue to provide an unequivocal answer to the question of what causes alarm among the broadest social strata and what exactly it is they are demanding from Governments. It is no surprise that the appeals of those varied layers of society, no matter how different ideologically and politically they may be, are along the same lines as the policies, proposals and initiatives of the socialist, the non-aligned and other countries designed to preserve peace, to halt the arms race and to thwart nuclear war. This is the reason why in certain Western countries the peace movement has been subjected to growing pressures by those forces that regard the movement as an enemy of their militaristic policies. One of the priorities of those forces is to use every possible means to confuse public opinion, and, of course, those same forces are pursuing a steady policy of misinformation and falsification of the policies of the socialist countries and of other non-aligned States by trying to present a distorted picture to the international community. This is in glaring contradiction to the fundamental principles of the World Disarmament Campaign as well as the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

It must not be forgotten that when we mention such forces we must also recall their unwillingness and even their opposition to participation in the World Disarmament Campaign as unanimously requested by the General Assembly. The fact that large-scale anti-war demonstrations have been held in a certain Western State is no proof of the participation of its Administration in the World Disarmament Campaign. On the contrary, it bears witness to the growing concern of the people with the bellicose policies and practices of that State's official authorities. There is no doubt that the voices of those millions of people demanding an end to the warlike policies of their Government must be heeded and shall be heeded.

Very typical too have been the assertions made of late that there is some flexibility in the position of those forces and that there has been some progress in the disarmament talks, which in actual fact show no progress.

The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament unanimously called for the launching of the World Disarmament Campaign under the auspices of the United Nations. We are gratified to note that as a result of the organizational arrangements made the Campaign is gaining momentum through a variety of ways and means. The practical implementation of the programme of activities has been duly reflected in the report of the Secretary-General contained in document A/38/349. We highly value the efforts of the officials of the Department for Disarmament Affairs, the Department for Public Information and a number of specialized agencies and other organs of the United Nations for the positive results accomplished.

I should also like at this point to pay a tribute to the activities of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in the field of education relating to disarmament issues and to the Department for Public Information for the exhibition entitled "Nuclear weapons: a danger to our world". Similarly, I like to commend the report on the consequences of nuclear war and the health services that was prepared under the auspices of the World Health Organization, the work done by the Department for Disarmament Affairs in establishing permanent contacts with many non-governmental organizations participating in the Campaign and other similar promotional activities. The more active participation of many specialized organizations within the United Nations

(Mr. Garvalov, Bulgaria)

system in the World Disarmament Campaign would contribute to enhancing its scope and the effectiveness of its activities.

The Bulgarian delegation is also mindful of the fact that, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 37/100 H adopted last year, which included the proposal for the launching of world-wide action for collecting signatures in support of measures to prevent nuclear war, to curb the arms race and for disarmament, the report of the Secretary-General notes that disarmament petitions have been submitted and reported by the information media. We remain convinced that the signature-collecting campaigns on behalf of peace and disarmament will continue to be an important instrument within the framework of the World Disarmament Campaign to express the opinions and the will of the international community.

In our view, the efforts for achieving the goals of the Campaign on the basis of its founding principles can be even more effective if greater attention is paid to those undertakings which are conducive to focusing public interest on the priorities of peace and disarmament and to encouraging the initiatives of the movement for peace and disarmament.

We are also of the opinion that it would be useful for the annual report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the World Disarmament Campaign not only to reflect the activities undertaken within the framework of the United Nations, but also to contain information on the more important public actions and events resulting from the mobilizing effect of the Campaign. In this way Member States will have a clear idea of the support of world public opinion for the objective of disarmament generated by the Campaign and also of the extent of this support.

The recently held United Nations Pledging Conference for contributions from Member States for the World Disarmament Campaign showed that the support for the attainment of its objectives is constantly growing.

In conclusion, I should like to reiterate the determination of the Bulgarian delegation to contribute to the furtherance of the World Disarmament Campaign with a view to achieving its goals.

Mr. TARI (Israel): Mr. Chairman, as this is the first substantive statement of my delegation, I should like to take this opportunity to express again my deep appreciation for your outstanding direction of this Committee's deliberations. I would also like to join previous delegations in offering our best wishes to the other officers of the Committee.

We all deeply regret the limited success - thus far - of the multiple efforts made in the direction of disarmament since the General Assembly's second special session devoted to disarmament. That special session, held during the summer of last year, was an interesting, but, at the same time, unsatisfactory experience. The international situation compels us to increase our endeavours in order to achieve, without delay, substantial progress in the vital field of disarmament. This Committee has been entrusted with a major responsibility. We have no right to fail. Even knowing the unavoidable limitations of a body such as this Committee in altering the course of events, we should be able to do more than quibble over the wording of paragraphs in repetitive draft resolutions. We should be able to promote the concrete confidence-building measures which this Committee is aiming for.

As in the past, our general debate on disarmament in the First Committee of the General Assembly has covered a wide range of subjects during the last weeks and has once again expressed mankind's awareness of its tragic inability to call a halt to its drive towards possible self-destruction. We have no doubts about the necessity to continue grappling with disarmament problems in the widest perspective and on the global level.

Still, my delegation is of the view that when global solutions are out of reach or even far away, a regional approach could be beneficial. This latter approach could be a way not only to solving regional problems, but also to contributing in concrete, though limited, terms to the solution of global problems.

The regional perspective is of concrete value for the following reasons expressed, inter alia, in the Secretary-General's report (A/35/416) entitled, "Study on all the aspect of regional disarmament" of 8 October 1980:

For the majority of States, the issues of security, military preparedness and disarmament are connected primarily with conditions in their own regions; regional

(Mr. Tari, Israel)

conflicts contribute to international tension and become a source for security concern of extra-regional States; regional disarmament can contribute to the promotion of stability, mutual confidence and co-operation within the region and hence facilitate negotiations on some of the areas identified for universal action; regional disarmament, finally, has been recognized as an effective complement to global measures and an important constituent in the step-by-step approach to global disarmament.

I would also add the two following points:

First, it can be soundly assumed that a smaller group of States, which share certain regional interests, might find it easier to arrive at a common agreement than would all the Members of the United Nations simultaneously;

Secondly, Israel believes that regional disarmament could make a vital contribution to advancing the objective of a world disarmament conference.

Being situated in an area characterized by tensions and a frantic arms race, which bears special relevance to international peace and security, Israel has advanced views for regional measures based on important principles and guidelines specifically applicable to the regional approach to disarmament. Israel regards it as imperative that the initiative for regional disarmament and the consultations necessary for reaching this goal originate with the States of the region and that they conduct negotiations with each other.

Israel's insistence on direct negotiations is not to be regarded as merely a matter of procedure. The issue is primarily one of principle and substance. A refusal to negotiate with a State is inherently identical with a refusal to live in peace with it. Conversely, a readiness to conduct negotiations would in itself constitute a valuable step in the direction of building much-needed confidence among the States of the region. It would immediately reduce fears and tensions, thereby creating a more propitious climate for the settlement of political disputes. Israel is of the view that no service is done to international causes by seeking ineffectual substitutes for direct and reciprocal national commitments.

In his letter of 3 June 1981 to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations proposed the establishment of:

(Mr. Tari, Israel)

"... regional disarmament commissions, composed of all Member States in the region, the task of which would be to review ideas and proposals for intergovernmental regional agreements on arms reduction and control. These commissions should address themselves, inter alia, to finding appropriate solutions to two specific problems related to a comprehensive programme for disarmament." (A/36/343, p. 23, para. 5)

Israel reiterated in 1982 its readiness to negotiate freely and directly with the States of the region for the purpose of concluding institutional arrangements relating to the process of disarmament.

As to the question of non-proliferation, Israel has concluded that the most credible barrier to the proliferation of nuclear weapons in our region would be to make the Middle East a nuclear-weapon-free zone. To do so, the Government of Israel has proposed to follow the lines of the Latin American model which led to the conclusion of the Treaty of Tlatelolco.

The initiative for the establishment of such a zone should originate from the States in the region, and the preliminary consultations necessary for achieving this aim must be carried out directly between them. Israel is fully aware of the many political differences between the States of the Middle East. However, none of these differences should be permitted to obstruct the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone. Direct negotiations between the States of the region should be conducted in good faith and addressed to the issues pertinent to the establishment of such a zone. Free and direct negotiations between all Middle Eastern States provide the best hope for real progress towards the conclusion of conventions which would establish a system of mutually binding obligations on all States of the region, and would ensure each State of the compliance of others as well.

Over the years Israel has given effective expression to its views by supporting resolutions aimed at preventing nuclear proliferation, by introducing its own draft resolution A/C.1/35/L.8 of 31 October 1980, on the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East along the above-mentioned lines and by joining the consensus in favour of resolutions 35/147 and 37/75. Israel has repeatedly expressed its readiness to begin, at any time and without preconditions, negotiations between the States of our region. If this challenge is successfully met, an historic contribution will have been made towards advancing the cause of peace in our sorely-tried region and in the world.

Mr. LUNDBO (Norway): I take pleasure in introducing document A/C.1/38/L.8/Rev.1, which is a draft resolution on the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research in Geneva. This draft resolution is sponsored by a total of 33 countries from all regional groups. The draft resolution is based on part IV of resolution 37/99 K, which Norway had the honour to introduce and through which the General Assembly decided to make the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) an autonomous institution. In resolution 37/99 K the General Assembly requested the Institute's Board of Trustees to draft the statute of UNIDIR, to be submitted to this session of the General Assembly.

The main objective of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.8/Rev.1 is to approve the draft statute of UNIDIR, which was adopted by the Advisory Board on Disarmament Studies acting as the Institute's Board of Trustees during its session held in New York from 6 to 13 September 1983. The draft statute is included as annex IV to the report of the Secretary-General contained in document A/38/467. It follows from this document that there was general agreement among the members of the Board of Trustees that the statute should be in line with United Nations requirements and be worded to avoid administrative complications. The draft statute reflects this approach.

The draft statute specifies that UNIDIR is an autonomous institution within the framework of the United Nations, working in close relationship with the Department for Disarmament Affairs and established by the General Assembly for the purpose of undertaking independent research on disarmament and related problems, particularly international security issues. According to the draft statute, the Institute would work on the basis of the provisions of the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly. Its activities would be funded by voluntary contributions from States, public and private organizations, and such other sources as may be decided by the General Assembly.

The approval of the draft statute of UNIDIR, through the adoption of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.8/Rev.1, will ensure the full establishment of the Institute as an autonomous body.

The draft resolution takes note of the report of the Director of the Institute, which the Director, in resolution 37/99 K, was invited to submit to this session of the General Assembly. The report, which is contained in document A/38/475, reflects the broad range of activities of UNIDIR. It describes, for

(Mr. Lundbo, Norway)

example, the work which the Institute so far has undertaken in connection with the investigation of the modalities of an international disarmament fund for development in pursuance of resolution 37/84. The draft resolution invites the Director of UNIDIR to report annually to the General Assembly on the activities carried out by the Institute.

The draft resolution also invites the Secretary-General to continue to give the Institute administrative and other support. A similar invitation was included in resolution 37/99 K.

In addition, the invitations to Governments to consider making contributions to the Institute are renewed. To comply with that invitation, the Government of Norway has contributed \$US45,000 to UNIDIR. Norway for its part will endeavour to continue to make financial contributions to UNIDIR.

The draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.8/Rev.1 is a follow-up to resolution 37/99 K, which was adopted without a vote. The draft resolution concerns primarily the draft statute of UNIDIR, which has been adopted by consensus by the Institute's Board of Trustees.

Finally, I should like to stress that the draft resolution has no financial implications. With this background, I express the hope that it can be adopted by consensus.

Mr. KRUTZSCH (German Democratic Republic): My delegation has asked to speak today in order to introduce two draft resolutions. I have the honour to introduce first, on behalf of the delegations of the German Democratic Republic and Cuba, a draft resolution entitled "Non-use of nuclear weapons and prevention of nuclear war" contained in document A/C.1/38/L.10.

The call for immediate measures to prevent nuclear war is the dominant topic at this session of the General Assembly. An important practical step towards lessening the danger of nuclear war would be the commitment by all nuclear-weapon States not be the first to use nuclear weapons. The solemn pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, made by the USSR at the United Nations second special session devoted to disarmament, is rightly considered as an event of far-reaching significance.

The People's Republic of China also made such a pledge and has reiterated it at this session of the General Assembly. If the other three nuclear-weapon States undertook analogous commitments, this would be tantamount to prohibition of the use

(Mr. Krutzsch, German  
Democratic Republic)

of nuclear weapons. In this way, an effective barrier would be established to the use of nuclear weapons. At the same time, this would help achieve the goal of concluding a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

The commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons is the appropriate action in view of the particular dangers that a nuclear war would entail for the human race. Confidence between States would be strengthened and the chances of negotiations on the gradual elimination of nuclear weapons decisively improved.

The operative part of the draft resolution underlines the importance which the declarations made by two nuclear-weapon States concerning their respective obligations not to be the first to use nuclear weapons have for decreasing the danger of nuclear war. It further expresses the hope that the other nuclear-weapon States which have not yet done so will make similar declarations.

My delegation holds the view that a resolution expressing these considerations corresponds with the legitimate hope of the peoples for immediate measures to decrease the danger of nuclear war and will meet with broad support.

Secondly, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic has the honour to introduce, on behalf also of the delegations of Afghanistan, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Viet Nam, the draft resolution entitled "Prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons", in document A/C.1/38/L.11. Besides the prevention of nuclear war and nuclear disarmament, particular importance has to be attached to the prohibition of chemical weapons. This demand has been strongly emphasized by a great number of representatives. In order to prepare a relevant draft convention, it is still necessary for intensive negotiations to be conducted. There are increasing signs, however, that a new round of the arms race in the chemical field is being initiated by the intention to produce new types of chemical weapons, above all binary weapons. At the same time, the danger of proliferation of these weapons, through their deployment in other countries, is rising.

In the light of this situation, it is imperative to give fresh impetus to the negotiations being held in the Geneva Committee on Disarmament and to overcome the obstacles which hamper the successful elaboration of the convention. To reach agreement on a freeze on chemical weapons until the conclusion of the negotiations would be best for achieving that objective.

(Mr. Krutzsch, German  
Democratic Republic)

The draft resolution submitted takes this into account. It is based on General Assembly resolution 37/98 A of 1982. The preambular part makes reference - proceeding from the results of the United Nations first special session devoted to disarmament - to the necessity of the earliest possible conclusion of a convention on chemical weapons. The existing concern about the intended production of binary weapons and their planned deployment is expressed in the fifth preambular paragraph. The preambular part, furthermore, refers to proposals made concerning the establishment of chemical-weapon-free zones, which could facilitate the conclusion of a comprehensive prohibition of chemical weapons.

Proceeding from the urgent necessity of a prohibition of all chemical weapons, operative paragraph 3 calls upon the Geneva Committee on Disarmament to intensify the negotiations in the Ad Hoc Working Group, in exercising its present mandate, to achieve an agreement on a chemical weapons convention at the earliest possible date. This convention should be elaborated immediately so that it can be submitted to the thirty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Operative paragraph 4 calls for a freeze on the production and introduction of chemical weapons for the period until the convention is concluded.

Operative paragraph 5 urges all States to refrain from any action which might impede the negotiations. What matters most is to renounce the production and deployment of binary weapons or other types of new chemical weapons, as well as the stationing of chemical weapons on the territory of other States.

My delegation holds the view that the present draft resolution corresponds with the efforts undertaken by States to come to the earliest possible agreement on the prohibition of chemical weapons. We express the hope that the draft resolution will therefore find broad support.

The meeting rose at 12.10 p.m.