



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THIRTY-FIRST MEETING

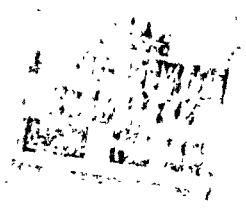
Chairman: Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway)

CONTENTS

GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS

Statements were made by:

Mr. Rose (German Democratic Republic)  
Mr. Ekeus (Sweden)  
Mr. Cisse (Mali)  
Mr. Nashashibi (Jordan)  
Mr. Butler (Jordan)  
Mr. Martynov (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic)  
Mr. Fonseka (Sri Lanka)  
Mr. Al-Musfir (United Arab Emirates)  
Mr. A. M. Adan (Somalia)  
Mr. Carasales (Argentina)



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The meeting was called to order at 3.05 p.m.

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

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. ROSE (German Democratic Republic): The delegation of the German Democratic Republic has the honour to introduce - on behalf also of the delegations of Afghanistan, Angola, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, Hungary, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Mozambique, Poland, Romania, Sao Tome and Principe, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Viet Nam and Zimbabwe - a draft resolution entitled "Prohibition of the nuclear neutron weapon", contained in document A/C.1/38/L.12.

In its resolutions 36/92 K of 1981 and 37/78 E of 1982, the General Assembly has already pointed to the threat which the nuclear neutron weapon constitutes to mankind, and has demanded its prohibition. Yet so far concrete results have failed to materialize. A further postponement of the prohibition of the nuclear neutron weapon may have serious consequences. Nuclear neutron warheads are already being produced. Their deployment and their possible use are being prepared, not only in Europe but also in other regions.

The dangers resulting from qualitatively new nuclear weapons become particularly manifest in view of the development and production of the nuclear neutron weapon, the specific characteristics of which increase the probability of its use in a military conflict. But the nuclear neutron weapon is just a beginning. It will be followed by a whole generation of new nuclear weapons provided with specific characteristics and adapted to their particular purposes. This will entail new stages of the escalating arms race.

In the Final Document of its first special session devoted to disarmament the General Assembly established measures against the qualitative nuclear arms race in the context of tasks concerning nuclear disarmament. This was a very important decision which took into consideration the experience acquired during the course of previous decades.

(Mr. Rose, German Democratic Republic)

The present draft resolution has taken this into account. Its operative part calls for immediate negotiations on the prohibition of the nuclear neutron weapon. I should like to call particular attention to the fact that in this respect express emphasis is placed on the organic interrelationship between negotiations on the prohibition of the nuclear neutron weapon and the entire process of nuclear disarmament. Paragraph 50 (a) of the Final Document makes the cessation of the qualitative improvement and development of nuclear-weapon systems the starting-point of this process. The prohibition of the nuclear neutron weapon would be one measure towards this end.

This would further correspond with the decision made by the Chairman of the Committee on Disarmament, who has assigned negotiations on the prohibition of the nuclear neutron weapon to the agenda item on "Cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament".

Consequently, the draft resolution is a suitable basis for fruitful negotiations by the Committee on Disarmament.

We express the hope that it will earn the broad support of the Committee.

On behalf of the delegations of Afghanistan, Angola, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam and Zimbabwe and on its own behalf, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic wishes to introduce a further draft resolution, entitled "Nuclear weapons in all aspects", contained in document A/C.1/38/L.13.

The adoption of nuclear disarmament measures is a matter of highest priority. The Final Document of the first special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament most emphatically pointed out the need to call a halt to the nuclear arms race in order to stem the growing danger of nuclear war. This was reaffirmed by the General Assembly at its second special session devoted to disarmament. Today the danger of nuclear war is greater than at any time since the Second World War. In their statement, Member States have expressed grave concern over this situation.

The intensified arms build-up and concurrent war preparations are being backed up and reinforced by the espousal of doctrines and concepts proclaiming, in

(Mr. Rose, German Democratic Republic)

particular, the feasibility of fighting, limiting and winning a nuclear war. The doctrine of nuclear deterrence jeopardizes world peace and leads to an escalation in the nuclear arms race. Such doctrines are major obstacles to effective negotiations. They are instrumental in the ideological preparation for war and run counter to the demands for measures to counter war propaganda - a matter the General Assembly already addressed in resolution 110 (II), adopted unanimously at its second session in 1947.

The draft resolution I am now introducing is based on resolution 37/78 C, adopted at last year's session of the General Assembly. It is aimed at ruling out forever the possibility of the outbreak of nuclear war by eliminating all nuclear weapons. It reflects the view of the majority of States that the present stagnation must be overcome and that negotiations must get underway at the Geneva Committee on Disarmament. In operative paragraph 1, it calls upon the Committee on Disarmament to proceed to negotiations on the cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament in accordance with paragraph 50 of the Final Document of the first special session on disarmament and to elaborate a nuclear disarmament programme, and to establish a working group with a corresponding mandate. This question has been on the agenda of the Committee on Disarmament for years. Extensive discussions have been held on an informal basis and proposals and initiatives submitted. Now, negotiations are required. No further delay in launching them must be tolerated. The draft resolution proposes to recall this imperative to mind with all requisite insistence, and it is our sincere hope that it will meet with the broad support of this Committee.

Mr. EKEUS (Sweden): I wish to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.15 on the relationship between disarmament and development sponsored by the delegations of the Bahamas, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, Greece, Iceland, Indonesia, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Romania, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Sweden and Yugoslavia.

This draft resolution should be viewed in the context of continued efforts to ensure implementation of the United Nations study on the relationship between disarmament and development, contained in the Secretary-General's report in document A/36/356 and Corr.1.

Some of the recommendations in this report were addressed directly to the United Nations and its various organs. In resolution 37/84, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to take appropriate administrative action in

(Mr. Ekeus, Sweden)

accordance with the recommendations of the report. The Secretary-General was also requested to report to this General Assembly session on measures taken to implement resolution 37/84.

The preambular part of the present draft resolution contains only two paragraphs. The first makes reference to the United Nations study on the relationship between disarmament and development, in which relevant recommendations are contained; and the second recalls resolution 37/84.

Operative paragraph 1 takes note of the report of the Secretary-General in document A/38/436. That report contains a detailed account of the various activities undertaken within the United Nations system pursuant to the recommendations in the United Nations study.

The purpose of operative paragraph 2 is to establish what measures are being pursued to implement the recommendations of the United Nations study on the relationship between disarmament and development intended for both Member States and United Nations organs.

In conclusion, I should like to emphasize the crucial importance of the recommendations of the United Nations Expert Group on the relationship between disarmament and development. The Group stated:

"the world can either continue to pursue the arms race with characteristic vigour or move consciously and with deliberate speed towards a more ... sustainable international [world] order. It cannot do both." (A/36/356, Annex, para. 391)

It is therefore necessary to initiate a process leading up to an effective reallocation of resources from military to civilian purposes.

Mr. CISSE (Mali) (interpretation from French): Mr. Chairman, your country Norway, which is well known on the international scene for its constructive positions, has this year been honoured, through one of its eminent sons, with the task of presiding over the work of the Political Committee. It is a well-deserved privilege, for we are familiar with your dynamism and with the skill with which you are guiding our discussions.

My delegation would also like to express its appreciation to the other officers of the Committee and to the Secretariat staff.

I should like to take this opportunity to express once again to your predecessor, Ambassador James Victor Gbeho of Ghana, my delegation's esteem for the

(Mr. Cisse, Mali)

excellent qualities he displayed in conducting the work of our Committee at the thirty-seventh session.

The debates on the items on the agenda of the Political Committee continue to underscore the extreme gravity of the international situation. Yet a true awareness of the situation, an awareness expressing itself in a clear political will, does not seem to have been completely achieved, either with regard to disarmament or with regard to development - for nothing has occurred to assure us of a peace and a security likely to lead to the development of all peoples, particularly the "have-not" peoples of the third world.

The main reason underlying the current difficulties in the world and, hence, of the certain movement of the international situation towards the ultimate catastrophe is thus linked to the real lack of political will, first and foremost on the part of the great Powers. Indeed, we must recognize that that political will is hesitant, if not non-existent, notwithstanding some fragmentary and individual efforts.

That - according to observation and objective analyses of the arms race and its implications for development - would appear to be the general impression.

Such conclusion has led an overwhelming majority of States to engage in salutary reflection on the most appropriate ways and means for changing the attitude of the great Powers. In this connection the delegation of Mali is convinced that, irrespective of their political, economic and social systems, all peoples share the same aspirations - aspirations to justice and well-being, aspirations to security and development, aspirations to a peaceful existence. The delegation of Mali once again urgently appeals to the great Powers speedily to reallocate their expenditures on weapons, and in particular nuclear weapons, to the development activities of all peoples, and in particular to those of the less-developed peoples. To that end, it believes that everything possible should be done to achieve at the earliest possible date a climate of trust, the reversal of the arms race, the strengthening of the United Nations as the central and best possible negotiating forum and the intensification of international co-operation in the economic, scientific and cultural fields.

The delegation of Mali wishes to express its great satisfaction at the movement towards linking disarmament and development together in a global context.

(Mr. Cisse, Mali)

In addition, it believes that the studies and initiatives undertaken by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, as reflected in his report in document A/38/436 of 11 October 1983, deserve encouragement. We must persevere in working in that direction. The vast amounts of money swallowed up by the senseless arms race must be more effectively devoted to promoting collective security through development.

That would be the concrete expression of the political will for which the vast majority of the international community is waiting and which would certainly alter the course of history. In that context, the creation of an international disarmament fund for development, as mentioned in the Annex to the note by the Secretary-General in document A/38/475, would stand as a symbol of wisdom and reason.

Faithful to the Charter of the United Nations and to the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement and those of all other international and regional organizations of which Mali is a member, our delegation will not cease to proclaim - in the words of the statement by the representative of Mali to the thirty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly - its belief that

"At this time, when the peace is being breached throughout the world, when hunger and poverty are on the rise, when the mad race to acquire the instruments of the apocalypse continues, the need to ensure the collective security of the world takes on a vital urgency" (A/38/PV.33, p. 82)

and that, above all,

"In the field of disarmament as in that of development, the true solutions to international problems must proceed from an overall view of the world, in particular the primacy of our common future." (Ibid., p. 77)

Mr. NASHASHIBI (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of my delegation, I should like to begin by extending to you, Sir, our heartfelt congratulations on your election to the post of Chairman of the First Committee and wishing you and the other members of the Bureau total success in your efforts towards the successful conclusion of our work in order that it may have the desired effect on international peace and security.

We are all aware of the strategic importance of the Middle East. Hence, we are convinced of the need for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in

(Mr. Nashashibi, Jordan)

this region. Here I refer to document A/38/197, dated 1 September 1983, under agenda item 47. The establishment of such a nuclear-weapon-free zone would ensure the peace and security not only of the region but also throughout the world. In this connection I provide the Committee with some details in order to express the logic underlying the need to maintain peace and security in this important region.

In endorsing the trend in international public opinion on bringing about a denuclearized world free from nuclear weapons capable of destroying human civilization, Jordan has signed international treaties and conventions aimed at achieving this goal. It has not been possible to realize the aim of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) without the elimination of causes of tension. Among them, particular mention must be made of the continued Israeli occupation of Arab territories and its acquisition of nuclear facilities threatening the peace and security of the region.

Since Israel is threatening the peace and security of the Middle East, the international community is now duty bound to exert pressure on Israel to ensure its compliance with United Nations resolutions, thereby securing its withdrawal from the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967 and granting the Palestinian people its right to self-determination and to live in peace on its own territory, Palestine.

The most obvious proof of Israel's obduracy is its policy of maintaining tension in the region, an example of which was its invasion of Lebanon in the summer of 1982.

I should also like to make a few comments on agenda item 54, entitled "Israeli nuclear armament", and on the Secretary-General's report in document A/38/199, dated 1 September 1983..

From the very beginning of the 1950s, Israel has been carrying out a plan to install nuclear reactors for military and strategic purposes in the cities of Haloon, Surik and Dimona, as well as elsewhere on its territory. These installations have never been subject to the control of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Moreover, Israel has never signed the treaties and international conventions concerning the limitation or non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.



(Mr. Nashashibi, Jordan)

In addition to the increased threat to the peace and security of the neighbouring countries represented by the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor - installed for purely peaceful purposes and subject to IAEA control - Israeli nuclear activities are being pursued in collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa, whose aims are in keeping with its own belligerent intentions.

On 24 August 1980 Israel decided to implement an extremely grave plan of aggression involving the digging of a canal connecting the Mediterranean with the Dead Sea, in a series of other hostile plans intended to Judaize the occupied Arab territories in defiance of the resolutions of the international community calling for a just and lasting solution to the Palestinian problem. Israel has also raised other barriers to peace initiatives designed to find solutions to the problems involved which would guarantee peace and justice among all countries in the region.

While supporting the elimination of tensions in the region, Jordan wishes to emphasize the dangerous and aggressive nature of that plan, involving as it does setting up various nuclear installations which would have adverse repercussions on the economy and environment of Jordan. It is also incompatible with efforts and international directives aimed at establishing the region as a nuclear-weapon-free zone and demonstrates Israel's warlike intentions.

In this connection I should like to refer to the report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations on Israeli nuclear armament, contained in document A/36/431, dated 18 September 1981. It contains a comprehensive statement on that programme and reveals in no uncertain terms that there is evidence according to which Israel is on the point of becoming a nuclear-weapon Power. Also, the Group of Experts which drew up that report makes special mention of the fact that Israel today has the potential to manufacture nuclear weapons in a very short time and that Israel has quite probably gone beyond that phase and now has the means to deliver these weapons towards targets in the region.

Jordan considers that the United Nations and its Charter are the appropriate framework within which effective measures can be adopted to ensure the denuclearization of the Middle East and the cessation of Israel's nuclear and military programme and the destruction of the nuclear weapons in its possession, thereby averting a new war and further suffering throughout the world.

Mr. BUTLER (Australia): A comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty is a disarmament measure of critical importance to Australia. We recognize that it would not be a panacea for all the problems of the arms race, but it would have a major impact on unblocking the current impasse in progress towards nuclear disarmament.

A comprehensive test-ban treaty would strengthen the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty by helping to fulfil the obligations of States parties to that Treaty under article VI. This article commits States parties

"... to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament ...". (resolution 2373 (XXII), annex, article VI)

The preamble of that Treaty also specifically recalls the determination expressed by the parties to the 1963 partial test-ban Treaty

"... to seek to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time ..." (Ibid., annex)

More substantively, a comprehensive test-ban treaty would make the development of new nuclear weapons and the improvement of existing ones more difficult. It would thus have a restraining effect on vertical proliferation. Were a comprehensive test-ban treaty to achieve universal adherence, it would also render horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons more difficult by making it impossible to test nuclear devices developed by non-nuclear-weapon States. Finally, the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty would constitute a major psychological boost to international efforts to control and then turn around the arms race at all levels. It would thus contribute to a lessening of the danger of nuclear war. In this sense such a treaty can be viewed as a vital confidence-building measure.

We all know with certainty that such measures are needed now. A majority of us in the United Nations are committed to the negotiation of a comprehensive test-ban treaty. For example, Australia, New Zealand and the United States share this commitment quite specifically. Let me quote from the 1983 communiqué of the Australia-New Zealand-United States Treaty partners. This is the communiqué published on 19 July 1983, following a meeting of the ANZUS Council:

(Mr. Butler, Australia)

"The Council members reaffirmed their strong commitment to preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons and agreed to intensify their efforts to strengthen the international non-proliferation régime through multilateral and bilateral measures. They recognized that the international non-proliferation régime is strengthened when the nuclear-weapon States are able to demonstrate progress in fulfilling their solemn treaty promise to pursue negotiations on effective and verifiable measures to reduce nuclear armaments and to end the nuclear arms race. In this context, they reaffirmed their Governments' policies of working towards the goal of a comprehensive and fully verifiable nuclear test-ban treaty, and they took note of the continued examination of verification and compliance issues related to a nuclear test ban in the Committee on Disarmament. They also undertook to work in a constructive and co-operative manner to ensure the success of the third review conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in 1985."

Clearly, this goal of a comprehensive test-ban treaty has special importance for Australia and New Zealand given the fact that nuclear testing is currently being conducted in our Pacific region.

This morning the Permanent Representative of New Zealand, Ambassador Harland, introduced a draft resolution on the urgent need for a comprehensive test-ban treaty. Australia participated closely in the drafting of this resolution and fully supports it. It paves the way for the Conference on Disarmament to carry forward its work on a comprehensive test-ban treaty, not least by considering a review of the mandate of its Ad Hoc Working Group.

So far, the Committee on Disarmament has undertaken a useful examination of issues relating to verification of, and compliance with, a nuclear test ban under its Working Group's existing mandate. Australia participated actively in the work, to the extent of presenting several working papers. One of those outlined a proposal for an international management panel to oversee the operation of the international seismic monitoring system and any other verification system established under a future treaty. In this regard it is our view that as much preparatory work as possible should be done on the verification and compliance system for a comprehensive test-ban treaty in order that such a system should be functioning when such a treaty enters into force. This work has been proceeding for some time under the aegis of the scientific group of experts drawn from both

(Mr. Butler, Australia)

Committee on Disarmament and non-Committee on Disarmament Members. It is important that this work continue apace, preferably in the context of negotiations. The New Zealand draft resolution provides for this.

The Committee on Disarmament's Working Group also considered the issue of scope this year, even though it was not strictly within its mandate. Scope is an important issue. The only truly credible comprehensive test-ban treaty would be one which was truly comprehensive in scope. It is our assessment that so-called peaceful nuclear explosions by their very nature permit acquisition of military benefits and, therefore, should be banned along with nuclear-weapon-test explosions.

We do not believe it possible to envisage an international régime to regulate the use of peaceful nuclear explosions. Therefore, from both an arms control and a disarmament point of view, we believe the most effective and safest solution is to ban all nuclear tests by all States, in all environments, for all time. This is the goal to which we are committed.

It is apparent that there are differences of view on many issues relating to a comprehensive test-ban treaty. But what surely is paramount is that the international community begin the processes of resolving these differences and moving towards the goal that we ultimately all seek.

If Australia appears impatient for progress on a comprehensive test-ban treaty, may I be permitted to recall again that nuclear testing continues in our region. We support the Committee on Disarmament giving serious consideration to the granting of a negotiating mandate to its Working Group in 1984. But we acknowledge this is for the Committee on Disarmament to decide.

The New Zealand/Australia draft resolution provides for just this sort of progress. It would give us a real opportunity, and I believe that is an opportunity we should not and cannot afford to lose.

Australia commends this draft resolution to the Committee.

Mr. MARTYNOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): In this statement the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR wishes to submit for the consideration of the First Committee draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.25, on "Prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons". I have the honour of introducing it on behalf of 27 delegations: namely, Afghanistan, Angola, Benin, Bulgaria,

(Mr. Martynov, Byelorussian SSR)

Burundi, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Hungary, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Mozambique, Poland, Romania, Sao Tome and Principe, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Upper Volta, Viet Nam, Yemen and Zimbabwe, as well as my own delegation.

In view of the fact that rapid and far-reaching changes are taking place at present in the development of military technology, mankind is on the threshold of a new danger. Qualitatively new types of weapons are being elaborated and, in the first instance, weapons of mass destruction - indeed, weapons that can make control over them, and hence agreement concerning their limitation, reduction and prohibition, a matter which is extremely complex, if not completely impossible.

The new stage in the arms race would undermine international stability and greatly enhance the danger of the outbreak of war. The task of effectively preventing such a turn in the course of events has now acquired particular significance and urgency. In essence, no single delegation would question the genuine need to prevent the emergence of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. At the same time, there are certain divergences of opinion concerning the effective ways of achieving that goal.

Taking into account the existing basic approaches to the solution of the present problem, we have drafted operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.25, as follows:

"Requests the Committee on Disarmament, in the light of its existing priorities, to intensify negotiations, with the assistance of qualified government experts, with a view to preparing a draft comprehensive agreement on the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons, and to draft for possible agreements on particular types of such weapons."

What is important is to make the first step towards a solution of this problem. Such a step could be statements, identical in substance by the permanent members of the Security Council as well as other militarily significant States renouncing the production of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons. The statements could then be approved in a decision of the Security Council. An appeal to take such a step is contained in operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution.

(Mr. Martynov, Byelorussian SSR)

The highly dangerous and potentially destabilizing character of the new qualitative leap in the arms race makes it necessary to come to grips with a larger problem, namely, to ensure that ultimately scientific and technological achievements may be used solely for peaceful purposes. A corresponding appeal, which is addressed to all States, is to be found in operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution.

In conclusion, may I express the hope that draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.25, which I am introducing, will meet with the support of delegations and, once adopted by the General Assembly, make a contribution to the solution of the problem of curbing and halting the arms race in new directions.

Mr. FONSEKA (Sri Lanka): It is my privilege to introduce in the First Committee today the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, which appears in document A/38/28 and which has been prepared pursuant to General Assembly resolution 37/97. In accordance with its mandate, the Ad Hoc Committee held two sessions in 1983. At the outset of the second session, the Committee decided to entrust its open-ended Working Group with the task of drafting its report to the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session.

The Working Group, after a series of meetings and informal consultations held under the chairmanship of the Committee's Rapporteur, Mr. Laclaustra of Spain, submitted a draft report to the Committee, and subsequently the Ad Hoc Committee considered and adopted it by consensus at its final 73rd meeting on 8 July.

I wish to take this opportunity to convey the Committee's deep gratitude to Mr. Laclaustra, the members of the Working Group and all those who participated in its work for their diligence and dedication in fulfilling the task entrusted to them. The report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, besides an introductory part, consists also of a chapter on the work of the Committee and another on conclusions and recommendations. A major part of chapter II of the report, namely paragraph 12, incorporates the updated positions of the nuclear-weapon States presented to the Committee in the course of the close contacts maintained through its Chairman with the representatives of those States, pursuant to operative paragraph 3 of resolution 37/97.

(Mr. Fonseka, Sri Lanka)

In chapter III of the report, the Ad Hoc Committee states that

"Having regard for the important requirements of a world disarmament conference to be convened at the earliest appropriate time, with universal participation and with adequate preparation, the General Assembly should take up the question at its thirty-eight regular session for further consideration, bearing in mind the relevant provisions of resolution 36/91, adopted by consensus, in particular paragraph 1 of that resolution, and resolution 37/97, also adopted by consensus." (A/38/28, para. 14)

In the same chapter, the Committee recommends that

"The General Assembly may wish to renew the mandate of the Ad Hoc Committee and to request it to continue to maintain close contact with the representatives of the nuclear-weapon States in order to remain currently informed of their attitudes, as well as with all other States, and to consider any relevant comments and observations which might be made to the Committee." (ibid., para. 15)

May I take this opportunity to introduce also the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/38/L.17, entitled "World Disarmament Conference", sponsored by Burundi, Peru, Poland, Spain and Sri Lanka.

It is essentially similar to that adopted by consensus last year, with some differences in operative paragraphs 1 and 3, which reflect the conclusions and recommendations contained in the Committee's report and to which I have already referred earlier.

Once again, it would have the General Assembly renew the mandate of the Committee. This reflects the fact that, although no consensus with respect to the convening of a world disarmament conference in the present conditions has yet been reached, in general no one Member State of the United Nations has opposed the idea of convening it under appropriate circumstances. The idea of a world disarmament conference seems to belong to the category of approaches and proposals which hold out hope for a fruitful dialogue on advancing the goals of disarmament.

May I also thank Mr. Krystosik of Poland, who presided over the work of the Ad Hoc Committee during my absence, and to mention in particular the very special guidance he gave the Committee.

(Mr. Fonseka, Sri Lanka)

I should like also to thank the members of the Ad Hoc Committee for the spirit of co-operation and accommodation they have always shown at our meetings, as well as the Secretary of the Committee and his colleagues for their valuable assistance.

I should like to recommend the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/38/L.17 for adoption by consensus.

Mr. AL-MUSFIR (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): The crisis the contemporary world is facing is unprecedented in our history since the end of the Second World War. It is caused by increasing expenditures on the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction and the development of increasingly destructive conventional weapons to the point of overkill. Intervention in the internal affairs of small States, harassment in international trade, manipulation of the value of world currencies, and high interest rates - all are factors which have disturbed international relations and caused disorder in the world economy which aggravates the acuity of the current economic crisis.

The average annual military expenditure per soldier amounts to \$19,300, whereas expenditure on education per school is \$380. According to world census figures, for every 100,000 inhabitants there are 556 soldiers, whereas there are 58 doctors for the same number. If one glances quickly at the overall budgets of the United States and the Western European countries, one can see that \$45 of per capita income is devoted to military research, whereas only \$11 is devoted to medical research. Furthermore, the world spends \$180 of per capita income to maintain armed forces, whereas for peace-keeping forces throughout the world the expenditure is only 11 cents. Out of 4.5 billion inhabitants in the world, 2 billion live in extreme poverty, and 450 million are suffering from dreadful hunger. Millions of children in the third world are dying from malnutrition and from lack of medical care.

It is an extremely dangerous tragedy to see the industrial countries with developed economies spending billions of dollars on arms and on their development, while mass protests are becoming a general feature throughout the world requesting politicians and traffickers of weapon producing countries to contain the arms race and to ensure the non-proliferation of these deadly weapons. At the same time, we see some industrial countries endowed with considerable resources of water, arable land and scientific potential limit the production of foodstuffs like grain, vegetables, fruits and dairy products, in order to maintain certain price levels



(Mr. Al-Musfir, United Arab Emirates)

rather than extending the arable land or increasing its productive capacity with a view to lending assistance to countries suffering from a scarcity of water resources and land products.

The independence of peoples and nations and their social development are increasingly imperilled because of the use of military force and economic pressure. Intervention in the internal affairs of States and military intervention, as well as all other forms of intervention in the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, are becoming normal practices for which excuses and arguments are given at times invoking the vital interests of these States and at others the protection of democracy. That is why we consider collective action necessary to put an end to such interventions and to leave every State free to choose its own form of government and economic system and to choose its friends without external pressure, so that peace, security and prosperity may flourish in the world.

The dangers faced by the peoples of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and East Asia limit the capacity of those peoples for industrial and agricultural development, because they are concentrating all their efforts on the need to defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence. In order to eliminate those dangers, the Member States of the United Nations must ensure respect for the Charter and implementation of the international law applicable to the settlement of disputes, thus preventing violent war.

In this connection the Middle East is on the brink of an explosion. The reason for that explosive situation is the existence of the State of Israel, which was established very recently - in 1947. That vital region will not be calm until the Arab people of Palestine returns to Palestine, whence it was expelled by force, and where racist and Fascist groups have been installed under the name of the State of Israel. Israeli co-operation with the racist Government of South Africa in the manufacture of nuclear weapons is a threat not only to the Middle East but to Africa as a whole. Therefore, it is our duty to ensure that the nuclear collaboration between Israel and South Africa come under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards. We appeal to all States which give Israel material support and provide it with the means to develop weapons of terror to halt co-operation with that country, in order to establish peace and security.

(Mr. Al-Musfir, United Arab Emirates)

My country, which wishes to work seriously towards the denuclearization of the Indian Ocean region and which supports the Ad Hoc Committee entrusted with that question, notes with concern the intensification of military activity, especially by the great Powers, in that region. We believe that dangerous military presence is a threat to the peace, security and stability of the coastal regions, as well as of the entire Indian Ocean region.

We have followed closely the debates in the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean, and we are very concerned about the lack of a serious attitude by the great Powers and the lack of progress on the matter. The convening of the international conference on the Indian Ocean in 1984 will give the coastal and hinterland countries an essential opportunity to undertake a political dialogue on vital questions which relate directly to their security. My country is convinced that that conference will be the appropriate forum in which to reach a substantive agreement to eliminate all external military pressures in the area. In this connection we convey our gratitude to the Government of Sri Lanka for having offered to host the conference, which is to be held from 4 to 22 January 1984.

In the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace there has already been a statement of good intentions to forestall dangers in the Indian Ocean region, be they from land or sea. We must therefore reach a comprehensive agreement to delimit the boundaries of the Indian Ocean and refrain from pretexts which might hinder the holding of the international conference to declare the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

Mr. A. M. ADAN (Somalia): Since this is my first statement in the Committee at this session, I wish first to extend to you, Sir, our sincere congratulations on your election as Chairman, secure in the knowledge that you will conduct our deliberations to the satisfaction of all, and that our work will bear fruit under your wise guidance.

In the view of my delegation, the general failure of disarmament efforts must be seen as being symptomatic of the breakdown of the principle of collective security, a principle exemplified by the existence of the United Nations. This breakdown may be due to the absence of a real recognition of the interdependence of all nations - industrialized and developing - and the lack of a balanced development of human and economic potential in the world which could guarantee global security.

(Mr. A. M. Adan, Somalia)

It is hardly surprising that the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament had such a disappointing outcome against the background of a world characterized by the failure of détente and by an alarming increase in the number and intensity of conflict situations. These conflicts have been engendered by a widespread lack of respect for the principles which govern national sovereignty, territorial integrity, the right of peoples to self-determination and national independence and friendly relations between States. In consequence, the climate of confidence and trust necessary for significant progress towards general and complete disarmament has been eroded.

My delegation is, however, gratified that the Final Document of the 1978 special session was reaffirmed by the second special session devoted to disarmament as a valid body of principles governing the whole field of disarmament. It is our earnest hope that the Committee on Disarmament will succeed in 1983 in drawing up a comprehensive programme of disarmament acceptable to all States.

The cessation of all test explosions of nuclear weapons and the adoption of General Assembly resolution 36/85 reflect an international consensus of long standing and the high priority placed by the General Assembly on the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty. Since the ending of all nuclear weapons tests is such a basic requirement of nuclear disarmament, we urge the Committee on Disarmament to make the drafting of a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty a matter of the utmost urgency. My delegation is gratified by the widespread conviction that the available means of verification provide reasonable assurance of compliance with a nuclear test-ban treaty. In this context we believe it is of paramount importance that an impartial international system of verification be established under United Nation auspices.

My delegation also welcomes the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on the reduction of strategic weapons and on intermediate nuclear forces. It seems to us, however, that the outlook for the talks is clouded by the fact that even while these talks are undertaken the nuclear arsenals of the two super-Powers continue to grow both quantitatively and qualitatively and in ways which add new dimensions of instability to the already nightmarish balance of terror.

(Mr. A. M. Adan, Somalia)

My delegation particularly deplores the preparations being made to introduce new destructive methods of warfare. The development of satellite and anti-satellite weapons shows that nothing has been learnt from the present nuclear dilemma with which the world is faced. The competition in the development and stockpiling of chemical and radiological weapons and the non-adherence to the relevant international instruments are of great concern to the international community, and should be universally condemned. The use of chemical weapons against freedom fighters in West Asia and South-East Asia and in the Horn of Africa serves to underline the urgent need to rededicate ourselves to the protection of mankind against the horrors of chemical and biological warfare.

It is regrettable to see United Nations bodies in effect play a peripheral rather than a central role in negotiation of the most crucial disarmament issues, despite their unique qualification to express an international political consensus in favour of disarmament. We urge the Committee on Disarmament to accelerate its efforts aimed at the complete, effective elimination of stockpiles of chemical and radiological weapons.

It is also regrettable that the non-nuclear-weapon States are held hostage to the interests and power struggles of the nuclear and militarily significant States. It is the responsibility of the latter to provide treaty guarantees to non-nuclear States against the use or threat of use of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

The establishment of nuclear-free zones which have common security concerns and perceptions and which form a geographic unit would be a most welcome development. In the case of the Indian Ocean, efforts to implement the General Assembly's Declaration of that region as a zone of peace have unfortunately been undermined by destabilizing developments over the past few years.

Occupation of the territory of a hinterland State of the Indian Ocean by the forces of a super-Power, and the introduction of the military presence of the same super-Power and its surrogate forces in the Horn of Africa, with the connivance of a regional African State, in furtherance of its colonialist policies have contributed to great Power military confrontations in the Indian Ocean within the context of their global rivalry.

(Mr. A. M. Adan, Somalia)

The recent aggression against the territory and the people of the Somali Democratic Republic by these interventionist forces further violates the principles contained in the Indian Ocean Declaration, particularly, the obligation of Indian Ocean States to promote regional security through the principle of the non-use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes. There can be little progress towards implementing the various provisions of that Declaration while external forces are being used to suppress the right of peoples to self-determination, and while the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes is discounted. My delegation recognizes the fact that the situation in the Indian Ocean points to the urgent need for practical measures to be taken towards resolving the complex issues involved and that the holding of the Conference on the Indian Ocean would be a useful step towards that end.

Another matter of profound importance which merits the urgent attention of the international community is the nuclear collaboration between South Africa and Israel, which seriously imperils the objective of denuclearization of the continent of Africa and the Middle East. Israel's quest for military supremacy and exclusive nuclear power capability in the Middle East has already been illustrated in its destruction of the nuclear facility for peaceful purposes in Iraq, which operated under international safeguards. As is also well known, in recent years South Africa has acquired the capacity to enforce its racist hegemony in southern Africa through nuclear blackmail. It is self-evident that the goal of the denuclearization of these two regions is in serious jeopardy when such belligerent and persistent violators of international law as South Africa and Israel are allowed to acquire nuclear weapon capabilities as well as ever more deadly sophisticated weapons.

For some time now we have been aware of the tragic discrepancy between the billions of dollars spent on armaments and the steadily declining standards of living of millions of the world's people who unnecessarily suffer from hunger and disease. In a period of steady economic decline in the poor regions of the world, there is as yet no global strategy for a new economic world order. It is therefore imperative that fresh efforts be made to lend impetus to the global negotiations.

Finally, we recognize that nuclear disarmament affects both militarily significant and not so significant countries. No other international issue is as

(Mr. A. M. Adan, Somalia)

urgent and as important as that of general and complete disarmament. The very survival of mankind is at stake. New strategies and perceptions concerning international peace and security must be developed and ways and means found to redirect global resources from military use to those areas of international investment and trade that would be beneficial to both developed and developing countries. This is a challenge in which we cannot afford to fail if we are to avert the ultimate holocaust.

Mr. CARSALES (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): The purpose of my brief statement is to introduce a draft resolution on the prevention of nuclear war. This draft resolution has been submitted to the Secretariat and will be circulated in document A/C.1/38/L.19 within the next few days. I do so on behalf of the following group of non-aligned countries: Algeria, Bangladesh, Brazil, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Pakistan, Romania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia and of course, Argentina.

There is surely no need for me to go into any explanations on its substance: the prevention of nuclear war. It is a very familiar issue, and one which is of concern and gives cause for alarm throughout the international community, which is naturally preoccupied by the threat to mankind's survival posed by the existence of nuclear weapons and the continuing arms race. This concern and alarm are expressed in the first preambular paragraph, while the third preambular paragraph reiterates that it is the joint responsibility of all Member States to save succeeding generations from the scourge of another world war, which would inevitably be a nuclear war. All will agree that "removal of the threat of nuclear war is the most urgent task of the present day". These facts are reflected in preambular paragraphs of the draft resolution I have the honour to introduce.

With regard to the procedural aspects of this draft resolution, representatives will recall that last year the General Assembly adopted resolution 37/78 I, in which it requested

"the Committee on Disarmament to undertake, as a matter of the highest priority, negotiations with a view to achieving agreement on appropriate and practical measures for the prevention of nuclear war".

The draft resolution follows the lines of resolution 37/78 I, which the General Assembly adopted last year by a significant majority. Among the new

(Mr. Carasales, Argentina)

elements, we would mention the fact that the annual report of the Committee on Disarmament contains references to its consideration of the item this year. We are all aware of the delay. Before the inclusion of an item on the prevention of nuclear war in the agenda of the Committee on Disarmament, whose report also reflects the different views on the way in which the Committee on Disarmament should give thorough consideration to this very important matter.

In specific terms, in 1983 the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva was unable to begin negotiations on this question, and in its preambular paragraphs the draft resolution I am introducing notes with concern that lack of specific achievement by the Committee on Disarmament during the course of this year.

Operative paragraph 1 once again calls upon the Committee on Disarmament to undertake, as a matter of the highest priority, negotiations with a view to achieving agreements on appropriate and practical measures for the prevention of nuclear war, taking into account, of course, all of the many relevant documents as well as other existing proposals and future initiatives. Operative paragraph 2 requests the Committee on Disarmament to establish an ad hoc working group for that purpose.

It is well known that in the Committee on Disarmament the appropriate manner in which to conduct negotiations is by means of working groups established for specific purposes. As is customary, therefore, operative paragraph 3 decides to include in the provisional agenda of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly an item entitled "Prevention of nuclear war: report of the Committee on Disarmament".

The draft resolution is a simple one. It is designed to ensure that the body competent in this field, which was requested to study this matter by the General Assembly last year and to undertake relevant negotiations, does indeed complete its task as a matter of urgency and priority. It is self-explanatory, and I submit it to the First Committee with the hope that it will receive broad support.

I should also like to mention one further point before concluding. This draft resolution makes reference to the "Committee on Disarmament" as such, which is the title it will retain through the months of November and December. However, as members of the First Committee are aware, the Committee on Disarmament has determined that, beginning next year, 1984, it will be called the "Conference on

(Mr. Carasales, Argentina)

Disarmament". In the various draft resolutions that have been submitted, I note that some refer to the Committee on Disarmament by that name and that some are already referring to it as the Conference on Disarmament. There are arguments in favour of both appellations, but I should like to suggest now that at some future opportune moment we all agree to use the same terminology in order that we do not have draft resolutions before the First Committee using different names for the same body.

The CHAIRMAN: I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply, on the basis of the terms I earlier set out.

Mr. TARI (Israel) (interpretation from French): The strange speech with which the representative of Jordan regaled us was a bit diffuse. He touched upon two items on our agenda - items 47 and 54 - upon which my delegation wishes to reserve its right to comment in a serious fashion at the appropriate time. He also touched upon subjects proper to the Special Political Committee, and I shall totally refrain from going into those here. Replies have been delivered in the proper forum. Nevertheless, that speech as a whole does call, at the very least, for a comment and a question.

First, the comment: The aspirations towards peace in the Middle East that were so ardently expressed by the representative of Jordan unfortunately categorically exclude the State of Israel. The Jordanian press, which, as we know, rarely enjoys completely spontaneous expression, often illustrates the highly selective side of Jordan's will to peace. On 19 July 1982, for example, the newspaper al-Ra'i wrote the following against my countrymen, the Israelis:

"We Jordanians will not accept you as neighbours or as associates within some federation, nor will we do so as individuals, for we know you to be a foreign body implanted in our flesh."

Such sentences have a sadly familiar ring and awaken vivid historical and - need we say - racist associations.

Now for the question: What is the true objective the representative of Jordan is pursuing by sitting in this Committee? Does he intend to participate in its work, to contribute, in so far as he is capable, to its progress, or does he, more simply, hope to seize upon any opportunity to perform his mental ablutions, to



(Mr. Tari, Israel)

indulge an anti-Israeli fixation and to take any and all occasions available to express his obsessive rancour? If we accept this second hypothesis, the work of this Committee, the subjects entrusted to it and, more prosaically, the time of its members could not help but suffer. And that would be regrettable.

Mutantibus mutandis - and, alas, so few things need be changed - my remarks can also be addressed to the representative of the United Arab Emirates, who has just spoken, and perhaps even to certain others to whom we have listened here in recent days.

Mr. NASHASHIBI (Jordan): I have listened to the comments of the Israeli representative and the allegations directed against my country, and my delegation reserves its right to reply to the Israeli allegations at a later date.

Mr. AL-MUSFIR (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): It would seem that the representative of Israel is troubled and nervous. He does not think and he does not know how to listen. However, this is not the place to repeat what we have said with regard to the alleged State of Israel, which was established overnight and surreptitiously through the intercession of foreign troops.

The meeting rose at 4.40 p.m.