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6th meeting  
held on  
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at 10.30 a.m.  
New York

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 6TH MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina)

later: Mr. HOVEYDA (Iran)  
(Vice-Chairman)

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LIAISON CONFERENCE OF JAPANESE NATIONAL NGO'S AT THE SPECIAL SESSION OF  
THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY DEVOTED TO DISARMAMENT

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

STATEMENTS BY NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): This meeting being held today by the Ad Hoc Committee could very well be considered a landmark in the history of the United Nations. By unanimous decision the General Assembly adopted the recommendation of the Preparatory Committee of the Special Session devoted to Disarmament to assign a special day to hear statements from 25 representatives of non-governmental organizations. When it considered this question in depth, the Preparatory Committee bore in mind the great interest and concern shown by the organizations in the various aspects of disarmament and the constructive contribution that they would be able to make to our work.

Disarmament is not the province of governments alone. It concerns directly all the peoples of the world and world public opinion, some of whose sectors will be represented by the speakers coming to the rostrum today. The General Assembly wished in this way to show that disarmament is a common undertaking in which everyone should be engaged.

With great good sense and a sense of history, the non-governmental organizations have thus been given a unique opportunity. It is now up to these organizations to show, with a sense of responsibility; that they can respond to the trust placed in them as they deal with the tasks before the General Assembly. I believe I am reflecting the feelings of all representatives here present when I express the hope that the non-governmental organizations will be able to be equal to the task, and that their submissions will promote greater understanding and co-operation among Member States in the United Nations. In other words, far from arousing potential confrontations, we hope that they will be a positive factor in cementing a climate of confidence and understanding on the basis of which it will be possible only to make real progress to curb the arms race and begin the stage of genuine disarmament.

Regrettably, limitations imposed by time and the procedure adopted have not made it possible for other organizations, which submitted requests after these 25 organizations were designated, to take part. I would like to thank them

(The Chairman)

for the interest that they have shown, and we would like to assure them that while they are not with us in these deliberations, that certainly does not prejudice their competence or their authority when they present their valuable points of view on the subject of disarmament. I am confident that they will have this opportunity in the future when a meeting similar to the present one is convened.

The representatives of non-governmental organizations have been duly informed that they have a maximum of 12 minutes for their statements. I would request them to abide by that limit strictly. We will be listening very closely to their statements. In alphabetical order, I shall now call on each of the speakers that appear on the list of the 25 non-governmental organizations. I call first on the representative of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), Mr. Nouri Abdulrazzak.

Mr. ABDULRAZZAK (Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization): There is no further need to show how much the arms race costs humanity nor how deeply it affects our planet's present and future. We, on behalf of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), would rather emphasize how disarmament affects the peoples of Africa and Asia and the third world in general.

Let us first stress the fact that the peoples of the third world suffer, as the Committee knows, from economic backwardness and other different diseases inherited from centuries of colonialist rule. It is painful, yet true, to state that while the world spends \$1,000 million on armaments every day, thousands of people in Africa and Asia and other under-developed areas die of starvation. While they should concentrate all their efforts on peaceful construction of their under-developed countries, they are haunted by imperialist aggressive conspiracies and schemes which force them to devote more efforts to the arms race in self-defence.

Let us underline two such examples in Asia and Africa. The turning of certain countries in the Middle East and southern Africa into two aggressive arsenals has dragged the peoples of both regions into successive wars and armed clashes and forced them to allocate huge funds for armament in defence of their freedom and independence.

(Mr. Abdulrazzak, Afro-Asian Peoples'  
Solidarity Organization)

While the peoples of Asia hoped to transform their continent into a peace zone after arms had been downed in South East Asia, there now has appeared a scheme to establish more military bases and aggressive pacts against the will of the peoples of Asia.

And, lastly, while peoples call for a halt to the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction, a feverish attempt is made to produce and deploy the neutron bomb. The SALT talks still need to be concluded for the benefit of mankind.

(Mr. Abdulrazzak, Afro-Asian  
Peoples' Solidarity Organization)

The world arsenal is so piled high with weapons of mass destruction that peoples are not ready any more to accept a new menace in the form of the neutron bomb. Peoples want a secure life that is not threatened by heaps of arms and bombs. This was sufficiently demonstrated by the peoples' insistence on disarmament and, lately, by the world-wide protest against the production and deployment of the neutron bomb. It is no longer sufficient to postpone the production of this bomb to silence world public opinion. Peoples want the schemes for the production and deployment of this new weapon to be totally given up.

Peoples also want sincere efforts to reach concrete and constructive results in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). Unless such results are attained, détente and peaceful coexistence will be threatened.

On the other hand, détente and peaceful coexistence will always be threatened unless the hotbeds of tension are eliminated. The continuous aggression against Arab peoples and the arrogant denial of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people have turned the Middle East into a hotbed of tension liable to explode at any moment. The white minority's apartheid régime in South Africa still reject the United Nations resolutions and continues to stand against the will of the international community. It is compiling arms and threatening independent African countries, thus pushing the whole region to the brink of an explosion.

The Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, which has sincerely expressed the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of both continents for more than 20 years and which was established on the principles of non-alignment for peace, disarmament; national independence and social progress, appeals to all delegations to join our efforts in order to turn our words and hopes into concrete action towards disarmament as a prerequisite for solving the acute problems of the world community. Yet, we reiterate what has been previously stated by the International Non-Governmental Organizations Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, that is, that the elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism, fascism, foreign occupation and all forms of oppression, the strengthening of peaceful coexistence and détente among nations, and the elimination of all forms of domination and intervention in the internal affairs of other countries are absolute prerequisites for the achievement of a general and complete disarmament.

(Mr. Abdulrazzak, Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization)

This fact applies, above all, to both continents of Africa and Asia. That is why the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization sees that the struggle for national liberation and social progress and against imperialism, Zionism and apartheid and the struggle for disarmament are inseparable.

In a world in which half a billion people, mostly from Asia and Africa, are severely undernourished and in which contagious diseases and malnutrition sap the vitality of millions of children and adults, 29 per cent of the world's scientific manpower and 40 per cent of all spending for research and development are devoted to military purposes.

The accelerated world-wide traffic in arms has increased national debts and exacerbated balance-of-payments problems. In many Afro-Asian countries, military expenditures are growing faster than the civilian economy, thus not only diminishing the possibility for development but actually increasing poverty and social maladjustments.

The Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization is convinced that the realization of the new international economic order and the meeting of basic human needs are not possible until the priorities are reversed and the development needs of humanity are given precedence over the arms race.

The International Non-Governmental Conference on Disarmament held in Geneva from 27 February to 2 March 1978, in which the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization played an active role and which represented a wide range of political, philosophical and socio-economic tendencies, considered this special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament an important response to the aspirations of the peoples of the world repeatedly expressed by the non-governmental organizations community.

We hope that this session will reach a decision on the quick convocation of a world conference on disarmament.

The Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization has always had the question of disarmament as an important item on the agenda of its meetings and conferences. The question of disarmament has always occupied a foremost priority in our publications and other activities. By this, we reflect the just aspirations of the peoples of Asia and Africa and all other parts of the world.

(Mr. Abdulrazzak, Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization)

In this field, we have co-operated and are ready to co-operate with all peace-loving forces and organizations. That is why we attach great importance to this special session of the United Nations General Assembly.

The Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization Secretariat wishes delegations every success in their deliberations, hoping that they will decide on effective concrete actions and measures for total disarmament.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the representative of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace, the Most Venerable Samajin Gombojav.

The Most Venerable Samajin GOMBOJAV (Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace) (spoke in Mongolian; English text furnished by the speaker): I, a Buddhist monk, have come from the continent of Asia, representing the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace, a Buddhist peace movement. I have come to convey the encouragement and prayers of our Buddhists and of the many millions of our disciples and followers to this Assembly, which is called upon to search for ways and means to save mankind from the threat of deadly arms. I take this opportunity to express my profound gratitude at being granted the privilege of addressing this important international forum with the noblest of callings.

The Lord Buddha, Our Fully Enlightened and Compassionate Teacher, counselled that bringing death to living beings by weapons is the worst evil alien to humanism.

(The Most Venerable Samajin Gombojav,  
Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace)

According to the law of causation, those who want to live in happiness, having put others in suffering are none but foes because they create bands of enemies, and those who, while desiring peace for themselves absurdly draw the sword against others who want peace, never enjoy peace and tranquillity themselves, and the man who brandishes the sword is condemned to perish by the blade of his own sword.

That is a warning I assume for those who favour an increment in the stockpile of arms and advocate the preparation for war. The unprecedented arms race, the constant increase in military expenditures, the possible spread of nuclear weapons and the development of new types of more destructive weapons further increase the danger of nuclear war.

At present we are faced with two alternatives: one is a way leading to a catastrophic arms build-up, aggression and war; the other is the path to mutual understanding, disarmament, peaceful co-existence and co-operation. It is high time for us to ponder seriously our present and future so as to allow mankind to survive on this planet. Wisdom is a remarkable attainment of man, an immeasurable treasure and an invincible weapon. I believe no weapon is stronger than the power of man's wisdom. Wise mind aspires to meritorious deed and to harmony and amity, and ill will craves for inhuman weapon and evil cause. I believe in man's capacity to settle the problems of this troubled world saturated with the danger of armaments. Immediate cessation of the arms race and bringing about disarmament have become the most urgent objectives of to-day and a challenge for the wisdom and dignity of the human species.

The convening of this special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the first of its kind in history, constitutes an expression of deep awareness by the world community of these pressing objectives, and it is in full accord with the aspirations of Buddhists advocating peace and benevolence.

The Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace, since its inception, has actively taken part in and made its contribution to the world-wide movement for putting an end to all kinds of nuclear-weapon tests, the cessation of the



(The Most Venerable Samajin Gombojav,  
Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace)

arms race and prohibition of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and general and complete disarmament.

Our views and ideas on arms limitation and disarmament were outlined in the documents of the first and second general conferences of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace as well as in the 1970 Ulanbator resolutions, the 1974' New Delhi Declaration, and the 1976 Tokyo Appeal.

Our views on disarmament were defined in the message of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace sent to the Preparatory Committee of this special session of the United Nations General Assembly on 20 February 1978, and we requested that they be reflected in the documents to be adopted by this special session. We hope that this special session will elaborate and adopt basic guidelines for negotiations on disarmament and unanimously outline priority measures to be taken in this field.

The top priority problem is the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, the most dangerous means of mass annihilation. Those weapons are directed against the right of man to live and against the right of man to exist. Therefore, first of all, the nuclear-weapon tests must be completely banned by all and in all spheres. To that end constructive efforts on the part of all Powers possessing nuclear weapons are indispensable. This should not be influenced by differences in religion and ideology.

The strict observance of all the provisions of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the adherence of all States to that Treaty, the successful completion of the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation of offensive strategic armaments and the renunciation of the development and manufacture of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction are of vital importance.

We Buddhists hold a strong view that manufacturing and deploying neutron weapons is in glaring contravention of humanism and compassion and is utterly detrimental to the cause of universal peace and security. In resisting such a plan we join people of goodwill throughout the world. We urge that this most inhumane weapon of mass destruction must be rejected and outlawed through the conclusion of an appropriate international treaty.

(The Most Venerable Samajin Gombojav,  
Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace)

Here I should like to emphasize that it is indispensable for every statesman who bears a high responsibility before mankind to comprehend that acts in disregard of the broadest public sentiments tend to lead to the most evil misdeeds.

It is our hope and belief that this session will make an important contribution to the cause of general and complete disarmament and thus open up a new encouraging vista to our ultimate objective. I humbly submit that tangible measures towards reducing armaments and the armed forces of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and other countries having significant military potential would give a fresh impetus to the endeavours to attain that goal.

It is important that all Governments should exert every effort to overcome mutual distrust and suspicion through the display of greater vision and wisdom and consolidate the foundations of mutual understanding, confidence and co-operation. The amicable solution of disputes between States and renunciation of the use of force in inter-State relations would surely constitute a valuable asset in that regard.

It is my conviction that should all the States of the world reach an agreement on the non-use of force it would mean that there would be no war and no use of weapons, including nuclear weapons.

Although the comprehensive solution of all the problems concerning disarmament is difficult and complex, the consistent effort for their solution is a worthwhile and noble endeavour which will win eternal praise from mankind. For I believe our struggle for disarmament is a struggle for the survival of mankind, for its dreams and aspirations and for the preservation of human civilization. We can achieve success only through consistent and sustained effort. I pray that our common endeavour may finally eliminate the threat of armaments, accomplish a triumph of goodwill and justice and bring about a peaceful and tranquil life for all.

I hope that this august General Assembly will live up to our expectations of greater successes and for that I pray to our Lord Buddha. May all nations enjoy the fruits of good neighbourliness, avoiding confrontations. May the flowers of peace spread all over the world instead of deadly weapons. May all the peoples of this planet enjoy the eternal blessings of peace and tranquillity.

The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is the representative of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs.

Mr. Philip POTTER (Commission of the Churches on International Affairs): It is a great privilege for me, on behalf of the World Council of Churches, to address this Committee. The World Council of Churches is a fellowship of 293 Orthodox and Protestant churches in over 100 countries. They comprise hundreds of millions of believers who live in east and west, north and south, people who find themselves caught up in all the ideological, political, economic, social, racial and cultural conflicts of our time. One of the main functions of the Council is to express the common concern of the churches in the service of human need, the breaking down of barriers between people, and the promotion of one human family in justice and peace.

The barriers caused by war and by the armaments race have been a major preoccupation of the Council from its inception 30 years ago. Through its Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, which has consultative status with various United Nations bodies, the Council has indefatigably represented the churches in the concern for disarmament and has constantly sought to rouse the conscience of Christians to throw their weight, with people of goodwill and Governments, in working for peace and justice. Christians expert in the field of disarmament have been mobilized and valuable contributions have been made. The Fifth Assembly of the World Council of Churches, held at Nairobi in 1975, called for studies in depth on militarism and disarmament. Since then consultations have been held, and their findings have been shared with delegates at this special session of the United Nations. I should mention that on Sunday, 21 May, the eve of this special session, churches throughout the world remembered it in their prayers to the God of peace.

As Christians have grappled with the issues of disarmament, they have been painfully aware of the qualitatively new elements in the situation during this disarmament decade. The world has, in fact, become more insecure in these years.

(Mr. Potter, Commission of the  
Churches on International Affairs)

First, considerably more material and human resources are being concentrated on the production of armaments. Science and technology, the preserve of an intellectual élite in both rich and poor countries, are now deployed by the alliance of those involved in the business, bureaucratic, political and military sectors to produce new and ever more lethal weapons at a prodigious rate. This is often done secretly, in the corridors of power and beyond social control. Moreover, the dramatic increase in the number, variety, destructive power and cost of these armaments frustrates disarmament negotiations more than ever before because they change the nature of the problems which have to be faced.

Secondly, arms production and sale have become part of the national economic policy of the rich developed world, and therefore dictate political and foreign policies. Weapons-producing national and transnational corporations have exacerbated this trend. This has meant a marked increase in the flow of arms to the poorer, developing countries, which in the process become dependent clients of the powerful States and potentially widen the scope of armed conflict. For example, it is known that of the over 130 armed conflicts which have taken place since the Second World War nearly all have been in the third world, and the powerful nations of the rich world have been involved in those conflicts. Disarmament has therefore become a truly global concern. Hence the necessity and timeliness of this special session of the United Nations.

Thirdly, national security should be the instrument for promoting the social, economic and political rights of all peoples within the nation State. However, in a growing number of countries it has become a doctrine which is used to justify military take-overs, the suppression of civilian political institutions, and the violation of basic human rights. In the defence of "law and order", sinister instruments of torture, police and prison hardware, and sophisticated means of intelligence-gathering have been produced and sold to minority and undemocratic régimes, especially in the third world. We are witnessing the increasing militarization of many of our societies and the tendency to extend a country's military, ideological and economic frontiers far beyond its national borders, all of which leads to greater insecurity.

(Mr. Potter, Commission of the Churches  
on International Affairs)

Moreover, in the name of national security, the mass media and educational institutions are frequently misused to foster a psychosis of fear and mistrust and to prevent any way of looking at resolution of conflicts, other than in military terms.

Fourthly, overshadowing all these dangerous tendencies is the development of new generations of even more destructive conventional and nuclear weapons. There is a growing danger of nuclear proliferation and of a lowering of the nuclear threshold. The deployment of weapons, through missiles, submarines and long-range bombers, has made possible a strike capability encompassing all nations and peoples. Furthermore, the super-Powers are now seeking to create an atmosphere in which first-strike capability will sooner or later be turned to reality, and will thus hasten the annihilation of the human race.

In face of this catalogue of accelerated insecurity, the churches cannot remain inactive spectators. On the basis of their faith in a God who, in Jesus Christ, wills that we should have life, and have it in all its fullness, and in his purpose that the earth should be replenished and used for the well-being of all, Christians are called to bring new perspectives to bear on the issues of militarism and the arms race. I have time to mention only in a general way a few of these perspectives.

(Mr. Potter, Commission of the Churches  
on International Affairs)

First, disarmament is an integral part of the struggle for a just, participatory and sustainable society. The threat to peace of the arms race is inextricably related to the other prevailing threats to human survival - poverty, and hunger, racial, political and economic oppression, the suppression of human rights, the despoiling of the environment and the wanton wastage of the resources of the earth. Disarmament and the search for a new international economic order are inseparable efforts towards peace with justice. Thus disarmament is not a technical but a political and moral concern. A global approach to disarmament is needed. Everything which is done to achieve a more just economic order, to share material and human resources in an equitable way and to facilitate the participation of all in the life of society is bound to contribute to eliminating the arms race and the militarization of society.

Secondly, we must challenge the idol of a distorted concept of national security which is directed to encouraging fear and mistrust resulting in greater insecurity. The only security worthy of its name lies in enabling people to participate fully in the life of their nation and to establish relations of trust between peoples of different nations. It is only when there is a real dialogue - a sharing of life with life in mutual trust and respect - that there can be true security.

Thirdly, Christians are pledged to work for creating those structures and mechanisms by which disarmament can be sought boldly and imaginatively. The United Nations is the most effective forum for enabling the nations to work for that international security which will ensure national security, for the rule of law through covenants freely entered into and maintained by mutually agreed peaceful methods. Therefore, it is imperative that the role of the United Nations be extended and strengthened in the search for disarmament and for a new international economic order. One of the tragedies of our time is the way in which Member States and the mass media which support them ignore and denigrate the work of the United Nations. The World Council of Churches and its member churches stand pledged, as they always have done, to support the United Nations in all its efforts to promote peace and justice in our troubled, tortured world.

(Mr. Potter, Commission of the Churches  
on International Affairs)

Fourthly, disarmament is not the affair of statesmen and experts only, but of every man and woman of every nation. We are dealing here with the issues of life and death for humankind. They are not technical, but human and therefore political issues. This means that every effort must be made to dispel the ignorance, complacency and fear which prevail. Political decisions can be made only when people are fully aware of the facts and are enabled to discern the options before them. This is a necessary function which non-governmental organizations can perform. The churches have a very distinctive role to play because they have the criterion of faith in a God of hope whose purpose is that all should be responsible for each other in justice and peace. Therefore, they will continue to rouse the conscience of people and encourage them to demonstrate by attitude, word and act that peace and justice are not ideals to be cherished but realities to be achieved. The arms race is the decision and creation of human beings; disarmament must also be willed and won by human beings.

The churches do not approach their task with any self-righteousness or naivety. They are well aware that throughout their history they have often been so allied to the forces of disorder and oppression that they have promoted or connived in wars and the war psychosis. They know that their own divisions are symptoms and signs of the divisions of the world. To be instruments of reconciliation they are in fact endeavouring to become reconciled to each other.

It is in humility and hope that the churches participate in the efforts towards disarmament and a just society. They do so with the vision of the prophet whose words are engraved on the Isaiah Wall just across the street from this building:

"They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

It is this vision of the conversion of the tools of death into the tools of life which inspires and activates the churches today. Our prayer is that this vision will inspire the representatives in their deliberations and their people in the pursuit of peace and justice.

The CFAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I now call on the representative of the Friends World Committee for Consultation, Ms. Salome Nolega.

Ms. NOLEGA (Friends World Committee for Consultation): Within the past year delegations of Quakers have gone to their Governments in the German Democratic Republic, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Cuba, New Zealand and elsewhere to urge support for disarmament; United States Quakers have protested at Rocky Flats, Colorado, where detonators for nuclear weapons are made; African Quakers have met in Botswana to study non-violence; and Quaker-sponsored programmes in education, agriculture and health care have gone forward in Mali, Kenya and Senegal; in Bolivia, Guatemala and Mexico; in Bangladesh, India and Laos; on the West Bank and in Gaza; and in other places around the world. All this activity grows from a fundamental belief in the value of every human being in the sight of God. Throughout its 300-year history the Religious Society of Friends, called Quakers, has sought to give witness to that belief by consistently working for peace and human dignity and against war and preparations for it.

It is with gratitude and hope, therefore, that we come to this special session on disarmament. We are grateful for the initiative of the non-aligned countries that brought it about, for the conscientious preliminary work of the Preparatory Committee and for the British proposal that gave non-governmental organizations a voice here.

Our hope is inspired by the presence of representatives of the whole human family. Together the world's people have been granted stewardship over the earth to enjoy it briefly and then to surrender it to succeeding generations for them to enjoy and to become stewards for still succeeding generations. The earth is not a possession but a trust. Those dramatic photographs from the moon showed us all what is ours to care for - a green and blue jewel shining in the blackness of space. What steward would risk turning such a gem into a radio-active cinder?

Yet that is the dreadful future that the present arms race offers. And widespread is the nightmare image of pin-striped, well-fed negotiators in air-conditioned halls balancing billion-dollar missiles, while desperate poor go shoeless and homeless and the world rushes towards nuclear oblivion. From such a future, from such images, the nations of the world must turn decisively away. They must heed the pleas of the thousands who marched these New York streets



(Ms. Nolega, Friends World Committee  
for Consultation)

and of the hundreds of Japanese who travelled half way around the globe bearing the signatures of millions of their fellow-citizens. Self-destruction is not the intended end of humanity.

There are urgent steps to be taken, however. Disputes and conflicts will not end. Nations will disagree; at times their disputes may be beyond their own capacities to resolve. Let the Members of the United Nations expand imaginatively the resources of this Organization for the peaceful settlement of such disputes.

(Ms. Nolega, Friends World  
Committee for Consultation)

An interdependent world requires acceptance of mandatory measures for conflict resolution. Just as no person may exercise unrestricted freedom to the peril of his community, no nation should have unrestricted freedom to imperil the world. There is potential value in many current suggestions, such as the several proposals made here for regional conciliation and arbitration units; the proposals for a permanent United Nations force for peace-keeping and police roles. Member States could strengthen significantly the influence of the International Court of Justice. Other important options surely will be found within the United Nations system if they are earnestly sought.

Equally urgent is a realistic recognition of the nature of security. The justification always given for the arms race is national security. While acknowledging legitimate concern for secure national boundaries and national structures, Quakers insist that security must mean first of all the security of persons. Too often we see the unsavory spectacle of Governments abusing their own citizens to protect the security of the Government, not the security of the person. Governments change, at best by peaceful means, but the security needs of persons remain the same.

The major threats to the security of the people of the world know no national boundaries. They include hunger, population, disease, pollution, desertification, lack of pure water, lack of energy. To address these problems requires equitable sharing of the world's resources and opportunities. The global economy should not be designed primarily to promote economic growth for the already affluent. Growth should be the goal and the reality for the poor. The gaps between rich and poor should cease to be the denials of our common humanity that they now are. No persons in even the poorest country should be without hope for themselves and their children. Efforts for greater economic and social justice must be redoubled in all the work of the United Nations.

Perhaps the most serious threat to security, however, is the arms race itself. It has bred world-wide inflation, which persistently throttles development growth. It increases insecurity, not security. No citizen of either of the super-Powers has yet been injured by the billions of dollars of

(Ms. Nolega, Friends World  
Committee for Consultation)

armaments of the other super-Power. But the citizens of both super-Powers have been grievously injured by the weapons their own Governments have purchased at the cost of their social needs. The growing arms purchases of some third world States are being made at the cost of the security of the people of those States, whose educational, health, housing, nutritional and other needs are sacrificed to military hardware. Nations must recognize that only in peace is there security for people.

For the arms race to end, nations must make a real commitment to disarmament, demonstrated by imaginative disarmament proposals and strong national initiatives. Any nation, no matter how large or how small, can take such initiatives. We Friends are encouraged by China's readiness to become a full partner in the search for disarmament, by France's proposals for a disarmament fund for development. It is heartening to have Japan reaffirm its rejection of nuclear capabilities, to have Venezuela summon a regional commitment to conventional disarmament, and to hear Nigeria call for educating public officials in disarmament. There have been many such important proposals and initiatives already taken here. Much as we applaud them, however, they are not enough.

There must be some real disarmament, starting with this special session. The entire world would rejoice if only all 149 Member nations stood in this hall and proclaimed an end of all military forces except essential domestic police and service forces. General and complete disarmament - that is the goal. Genuine commitment to that goal will unleash creative, problem-solving energies yet unimagined.

Let the nations act together for disarmament then, with universal participation. First priority must go to the problems of nuclear disarmament. Let nuclear-free-zones and other regional agreements be extended to create islands of peace as models for the rest of the world. Let there be force reductions and budget reductions based on full and precise information. The readiness of Australia and others to provide such information to the United Nations is a confidence-building act to be universally imitated. Let the United Nations create the world disarmament authority proposed by Sri Lanka to

(Ms. Nolega, Friends World  
Committee for Consultation)

monitor progress and to prod for more. It may help some nations to resist the persistent tendency to see disarmament as an East-West issue and to see all conflicts as East-West conflicts, without regard to the real interests of the parties involved. Let the voices of the world's people increasingly be heard in disarmament discussions. They speak urgently through marches and demonstrations, through individual acts of conscience, through petitioning their Governments and through non-governmental organizations. The will of the people for peace must not be frustrated by the failures of Governments.

The Secretary-General has pointed out the vast discrepancy between what the nations spend on weapons and what they spend on disarmament. Nearly half of all the world's intellectual power for research and development goes into weapons. Let that power be used instead for research on disarmament and for development of measures for peaceful resolution of conflicts. Genuine commitment to disarmament would make such a shift possible.

We Quakers confidently assert the possibility of a world where all people may live creative lives, where none shall need to be afraid. It is our experience that the spirit of truth, of love, of compassion, which we identify as the spirit of God, is at work in all persons, of every nation and culture, of every faith and of no faith. We urge all representatives, with the heavy responsibilities they bear, to consult that spirit at work in them, to respond with the best that they find within themselves. We do not doubt that then they will here successfully begin the process of disarmament and of turning human energies and resources to building a hopeful future for generations now threatened with no future at all.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Mr. Radhakrishna of the Gandhi Peace Foundation.

Mr. RADHAKRISHNA (Gandhi Peace Foundation): We are thankful for this opportunity of making a statement on behalf of the Gandhi Peace Foundation to the world through the United Nations, to the large masses of people hoping against hope that disarmament will be a reality and the world may see the end of the nightmarish race for armaments. Gandhi was a citizen of the world and in making a few observations, one can only consider the question of

(Mr. Radhakrishna, Gandhi  
Peace Foundation)

disarmament as a citizen of the world irrespective of the country to which one belongs. To us, it is vindication of the fact that people can assume, if properly organized, new roles and new paths which may considerably differ from the limitations to which Governments are often subject.

The Foundation was born in the decade when an escalating nuclear arms race threatened man and civilization as never before. Gandhi, in the continuing tradition of Buddha and Jesus, sought to demonstrate that violence had a social alternative provided it had the sanction of the people. The Foundation is committed to the values the United Nations has stood for, and believes in the strengthening of United Nations principles and their effectiveness. World government is possible only if we abridge our sovereignty as nations and willingly allow a world body to help us forge new relationships. The Foundation represents an attempt to synthesize the Gandhian imperatives of truth, justice and non-violence with the nuclear age imperatives of universal peace and human survival. The quest for peace with justice and non-violence is undertaken through the twin tasks of education and communication.

(Mr. Radhakrishna, Gandhi  
Peace Foundation)

As long back as 1962, an anti-nuclear convention was held in New Delhi, organized by the Gandhi Peace Foundation, which symbolized world conscience against increasing armaments. This conference decided to send delegations to Moscow, Washington, London and Paris in an act of personal diplomacy, to meet directly with heads of Governments, to persuade them to see the point of view of citizens of the world irrespective of the politics of their respective countries. This act, perhaps, to some extent, contributed to public pressure on the governments resulting in the partial test-ban treaty. I take this opportunity to rededicate the work of the Gandhi Peace Foundation as an international body to the cause of the United Nations goals, to the championing of a juster world order "in which there are no haves and have-nots and everybody is assured of a living wage and the right to work".

It would be too simplistic to say that the world is torn today between the various blocs. It would be equally simplistic to state that wars are outdated and outmoded and are no longer valid to solve the most outstanding problems today. Wars have been rendered impossible by the increase in the arms race, which is, it is said, out of control qualitatively, quantitatively and politically. Qualitatively because there are newer bombs, bearing a variety of names, with greater destructive power than was witnessed 30 years ago. Quantitatively, nations have increased their capacity to destroy each other. Politically, the system is tending towards a blind increase of expenditure on armaments, an unquestioning support for mounting defence budgets, and a mechanical acceptance of them. Slowly the machine is coming to determine the course of world events rather than man. Great teachers of the world have affirmed that all men are brothers. Wars do not achieve anything, for there is no permanent victory or defeat. The differences between people will need to be resolved by mutual understanding, by understanding the depth of human beings and their varied expressions.

Therefore, humanity has to find a more civilized way to solve its problems. Wars have been the biggest stumbling block in the evolution of humanity, of higher civilized values, of a human society founded on love, friendship, and co-operation. The life of the jungle yielded to the life of law. We must now develop and progress towards a life of love.

(Mr. Radhakrishna, Gandhi  
Peace Foundation)

There is increasing realization and recognition of this fact by the statesmen of the world, and not only by savants and philosophers, that wars are no way to solve human disputes. It has been said that war unleashes the basest of human passions, and does it under the guise of altruism, patriotism, bravery and sacrifice. The individual is thus unconsciously betrayed into immoral and anti-social conduct. But it is not sufficient to lay stress on the eradication of war; we must start a process of the reconstruction of man and society. We cannot afford to be "nuclear giants and ethical dwarfs".

If wars are to be banished, a number of steps have indeed to be taken. Disarmament would be a limited concept in the context of the reconstruction of society. It cannot be isolated from development, life-style, consumerism in the face of diminishing non-renewable world resources, great disparities in living conditions, denial of human rights, and co-existence of affluence and waste. Development can never be an economic proposition alone. In essence, it is the cultivation of the human mind, a renewal of aesthetic and cultural goals, and the revalidation of the wholeness of man. Disarmament is one of the fundamental steps, psychologically, socially and economically, that must be taken if humanity is to find a new era of peace and justice.

Peace, therefore, must be sought not only through treaties and alliances, but even more so through the elimination of injustice and exploitation between individuals and groups, amongst countries, and between regions like the third world and the industrialized nations. The world cannot continue to be at peace with under-development throughout a large portion of the globe, which in itself constitutes a growing threat to peace. The world can be safe for democracy only if we learn to tolerate differences. The increasing arms race has now in itself become one of the biggest obstacles to the economic and social development of the least privileged. What we must ensure is the survival of the weakest - "unto the last" - as Gandhi said. Answering a question, Gandhi had prescribed a talisman. When you are in doubt, "recall the face of the poorest and the most helpless whom you may have seen, and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of

(Mr. Radhakrishna, Gandhi  
Peace Foundation)

any use to him. Will he be able to gain anything by it? Will it restore to him control over his own life and destiny?" It is obvious that in the existing circumstances priority must be given to nuclear disarmament as an initial step, but total disarmament would have to include conventional weapons too. While this will need much more effort and persuasion, our attempts will bear fruition only when disarmament reaches its logical goal with the abandoning of nuclear and conventional weapons and the abjuring of war as a means of solving disputes.

The solution to war is aggressive peace. The solution is not to be found in running to underground shelters, nor in dissuading others from engaging in such pursuits; but in taking the initiative for the establishment of peace as a continuing task, a task to be taken up by the people themselves. Governments have the ultimate sanction and authority to use violence to enforce their decisions. So, governments have to take steps to reduce this ultimate sanction and depend on the sanctions of the people. At the same time, it is very important that the resources of the people and of different countries of the world are pooled to educate the people, to enable them to participate through suitably created democratic institutions and structures, to assert themselves loudly and clearly against war, and for a reduction in armaments and arms expenditure. A new psychology has to be built wherein the emphasis is on humanizing the whole issue and in establishing the validity of peace as a means of world order.

The focal point, therefore, becomes education for peace. Peace is not merely the absence of war, or the silence of cannons. It is a dynamic concept of living together, sharing the right to live and work. In Indian philosophy this right has been enlarged to encompass not only human beings, but the animal and vegetable world, too, so that balance is restored among man, animal and nature. This balance, having been disturbed and greatly distorted by the rape of the earth and the destruction of the environment that we have brought about to satiate our desires, is to be restored. This is a task for the people. Governments of nations have a role to play - a most important role. Non-governmental organizations need to create a massive



(Mr. Radhakrishna, Gandhi  
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programme for educating the people of the world in the art and techniques of peace in day-to-day living, in their social relationships, in their functioning as citizens, in relationships between culture and culture, between nation and nation, and between nature and human life. Peace is a cosmic process, an evolutionary principle which enlightens the human mind and increases its capacity, and enriches the conscience of the human mind so that man can attain new wave-lengths of spiritual being.

So much has been spent on armaments and wars that if even a part of it is spent on education for peace and learning techniques of peaceful resolution of conflicts, we would have moved many steps ahead. What we need are ministries of peace, inside and outside the governments, which have access to information and resources, which can increase the pace of healthy trends for development and human happiness, for reconstruction of humanity, and which can keep a vigil on those who, without consideration for others, bulldoze humanity and the voice of conscience. A vigorous pursuit by each one of us in the cause of peace and justice will in itself increase world consciousness, and no power can then ignore the massive strength of the power of the people.

What next, then? Where do we go from this special session? To a second special session? The process of education has to go on continuously. Steps have to be taken to define priorities and direction.

(Mr. Radhakrishna, Gandhi  
Peace Foundation)

It is not merely what the governments will do, important as such actions will be, what the final document will say, significant as it is bound to be, what the super-Powers will do, great as they are. One has to make a beginning, and that could include the following five-point programme.

First, the mounting of a programme of education for peace, a world-wide programme in which definitions would be created in the minds of men and people would be given a new vision of a new society and the art, science, tools and techniques of achieving it.

Secondly, the constitution of ministries of peace and education related to control of defence budgets, and seeing to it that peace and development take place in the right directions.

Thirdly, the reduction of military personnel and their involvement in tasks for development, together with the rest of the people.

Fourthly, the refusal to sell or transfer conventional weapons to other countries and the avoidance of the creation of conditions of tension and strife.

Fifthly, the declaration by developing countries of the renunciation of war for settling their disputes, the reduction of their defence budgets and concentration on priorities of human and environmental development.

Peace is our preoccupation, because peace means justice, peace means development, peace is the prelude to a new social order. Our commitment to peace therefore continues. We shall vigorously pursue that aim until the world is a better place for mankind to live in.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Mr. Paul Carnes of the International Association for Religious Freedom.

The Reverend Paul CARNES (International Association for Religious Freedom): I am the President of the Unitarian Universalist Association of Churches and Fellowships in North America but I am speaking here on behalf of the International Association for Religious Freedom. The member organizations of the International Association for Religious Freedom represent

different faiths and traditions from countries which form the three major blocs in world affairs. As religious liberals, we believe in the inherent worth and dignity of all human beings. Ultimately, that common fundamental religious belief leads us to believe that the goals of the world community transcend the differences that divide us. We are also bound together in holding and affirming the responsibility of religious people to help shape the world around them so that all mankind may live fulfilling and creative lives.

The factors which diminish human life are legion and at times seem overwhelming. Poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, unemployment and gross inequality between rich and poor both within countries and between countries are only part of what can form a litany of despair. While we are not utopians, we do believe that it is still possible to resist the concatenation of forces, that it is still possible to enhance life within the context of available resources. What is demanded is a reordering of priorities, and international stability. Those are interrelated and inseparable, because there is no doubt that one of the leading challenges to international order today lies in the area of armaments and the fact that the distribution of force capabilities is rapidly and drastically changing.

In addition to the awesome and growing arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union we are now seeing a startling diffusion of conventional armaments outside the traditional systems of alliances. The whole world is now quite literally becoming an armed camp, as African, Asian and Middle Eastern countries race to develop their own military capabilities.

An equally fundamental aspect of this challenge to international order is posed by the fact of nuclear proliferation. According to current plans, about 40 nations will have sufficient nuclear energy programmes by 1985 to produce enough material for three or more bombs per nation. Most of them will have enough material for 30 or more bombs. By 1990, the third world countries could be generating enough plutonium to make 3,000 Hiroshima-sized bombs per year. Such proliferation will wipe out even the theoretical justification that somehow peace could be maintained through a balance of terror between the United States and the Soviet Union. One does not need to extend the nightmare by contemplating the possession of nuclear material by terrorists to see that the mere spread of such weapons will change perceptions of the international order in a way that diminishes stability.

(Rev. Paul Carnes, International Association for Religious Freedom)

There is the story of a general who had captured a great many of the enemy troops following a battle. He led the prisoners one by one up to a mirror where they might see themselves before they were executed. He thought it only right that a man should know his own face before he died. This special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament is perhaps a mirror. We ought at least to have the courage to look at ourselves because, unlike the soldiers, it is we who will decide whether we live or die, and in that decision no country is innocent.

As an international religious organization without any partisan commitments to any country the International Association for Religious Freedom is in a unique position to call not only upon the United States and the Soviet Union but also upon all nuclear-weapon bearing countries to take the initiative in offering their counterparts a challenge to disarm. A minimum of two things is needed. We need to see disarmament as both an ethical imperative and a practical necessity. We also need imagination. Paul Valéry, the French critic, criticized Jules Verne for having Captain Nemo play Bach at the bottom of the sea. According to Valéry, Verne could not sufficiently imagine the future, or he would have had Nemo play the music of the future - perhaps rock and roll. We need to develop our imaginations both to see the self-destructiveness of our present course and also to see that our damnation is not predestined but remains within our choice and that there is yet time for other alternatives, time to choose life rather than death. What is needed is a bold, creative, courageous initiative on the part of only one nation to which others might respond in good faith. For example, as has already been mentioned, a nation could declare a unilateral ban on further nuclear tests for one year; a nation could agree not to deploy any new nuclear-weapon systems for one year; a pledge could be made by a nation not to use nuclear weapons on a first-strike basis in any circumstances.

I would also strongly recommend that every nuclear nation establish a senior cabinet-level post or department for disarmament which would rank with the departments of military affairs, because surely peace is as important as war.

(Rev. Paul Carnes, International  
Association for Religious Freedom)

The vision of men beating their swords into plowshares, which has already been mentioned here, is probably as ancient as civilization itself. It bears witness to mankind's longing for peace, as well as a recognition of its own capacity for self-destruction. In the past, these have been seen as idealistic and religious motifs which fall before the existential realities of life. I am arguing that the realism of the future demands a limiting of the arms race and that only the most naive and idealistic can believe that we can proceed as we are now doing without grave consequences. The ultimate tragedy for the human enterprise, of course, would be a war which involved the full use of our nuclear capabilities. I want to make it clear, however, that disarmament is not simply a military matter alone. I am suggesting that it has vast social and economic consequences short of war. These are equally damaging but are seldom identified in the mind of the average person, principally because they are either discounted or ignored by those who provide us with leadership. I refer to our environment and the damage thereto, to the vast waste of our limited natural resources, to the world-wide problem of poverty and unemployment. The relationship between armaments production and environmental damage and resource waste is too obvious to need explanation; what is not so obvious is the relationship between unemployment and military spending. In my own country, the United States, we have been continuously subjected to the myth that military spending is somehow or other good for the economy.

(Rev. Paul Carnes, International  
Association for Religious Freedom)

It is simply not true. When citizens are being heavily taxed to pay for high military expenditures, it means they must spend less on such things as homes, cars, food, clothing, education, vacations, social services, symphonies, art galleries, churches - all the many things which enhance the quality of life. The fact is that spending money on either military industry or military personnel increases a country's unemployment. Recent studies in this country have shown that for each \$1 billion increase in the military budget, Americans lose 11,600 jobs. I suspect this is true in other countries. The jobs are lost because defence spending is the most capital-intensive than all the other expenditures in governmental spending. The relationship between poverty and armaments becomes tragically clear when poorer and struggling nations mortgage the very lives of their people to buy arms from the industrial nations, which are only too eager to sell.

Must the sword devour forever?

We take disarmament seriously. Our representative will join with the whole array of non-governmental organizational representatives meeting on 21 June, to search out the most effective and meaningful ways by which we can follow up this special session, to make our full contribution to producing a decisive momentum for disarmament. To those who say that this session was doomed from the start because disarmament is not possible in the kind of world we live today, I say to you, we can change this world because it is our world.

I believe that there is a power that moves in history which manifests itself in institutions, in men and women - a power which transforms evil into possibilities of creativity and freedom. I pray that we may become instruments of this power, bringing human hopes to flower in new worlds, new faiths and new possibilities for truth, for equity and for peace.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on Mr. Kerinec of the International Co-operative Alliance.

Mr. KERINEC (International Co-operative Alliance), (interpretation from French): The International Co-operative Alliance very much appreciates the opportunity it has been given, as have other non-governmental organizations, to address the General Assembly of the United Nations. It is particularly pleased at being invited to do so on the occasion of a session especially devoted to disarmament. And I should like in a few words to explain why.

Disarmament is indeed a responsibility above all of Governments of all the countries of the world, but experience has proved, and unfortunately is proving it every day, that Governments alone so far have not been capable of embarking jointly and irreversibly on a process of disarmament. The persevering efforts of the United Nations still meet a measure of scepticism today - in 1978.

Public opinion is today surely much better informed about the conflicts between men than it is about meetings whose objects are peaceful. It is as if all men in all countries had resigned themselves to the idea that as long as man exists, so will war. I have come here to say - and I very much appreciate this honour and privilege - that the members of our movement do not accept this idea and have never accepted it.

Ever since the very founding of the International Co-operative Alliance in 1895 - I stress that date because it demonstrates the importance which our members have attached, since the very foundation of their movement, to relations among peoples - the founders of that international organization have included in their statute the provision that they wished:

"to build a society which would be organized in the interests of the whole of the community, based both on mutual assistance and self-help, while they undertook ... to contribute to the building of lasting peace and security".

Since that time, the members of our organization, across frontiers, have forged links which transcend mere goodwill and good intentions, links which

(Mr. Kerinec, International  
Co-operative Alliance)

have made it possible for them to exchange their experiences and even to undertake concerted action in such important fields as the production, processing and the distribution of agricultural products and articles of current consumption, indeed, petroleum products, the building and management of housing, insurance, credit, banking, agriculture, fishing and leisure activities.

The International Co-operative Alliance has also encouraged the creation of co-operatives within schools themselves which are prospering today in many countries, thus making an original, indeed, invaluable contribution, because it makes it possible for children from their earliest infancy to work for that understanding among peoples which alone can successfully combat the lack of understanding among nations which has often degenerated into warfare.

It is on the basis of that store of experience that the members of our movement wanted an opportunity to express their point of view on the problems facing our world and, among these problems, of course, the most important is that of peace.

For more than 80 years, now, each Congress, each international co-operative meeting has been the occasion to recall the importance which our members attach to peace, because it is obvious that this peace is the sine qua non for all lasting efforts to bring about the necessary conditions for the establishment of a peace which will also be lasting.

Two years ago, meeting in Paris at the headquarters of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the representatives of some 335 million members of our organization who pursue their activities in 65 countries, were unanimous in expressing their views on the problem which finally is the subject of the great debate which is now going on in this forum.

They called precisely for such a debate to be organized and recalled the unswerving support that they have always given to the United Nations, but they were not content just to express wishes. They declared that they wanted to help to marshal public opinion in their respective countries on the subject of disarmament, and particularly to draw their attention and that of their Governments to the need to condemn political régimes involved in racism,



(Mr. Kerinec, International  
Co-operative Alliance)

apartheid and fascism which are still posing threats to peace, régimes which the members of our movement have themselves denounced as hostile to the free development of democratic institutions such as our own.

They also recalled that they provide visible proof of the fact that it is possible to run things in the world without being inspired by the search for profit at any cost and by the lust for power to be exercised at the expense of others, a quest which is too often at the origin of too many conflicts.

At the Paris Congress, the members of our movement also noted the unacceptable existence of far-reaching inequalities between peoples, and undertook to intensify their efforts which they have been making for more than two decades to help peoples to help themselves, by encouraging the developing countries to set up co-operative enterprises truly at the service of the community and movements capable of mobilizing their peoples for their own development.

Members of our movement are therefore favourable to any initiative which would link the limitation of arms expenditures to improving the standard of living of the poor countries, as was called for, among others, by the members of the Nordic countries, which are very well aware of the role that could be played by the co-operative movement in attaining this objective.

(Mr. Kerinec, International  
Co-operative Alliance)

This was also urged by the Conference of non-governmental organizations on disarmament, organized at the beginning of this year at the Palais des Nations in Geneva, and our organization was very happy to attend that meeting. The same point was made in the message conveyed to this session. We therefore much appreciate the proposals made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in his opening address, calling upon the Members to devote now some part of their arms expenditures to scientific research and education, in order to promote true disarmament.

More generally speaking, the International Co-operative Alliance will support and will give all necessary attention to the conclusions to be adopted by this session, and also to all the steps which the United Nations might take to open up the era of peace which all the peoples of the world so ardently hope for.

A great philosopher once expressed the belief that the ideas which have changed the face of the world were borne to us on the feet of doves. We hope he was right, because co-operation was certainly borne to us on the feet of doves. And we believe it can help to change the world.

In conclusion, I should like to express the hope that this session on disarmament will recognize in its conclusions the role of an organization like our own, the role of the non-governmental organizations, in informing and educating public opinion, a task which seems to us a fundamental prerequisite for the success of the policy which, during these historic days, the United Nations is attempting to define in one of the most decisive fields, for the future of mankind, namely disarmament, thus responding, through this initiative, to the wisdom and the hopes of the peoples.\*

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the representative of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, Mr. Ciaran McKeown.

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\* The Chairman returned to the Chair.

Mr. McKEOWN (International Fellowship of Reconciliation):

My name is Ciaran McKeown of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. I come from Northern Ireland and I speak for 100,000 members of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, working in 60 different countries, drawn from all the great religious traditions and having included Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Let us put this entire special session on disarmament into a realistic perspective: disarmament is highly improbable.

The mathematics which support the science and technology which make modern weaponry possible, make great use of the principle of probability. And if we examine the possibility of disarmament with the same kind of scientific attitude, then we have to say that the probability of disarmament tends towards zero. Let us look briefly at the factors which make disarmament so improbable.

Firstly, it has never happened in 6,000 years of recorded history that men have failed to use the weapons at their disposal, even up to our own time, when the atom bomb has been used.

Secondly, the great, and even the small, Governments of the world are locked into a poker game based on military might. The most powerful Governments are virtually helpless in this regard, for they are borne up on the spiral of ever increasing armaments, and their economies are almost inextricably interwoven with the military-industrial complex against which the late President Eisenhower warned so gloomily 20 years ago. To expect that Governments can create a disarmed world is like expecting elephants to cultivate a garden.

Thirdly, the almost independent momentum of technology indicates that the weapons of total self-destruction, or at least the weapons of total blackmail, will be increasingly miniaturized and increasingly available, even as our technological society becomes more and more vulnerable to small group terrorism, "fighting" under whatever name. And we can never ban the knowledge of such weapons.

Fourthly, and from our point of view in the Fellowship, most significantly, the peace movements of the world have failed to produce compelling examples of non-violent societies, of communities living without arms.

(Mr. McKeown, International  
Fellowship of Reconciliation)

These factors give us an honest, dispassionate, scientific perspective: so that when all the tons of rhetoric of this special session have been weighed, when the duplicating and photocopying machines are still, then in the moments of reflection that may follow, those who consciously engage in the peace and disarmament struggle may be in no doubt about the enormity of the task that we have undertaken.

For it is an enormous, well-nigh impossible task. Yet in spite of its enormity, we do undertake it. And we undertake it because there is far more to the human spirit than mere intellect. And no matter how intellectually sceptical we may be about the possibility of peace and disarmament, we believe profoundly that the power of our compassion can overcome the global fear that motivates the arms race.

If armament is a disease, a galloping consumption which threatens to devour the human race, a disease that is contagious like a great plague, then let us assert that the courage with which that fear must be faced is also contagious.

Courage is the great antidote to this all-consuming fear, courage that has all too often been presented as bravado in the business of war. So what is this courage?

Courage cannot be put into a speech, either by a governmental or a non-governmental representative; it cannot be legislated for; there is no governmental and no non-governmental programme that can produce it; no charter can list its requirements; no single, no composite resolution can give it a mandate. No power, east or west, no ideology, left or right, can claim it, command it or demand it.

The courage which alone can disarm the world must come from within individuals. Courage comes from deep within every individual, or it does not come at all. Only each of us as individuals can decide to live without arms. And that is what disarmament is: living without arms.

I am a disarmed person. I stand here in the name of hundreds of thousands of disarmed people in the International Fellowship of Reconciliation and other organizations, people who have decided that no matter whether their lives are long or short, above all they will be lives dedicated to life, life without arms, and life, in so far as we can struggle within ourselves, without violence, non-violent lives.

(Mr. McKeown, International  
Fellowship of Reconciliation)

But I make no special claim for us, the people whose lives are dedicated to non-violence. Often we have been divided among ourselves, and have not been as powerful a peace force as we should be. Just because our conscience will not allow us to participate in organized preparation for killing does not automatically make us saints, and that is why the peace movement has so far failed to produce compelling examples of a non-violent alternative to militarism. And that is why we in the peace movement do not have the moral right to sit on the mountainside in judgement of Governments and of militarism.

Mahatma Gandhi, whose voice echoed in this chamber a few days ago in the words of Prime Minister Desai, once said something to the effect that he had three adversaries: the British Government, the Indian people and himself; and that of these three, his own self was the most intransigent.

Those of us, probably all of us, who are less saintly than Gandhi, know only too well that our own personal limitations are the greatest obstacles to peace within ourselves and to our effectiveness as peacemakers. That is why we need each other so desperately, as we try to stagger towards a peaceful possibility. We need to organize ourselves much, much better than we have ever done before. We cannot presume to change human nature, but we can organize to transform human relationships.

There are very encouraging signs of a mature desire in the international peace and development movement to maximize our effectiveness. Not only is the International Fellowship of Reconciliation expanding, but organizations like War Resisters International, Pax Christi, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and so on, co-operate increasingly with each other.

The great religions also appear to be returning to their ancient vision of the same Creator, and the brotherhood of the created, and if the great religions could clearly and unequivocally state that war is directly counter to the will of the Creator, as traditionally understood in all the great religions, then that moral force would massively strengthen the will to peace.

(Mr. McKeown, International  
Fellowship of Reconciliation)

And perhaps if women especially could establish the fashion that pacificism is the first principle of feminism, then the cultural tolerance of violence, and of the killer-hero type, would be destroyed.

These factors would be enormously helpful, just as we would be greatly encouraged if Governments could forthwith divert their military research capacity into alternative technology research, and also into the techniques of unarmed civil resistance.

But our challenge here today is not to Governments. If the non-governmental organizations cannot produce compelling examples of communities successfully living without arms, then they are doing little more than posturing in a game of power without responsibility.

I believe there are now enough of us in various parts of the world who have the vision and the will to make the non-violent alternative visible and credible in the years ahead. The peace movements must now leave government to Governments, and militarism to armies, and earn its own credibility by creating non-violent communities, and by organizing itself thoroughly in the war against war.

(Mr. McKeown, International Fellowship  
of Reconciliation)

In this task, we can certainly use a great deal of governmental help. And we would reiterate the request of Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim for \$1 million for every \$1,000 million spent on militarism. At least within the peace movement there would be little wastage, for our weapons do not become obsolete, although our technology needs some improvement.

This great non-violent movement, working from the bottom up in human affairs, can create the conditions, the consciousness and the will that may enable the politicians and the Governments to disarm.

It may be, for all our scepticism, that the initiatives taken recently by President Carter, President Brezhnev, Prime Minister Trudeau, Prime Minister Desai, President Sadat and others may be the slow beginnings of a chain reaction of disarmament from the top down.

If this movement from the top down and the movement from the ground up should meet, there would be a great explosion of reconciliation within the human family and the consequences would be almost too happy and creative to think about from our present desperate perspective, for that would be the day when the great peoples of east and west would launch together a massive campaign to release the people of the southern hemisphere from the bondage of poverty. That really would be the day when their swords would be beaten into plowshares, and nation would no longer rise against nation. That would be the day when the human family had finally lifted itself up out of the suffocating bog of imperialism and colonialism and begun at last to live as a loving family. In that day, children will be welcomed into this world, and with their mother's milk they will learn to feel at home on this planet and no longer alien and hostile. In that day, too, we will share a calm acceptance of our mortality and of our common vulnerability, and we will support each other in living out our short lives creatively, happily, justly.

That day need not be too distant. One does not have to be a prophet to recognize that we are moving, all of us, through the most significant turning point in the history and evolution of humanity. It is the time of the greatest danger ever; yet it is also the time of the greatest opportunity ever. If we make the right general decisions over the next few years, then we can, perhaps within a generation, lead humanity into what Martin Luther King would have called "the beloved community". If we do not, then we will most certainly destroy humanity.

(Mr. McKeown, International Fellowship  
of Reconciliation)

It is idle to speculate whether it will be non-violence or non-existence, whether we will learn in time to live together as brothers, or perish as fools - again, as Martin Luther would have put it. There is work to be done, historic work, joyful work, the most satisfying work on earth. If we have that dedication, that courage, not merely to stare down the barrels of guns but for the sheer hard work that lies ahead, then I believe that our compassion, which recognizes human rights automatically, will overcome the fear and scepticism, and we will create a green summer of peace within the human family.

I should like to end on a personal and encouraging note. I live in that little corner of the planet known as Northern Ireland. In the last two years, we have been driving relentlessly towards a non-violent society, through the movement of the Peace People. And while we recognize that it will take another generation to establish non-violence as the dominating ethos of our society, we have already made astonishing progress, and I look forward to the day when the Northern Irish, so long considered incurably violent, will, in fact, be in the vanguard of the struggle for a non-violent world. Indeed, as an Irishman, I hope that Ireland will find the confidence, the vision and the courage to lead the small nations of the world in freely deciding to live without armed forces, and thus once again become a light to Europe and to the world as it was a thousand years ago.

All this work requires no more than the simplicity of the approach that we have followed in the Declaration of the Peace People and which I now share with you. We have a simple message for the world from this movement for peace.

We want to live and love and build a just and peaceful society. We want for our children, as we want for ourselves, our lives at home, at work and at play to be lives of joy and peace. We recognize that to build such a life demands of all of us dedication, hard work and courage. We recognize that there are many problems in our society that are a source of conflict and violence. We recognize that every bullet fired and every exploding bomb makes that work more difficult. We reject the use of the bomb and the bullet and all the techniques of violence, and we dedicate ourselves to working with our neighbours, near and far, day in and day out, to build that peaceful society in which the tragedies we have known are a bad memory and a continuing warning.

Friends, shalom.



The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the representative of the International Peace Bureau, Mr. Seán MacBride.

Mr. MACBRIDE (International Peace Bureau): Following upon the holocaust of the last world war and the utilization of nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the leaders of the world who had lived through that period, those great leaders who founded this world body, came to certain conclusions. The principal such conclusion can be stated very succinctly in one sentence: "Another world war would endanger the survival of the human race; there is now no alternative to peace". As a result, all the leaders of the world of that period concentrated their efforts on seeking to remove the threat of war and on trying to ensure world peace. They came to the conclusion that general and complete disarmament was the only way of ensuring the survival of the human race. In furtherance of this determination, the Soviet Union and the United States, on 20 September 1961 after several years of difficult and meaningful negotiations, reached complete agreement on the principles upon which the negotiations for a treaty for general and complete disarmament should proceed, and on 20 December 1961 these agreed principles were unanimously - I repeat, unanimously - endorsed by the sixteenth session of the General Assembly. These principles were detailed and comprehensive. They received the enthusiastic support of world public opinion.

Nowadays, it has become fashionable in some quarters to say that it is not realistic to urge general and complete disarmament. The first point I should like to make is to emphasize here that general and complete disarmament is not a question of being realistic or not: it is the only alternative to another world war and to oblivion. The leaders of the post Second World War period were men of vision and integrity, but they were also, above all, realists who were conscious of the historical aggressive immorality of mankind. It is those who argue now that the present accumulation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction will not be used who are defying the lessons of history and of human aggressiveness. The existing situation is all the more dangerous by reason of the near-total breakdown in the standards of ethics and morality in the world.

My first plea, therefore, is for the calling of a world disarmament conference to elaborate a treaty for general and complete disarmament based upon the principles already agreed upon in 1961 and upon the two draft treaties prepared by the United States and the Soviet Union in 1962.

(Mr. MacBride,  
International Peace Bureau)

As immediate interim measures I would respectfully urge the special session, in addition to the calling of a world disarmament conference, to take the following steps. The first is to call for an immediate moratorium on all research, development and deployment of new weapons - nuclear or conventional. It is the continuous research and development of new weapons which is now threatening the stability of the existing arms situation in the world. The second is the adoption of a convention outlawing the use of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. That is quite capable of being achieved simply as was achieved in the case of biological weapons, in the case of dum-dum bullet, in the case of gases, and so on. There should now be a convention outlawing the use of nuclear weapons, and that could be drafted quite quickly and rapidly. Thirdly, there should be an immediate halt to the production of nuclear weapons. Fourthly, I would urge this special session to adopt the two proposals made by the Secretary-General at the opening meeting of this special session. Members will remember that he made two proposals, one for the appointment of an advisory board and another one for the setting aside of a percentage of the military expenditure of each State to be applied to the promotion of disarmament.

Concurrently with a process of concrete disarmament measures, it will be essential to carry out a massive educational campaign to promote peace rather than militarism. It will also be necessary to provide more effective machinery for the resolution of international disputes and tensions. However, the immediate task is to secure a firm resolve to achieve general and complete disarmament and to take immediate and concrete measures of actual disarmament as distinct from measures of arms control.

I am afraid that despite the many measures of so-called arms control there has been absolutely no progress made in regard to disarmament over the last 17 years - save in respect to biological weapons, and biological weapons were never regarded as militarily significant. On the contrary, the inventories of all other weapons - and in particular of nuclear weapons - have been multiplied continually.

(Mr. MacBride, International  
Peace Bureau)

Frankly, the organizations with which I am involved place no faith in so-called measures of arms control or other partial measures unless they are accompanied by actual disarmament and by the steps which I have indicated.

Finally, let me express the fervent hope that some better way will be found to link the non-governmental organizations and institutes that are primarily and bona fide concerned with disarmament issues, with the United Nations Disarmament Centre and with the appropriate department of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). A special consultative status to permit of closer co-operation at all levels would be of value. In the promotion of disarmament more than in any other field the role of public opinion is of primary importance. The non-governmental sector can be of tremendous assistance in the implementation of a disarmament programme. It can inform public opinion and can mobilize the people in support of the disarmament policies decided upon. But the all-important aspect of your work is to restore some confidence in the United Nations and in its determination to bring about disarmament and therefore to take concrete steps of disarmament.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the representative of the International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations.

Mr. LONN (International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations): The timing of this special session on disarmament is crucial for mankind. Two facts are indicative of its importance: never before have world arms expenditures been so high; and never before has the gap between rich and poor countries been so wide.

Wasted resources needed to supply a starving world are fast becoming the basis for future conflicts. Concomitantly the arms race continues unabated, particularly in nuclear technology. Various new contributions are regularly made to the arsenal of weapons of mass destruction. Thus, the preconditions for a durable normalization of relations between States are perpetually undermined.

(Mr. Loon, International Youth  
and Student Movement for the  
United Nations)

The failure of real progress towards disarmament and of effective efforts for a new international economic order are twin threats to mankind's future. Therefore it is an urgent necessity to initiate a programme to facilitate the process of disarmament for development.

These statements reflect the views of a world-wide perspective. Composed of affiliates from countries on every continent and with all social systems, ISMUN - The International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations - works throughout the world for the aims and ideals of the United Nations, for peace and international security. Consequently we sincerely appreciate this opportunity to present our perspectives on disarmament to the United Nations General Assembly.

Disarmament has frequently been the focus of our discussion and work during ISMUN's 29-year history. Most recently, in March this year, more than 100 young people representing some 40 countries from every continent, attended an ISMUN-sponsored seminar devoted to disarmament and development in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia.

There is a notion that international security may be best maintained by a balanced confrontation between nuclear Powers. This so-called principle of peace - the balance of terror - should be totally unacceptable to the international community. It offers no reasonable guarantee for any real security. Therefore we demand that the use of nuclear weapons be completely outlawed; that stockpiles of nuclear weapons be eliminated, and that all research and development of new weapons of mass destruction should be stopped. Those demands are essential, given the current situation. The development of more and more sophisticated nuclear weaponry continues without any real progress in efforts to limit such arsenals. Most notable is the inability, particularly of the two leading nuclear Powers, to arrive at even the most minimal agreement - such as a comprehensive test ban treaty.

(Mr. Lonn, International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations)

Clearly, in order to create a significant impact, these two countries need to take further steps towards a substantial reduction of nuclear arsenals and toward the immediate cessation of research in, and development of, nuclear weaponry. With general and complete disarmament as the final goal, such steps should create an atmosphere conducive to progress in the other areas of disarmament. We must therefore express deep concern about plans to produce even more inhuman forms of nuclear weapons, such as the neutron bomb.

Non-nuclear States bound by international agreements have refrained from acquiring nuclear weapons. However, the indications are that they are increasingly unwilling to live under the threat of a nuclear attack. Therefore, to put it at its lowest, the nuclear Powers must be bound by treaties prohibiting the use of nuclear weaponry against non-nuclear States. Accordingly, we also support the establishment of nuclear-free zones, thus freeing larger areas of the world from the nuclear threat. Disarmament cannot be isolated from other areas of international life. No real progress towards disarmament is possible without a positive political situation and a solid basis for mutual trust. Conversely, no real progress towards a durable normalization of international relations is possible within the context of an ongoing arms race. Consequently the process of détente must be strongly emphasized in order to uproot the suspicions and fears which were planted deeply during the cold war.

Our work for détente and disarmament must necessarily be linked closely with our efforts for a just international society as a whole. We must continue our work for a new international economic order, and carry on the struggle against apartheid, colonialism, neo-colonialism and all other forms of exploitation and domination. The twin goals of complete disarmament and permanent peace can be attained only by abolishing the military blocs and by establishing détente among all States. In this connexion we must stress the necessity of dismantling all military bases and withdrawing all troops stationed on foreign land.

(Mr. Lonn, International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations)

Confronted with the madness of nuclear weapons development, we must never forget that conventional weaponry has been the sole cause of the wounding, maiming and killing of millions of people since the Second World War. Most countries continue to devote increasing resources to conventional weapons, and this constitutes the greatest waste of resources around the world. Industrialized countries continue to spend mammoth sums on conventional weapons. It would be much better to spend that money on meeting social needs at home or on providing development assistance abroad. Developing countries also spend a substantial proportion of already insufficient assets on importing arms from industrialized nations, instead of furthering their own development.

Advances must be made in the reduction of conventional arms arsenals. Every nation must participate in this part of the process. No country should be allowed to disclaim its responsibility. The aim of this special session is to advance towards the attainment of general and complete disarmament, under strict international control. We submit that there is no doubt that progress along this path will require greater democratization and substantial strengthening of the negotiation machinery. Moreover, we support the proposal to call a world disarmament conference. Careful preparation and universal participation will be essential for the successful attainment of the objective of such a conference: to reach mandatory and binding agreements for world disarmament.

Finally, we believe that in a disarming and disarmed world: international disputes should be solved within the United Nations system. Thus this system must become strong enough to arbitrate in such disputes and to enforce solutions.

Disarmament will not come about by itself. No matter how many diplomats and experts we employ, no matter how extensive a machinery we devise, progress towards disarmament will still depend upon one further factor, namely, public opinion. Unless strong universal public support in favour of an effective disarmament is mobilized all other measures will have little meaning. We must create an international opinion that views disarmament as both necessary

(Mr. Lonn, International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations)

and fully possible. Naturally, representatives of the military-industrial complex, as well as other forces, propagate opinions to the contrary in many countries. While supporting the arms race, they maintain that disarmament will only lead to unemployment and that, therefore, it is not economically feasible. At a time of recession and high unemployment this seems a telling argument. However, we here know well that a number of United Nations expert studies have demonstrated that other practicable options do exist. Disarmament and conversion of industrial technology and capacity from military to civilian and peaceful purposes are not only possible but are actually preferable for all countries, no matter what their social systems. Under such options, each country must be mandated to develop alternative production plans, and thus directly to aid the efforts of the pro-disarmament forces.

An important side-effect of such planning would be the gradual abolition of the secrecy which ordinarily enshrouds military affairs everywhere. This would contribute significantly to stronger public control over military establishments. In view of the perspectives which I have mentioned, the world-wide affiliates of the International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations call on the participants in this special session to establish a clear and close connexion between United Nations strategies for disarmament and development. Such a link may serve as a solid foundation for future planning and implementation of programmes by all Governments, as well as by other political and social forces. Disarmament for development, as an over-all strategy, must include the allocation to the social and economic development of third world countries, through United Nations bodies, of a significant portion of the resources released by reduction of military budgets.

(Mr. Lonn, International Youth and  
Student Movement for the United  
Nations)

It is widely admitted that public opinion is one of the most essential elements for achieving progress towards disarmament. We believe that most people admit also that non-governmental organizations play an important role in informing the public. Therefore it is reasonable to test the sincerity of Governments in advancing the cause of disarmament, by assessing their attitudes towards those non-governmental organizations which are actively engaged in disarmament work.

We propose that the final document of this special session should express support for this position; in other words, it should contain provisions strongly encouraging public support for the work of the non-governmental organizations. We propose the establishment of a special international fund for assisting non-governmental organizations in activities aimed at promoting disarmament. All Governments should be encouraged to contribute to such a fund.

Despite the difficulties and problems, this special session has succeeded in placing disarmament at the top of the international community's agenda. We all hope that it will prove to have done the groundwork, and will become the springboard, for real progress towards general and complete disarmament. The International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations pledges itself to do more than just hope for progress. As a movement of young people it, together with other peace-oriented organizations, will continue and increase its work for disarmament, hoping to maintain and further strengthen the momentum engendered by this special session.



The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I now call on the representative of the Liaison Conference of Japanese National NGOs at the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament, Miss Satoko Tanaka.

Miss TANAKA (Liaison Conference of Japanese National NGOs) (spoke in Japanese: text furnished by the speaker): In the name of the Japanese Liaison and Co-ordinating Conference for Sending a Japanese NGO Delegation to the Special Session devoted to Disarmament, I should like to express my respect and gratitude to the United Nations for giving me this opportunity of addressing the Assembly on behalf of Japanese NGOs concerned with disarmament.

On 30 May we 500 NGO representatives from Japan handed to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of this Organization, a position paper describing our thoughts on the problem of disarmament and a petition with 20 million signatures affixed, requesting the General Assembly to take action to achieve complete nuclear disarmament. These signatures have been collected from one-fifth of the total Japanese population within the first five months of this year. Each one of them gave not only a signature but also a little sum of money, such as five or ten cents. These contributions made it possible for 500 of us to come to New York, to the United Nations, to prevent doomsday, when the horror that came to Hiroshima and Nagasaki might fall on this city or Moscow, Peking, London, Paris or the third world, where two-thirds of mankind live.

The following three requests to the United Nations are enumerated clearly in the petition: to make known to the people of the world more accurately and more widely the horrors of the Hiroshima-Nagasaki atomic bombing and the suffering of the Hibakusha or survivors; to outlaw the use of nuclear weapons as a crime against humanity; and to make treaties completely prohibiting the use, testing, manufacture, stockpiling, proliferation and deployment of nuclear weapons as soon as possible.

We Japanese NGOs strongly request that the United Nations take these firm and concrete steps towards nuclear disarmament by implementing these three points.

Last summer, in Hiroshima, the International Symposium on the Damage and After-Effects of the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, held under the sponsorship of international NGOs, adopted the appeal entitled Life or Oblivion.

(Miss Tanaka, Liaison Conference of  
Japanese National NGOs)

It reads in part as follows:

"Women and men, young people and children of the world, unite! Unless you can break the chains that bind you to the increasing armaments and war, we may lose our jobs, our homes, our schools, our playgrounds, our lives, our culture, our civilization, our world... Hibakusha of the world, we are all born free, but everywhere we are slaves to these monstrous preparations for a third world war."

It is estimated that the two atomic bombs, which were far from being efficient by today's standards, caused the death of 130,000 to 140,000 people in Hiroshima and 74,000 in Nagasaki by the end of 1945 alone. Even today, 33 years after the bombing, the surviving Hibakusha are suffering from physical disorders and psychological disturbances. In addition, the genetic effects of radiation always put psychological pressures on them, which can never be forgotten, and even prevent the marriage of their children. The Hibakusha are living witnesses of the inhuman nature of nuclear weapons.

We request the United Nations to propagate the knowledge revealed at the Symposium immediately, so that people the world over will know accurately and understand easily the damage caused by the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the suffering of the Hibakusha. In order to make the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki the starting-point of the efforts for general and complete disarmament, we urge that the United Nations declare 6 August "United Nations Disarmament Day" for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons.

We ask the United Nations Centre for Disarmament to conduct research on nationals other than Japanese who were living in Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the time of the bombing, in particular Koreans, and those affected by nuclear tests on islands in the Pacific, in the United States of America and elsewhere and to disclose to the world the findings of the investigation.

The General Assembly's resolution 1653 (XVI), adopted at its sixteenth session in 1961, states explicitly that use of nuclear weapons is a direct violation of the Charter of the United Nations in that it causes indiscriminate suffering and devastation to mankind and civilization and is contrary to the rules of

(Miss Tanaka, Liaison Conference of  
Japanese National NGOs)

international law and the laws of humanity. Nevertheless, for 17 years since then the nuclear arms race, which is contrary to the ideas and the principles of the resolution, has been continuously accelerated. Diplomatic negotiations and international treaties so far concluded have had no effect at all.

The top leaders of the major nuclear Powers admit that the nuclear first-strike capability of their countries has been enormously increased during the past years and that this has led to the collapse of the so-called nuclear deterrent theory, since a minor conflict can develop into a major confrontation of global consequences between the super-Powers. It is this grave feeling of crisis that has brought about the convening of this special session, responding to the call of the 86 non-aligned States.

Unless this trend of history is reversed, it is probable that our civilization will not survive the turn of this century. It is our hope that all nations, and the nuclear big Powers in particular, will agree in the programme of action, to adopt a convention completely prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons as a crime against international law.

We were deeply impressed by the report of the Secretary-General to the thirty-second session of the General Assembly last August, entitled "Economic and Social Consequences of the Armaments Race and Its Extremely Harmful Effects on World Peace and Security". The history of the past 20 years proves that it is not employment nor prosperity that the arms race creates but employment, inflation, economic inequality and the subjugation of the poorer nations by the richer.

The Secretary-General clearly pointed out that nuclear disarmament must be given the highest priority. Alarmed by the threat to the very survival of mankind posed by the existence of nuclear weapons, we believe that concrete measures should be introduced promptly to facilitate the establishment of nuclear-free zones, to halt the proliferation of nuclear arms, to ban their testing - which breeds new generations of Hibakusha - and to prohibit research and development of more sophisticated weapons and systems.

(Miss Tanaka, Liaison Conference of  
Japanese National NGOs)

These decisions should not be left to the discretion of the two major nuclear-weapon States - the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We are convinced that the General Assembly of the United Nations should be made the supreme organ where final decisions on disarmament are reached. We request also that an organic relationship be established between the General Assembly and the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD) and that the latter be reorganized.

We support the proposal to enlarge and strengthen the United Nations Centre for Disarmament, making it a full-scale agency of the United Nations, like the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), with sufficient staff, funds and powers. We also support the proposal that the NGOs concerned with disarmament should have consultative status with the United Nations Centre for Disarmament.

"Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed", says the constitution of UNESCO. Nuclear weapons are manufactured and operated by human beings. So, then, it is also we as human beings who must create a peaceful world without nuclear weapons. It is indeed the most supreme universal responsibility that we owe to our children, to our grandchildren and to the twenty-first century - we, who have known the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs as prototypes and who still live under the threat of another nuclear war. We urge the United Nations and all NGOs of the world to use the coming International Year of the Child as another opportunity to promote nuclear disarmament and peace.

(Miss Tanaka, Liaison Conference  
of Japanese National NGOs)

The current special session devoted to disarmament has not yet finished its work, but its results are already visible. Non-governmental organizations concerned with disarmament have rallied all over the world for general and complete disarmament and the elimination of nuclear arms in particular. World public opinion is aroused and is paying attention to the deliberations of the special session and the relevant activities of non-governmental organizations. It is our hope that the final document to be adopted on 28 June will be realistic and fruitful so that it will contribute to further the goals that we all share, thus making the special session the turning point away from the destruction facing mankind and towards new hopes for peace.

Let me, in concluding my statement, cite one of the many poignant poems written by the Hibakusha.

"Give me back my father, give me back my mother,  
Give me back my grandpa, give me back my grandma,  
Give me back my boys, give me back my girls.

"Give me back myself, give me back the men  
Linked to me.

"As long as men live as men,  
Give us back peace,  
A peace  
That never crumbles."

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.