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Chairman: Mr. PASTINEN (Finland)

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ENGLISH

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

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Mr. GARBA (Niger) (interpretation from French): The Disarmament Decade is drawing to a close. As to results, there certainly have been some. However we are worried by the acceleration of arms expenditure to the point that the solemn proclamation of a Disarmament Decade seems to have become an incentive for the hawks of this world who firmly believe that they can build peace on the basis of an ever more redoubtable military arsenal.

We are worried because distrust and feelings of insecurity are growing with the result that there is not only an unprecedented increase in military budgets but also a proliferation of hotbeds of tension, skillfully fostered by the military Powers both to serve their ambition to dominate and to test their diabolical new discoveries before the final confrontation of nuclear war. The States which suffer most from this deplorable situation are above all the developing countries, principally the African countries, which are thus obliged to devote the time and energy of their youth to new problems, and thus by the sheer logic of events diverting their attention from the noble causes of total liberation from the colonial yoke, the elimination of racist régimes and the raising of the standard of living of their peoples.

Indeed, what can be the meaning of the proliferation of hotbeds of conflict in Africa if it is not a disturbing attempt on the part of the industrialized countries to maintain a psychosis of insecurity on our continent which they will subsequently exploit for their own purposes? Since our countries do not themselves manufacture weapons, for the purposes of waging war they must perforce resort to the arms industries of developed countries. The latter can thus ensure markets, which unfortunately are always being renewed, for their arms and munitions. Furthermore, they maintain the paternalistic illusion that Africa has no salvation beyond their protective umbrella.

(Mr. Garba, Niger)

After having poured oil on the flames they will in no time present themselves as saviours, thus supporting the hypothetical argument that they are acting out of humanitarian considerations.

The day of reckoning is thus put off, to the great satisfaction of their true proteges who represent themselves pompously as the authentic champions of Christian civilization whereas in fact they are nothing but the rejects of European society which itself was surprised by the industrial boom of the last century. Having become a blemish on the society which saw them come into being, and having taken flight from the slavery to which inevitably they would have been reduced by the ruthless laws of comprehensive industrialization, they saw in the colonial venture the best proving ground for their sinister designs.

This reminder is necessary because we cannot deplore the lightning increase in arms expenditure without going into the causes, nor can we seek peace yet at the same time wish to maintain the forces of evil and division.

That is why the delegation of Niger is convinced that efforts to bring about general and complete disarmament must go hand in hand with the defence of just causes and the elimination of all forms of violence. What is involved is the interest of the international community as a whole because the interdependence of nations is such today that no one can claim to be unaffected by the violence which is raging in all parts of the world and its ill effects. Consequently it is of the greatest importance that our commitment to peace be genuine and not suffer from sectarianism. It would presuppose the extinction of regional hotbeds of tension and sources of conflict among States.

Therefore, the delegation of Niger is of the view that we would thus have taken a major step towards disarmament and the strengthening of international security.

(Mr. Garba, Niger)

One of the items under discussion is entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa". How can we ensure proper application of that wise declaration by our Heads of State if our countries continue to be haunted by the imminent danger constituted by a racist South Africa about to become a nuclear Power? Viewed from that standpoint, apartheid, in all objectivity, constitutes one of the most serious obstacles to the disarmament efforts that we are making every year in this important Committee - because it not only encourages its infamous supporters to seek by all possible means the most sophisticated weapons in the hope of arresting the march of history but it also maintains the psychosis of insecurity among free African States to which we have already referred to the point that it would not be illogical in our view to wonder whether, after all, independent Africa was not wrong to wish to be denuclearized before it had completed the work of decolonization and eradicated from its midst the racist, minority and aggressive régimes.

But in spite of the difficulties and doubts that beset us from time to time, Africa maintains the hope of one day being able to enjoy true peace. That is why every year we renew the expression of our will to remain a denuclearized zone. We hope that all peace-loving countries will lend an attentive ear to that wish expressed by Africa, a sincere wish dictated by its love of peace and by the need to rebuild an economy which is not spared either by the vagaries of climate or the quirks of the present economic system.

In the face of such a situation it seems scandalous to us that the developed countries should devote ever-growing percentages of their budgets to military expenses, particularly to the development of terrifying weapons and scientific research for military purposes, something which, furthermore, a large number of scientists and experts are working on but who would be better off using their talents in places other than the laboratories which manufacture death-dealing devices.

The situation is outrageous because it damages the active solidarity which the industrialized world should have shown towards the poorer countries in their struggle to improve the economic conditions of their peoples and lay down the basis for true development.

(Mr. Garba, Niger)

Aid, both in terms of capital and equipment, would certainly be more significant if the financial resources of the industrialized countries were not today swallowed up by military expenditures to which, unfortunately, the parliaments of those countries responsible for framing laws and the Governments implementing them grant high priority at the expense of the struggle against hunger, disease and ignorance in the world. We have no need to repeat here the disproportions that have been revealed and proclaimed to the world between arms expenditures and international funds devoted to the elimination of those scourges.

Furthermore, we should also stress the poor use to which aid is put as a result of the political instability of which our countries are often the victim, instability engendered by hidden forces acting on behalf and for the benefit of major countries bent upon placing at the head of our States men or cliques likely to defend their interests or those of their nationals. In so doing, those countries distort democracy, for which they are supposed to be working, at the expense of the populations concerned whose choice they either influence or completely ignore.

Although the economic aid we receive from the wealthy countries swells the budgets of our States to some extent, it is nevertheless true that massive transfers of arms - resulting particularly from purchases made by our countries in order to deal with disturbances - constitute a tremendous drain on our meagre resources which are thus unjustly used to swell the bank accounts of the arms merchants of the industrialized countries. The aid from developed countries to developing countries thus suffers from a threefold evil: stagnation at the source, forced wastage and extravagance at the point of use, and recovery by the donors thanks to the outflow of foreign exchange occasioned by those arms sales. Nor in these circumstances can we deny the link that exists between development, development aid and development efforts by our Governments, on the one hand, and disarmament and international security, on the other.

For all those reasons my delegation is convinced that no people yearns more fervently for peace and security at all levels than the peoples of Africa. Nor do we doubt that other peoples on our planet share those legitimate sentiments. That in itself is a ray of hope that must be kept alive.

Mr. CERGA (Albania): Genuine and real disarmament has been and remains a great aspiration and a legitimate demand of the peoples. But, as was rightly pointed out by the representatives of many freedom and peace-loving countries during the deliberations on agenda item 125, as well as during our traditional debate relating to the problems of disarmament, the dangers to peace and security in the world and to the freedom and independence of the peoples are increasing.

Much has been said about disarmament. Even the most zealous protagonists of the arms race have the word disarmament on the tip of their tongues. But what is the outcome? Up to now not the slightest step has been achieved towards disarmament. On the contrary, weapons of all types have reached such levels as even the biggest warmongers could not have foreseen not very long ago. The arms race has reached such great proportions that frequently the question arises: Why are the imperialist super-Powers, which themselves declare that they have so many weapons as to destroy the world many times, feverishly trying to add new ones?

Of course there is nothing surprising about the vast contradiction between what they say about disarmament and their concrete actions. Imperialism and social-imperialism continue ceaselessly to arm themselves because therein lies their strength, because their weapons are the main means they rely on in order to attain their aggressive and hegemonistic aims.

In his speech delivered at the meeting with the electors on 8 November of this year, the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, said:

"Disarmament can never be achieved through the desire of imperialism which has established its monopoly in strategic weapons and its superiority in conventional weapons, not in order to disarm but to suppress the revolution of the peoples, to unleash aggressive wars."

The United States imperialists, Soviet social-imperialists, other imperialists and social-imperialists ceaselessly talk about disarmament precisely because they are against it. They are playing a very dangerous game on the backs of the peoples: while talking about peace they are preparing for war. As a matter of fact, they compete and bargain with

(Mr. Cerga, Albania)

each other for expansion and hegemony and for zones of influence. The imperialist super-Powers incite quarrels and divisions among other countries, create hotbeds of tension and unleash conflicts and wars in many areas of the world. By intervening politically, economically and militarily in the internal affairs of other countries, they try to create alliances and groupings around themselves and to impose their will on others through accords and treaties.

But in spite of that, whenever the problems of disarmament are talked about and discussed, the imperialist super-Powers present themselves as innocent and go out of their way to deceive public opinion and lull the vigilance of the peoples. The United States imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists who themselves possess the biggest arsenals of all types of weaponry and the biggest war machinery pose as champions of disarmament, boast that they have made and are making the most serious efforts for disarmament, but in the meantime they attempt to impose their theses and viewpoints in every international body.

The two imperialist super-Powers make a great hullabaloo about the danger of nuclear weapons and put forth all sorts of slogans allegedly for the limitation of production and the non-proliferation of those weapons, for the so-called avoiding of a nuclear war, at a time when they are adding to their stockpiles of nuclear weapons and are further improving those weapons and other arms of mass destruction. At present, it is quite well known that their treaties for limiting, or for the non-proliferation of, nuclear arms, their strategic arms limitation talks and so on are nothing more than manoeuvres to preserve their nuclear monopoly and to schedule their arms race between them.

(Mr. Cerga, Albania)

The imperialist super-Powers support and propagate ideas about proclaiming different parts of the globe nuclear-weapon-free zones. The Albanian delegation holds the view that initiatives for creating such zones, such as that for converting the Balkan peninsula into such a zone, do not diminish the danger of war and the threat these weapons present. As long as the imperialist super-Powers keep intact and enlarge their arsenals of nuclear weapons, the danger to the peoples cannot be avoided by creating upon the world map a mosaic of so-called nuclear-weapon-free zones. When the imperialist super-Powers decide to make use of their nuclear arms, in a war among themselves or against someone else, they will not bother about the status of these zones, and the consequences of an atomic war will not recognize borders. What could be the value of the words and slogans propagated by the super-Powers in relation to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the halting of tests or the respecting of nuclear-weapon-free zones at a time when they are involved in a feverish arms race in order to make even outer space a place d'armes and set up there a launching system for nuclear weapons?

The imperialists and social-imperialists speculate in their statements about the devastation of a nuclear war in order to divert attention from the menace presented by the colossal quantities of conventional weapons they have stockpiled. Recent experience proves that the super-Powers and imperialist Powers find it more suitable for them to unleash war and aggression on a local scale by making use of their conventional weapons and by keeping the nuclear weapons as a means of blackmail, in order to destroy the resistance of the peoples to war and aggression.

The imperialists and social-imperialists, whenever they discuss disarmament and in their every-day propaganda, do not forget to talk about the necessity of cutting military budgets. Furthermore, in order to make their demagoguery more acceptable and attractive, they declare that the realization of certain measures in the field of disarmament and the cutting of military budgets would liberate tremendous funds, of which part would go to benefit countries with under-developed economies. It is difficult for such empty and deceitful promises to be considered seriously

(Mr. Cerra, Albania)

by anyone. The imperialist Powers do not intend to disarm themselves and to cut their military budgets. They manufacture weapons for war purposes, but they have also made the manufacture of weapons a very profitable business and a means of plundering those countries to which they sell such weapons.

The imperialist super-Powers and other imperialist Powers are themselves in a deep economic crisis, but in spite of that the expenditure on arms is skyrocketing, because, in addition to other aims, the monopolies that manufacture such weapons want to increase their gains. In this situation the selling of arms provides a way for the super-Powers to put on the shoulders of other peoples the consequences of economic crisis. It is a fact of history as well that in moments of crisis and great inflation the imperialist countries more and more take the path of militarization of their economies and of war preparation. That is why, in present conditions, any ideas that disarmament would serve the cause of assisting development seem to us to lack reality.

The imperialist super-Powers and imperialist Powers, by unleashing armed conflicts among different countries, also incite an arms race on a regional scale, pushing other countries to do likewise and to buy weapons, thus damaging their efforts at economic development. At a time when there is much talk about disarmament, the two imperialist super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, keep their occupying armies in many countries of Europe, keep their military bases in other areas of the world and strengthen their fleets in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and other oceans and seas. The bargaining in Vienna between the United States and the Soviet Union and between the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries is used by the two super-Powers to legalize their military presence in Europe and not in order to take steps towards disarmament.

The United States imperialists base their activities and their hegemonistic policies in Europe on the aggressive NATO bloc, trying in the meantime to strengthen their control over it. The Soviet social-imperialists, with the same hegemonistic aims, make use of the aggressive Warsaw Treaty while trying to rule over it with an iron fist. That is why it happens that the representative of a certain State party to that Treaty, while

(Mr. Cerga, Albania)

mentioning in his own way some facts which are true tries to overlook another reality, to pass over in silence what has been said in the statement of the warmongering policy of his patrons, in the analysis to which he refers.

On the European continent, the two imperialist super-Powers and the aggressive blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty ceaselessly organize large-scale manoeuvres of an aggressive nature. Such manoeuvres have always been a prelude to war and aggression. The threat they present has not become weaker because the organizers announce the beginning of such manoeuvres or because they invite representatives of the other party to assist in such manoeuvres. Ideas and proposals that steps can be taken in the field of disarmament and that confidence-building measures can be strengthened among States by giving prior notification of the organizing of such military manoeuvres or by inviting observers from the opposite side to attend such manoeuvres and exchanging visits of military delegations, cover in themselves dangerous aims the more so when such proposals come from the super-Powers or the imperialist Powers.

Whenever the two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, want to justify the arms race, they levy against each other charges of disrupting the equilibrium and of trying to seek one-sided advantages. Likewise other imperialists are making manifest their unrestrained desire to arm themselves, to obtain technology from all over the world so as to create the possibility of manufacturing weapons and to approach and as speedily as possible reach the weaponry level of the United States imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists.

The theories about the establishment and preservation of equilibrium between the imperialist super-Powers, and likewise the efforts made to break such an imperialist equilibrium in order to create another one, furthermore increase the dangers to the peoples of the world and increase the danger of a world war.

The outbreak of a world war is always a real danger, but the peoples should not and must not give up their struggle to prevent it and must not follow the psychosis of fatalism being propagated by warmongers. The

(Mr. Cerga, Albania)

United States imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists, who dream of world rule and hegemony and who possess the biggest military potential, are the main source of war and aggression and, if left to realize their plans, might quite possibly throw the peoples of the world into the biggest holocaust in the history of mankind. There are also imperialists who have become the most zealous activists in favour of the outbreak of a world war and, above all, of unleashing a global war in Europe so that their desire for war in the West and temporary peace in the East might be fulfilled. Which imperialism and which super-Power may start a war depends on many factors. A war may break out in Europe, but it may break out in Asia, in the Middle East or in any other area. The task facing the peoples of the world and that of the peace-loving countries is to struggle against the outbreak of war. The Albanian people and its Government have always condemned and continue to condemn war preparations and war plans of both old and new imperialism and of all aggressive imperialist Powers. We have condemned and we condemn the demagoguery of imperialism and social-imperialism, which try to cover up their aggressive activities and their war preparations.

We believe that armament has reached monstrous proportions and that the arms race is going on ceaselessly not because we lack principles or because not enough documents have been adopted or not enough discussions have taken place. It is not even because mankind has failed to understand the danger that weapons present or because so far the need to educate children, young people and human beings in general so as to inculcate the spirit of peace has not been stressed as it should be. We hold that the main obstacle on the road towards disarmament is presented by the aggressive policy and the warmongering activities of the imperialist super-Powers. That is why this policy and these activities must be opposed resolutely if we want to achieve concrete results in the field of disarmament.

The CHAIRMAN: Pending the arrival of the last speaker I should like to register officially and to draw to the attention of the members of the Committee the host of new draft resolutions that have been produced last week-end and which we hope will advance the work of this Committee.

The first of these draft resolutions is contained in document A/C.1/33/L.24 and concerns agenda item 44 entitled "Prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons". The next one is draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.25, sponsored by a single delegation, Pakistan, and concerns agenda item 43 entitled "Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia". Draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.26, concerns agenda item 49 entitled "United Nations Conference on Prohibition or Restriction of Use of Certain Conventional Weapons which may be Deemed to be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects". Draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.27 concerns agenda item 39 entitled "Implementation of General Assembly resolution 32/79 concerning the signature and ratification of Additional Protocol II of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco)". Draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.28 also concerns the Treaty of Tlatelolco under agenda item 36 entitled "Implementation of General Assembly resolution 32/76 concerning the signature and ratification of Additional Protocol I of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco)". Draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.29 concerns agenda item 47 entitled "General and complete disarmament". Draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.30 concerns agenda item 41 entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa". Draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.31 concerns agenda item 42 entitled "Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East". That draft resolution is sponsored by Egypt and Iran. Draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.32 concerns agenda item 47 entitled "General and complete disarmament" and relates to a study on nuclear weapons. Draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.33 concerns agenda item 125 entitled "Review of the implementation of the recommendations and decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth special session". This contains Sweden's amendments to the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/33/L.3.

(The Chairman)

Then there are two additional documents that do not have the character of draft resolutions but have been circulated as official documents of the First Committee. The first one, document A/C.1/33/6, refers to agenda item 50 entitled 'Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security' and contains a letter dated 17 November 1978 from the Permanent Representatives of Bulgaria and Democratic Yemen addressed to the Secretary-General. The other document, A/C.1/33/7, refers to agenda item 128 entitled 'Conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States' and contains a letter dated 17 November 1978 from the representative of the United States of America to the Secretary of the First Committee.

Mr. AL-HADDAD (Yemen): The tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament which witnessed the largest representation in the history of disarmament has opened the way to a new era that is more promising than has been the case since the beginning of the Disarmament Decade in 1970. Furthermore, the consensus reached at the special session with the adoption of the Final Document embodying the Declaration and Programme of Action is another cause for hope and cautious optimism.

However, one should not lose sight of the fact that none of the many courses of action suggested to halt the arms race and nuclear armaments were implemented. My delegation joins other delegations in welcoming the pledges made by the nuclear Powers during the special session not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States. We took note of those pledges at their face value, but we believe that the growing alarm and concern shown by the international community over the danger posed by the spread of nuclear armaments have made it possible for the United Nations to play a greater role in the sphere of disarmament and arms control. Thus it has become imperative that the nuclear-power States adopt measures towards halting the nuclear-arms race and proportionately reduce their nuclear arsenals.

Furthermore, the nuclear-power States bear a special responsibility under article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968 which places a solemn obligation on these States to end the nuclear-arms race.

(Mr. Al-Haddad, Yemen)

However, the current negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on SALT II appear to be facing difficulties that can be attributed to the rapid technological advances brought about by the qualitative arms race. The question remains whether these negotiations could lead to any substantial net reduction in the present nuclear arsenals. Thus disarmament should be the concern of the whole international community represented by the United Nations

General and complete disarmament under effective international control remains the ultimate objective of all nations. My delegation entertains the view that the problem facing the process of disarmament today is threefold. The first aspect of the problem is the massive accumulation of nuclear weapons and the vast stockpiles of nuclear warheads now in the possession of the major nuclear-power States which can destroy our planet with little time or effort. The second aspect of the disarmament problem involves the competition between the major nuclear-power States for qualitative refinement of nuclear weapons of all kinds which have been encouraged by technological advances and scientific resources. The third aspect of this problem is that referred to in paragraph 12 of the Declaration in the Final Document adopted by the special session, namely, the massive accumulation of armaments and acquisition of armaments technology by racist régimes which adversely affect the right of peoples in South Africa and in the Middle East to self-determination and the elimination of colonial rule and racial or foreign domination and occupation.

(Mr. Al-Haddad, Yemen)

As the representative of the Netherlands rightly said in this Committee when he spoke about the horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons:

"This problem would become insurmountable if more States were to develop a nuclear-weapon capability and acquire nuclear arsenals."

(A/C.1/33/PV.33, p. 2)

The aggressive nature of the racist régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv is unquestionable and their defiance of the principles of the Charter and of United Nations resolutions has been clearly established and repeatedly condemned. The challenge posed by the acquisition of nuclear weapons by those racist régimes dictates immediate and urgent measures to disarm them, otherwise - and again I quote the representative of Netherlands -

"All efforts to reduce and finally abolish the existing nuclear weaponry will become meaningless if more States acquire nuclear weapons. All efforts of the past decades to arrive at reductions of nuclear arsenals will have been in vain." (ibid.)

The delegation of Yemen, in its previous intervention under item 125, has reiterated that the urgent need to conclude a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty should be a priority item on the agenda of the new Committee on Disarmament. Furthermore, my delegation hopes that with the restructuring of the United Nations machinery on disarmament new opportunities have been provided for wider participation and a positive contribution by all States along the road to general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various regions of the world in compliance with the Non-Proliferation Treaty constitutes an important step towards the goal of disarmament. My country, which has been a member of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace since its inception in 1973, believes that the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones requires the dismantling of foreign bases, both military and naval, by the nuclear-power States, the elimination of the rivalry among the big Powers and respect for the sovereignty and independence of the countries in those zones.

(Mr. Al-Haddad, Yemen)

The delegations of Yemen to the conferences of the Foreign Ministers of the Islamic and non-aligned countries have proposed that the Red Sea be declared a zone of peace. We reiterate our call for the consideration of this proposal by the United Nations as a means of strengthening the security of States in that area and consequently enhancing the chances of achieving the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament.

My delegation shares the concern of many representatives that the arms race and nuclear armament are in contradiction to the international drive to save the succeeding generation and humanity from the scourge of nuclear war. Needless to say, military budgets continue to grow in sharp contrast to the amount assigned for economic development. In this connexion, the proposal to reduce the military expenditure of permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and to utilize the amount thus released to assist the developing countries deserves considerable attention from the new Committee on Disarmament.

We believe that much has been said in the field of disarmament. What we need now are urgent and prompt measures to halt nuclear armament and to reverse the arms race, as laid down in the Declaration and the Programme of Action contained in the Final Document adopted by the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The CHAIRMAN: The name of the delegation of Yemen was the last on the list of those wishing to take part in the general debate this afternoon. Originally that list had included the names of eight delegations, but, for one reason or another, five of them were unable to speak today. Of those five, two may speak later in the debate.

I hope that this trend will not continue, and that representatives who have their names included in the list of speakers for a certain date and in a certain order will be able to speak at that time. Otherwise, it is clear that the aim of keeping a list of speakers will not be accomplished.

I should also like to remind delegations that, as was recalled on Friday, the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions - the final deadline, we hope - will be Wednesday, 22 November at 5 p.m. Those delegations that are still working on draft resolutions are courteously requested to do what they can to expedite their work, and those that are negotiating with other delegations are asked to redouble their negotiating efforts.

Finally, I should like to announce the following additional sponsors of draft resolutions: Bolivia, A/C.1/33/L.16/Rev.1, L.18, L.19 and L.21, Bahrain, A/C.1/33/L.31; Romania, A/C.1/33/L.32; and Jordan, A/C.1/33/L.23.

The meeting rose at 3.50 p.m.