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Chairman: Mr. SOUZA e SILVA (Brazil)

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Statements were made by:

Sister Marjorie Keenan (Holy See)
Mr. Shaker (Egypt)
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Mr. Elfaki (Sudan)
Mr. Al-Alfi (Democratic Yemen)

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

AGENDA ITEMS 45 TO 65 AND 142 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of the Holy See, Sister Marjorie Keenan.

Sister Marjorie KEENAN (Holy See): The Holy See would like first of all to join with other delegations in congratulating you, Mr. Chairman, and the other officers of the Committee.

At the end of the general debate on disarmament questions, the delegation of the Holy See is grateful to be able to address the members of the First Committee. The Holy See has repeatedly shown its concern for all that threatens peace and the dignity of the human person in society. It has likewise continually called attention to the increasing danger of the arms race and, in particular, of the nuclear-arms race. Today, therefore, the Holy See delegation would like to speak of only certain questions which more particularly concern the work of the First Committee.

Relations among States, as among people, are based upon choices and, therefore, are rooted in moral and ethical decisions. The existence of the United Nations is the result of such a choice: the determination of States "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". The United Nations, a community of States which is becoming increasingly universal, has affirmed that peace is possible, that it is a good to be sought. This conviction has not changed during the nearly 40 years of the United Nations existence. Indeed, it has become stronger and more urgent in the present situation of tension and confrontation, coupled with growing economic imbalances, all of which are serious threats to peace.

The interdependence of the various crises now facing the world is becoming increasingly evident and seriously recognized. The complexity of relationships between disarmament, development, security and human rights is a challenge to the world's conscience in search of the good of peoples of each State and of all humanity. This same complex interdependence, however, also implies that progress in one area can have positive effects in others, especially if a conscious awareness of the links is maintained.

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Nowhere is such a link more evident than in the relationship between disarmament and development. The United Nations study on this subject and the subsequent discussions have helped to keep this relationship before the General Assembly and to ensure that the hungry people of the world are not forgotten in the more technical disarmament discussions. The moral strength of an international organization is certainly found in the attention it pays to the needs of its weaker, more vulnerable members.

It is not enough, however, to establish a link between disarmament and development. With increasing knowledge comes an increase in moral obligations. Disarmament measures will not automatically lead to the release of increased funds for development, and particularly for that of the developing countries. A conscious political choice is necessary. In this light, the Holy See is encouraged that the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) study on the establishment of an international disarmament fund for development will be discussed at the present session. To consider the mechanisms necessary for a transfer of funds is a first step towards the actual transfer of considerable resources. The effective establishment of such a fund would demonstrate the determination of States to collaborate for the common good of humanity. It is evident, however, that increased development aid cannot be made dependent on the establishment of any such fund. The needs of people are too urgent. Concrete steps towards the setting up of this fund would, on the other hand, mark the beginning of the reordering of the world's priorities.

Today, States and people alike need to see progress in disarmament in order to maintain or restore their conviction that peace is possible. This much-needed progress would strengthen hope and would have a very positive influence on other areas of international life. Most prominent among these measures would be a halting of the nuclear-arms race, followed by balanced, gradual and verifiable reductions. Nuclear-arms negotiations would likewise facilitate consideration of conventional-arms reductions and the arms trade, as well as regional disarmament measures.

Progress in nuclear-arms negotiations becomes more urgent as the 1985 Review Conference on the Non-Proliferation Treaty approaches. This important Treaty is strained by two interrelated factors: the failure to achieve universal adherence

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and the failure of the nuclear-weapon States to reach nuclear disarmament agreements. The Holy See, a party to the Treaty because its aims correspond with its own mission of peace, urges those concerned to take this interrelationship seriously.

The Holy See joins with other States and peoples in asking those who bear the greatest responsibility to negotiate measures that will lessen the fear of a possible use of nuclear weapons. Success in bilateral negotiations would be the necessary positive complement to multilateral negotiations.

The Holy See has repeatedly stated that negotiations represent the way to peace. Recently during his visit to Switzerland, Pope John Paul II again stressed that "there is no alternative to dialogue, to compromise between concerned parties and to just agreements."

Constructive dialogue, the basis of true negotiations, is difficult where there is a lack of mutual trust, compounded by ideological confrontation. This serious obstacle to progress might be overcome by a willingness to agree to even modest intermediate measures, with adequate verification, as a basis for further progress. Increasing the number of such agreements would also broaden the negotiating bases in times of difficulty.

The present discussion of confidence-building measures in the United Nations and other forums is also a valid contribution to the overcoming of mistrust and thus facilitates negotiations on disarmament measures, be they global or regional.

A ban on chemical weapons is currently the one area in multilateral negotiations where progress seems the most possible. The Holy See therefore continues to urge the rapid conclusion of a treaty that will remove such weapons from the arsenals of States. Reports of the use of chemical weapons make such a treaty all the more important and heighten the necessity of adequate verification measures and complaints procedures. The Holy See repeats that it is difficult to conceive of any circumstance in which the use of chemical weapons would be justifiable.

General abhorrence concerning the use of chemical weapons dates from long years. Now the world is faced with a new disturbing menace: the possible use of outer space as an arena of conflict, as a threat to the peace and well-being of all countries. The recent advances in space technology give witness to the genius of

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the human mind. They likewise make clearly evident the indispensable relationship between ethics and science. It is a grave moral aberration when science is diverted from the promotion of life and the good of humanity. The responsibility of making ethically sound choices falls certainly on the individual scientist but also on Governments. Often government leaders are the only ones who possess sufficient information to grasp the overall significance of a multiplicity of individual projects.

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They also hold the power of decision. Their responsibility for the right ordering of scientific research is therefore heavy, particularly now when outer space weaponry research and development is at a turning point. The possibilities for using outer space for the good of peoples, particularly in developing countries, are vast. To turn its use against the common good is not acceptable. It must also be remembered that only a few States possess the technological capacity to develop weaponry for use in or from outer space. Much depends on their choices.

Speaking in Hiroshima to scientists on 25 February 1981, Pope John Paul II noted the tremendous capacity of science and technology to better human life and the fearsome capacity that the scientist holds for turning science against life and towards destruction. He said that using science and technology for the good of the world's peoples "obviously presupposes political choices, and, more fundamentally, moral options. The moment is approaching," he went on to say, "when priorities will have to be redefined." This year, speaking on the same topic at the University of Fribourg, Pope John Paul II added that he would like to state with joy that a growing number of scholars and researchers at a very high level are becoming increasingly conscious of their moral responsibility for the body politic and for humanity as well. Governments must increasingly translate this growing moral conviction into political decisions. This is true not only for questions related to outer space but also for all aspects of military weaponry. The Holy See will therefore follow with concern and interest the discussion during the present session of the General Assembly on military research and development, as well as that on outer space.

Concrete steps towards balanced and verifiable arms agreements and towards a reordering of priorities in scientific fields would lead the world closer to peace. Not that peace which is no more than that absence of war so longed for by victims of present conflicts. Not that peace which is imposed and which compromises values or beliefs. Not peace at the expense of some, but rather peace as a way of life, a culture based on the dignity of the human person in society.

In closing, the Holy See would like to remind delegations that 1985 is the International Year of Youth. Youth suffer particularly from war, either as part of combating forces or as victims of violence. This is particularly cruel if they have also been children of war. Youth has a right to the assurance not only that peace is possible but also that it is being actively promoted and built up by those responsible for the well-being of the international community.

Mr. SHAKER (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): Mr. Chairman, we are convinced that under your wise guidance, the Committee will discharge its task successfully, especially during this session, which is being held at a time of great political tension and major international events and political transformations which have turned a period of international détente into a period more reminiscent of the cold war. No one can deny that we are passing through a dangerous time. We are starting our work, in a period of constant deterioration in the political climate since the rivalries between the blocs have increased the danger of war. Many States consider themselves threatened and whatever their size and whether they possess the most advanced weapons systems or are modestly armed, all fear for their security and their future.

The present international situation can be characterized by two parallel tendencies: the first is the increased recourse to force in international relations and the second is an increasingly precarious world economy. The countries of the third world, which comprise the overwhelming majority of the world's population, are caught between these two dangerous tendencies, and as a consequence suffer more than others. Their political independence is endangered, on the one hand, and their economic potential is seriously threatened, on the other. Unfortunately, more than 13 years have passed since the General Assembly adopted resolution 2734 (XXV) containing the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, in an attempt to give additional impetus to the principles of the Charter with a view to safeguarding international peace and security. Is it not ironic that the international situation at the time of the adoption of that resolution was better than it is today? We are genuinely convinced, therefore, that the cold war is a serious threat to peace in the world and to world stability and that the possibilities of an East-West confrontation are increasing with the heightened rivalries over spheres of influence, and even in the absence of any progress in the field of nuclear disarmament.

A quarter of a century has now passed since the General Assembly adopted resolution 1378 (XIV) of 20 November 1959, which stated: "the question of general and complete world disarmament is the most important one facing the world today". Today, 25 years later, we find ourselves in exactly the same situation.

Despite the insistence of the international community and its repeated appeals that this objective be achieved, practically nothing has been accomplished. The scope of the arms race has even increased, especially in the nuclear area; it has reached new and unconscionable levels. All that is taking place at a time when

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forces hostile to the liberation of peoples are continuing their violations of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and the right of peoples subjected to foreign and colonialist domination or foreign occupation, thus standing in the way of their right to self-determination and independence.

The greatest danger confronting the world today, more than ever in the past is the threat of annihilation by a nuclear war. The continued pursuit of the arms race by the nuclear-weapon States has created a situation in which mankind seems condemned to remain under the threat of nuclear annihilation. The danger that a nuclear war will occur, despite everything that is said about this not being possible both because of the nuclear stand-off and the terrible consequences of such an event is nourished by the rivalry and the lack of confidence between the two super-Powers.

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This danger has an impact on the security of nuclear and non-nuclear countries.

This has been confirmed by the Political Declaration of the non-aligned Summit in New Delhi, which said that:

"Nuclear weapons are more than weapons of war. They are instruments of mass annihilation. The Heads of State or Government therefore find it unacceptable that the security of all States and the very survival of mankind should be held hostage to the security interests of a handful of nuclear-weapon States." (A/38/132, p. 14)

The Joint Declaration of the six Heads of State and Government of 22 May reaffirms in this sense that

"The probability of nuclear holocaust increases as warning time decreases and the weapons become swifter, more accurate and more deadly. The rush towards global suicide must be stopped and then reversed." (A/39/277, p. 4)

My country's delegation proclaimed its support for this Declaration at the time of its adoption and reaffirmed the importance of the role of the nuclear countries in giving effect to the content of the document.

Leslie Gelb, a commentator on strategic matters with wide experience in the field of disarmament, wrote in the New York Times of 8 October that the forces for stalemate - military balances of power, the internal politics of the major adversaries, the daunting extent of differences in negotiating positions - outweigh pressures for progress in the field of disarmament and in negotiations to that end. We do not wholly share that pessimism but we believe that the failure of international institutions to play an effective role in lessening the tension in negotiations on disarmament, whether multilateral or bilateral, increases the gravity of the situation. Furthermore, the bilateral negotiations have been halted completely, as the Committee knows. There is no doubt that the absence of the political will on the part of the major Powers who have primary responsibility in the field of disarmament because of their enormous nuclear and conventional arsenals is the natural result of the lack of confidence in international relations generally.

The responsibility of the two main super-Powers, which possess the largest arsenals of nuclear weapons, is fundamental to the achievement of nuclear disarmament. We call on the international community to take steps to strengthen

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confidence by adopting measures of international control of disarmament and to persuade the two main super-Powers to resume negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear weapons and the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons.

We believe that the feverish efforts to increase the stockpiles of nuclear and conventional weapons, in particular the especially dangerous, indiscriminate and destructive weapons, as well as the most sophisticated and powerful ones, has reached an extremely dangerous level. That is why, instead of even more being spent on armament - the expenditure on which, according to the latest statistics, has risen to \$750 billion - the greater part, if not the whole, of this money should be devoted to raising the living standards of the peoples and to the economic and social development which would be the inevitable result of halting and reversing the arms race.

It is amazing that efforts should be made to justify the tendency to devote constantly increasing resources to nuclear armament and intensive conventional armament by saying that its purpose is to safeguard international peace and stability, while in fact the slightest miscalculation could result in total destruction. The world today is an indivisible whole and it is no longer possible to see war or peace, the rich or the poor, each in its own perspective. We must take an overall view, a long view, and profit from the lessons of the past. Shortsightedness was the cause of two world wars and of all the misfortunes these brought for many peoples, just as they are the cause of the wars now going on in many areas of tension, in which the peoples are suffering the same horrors - which, despite their gravity, cannot be compared with those that would follow a third world war, that is, a nuclear war. I stress the word "nuclear" because no State could win a war in the nuclear era and if any State were victorious it would be a suicidal victory. That is why we can only hope that courageous steps will be taken to limit armaments, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Bearing all this in mind, the delegation of my country, together with the group of 21 States participating in the Conference on Disarmament, in Geneva, have refused to relate the security of the world as a whole to the relations between the two nuclear States, on the basis that this is neither politically nor morally justifiable.

(Mr. Shaker, Egypt)

Since we shall be holding the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in less than a year's time, we hope that it will be possible to give a strong impetus to the non-proliferation régime and to increase its effectiveness and credibility. The nuclear States, in particular the two main super-Powers, which possess the most powerful arsenals of nuclear weapons, have a vital and essential responsibility to strengthen the non-proliferation régime.

The nuclear Powers parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty have undertaken to engage in negotiations on halting the arms race and on nuclear disarmament. The non-nuclear States parties to the Treaty, for their part, have undertaken to renounce the nuclear option and not to seek to acquire nuclear weapons. The latter States have honoured their commitment, while the nuclear States have continued to increase their stockpiles of nuclear weapons and to develop new generations of these weapons. The nuclear States must honour their commitments under article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and undertake negotiations in good faith with a view to reaching an agreement on effective measures to halt the nuclear arms race in the near future and signing an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

The conclusion of a treaty on the complete prohibition of nuclear tests before the convening of the Third Review Conference would provide an ideal present for that Conference and would convince the world of the seriousness of the treaty and of the system that must be established to prevent the horizontal and vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Egypt, as a State party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, will do everything possible to make the next Review Conference of the Non-Proliferation Treaty both profitable and fruitful in strengthening the non-proliferation régime and enhancing co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

The Non-Proliferation Treaty alone cannot guarantee world security. It must be complemented by parallel provisions to avert the nuclear threat to mankind by facilitating and increasing co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, not by imposing restrictions, and by creating nuclear-weapon-free zones.

(Mr. Shaker, Egypt)

Egypt has taken the initiative since 1974 in calling for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East and has supported all the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at successive sessions with a view to the attainment of this aim. The most recent General Assembly resolution on this subject invited the States of the region, pending the creation of the nuclear-free zone and during its establishment, to refrain from the production of nuclear weapons and from acquiring such weapons or authorizing a third party to deploy them on its territory, and to submit their nuclear activities to the safeguards system of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

(Mr. Shaker, Egypt)

The Final Declaration (A/39/526-S/16758, annex) approved by the countries of the Mediterranean area which are members of the Non-Aligned Movement, at the conclusion of the meeting held at ministerial level at Valletta on 10 and 11 September 1984, expressed total support for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East. The Ministers called upon the General Assembly and the Secretary-General to invest the necessary efforts and undertake concrete steps to create conditions for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East (para. 16). That support is reflected in the Final Communiqué (A/39/560, para. 62) adopted by the Meeting of Ministers and Heads of Delegation of the Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, which was held in New York from 1 to 5 October 1984 - three weeks ago.

This support of the non-aligned countries, particularly that given to the role of the United Nations in creating nuclear-free zones, should be reflected in resolutions to be adopted by the General Assembly at the current session.

The Egyptian delegation has undertaken a series of consultations in order to prepare a draft resolution, and we hope that these efforts will be crowned with success, and that the matter might move ahead.

Because of our concern over the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East, Egypt has contributed effectively and seriously to the work of the group of experts which is preparing a study on the denuclearized zones, and we hope that the study will be a point of reference for us in creating such a zone in the Middle East and in other regions of the world.

It is important for us to implement the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its first ordinary session, held at Cairo from 17 to 21 July 1964, which was reaffirmed in General Assembly resolution 38/181 and which called for the African continent and the zone surrounding it to be recognized as a nuclear-free zone.

The Government of South Africa continues to consolidate its nuclear capacity, thus defying General Assembly resolutions. We condemn all forms of military co-operation with the racist régime of South Africa. Any individual, society, company or Government which gives assistance to that régime is helping to bring about the failure of the aims of the above Declaration which is designed to transform Africa into a completely nuclear-free zone.

(Mr. Shaker, Egypt)

My delegation feels that increasing the number of zones free of nuclear weapons - such as in the Middle East, Africa, South-East Asia or the Balkans - could help to ease tension in the world and pave the way to peace and security, contributing to the success of all nuclear disarmament efforts. What is more, the creation of such zones could also lead to halting the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to consolidating the security of countries of the region which do not have any way of preventing the installation of nuclear weapons on their territory except by obtaining guarantees from countries possessing such weapons that nuclear weapons will not be used, nor threatened to be used, against them. We therefore support the creation of zones of peace. The Final Communiqué emphasized the importance of creating zones of peace in appropriate conditions (para. 12).

Along these lines the Summit conference of the non-aligned countries, held at Lusaka, called on all countries to support the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. Egypt, along with all the non-aligned countries, is a member of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean, and it supported the Declaration calling for the area to be converted into a zone of peace, set out by the General Assembly at its twenty-sixth session in resolution 2832 (XXVI). Efforts are now being made to implement the objectives of the Declaration by preparing for an international conference on this matter, but it is meeting with difficulties as a consequence of divergencies in points of view or the lack of a consensus which could help to achieve the desired progress in this area. We therefore welcome the draft agenda presented by the non-aligned countries within the framework of the Committee on the Red Sea. We approve the items and call upon all countries to support that draft agenda so that we may take a step forward in the holding of the conference.

I should like briefly to mention some items on the agenda which my delegation feels should be the object of particular attention because of their important impact on the arms race and the need for halting and reversing it.

A new question at present exciting the concern of the international community in respect of the arms race is the militarization of outer space - as if an arms race on earth were not enough! - because this means an extension of the arms race and its escalation in space. Such a development could have very serious effects on the keenness with which the arms race is pursued, and on the anti-ballistic

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missiles Treaty. Tests which will carry us into this very dangerous stage are now being carried out, and the military budgets devoted to space programmes are becoming larger. The two great Powers are devoting 75 to 100 per cent of their budgets to research on the use of outer space for military purposes and this year as much as \$80 billion is being spent in this way. Statistics show that 8 or 10 satellites have nuclear and conventional weapons on them.

The Second United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, held at Vienna in August 1982, called attention to the danger of this situation and stressed the perils of extending the arms race into outer space. As this is a subject of international concern, Egypt joined in calling on the great Powers that have space capabilities to contribute effectively to preventing an extension of the arms race into space. The Conference on Disarmament has stressed the importance of giving priority to this question. Egypt, realizing its gravity and dimensions, along with Sri Lanka and other countries proposed the adoption of a resolution on halting the arms race in space. That resolution was adopted by the General Assembly last year by a majority of votes (resolution 38/70). It was designed to encourage the international community to take more effective measures to halt the arms race in outer space. The resolution requested the Conference on Disarmament to undertake negotiations for the conclusion "of an agreement or agreements, as appropriate, to prevent an arms race in all its aspects in outer space". In the Conference on Disarmament the delegations of the non-aligned countries and the neutral countries stressed the importance which the international community should accord to this question and the urgent necessity of establishing a juridical system which could prevent an arms race in space and limit the use of space to exclusively peaceful purposes.

In the Conference, we welcomed the suggestions put forward by the delegation of Sweden on the need for negotiations which would lead to the framing of a Treaty setting out the essential principle. Egypt shares also the views of the Group of 21, which has on several occasions stressed that outer space is the heritage of all mankind and must be safeguarded and used for peaceful purposes only.

It is for that reason that in Geneva we were waiting for some machinery for negotiation to be set in motion in the light of resolution 38/70; but alas, because of the lack of consensus or an adequate mandate for a special committee charged with the study of the militarization of outer space, no progress was possible in the matter at the 1984 session of the Conference.

(Mr. Shaker, Egypt)

While not wishing to go into details on the work of the Conference, I should like to state that the Egyptian delegation deems it necessary that there be a definition of the objectives of the Working Groups - or Committees, as they are now called - clearly in keeping with the matters entrusted to them, since all disarmament items are by their very nature complicated and overlap. But that should not prevent us from seeking objectivity in order to reach concrete and definitive results.

The Egyptian delegation proposes the creation of a committee, and then a sub-committee, of the Conference to begin negotiations on a comprehensive draft agreement prohibiting any steps now being taken towards the militarization of outer space. In this connection we support a moratorium by the two super-Powers on weapons tests in outer space and we urge them to begin a dialogue to achieve such a moratorium while the situation still permits.

Our delegation is holding consultations with the Sri Lanka delegation and other delegations on preparing a fresh draft resolution on this question to be submitted to the General Assembly at the current session. In this draft resolution an attempt will be made to take into account the various viewpoints expressed, and in this connection we wish to recall paragraph 80 of the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament:

"In order to prevent an arms race in outer space, further measures should be taken and appropriate international negotiations held in accordance with the spirit of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies." (resolution S-10/2, para. 80)

The extension of the arms race to outer space has aggravated the danger of nuclear war. The reasons for the ineffectiveness of the Conference on Disarmament must be closely examined; similarly, ways and means of strengthening the role of the Disarmament Commission should be kept under review. Proceeding on the basis of consensus has led to preventing the Conference on Disarmament from making any progress with regard to procedures, such as the reconvening of the Committee on the prohibition of nuclear tests with a new mandate allowing for negotiating a draft convention, in spite of the repeated attempts of the Group of 21 to submit a draft text with regard to the restricted mandate of the Ad Hoc Committee. Similarly, the Conference has not been successful in creating a committee on nuclear disarmament and the nuclear arms race.

(Mr. Shaker, Egypt)

We hope that the Geneva Conference on Disarmament will successfully carry out at its next session the negotiations on the various agenda items on disarmament now before us. In order to achieve this goal, we fully support the following:

Firstly, negotiations should be started at the beginning of 1985 on the scope of verification measures and on the final contents of the treaty on the prohibition of nuclear tests. Paragraph 51 of the Final Document stresses the need to assign top priority to this subject, which is considered as a necessary and radical step to achieve the cessation of the nuclear arms race and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Secondly, we must achieve a comprehensive disarmament programme with well-defined provisions for disarmament by specified steps leading to our final objective of general and complete disarmament on an agreed schedule.

Thirdly, until total nuclear disarmament and the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons is achieved, all nuclear States must provide the non-nuclear States with absolute guarantees against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. My country, together with others of the Group of 21, has insisted on that in specific documents and it has also confirmed and reaffirmed with them the inadequacy of most unilateral declarations made by nuclear countries on such guarantees.

We also wish to express our conviction that the true and definitive guarantee on the non-use of nuclear weapons is the realization of nuclear disarmament, and we stress the importance of arriving at an agreement on a common approach or formula as part of a legally binding document assuring the non-nuclear States of such guarantees.

Fourthly, my delegation welcomes the substantial progress achieved by the Committee on chemical weapons, which has completed most of its work and begun to draft a convention on the prohibition of the use of chemical weapons. In this connection we congratulate the Swedish delegation for its efforts in Geneva which made it possible for the Commission to begin drafting a multilateral convention banning chemical weapons.

We cannot conclude our statement without once again referring to the triple relationship between disarmament, international security and development.

The Egyptian delegation believes that any disarmament step can be effective only if it is viewed within the framework of this triple relationship. As paragraph 16 of the Final Document states:

(Mr. Shaker, Egypt)

"In a world of finite resources there is a close relationship between expenditure on armaments and economic and social development... This colossal waste of resources is even more serious in that it diverts to military purposes not only material but also technical and human resources which are urgently needed for development in all countries, particularly in the developing countries." (resolution S/10-2, para. 16)

Hence my delegation believes that a reduction of military expenditures by the nuclear countries should lead to freeing corresponding resources for economic and social development. In this connection we support a study on the establishment of a fund for development to be financed by the savings resulting from disarmament, and we propose that these savings should come from countries possessing major arsenals of nuclear and conventional weapons.

Any disarmament effort must be accompanied by a constant will to strengthen and promote international peace and security and the development of developing countries. To achieve these two goals, we must abide by the provisions of the Charter, in particular the right of peoples and States to genuine self-determination and the non-recourse to force or the threat of force in the settlement of conflicts and the restructuring of international economic relations based on a new international economic order with justice and equality.

The basic problem of the arms race does not reside in the limitation of armaments but only in the cessation and reversal of the arms race. Since we cannot reach this goal by ordinary means and military policies, it is urgent to seek a new way of thinking doing away with the current rigid positions of the two blocs. We must therefore hope that courageous measures will be taken to limit armaments both quantitatively and qualitatively.

We must rely less on the force of arms and more on the strength of international law and justice to which we have subscribed in the United Nations Charter. And, as we have stated, selfishness is never productive. Ancient and modern history has given us ample proof of this. Peace is the task that has been entrusted to us, and the First Committee at this session, which is taking place in a deteriorated international climate, has the enormous responsibility of adding to the monument of world peace through the rationalization of its work and not by multiplying the number of resolutions that have already begun losing some of their credibility and effectiveness.

Shall we succeed in accomplishing our mission and shall we rise to the level of this responsibility? We hope that the answers to these questions will be positive.

Mr. DUARTE (Brazil): If one were to try to identify one common element in the statements heard so far in our general debate, it would certainly be that the past year should be recorded in the history of disarmament efforts as one of the most unproductive ever. The most disturbing feature of such an assessment is that many speakers have perceived not only complete inaction but rather downright retrogression, both in the bilateral and in the multilateral treatment of the issues before us. To recognize such backward movement is tantamount to stressing the waning of the commitment of the most heavily armed nations to the responsibilities and obligations they have accepted and reaffirmed before the whole community of nations represented in this hall.

No one would dispute the assertion that the disarmament effort is today at a crossroads. Action, or lack of action, will have far-reaching consequences for each and every nation. By slackening the common resolve, the current trends may bring the world closer to disaster.

In the field of disarmament and international security, it is the First Committee's main task to translate into action the basic assumptions of the United Nations, providing the international community with guidelines by which it may succeed in overcoming and neutralizing the threat of a new kind of violence, a thousandfold more ominous and devastating than that which brought this Organization into being almost 40 years ago.

We are confronted today with a situation in which a few States possess the means that could annihilate life on earth - a prospect that simply did not exist in the past. Such States have, therefore, special responsibilities, which they have acknowledged: first and foremost, for nuclear disarmament, but also for halting and reversing the arms race in all its aspects. They must discharge their responsibilities with the co-operation and to the satisfaction of the international community as a whole. Their special responsibility is for disarmament, not for the joint management of world power.

This Committee has become accustomed to witnessing, year after year, the recitation of reciprocal accusations between the two super-Powers, each attempting to justify its own part in the arms race through the actions or the perceived intentions of the other. The concerns of the remainder of the world do not seem to matter in their particular view of reality. The closed nature of the super-Powers' dealings has resulted so far in nothing but an acceleration of the arms race, together with a heightening of their confrontation, thus generating and sustaining

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the prevailing vicious circle. One of the most disturbing by-products of this situation has been the further deterioration of an already unjust economic fabric of relations, especially in the financial field, between the wealthy North and the impoverished South.

It is high time the entire international community found effective ways of participating in the process of decision-making in matters that affect its own vital interests, with a view to unblocking the way to concrete measures of disarmament and to achieving genuine security for all.

At its thirty-eighth session the General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority, resolution 38/183 M, which called on the nuclear-weapon Powers to report on actions taken in furtherance of objectives commonly agreed upon, in accordance with commitments entered into before all the other nations. The intention of that resolution was to provide a means for the United Nations to evaluate periodically what objective contribution the international community as a whole could make to ensuring that the nuclear-weapon Powers, and particularly the two super-Powers, were discharging their acknowledged responsibilities in a manner compatible with the common interest. It is certainly regrettable that the General Assembly found it necessary to issue that call, since those who are responsible should be the first to come forward to account for their responsibility. It is even more regrettable, however, that such an attempt was met by the nuclear-weapon Powers with utter indifference to the concerns and anxieties of mankind.

We must face the fact that the negative record of disarmament efforts cannot be significantly improved unless all States participate equally in the discussion and solution of the vital problems that concern all of us and unless the powerful few heed the calls of the unarmed many. As long as the nuclear-weapon Powers continue to consider that somehow the rest of mankind should conform to their peculiar view of the world we all live in, prospects for success in the common cause seem meagre indeed.

One good example of the peculiar self-serving way in which the super-Powers measure and interpret the interests of the rest of mankind is provided by their attitudes, and those of their allies, with regard to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII)). Brazil has recently made clear once again its position on the matter. Speaking on 21 August last before the Conference on Disarmament, the Minister for External Relations of Brazil, Mr. Saraiva Guerreiro, said:

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"Brazil has repeatedly expressed its acknowledgement of the intrinsic value of this concept" - he was referring to horizontal non-proliferation - "as a reinforcement of the overall conditions of security. Nevertheless, it has never agreed with the régime specifically instituted by the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, because in our view that instrument perpetuates hegemonic structures of power and establishes discriminatory obligations and responsibilities for the nuclear-weapon Powers, on the one hand, and for all other nations, on the other".

On 26 July last in that same forum the representative of Brazil to the Conference on Disarmament made a thorough review of Brazil's stand on the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, together with a deep analysis of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. That statement also set forth, once again, the unambiguous and unimpeachable record of Brazil on non-proliferation, both in its national policies and in its commitment to international instruments - such as the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America - since 1968, two years before the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons entered into force.

Since the question of the validity and the implementation of the non-proliferation treaty has been raised in this Committee by many previous speakers, I should like to make a few additional brief comments at this stage.

The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons constitutes perhaps the only area where there seems to exist a complete coincidence of interest between the two super-Powers, and indeed among all five nuclear-weapon Powers, two of which gained legal recognition of their membership in that most exclusive club without even having to accede to the instrument. We have recently heard from the super-Powers and their allies manifestations of support and praise for the treaty, together with renewed appeals for universal adherence to it. The supposed dangers that would arise if a developing country were to acquire in the future a nuclear capability, despite the constraints enforced by all available means, were once again stressed.

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The actual possession, and continuing proliferation, of the most formidable nuclear arsenals, as well as their dissemination all over the world, however, does not seem to impress those voices. In fact, since the inception of the NPT, the world has become a much more dangerous place to live in, because its nuclear Parties feel encouraged to proliferate at will as a result of a misconceived international blessing upon their privileged nuclear status.

As the Third Review Conference of the NPT approaches, there has been an increase of international concern over the unwillingness of the nuclear-weapon Parties to fulfil their obligations under that Treaty and other legally binding instruments as well. Many voices have demanded effective and credible implementation of its Article VI, while others have denounced violations of the letter and spirit of the Treaty. The representative of Romania, a country which is both a full member and one of the original negotiators of the Treaty in 1967, was particularly accurate in his comments. I shall quote from Ambassador Marinescu's statement last Friday before this Committee:

"The fact is that those obligations have never been fulfilled and that we are witnessing an unprecedented acceleration, quantitatively and qualitatively, in the nuclear-arms race, which is likely to affect the viability of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

"The deployment of missiles and of nuclear weapons in general on the territories of other States Parties to the Treaty constitutes in reality proliferation of nuclear weapons, a violation of the fundamental purposes of the Treaty ...". (A/C.1/39/PV.6, p. 21)

This statement reflects, incidentally, the position expressed by the President of Romania in an interview published last Sunday, 21 October, by Jornal do Brasil of Rio de Janeiro, in which Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu said that the States Parties to the NPT should demand a special conference to review the new situation that has been created and to ask for the withdrawal of nuclear weapons deployed in the territories of non-nuclear-weapon States. Should there be no agreement on this question, the President of Romania concluded, several other States would be rightfully entitled to reconsider their position with regard to the NPT.

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In a similar vein, the representative of Nigeria, Mr. Tonwe, told this Committee on 22 October:

"As long as the nuclear Powers continue with their vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons, threshold States will consider it their right and duty to keep their options open, and non-nuclear-weapon States will doubt the wisdom of continued adherence to the Treaty." (A/C.1/39/PV.9, p. 22)

My delegation considers that the expression of such concerns is a highly positive development, as the proliferation of nuclear weapons is finally catching up with the Parties to the NPT. It is to be hoped that these concerns will soon catch up with the nuclear-weapon Powers themselves. In short, what is needed is not the strengthening of the so-called non-proliferation régime through expanded adherence to a discriminatory instrument, as the two super-Powers and their allies so often recommend. Rather, effective curbs on the existing, and so far unabated proliferation of nuclear weapons, would come as a result of the implementation of the political, diplomatic and, above all, legal obligations entered into by the nuclear-weapon Powers.

My delegation will have the occasion to participate in the debate on specific agenda items, and for this reason I shall not now address other issues before this Committee. May I, however, make a few general remarks on the urgent question of outer space.

Brazil is deeply disappointed over recent trends in the bilateral and multilateral treatment of the related questions of peaceful uses of outer space and of the prevention of the arms race in outer space. During the past 12 months, since the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, discussion of both pressing issues has been blocked in all United Nations forums, while bilateral talks on the subject remain hopelessly hostage to super-Power confrontation. Procedural objections on the competence of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space were raised by the same space Power which has kept the Conference on Disarmament from starting negotiations on the prevention of the arms race in outer space. As a result, no useful work could be performed in either body. At the same time, the submission by the other space Power of sweeping initiatives, overlapping

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one another, in both international bodies, adds to the already confused situation and does not seem likely to promote an orderly treatment of the subject. The current procedural impasse must be quickly settled so as to permit the presentation and discussion of specific substantive texts.

Last year, thanks to the untiring efforts of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and particularly the delegations of Egypt and Sri Lanka, the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly adopted a single negotiated resolution on outer space. That highly positive development, however, was severely hampered by the effects of the isolated vote cast against the draft resolution in the First Committee, which turned into a virtual veto in the Conference on Disarmament. My delegation believes that this Committee should again follow the sensible course of recommending the immediate start of negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament on the prevention of an arms race in outer space, along the lines set forth in paragraph 7 of resolution 38/70. By the same token, the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space should be allowed to examine substantively the many questions falling under its purview in what regards the utilization of space for the benefit of mankind. It is inevitable, perhaps, that some aspects of the two issues overlap, but that can and must be solved procedurally and is in any case preferable to the current situation of impasse and disarray in which the consideration of the subject finds itself today. What the international community deems unacceptable is the indefinite postponement of the start of significant multilateral negotiations on the substance of the matters involved.

Security is a scarce commodity in today's world, but there is no justification for it to be the privilege of a handful of nations which accumulate the mightiest weapons invented by man.

Peace and security for the whole community of nations are the essence of the work of the First Committee. But just as true peace cannot be won by the force of arms, so genuine security cannot be achieved through the quest of absolute security for a few at the cost of the insecurity of all.

Mr. ELFAKI (Sudan) (interpretation from Arabic): In what is tantamount to an annual routine exercise, we meet once again in the framework of the First Committee to resume our talks and dialogue on one of the most serious issues known to humanity in its long history, namely, the issue of disarmament in all its aspects, particularly the elimination of nuclear weapons, the existence and development of which, quantitatively and qualitatively, in a feverish race between the super-Powers, disturb all peoples and threaten their survival and all their achievements through the eventful and long history of mankind.

Once again, during the next few weeks and within the framework of a familiar routine, we shall consider and adopt dozens of resolutions, thus setting a new record, just as we did last year, when we adopted 64 resolutions in this connection alone.

There is nothing wrong with, and we have no objection to, any of the statements to which we have listened or to which we shall listen, however numerous or long they may be.

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Nor have we any objection to resolutions, no matter how numerous they are and what aspects of this serious issue they deal with. Moreover, we find nothing regrettable in the moral and material efforts exerted in this context, because they all aim at the achievement of a noble goal, with the highest priority: disarmament, in all forms, by all means and as soon as possible.

What we do categorically reject, however, is the fact that all these efforts should be in vain, with no positive results reflected in any negotiations or agreement on the path leading to disarmament, and that all these repeated speeches and resolutions should in themselves be the only possible conclusion of our work and endeavours each year.

I am not pessimistic, nor do I call for pessimism, however bleak and confused the picture may be. I believe in God, and a true believer is expected to show patience, perseverance and faith in destiny. But what we see on the international scene is not very reassuring and it does not inspire confidence in the results of the efforts exerted every year in this Committee or in other forums dealing with disarmament and the promotion of international peace and security.

The tension and concern and even extreme fear which are felt all over the world in regard to the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons; the tragedies of hunger, disease and underdevelopment, which have greatly increased during the past few years because of the international economic crisis and various natural disasters: all this stands in radical contrast to the feverish race we are witnessing between the great Powers to develop ever more destructive weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, despite the over-accumulation of such weapons in the arsenals of the Powers - and especially nuclear weapons, which according to present reports exceed 50,000 in number.

That contrast is equalled by and similar to only one other in the context of disarmament. It is the contrast that has existed for several years now between, on the one hand, the statements we have been hearing in international forums on the importance and seriousness of disarmament issues and their priority, as well as the resolutions we have been adopting every year and, on the other hand, the failure of the efforts of the international community at the meetings of the Disarmament Commission in New York and the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, which are the

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two sole mechanisms within the framework of the United Nations devoted to deliberation, dialogue and negotiation in this field.

In our opinion, those are serious contradictions and require serious consideration in this Committee as well as in other international forums, with a view to eliminating them and narrowing the gap between words, resolutions and action. We do not think this will be possible unless the States Members of this Organization, which are committed to the principles of its Charter - particularly the big nuclear Powers - change their present policies and co-operate sincerely in taking effective measures to solve the problem of disarmament in general, and nuclear disarmament in particular and urgently.

We have previously emphasized, and we do so again today, that the two super-Powers, more than any other Powers, have to bear a great responsibility in order to save humanity from the scourge of nuclear destruction, the nuclear nightmare. But this serious responsibility cannot be shouldered merely by speaking words and slogans and repeatedly adopting resolutions, no matter how attractive and streamlined they may be. It can be shouldered only through serious and persistent action for the achievement of disarmament, once and for all, for the cessation of all explosions and tests of nuclear weapons, and for the elimination of all stockpiles of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, in accordance with an urgent, comprehensive and well-defined programme and within a definite time limit.

It is now obvious that, as was reaffirmed by the seventh Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held in New Delhi, nuclear weapons cannot be an element of peace and security, either for the nuclear Powers or for others, and that the escalation of the nuclear-arms race and reliance on the doctrines of nuclear deterrence serve only to increase the danger of a nuclear war and insecurity and instability in international relations. There can be no doubt today that nuclear weapons are not merely weapons of war, but means of genocide.

Moreover, in view of the threat posed to us all, it is no longer acceptable for the security of all States and the survival of humanity itself to be dependent on the limited security interests of a minority of States that are advanced from

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the nuclear point of view. Provisions for the prevention of nuclear war and the achievement of nuclear disarmament should always take into account the security interests of all States, nuclear and non-nuclear alike.

One important positive development has been that the present session of the General Assembly has witnessed the beginning of high-level contacts and dialogue between the two super-Powers. We hope that such contacts will continue and will be pursued at all levels between these two giants, in the hope that they will lead to the resumption of the important negotiations that were interrupted last year in Geneva and Vienna. We take this opportunity to call on the two super-Powers to continue their dialogue and to reach agreement on halting the nuclear arms race, stopping the testing, production and stockpiling of such weapons, and renouncing all concepts and doctrines that would permit the possession and use of nuclear weapons in any circumstances.

In this context, pending the achievement of comprehensive nuclear disarmament, agreement must be reached on the prohibition of the use or the threat of the use of nuclear weapons by all States. That must be done in order to avoid the greatest danger, of concern to States and peoples: the danger of the outbreak of a devastating nuclear war; and in order to enshrine the principle of peace based on the commitment of all to our common survival, rather than the mutual threat of annihilation, the spectre of which looms over us every day.

From this standpoint also, urgent agreement must be reached on a comprehensive and complete nuclear-test ban. We agree with the Group of 21 in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva that the prohibition of nuclear-weapon testing is a prerequisite for the cessation of the qualitative development of such weapons. We call on the Conference on Disarmament to establish an ad hoc committee, comprising all nuclear States, on the conducting of effective negotiations for the drawing up of a treaty banning nuclear weapons. We hope that the principle of consensus followed in the Conference on Disarmament will not hamper the achievement of a solution to this problem, which has been on the agenda of the United Nations for over 25 years.

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Sudan attaches special importance to the security guarantees that must be given non-nuclear-weapon States against the threat or the use of nuclear weapons. We hope that the Conference on Disarmament will pay due attention to this subject and will reach an agreement on effective measures, without any further delay.

While we are convinced that there will be no peace or security for us or anyone else unless nuclear weapons are completely eliminated, we support, in present circumstances, all efforts to establish additional nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world, particularly Africa, the Middle East and the Indian Ocean with its natural extensions: the Red Sea and the Arab Gulf.

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We call upon the nuclear Powers to respect the status of such zones and to take all necessary steps and measures to guarantee that those zones will remain genuinely free of nuclear weapons. Africa, represented by its Heads of State or Government, meeting at Cairo in 1964, expressed the desire that Africa be declared a nuclear-weapon-free zone. It also declared the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and requested this from the States overlooking it and those of its hinterland.

Both declarations will be difficult to realize so long as the racist régime in South Africa continues to strive day and night, with the support of various nuclear Powers which are Members of this Organization, particularly Israel, to strengthen its nuclear arsenal with a view to using it to impose its repugnant policy of apartheid and racial discrimination on the black majority in South Africa and to extend its hegemony and domination to neighbouring African States. From this rostrum, we appeal to all States, nuclear and non-nuclear, to desist from dealing and collaborating with those racist régimes, because they do not abide by the will of the international community and do not adhere to the most rudimentary principles, values, international practices and laws to which the Members of the United Nations which abide by the Charter and respect and implement United Nations resolutions are committed. We also call upon Member States to co-operate in the convening of the United Nations Conference on the Indian Ocean to be held in Colombo next year.

One of the issues that arouses our concern and to which we give great attention because of its negative implications for international peace and security is the question of the arms race in outer space. The international community was unanimous in formulating numerous documents and agreements stating that outer space should be mankind's common heritage and must be used solely for peaceful purposes. Such unanimity was reflected in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which requested that outer space be safeguarded to prevent an arms race in outer space in accordance with the spirit of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies. We hope that before it is too late the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva can reach a decision on the implementation of General Assembly resolution 38/70 on the prevention of an arms race in outer space, which requests the Conference on Disarmament to establish an ad hoc working group with a view to undertaking negotiations for the conclusion of an agreement or agreements to prevent an arms race in all its aspects in outer space.

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It is encouraging to note that the Conference on Disarmament was able to achieve some positive results with regard to chemical weapons and the need to destroy them and prohibit development, production and stockpiling of such weapons by establishing the Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons, which was instructed to begin negotiations to draft a convention prohibiting these dangerous weapons and by effectively starting negotiations and carrying out a preliminary drafting of some of the provisions of the proposed convention, as mentioned in the report of the Conference on Disarmament (A/39/27). We hope that the Ad Hoc Committee will be able to finalize that convention as soon as possible.

Concentrating discussions on the necessity of nuclear disarmament because of its serious implications for the survival of humanity should not detract from the importance of taking the steps necessary to achieve conventional disarmament and to prohibit the use of conventional weapons in international relations. Rapid technological and scientific advances have made it possible to develop many conventional weapons and to turn them into weapons of mass destruction. The experiences gained from recent wars in various parts of the world have demonstrated the excessive loss in life and property such sophisticated weapons can cause. Along with nuclear weapons, conventional weapons also entail the expenditure of vast sums of money, estimated this year to total in excess of \$US 1 billion, money that should have been devoted to development, to solving problems of lack of food, water, medical care, education and other crises from which millions suffer in various parts of the world. That situation is aggravated and its solution made more urgent because a substantial part of the resources of the developing countries is being devoted to the purchase of such conventional weapons because of the present security and stability requirements and to the detriment of development.

Sudan, like many States, and particularly developing States, attaches great significance to the consideration of the relationship between disarmament and development, with particular attention being given to the adverse consequences of expenditures for military purposes and the arms race on the security and economic situation of developing countries. We have submitted our views in this respect in detail in response to General Assembly resolution 38/71 B, and that information is contained in document A/CN.10/57/Add.7. We support the proposal of the French delegation to hold a United Nations conference to discuss the relationship between disarmament and development because we believe that such a conference would provide

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an appropriate forum for the discussion of that extremely important question and to make an objective and scientific assessment of the effect of increasing military expenditures on the international economic situation. We hope that at this session the Assembly will adopt the French proposal and take steps to ensure success in achieving its objectives.

Those are the most important points we wished to highlight at this stage of the Committee's work. Before concluding, however, I should like to express Sudan's appreciation of the efforts of the United Nations Secretariat, the specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations with a view to ensuring the success of the World Disarmament Campaign. We hope that those positive efforts will continue and be intensified in accordance with defined programmes with a view to using all media and means of communication to inform all peoples of the dangers of arms and the arms race.

I should like to end this statement by expressing my sincere congratulations to the two Vice-Chairmen and to the Rapporteur on their election to their offices to assist the Chairman in conducting the affairs of this Committee. My delegation wishes all the Committee officers every success and wishes to assure them of our co-operation in the accomplishment of our work. We should also like to congratulate the Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Kheradi, on his appointment and we wish him success.

Mr. AL-ALFI (Democratic Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me at the outset, Sir, to convey to you our warm congratulations on your election to the chairmanship of this Committee. We feel confident that thanks to your ability and great skill the Committee's work will be led to a fruitful conclusion.

The importance of our meetings at this session stems from our growing concern about what is becoming of the objective, unanimously agreed upon, to put an end to the arms race, as was reflected in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, the first special session devoted to disarmament, which set out an international strategy for achieving general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

Since our meetings last year, despite the many resolutions on disarmament adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session, and at previous sessions since the year 1948, there has been no development capable of changing the state of international relations, which is deteriorating. The imperialist policy of continuously escalating the arms race, especially in nuclear weapons, has become clear, and it has acquired dangerous dimensions that have led to an increase of military expenditures, which now have reached astronomical levels, to such an extent that we have been led to a dangerous and complex impasse, where the policies of force and pressure and various forms of colonialist domination are prevailing over the chances of peace and security, which are increasingly dwindling. Such policies constitute so many obstacles to development; they are a waste of human and material resources that should be used in the service of mankind.

That trend increases our concern about this dangerous and deteriorating situation, which the Conference on Disarmament - the sole multilateral negotiating disarmament body - has addressed. The Conference is going through one of the most difficult times in its history; its work has come to a stand-still. In previous years the Conference failed to reach any disarmament agreement at all. Indeed, it has not yet even begun its essential task of negotiation on the urgent and vital issues before it, because of the lack of political will on the part of certain countries, notably the United States, and the lack of desire to end the arms race and make strides towards real disarmament.

This is at a time when the United States is accentuating its flagrant militaristic tendency, based on the achievement of military and strategic supremacy, leading to an escalation of the arms race, particularly in nuclear

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weapons, and to the development of new weapons systems and new types of weapons of mass destruction. It is combined with a desire to impose its will upon the world and directly to threaten various States and national liberation movements and to infringe upon the rights of peoples to their freedom and progress. That militaristic trend found concrete expression in the invasion and occupation of Grenada, the unleashing of an undeclared war upon Nicaragua, the infringement of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, other Arab peoples, the Namibian people and the people of South Africa, and the threats made against a number of independent States. It may also be seen in the deployment by the United States of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. The negotiations on the limitation of strategic weapons between the Soviet Union and the United States have come to a halt.

The Final Document indicated that the most urgent and necessary objective of our century was to eliminate the danger of nuclear war and to implement effective measures to halt the arms race and reverse it. That necessity was borne out in the Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, held in New Delhi in March 1983, which confirms that the greatest danger faced today by mankind as a whole is the threat of nuclear war.

Confirmation that we have reason to fear the possibility of the outbreak of a nuclear war arises from the continuous increase in nuclear arsenals, to such an extent that their capacity for destruction has reached a million times the capacity of the Hiroshima bomb. That fact must be seen against the background of the establishment of such dangerous doctrines as "nuclear deterrant", "first-strike" and "limited nuclear war" with a view to achieving military supremacy; and other similar doctrines and concepts that have but one goal - the escalation of the arms race. All of these factors increase international tensions and threaten all mankind with a nuclear disaster that could annihilate its civilization and its future.

The arms race will of necessity result in escalation and create obstacles to our achieving total and complete disarmament under effective international control. The growth of nuclear weapons has given a capacity for mass destruction and increased the lack of stability and confidence. The Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries emphasized that

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"the renewed escalation in the nuclear arms race, both in its quantitative and qualitative dimensions, as well as reliance on doctrines of nuclear deterrence, has heightened the risk of the outbreak of nuclear war and led to greater insecurity and instability in international relations." (A/38/132, Political Declaration, para. 28)

We must acknowledge that the problems we are experiencing today do not result from any lack of proposals or programmes to make gains in disarmament, or in any lack of bodies capable of bringing them about. Rather, it lies in a lack of political will on the part of a limited number of countries, headed by the United States, to engage in serious negotiations to reach the final objective - total and complete disarmament under effective international control.

We reaffirm our confidence in the essential role and responsibility of the United Nations in disarmament matters. It is necessary to increase efforts to achieve concrete measures leading to progress in disarmament. There is a choice between reversing the arms race and facing destruction. In this connection we welcome the constructive initiatives and proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which are in conformity with the efforts of the international community to slow down the arms race and eliminate the danger of nuclear war and put an end to the adventurist policies that threaten mankind with destruction.

We reiterate our appeal for the adoption of urgent measures to meet the high priorities set, in accordance with the will of the international community, to eliminate the danger of nuclear war, bring about nuclear disarmament, eliminate all weapons of mass destruction, prohibit all nuclear tests, prohibit the use or threat of the use of nuclear weapons and halt the arms race in outer space, which is a new source of concern to mankind in view of the increasing tendency towards the militarization of outer space.

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We also call for effective guarantees for non-nuclear-weapon States giving them some assurances against the use or the threat of the use of such weapons against them. We also call for the complete prohibition of chemical weapons and for an end to the practice of obstructing the conclusion of a convention for that purpose. The conclusion of specific agreements and treaties in these fields and the drawing up of a comprehensive programme for disarmament will constitute an important contribution towards achieving the aspirations of our peoples for disarmament and would also be an important element in the success of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Furthermore, that will consolidate international peace and security and promote international co-operation in the service of all mankind.

At the regional level, we renew our support for the efforts of the United Nations to create nuclear-weapon-free zones and express our deep concern over the fact that the two racist régimes of Pretoria and Tel Aviv have the capacity to produce nuclear weapons. In view of the seriousness of this situation for the peoples and the Arab and African countries, we call on the international community to take urgent steps to prevent this dangerous development, which constitutes a serious threat to peace and security in the Middle East, Africa and even the world as a whole. We ask Israel to abide by the resolutions of the United Nations by placing its nuclear installations under the control of the International Atomic Energy Agency. We also ask for strict compliance with the arms embargo imposed on the racist régime by the Security Council and for an end to Western co-operation with that régime, which enables it to develop its military and nuclear potential.

If the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session reaffirmed the necessity of holding the Conference on the Indian Ocean in order to implement the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, adopted at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly in 1971, real, constructive efforts should be pursued by exercising the necessary international will to achieve those objectives.

We wish to express our concern over the inability of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean to fulfil its task in 1984 and complete the preparations for the Conference on the Indian Ocean. This failure is due to the obstacles that have been raised by some Western countries and our concern is heightened because such

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obstacles are appearing at a time when we are witnessing an escalation of the arms race in the Indian Ocean region as a result of the increasing military presence and the extension of the imperialist military bases in this region and of the plans to destabilize security in the region.

In his statement to the General Assembly on 27 September 1984, my country's Minister of Foreign Affairs stated:

"On the arms race alone billions of dollars are wasted annually, at a time when millions of people are suffering or even dying of hunger in the developing world." (A/39/PV.11, p. 132)

The difficult conditions we are experiencing now as a result of the waste of human energy and material resources on the arms race and its negative impact on the economies of the developing countries, the obstacles raised to their national development projects together with the obstacles raised to the efforts made to establish a new international economic order confirm the close link which exists between disarmament and development. The arms race results in the diversion of resources that could be used for economic and social development, which hampers efforts to achieve solutions to the economic and social problems faced by the world today and in an increasing debt burden for the developing countries. Consequently, we feel it is necessary to take effective measures to guarantee the investment of resources released from disarmament in development programmes needed by the developing countries, particularly the least developed among them. We are convinced that without development there can be no peace and security.

We emphasise the importance of the role that world public opinion can play in bringing about disarmament. The protests against nuclear war and the demands for disarmament and the achievement of peace and security in the world have shown how vigilant the peoples are with regard to the danger that threatens them. One of the most salient results of the second special session devoted to disarmament, in 1982, was the conformation of the importance of this role and the launching of the World Disarmament Campaign under the auspices of the United Nations to inform, instruct and mobilize world public opinion and intensify disarmament efforts. The holding of regional symposiums and meetings and an increase in the number of documents printed and published by the United Nations play an important role in the

(Mr. Al-Alfi, Democratic Yemen)

success of the World Disarmament Campaign. Democratic Yemen has made a modest contribution to the financing of that Campaign and we urge States that can do so to increase their contributions in order to make available the resources required for it to be successful.

In this deteriorating international situation, we must at this session redouble our efforts to achieve peace and security, disarmament and development and take steps to avert the danger of nuclear war and the tension resulting from selfish ambitions to achieve supremacy and domination, thus enabling our peoples to overcome their difficulties and ensure well-being. The achievement of this final objective is linked to the future of mankind and his progress. In order to be successful, we must take practical steps to ensure respect for the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the principles of international law and the rejection of the dangerous doctrines and destructive concepts as well as the politics of force in international relations. We must also put an end to imperialist interference in the internal affairs of independent States and ensure the legitimate rights of peoples, including their right to self-determination and to choose their own paths to economic and social development.

In conclusion, I wish to reaffirm that my delegation will make its own modest contribution to the achievement of all of our objectives.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.