

NOV 2 1979

United Nations

GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-FOURTH SESSION

Official Records\*



UNSA COLLECTION

FIRST COMMITTEE  
21st meeting  
held on  
Tuesday, 30 October 1979  
at 10.30 a.m.  
New York

## VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 21st MEETING

Chairman: Mr. HEPBURN (Bahamas)

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Statements were made by:

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Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda (Zaire)  
Mr. Komives (Hungary)  
Mr. Southichak (Lao People's Democratic Republic)  
Mr. Al-Hamzah (Democratic Yemen)  
Mr. Abdulah (Trinidad and Tobago)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.35 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 30 TO 45, 120 and 121 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. KOCHUDEY (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): At the present time quite a few multilateral, regional and bilateral negotiations are going on aimed at calling a halt to the arms race and bringing about disarmament. That is a very encouraging fact in as much as it testifies to the wish of many States, regardless of their military and economic potential and their participation in political and military alliances, to promote the search for mutually acceptable solutions to questions that touch upon the most sensitive aspects of their security.

However, it is not always possible in those talks to make progress, to achieve concrete measures in the field of limiting the arms race and bringing about disarmament. The reasons for this should be sought above all in the absence of political will and determination on the part of certain participants in the talks and their determination to pursue a policy from a position of strength and reliance on military intimidation.

We therefore view as important and timely the proposal of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for the adoption at this session of the General Assembly of a declaration on international co-operation for the disarmament. As the Committee is aware, the tenth special session of the General Assembly, on disarmament, adopted what was on the whole a useful Final Document that contains quite a few constructive ideas and recommendations. Now the important thing is to put them into effect by preparing and concluding appropriate international agreements.

In our view, an important role in this complex and, as experience has shown, rather long-drawn-out process could be played by the proposed declaration on international co-operation for disarmament. Prepared in the light of the positive experience accumulated over the years in the conduct of talks in the field of disarmament, including talks within the framework of the United Nations,

(Mr. Kochubey, Ukrainian SSR)

such a declaration would represent a kind of gathering-point that would bring together the fundamental political principles of international co-operation in calling a halt to the arms race and, more broadly speaking, the general approaches of States towards the solution of the multifaceted problem of disarmament.

(Mr. Kochubey, Ukrainian SSR)

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR in the course of the general debate expressed its support of the draft declaration contained in document A/34/141/Add.1. At the present time we should like to speak in further detail about that proposal. The draft declaration quite rightly points out that in order actively to promote the development, strengthening and intensification of international co-operation designed to achieve the goals of disarmament, States should take initiatives and come forward with proposals to facilitate the halting and subsequently the reversal of the arms race, which is so dangerous for the cause of peace. The socialist countries, including the Ukrainian SSR, have repeatedly, both inside and outside the United Nations, presented constructive proposals aimed at making a realistic breakthrough in this area. At the same time, they have considered sympathetically and with understanding the initiatives of other States and have displayed a spirit of co-operation in the search for mutually acceptable decisions. That is an approach which our Republic intends to pursue in the future as well.

The draft declaration submitted by the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic provides that the rate of progress of the talks and the reaching of understanding and agreements should outstrip the qualitative development and stockpiling of weapons, to prevent the emergence of new types of weapons and weapon systems of high destructive capability, particularly weapons of mass destruction. Of course, if all States would strictly abide by this principle in their international policies it would be possible to achieve much better results in the field of disarmament. Unfortunately, quite often there are people who follow the line of reasoning that they are lagging behind in the arms race and therefore they are going to develop new kinds of weapons, after which they will hold talks about limiting and banning them. It is precisely that approach which leads to the mutual spiralling build-up of the arms race and the increase of tension in international relations, which, of course, is a serious obstacle to the attainment of real disarmament measures.

(Mr. Kochubey, Ukrainian SSR)

One of the most basic principles for holding talks in the disarmament field is the principle that nothing be done that would be detrimental to the security of any State. It can hardly be supposed that anyone would undertake to implement measures for reducing armaments in the knowledge that such measures would entail a serious disturbance of the existing balance of armament levels, or would do anything detrimental to the security of those countries. Therefore, the attainment of concrete agreements on reducing the arms race and bringing about disarmament depends to a large extent on a parallel strengthening of international legal guarantees for the security of States.

The draft declaration contains an appeal to States to affirm in their constitutional norms or by any other appropriate means their political will and determination to promote with all their strength the cause of peace and international security and the achievement of progress in the field of disarmament. We support that appeal. In the Ukrainian SSR, war propaganda is prohibited by the Constitution which was adopted on 20 April 1978.

The draft declaration also encourages States to undertake, in particular through their educational systems, measures for the broadest possible dissemination of information concerning the danger of the arms race and the need to bring about realistic disarmament measures. In this regard, I should like to point to the useful work which is being done by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in preparing for a world congress devoted to education in the field of disarmament.

As we can see in document A/34/147, UNESCO held a conference of experts in Prague in June this year, at which the goals and purposes of the forthcoming world congress on education for disarmament next year were laid down and a number of organizational matters were resolved. We believe that within the framework of its terms of reference, UNESCO has made a useful and practical contribution to the implementation of the Final Document of the tenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, on disarmament. We would express the hope that this world congress will facilitate the further development of education for disarmament in all countries.

(Mr. Kochubey, Ukrainian SSR)

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR is convinced that the draft declaration submitted by the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on international co-operation for disarmament, which is entirely in keeping with the United Nations Charter, is also in keeping with the interests of all States and peoples which desire to bring about genuine disarmament. Its adoption and strict implementation would promote the establishment of a favourable climate for making a radical breakthrough on the question of halting the arms race and bringing about disarmament, the strengthening of mutual trust among States and supplementing political détente with military détente.

Mr. KAMANDA wa KAMANDA (Zaire) (interpretation from French): The first sentence of the preamble of the United Nations Charter calls upon peoples and States "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

The first resolution adopted by the General Assembly, resolution 1 (I), during the first part of its first session on 24 January 1946, dealt with the establishment of a commission to consider the problems raised by the discovery of atomic energy. Resolution 41 (I), the very first resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its resumed first session on 14 December 1946, dealt with disarmament and, more specifically, with the principles governing the regulation and general reduction of armaments.

These facts in themselves emphasize the importance of the problem as it was then viewed, and continues to be viewed, by the international community. These facts in themselves constitute both a mystique and a programme - a mystique which brings to our common attention the fact that the elimination of war and violence stems from a need for peace and security and this, in turn, derives from the need for progress and well-being for all peoples in harmony - a mystique which invites us to be ever vigilant in order to refrain from anything that may inflict untold suffering on mankind and which rejects the use of nuclear energy for purposes of war - a mystique which places war and violence at the very centre of the causes which have inflicted, and which continue to inflict, untold suffering throughout the world. As far as the programme is concerned,

(Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, Zaire)

it is one which emphasizes that through disarmament we seek to save future generations from the scourge of war. To disarm, in the strict meaning of the word, means to dispossess or deprive a person or State which possesses such weapons of the means of attack or defence, or indeed of all those things which relate to attack or for the purposes of defence. Only somebody who has arms can be dispossessed of them - a person who by the very fact of that possession creates a problem around him, or constitutes a direct threat.

Therefore, over and beyond the reduction or limitation of weapons or armaments it implies, disarmament, in the last analysis, seeks the destruction or elimination of weapons and existing arsenals, prohibition of the creation and development of new weapons and the prevention of war. This was to be explained later in the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament.

The former Secretary-General of the United Nations U Thant well understood these matters when he declared in 1970:

"... any comprehensive programme for disarmament must begin with a halt or 'freeze' or limitation of the armaments race, above all the nuclear arms race; thereafter measures must be taken to turn the spiral downwards by reducing and finally eliminating nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. A comprehensive programme must of course be balanced and flexible rather than rigid." (Press communiqué SG/SM/1261 of 22 May 1970)

It therefore follows from the spirit of the first sentence of the preamble to the Charter of San Francisco and the stipulations contained in resolution 41 (I) of 14 December 1946 that we must first stop and then reverse the arms race.

It was thus that we came to advocate the limitation of strategic weapons, elimination of weapons of mass destruction, prohibition of nuclear tests under ground, in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water; the prohibition of the exploration, utilization and claims on outer space for military purposes; the prohibition of the use of the sea-bed and ocean floor for purposes of war; the prevention and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons; the granting of negative guarantees to non-nuclear-weapon States, and above all, to those States which have undertaken never to acquire them, and so on.

(Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, Zaire)

If we deprive those who possess such weapons of the powerful means of attack and destruction, we logically and automatically eliminate the reasons for others to acquire means of defence. The levels of responsibility vis-à-vis this crucial problem have therefore been clearly defined. We said that the elimination of war stems from the need for peace and security which in turn derives from the need for progress. Peace and security are the conditions sine qua non for the organization of progress and social well-being for all. Over-armament threatens international peace and security, and this threat hovers like the sword of Damocles over the heads of States, it handicaps the organization of progress and development of peoples, and in particular of the developing countries.

Responsibility for this grave threat lies with those among us who possess the means to destroy our planet several times over. We have asked ourselves the question whether the need for peace and the desire to eliminate war and violence in relations between States proclaimed by the signatories of the San Francisco Charter after the Second World War stemmed from a long-term vision - as we believe from the preamble of the Charter - or from purely immediate considerations by States which reached the conclusion that the reorganization of progress, of development and the well-being of their peoples at that time, began with the end of the war and a return to a climate conducive to international peace and security.

It occurred to us that, devastated, torn, mutilated, exhausted and traumatized by the excesses of two consecutive lethal and destructive wars, the peoples and States which had made such a great war effort, both vanquished and victors, genuinely aspired to a return to peace so as to rebuild their countries and economies and to find again moments of happiness and tranquillity.

Some also discovered that the prosperity and happiness peace had to offer was sweeter and more durable than the precarious benefits of war and violence, or the ambition for power and hegemony.



(Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, Zaire)

It occurred to us, too, that no doubt, at that time, the motive of the victors was to disarm the vanquished and the States deemed belligerent to avoid a new military adventure, and that the concept of disarmament had been enriched and enlarged by revolution.

Be that as it may, the peoples and States devastated by the two world wars have since benefited from a return to peace and security in their regions and have rebuilt, with courage, devotion and praiseworthy determination, their countries and economies. And in the maelstrom of their formidable development other concerns which appear to have taken the lead over peace, were born. The concerns of the powerful are not the concerns of the weak, the concerns of the rich are not identical with those of the poor.

We too, the peoples of Zaire, of Africa and the third world, want peace and security through disarmament, in order to build strong and prosperous economies and organize our progress. In view of our backwardness and the legacy of the past we have enormous priority needs in all areas of development and that is in fact the very definition of under-development.

But day for day 34 years have elapsed and mankind is still haunted by the spectres of war and nuclear holocaust. The desired disarmament has not taken place.

Instead of the effective implementation of the principles set forth in resolution 41 (I), the past 34 years have offered us a different spectacle, whereas paragraph I of resolution 41 (I) of 1946 stipulated: "The General Assembly recognizes the necessity of an early general regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces". The international situation today reveals the sad reality of the over-armament of States and the unstable imbalance of a world sitting on a powder keg.

It was doubtless this sombre picture which incited all parties to hold a special session devoted exclusively to the disarmament question whose very concept had been revised and corrected in the light of the experience of the post-war years. The Final Declaration of the tenth special session of the General Assembly unassailably highlighted the close relationship which exists between disarmament and security as an element which cannot be dissociated from peace on the one hand, and between disarmament and development on the other. It is from this two-fold aspect that the representative of Zaire approaches and has always approached the question of general and complete disarmament.

(Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, Zaire)

The world today divides countries into two different categories: on the one hand there are countries and States all of whose efforts, initiatives and actions are aimed at the protection of the quality of life they have achieved, for that is their foremost concern. On the other hand, there are States all of whose efforts, actions and initiatives are directed towards the improvement of the quality of life of their populations.

It would appear, at first glance, that in order to protect what they have achieved in terms of development and progress, the former no longer require peace and security so much as elements of priority concern, because they believe, on the contrary, that in order to protect their interests better, they need military forces, sophisticated weapons, powerful means of deterrence, of defence if necessary, and every why not?, the possibility of attack, all of which enhance and strengthen their bargaining power in international relations.

(Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, Zaire)

The latter continue to believe, exactly like their partners in Europe during the two world wars, that in their development efforts and action, peace and security take absolute priority. That is why so often we do not hold the same views when we consider fundamental questions affecting our contemporary world.

Is the impasse final or are we capable, in a general upsurge of human solidarity and self-denial transcending petty constricting egoisms, of rising above ourselves and finding more noble motives which will help us pool our efforts, our hearts, our minds and place them at the service of mankind? The answer to that question is in the Final Document of the tenth special session which defines security as an inseparable element of peace and one of the most profound aspirations of mankind. The impasse, if allowed to continue, would engender a spirit of confrontation and insecurity and that insecurity would hinder progress and contribute to a large degree to the intensification of underdevelopment.

What a paradoxical era we live in! We want disarmament - we all want it - but at the same time we do not agree to abolish the armaments industry, because it is part of the dynamics of our development. We defend respect for human rights in our own countries but elsewhere, far away, we tolerate the slaughter of human beings with the weapons we ourselves manufacture and sell. It would appear that the cold logic of profit and competition is the strongest. We want peace and a peaceful settlement of disputes but we are not ready to accept agreement on non-recourse to force. We are resolutely in favour of the principle of non-recourse to force but we do not consider it essential or a priority matter that the peaceful settlement of disputes be institutionalized. We want to help the developing countries, but that assistance must not put an end to the causes which gave rise to the need. We support the generalized system of preferences and improved access to the manufactured and semi-manufactured goods of developing countries in our markets but we hesitate to promote their industrialization so as not to turn them into future competitors. We recognize that the injustices and inequalities of which the developing countries are victims threaten international peace and security. We recognize that general and complete disarmament is a universal concern, but certain countries must not interfere in what does not concern them, especially since they do not possess nuclear weapons.

(Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, Zaire)

We affirm that apartheid is a crime against humanity but we support the régime that practises apartheid, we provide it with weapons it uses against the African populations and we deliver the whole range of technology required to manufacture the atomic bomb, at the very time when we state that the situation in that country is a threat to international peace and security -- all this when there is an embargo decreed by the United Nations and at the precise time when we are campaigning for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Our world is plunged into incoherence and contradiction. Wise men would tell us that this is not a good omen. All these contradictions will only serve to create and aggravate the solidarity of disorder. Perhaps at the bottom of many minds, as was said by Robert Lemaigen, there secretly grows the thought that military superiority and the atomic threat will suffice to contain the impatience of the hungry and those who are militarily under-equipped. Perhaps also the efforts towards the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons will be inspired by that spirit, but it would appear that today we can speak in the past tense, since dissemination is occurring and the chances of controlling nuclear weapons seem illusory.

"One single thermonuclear bomb possesses an explosive power greater than that of all the bombs that fell on Germany during the last war -- greater than the power of all the explosive force used by man throughout the course of history.

"Can mankind pursue its adventure if it continues to live dispersed in sovereign States which define themselves by reference to the possibility of war?"

That wonderful reflection, that anguished question, was put by Raymond Aron, and I have borrowed it from him. It applies particularly to the reality of the present world and the events we are experiencing in southern Africa. With him, we should also ask ourselves whether we are condemned to mutual distrust and to the quest for security in an ever more precarious balance of forces.

(Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, Zaire)

Is it possible that we do not realize, when we speak of disarmament and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, that the insecurity created by over-armament in the world refutes all our statements and creates a reverse phenomenon? Concerned about protecting themselves against a potential enemy and ever possible annihilation, many States arm themselves more and more and they themselves involuntarily become potential aggressors. Others place themselves under the nuclear umbrella of a great Power and thus involuntarily adhere to military alliances or power blocs. Mistrust becomes established in international relations. Everyone expects from his neighbour the first gesture of good will.

To the extent that one or the other regards itself as especially weak in the context of military relations, it seeks the protection of a great Power, thus alienating a great part of its freedom and sovereignty and coming under the law of the protector. In the past, Rome absorbed all the peoples that came under its protection. Despite appearances, man is at the origin of many changes in the world but has not himself changed. This explains the existence of the military blocs and alliances condemned by the non-aligned countries, which were not the main beneficiaries of the détente which they helped introduce into international relations, and also the political, economic and diplomatic blackmail reducing most States to marginal positions. These trends strengthen the will for and policy of power and hegemony, and we find ourselves in a vicious circle.

Over-armament and the arms race mobilize enormous resources, both human and material, for military purposes. The disproportion between the resources devoted to armament and those devoted to development is unacceptable. For the developing countries which believe that the survival of their governments, their régimes or their systems demands that they earmark more and more money to security, this is dramatic. We hope that the Group of Experts charged with studying the relations between disarmament and development will soon present an appropriate study which will enable us to bring about the basis of a change in thinking in this field.

On the threshold of the Third Development Decade, it is more than ever time that the enormous resources committed to armament be earmarked for humanitarian projects and co-operation capable of creating new conditions of existence for mankind. A major objective of the First Disarmament Decade, which was decreed on 16 December 1969, was to release the resources committed to armament for the benefit of economic and social development. Billions of dollars continue to be devoted to armaments, and the goal that is sought is very far from being attained. How much suffering in the world could have been relieved with these sums.

(Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, Zaire)

In view of all this the Republic of Zaire has firmly committed itself to following a policy of peace, good-neighbourliness and co-operation. It spares and will spare no effort to contribute, to the extent of its modest means, to the promotion of disarmament.

In this context we give our full support to the creation of nuclear-free zones, particularly, of course, in Africa. The negative attitude of Pretoria, which refuses to submit its nuclear installations to international control is a subject of grave concern for our country. We unequivocally condemn all nuclear co-operation with the racist and retrograde Pretoria régime, because as we declared at the thirty-third session:

"The possession by South Africa of nuclear technology not only would constitute a threat to peace but would jeopardize the future of the whole African continent". (A/C.1/33/PV.31, page 22)

Zaire encourages the creation of zones of peace and nuclear-weapon-free zones in other parts of the world; in South-East Asia, the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and Latin America.

The reduction of military budgets, the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons; the prohibition of all nuclear tests; the complete and effective prohibition of the development, manufacture and stockpiling of all biological weapons - all these are measures which, if implemented, would contribute greatly and positively to the achievement of the main objective of the San Francisco Charter, that is to the maintenance of international peace and security.

The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons appears to be used by certain Powers to prevent most States from benefitting from nuclear technology for their development. Our country, which is party to the Treaty, is in favour of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, especially in development projects. In fact paragraph 26 of the Final Document of the tenth session reaffirmed the

"inalienable right of States, without discrimination, to develop, acquire and use nuclear technology, equipment and materials for the peaceful use of nuclear energy ... in accordance with their national priorities, needs and interests ...". (A/S-10/4, para. 36)

(Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, Zaire)

The tenth special session on disarmament established a number of mechanisms, the most important of which are the Disarmament Commission and the Committee on Disarmament. The reports of both these bodies to the General Assembly show few positive results.

Taking first the Disarmament Commission, there is reason for gratification in the efforts made at its May session to define the elements of a comprehensive programme for disarmament in accordance with the recommendation in paragraph 118 of the Final Document of the tenth special session.

None the less we regret the attitude of certain Powers which did not help to achieve a consensus on the definition and adoption of three other elements, no less important from the point of view of the non-aligned countries, that are contained in section V, paragraph 19, of the Commission's report to the General Assembly. The first element deals with the prohibition of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. The fact that this element was not adopted is in flagrant contradiction of the provisions in paragraphs 45 and 58 of the Final Document, which give absolute priority to nuclear disarmament. The two other elements relate to the dissolution of military alliances and the dismantling of foreign military bases, and the prohibition of the development, production and deployment of conventional weapons of great destructive power, the testing grounds for which are nowhere else but in the countries of the third world.

As far as the Committee on Disarmament is concerned, the only positive element in its first accounting is the adoption of its rules of procedure. The priority task entrusted to it by the Final Document of the tenth special session and confirmed by resolution 33/71 C and H (IV) was to negotiate, beginning at its 1979 session, a treaty concerning the total prohibition of nuclear testing.

The head of the Zairian delegation declared on 4 October last:

"The disturbing increase in military expenditures which in 10 years have attained a level four times that of 1969, shows that at the present time there is no genuine willingness to undertake disarmament, particularly on the part of the great Powers." (A/34/PV.19, p. 87)

The absence of substantial progress in this field since the end of the tenth special session is a reason for concern and anguish.

What is desirable and what is possible can be achieved through peace. The future of the whole of mankind depends to a large extent on the nature of the solutions which we are able to find to problems connected with disarmament.



(Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, Zaire)

However complex it may be, the problem of disarmament can and must be solved.

Both the abuse and the use of force will increasingly show each day the fragile nature of results, as well as the extreme difficulty of their use in an ever more united and better informed world. To those who doubtless regret this should be so, we would say that it is unreasonable to hope that the threat or even the use of an overwhelming military superiority may be solidly based on the gains, the material prosperity and the undue privileges of minorities with high living standards.

In conclusion I would like to recall that general and complete disarmament, if it is to be achieved, should not stem solely from the will of leaders and fluctuate with their interests. It should also be the peoples' affair and should be included in their educational programmes.

Indeed we must educate and train the man of today and of tomorrow in the spirit of peace. Peace must have a prime place in educational programmes in order to ensure the future. We hope that our children, imbued with the spirit of peace, will be more pacifist than their fathers. We shall have left that at least to posterity. Let us therefore harmonize our actions and reaffirm together our political will to disarm the world and to recreate a climate of trust, because as over-armament is a creation of man, disarmament also is within the scope of his power.

Mr. KOHIVES (Hungary). From the very outset the Hungarian Government has attached primary importance to the prohibition and elimination of chemical and bacteriological weapons. It was therefore not by chance that in 1965, when some of these weapons were actually used, it was the Hungarian delegation that initiated the adoption of a resolution regarding the banning of them. The resolution adopted by the General Assembly was directed partly to the strengthening of the 1925 Geneva Protocol by calling upon States to adhere to it, and partly to serve as a basis for the process aimed at the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological weapons as well as at their destruction. The results achieved so far in the fight against these types of weapons of mass destruction are manifested in the fact that the number of parties to the Geneva Protocol, a mere 47 in 1965, is now more than double that number, while in 1972 a Convention

(Mr. Komives, Hungary)

on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction was concluded. It is high time to concentrate on complementing this process by banning chemical weapons.

While regretting that the agreement on the prohibition of chemical weapons was not reached this year, one has to admit that strenuous efforts have been made towards this end on various levels, in the Committee on Disarmament and in the framework of the bilateral negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States. More than 10 working papers and documents have been submitted to the Committee on Disarmament contributing to the clarification of the outstanding questions and thus paving the way for the elaboration of a convention. The progress report of the Soviet Union and the United States on their bilateral negotiations, with respect to an intended joint initiative on chemical weapons, is encouraging in that the Geneva Committee could start substantive negotiations on the outstanding issues.

(Mr. Komives, Hungary)

Hungary, like many other countries, considers the prohibition of all chemical weapons one of the most urgent and vital problems in the field of disarmament. Consequently, in our opinion high priority should be given to it in the next years' work of the Committee on Disarmament. That work would be enhanced enormously by the presentation to the Geneva Committee of a joint USSR-United States draft treaty. As far as the organization of the work of that Committee in connexion with chemical weapons is concerned, we are quite flexible and can accept arrangements that would meet the approval of all members of the Committee and could effectively contribute to the conclusion of the work aimed at the elaboration of a convention.

The Hungarian delegation is ready to participate actively in the elaboration and adoption of a draft resolution which calls for the realization of a long-awaited goal: the prohibition and elimination of all chemical weapons.

With reference to the question of nuclear disarmament, I wish to touch now only on the strengthening of the non-proliferation régime and some problems closely connected with it. We consider the Non-Proliferation Treaty important not only for the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons but also for the development of international co-operation in the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy. It is well known too that the forthcoming second Review Conference of the Parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, to be held next year, also makes this question specially timely now.

The first Review Conference of the Parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty was preceded and followed by the adherence of many countries to the Treaty, thus broadening its scope and strengthening its role. It would be of great importance if that example were followed now by countries which have not yet become parties to the Treaty. In this respect, the Hungarian delegation considers the recent ratification of the Treaty by Bangladesh, Indonesia and Sri Lanka as a positive and, therefore, an encouraging sign. The aim, as expressed by several relevant General Assembly resolutions, should be the full universality of the Treaty with the participation of all countries, nuclear and non-nuclear alike.

(Mr. Komives, Hungary)

The Hungarian delegation fully recognizes the importance and necessity of a positive approach to the extension of international co-operation in the field of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The enhancement of those developments - without increasing the risk of nuclear proliferation - is of paramount importance. Consequently, Hungary, which was among the first to sign and ratify the Non-Proliferation Treaty, strongly advocates the strengthening of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards and is of the opinion that, in the field of international co-operation for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, technology and safeguards must go hand in hand.

Hungary, as a member of the Committee on Disarmament and also a member of the Board of Governors of the IAEA, is actively engaged in preparations for the second Review Conference of the Parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. We will do everything in our power to contribute to the success of the Conference and the strengthening of the non-proliferation régime.

Special attention should be given to the danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons in regions where tensions prevail. Consequently, we are of the opinion that the present session of the General Assembly should take the necessary action to prevent the acquisition of a nuclear capability by the Pretoria régime. By the same token, we give our support to the proposal made by Iraq according to which this session should also consider the nuclear armament of Israel.

Effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons could also play an important role in the strengthening of the non-proliferation régime, as was already mentioned in our first statement. My delegation has given careful consideration to the draft resolution on this subject submitted by the delegation of Pakistan.

In connexion with the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons, the question of the non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present also deserves careful consideration and support. That is why the Hungarian delegation supports the proposal of the Soviet Union that this session of the General Assembly should

(Mr. Komives, Hungary)

take appropriate action calling for a careful consideration of this question by the Member States and thus facilitate the finding of a solution at the next session. The Hungarian delegation expresses its readiness to take an active part in the elaboration and adoption of a draft resolution relating to this important and very timely question.

We are all aware how difficult it is to arrive at concrete solutions for disarmament problems. In order to speed up the disarmament process States should engage in a closer, more constructive co-operation to that end. It is for this very reason that we welcome and support the initiative of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic regarding the adoption of a declaration on international co-operation for disarmament which has also been inspired by the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly. The draft declaration submitted by Czechoslovakia serves the purpose of bringing various positions closer together. We will support that draft and recommend its adoption.

The Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly states the following:

"The ending of the arms race and the achievement of real disarmament are tasks of primary importance and urgency. To meet this historic challenge is in the political and economic interests of all the nations and peoples of the world as well as in the interests of ensuring their genuine security and peaceful future." (resolution S-10/2, para. 1)

The special session devoted to disarmament was an outstanding occasion for involving all States more intensively in the disarmament process.

As outlined in paragraph 122 of the Final Document of the tenth special session, we continue to support the convening of a world disarmament conference which could ensure good opportunities for the elaboration of international disarmament agreements and give a binding character to the decisions adopted. A suitable time for convening that conference would, in our opinion, be after the next special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

Mr. SOUTHICHAK (Lao People's Democratic Republic)(interpretation from French): The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic is taking part this year in the debate in the First Committee on questions of disarmament with a feeling of both hope and concern. Our hope lies in the fact that after the momentum provided by the tenth special session of the General Assembly the international community seems to have awakened anew to the need to seek practical measures for the cause of disarmament. However, our concern remains very much alive not only because of the stockpiling of the most sophisticated weapons of all kinds on our planet but also and above all because of the persistent negative tendency on the part of the enemies of peace and détente who are constantly engaging in an unbridled arms race and an attempt to make armaments ever more destructive.

However, the halting of the arms race and disarmament have become the major concern of the whole international community. The convening of the tenth special session is striking evidence of that. In this regard, it is encouraging to note that 1979 has been marked by certain efforts to translate into practice the decisions of the tenth special session.

(Mr. Southichak, Lao People's  
Democratic Republic)

Indeed, the Disarmament Commission - the deliberating body - and the Committee on Disarmament - the negotiating body - are already seriously occupied in the carrying out of the tasks entrusted to them. The Disarmament Commission, entrusted under General Assembly resolution 33/91 A with the elaboration of a comprehensive disarmament programme, has held its first substantive session and has, by consensus, adopted a comprehensive programme. If adopted by the General Assembly, it will provide a framework which will give the Committee on Disarmament a starting point for accelerating negotiations on halting the arms race and on disarmament in its various aspects and thus, for making substantial progress towards complete and general disarmament under effective international control.

Now, it was recongized by the special session that the success of these negotiations is of vital concern to all peoples. On this point, it is hardly necessary to stress the importance of the role of the Committee on Disarmament which, if it is to succeed in its work, requires the most active and determined international co-operation, particularly from the five nuclear Powers. Without such co-operation, only very limited progress will be made. In this context, we should like to express our great appreciation of the efforts of the Government of Czechoslovakia, which has prepared a draft declaration on international co-operation for disarmament intended for adoption by the General Assembly at its present session. This document, as rightly stressed by the head of the Czechoslovak delegation in the General Assembly, truly constitutes a fundamental political and moral code of conduct for States in the search for adequate solutions intended to put an end to the arms race, to reverse it and to bring about effective disarmament. We support this declaration, which contains positive elements conducive to rapid progress in disarmament negotiations.

All negotiations on halting the arms race and on disarmament now going on within and outside of the framework of the United Nations which produce concrete results are highly encouraging to the peoples working for peace and disarmament. Thus, the signing of the SALT II agreement this year between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America constitutes for us an event of great importance. The achievement of this agreement marks an important step towards the limitation of nuclear weapons by the two biggest nuclear-weapon States and will contribute considerably to creating a climate of confidence propitious

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for future negotiations on the limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons. That is why it is absolutely necessary that this agreement come into force as soon as possible for any delay would have a most adverse effect on the cause of disarmament.

With regard to the Committee on Disarmament, my delegation is pleased to see that it retains in its unanimously-adopted programme of work a certain number of questions relating to nuclear weapons without, however, minimizing the importance of other kinds of weapons. This is fully in keeping with the spirit of the decisions of the tenth special session, which accorded high priority to nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

In the nuclear field, in order to make progress towards the objective, all efforts should be focused initially on the concluding and effective application of agreements relating to halting the nuclear arms race both qualitatively and quantitatively and then embarking upon nuclear disarmament measures. In this context, the proposal of the socialist countries on negotiations to halt the manufacture of all types of nuclear weapons and on the gradual reduction of stockpiles followed by their eventual total elimination should, in our view, be seriously examined. This is especially true because the Group of 21 has considered it as an initiative which could spark the commencement of exploratory negotiations which could, in turn, lead to effective negotiations on nuclear disarmament. The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic can only encourage the Committee to see to it that this initiative is followed up in order to accelerate our progress towards the ultimate goal, which is the halting of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament.

We also believe that in order to come closer to this goal, efforts to produce an agreement on the banning of nuclear tests must be accorded the required importance and urgency. We know that the Committee on Disarmament has devoted a large number of working meetings this year to the examination of this question. Thus far, the views which emerged in the course of the Committee's consideration of this item remain divergent. We think that only a spirit of decisiveness on everybody's part and the consideration of the security of all States, both nuclear and non-nuclear, will make it possible to achieve meaningful progress in this area.

Still in the nuclear field, the question of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons poses a grave threat to humanity and to the survival of civilization. The sad memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is ever-present as a



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reminder of this. In this regard, we should note that in the Programme of Action adopted at the tenth special session of the General Assembly, the nuclear-weapon States were urged

"to pursue efforts to conclude, as appropriate, effective arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons". (A/S-10/4/Supp. 4, para. 59)

In accordance with the spirit of this paragraph, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics took the initiative of submitting for the consideration of the last General Assembly session a concrete proposal for the concluding of an international convention on the strengthening of security guarantees for non-nuclear States. It has emerged from the debate in this session that the great majority of non-nuclear States favour this proposal and are unanimous in calling for the guarantees necessary for their security. The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, which supported the Soviet proposal at the time, very much hopes that we will succeed very shortly in putting this proposal into effect in the form of an international legal instrument. It is in this spirit that my delegation warmly supports the recommendation of the ad hoc working group that the Committee on Disarmament should, at the beginning of its 1980 session, continue negotiations on these arrangements.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic is a party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. All efforts of the international community made with a view to limiting the proliferation of nuclear weapons will receive our support.

We support the proposal to make the African continent a denuclearized zone in accordance with the wishes of the African countries. We are very much disturbed by the news concerning a nuclear test explosion which is reported to have been carried out by South Africa on 22 September this year. While denouncing this explosion, which will only serve to accelerate the nuclear arms race and to imperil international peace and security, we must also issue a firm protest against the continuation of co-operation in the nuclear field between the Pretoria racists and certain Western Powers, including Israel.

In order to avert any further proliferation of this murderous weapon, we vigorously support the proposal of the Arab countries for the establishment of a nuclear weapon-free zone in the Middle East. No one who is eager to preserve peace and security in that part of the world should evince the slightest hesitation with regard to such a highly constructive proposal.

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Democratic Republic)

In addition to adopting nuclear measures, the international community should combine its efforts to prevent the development, manufacture and use of other weapons of mass destruction. In this regard, the Disarmament Committee most judiciously stressed the importance and urgency of negotiating an international convention on the prohibition of the manufacture, development and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction. At the present time, the Committee has before it a number of proposals, including one submitted by Poland, outlining a convention on the prohibition of the development, manufacture and stockpiling of these weapons and on their destruction. That proposal contains sufficient positive elements to permit the rapid conclusion of the agreement.

Furthermore, the General Assembly, in its resolution 33/59 A, called upon the Soviet Union and the United States to submit their joint initiative to the Disarmament Committee to help it, as soon as possible, to achieve agreement on this type of weapon. The joint Soviet/American report of 31 July 1979 submitted to the Committee would seem to indicate that those two Powers are determined to proceed in the direction recommended by that resolution. We believe that the international community should encourage them to do so. The same applies to the draft treaty on the prohibition of the development, manufacture, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons, submitted by those same Powers.

With regard to conventional weapons, which also pose a mortal threat to international peace and security, we are in favour of control and regulation of the transfer of these weapons, taking account of the right of each country to legitimate self-defence and of the legitimate struggle of peoples for national liberation against foreign domination and occupation.

(Mr. Southichak, Lao People's  
Democratic Republic)

With reference to the Indian Ocean, which should become a zone of peace in accordance with the unanimous wishes of the countries of the region and the General Assembly Declaration on the Indian Ocean, we demand the withdrawal and dismantling of military bases and installations which are there at present, particularly the one at Diego Garcia, and we call on all the major users of that ocean to come to an agreement as soon as possible on the conditions which would make the Indian Ocean a true zone of peace. We support the creation of zones of peace in various parts of the world in specific conditions and in a way freely agreed to by the States concerned in the region.

The General Assembly has decided to hold, in 1982, a special session to undertake a thorough evaluation of the results of the implementation of the decisions of the first special session devoted to disarmament. We hope that by that time the international community will have done everything possible to put into effect concrete disarmament measures. However, the prospect of the convening of that second special session of the General Assembly should not blind us to the usefulness of another gathering, the world disarmament conference, which was also contemplated by the General Assembly at its first special session on disarmament. The convening of such a conference, which this year was the subject of a thorough examination by the Ad Hoc Committee, will make a great contribution to effective measures for general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Consequently, we believe it would be most appropriate for the General Assembly, at this session, to set a date for the convening of such a conference so as to permit all States to make the necessary preparations for the success of that meeting.

(Mr. Southichak, Lao People's  
Democratic Republic)

Debates and negotiations on disarmament have been going on for decades now, while the arms race, both conventional and nuclear, far from halting or slackening off, is actually continuing at an unbridled pace, thus confronting our world with unprecedented danger. Indeed, as some have stressed, all it takes is a mere heedless or careless act for the whole of humanity and civilization to be finally eliminated from the face of the earth.

In the face of such a danger, we the peoples of the United Nations, who have resolved to save present and succeeding generations from the scourge of war, cannot, and must not, continue to engage indefinitely in the futile exercise of delivering impressive speeches and adopting at every session of the General Assembly a vast number of resolutions that will never be implemented for lack of political will on the part of many of us, and above all on the part of those who have yet to give up the idea that world stability and security can only be ensured by the balance of power or the balance of terror. In the light of our historic responsibilities towards mankind, we should resolve to adopt, at this session, concrete measures to halt the arms race and promote disarmament, for that is the only way towards détente and true peace.

Peace and progress in the world have never been ensured by war. Every war has been a source of misery and unspeakable suffering for the peoples of the world. In order to eliminate forever this source of misery and suffering, let us resolutely join our efforts to combat the principal agents of war, the weapons and armaments which the world has, over the years, accumulated and made ever more sophisticated, and which today are quantitatively and qualitatively sufficient to destroy the whole of mankind several times over.

The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic will spare no effort to ensure for mankind peace and progress through total and effective disarmament.

Mr. AL-HAMZAH (Democratic Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): The current session of the General Assembly coincides with the end of the Disarmament Decade. We should have occasion during the session to discuss the possibility of declaring the 1980s a second disarmament decade so that it may coincide with the Third Development Decade and reconfirm the importance of the link between disarmament and development for the concerns of all nations. It would also involve a comprehensive review of the achievements of the past 10 years and the identification of the difficulties which have impeded international efforts to achieve any perceptible progress towards a halting of the arms race in all its various forms and towards rechannelling the tremendous sums absorbed by it to social and economic assistance, particularly in the developing countries.

(Mr. Al-Hamzah, Democratic Yemen)

The tenth special session, which ended its work last year, was indeed an important event in this respect. The adoption of its Final Document by consensus revealed the unanimous international view on the importance of action to obtain decisive results in disarmament. Likewise the recommendations of that session have highlighted the dangers of the race in nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction that constitute the greatest challenge that has faced mankind in contemporary history.

Thus the international community is now more than ever redoubling its efforts to see to it that the achievements already made produce further success and continue to be effective for the attainment of the prime objective of general and complete disarmament and to avert the break-out of a nuclear war. Action to achieve these aims is linked to the strengthening of international co-operation, mutual respect and understanding and also the consolidation of the principles of peaceful coexistence between peoples and détente in international relations and the elimination of policies of expansionism, hegemony and foreign domination in all their forms and the end of colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, racism, the prohibition of the use or threat of the use of force and the non-recourse to threatening actions, invasion, aggression and interference in internal affairs. The objective of disarmament must also be linked with total respect for the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the guaranteeing of the rights of peoples to self-determination, to national sovereignty over their territory and their resources and their right to choose their own political economic and social path to liberation. Thus international concern to safeguard international peace and security and to establish a New International Economic Order must reign supreme.

The results of the tenth special session have provided an opportunity for the participation of all States large and small in the work of disarmament. It has once again revived the United Nations Disarmament Commission after that body had been ineffective for a long time. That body is very important for its deliberations may contribute to accelerating the achievement of results in the negotiations taking place in the United Nations Committee on Disarmament in Geneva.

(Mr. Al-Hamzah, Democratic Yemen)

We can say that the first session of the United Nations Disarmament Commission, which was held in May last to draft a comprehensive programme for disarmament, has shown the important role that could be played by this Commission in the tasks entrusted to it. It has become apparent that the reservations that have been expressed by some delegations on the results of the first session of the Commission will in no way diminish the value of its work or the necessity of giving it greater importance so that it can facilitate negotiating work of the Disarmament Committee. The Commission has made its influence felt in the short time since it was reconstituted and it has been able to accomplish things it had been incapable of during the long period of its inactivity.

The creation and reactivation of many organs concerned with disarmament should strengthen bilateral and international efforts and facilitate the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the Assembly at the tenth special session. It also should strengthen international conventions that were concluded earlier and those that will be concluded in the near future. It will also be necessary to expedite the signing of an international convention for the prohibition of the production and stockpiling of chemical weapons, their destruction and the entry into force of another international agreement banning the transfer of nuclear weapons to States that do not possess such weapons. The importance of immediately halting all nuclear tests will also call for the expediting of an international treaty in that respect.

We believe that all this could be achieved given political will on the part of nuclear States to participate in the consultations and given a true and universal desire to attain that goal.

In this regard we agree with the majority of delegations that the Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty next year will produce the desired results. Democratic Yemen has already, this year, ratified that Treaty, as well as certain other conventions in the field of disarmament. Last year we supported the proposal to conclude an international convention to ensure the security of the non-nuclear States. We hope that the negotiations now under way in the Disarmament Committee will result in the conclusion of such a convention.

(Mr. Al-Hamzah, Democratic Yemen)

Among the most important topics of interest to my country is the declaration of nuclear-free zones in the Middle East and, particularly, in Africa. We supported the resolutions stemming from the General Assembly which declare the Middle East and Africa denuclearized regions. But it has become clear that, in spite of the repeated appeals of the General Assembly, there is every indication that the two racist régimes in Palestine and southern Africa have been able to acquire nuclear weapons, thanks to the unlimited support extended to them by imperialist forces. That support is a further defiance of the peoples of Africa and the Middle East and is in conflict with all the resolutions of the General Assembly. Furthermore, it constitutes a grave obstacle to the denuclearization of those two regions.

It is up to the General Assembly to deploy greater efforts to counteract this nuclear danger, which does not only threaten the stability and security of Africa and the Middle East but also world peace and security. The Western States must respond to the unanimous world appeal and cease to give those régimes the assistance that has given them access to those deadly weapons.

As to the Indian Ocean, we have this year witnessed an important development regarding its being declared a zone of peace. The preparatory meeting held in July last was indeed a positive step on the way to preparing for the convening of the World Conference on the Indian Ocean. As one of the littoral countries of the Indian Ocean, Democratic Yemen welcomes the results of the July meeting, and it also welcomes the report of the Ad Hoc Committee which recommends the convening of the international conference to be held in Sri Lanka in 1981. At the preparatory meeting of littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean, and at the meetings of the Ad Hoc Committee, my delegation had the opportunity to express our views on a good number of issues under discussion. We feel that the participation of the permanent members of the Security Council and the maritime users of the Indian Ocean in the forthcoming work of the Committee will indeed contribute to the convening of the conference at the time proposed and also to giving effect to the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, stipulated in General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI) of 1971.

We have constantly confirmed the importance of action for the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, and we believe that the time is now ripe for the attainment of this objective and for the avoidance of anything that would impede the efforts to convene the conference.



(Mr. Al-Hamzah, Democratic Yemen)

On this occasion, we wish to refer to the imperialist pressures to which the Indian Ocean region has been subjected. Those pressures have taken the form of threats of the use of force against the peoples there, threats which endanger their security and stability and constitute interference in their internal affairs. Such continuing and diversified pressure, particularly by the United States of America, which has recently strengthened its military presence in the region, including its military bases, continues to have a profound impact by deferring the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. We have condemned and continue to condemn such hostile practises and the threatening statements that have been made about sending military forces to occupy the oilfields so as to protect access to them from illusory dangers, as well as the plans to set up military alliances which would only be a flagrant intervention in the internal affairs of States and a destabilizing factor for peace and security in the region.

The responsibility of the international community to ensure the success of the forthcoming conference requires that such plans and such actions be avoided. The resumption of bilateral talks between the Soviet Union and the United States of America regarding military presence in the Indian Ocean will without doubt contribute to the success of the preparations for that conference.

Democratic Yemen has on more than one occasion stated that it would welcome the declaration of the Red Sea, which is a natural extension of the Indian Ocean, a zone of peace and stability for the peoples living around the sea, so that those peoples could together use its resources for their progress, stability and prosperity.

This year we witnessed an important event: the conclusion of the SALT II Agreement. We welcome the efforts undertaken to achieve that objective and we look forward to its ratification in the near future. We also hope that efforts will be directed towards speeding up the conclusion of a SALT III agreement. This year also witnessed the convening of the Conference on the prohibition of certain conventional weapons, and we hope that in the future we shall thus be able to limit the use of certain particularly destructive conventional weapons.

(Mr. Al-Hamzah, Democratic Yemen)

In conclusion, we should like once more to express our satisfaction at the decision adopted last year to convene a second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament in 1982. We have great confidence that that session will achieve more positive results than the tenth special session was able to achieve and we feel that it is high time for a conference on disarmament to be held shortly after the termination of the next special session.

Here we should like to praise the proposal submitted by the delegation of Czechoslovakia regarding a draft international declaration on co-operation for disarmament. The delegation of Democratic Yemen will support the draft declaration, which we feel will contribute greatly to establishing confidence and co-operation among all peoples and States.

Mr. ABDULAH (Trinidad and Tobago): This year marks the end of the first Disarmament Decade proclaimed by the General Assembly in its resolution 2602 E (XXIV) of 16 December 1969. During the Decade several arms control agreements of both a multilateral and a bilateral character have been concluded, but the achievement of the objective of general and complete disarmament, under effective international control, continues to elude the world community. In fact, if we consider that global spending on arms in 1978, estimated in constant prices, has risen some 70 per cent over corresponding expenditure in 1960, then we are forced to the conclusion that we are further than ever before from our objective.

One positive achievement of the Decade was the holding of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament. The decision of that special session to overhaul the United Nations machinery for dealing with disarmament through the establishment of both a Disarmament Commission open to all Member States of the United Nations and a Committee on Disarmament of limited membership but including as of right the five nuclear-weapon States was seen as a hopeful sign of recognition by the international community of the urgency and importance of coming to grips with the problems of disarmament. Despite the creation of this negotiating machinery and the establishment of its terms of reference at the tenth special session, the delegation of Trinidad and Tobago has noted with considerable regret that so far the negotiations on crucial disarmament measures have taken place outside that forum and between two or at most three States.

It is our hope that the Committee on Disarmament will be able to realize in the near future its full potential as the principal multilateral negotiating forum and that it will address itself to reaching early agreement on an internationally acceptable comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty as well as on an adequately verifiable treaty for the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and for their destruction.

In so far as the work of the Disarmament Commission is concerned, my delegation deems it worth while to note that that body has been able to give consideration to the elements of a comprehensive programme for disarmament

(Mr. Abdulah, Trinidad and Tobago)

whose elaboration will be the task of the Committee on Disarmament. While my delegation attaches much importance to all the elements of such a programme as cited in the report of the Disarmament Commission, it believes that the translation of those elements into meaningful disarmament measures must be considered from a pragmatic and realistic viewpoint.

We are in full agreement with those who say that priority in the disarmament negotiations should be given to halting the nuclear arms race and averting the nuclear threat, since it is widely recognized that an all-out nuclear war would cause much loss of life and great destruction.

(Mr. Abdullah, Trinidad and Tobago)

We are in the fortunate position today of being able to say that the awesome power of the nuclear weapon has not been used since the founding of the United Nations. This is no guarantee, however, that it will not be used in the future, although it would seem that growing public concern over the dangers arising from the operation of nuclear facilities, even for civilian purposes, might act as a restraint on the use of that power by the political leadership of the nuclear-weapon States for military purposes. It is generally acknowledged, however, that the only sane and certain way of avoiding a global nuclear catastrophe is to halt the qualitative as well as quantitative improvement of nuclear arsenals, to reduce the stockpile of such nuclear armaments and eventually to decommission such arsenals. It is our hope, therefore, that the Committee on Disarmament will make early headway on these matters.

Until such time as nuclear weapons are eliminated from the military arsenals of States, it is imperative that non-nuclear-weapon States, and in particular those that have renounced the right to acquire nuclear weapons, be given adequate legal guarantees by the nuclear-weapon States that they will not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against such States. We therefore support the renewal of the mandate of the Working Group of the Committee on Disarmament which is to establish such guarantees on a global basis. A regional approach to securing such effective guarantees has been made through the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones - provided, however, that that status is recognized by States both within and outside the particular region. In this connexion, we welcome the signature by the Government of France of Additional Protocol I to the Treaty of Tlatelolco. Trinidad and Tobago, as a party to that Treaty on the military denuclearization of Latin America accordingly supports the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in other parts of the globe as a means of halting the spread of nuclear weapons and enhancing the security of non-nuclear-weapon States.

My delegation is deeply concerned, however, over the lack of progress toward the full realization of the Organization of African Unity Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa. We note from the

(Mr. Abdulah, Trinidad and  
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report of the United Nations Seminar on Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, held in London in February this year, that certain Western countries, through ongoing bilateral exchanges of scientists and the training of South African nationals, as well as by the transfer of technology and equipment to South Africa, have enabled the racist apartheid régime to develop a cadre of nuclear physicists. This collaboration has provided South Africa with the means to build a pilot uranium enrichment plant which is not subject to International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards, and thus to have the capability for the manufacture of nuclear explosive devices. This capability, together with its possession of the means of delivery, leads to no other conclusion than that a nuclear-armed South Africa poses a grave threat not only to Africa but to international peace and security. In view of these developments, to which recent news reports have added further point, the delegation of Trinidad and Tobago denounces all nuclear collaboration with South Africa and calls for an end to all such collaboration.

In addition to ending the nuclear arms race, it is vital for international peace and security that the Committee on Disarmament adopt resolute measures in the field of conventional arms control and transfer since it is these conventional weapons that are being repeatedly used to commit aggression, to repress the legitimate aspirations of peoples for self-determination and to violate the territorial integrity of States. It is estimated that some 25 million people have died since the Second World War in wars waged entirely with conventional weapons, many of these wars having taken place in the regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The development of conventional weapon systems also has adverse economic and social consequences for all States, including the major military States, where resources for social programmes are diverted to finance real increases in military budgets and where production of consumer products is cut back to satisfy the demands of the military sector.

The effect of the conventional arms build-up among the major military powers is also felt in the area of developmental assistance.

(Mr. Abdulah, Trinidad and Tobago)

Thus, developed nations spend twenty times more on military budgets than on developmental assistance - and this at a time when it is widely recognized that more international assistance is required to assist the developing countries to cope with the problems of underdevelopment. Furthermore, the amassing of conventional weapons poses a direct threat to the security of all States, and more particularly to those that are most vulnerable, namely, the militarily weak. In this connexion, it has been shown that the flow of arms to particular regions has not increased security in those areas, but rather has resulted in an increase in tension and in the outbreak of open hostilities.

Neither nuclear nor conventional disarmament is, in the view of my delegation, realizable in the immediate future unless immediate steps are taken to improve relations among States and to strengthen the collective security mechanism in the United Nations Charter. So long as suspicion of the intentions of others and mistrust towards one another exist, so long as there is a lack of respect for the principles laid down in the Charter, particularly those relating to the peaceful settlement of disputes, and for the decisions of the Security Council, so long will it be more difficult for true progress to be made toward the goal of general and complete disarmament. If general and complete disarmament under effective international control is our common goal, we must aim to establish and maintain international confidence in an unarmed world or, at best, in a more secure world at lower levels of armaments. This can be achieved, in the view of my delegation, only through strict observance in practice by all States without exception of the fundamental principles that govern contemporary international relations, including the prohibition of the use of force, the peaceful settlement of disputes, respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States and non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.