

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-FOURTH SESSION
Official Records*



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FIRST COMMITTEE
22nd meeting
held on
Tuesday, 30 October 1979
at 3 p.m.
New York

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 22nd MEETING

Chairman: Mr. KOCHUBEY (Ukrainian SSR)
(Vice-Chairman)

later: Mr. HEPBURN (Bahamas)

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Distr. GENERAL
A/C.1/34/PV.22
31 October 1979

ENGLISH

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

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

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. SALLAM (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): Mr. Chairman, since you have asked us not to offer you our congratulations, I shall refrain from doing so. I will merely say that your presence in the capacity of Chairman of our Committee is evidence of the importance of small countries in the United Nations.

The very essence of the existence of the United Nations and its principal role, as is stated in Article 1 of the Charter, is to maintain international peace and security. The attainment of that goal is without any doubt impeded by the arms race and war preparations. That is why general and complete disarmament and the establishment of economic and social conditions which will ensure the survival of man on this planet are in accordance with the hopes which the peoples place in the United Nations and constitute an obligation under the Charter and a responsibility of Member States.

Yemen has always followed with interest this vital question of the present era, namely technological progress and the arms race. We followed the proceedings of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, which was devoted to disarmament and in which nuclear and non-nuclear States took part. A year and a half has elapsed since that special session, and the peoples of the world expect soon to see the end of the arms race and of the industries of war. The difficulties that we see today in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and which are due to the lack of trust between the two super-Powers demonstrate the desire of those Powers to continue their competition to achieve superiority in armaments. Nevertheless, the signature of the SALT II agreement has given a new impetus to the negotiations and led people to hope that mankind may soon be rid of the spectre of war.

(Mr. Sallam, Yemen)

After the Second World War a new era began, that of the development of new sources of energy, and this led to the appearance of the atomic age and the nuclear blocs. One of the characteristics of this era is that certain countries have attempted to monopolize that nuclear energy. The nuclear Powers acquired control of the production of that energy and that enabled them to use it for the purpose of aggression, contrary to the aim of its development for peaceful purposes in the interest of man and his well-being. Those States tried to exploit nuclear energy for the purposes of manufacturing weapons and this resulted in the creation of hotbeds of tension in many parts of the world and to wars and armed conflicts between two countries or among several countries.

The halting of the arms race and efforts to achieve progressive disarmament have become an urgent necessity because of the economic and social conditions of the peoples, especially in the countries of the third world, where tens of millions of people are living in poverty and suffering from disease. Consequently, any reduction in expenditure on armaments and diversion of the money saved to economic and social development of the peoples concerned will further the chances of economic and social progress for all mankind and will contribute to the establishment of a New International Economic Order.

In this connexion I should like to mention the first practical steps and the subsequent measures that my country considers necessary in order to arrive at complete nuclear, chemical, biological and conventional disarmament.

First, all the nuclear States, and in particular the two super-Powers, must have the political will to encourage the process of détente throughout the world. Secondly, nuclear-free zones must be established, especially in areas which are centres of tension in the present circumstances. Thirdly, a convention on the non-use of force in international relations should be signed. Fourthly there should be an attempt to reach an international agreement, subscribed to by all nuclear Powers and those Powers which are trying to gain access to nuclear weapons, to cease the production of those destructive weapons and to divert production towards peaceful purposes; fifthly it is necessary to respect the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States and to refrain from creating regional axes linked to great-Power rivalry.

(Mr. Sallam, Yemen)

The Governments of the non-aligned countries, which called for the convening of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, reaffirmed their position in this respect at the Havana Conference last September. The Final Act proclaims the following:

"The Conference reaffirmed the adherence of the non-aligned countries to the objective of general and complete disarmament ... the Conference called for the urgent implementation, within a specific time-frame of the Programme of Action, particularly of the nuclear disarmament measures ... the Conference reaffirmed the central role and the increased importance of the United Nations in the realization of the objective of general and complete disarmament ... the Conference called upon all non-aligned countries to take an active part in and contribute to the work of the United Nations Disarmament Commission and the Committee on Disarmament ... the Conference welcomed the decision to hold a second special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament in 1982 ... the Conference noted that the arms race is incompatible with and contrary to the efforts directed to the establishment of the New International Economic Order."

(A/34/542, paras. 217, 218, 220, 223, 225)

My delegation here wishes to express its apprehensions and misgivings concerning the areas which are meant to be nuclear-free and the areas where military competition is rife, especially the region of the Indian Ocean and its natural extensions such as the Red Sea and the Middle East. As regards the Indian Ocean and its natural extensions, the head of my delegation stated in the General Assembly on 11 October:

"As a member of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean entrusted with its preservation as a zone of peace, my country wishes to reaffirm its opposition to any military presence or any agreement in the area of the Indian Ocean and its natural prolongations like the Red Sea."

(A/34/PV.30, p. 41)

(Mr. Sallam, Yemen)

My country, which has achieved internal stability and has a democratic climate, two essential factors for the radical transformation of the social structure of any country, wishes to live in security removed from any military rivalry in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, so that it may be able to concentrate its efforts on the building of a Yemeni society based on social justice, territorial integrity and the unity of Yemen as a country and people. On that basis we feel that resolution 2832 (XXVI) which proclaimed the Indian Ocean a zone of peace must be implemented and that all military bases and all types of nuclear presence must disappear from that area because of the implications of that sensitive strategic zone on navigation, both regionally and internationally. We reaffirm our conviction of the need urgently to convene a special conference on the Indian Ocean with the participation of countries which are permanent members of the Security Council.

As for the Middle East, disarmament is here bound up with the right of peoples to self-determination. Indeed, the Palestinian people is fighting, together with the other Arab peoples, to liberate its land from the occupation of the Zionists who are attempting to develop their nuclear capacity. The first reactor was built by the Zionist entity in 1958, and that reactor, Nahal Sureik, was built with the co-operation of the racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia.

(Mr. Sallam, Yemen)

Furthermore, the Zionist entity succeeded in stealing certain quantities of uranium in 1966, 1968 and 1969, as appears from the reports of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) on Israeli nuclear armament, published in September 1974, in order to obtain what it still needed to acquire the nuclear weapon.

The Zionist entity is at present co-operating with the racist régime of South Africa in the field of nuclear armament and in the military field in general. Several agreements between the two régimes were signed in 1976 for the purpose of increasing military co-operation and the exchange of nuclear expertise. As can be seen from two reports concerning the Special Committee against Apartheid published by the United Nations in 1976, the South African régime requested weapons and equipment to the value of 100 million rand from Israel.

That co-operation between the Zionist entity and the racist régime of South Africa is compatible with the inescapable truth that the Zionist entity and the South African régime are the two sides of the same coin, and that coin is racism. That is why my delegation supports the proposal by Iraq that the question of Israeli nuclear armament be put before the General Committee with a view to its discussion at this session, because it is such an important question not only for the Arab nation and the liberation Governments in Africa but also for all States which hope for a world of peace and stability.

The Yemeni and all other peace-loving peoples long for the day when the word "war" will disappear and all hotbeds of tension and sources of conflict brought about by exploitation and hegemony will be eliminated for ever. Let us then hasten the convening of a world conference on disarmament which will go beyond declarations and adopt practical measures to fulfil the aspirations of mankind. Let us make 1979, the International Year of the Child, the beginning of a new era in which future generations will sing of peace and love.

Mr. IBRAHIM (Ethiopia): Ten years ago, in 1969, the General Assembly declared the 1970s to be a "Disarmament Decade". Among the agenda items that we are now considering we find item 34, entitled "Consideration of the declaration of the 1980s as a disarmament decade". This current session of the General Assembly could thus be considered the closing of one disarmament decade and the beginning of another. It is thus appropriate to take stock of the gains and losses of the first such decade and to sketch our hopes and expectations for the second.

To begin affirmatively, the arms control agreements concluded in the 1970s must be viewed as encouraging in comparison with any other period in the past. Among these accords are the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Sub-soil Thereof, the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Biological and Toxin Weapons, the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques and the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America.

The 1970s have also seen hopeful prospects and possibilities for progress in disarmament opened in connexion with the deepening and consolidation of international détente that has already led to positive changes in the entire system of contemporary international relations. Last year the General Assembly held its first special session devoted entirely to the problems of disarmament. The consensus Final Document of that special session laid down the foundations and the guidelines for a new approach to the pressing issues of disarmament in the Declaration of Principles, Programme of Action, and Machinery for the complex disarmament process. The tenth special session was also the first occasion in the history of our Organization on which non-governmental organizations and research institutions, such as the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), addressed the General Assembly on the global issues of peace, disarmament and development. Their participation has raised the hope that international public opinion could be mobilized to exert the much needed pressure on the life-and-death issues of disarmament.

(Mr. Ibrahim, Ethiopia)

Since the special session on disarmament was held towards the end of the first Disarmament Decade, the Final Document also gives, in its very introduction, the following most authoritative stock-taking of the gains and losses of the Decade:

"The Disarmament Decade solemnly declared in 1969 by the United Nations is coming to an end. Unfortunately, the objectives established on that occasion by the General Assembly appear to be as far away today as they were then, or even further because the arms race is not diminishing but increasing and outstrips by far the efforts to curb it. While it is true that some limited agreements have been reached, 'effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament' continue to elude man's grasp. Yet the implementation of such measures is urgently required. There has not been any real progress either that might lead to the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Furthermore, it has not been possible to free any amount, however modest, of the enormous resources, both material and human, which are wasted on the unproductive and spiralling arms race and which should be made available for the purpose of economic and social development, especially since such a race 'places a great burden on both the developing and the developed countries'." (resolution S-10/2, para. 4)

I have quoted paragraph 4 of the consensus Final Document in its entirety because, in our view, it indicates in summary the frustration and perseverance, disappointment and determination, wastefulness and deprivation, futility and vision, and, above all, promise and hope. The Ethiopian delegation views that single paragraph as a perfect summary to the extent that, on the one hand, it characterizes the manner in which the international community is closing the first Disarmament Decade and, on the other, it constitutes the bridge towards the second decade to be devoted to the same urgent and pressing issues of disarmament.

(Mr. Ibrahim, Ethiopia)

The world has survived a whole decade of unprecedented and, indeed, absurd arms race, particularly in the nuclear field. It may not be as lucky in the coming decade unless a more determined effort is exerted by the international community as a whole to translate into practical terms the provisions of the Final Document and to proceed along the path of feasible and effective international agreements in the infinitely complex field of disarmament.

At the outset, the Ethiopian delegation would venture to underline the 1980s as promising. This optimism is based on a combination of factors, foremost among which is the increasing possibility that the newly established negotiating and deliberating bodies will be used with greater efficiency in the quest for global peace, security and social and economic development through effective disarmament measures to be adopted stage by stage, with each stage bringing us closer to the ultimate objectives of general and complete disarmament under strict international control, and the creation, establishment and consolidation of the New International Economic Order.

(Mr. Ibrahim, Ethiopia)

As was so ably reported in an earlier meeting of this Committee by Ambassador Garcia Robles of Mexico, the Committee on Disarmament has succeeded, in the first year of its work, in drawing up its own rules of procedure and a detailed programme of work. The substantive items that were considered by the Committee during the year, as reflected in its report (A/34/27), include: nuclear test-ban; cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament; prohibition of chemical weapons; prohibition of new weapons of mass destruction, including radiological weapons; and the so-called negative security assurances to the non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons.

It has been repeatedly affirmed that the nuclear arms race poses the greatest danger for mankind; consequently, the General Assembly has assigned the highest priority to the cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament. It is therefore very encouraging to note that what may be called a breakthrough has been attained in 1979 that seems to bring negotiations on the crucial issues of nuclear disarmament within the framework of the Committee on Disarmament. My delegation welcomes with satisfaction and hope the proposal to undertake negotiations on ending the production of all types of nuclear weapons and gradually reducing the existing stockpiles until they have been completely destroyed, on the basis of the

"strict observance of the principle of the inviolability of the security of States and the interest of peace throughout the world." (CD/4, p. 1)

We commend the group of socialist States, which includes a major nuclear-weapon State, for having submitted such a positive and important proposal which could enable and greatly assist the multilateral negotiating body to tackle the most urgent and pressing problem the world is facing today.

Socialist Ethiopia also welcomes with satisfaction the joint proposal of the Soviet Union and the United States on the salient elements of a treaty to prohibit the development, production, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons which, we hope, together with dealing with the general problem of new types of weapons of mass destruction, could very well mark a record of achievement for the Committee on Disarmament and indeed for the General Assembly during the early years of the coming decade.

International concern over the question of the prohibition of chemical weapons predates not only the Committee on Disarmament and its predecessors, but also the United Nations itself. The concern of socialist Ethiopia over this vital disarmament

(Mr. Ibrahim, Ethiopia)

issue is also very well-known. Indeed, the tenth special session of the General Assembly stressed that the conclusion of a convention to prohibit the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons is one of the most urgent tasks of multilateral negotiations. While reconfirming the urgency of international action in the area of chemical weapons, the General Assembly, at its thirty-third regular session, also asked the Committee on Disarmament to undertake negotiations on such a treaty or convention "as a matter of high priority" (resolution 33/59A, paragraph 3). The achievements of the year, however, did not go beyond the review and appraisal of the USSR-United States joint report on progress in the bilateral negotiations on the prohibition of chemical weapons, as well as a number of other working papers submitted to the Committee on Disarmament. This latest report by the parties to the bilateral negotiations, which declares that they will do their best and present a joint initiative to the Committee on Disarmament as soon as possible, is very encouraging and perhaps signals a real possibility for the conclusion of a convention on chemical weapons without further delay.

Parallel to the disarmament negotiations that took place in the Committee on Disarmament, the United Nations Disarmament Commission, having finally overcome its de facto extinction, held its first substantive session in May and June of this year and adopted by consensus recommendations relating to the elements of a comprehensive programme of disarmament. We are satisfied to note that the components of the comprehensive programme, as shown in the Commission's report (A/34/42), are in accord with the priorities set by the tenth special Assembly session, and that general and complete disarmament is viewed as an ultimate objective towards which the international community should strive in the expectation that each partial measure will lead to another, increasing in the process mutual confidence and the impetus for success in the next phase.

I should like to turn now to two items before this Committee which are of particular importance to my delegation, to the continent of Africa and, indeed, to the entire membership of the United Nations, namely the questions of cessation of nuclear weapons tests and the strengthening of the régime of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

My delegation is convinced that an early conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty would constitute a very important step towards the cessation of both vertical and horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons. Regrettably, however, all the evidence points in the direction of continuing nuclear weapons tests, gravely

jeopardizing the viability of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Last year at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, the delegation of socialist Ethiopia reiterated, as in previous years:

"its ardent hope that the tripartite negotiations between the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States will resolve the outstanding issues of verification that have impeded progress and that before long a draft treaty on a comprehensive test ban will be submitted to the ... Committee on Disarmament, for the multilateral negotiations necessary for its universal application". (A/C.1/33/PV.39, page 17)

Nothing can be more disappointing to my delegation than noting the absence of meaningful progress on a subject so important as this and on whose urgency several resolutions have been adopted in the past by the General Assembly.

A subject closely related to the cessation of nuclear weapons tests and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is the establishment of nuclear weapon-free zones and zones of peace. Ever since the General Assembly endorsed, in 1965, the Organization of African Unity's Declaration on the denuclearization of Africa, this item has been constantly on the agenda of this Committee and numerous resolutions have been adopted. Yet, with every intention of frustrating the legitimate aspirations and the firm resolve of the African peoples, the racist Pretoria régime is now fully equipped to produce a wide range of conventional and nuclear weapons as a result of the military, technical and financial assistance it has been receiving and continues to receive, unfortunately, from its Western partners. These dangerous developments in southern Africa, and particularly the emergence of a 'racist nuclear bomb', represent the gravest situation in the world today, a situation in which the struggle against racism, apartheid, colonialism and exploitation has become inextricably linked with the struggle for peace, détente and, indeed, the very survival of humanity itself.

The serious and immediate threat which racist South Africa's nuclear capability now presents to world peace and in particular to all African States can hardly be over-emphasized. The real and present danger is that the apartheid régime, armed with nuclear weapons, could, in its desperation, unleash a major regional war which could precipitate a global confrontation. This First Committee of the General Assembly, entrusted as it is with international security and disarmament, must not fail to chart a specific course of action calling for an immediate and effective measure to prevent the racist régime from pursuing its disastrous course.

(Mr. Ibrahim, Ethiopia)

In this connexion the Ethiopian delegation commends the Special Committee against Apartheid for the many activities it has undertaken this year, and especially for having organized the United Nations Seminar on Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, the report of which appears in Security Council document S/13157 of 9 March 1979.

The denuclearization of Africa is also a matter closely linked to the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean - a subject which is of equal concern to socialist Ethiopia. The struggle to transform the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace is a struggle of the littoral and hinterland States to preserve their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and to resolve their political, economic and social problems under conditions of peace and tranquillity. It was in full realization of these immediate and long-term fundamental interests that the Monrovia Summit of the Organization of African Unity and the Havana Summit Conference of the non-aligned countries adopted declarations once again calling on all States to maintain the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace free from the arms race, particularly in its nuclear aspect. We, therefore, earnestly appeal to all the nuclear-weapon States and the major maritime users of the Indian Ocean to participate with the littoral and hinterland States in the work of the expanded Ad Hoc Committee and to facilitate the convening of an international conference on the implementation of the Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. Such a decision on the part of all concerned would, we believe, strengthen confidence, allay fears, defuse tension, demonstrate good will, and instil positive attitudes and practices in the world politics of the 1980s, which would certainly require more prudence than ever before.

Mr. DIARRA (Mali) (interpretation from French): Disarmament is one of the problems that has been of concern to humanity for decades. But the use during the last world war of weapons having a destructive capacity unsuspected until then, and the perfecting, proliferation and stockpiling of such weapons have confronted mankind with a complex choice, but one which is easy to define, namely, either to put an end to the insane and ruinous arms race or to move inexorably towards its own destruction.

(Mr. Diarra, Mali)

That is why the General Assembly, more than 20 years ago, reflecting the anxiety of the international community which was still shaken by the terrible consequences of the Second World War, advocated general and complete disarmament under international control. In that context it declared a Disarmament Decade.

We are now at a time of stock-taking, of ascertaining whether the road we have travelled on the path of disarmament offers reason for hope or whether we should accept the sorry fact that we are only indulging in verbal disarmament.

We can greet with satisfaction the agreements arrived at on the prohibition of certain weapons of mass destruction. We can also congratulate ourselves on the fact that many conferences and technical meetings have been held at the international level, the most important of which by far was the tenth special session of the General Assembly. My delegation feels that that session was a significant cross-roads in the historic undertaking of disarmament.

That session had the advantage of benefiting from the participation of eminent political leaders of our day, all of whom emphasized the dangers threatening us. The session thus contributed to arousing world-wide awareness, for after all disarmament is the concern of all the peoples.

Apart from the psychological advantage, the tenth special session had the merit of establishing two important organs, one of deliberation and one of negotiation. The first of these organs, the Disarmament Commission, during its session in May and June of this year devoted itself to defining the elements of a comprehensive programme for disarmament. The second organ, the Committee on Disarmament, which replaced the earlier Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, held its first session under promising signs, since it was quickly able to adopt its rules of procedure and a programme of work. There is reason to hope that this new Committee will make a significant contribution to the second special session of the General Assembly to be devoted to disarmament, which is to be held in 1982.

Added to the hopes aroused by the tenth special session of the General Assembly was the signing of the SALT II agreements. My country attaches great importance to that event, even though its fulfilment still calls for sustained efforts.

(Mr. Diarra, Mali)

The proclamation of Disarmament Week, which is about to end, also is a significant step. During that week, in accordance with the provisions of resolution 33/71 D, States were invited:

"to carry out, through the dissemination of information and organization of symposiums, meetings, conferences ... effective measures to expose the danger of the arms race, propagate the need for its cessation and increase public understanding of the urgent tasks in the field of disarmament ...".

On the occasion of United Nations Day, my country took a number of steps in the field of public information on disarmament in compliance with the provisions of that resolution.

Although the results that I have just outlined are encouraging, they are still meagre when we consider the extent of the task still to be accomplished, since they only place us on the periphery of disarmament. It is regrettable to note that the more progress we make in the elaboration of theoretical solutions, the more we see the appearance and accumulation of new weapons.

The nuclear weapon States and those possessing the technology necessary to manufacture sophisticated armaments have not responded to the many appeals of the international community and continue their disastrous activities of accumulating weapons, which nothing seems able to stop.

The most recent statistics estimate at more than \$400 billion the sums swallowed up annually in the world in armaments expenditures of all types. We can be sure that this figure will soon be exceeded since there is nothing to indicate a trend towards reduction. Such a waste is unjustified when we know that its purpose, which is to ensure the military superiority of one nation over another, will only make more certain the dangers of a world conflagration. It is more necessary than ever for States to commit themselves to reduce their military budgets. The theory of the "balance of terror" has shown itself not to be the best way to guarantee international peace and security.

More than ever, the international community must devote itself to taking action to strike at the very roots of the arms race. To that end, we must bend every effort in the United Nations to establish an atmosphere of trust in international relations. It is such an atmosphere of trust that has allowed the countries of the third world to reach a number of agreements. Thus, the Organization of African Unity proclaimed the denuclearization of Africa. That decision, reflected in several United Nations resolutions, indicates the willingness of Africa to make its contribution to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. It is a decision that was endorsed by our Organization.

(Mr. Diarra, Mali)

Unfortunately, on 22 September last South Africa **has**, in carrying out a nuclear explosion in the atmosphere, once again given proof that it did not intend to respect that decision along with all the other decisions of our Organization. We most firmly condemn that nuclear test, which constitutes a direct threat not only against Africa but, what is even more serious, against mankind as a whole. We similarly condemn all forms of scientific and technical co-operation that have thus allowed the irresponsible Pretoria régime to acquire the nuclear weapon.

In the Middle East, the Arabs have also proclaimed their desire to live in a nuclear-weapon-free zone, in spite of the threat posed to them by the Zionist State of Israel which, in close co-operation with South Africa, is also trying to acquire the nuclear weapon.

The desire of the States of South Asia to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone is also deserving of support.

The Treaty of Tlatelolco demonstrates the determination of the countries of Latin America to remain free of nuclear weapons. My delegation notes that Powers outside the region have signed this Treaty, and it expresses the hope that their example will be followed.

As can be seen, the third world has actively committed itself to the path of disarmament. However, my delegation believes that general and complete disarmament will become effective only under international control.

In this connexion it is fitting to note the decision taken by the Federal Republic of Germany to open up its chemical plants to international verification. There is now proof that the activities of these plants do not include the manufacture of chemical weapons.

The danger of a world conflagration does not arise from the manufacture and stockpiling of nuclear weapons alone. It also lies in the installation and the maintenance of foreign military bases in other countries as well as in the creation of military blocs.

With regard to foreign military bases, Mali has as a non-aligned country always firmly spoken out against their installation in other countries not only because they stand in the way of the normal evolution of the peoples concerned but also because they are incompatible with any policy of disarmament.

(Mr. Diarra, Mali)

Concerning military blocs, I shall refer to the words of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Mali, when he said:

"... my country often preaches prudence regarding regional or sub-regional military projects or even defence pacts between countries that, while belonging to the same geographical area certainly, are often linked bilaterally to Powers outside Africa. We must always bear in mind that any military bloc with links, however tenuous, with Powers outside Africa can only lead to the creation of a new bloc, without taking into account the fact that a defence pact, whatever precautions are taken, is always perceived as machinery for warfare against one State or group of States.

"That is why the Republic of Mali, fully concerned with development, the only guarantee of stability in our States, reiterates its political and legal commitment never to attack any state, even less a neighbouring one, and to give full fraternal assistance to any State in our region which may be the victim of an attack." (A/34/PV.27, pp. 36 and 37)

The urgent need to make progress towards disarmament cannot be over-emphasized, for on that depends the maintenance and the strengthening of international peace and security.

Mr. TETOWALA (Togo) (interpretation from French): Mr. Chairman, complying with rule 110 of the rules of procedure, I shall refrain from extending to you the congratulations of the Togolese delegation upon your election. Nevertheless, I should like to express our satisfaction at the remarkable way in which you have been guiding the work of the First Committee. You may rely fully on our co-operation.

The First Committee is this year once again quite properly devoting the greater part of its deliberations to disarmament, one of the most crucial problems of our time. Ensuring the security of mankind through disarmament seems indeed to constitute the greatest challenge to the international community not only in view of the dangers inherent in the arms race itself but also because of the unacceptable squandering of human and material resources that it entails.

(Mr. Tetowala, Togo)

It must be freely admitted that, 34 years after the Second World War and the founding of the United Nations, the progress achieved by the international community in order "to preserve succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and maintain international peace and security is far from encouraging. It was to face up to the senseless risks inherent for mankind in the arms race, with particular relevance to nuclear weapons, that last year the tenth special session of the General Assembly was convened. Sixteen months later the efforts exerted within the United Nations as well as by Member States individually in order to implement the decisions contained in the Final Document seem a priori to be insignificant. However, far from falling prey to the kind of pessimism to which any analysis of practical measures aimed at halting and reversing the arms race gives rise, my delegation expresses the hope that the international community will redouble its efforts towards attaining the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control in a world where international peace and security would prevail and a new international order be on the way to realization.

My delegation has followed with particular attention the first session of the Committee on Disarmament, the multilateral negotiating body which was renewed by the tenth special session of the General Assembly. The fact that in a relatively short time the Committee was able to do what the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament had failed to do in 17 years, namely to prepare and adopt a complete set of rules of procedure and decide on its agenda and programme of work, leads us to hope that its future work devoted to substantive questions will be positive. For that to happen, it will be necessary for the nuclear Powers, which bear particular responsibility in matters of disarmament, to demonstrate more goodwill.

My delegation wishes to express its serious concern at the slow pace of the negotiations on chemical weapons as well as those on the treaty on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear tests. We believe that these questions should, in view of their importance for the survival of mankind, command the overriding attention of the members of the Committee on Disarmament, especially the nuclear Powers.

(Mr. Tetowala, Togo)

In the long and difficult path towards general and complete disarmament, every first step should be welcomed with relief and hope - relief at seeing the two great nuclear Powers finally embarking upon the right path towards disarmament and hope at seeing disarmament being pursued and accelerated in co-operation with the other nuclear Powers and under international control.

That is why we welcome the conclusion of the SALT II agreements, which, once ratified, will, we hope, pave the way towards the conclusion of new agreements on substantial reductions in nuclear weapons.

(Mr. Tetowala, Togo)

Conversely, in a forum which deals specifically with the problems of the establishment of regional nuclear-weapon-free zones and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons throughout the world, how could I pass over in silence the recent news according to which South Africa is reported to have exploded a nuclear device? Pending the appearance of the report of the Secretary-General on this subject, called for by the General Assembly, my delegation wishes to recall that the African States have for a number of years warned the international community about the fact that, with the assistance of certain Powers which are Members of our Organization, the minority racist régime in South Africa was preparing to introduce nuclear weapons into the African continent so as to threaten the security of independent African States which are fighting against its policy of apartheid. In that respect, it should be recalled that the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations have regularly called for the denuclearization of the African continent and specifically of southern Africa and the Indian Ocean. It is therefore with profound bitterness that we once again observe the contempt in which South Africa holds the resolutions of our Organization.

This news casts an entirely new light upon the need to strengthen the security of States which do not have nuclear weapons against the use or the threat of use of nuclear weapons. We are gratified that a special working group has been instructed by the Committee on Disarmament to conduct negotiations relating to negative guarantees designed to work out effective international arrangements.

We would likewise wish to express our satisfaction that, in application of resolution 33/71 J, which my country joined in sponsoring, the Secretary-General has set up a Group of Governmental Experts charged with studying the technical, legal and financial implications of establishing an international satellite monitoring agency. In an international context where distrust and tension prevail between States, we value highly the preliminary conclusions of the Group of Experts, which

"... fully recognized the valuable contribution which monitoring by satellites could make to the verification of certain parts or types of arms-control and disarmament agreements" (A/34/540, para. 23).

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The Group also

"... appreciated the positive role that satellite monitoring could play in preventing or settling crises in various parts of the world and thus contributing to confidence-building among nations" (ibid.).

As is stipulated in the Introduction to the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament,

"... security, which is an inseparable element of peace, has always been one of the most profound aspirations of humanity" (resolution A/S-10/2, para. 1).

Another fundamental concern of the modern world which is also indissolubly related to peace is undoubtedly the economic and social development of nations. The close link which exists between disarmament and development is evident since, by being incompatible with the efforts made to set up a New International Economic Order which will be less iniquitous, the arms race constitutes a thoughtless and ruinous waste of human and material resources. Once liberated, within the context of disarmament, those resources should be transferred to the economic and social development of peoples and thus serve to bridge the gap which separates the developed from the developing countries. My delegation has already acknowledged with satisfaction the setting up by the United Nations of a group of experts instructed to study this question. We express the ardent wish that in the near future this work will lead to the establishment of machinery for the rechanneling and the transfer of resources liberated by disarmament.

The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Mr. Arsov.

Mr. ARSOV (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) (interpretation from French): Within the framework of the consideration of agenda item 42 (h) on the dissemination of information on the arms race and disarmament, the Committee has before it document A/34/147 which contains the report of the Director-General of UNESCO called for by General Assembly resolution 33/71 G of 14 December 1978. In operative paragraph 3 of that resolution, the General Assembly invited

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the Director-General of UNESCO to report to it at its thirty-fourth session on the preparations for a world congress on disarmament education.

Before describing very briefly the activities undertaken by UNESCO to comply with the terms of that General Assembly resolution, it is appropriate first of all to recall that the general mandate of the organization in regard to peace and disarmament flows from the Constitution of UNESCO. Thus the preamble of the Constitution, in its final paragraph, defines the following objective for UNESCO:

"... for the purpose of advancing, through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organization was established and which its Charter proclaims".

In the second place, the specific mandate of UNESCO in the field of disarmament was defined more clearly in a number of resolutions adopted by its General Conference and, more particularly, in those adopted in 1976 and 1978 concerning the creation of a climate of public opinion conducive to stemming of the arms race and embarking on disarmament. Those resolutions recognized, inter alia, that the role of education and information, and thus of UNESCO, was a determining factor that had not as yet played an adequate part in that process.

Finally, the specific mandate entrusted to UNESCO in respect of education for disarmament will be found in paragraph 107 of the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly as well as in paragraph 3152 of the programme budget of UNESCO for 1979-1980.

Thus, during the 33 years of its existence, UNESCO has endeavoured to act in its areas of competence in the ways appropriate for it - through reflection, research and action to strengthen peace - in close and fruitful co-operation with the United Nations and in particular with its Centre for Disarmament.

As the Committee is aware, in the Final Document adopted at the end of its tenth special session, the General Assembly of the United Nations addressed two recommendations to UNESCO, which was urged, first,

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"... to intensify its activities aimed at facilitating research and publications on disarmament, related to its fields of competence, especially in developing countries, and should disseminate the results of such research" (resolution A/S-10/2, para. 103).

Secondly, the General Assembly requested UNESCO "to step up its programme aimed at the development of disarmament education as a distinct field of study" (ibid., para. 107), and welcomed the organization's plan to hold a congress on disarmament education.

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In its resolution 20 C/11.1 adopted at its twentieth session, held in Paris in October and November 1978, the General Conference of UNESCO invited member States "to encourage the development of activities aimed at achieving the aims and objectives defined in the Final Document of the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament that might be attained through education, science, culture and communication".

In its efforts to encourage peace, that General Conference of UNESCO adopted by consensus the "Declaration on the basic principles concerning the contribution that information organs can make to the strengthening of international peace and understanding, to the promotion of human rights and to the struggle against racism, apartheid and incitement to war" that marked an important stage in the life of our Organization.

At that same session, the General Conference, in approving the organization of an international congress on Disarmament Education to be held in 1980, also stated that the role of education and information in that regard was a matter of the utmost importance. As Mr. Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, the Director-General of UNESCO, told the special session of the United Nations General Assembly:

"in this essential and long-term task it will fall to education to create a movement of public opinion throughout the world favourable to disarmament and peaceful co-operation.

"...

"It is above all by contrasting, on the one hand, the burden that any war, even a potential war, imposes and, on the other hand, the immense benefits of peace, that public opinion can apply its full weight and help Governments to achieve disarmament". (A/S-10/PV.6, pp. 133-135)

The idea of a World Congress on Disarmament Education has therefore been broached in order that ways and means may be examined through which a fresh impetus can be given to efforts being made by UNESCO as well as by its member States and by various interested circles.

The text that the Director-General of UNESCO is submitting to the Assembly in document A/34/147 contains pertinent extracts of the final report of the meeting of experts that was held at Prague from 4 to 8 June 1979, following the generous invitation of the Government of Czechoslovakia, to prepare the World Congress on Disarmament Education.

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The Congress, which is to be held in the spring of 1980, will endeavour to ensure that education for disarmament will be provided but it will not deal with disarmament itself. It will do so by taking specific steps to inform and mobilize those forces capable of contributing effectively to the halting of the arms race and the transition to disarmament. The ultimate objective of the Congress is therefore to increase the attention given to disarmament in the educational process and to encourage a critical attitude among pupils and students so that they would be better prepared to exercise their own judgement in respect of the issues involved.

To attain these objectives, UNESCO will endeavour to ensure the participation in the work of the Congress of those responsible for educational planning at the national level, the leaders of teachers and youth organizations and representatives of trade union, religious and other organizations active in the field of disarmament.

As is indicated in paragraph 24 of document A/34/147, which has been submitted to members of the Committee, the themes of the Congress will have to keep in mind the potential "clientele" of disarmament education. This "clientele" can be identified as follows, in terms of the particular situations of different regions or countries.

First, within the educational system attention should be paid to curricula, materials and content of education, but especially to the educators themselves. The training of educators in the spirit of disarmament should receive particular attention, as should the teaching of disciplines more directly concerned with disarmament.

Secondly, outside the educational system efforts should be focused on formal, non-formal and informal education of adults and, in general, on lifelong education and on information and training through the mass media.

At the end of its work, the World Congress on Disarmament Education will adopt a final document giving high priority to the programme and practical aspects of the subject. That document in its first part might contain the principles and guidelines which should govern disarmament education. The second part of that same document could contain a limited number of

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major recommendations aimed at developing such education. Finally, in an annex, place could be found for the different proposals, recommendations and suggestions made during the Congress. The different measures proposed could be addressed both to UNESCO and to its member States and to governmental organizations and, above all, to the United Nations system as well as to non-governmental organizations, to religious bodies, scientific associations and all those who would like to unite their efforts in the struggle for this cause.

In submitting the report contained in document A/34/147, the Director-General of UNESCO would be grateful for any proposal or suggestion that the General Assembly might see fit to make concerning the organization and work of the World Congress on Disarmament Education or concerning any steps that might be taken subsequently.

The meeting rose at 4.15 p.m.