



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 15th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. HOLLAI (Hungary)  
Vice-Chairman

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Mr. JAZZAR (Syrian Arab Republic (interpretation from Arabic)): We are once again considering a question which remains a matter of concern and interest to all peoples because of its consequences and deep implications for the whole world. These implications and consequences become more obvious when we consider what is required in terms of resources by the circumstances of national security and response to aggression, the consequent wastage of national resources and the negative consequences of such wastage from the point of view of the development and increase of the national potential.

In fact, in the period which has just elapsed the international community and the United Nations have succeeded in recording a number of important achievements in the field of disarmament. As examples I would mention the Treaty on the partial prohibition of nuclear tests, the outer space Treaty, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the Treaty of Tlatelolco, the Treaty prohibiting the emplacement of nuclear weapons on the sea-bed, the Convention on the prohibition of bacteriological weapons and the Convention on the non-use of environmental modification techniques for military purposes.

(Mr. Jazzar, Syrian Arab Republic)

However, we could say that in spite of the importance of the above treaties and conventions, the arms race in the world is continuing, with vast resources being squandered every year on military expenditure and on the creation of new weapons for murder and sabotage. It is a well-known fact that in the world today military arsenals and the armaments of the great Powers are capable of destroying a world twice as big as ours. Another surprising fact is that in the last two years people have become increasingly aware of the dangers and risks of the arms race.

The facts and the figures show an increase in the arms race and the escalation of military expenditure. The production of armaments has increased, as has the amount of money spent on the development of conventional weapons and on weapons of mass destruction. Moreover, statistics make it clear that the arms trade and manufacture of weapons is spreading ever further, and it is this regrettable situation which, in our view, should provide a powerful incentive for a review of all the principles and bases upon which the activities and efforts of the international community should rest in order to make significant progress towards disarmament and halt the arms race, which represents a tremendous squandering of human resources and a diversion of human efforts from development plans and projects, and entails the grave danger of military confrontation ending in devastation.

To prove what we mean, suffice it to say that over the last 30 years the funds spent on the arms race have exceeded \$6,000 billion, which is equivalent, roughly, to the gross national product of the whole world in 1976. The world spends \$350 billion on destructive weapons every year. It is obviously very saddening to note that this figure is 20 times that of the official figures on development aid. While world military expenditure in the last five years has exceeded \$1.8 billion, our world is having to face the same social, nutritional and health problems. Significant progress towards solving these problems was impossible because of the desperate shortage of resources and funds.

(Mr. Jazzar, Syrian Arab Republic)

It is now obvious that expenditure on defence has a major impact on the balance of payments of many developing countries and constitutes an enormous obstacle to the implementation of development projects in this group of countries, a group which consists of most of the countries in the world. The question of armaments and the establishment of a system of collective security in accordance with the principles of the Charter is one of the major problems with which this Organization is constantly faced. If we continually fail to register progress in this field, the United Nations will be nowhere near discharging its major function, that of preserving international peace and security and ensuring a secure future for humanity and a better standard of living for everyone.

The doctrine of the balance of terror, echos of which we hear constantly, has been shown to be invalid. Similarly, it has also been demonstrated that the arms race, the race to manufacture and stockpile weapons, cannot possibly benefit international peace and security. Quite the contrary, it contains within it the seeds of mankind's destruction. The concept of the balance of power is fraught with danger and can lead to catastrophe, to a nuclear war the effects of which would be lethal.

In our view, the only valid theory likely to consolidate peace is that of persistent action to abide by the principles of the United Nations and the rejection of any link between the concept of the balance of power and disarmament, for the United Nations was indeed created after a destructive world war in order to safeguard international peace and security. Indeed, the Security Council and the General Assembly have adopted many resolutions and programmes which, had they been implemented, would have created a different world, a world enjoying peace and stability.

(Mr. Jazzar, Syrian Arab Republic)

Unfortunately, many of these resolutions and measures, viewed as standards of behaviour and the basis of international law, have remained dead letters. Therefore, the question arising in the present circumstances is that of achieving genuine progress in order to put an end to the arms race and obtain disarmament while the rules of conduct and international law laid down by the United Nations remain dead letters. They are not observed nor are the resolutions of this Organization, which are openly flouted.

My delegation has given sympathetic consideration to the report of the Preparatory Committee on the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, a report presented by the representative of Argentina.

(Mr. Jazzar, Syrian Arab Republic)

While respecting the serious and fruitful work done by that body, we do feel that any international effort made to achieve significant progress in halting the arms race and promoting disarmament should be based on the following principles:

First, scrupulous respect for the Charter of the United Nations and faithful compliance with all resolutions emanating therefrom;

Second, recognition of the close relationship between disarmament and the political and economic security of States;

Third, the elimination of hotbeds of tension throughout the world, which are exemplified by the racist régime of South Africa and the Zionist régime in occupied Palestine;

Fourth, the total elimination of nuclear arms, the prohibition and elimination of all kinds of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons, and the radical reduction of all kinds of conventional weapons, together with the adoption of firm, strict international measures to put an end to all strategic nuclear activities carried out by the racist authorities of South Africa and occupied Palestine; the imposition of an international embargo on the delivery of fissile and radioactive material to those régimes and the imposition of international control over the production of conventional weapons by those régimes.

A few months after the end of the present session of the General Assembly the special session devoted to consideration of disarmament questions will begin. We feel that in order to guarantee the success of that special session we should undertake a general stock-taking of the fundamental factors which have so far impeded any specific serious progress towards the reduction of international tension and the attainment of disarmament.

Foremost among those factors, in our view, is the role of the outrageous conspiratorial alliance between the Governments of Pretoria and Tel Aviv, because, apart from their negative attitude of scorn for and their defiance of the United Nations and its relevant resolutions, those two racist régimes are pursuing a policy of aggression aimed at strangling national anti-colonialist liberation movements and creating new zones of conflict in the African continent and in the Arab world.

(Mr. Jazzar, Syrian Arab Republic)

In pursuit of their aggressive policies, those racist régimes have been stockpiling enormous quantities of arms. Indeed, Israel and the Government of South Africa, thanks to the technology afforded them by the imperialist forces, can today manufacture all kinds of traditional conventional weapons for purposes of destruction - even the best and most lethal, including fighter aircraft, bombers, heavy tanks, cannon, warships and missiles of all kinds. Moreover, the increasing co-operation between those two racist régimes has, according to available information, produced tremendous accomplishments in the field of nuclear arms, bacteriological (biological) weapons, and weapons of mass destruction. Furthermore, official reports show that the Tel Aviv and Pretoria Governments have been making intensive efforts to invade the international arms market. That will obviously give rise to new sources of tension in the world and new impediments to United Nations efforts in the field of disarmament.

Pretoria's aggression against African countries, and the Zionist racist aggression inflicted on the Arab countries, parts of whose territory are still subject to Israeli occupation to this very day, has left the peoples concerned no choice but to devote tremendous amounts of human and material resources to defend themselves against racist aggression and its greedy ambition for exploitation and domination. Therefore, when we affirm the need to intensify international efforts for the total elimination of all racist régimes, it is because of our absolute faith in peace and our firm belief that the vast resources and all the enormous quantities of human and material potential wasted on war and destruction could very well be used for the good of mankind in the consolidation of international peace and security - if the United Nations could succeed in putting an end to the aggression by the racist régimes and force them to abide by its resolutions and subject themselves to international law and justice.

The Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Colombo, confirmed that in order to put an end to international tension there should be an elimination of the tension resulting from the balance-of-terror policy and the competition between opposing blocs. That is why that Conference called for the elimination of all hotbeds of tension, with the

(Mr. Jazzar, Syrian Arab Republic)

participation of all countries on an equal footing, in the search for solutions to international problems.

On that basis the Syrian Arab Republic warmly welcomed the idea of holding a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. Indeed, we hope that session will benefit from the experience of previous years and will succeed in adopting effective measures to break the current disarmament deadlock which has existed for many years.

It is on that basis that Syria has also supported the convening of a world disarmament conference, inasmuch as the convening of a special session of the General Assembly cannot possibly take the place of an international conference, which could be transformed into a body that would hold periodic meetings in order to review the progress towards, and the obstacles to, disarmament and an ending of the arms race.

The Syrian Arab Republic supports and endorses all efforts of the international Organization and indeed all international attempts to achieve effective progress towards putting an end to the arms race and bringing about disarmament.

(Mr. Jazzar, Syrian Arab Republic)

We therefore reaffirm our position that a total embargo on and prohibition should be imposed on the production and stockpiling of all chemical and bacteriological weapons. It suffices here for me to refer to the sufferings in Syria resulting from the use by the Zionists of napalm in the course of their constant aggression. We also support the idea of creating and expanding demilitarized zones, free of all nuclear weapons.

Israel's refusal to sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the Zionist State's nuclear plans force us all to live under the shadow of nuclear terror.

Finally, I should like to say that in our world where tension is constantly growing what we need is not to count on the force of arms but to have confidence in and reliance on the United Nations Charter and respect its various resolutions. We believe that on that will depend not only mankind's well-being but also its very survival on this earth.

Mr. TURKMEN (Turkey): Since I am speaking for the first time in this Committee, I should like to offer my most sincere congratulations to the Chairman, Ambassador Boaten, and the other officers of the Committee.

The intensity of the disarmament negotiations and discussions in the last 30 years reflects the concern felt by the international community about the growing dangers and alarming proportions of the arms race. Yet the results so far achieved contrast sadly with the awareness of the threat. Agreements on partial control measures have not produced substantial progress towards the proclaimed goal of complete disarmament under effective international control. The main obstacle has always been the absence of political will on the part of the countries which bear the greatest responsibility in the field of disarmament efforts.

The Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization, underlines that

"... unless there is major progress in the field of disarmament... world order based on collective responsibility and international confidence cannot come into being. The question of disarmament lies at the heart of the problem of international order..." (A/32/1, p. 12)

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

The Turkish delegation fully shares that observation. As is widely recognized, the ongoing arms race today constitutes a most serious threat to a peaceful and orderly future for the entire world, as well as a tremendous strain on resources urgently needed by the developing countries for economic and social development. We firmly believe, therefore, that the international community should undertake renewed and determined efforts with a view to reversing that fateful trend and eliminating the most serious threat to an order based on peace and stability in international relations.

Against that background of meagre and disappointing results of the past 30 years, today we take some comfort in recent developments. It is gratifying that last year all countries joined in a consensus to convene a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament in 1978. Since the last session of the General Assembly, intensive disarmament negotiations have taken place both inside and outside the United Nations system, registering some progress on the major outstanding issues of arms limitation. The two major Powers announced considerable progress in the SALT talks and encouragingly expressed willingness to exert efforts with a view to reducing further their nuclear-weapon stocks. We firmly believe that success in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks is of vital importance in curbing the arms race and averting the danger of a nuclear war, as well as in bringing about a favourable atmosphere for increased international confidence.

The conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty has been a subject of high priority on the agenda of disarmament negotiations carried out during the last 15 years. Needless to say, a ban on nuclear tests will be a major step towards the achievement of nuclear disarmament and the strengthening of the non-proliferation régime. We note with satisfaction that the participants in the ongoing trilateral negotiations directed towards achieving a comprehensive nuclear test ban are proceeding with an increasing sense of urgency and purpose. We are more than ever optimistic that as a result of joint efforts the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on disarmament will be marked by the conclusion of a long-awaited comprehensive test-ban treaty.

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

The Turkish Government fully shares the concern of the international community about the dangers of nuclear proliferation. It believes, therefore, that the present non-proliferation Treaty has to be strengthened, taking fully into consideration the close relationship between horizontal and vertical proliferation, as well as the balance between responsibilities and obligations established within the framework of the non-proliferation Treaty. In our view, the nuclear Powers should make sustained efforts particularly in halting the vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons. Also, the incentives to acquire nuclear weapons should be removed if nuclear proliferation is to be controlled. In this connexion, the importance of appropriate arrangements with a view to providing adequate security guarantees to the non-nuclear States should be underlined.

In the present circumstances, the need for the peaceful uses of nuclear power as an alternative source of energy is increasing. The potential benefits of the peaceful applications of nuclear energy are particularly important for the developing countries. The fear of diversion of nuclear energy to military purposes must not be used as an argument to prevent developing countries from having access without discrimination to a technology that they need for their economic development. Demands for peaceful uses of nuclear energy and international co-operation in this field should be reconciled under appropriate arrangements with the general concern about the spread of nuclear weapons.

Increasing attention is being given by the international community to the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones as a means of halting the spread of nuclear weapons. In the view of my delegation, the creation of such zones in various parts of the world could be useful if certain fundamental conditions are met. Any initiative concerning the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone must come from the relevant region itself as a result of negotiations among all the countries concerned. Moreover, the participation of all the militarily significant Powers of the region in such an arrangement should be ensured. The geographical, strategic and political characteristics of each region and of the countries in that region should duly be taken into account in any attempt to establish such zones. It is also indispensable that a definition of the zone in question be adequate and precise and that no State or group of States should gain military advantages as a result of the establishment of any given zone.

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

My Government considers that the results of the Review Conference of the parties to the sea-bed Treaty, held in Geneva in July 1977, is of great significance. The Review Conference did not only show that the Treaty had worked well and had achieved its primary objective, but also provided an opportunity to bring clarification to some of its articles. This, in our view, no doubt rendered the Treaty more effective.

It goes without saying that the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and their destruction is an important and urgent question among the non-nuclear measures of disarmament. Since the main source of dissatisfaction of the international community in the disarmament field stems from the fact that no real disarmament measures, with the exception of the convention on biological weapons, have so far been enforced, the conclusion of a convention on chemical weapons will be a major step taken in the right direction. We are happy to note from the report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD) that the Committee, in its 1977 session, continued and intensified its efforts to make progress towards a convention on chemical weapons, which in fact will pave the way for real disarmament measures. Statements in this Committee by the representatives of the two major Powers actively engaged at present in bilateral negotiations on the subject, have heightened our hopes that an agreement will soon be achieved. A chemical weapons convention with an adequate verification system will certainly be a major contribution to the cause of disarmament.

In this age of nuclear technology, our preoccupation with the perils of nuclear weapons must not blind us to the growing threat emanating from the use of conventional weapons. In fact, the wars that history records have been waged and are still being waged with conventional armaments. Today, 80 per cent of the total military expenditures of the world are being allocated to the accumulation of conventional weapons. Therefore, we consider that disarmament measures relating to conventional weapons are just as vitally important and urgent as that of nuclear ones. In our view, progressive

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

reduction of conventional weapons should take place parallel to that of nuclear armaments. Although we are aware of the fact that this problem can ultimately be solved only within the framework of general and complete disarmament, we nevertheless believe that approaches to this question at the regional level might prove useful. My Government attaches great importance to the Vienna talks on mutual and balanced force reductions in central Europe. We hope that the Vienna talks, which were the outcome of improved East-West relations, will make substantial progress with far-reaching positive results in the months ahead.

Today it is generally recognized that progress in disarmament is an essential means for accelerating economic and social development. There is a close relationship between disarmament efforts, on the one hand, and measures to achieve economic and social progress, on the other. In our view, disarmament in confidence and security would allow all nations, particularly developing countries, to concentrate their resources, manpower and energy to the attainment of a higher level of economic growth and to enhance international co-operation in the field of economic and social development. It is with these considerations that my delegation welcomed, in the Preparatory Committee for the special session on disarmament, the proposal put forward by the Nordic countries envisaging a new United Nations study on the relationship between disarmament efforts and economic and social progress, with particular reference to the examination of the basic conditions for a successful redeployment of resources released as a result of disarmament measures.

The decision of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly to convene a special session on disarmament reflects the desire of the international community to make strides towards the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. My Government, which was among the co-sponsors of the relevant resolution, regards the special session as a unique opportunity for nations throughout the world to consider new approaches for curbing and reversing the arms race.

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

Moreover, my Government earnestly hopes that the special session will enable the emergence of a stronger political determination, by increasing the degree of mutual confidence among States. It is also our view that the special session might generate greater support for disarmament efforts through better public understanding of disarmament issues.

My delegation, as one of the members of the Preparatory Committee, was privileged to work under the able guidance of Mr. Ortiz de Rozas of Argentina. The Committee, in a spirit of co-operation and compromise, successfully concluded its work on the organizational and procedural matters of the special session. In our view, the draft agenda proposed by the Preparatory Committee, which is the result of a compromise, has a balanced content.

In the course of the three sessions of the Preparatory Committee ideas were also put forward in connexion with the substance of the documents to be adopted by the special session, on which the Preparatory Committee will henceforth focus its attention.

In the view of my delegation, disarmament measures must stem from agreements based on consensus. Their implementation must be balanced and must provide undiminished security equally for all nations. We believe that a global programme for disarmament should be carried out in successive stages but without rigid timetables. Such a programme must include nuclear as well as conventional weapons must deal not only with horizontal but also with vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons and must provide for a system of effective international control.

We are not oblivious of the fact that the road to the established objective of general and complete disarmament under effective international control is paved with many obstacles. However, my delegation believes that, given the political will to continue our co-operative efforts towards the final goal, we can surmount existing obstacles. My delegation would like to believe that we are entering a more fruitful period in the history of disarmament negotiations.

Mr. MAIDOU (Central African Empire) (interpretation from French): In speaking for the first time, allow me to congratulate the Chairman most warmly on his election to the very important post of Chairman of the First Committee and to state my conviction that, under his wise guidance, we shall be able to carry out the important tasks entrusted to our Committee.

On behalf of my delegation, it is a great pleasure for me to congratulate most warmly the representative of the People's Republic of Hungary, Mr. Hollai, and the representative of Finland, Mr. Pastinen, on their election as Vice-Chairmen of the First Committee, as well as the Rapporteur, Mr. Correa, the representative of Mexico.

At the very outset, I should like to mention the statement by His Imperial Majesty Bokassa I to the United Nations General Assembly on 20 October 1970, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization:

"The Second United Nations Development Decade ought to be both the Second Development Decade and the disarmament decade. I think it would be pointless to refer to a disarmament decade if an ever-growing multiplicity of situations of wretchedness, hunger and frustration did not give hundreds of millions of men, who would have little to fear from an apocalyptic death from modern weapons, the ultimate recourse of a different sort of death, but one which in the end analysis is just as final." (A/FV.1875, para. 146)

(Mr. Maidou, Central African Empire)

This shows, on the one hand, the characteristic of our world to tend to depersonalize, or should I say dehumanize, itself by giving way to force and selfishness, and, on the other hand, that the Government of the Central African Empire attaches the greatest importance to the problem of disarmament and its impact on the harmonious development of our society.

In fact, an analysis of the present international situation clearly proves that general and complete disarmament is one of the objectives proclaimed by the United Nations for more than three decades, yet we are compelled to note that the initiatives taken in this respect have not yet fully succeeded.

The world is witnessing an unbridled arms race, when it ought to be turning to account the unlimited possibilities of intelligence, knowledge and the wealth thus being diverted to resolve the problems of poverty, ignorance and disease, which, unfortunately, remain the lot of most of the inhabitants of our planet.

Increasingly sophisticated and deadly weapons are being perfected. The proliferation of atomic and conventional arms is being intensified. Nuclear and thermonuclear tests continue. The sea-bed, the subsoil thereof and outer space are no longer spared. Every day, we are moving farther away from the goal of general and complete disarmament.

Yet, in spite of this malevolent evolution of the political-military system of our world, the Central African Empire for its part attaches very special attention to measures intended to lessen the danger of a nuclear war.

This obviously requires that nuclear-weapon States put an end to their tests and, in accordance with the provisions of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, continue to negotiate on effective measures for complete and general disarmament.

To do so, all States, small or large, must seriously weigh the consequences of a proliferation of nuclear weapons and shoulder the obligations deriving therefrom.

At present, approximately \$350 billion are spent for military purposes. The gigantic cost of this arms race and the distortion of world priorities half-way through the Disarmament Decade and the Second Development Decade are the best illustration of what is happening. Military expenditures absorb resources equivalent to approximately two thirds of the gross national product of the countries which, taken together, constitute the poorest half of the world.

(Mr. Maidou, Central African Empire)

Indeed, world-wide squandering of financial resources, manpower, raw materials and technology continues from year to year at approximately the level reached 16 years ago.

What is basically new in assessing the situation since the end of the 1960s is the frame of reference. In comparison with the situation at the beginning of the present decade, we are today far more aware of the fact that the world faces a series of urgent problems of decisive importance for the progress of all States. In order to solve these problems, we must mobilize to a very large degree the energy and resources of all countries and adopt an approach based on international co-operation and solidarity, factors quite obviously incompatible with the continued arms race.

Of course this does not bring us any closer to the desired objective of increased collective security.

On the whole, it is clear that some major economic problems of recent years - rapid inflation, imbalances in trade, upheavals in the balance of payments - are aggravated by the persistence of a major military effort, even though the contribution of the arms race to these problems can be evaluated only in quantitative terms. In fact, there can be no doubt that the present inflation and its continuation at a time of economic recession and unemployment can be partly explained by the maintenance of heavy military expenditures. A massive reduction of these expenditures on a world-wide level would contribute to the halting of inflation.

In this respect, the Central African Empire welcomes the idea of a special session of the General Assembly and of a world disarmament conference. These would make it possible for all Member States to contribute to the strategy for a genuine disarmament and mark the inception of a new and fruitful era for the survival of mankind, because, while the arms race entails heavy sacrifices, it also threatens and distorts the interplay of democratic functions and is a barrier to the evolution of social processes which constitute the only real hope for the future of our society.

(Mr. Maidou, Central African Empire)

Furthermore, it is important to be aware of the fact that recourse to force in international relations is linked to the fundamental inequalities which characterize the modern world, that is, waste of resources, diversion of the economy from humanitarian objectives, the blocking of national development efforts, threats to democratic procedures and the danger to national and international security.

Force implies the constant risk of a nuclear war and an interminable series of petty conflicts. Korea, Cyprus, the Middle East and southern Africa are examples of this state of affairs. I should like to dwell somewhat on two of these cases, namely, the Middle East and southern Africa.

In the Middle East, where the situation is already alarming, the recent decision by the Government of Israel to establish new settlements on the West Bank of the Jordan is not encouraging for a peaceful solution of the conflict.

Given this explosive situation, we hope that the scheduled consultations will make it possible to convene the Geneva Peace Conference before the end of the year. The Central African Government considers that any solution of the conflict must nevertheless be based on the following conditions: first, the right of Israel to exist as a State within secure and recognized boundaries; secondly, the right of the Palestinians to a homeland; and, thirdly, the withdrawal of all Israeli forces from the territories that have been occupied since 1967.

As regards southern Africa, my delegation considers that there will be no peace so long as the majority of the populations in Rhodesia and Namibia remain deprived of their legitimate and fundamental rights.

The situation in Rhodesia has worsened since the constitutional talks were broken off in November 1976. Although the outlook for a solution in accord with the recent Anglo-American plan remains bleak, we nevertheless hope that it will provide a basis for realistic negotiations.

As regards Namibia, my Government is firmly convinced that there will be no real solution to this problem without the agreement of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which plays a paramount role in the struggle for the liberation of the Namibian people.

(Mr. Maidou, Central African Empire)

I hope that I may be forgiven these parenthetical observations, but it seemed necessary to me to make them.

In sum, I should once again wish to recall forcefully that the arms race is a situation in which the weakest nations are subject to the domination and interference of other States and that it is a barrier to relations among States countries by influencing the volume and direction of trade, reducing the role of co-operation and hampering efforts intended to establish a new international economic order on a more equitable basis.

(Mr. Maidou, Central African Empire)

Accordingly, no instrument intended to encourage non-recourse to the use of force in international relations can be dissociated from the regulation and establishment of justice in relations between States. Accordingly, any treaty must include not only provisions regulating non-recourse to force but also measures which make it possible to remove the causes of disputes, as well as to settle them by procedures freely accepted by all States.

I should like to conclude by quoting the words of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim:

"The vision I endeavour to keep in mind is that of a world where Governments and peoples will learn to work in solidarity and to combine their efforts to serve major common causes; a world where mutual understanding will cause prejudices to recede and eliminate futile and often dangerous quarrels; a world where reason and the spirit of co-operation will be the virtue of the strong rather than the alibi of the weak; a world which will make independence a virtue while allowing diversity and freedom to flourish."

It is against this background that I conclude my statement by recalling, as did the Secretary-General of the United Nations, that disarmament is one of the major common causes for which we shall strive in the hope of sparing mankind great suffering.

Mr. SHEVEL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)(interpretation from Russian): Allow me, Sir, to congratulate you on behalf of our delegation on your election to the post of Vice-Chairman of the First Committee and, through you, the Chairman and other members of the Committee, all of whom we wish success in their work.

It is obvious to all that the task of halting the arms race and putting into effect real disarmament measures up to and including general and complete disarmament presents the greatest problem, in dimensions and in significance, in world politics today. The desire to solve this problem in all its aspects, or even partially in order to create more favourable circumstances for progress

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towards disarmament, is being felt particularly keenly in the course of this session of the General Assembly, and this is understandable. Now, when we have seen a beginning of the restructuring of international relations on the basis of the principle of the peaceful coexistence of States and when this process has become an inalienable part of world development, the peoples of the world and the Governments which express the will of the peoples favour the earliest possible supplementing of political détente by military détente, and they are in favour of disarmament measures. Specific measures of disarmament we now see the real sense of détente, a test of its effectiveness. As was shown by the discussion which began recently in the First Committee on the question of the deepening and consolidation of détente and prevention of the danger of nuclear war, there is understanding of the fact that the decision of the General Assembly on this important and urgent question should give a new stimulus to disarmament talks. Indeed, the determination in the United Nations document of the content of the process of détente and the fundamental areas for its further development will also play its part in disarmament.

We can only welcome the fact that disarmament questions have been raised in the discussions on many items in the General Assembly's agenda and not only under those items which relate directly to disarmament. Another noteworthy fact is that they are being discussed in many forums, even outside the United Nations. It is our belief that in the consideration and solving of a problem as vital as that of disarmament and the reduction of the threat of nuclear war the participation of all States in the world is most important and that in order to make progress towards that goal we should use all possible forums, in the United Nations, special international conferences, bilateral negotiations and broad public movements.

The Ukrainian SSR supported the idea of convening a special session of the General Assembly on disarmament. We appreciate the work done by the Preparatory Committee for the special session and believe that its recommendation will undoubtedly help the session to outline a programme of action in the field of disarmament, to determine the approaches to be adopted in order to solve this problem and also to discuss the question of convening a world disarmament conference. We continue to believe that a

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world conference would provide the most authoritative forum in which all the countries of the world, without exception and on an equal footing, would be able not only to put forward and compare their views on disarmament problems but also to reach agreement on practical ways of solving them.

Furthermore, we are convinced that the special nature of a world conference, the fact that it would be the first assembly of such a kind since the war, would make it easier to take effective decisions on the questions under discussion.

We have before us the report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament which held a series of spring and summer meetings in Geneva, and also a number of other documents. The majority of them show that in many areas of disarmament negotiations constructive work has been done, and this is no accident. All our experience in the post-war years and the concrete results achieved in the area of reducing the danger of nuclear war and limiting the arms race have demonstrated convincingly that, given a realistic and constructive approach to solving the problems of disarmament and given the necessary political will on the part of Governments, the solution of specific problems of limiting the arms race and bringing about disarmament is becoming a completely realistic target.

All aspects of the problem of disarmament are extremely important and topical. At the same time, from among the series of problems connected with disarmament we can single out a number of issues which should be given priority attention and decision. In our view, we should give priority to the prohibition and elimination of weapons of mass destruction. The very fact of their existence, their development and their constant improvement and stockpiling over more than three decades now is something which injects tension into international relations. An important step towards solving this problem would be the prohibition of all nuclear-weapon tests.

It is well known that the carrying out of experimental explosions of nuclear weapons is very closely linked to the process of their qualitative improvement. As a result of the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty of 1963 it was possible to achieve the international legal prohibition of nuclear-weapon testing in three environments - in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water.

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The Treaty also places partial limitations on certain categories of underground testing of nuclear weapons but that category of experimental explosions has so far not been banned. The 1963 Treaty won wide international recognition as an important instrument for the limitation of the nuclear arms race. Today over 100 States, including three nuclear Powers, are parties to the Treaty. Of course, it still maintains and will continue to maintain its significance.

Two years ago the Soviet Union put forward a proposal for the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. If it is put into practical effect it will help to put an end once and for all to the carrying out of nuclear-weapon tests in all environments and by all States by outlawing nuclear tests for military purposes. At the same time, such an agreement should not be allowed to hinder in any way the peaceful use by nuclear and non-nuclear States of the energy released by nuclear explosions. In the opinion of the Ukrainian delegation there can be no doubt that the method of control proposed in the draft treaty, the essence of which is the use of national technical methods in combination with certain international procedures, such as international exchange of seismic data and the adoption on a voluntary basis of a decision to verify relevant factors on the spot if there is doubt concerning the observance of the ban on nuclear tests, could adequately guarantee compliance with the obligations flowing from the treaty by parties to it.

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The proposal of the Soviet Union at this session that the future treaty should be signed initially by only three nuclear Powers, the USSR, the United States of America and the United Kingdom, which would also declare a moratorium on underground tests of nuclear weapons for a specific period to be agreed upon between them, testifies to the readiness of the USSR to accelerate the production of such a treaty. Many representatives in the Disarmament Committee expressed their support of these steps, as is shown by the report of that Committee (A/C.1/27, vol. I), and they have been supported here in this very Committee.

The greatest possible importance for the ensuring of further active progress towards complete and general disarmament belongs to the conclusion of an international agreement prohibiting the development, manufacture and stock-piling of all forms of chemical weapons without exception, and also providing for the destruction of stock-piles of these weapons. This was precisely the purport of the draft convention in question, which as far back as 1972 was submitted by the USSR and other socialist countries for the consideration of the Disarmament Committee.

We attach great significance to the talks under way between the USSR and the United States of America on the question of prohibiting chemical weapons, and we hope that progress in these talks will make it possible to accelerate the production by the Disarmament Committee of a convention on the elimination of chemical weapons. It is quite obvious that the system of control over observance of a future treaty should be based on the use of national means, in the same way as this question is being regulated in the existing Convention on the Prohibition of Bacteriological Weapons. In the consideration of possibilities of using additional forms of control, we attach importance to the discussion under way in the Disarmament Committee of methods of verifying the destruction of stock-piles of chemical weapons, which should be banished from the arsenals of States.

In the view of the Ukrainian SSR delegation, there is another equally important task in the field of disarmament, which is the prohibition of the manufacture of new forms and systems of weapons of mass destruction. The data which characterize the scope of the scientific research and experiments

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in the military field, where practically one-fourth of all scientific and engineering workers in the world work, these data are well known. Every year tens of billions of dollars are spent in the world for military scientific research and development. Furthermore, these expenditures, like the military budgets of many countries, have a tendency to grow constantly. All these resources and funds are cast away not only on the technical improvement of existing forms and systems of weapons, but also on research for new so-called prospective means of waging war.

In this connexion, the Ukrainian SSR delegation believes that the initiative of the Soviet Union, which it made two years ago aimed at banning the development and production of new forms or systems of weapons of mass destruction is extremely important and urgent. Many years of experience of talks on disarmament questions have most cogently demonstrated how much more simple and more sensible it is to take effective measures to prevent the emergence of new forms of weapons than subsequently to strive for a prohibition of them and to have them banished from military arsenals.

We place very serious hopes in the talks which are now going on on this question in the Disarmament Committee, and also between the USSR and the United States of America, and we believe that an agreement on the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new forms and new systems of weapons of mass destruction will be produced.

Further proof of the danger of the emergence of new forms and systems of weapons of mass destruction is the decision of the United States of America to embark upon the production of the neutron bomb. This would be a new form of nuclear weapon designed for the mass destruction of people by means of intensified radiation. The hypocrisy of the fanatic partisans of killing people, who have attempted to assert that this new weapon is what they describe as humanitarian, has aroused a storm of indignation which is still raging throughout the world. Millions of people in the Ukrainian SSR and throughout the world have protested vigourously against plans for creating the neutron bomb. There has been a tremendous international echo and response, in particular to the appeal of the Communist and working parties of

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Europe, the United States and Canada, an appeal addressed to the peoples of the whole world, which demands that the development and manufacture of new forms of weapons be prohibited - weapons such as the neutron bomb - right up to and including a total prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

Recently, there has been ever growing concern on the part of international public opinion because of the danger of the uncontrolled proliferation of fissile material, equipment and nuclear technology, a process which, with every passing year, is assuming ever greater dimensions, something which could lead to an increase in the number of countries possessing nuclear weapons. It is quite obvious that such a development could lead to an increase in the threat of the outbreak of nuclear war itself.

In the interests of the further strengthening of the régime governing the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, we believe it essential not only to strive to achieve the conversion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons into a genuine and universal document, but also to strive towards comprehensive improvement, which is under way in the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), of a system of control over nuclear installations and materials. States which supply nuclear exports bear a special responsibility in this connexion inasmuch as what is necessary are strict guarantees that international co-operation in the field of the peaceful use of nuclear energy would not become a channel for the dissemination of nuclear weapons.

The interests of ensuring international peace and security, the interests of détente, are incompatible with the continuation of the arms race. This axiomatic truth is something which is meeting growing understanding in many countries of the world. This is proved by inter alia the interest with which the Memorandum of the Soviet Union on the questions of the cessation of the arms race and disarmament was met when it was submitted at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. This document provides a well developed, realistic programme for resolving the most important problems of disarmament, which, apart from those I have just mentioned, include such questions as reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments, the creation of zones of peace in the Indian Ocean and other areas, and the reduction of military budgets and other measures.

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The profound interest in questions of disarmament and the limitation of the arms race is testified to by the favourable attention which was given, both in the general debate at plenary meetings of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly and in the debate in the First Committee, and in the talks between the USSR and the United States of America, on the conclusion of a new agreement on the limitation of strategic armaments.

The overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations, I do believe, are unanimous that a successful outcome of these talks would be a tremendous thing for the peoples of the whole world, who understand that the limitation of nuclear missile weapons would mean making more remote the danger of the outbreak of a destructive war. We share this view, and the Ukrainian SSR delegation cannot fail to express its concern at the agreement signed recently for the creation, by one of the firms of the Federal Republic of Germany, of a rocket launching pad in Zaire. This agreement runs counter to the process of the deepening of international détente, which we believe is favoured by the Federal Republic. It is not in keeping with the repeatedly expressed wish of the African countries not to permit the use of their continent as a military proving ground.

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Among the measures which are dependent upon the creation of favourable conditions for the process of disarmament we would highlight the important proposals of the Warsaw Pact countries, addressed to all participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to conclude a treaty whereby they would undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Thus far, the Governments of NATO countries have not given a positive response. Apparently much hard work yet remains before the proposals of the Warsaw Pact countries can be implemented.

We are convinced that everyone in this room will understand that the road to general and complete disarmament is not an easy one. What we need, however, is to ensure continuous and constant progress towards that goal so that, as was pointed out by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid Brezhnev:

"Every passing year and month brings new practical steps in one area or another connected with the curbing of the arms race and the reduction of the arsenals of States and the easing of the threat of nuclear war."

That is not an easy thing to achieve. The opponents of disarmament, those who champion a new war, resist any measures for limiting the arms race and bringing about disarmament. We need only point out that whenever there is any agreement in this area, they immediately raise an uproar over what they describe as "a betrayal", "a new Munich", "a further Soviet threat", and so on and so forth, in their attempts to undermine the attainment of agreements.

Among those opponents are the henchmen of the military-industrial complex and the gentlemen from Peking, who, as was shown by the statement of the Chinese representative in our Committee, are all acting in concert. But the people of the world will overcome their resistance and will unquestionably bring about realistic disarmament measures.

The forthcoming anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution prompts us to stress that for 60 years now the red banner of Great October has been emblazoned with Lenin's words: "Disarmament is the ideal of socialism." Today the desire for general and complete disarmament has

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become part of the fundamental Constitution of the Soviet homeland, and this makes it incumbent upon us to bend every possible effort to ensure that the arms race is brought to a halt and that disarmament is achieved.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR ventures to hope that practical steps towards disarmament will be taken at this thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Mr. HELLEM (Norway): Since this is the first time my delegation has had the opportunity to speak in this Committee, I should like to take this occasion to congratulate Mr. Boaten upon his election as Chairman of our Committee. Our congratulations go also to the other officers of the Committee. I can assure you that my delegation will do its utmost to assist you all in solving the important tasks that lie ahead of us.

We live in a world where staggering sums of money are spent on armaments, while at the same time an ever-increasing number of people are struggling against poverty and distress. This situation is unacceptable. We should therefore now join in an all-out effort and commit ourselves to bringing about a change and to halting the excessive diversion of resources for military purposes.

In the view of my Government, arms limitation and disarmament can make a major contribution to the furthering of international peace and security and to the economic and social advance of mankind. Disarmament problems must therefore be viewed in a broad political, strategic and economic context and be incorporated as an integral part of the foreign policy of Member States.

Expenditures on arms - which now amount to about \$350 billion per year - are still rising, apparently independent of political détente. No country, however, can in the long run achieve greater security by devoting more and more of its resources to armaments. The arms race has already resulted in the stockpiling of destructive power beyond any conceivable military purpose. The military build-up constitutes an obvious danger to international peace and stability. Our immediate aim should therefore be improved security for all, at a lower level of armaments.

(Mr. Hellem, Norway)

Convinced that by joint efforts we may be able to change the course of events in the right direction, my Government co-sponsored the initiative to convene a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The special session will constitute the most representative forum of States ever convened to discuss disarmament problems. It will offer a unique opportunity of taking stock of the results and experiences gained so far, and of giving new direction to future developments in this field. It will also present a unique opportunity to focus global attention on a complex of problems that urgently require re-evaluation, fresh thinking and, beyond everything else, political action.

As a member of the Preparatory Committee and its bureau, my country is actively engaged in ensuring the successful outcome of the special session. Positive results will depend largely on adequate preparation, but equally important is the exercise of political will to make the session a turning-point in post-Second World War history. All countries share the responsibility of ensuring the success of the special session. Nuclear-weapon Powers and other militarily significant States, however, have a particular responsibility in this respect.

In the view of my Government, a major objective of those negotiations should be to clarify the problems connected with an eventual release of resources to supplement efforts to attain a new international economic order. Progress in this area will help to eliminate present inequalities which constitute a dangerous source of tension and conflict. For this reason and because we have declared the 1970s a disarmament as well as a development decade, it seems appropriate that we examine the question of the relationship among armaments, resources and development.

My Government, in co-operation with the other Nordic countries, has therefore suggested that an in-depth study of this subject be initiated. This study should help to clarify the basic conditions for a successful redeployment of resources released as a result of disarmament measures.

(Mr. Hellem, Norway)

Particular attention will in this connexion be focused on means and methods of reallocating released resources to development efforts in the developing countries. I should like to stress, however, what the Norwegian Foreign Minister stated in his speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations:

"... resources released through disarmament should not replace but come in addition to development assistance from other sources". (A/32/PV.7, p. 63)

(Mr. Hellem, Norway)

We were encouraged that the Nordic proposal met with a favourable response in the Preparatory Committee for the special session. My Government therefore hopes that it will be possible to achieve further progress towards the initiation of such a study during our work in this Committee.

General and complete disarmament under effective international control is and should continue to be our long-term objective. Based on the United States-Soviet joint declaration of 1961 on the principles for the multinational disarmament negotiations, international disarmament work should again be focused on achieving more comprehensive measures. Efforts should be made towards achieving measures that individually or in concert would establish effective arms limitations and prevent weapons development from being channeled along other lines.

At the special session we should seek agreement on a declaration of principles and a comprehensive programme of action that will set the world on the path of disarmament and make war less likely. The process of disarmament should be accomplished by the establishment of reliable procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and effective arrangements for the maintenance of peace in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

We believe that nuclear disarmament should have the highest priority in our efforts to arrive at general and complete disarmament. Should we fail to avoid nuclear holocaust, other efforts towards arms restraint and disarmament will be meaningless. If we want to avoid nuclear proliferation there is no substitute for nuclear disarmament. In the long run the proliferation problem cannot be solved merely through appropriate export policies and improved safeguards. Neither is there any technical solution to it. The nuclear-weapon States should strive to diminish the military and political utility of nuclear weapons, halt their further development and reduce existing nuclear arsenals. The nuclear Powers have to lead the way.

My Government therefore notes with appreciation the tripartite negotiations now being conducted by the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union on a comprehensive test-ban treaty. My Government

(Mr. Hellem, Norway)

was glad to notice that both the American President and the Soviet Foreign Minister in their speeches to the General Assembly stated their Governments' willingness to proceed to negotiations on the reduction of existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons.

A comprehensive programme for nuclear disarmament should reflect the urgency and significance of the proliferation problem. The existing non-proliferation régime provides a basis for further action in this field. A comprehensive test ban, strategic arms limitations and restraint in the development and deployment of nuclear weapons would greatly serve the cause of non-proliferation. To halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons, immediate action is required in those fields.

The attempts to preserve and improve the effectiveness of international safeguards are highly commendable. However, a commitment by all supplier countries parties to the non-proliferation Treaty not to supply nuclear material, equipment and services to non-members of the treaty unless they accept full-scope safeguards still remains to be achieved.

We have studied with great interest the recent proposals for fuel cycles that are more proliferation resistant. I would also stress the advantages of international fuel cycle centres in this connexion. Civilian application of nuclear energy should be kept as distinct as possible from military applications. My Government is firmly convinced that, whenever in conflict, non-proliferation considerations must take precedence over commercial interests.

When we consider the resources spent on armaments we must keep in mind that conventional weapons account for most of the military expenditures. These are resources some of which could have been better spent on economic and social development. This was clearly illustrated by an example mentioned by President Carter, when he said:

"Last year the nations of the world spent more than 60 times as much equipping each soldier as we spent educating each child."

(A/32/PV.18, p. 8)

(Mr. Hellom, Norway)

My Government is particularly concerned about the substantial increase in international arms transfers. As proposed by the Foreign Minister of Norway in his speech to the General Assembly, this question should be made the subject of a study with a view to reaching international and regional agreements on limitations on arms transfers. An important instrument in this connexion would be registration under United Nations auspices of such transfers.

Together half a dozen of the world's military Powers account for approximately 90 per cent of the total arms sales. Since those States dominate the world market to such a degree we would expect them to take the lead in initiating a policy of restraint.

My Government has studied with great interest President Carter's recent announcements on United States arms sales policy and his outline of steps to be taken to restrain arms transfers. We fully agree that the aim must be to reduce both the quantity and deadliness of the weapons being sold, and to reduce the rate at which the most advanced and sophisticated weapon technologies spread around the world. Both supplier and purchaser nations should, therefore, from their different perspectives start the work on measures to cut back on the flow of arms.

The development of arms research and weapons technology constitutes one of the main elements in the arms race. That represents a danger for circumvention and even nullification of existing arms control agreements, as well as a further complication in ongoing arms control negotiations. There is also a danger that technological development will lead to entirely new types of weapons and thereby to upsetting the strategic balance. We therefore consider it important that arms control agreements do not leave the way open for uncontrolled research and development.

(Mr. Hellem, Norway)

In this connexion, I would also like to draw your attention to the need for technology and research for purposes of economic and social development. As earlier pointed out in a United Nations expert report, the civilian gains from military research and development are far less than if the same efforts had been used directly to attack some of the most urgent problems of present-day society.

As Norway considers disarmament to be one of the main objectives of the United Nations, we would emphasize the need for strengthening its work in this field. In this connexion we have previously given our support to the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee, inter alia with regard to improving the methods of work of our Committee, and strengthening the resources of the United Nations Secretariat. We have furthermore stressed that the world Organization may play a decisive role with regard to influencing public opinion, and therefore should acquire increased capacity in the field of information and research. In this connexion we are glad to welcome the first issue of the Disarmament Yearbook which we find very useful and informative. An active and informed public opinion is necessary to reverse the arms race and achieve effective disarmament measures - questions which are of vital concern to the peoples of all nations.

I should like to conclude by stressing the fact that to change the existing situation where \$350 billion are spent annually on armaments while hundreds of thousands of people are dying from hunger and disease is, in the final analysis, a question of the exercise of political will and of setting proper political priorities.

Mr. KAUFMANN (Netherlands): Mr. Chairman, first of all, if you will permit me, I will transgress against the rules of procedure and congratulate you, the other Vice-Chairman, the Rapporteur and in particular, of course, Mr. Boaten, on your election as officers of the Committee. Of course, we should especially congratulate ourselves on having such competent members guiding our work.

(Mr. Kaufmann, Netherlands)

I would also preface my statement by putting on record the appreciation of the Netherlands delegation of the work of the still relatively new Centre for Disarmament which, in its first stage under the leadership of Mr. Bjornerstedt, has engaged in a great deal of activity, both in connexion with preparations for the special session and in other ways, such as the recently published Disarmament Yearbook, which my Government and delegation find quite interesting.

With respect to the disarmament negotiations, the year 1977 can be characterized as transitional. Although the arms race has continued, discussions on a wide range of disarmament issues have started or have been intensified, in particular by the two main Powers. It is too early yet to conclude that real progress has been made or to predict concrete results in the near future, but the fact that these negotiations are taking place is in itself encouraging. Official statements by the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States also point to a greater awareness that disarmament - and in particular nuclear disarmament - is an absolute necessity for a more secure future.

The coming year, 1978, will be marked by the first special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted exclusively to disarmament questions. My Government hopes that this conference will turn out to be a milestone on the road to genuine disarmament. The Netherlands Government considers the special session an opportunity for the international community to reflect on past achievements and failures in the field of disarmament, to recognize the dangers of the ongoing arms race, to define objectives and to identify ways and means in order to reduce these dangers. Although the special session itself is not a suitable forum for conducting concrete disarmament negotiations, its results should have a stimulating and inspiring influence on disarmament negotiations in the years ahead. In this respect, I should like to stress that it is most desirable that the decisions of the special session of the General Assembly will be acceptable to all participating States. To a great extent this will, of course, depend on the activities of the Preparatory Committee for the special

session. I should like to pay a tribute to the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, Mr. Ortiz de Rozas, who has so ably guided its work so far. My Government is impressed by the progress made by the Committee and by the constructive atmosphere which has made it possible that the necessary decisions have been by consensus. My delegation can accept the recommendations listed in Chapter IV of the progress report.

Apart from the actual preparations for the special session, the prospects for its positive outcome will be considerably enhanced if current disarmament negotiations show tangible progress. My delegation, therefore, favours a special effort by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD) to bring its protracted deliberations on the questions of halting all nuclear tests and prohibiting chemical weapons to a speedy and successful conclusion. Moreover, further measures to curb the nuclear arms race and to stem the danger of nuclear proliferation should be pursued with renewed vigour.

The risk of a further proliferation of nuclear weapons is one of the most serious problems we have to deal with. The present situation of nuclear overkill capacity of only a handful of countries poses an extremely dangerous threat to mankind. A world in which still more countries possess the ultimate weapon would be even more dangerous. Not only would the security situation be endangered, but attempts towards nuclear disarmament would almost certainly be so complicated as to become unmanageable.

Most non-nuclear-weapon States have recognized those dangers and have acceded to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, thereby consciously accepting certain fundamental restrictions in their freedom of action. This policy of self-imposed restrictions is followed for the greater security of all nations. Notwithstanding its imperfections, the Non-Proliferation Treaty remains, in the view of the Netherlands, the cornerstone of an effective non-proliferation policy. It is our strong hope that all States which have not yet acceded to the Non-Proliferation Treaty will overcome their hesitations and objections to this important instrument of self-protection, and also in view of the overriding importance of a safer world. The vital objective of a world free of nuclear weapons should have priority over other considerations.

(Mr. Kaufmann, Netherlands)

All States bear a great responsibility to see to it that nuclear energy for peaceful purposes shall not be misused for other objectives. Strong support for the invaluable work of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) is vital for the implementation of effective nuclear safeguards. To increase the world-wide application of safeguards on a non-discriminatory basis, a number of nuclear-exporting countries have harmonized their policies with respect to nuclear-export safeguards requirements. These guidelines for nuclear transfers, as they are called, will be published in the near future. They show clearly that the only background of these guidelines is to make sure that nuclear materials, equipment and technology supplied for peaceful purposes shall not be misused for the manufacture of nuclear explosive devices. A more specific objective of this London nuclear-suppliers group, as it is called, is to avoid commercial competition among supplier-States when formulating export requirements. It is our considered view that the activities of the nuclear-suppliers group are in the interest of the non-proliferation objectives of all countries.

Both at the thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly and at this year's session of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament held in Geneva, the Netherlands delegation stressed the idea of inherently safer nuclear fuel cycles and the necessity of starting an international dialogue on such cycles which would not contain significant quantities of dangerous materials. The Netherlands underlined that an urgent need existed to discuss with all countries concerned the future application of nuclear energy with a view to achieving a more proliferation-resistant nuclear fuel cycle. This plea coincided with proposals by the United States Government to start an international discussion on this subject. My Government is very pleased to note that the first meeting in such an international dialogue, in the form of the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation as proposed by the United States, took place quite recently in Washington. We realize that the problems involved are extremely complex and that, for example, the energy situation for different countries or areas of the world is rather different. However, we are also convinced that we owe it to ourselves to look seriously for all possible means of reducing the risks of the proliferation of nuclear power. In particular,

(Mr. Kaufmann, Netherlands)

we wonder whether it is necessary to commit ourselves to a nuclear energy situation based on the large-scale use of plutonium. Before we embark on such a road of committing ourselves, we need to take a hard look at the consequences of a possible plutonium-based system.

My Government also supports, of course, other means of arriving at a more proliferation-resistant structure, as it could be called, of the nuclear fuel cycle. In this connexion, I wish to mention the study of the International Atomic Energy Agency on the interesting concept of regional nuclear-cycle centres. The Netherlands Government is also very interested in the idea of establishing an international plutonium storage régime. We welcome the activities so far engaged in in this respect by the IAEA. Such a storage régime could considerably enhance international confidence in the application of safeguards and in their effectiveness.

The Netherlands delegation has frequently pointed out that there is a close interrelationship between the problems of vertical proliferation and horizontal proliferation. My Government is convinced that the proliferation of nuclear weapons cannot be stopped in the long run if the present nuclear-weapon States do not enter into real nuclear disarmament.

The nuclear arms race unfortunately continues at a frightening pace. New technological developments and new weapons - such as cruise missiles, mobile land-based missiles, satellite killers and so forth - can in our view, only make it more difficult to bring the arms race under control. The two main Powers are at present actively trying to develop a new SALT agreement. We do hope that they will be able to overcome the obstacles towards an agreement on that most important subject of strategic arms limitation. It seems also that for the first time serious thought is being given to substantial reductions in the present strategic stockpiles. This is an important development that will, it is to be hoped, lead not only to limitations but also to net reductions of nuclear weapons and eventually to their total elimination.

Of course, the two main countries involved realize the political and psychological effects of their measures and decisions on the policies of other countries. One should recognize that their behaviour in many ways determines the political climate in the world with respect to the role of nuclear weapons

(Mr. Kaufmann, Netherlands)

in international relations. We feel that it is essential to de-emphasize the reliance on nuclear weapons to ensure peace. My delegation therefore listened with positive interest to the statement of the President of the United States, President Carter, in the general debate of the General Assembly, in particular when he stated that "the security of the global community cannot for ever rest on a balance of terror". (A/32/PV.18, p. 4-5)

With a growing international awareness of the depth of the problems connected with the nuclear arms race, one has to envisage and ponder seriously further measures in the field of strengthening the security of non-nuclear-weapon States.

The need for a comprehensive test ban has been stressed innumerable times in and outside this Assembly. We have been waiting much too long for progress in this field. However, serious negotiations are now taking place between three of the nuclear-weapon States. We sincerely hope that they will break the deadlock existing since 1963, when the partial test-ban treaty was concluded by way of a compromise. We are waiting for an agreement that will settle the remaining questions in an effective manner. This means, inter alia, that an agreement should not be of short duration since otherwise its importance would be limited. It should also provide a satisfactory solution to the problem of peaceful nuclear explosions, thus closing a dangerous loophole towards horizontal as well as vertical proliferation.

This problem of peaceful nuclear explosions basically stems from the fact that a nuclear explosive device for peaceful purposes is not in itself essentially different from a nuclear weapon. As a result, technical information obtained from a peaceful nuclear explosion could be used for nuclear weapon development. The important study on peaceful nuclear explosions undertaken under the auspices of the IAEA has confirmed that explosions for peaceful purposes do not seem to have distinct economic advantages. For this reason, it is my Government's view that the prudence of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, which refers only to the "potential" benefits from peaceful nuclear explosions, turned out to be justified and that those, in fact, rather limited benefits, should in no way hinder or delay the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban. The speedy conclusion of such a ban is considerably more important than the possible advantages of peaceful nuclear explosion.

(Mr. Kaufmann, Netherlands)

In this connexion I should like to repeat what was said by the Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. van der Stoep, in the general debate on 28 September to the effect that we need a comprehensive test ban which would also prohibit nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. In addition to closing the road to further nuclear-weapon development this would have the advantage that the nuclear-weapon States would assume the same restraints as non-nuclear-weapon States, thus removing an element of discrimination in the field of peaceful nuclear energy.

I now come to the question of chemical weapons. It had been our hope that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament might have made more progress with respect to the conclusion of a ban on the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons. Serious negotiations are taking place between the two main Powers, which is encouraging. We feel that the CCD as a whole could have played a larger role in the negotiations so far. We trust that the CCD will soon be involved in the complicated and time-consuming process aimed at an agreement on a chemical weapons ban.

During this year's sessions of the CCD the Netherlands delegation made detailed comments on the chemical weapons question and presented a working paper on a non-intrusive verification method to detect clandestine nerve-agent production. This method was developed by Netherlands scientists.

On the question of new weapons of mass destruction, interesting discussions were held in the CCD on the proposal by the Soviet Union to conclude a ban on the development and production of new weapons of mass destruction. The Netherlands Government has always supported the intention behind that proposal but it had serious doubts about the methodology: namely, to conclude a single umbrella agreement covering quite different types of weapons, some of them completely unknown. We could, however, support a resolution that would include the principle that the development of new weapons of mass destruction must be halted and in which the CCD would be requested to keep technological developments constantly under review so as to make it possible to conclude agreement on specific types of weapons when they are in sight.

(Mr. Kaufmann, Netherlands)

I now come to the question of conventional weapons. Stressing the need for urgent measures in the field of nuclear and chemical disarmament should not make us lose sight of the dangers inherent in the conventional arms race. In contrast to the position on progress in nuclear disarmament, which is dependent on the attitudes and willingness of the nuclear-weapon States, all States bear a responsibility for progress in the non-nuclear field. The problems involved are both qualitative and quantitative. The increasing sophistication and destructive power of conventional weapons and the vastly expanding conventional arsenals call for action. Indeed, measures to cope with these problems are long overdue. Several approaches can be discerned: limiting arms transfers, regional agreements and a ban on certain types of sophisticated weaponry are but a few of the possibilities which can be explored. My Government hopes that the special session will be able to reach conclusions that will make the solution of these problems a feasible prospect.

I now have a few remarks on the question of disarmament and development. The concern of the Netherlands Government relating to one aspect of the problems I have just mentioned, namely the considerable expansion in the conventional arms trade, is all the greater since in recent years increasing quantities of conventional weapons have found their way to developing countries, thereby limiting those countries' possibilities of economic and social development. Looking at this phenomenon from a disarmament point of view one can say that regulatory measures that would counter an excessive growth of armaments could release funds that could be spent for the purpose of economic and social development. The diversion of scarce resources from the promotion of prosperity to the provision of arms beyond what is needed for security and self-defence cannot be justified.

Although in principle the Netherlands Government views disarmament and development as separate aims and the Netherlands, of course, contributes as much as possible to the realization of both objectives, disarmament and development, at the same time the Netherlands feels strongly that substantial progress in the field of disarmament would favourably affect the economic development of developing nations and would enhance the prospects of bringing

(Mr. Kaufmann, Netherlands)

about a new international economic order. There is a need to clarify certain important aspects of the interrelationship between disarmament efforts and economic and social progress, as was in part also done by the expert group which studied the economic and social consequences of the armaments race on which a report is before this session of the General Assembly. In this respect my delegation supports the recommendation in the progress report of the Preparatory Committee on the special session concerning the initiative taken by the Nordic countries on a United Nations study on this question. We listened with interest to what the representative of Norway had to say about this earlier this morning.

This year a new and interesting report was presented by the Secretary-General on the question of comparing the military budgets of different countries. This report is a further step towards a world-wide system of reporting and verifying military budgets which, when applied, would strengthen confidence between States and could form the basis for agreements on reductions of military budgets. Last year the Netherlands Government announced its willingness to test such a system on the Netherlands defence budget. This offer still stands, in the expectation that a number of countries representing different political and social structures will indicate their willingness also to participate in a test run of the system so as to get more experience with it.

Whatever the outcome of the special session with respect to the future of disarmament negotiations, it seems to us that there will always be a need for bodies of limited size and composition in which countries can negotiate on multilateral disarmament treaties. There is such a body, namely, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. The fact that that Committee has not been very productive for some time does not mean that its structure itself is wrong. Indeed, the CCD has shown remarkable flexibility in its procedures which can be adapted easily to its needs: informal meetings with experts, negotiating group, expert groups, etc. On several occasions, such as in the so-called seismic groups, outside countries non-members of the CCD can also participate in its work.

(Mr. Kaufmann, Netherlands)

One of the main problems of the CCD is that not all nuclear-weapon States participate in it. We regret this situation and we strongly hope that those countries will revise their attitude. In this connexion, one could seriously consider whether the present system of co-chairmanship of the CCD could not be replaced by a system more in line with normal practice in the United Nations system. With regard to the activities in the CCD of the participating nuclear-weapon States and especially the co-Chairmen, I feel bound to make the observation that so far priority items, such as the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban and a ban on the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons, have not been the subject of concrete negotiations in the CCD but have been dealt with mostly in bilateral consultations. In order to maintain the credibility of the CCD the Netherlands Government urges all the members of the CCD to pursue within that Committee active negotiations on the problems on its agenda.

(Mr. Kaufmann, Netherlands)

As was stated in the Netherlands reply to the Secretary-General on the convening of the special session on disarmament, it is the Netherlands Government's view that international security can only ultimately be guaranteed in a world legal order based on justice in which the issues of international politics will have been transformed into issues of global domestic politics. This will only be possible in a world order which differs considerably from the present one. Given the fact that the world remains divided into national sovereign States, attempts to bring about general and complete disarmament will require the active involvement and co-operation of all countries. Each and every one of them will bear individual responsibility for bringing this about. The Netherlands remains willing to shoulder its responsibility. The awareness of the challenging tasks we are confronted with should give a new impetus to strengthening our efforts.

Mr. CHERKAOUI (Morocco) (interpretation from French):

Since I am speaking for the first time in this debate, I should like, on behalf of the delegation of the Kingdom of Morocco, to extend to the Chairman warmest congratulations on his election as Chairman of the Committee. My country is happy to maintain relations of close friendship with Ghana, and the delegation of Morocco takes great pleasure in co-operating with him and assures him that we will do so loyally and completely.

May I also congratulate the Vice-Chairmen and the Rapporteur, whose eminent qualities, together with those of the Chairman, will undoubtedly ensure the success of our work.

Disarmament problems continue to concern the international community more and more, and this year again are at the core of the debates of our session. World public opinion is rightly worried at the unbridled arms race of increasingly sophisticated weapons and anguish grows because of the spectre of increasingly nuclear and other weapons.

In this respect the awareness of peoples is clear. Protests against fearful weapons grow and small and medium-sized countries exercise a considerable influence in bring about an end to the arms race. These countries

(Mr. Cherkaoui, Morocco)

realize how military expenditures - the astronomical figures of which are well known - disturb the world economy and prevent development. It is in this spirit that the non-aligned countries at Colombo appealed to the great Powers to take genuine disarmament measures and to hold a special United Nations session devoted to disarmament. Although the United Nations is the guarantor of international peace and security, its effectiveness will always be weakened as long as major progress is not accomplished in this field. As the Secretary-General said in his report on the work of the organization: "Without such progress world order based on collective responsibility and international confidence cannot come into being" (A/32/1, p. 12). And he goes on to say:

"In this profoundly unhealthy situation there can be no guarantee that national independence and sovereignty, equality of rights, non-resort to force or to the threat of force, and the right of every people to decide its own destiny will in fact be honoured as the principles on which we have long agreed that the international order should be based." (Ibid.)

In this respect we welcome the important stage reached by the General Assembly in its resolution 31/189 B, to convene a special session devoted to disarmament. This decision now illustrates the fact that disarmament has become a priority in our Organization. Its role will thus be considerably strengthened in this field. We venture to hope that this special session will not yet again be characterized by proliferation of ineffective resolutions, but will, on the contrary, give the necessary impetus to the present disarmament talks.

States place much hope and expect a great deal from our Organization: they look to it to take new measures likely to reassure the international community. The major nuclear Powers, of course, bear a special responsibility in this respect. The special session should, in our opinion, represent a fundamental stage for convening a world disarmament conference based on equality and the participation of all nuclear States. This would be a solemn conference able to draft a truly global strategy for disarmament.

(Mr. Cherkaoui, Morocco)

Our country, which is a member of the Preparatory Committee of the special session, can in fact be pleased at the constructive atmosphere and spirit of compromise which prevail. The draft agenda prepared by the Committee is entirely satisfactory because it responds to all the concerns of the non-aligned countries. Two items on the agenda seem to us to be of special importance: a thorough evaluation of the present international situation regarding disarmament, particularly the urgent need to put an end to the arms race and to note the close links between disarmament, international peace and security and economic development and, on the other hand, the particular role given our Organization in the disarmament negotiations machinery. These concerns must be reflected in the declaration and programme of action which the special session will be called upon to adopt.

My delegation wishes to emphasize the praiseworthy efforts accomplished by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD), which has been able to negotiate and arrive at important agreements, such as the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the sea-bed Treaty, and the convention on bacteriological, chemical and toxic weapons. The CCD was also able to prepare a draft text convention on the prohibition of the use of the environment for military or other hostile purposes, which the General Assembly has decided to submit to all States for review, signature and ratification.

My country, which has already signed the convention, believes that it is an important milestone in disarmament efforts which could strengthen the role our Organization can play.

The delegation of Morocco is also pleased with the efforts of co-operation at the international level to prevent a further proliferation of nuclear weapons, but we continue to believe that the effectiveness of the Non-Proliferation Treaty can only be attained by universal adherence and new safeguards for non-nuclear-weapon States. We further believe that the rights of States to benefit fully from the peaceful uses of nuclear energy should be recognized.

(Mr. Cherkaoui, Morocco)

While we had some reason to be cautiously optimistic regarding recent developments in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), and the announcement of the signature of the forthcoming SALT II by the United States and the USSR, and the interesting prospects in the tripartite consultations among the USSR, the United States and the United Kingdom on a general prohibition of tests, we must, on the other hand, note that no significant progress has been achieved to halt the arms race, as well as the ever growing stockpile of both nuclear and conventional weapons.

The great Powers should determine the rules of the game and exclude certain particularly destructive arms, rather than proceed to a general and complete disarmament. The method of the great Powers to continue the balance of terror might prove to be catastrophic. As the Secretary-General said so rightly in his report: "... technological ingenuity tends constantly to outstrip the pace of negotiations". (Ibid.)

The most urgent first step towards genuine nuclear disarmament must be the general and complete prohibition of nuclear tests. Progress in this respect is to be seen in the tripartite consultations between the United States, the USSR and the United Kingdom, and could have a positive influence on the international situation and considerably strengthen détente. We venture to hope that other Powers will join in these efforts.

In this respect the delegation of Morocco is particularly pleased at the decision of the Government of France to take important initiatives for disarmament during the year 1978. We have no doubt that the efforts of France will be positive and will make an essential contribution towards genuine disarmament measures.

(Mr. Cherkaoui, Morocco)

Furthermore, progress is indispensable also for the total elimination of chemical weapons. Accelerated negotiations to this end should be carried out within the framework of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in order to comply with the many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly.

On the other hand, specifically as regards our African continent, States should do everything in their power to ensure implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa. The threats of the racist régime of Pretoria, which has demonstrated its intention of becoming a nuclear Power, weigh heavily on the peoples of Africa. The international community must exercise every pressure on South Africa to prevent it from becoming a nuclear Power.

Those are some general considerations which the delegation of Morocco wished to bring to this debate. In due course we shall have occasion to specify our position on individual disarmament items.

Our consensus on the primary role which the Organization should play in this field and the growing awareness that the struggle against squalor and poverty and for the building of a new international economic order is contingent upon the solution of disarmament problems, are, we venture to hope, a good augury for our work.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.