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Chairman: Mr. HOLLAI (Hungary)
Vice-Chairman

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ENGLISH

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The meeting was called to order at 11 a.m.

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Mr. VAERNØ (Norway): I have asked to be allowed to speak in order to introduce on behalf of the co-sponsors draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.16 on "A United Nations study on disarmament and development".

Disarmament and development are by far the most urgent problems facing the world. It is therefore with good reason that this decade has been declared both a Disarmament Decade and a Second Development Decade, and that the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies repeatedly have stressed the connexion between them. A successful reallocation of resources from military to civilian purposes is of vital interest to peoples in every part of the world.

In its resolution 2602 E (XXIV) of December 1969, which declared the 1970s as a Disarmament Decade, the General Assembly inter alia recommended that consideration be given to channelling a substantial part of the resources freed by measures in the field of disarmament to promote the economic development of developing countries and, in particular, their scientific and technological progress.

In its resolution 3470 (XXX) of December 1975 on the Mid-term review of the Disarmament Decade, the General Assembly called upon Member States and the Secretary-General to promote disarmament negotiations in order to ensure that the human and material resources freed by disarmament are used to promote economic and social development, particularly in the developing countries.

Such calls regrettably have had little effect in practice. The partial measures of arms limitation achieved so far have not led to significant arms reductions or to savings in military budgets of economic significance.

Present levels of development assistance are clearly inadequate measured against needs, and fall even short of the targets, not over-ambitious, set in the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade. It has been pointed out that transfer to development assistance of funds

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equivalent to a mere 5 per cent of annual military expenditures of these countries would have been sufficient to meet the targets adequately.

As we all know, world-wide military expenditures currently amount to approximately \$350 billion annually. Current development aid amounts to approximately \$20 billion every year. It is in the field of scientific and technological capability that the diversion of resources to military ends is most massive. Since the Second World War some 40 per cent of the financial resources devoted to research and development have been used in the military field. Furthermore, throughout the world about 400,000 of the world's most qualified scientific and technological manpower devote their skills and energy to further perfecting the armed forces. One can only guess at what these resources could have meant for progress in the fields of, for instance, medical, nutritional, environmental or energy research, in short, research for the improvement of the standards of life. Thus, the resources devoted to medical and energy research on a world-wide basis are, respectively, only one fifth and one sixth of those devoted to military research and development. The world's armed forces are also major consumers of a wide range of non-renewable resources, both energy and raw material reserves.

Such is the deplorable state of affairs three years after the General Assembly adopted the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. I find it appropriate today again to call attention to General Assembly resolution 3462 (XXX) of December 1975, which considers that the ever-spiralling arms race is not compatible with efforts aimed at establishing a new international economic order.

The Disarmament Decade, the Development Decade, the New International Economic Order, and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, have, of course, one main objective in common: to make the world a better and safer place for people everywhere. That is all the more reason to ask why such a glaring difference exists between investments for military purposes and purposes for improving the standards of life. Such use of resources becomes even more difficult to understand when we consider that - as has been pointed

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out several times in this Committee - the arms race will reduce rather than improve our security, and that the present inequalities in the world in themselves are an important source of tension and conflict. To put the use of resources into its proper perspective I should also like to call attention to the information given by my colleague from Sweden in her statement to this Committee that the world now has the power to kill every one of us 40 times over.

No wonder, therefore, that all through our general debate on disarmament we have heard statements from every corner of the world underlining the need for halting this misuse of resources and for concentrating our efforts upon measures for a reallocation of resources from military to civilian purposes. Together with a great many other delegations we share the view that the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament in 1978 offers a most welcome opportunity to review this subject in its totality and pave the way for increased efforts to achieve concrete reallocation measures.

We are of course aware that several studies have already been undertaken by the United Nations in this field - the latest example being the Secretary-General's expert report on the "Economic and Social Consequences of the Armament Race and its Extremely Harmful Effects on World Peace and Security". Earlier studies of this character, however, have not led to tangible results, and this latest report points to the need for an in-depth study to establish an adequate basis for decisions on concrete reallocation measures. It should be noted particularly that a study regarding the basic conditions for a successful redeployment of resources which had been released as a result of disarmament measures has not yet been undertaken.

It was against this background that the delegations of Denmark, Finland, Sweden and Norway put forward on 31 August 1977 in the Preparatory Committee for the special session on disarmament a working paper entitled "Disarmament and development: proposal for a United Nations study" (A/AC.187/80). The working paper contains a preliminary draft of the direction which might be

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given to a United Nations study in this field. The proposed study should serve to stimulate expert and public debate, and be clearly oriented towards providing a groundwork for political action. The study, which thus will be of direct relevance to the Programme of Action on disarmament, should be started as soon as possible after the special session devoted to disarmament and be concluded within two to three years. It is our intention that this decision should be included in the Programme of Action to be adopted by that special session.

(Mr. Vaernø, Norway)

For a study of the kind envisaged to have the desired impact, it is imperative that a major effort be made to outline in as exact terms as possible the present conditions in all regions with respect to the utilization of human and material resources for military purposes. It is further essential to know the extent to which these resources would be demanded for purposes of civilian development.

The next step would be to consider the consequences in a broad economic sense, at national as well as international levels, of a continuing utilization of resources along the same lines as today, as well as of changes in the levels of resources devoted to military purposes, including a restructuring of production. In order to develop a realistic strategy for disarmament, it is necessary to have a clear picture of the economic and social implications of an alternative use of resources.

The study should, finally, lead up to a detailed analysis of the conditions for a redeployment of the resources that would be released from military purposes. In channelling resources from military to civilian ends, effective co-ordination between disarmament measures and measures of economic and social policy must be ensured. In this connexion, the study should particularly focus on mechanisms for reallocating released material and human resources to development efforts in the developing countries.

In its report to the General Assembly, the Preparatory Committee for the special session on disarmament recommends that the General Assembly initiate the proposed study. It further recommends that the terms of reference and other aspects of the study be determined by the special session on disarmament.

On behalf of the delegations of Austria, Bangladesh, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary, Iceland, India, Ireland, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Sri Lanka, Sweden, United States of America, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, and my own country, I am therefore pleased to introduce the draft resolution in document A/C.1/32/L.16.

(Mr. Vaernø, Norway)

This draft resolution endorses the recommendation by the Preparatory Committee and requests the Secretary-General to appoint, at the earliest possible date, an Ad Hoc Group of governmental experts with the task of elaborating a possible framework and terms of reference for the study. The Ad Hoc Group should be composed of experts from all geographical regions. The Secretary-General is requested to make available to the Ad Hoc Group all the relevant material, including proposals made by Member States, as well as previous and current United Nations studies on the subject. The group is requested to report on its work not later than 1 April 1978 in order to enable the Secretary-General to transmit the report to Member States not later than a month before the opening of the special session on disarmament on 23 May 1978.

These are the main thoughts behind the draft resolution which I herewith submit on behalf of the co-sponsors for the consideration of this Committee. In concluding, I should also like to thank those delegations which have already commented favourably on the proposed study, and I trust that the resolution will be met with a similar response.

The CHAIRMAN: The following countries wish to co-sponsor these resolutions: A/C.1/32/L.11, Ghana, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Philippines and Trinidad and Tobago; A/C.1/32/L.12, Jamaica, Sudan, and Zaire; A/C.1/32/L.14, Bangladesh, Finland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, and Morocco; A/C.1/32/L.5, Ivory Coast; and A/C.1/32/L.16, Ivory Coast.

I call on the representative of Sweden on a point of order.

Mr. HAMILTON (Sweden): Mr Chairman, as you know, the consultations on several draft resolutions are still under way in an effort to find generally acceptable formulations. Unfortunately, it seems that at least one resolution of which Sweden will be a co-sponsor will not be finalized before noon today. Therefore, we would appeal to you to grant us more time, until noon on Monday, in order to be able to conclude consultations. We believe this would be of interest for the whole Committee and would contribute to speeding up our work rather than delaying it.

The CHAIRMAN: May I take it that the Committee agrees to extend the deadline of tabling draft resolutions until noon on Monday.

It was so decided.

Mr. GARBA (Niger) (interpretation from French): The delegation of Niger has read with great interest the report submitted by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim (A/32/88 and Add.1) concerning agenda item 33.

The military data that some Member States have been kind enough to transmit to the Secretary-General has made it possible to lift a corner of the veil onto an important sector of economic activity of the industrialized countries, namely, armaments and the place which they occupy in the social and economic life of those nations.

Apart from the defence considerations which must, of course, be taken into account, we cannot fail to note the profit motive the so-called civilized nations have in the military field, which is both a source of employment and a provider of currency.

While the defence objectives can readily be accepted, these last two considerations motivating the armaments industry are, on the contrary, difficult to reconcile with the determination of the international community to promote healthy economic co-operation and a climate of peace among all States. In fact, the income derived from the armaments industry by the workers in the industrialized countries bears no relation to the nefarious effects of the sale and export of armaments in the southern hemisphere. It is in this area that the new States, desirous of preserving an independence dearly bought, naturally began by seeking safe guarantees, in particular, by acquiring sufficient material means for organizing their defence. But carried away by the euphoria of the moment or intoxicated by sudden and unexpected wealth, some of them seem to be indulging in a race against the clock which had to be won at all costs. These countries, rightly or wrongly, devote increasingly large sums to the purchase of arms and end up by arousing the mistrust of their neighbours or States in the subregion, each of which believes that it will not find security except by imitating or, indeed, going further than the others.

(Mr. Garba Niger)

The atmosphere of mistrust thus created persists and grows stronger as time passes. New States - and this is also true of old ones - often have unsolved problems, sometimes deliberately left behind by the former ruling Power as a cunningly disguised policy of division. Since, as I say, these new States have no shortage of unsolved problems, it only needs an untimely event to ignite the powderkeg. Crises break out. Local at first, they quickly become international, with the belligerent States rushing to the merchants of death and with pressures being felt on all sides. Such crises create an atmosphere of insecurity and instability in the countries concerned. This costs them a great deal of effort and sometimes even human lives. Furthermore, these countries, being no longer very safe, suffer flights of capital. Investments mark time. Development projects often prepared over many years, are kept in suspended animation. On the other hand, the need for money becomes more pressing. In the absence of new sources of income, the people are subjected to pressures, and this further aggravates their social and economic conditions; debts, resulting from credits generously granted by the purveyors of arms, build up. President Carter stated on 4 October last, addressing the General Assembly, that the conventional weapons race was a heavy burden on a world economy already in a difficult position. Such a phenomenon is felt much more acutely in the poor countries.

This is a situation which only the evil researchers for whom our States constitute the testing ground for new weapons and the weapon merchants - States or private groups - find profitable. Yet this is the reality that the countries of the third world see every day, sometimes with their very existence threatened. This situation aggravates the problems inherent in their weak economies: poverty, ignorance, disease and hunger, in regard to which some passages in the Secretary-General's report constitute indisputably the best illustrations.

What do we find? The assessments of the International Labour Organisation tell us that more than a quarter of the world's population, or 1.2 billion human beings, live in great poverty, and 700 million in total destitution. The World Bank estimates for its part that 750 million people - 46 per cent of the population of the developing countries - live in a state of absolute poverty, with an annual per capita income lower than \$50, or relative poverty, with an income under one third of the per capita national income. Furthermore,

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more than 400 million persons suffer from malnutrition. Elsewhere, the World Health Organization reports that more than a billion persons in 66 developing countries live in regions in which malaria is endemic. It adds that the over-all rate of infant mortality in the third world is, according to the 1965-1969 estimates, 140 per thousand, or more than five times as high as in the developed countries.

This is a long list of the evils which are causing disturbances and violence to escalate. Mankind, however, must fight them for its very survival is at stake. The means of struggle are not lacking. Man has never been so well armed for such a crusade. A further reading of the report provides us with irrefutable proof of that. In its communication to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in August 1976 the World Food Council noted that, if 10 per cent of the increase in military expenditures in 1975 had been devoted to food production at the international level, this would have provided the necessary external resources for attaining the goals fixed by the World Food Conference. At that same Conference of the Committee on Disarmament the International Atomic Energy Agency noted that nuclear disarmament would make available more than 20,000 scientists and engineers capable of contributing to peaceful nuclear programmes for the developing countries. This information underlines the need to convert the armament economies, the human and material potentialities of which constitute effective ways of struggling against the major scourges of mankind.

That is why my delegation is more than ever convinced that the peaceful use of the human, financial and material resources devoted every year to the manufacture of arms would have highly beneficial effects on the future of mankind. Thus we invite delegations here to recognize this imperative need, if necessary in a declaration. This would be a positive contribution to the attempts to put an end to the proliferation of weapons, whether nuclear or conventional, and thus an important boost to general disarmament.

The small countries would not be the only ones to benefit from such a conversion of the armament economies. Do the industrialized countries not live today haunted by the spectre of a future energy crisis, since present sources of energy will perhaps be exhausted earlier than foreseen? On this subject Italy recognizes in its reply to the Secretary-General that the increased mobility of units and materials, as well as the more extensive use of electronic

(Mr. Garba, Niger)

instruments, necessitates a greater consumption of energy than in the past. It adds that this consumption might lead to an early exhaustion of traditional sources of energy, particularly of oil.

All this proves, if proof be needed, that an energy policy at the national or international level, to be effective, must necessarily be supported by the will to revise the present structures of the industrialized economies. We dare to hope that that will exists at the level of the countries concerned. In his statement in the General Assembly on 27 September Mr. Gromyko stressed the economic aspect of disarmament, saying that this is an important world problem and unless it is solved there will be difficulty in achieving irreversible détente. He said that it was a matter of developing equitable and mutually beneficial economic relations among all States.

Our optimism is justified by the fact that the majority of the States Members of the United Nations welcome the special session on disarmament. We welcome this unanimity and hope sincerely that that meeting will not be a sterile debate with an avalanche of texts noted at international gatherings but conveniently forgotten at home.

That is what we wanted to say with regard to agenda item 33. With your permission, we should like now to give our views on some of the draft resolutions submitted for our consideration.

First of all I should like to refer to draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.14, which deals with effective measures to implement the purposes and objectives of the Disarmament Decade, under agenda item 42. The delegation of Niger welcomes this draft, which has the merit of stressing, on the one hand, the existing link between disarmament and development and, on the other, the harmful effects of the waste of resources on armaments on international security and the achievement of the objectives of the new international economic order. Our concern to give our full support to this happy initiative induces us to submit a few amendments, the only objective of which is to emphasize even further the needs stressed in the initial text.

In the preamble, we would propose adding, after the paragraph beginning with the words "deeply concerned", three small paragraphs which would be worded as follows:

"Reaffirming the incompatibility between the unbridled arms race and the will of the international community proclaimed and repeatedly reaffirmed, to promote healthy economic co-operation among all States,

(Mr. Garba Niger)

"Convinced that the peaceful use of the human and material resources allocated every year to the manufacture of armaments of all kinds will have very positive effects for the future of mankind,

"Believing that the aid made available to the developing countries in all its forms will serve its purpose only in a healthy, peaceful atmosphere characterized by mutual respect".

In the operative part, we would like to insert a new paragraph which would become operative paragraph 5, with the present last paragraph becoming operative paragraph 6. This is the new operative paragraph 5:

"5. Urges that the unparalleled technical possibilities available today to mankind should be exploited for the purposes of combating poverty, ignorance, disease and hunger throughout the world."

With regard to draft resolutions A/C.1/32/L.4 and A/C.1/32/L.5, not only do they both deal with item 46, but we also note that they are based on the desire of the sponsors to prevent the use of new scientific principles for manufacturing new destructive weapons. Thus these two texts provide some points of agreement which might be used in drafting a single text acceptable to all.

Finally, we welcome draft resolutions A/C.1/32/L.11 and A/C.1/32/L.12.

Mr. HAQUE (Bangladesh): Two fundamental objectives of the United Nations, inter alia, are the maintenance of international peace and security, and the achievement of international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character. The arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, has proved to be the most serious obstacle in the fulfilment of both these objectives. The Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization in document A/32/1 stated that:

"... the United Nations cannot hope to function effectively on the basis of the Charter unless there is major progress in the field of disarmament ... for, in an environment dominated by the international arms race, military and strategic considerations tend to shape the over-all relations between States, affecting all other relations and transactions and disturbing the economy." (A/32/1, p. 12)

The questions of the arms race and disarmament have been before the United Nations almost from its inception. Under the aegis of the United Nations and outside it many multilateral and bilateral efforts have been made to save humanity from total destruction by curbing the armaments race and paving the way for general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Unfortunately, the results of the efforts have been totally frustrating. On the contrary, during the past years, the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, has continued to grow at a terrifying speed. Indeed, the arsenals of many countries have been growing in size and sophistication and many new types of weapons with ever-greater destructive power have been developed. This ever-increasing arms race diverts enormous material and human resources from the economic and social development of all countries and constitutes a grave danger for world peace and security.

The Secretary-General's report on the economic and social consequences of the armaments race and its extremely harmful effects on world peace and security (A/32/88) which is an up-to-date version of an earlier report of the Secretary-General on the same subject (A/8469/Rev.1) and which is the subject of draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.12, candidly brings out the adverse economic and social consequences of the arms race and its extremely harmful effects on international peace and security.

(Mr. Haque, Bangladesh)

In assessing the gigantic and endlessly rising costs of the armaments race in terms of resources - human, material and financial - the report pointed out that military expenditures over the last five years have exceeded \$1,800 billion. Millions of people are enrolled in the armed forces and are engaged in military-related jobs. The huge resources consumed by the armaments race could profitably be used in such activities as public services, health, education and housing, which are sorely needed in all countries of the world. The true magnitude of this wastage becomes apparent when these costs are compared with the unmet urgent needs in economic and social development and in other fields. Similar findings were made by the report of the Secretary-General on the economic and social consequences of disarmament.

Apart from this wastage of resources the report (A/32/88) points out other wider social, political, economic and security implications of the arms race.

The report also points out the very serious adverse effects of the arms race on world peace and security. According to the consultant experts "effective security cannot be achieved today by further armament" (A/32/88, para. 2). Armaments in order to gain security lead to further armaments and consequently to further insecurity.

"... security can only be sought in disarmament and in the expansion of international co-operation among all countries in all fields," (Ibid.)

This will make possible the elimination of sources of conflict and tension and the avoidance of use of force in international relations. The continuation of the arms race heightens political differences and erodes security.

The report has clearly indicated the interrelationship between the questions of disarmament and social, economic and political developments. The future of the world economy and the establishment of a new international economic order, to which the world community is deeply committed, cannot be considered separately from the question of the arms race and disarmament. This view has been endorsed by the Group of Experts in the report on "Disarmament and Development" (ST/ECA/174). Development at an acceptable rate would

(Mr. Haque, Bangladesh)

be difficult, in fact impossible to achieve with a continuation of the arms race. On the other hand, substantial development in the economic field is considered essential for the preservation of world peace and security, which is not possible to achieve while the arms race continues.

From the findings of the report it becomes clearly apparent that the two most important goals of the international community - disarmament and development - which the Members of the United Nations are committed to pursue vigorously, are in fact intimately connected. But the process of disarmament has proved to be difficult and complex. Yet it can reasonably be hoped that human ingenuity and wisdom will not fail mankind, save it from total destruction and lead it to peace and prosperity.

The Secretary-General, the consultant experts, governments and international agencies contributing to the study and preparation of the report deserve congratulations from the world community.

It can be hoped that the findings and conclusions of the report will help to focus future disarmament negotiations on nuclear disarmament and on the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control and they should be taken into account in future disarmament negotiations.

(Mr. Haque, Bangladesh)

Because of its important bearing on disarmament and development the report deserves the widest possible publicity by the Secretary-General, Governments and the specialized agencies.

In view of the foregoing, Bangladesh considers that draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.12 is both appropriate and opportune. My delegation would therefore like to co-sponsor the draft, and we commend it for acceptance by the Committee by consensus.

The CHAIRMAN: No other delegation wishes to speak before the Committee takes action on draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.12 on agenda item 33, "Economic and social consequences of the armaments race and its extremely harmful effects on world peace and security", sponsored by 18 delegations and introduced yesterday by the representative of Romania, and I understand that the Committee is ready to decide on it today. May I take it that the Committee wishes to adopt it by consensus? The administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution are before the Committee in document A/C.1/32/L.19.

Draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.12 was adopted.

The CHAIRMAN: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their positions in connexion with the decision that has just been taken.

Mr. OGISO (Japan): My delegation wishes to make a brief statement with regard to draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.12, which has just been adopted.

It is my great pleasure to recall that, in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 3462 (XXX), adopted at the thirtieth regular session, the 1971 report of the Secretary-General on the "Economic and social consequences of the arms race and of military expenditures" was brought up to date by a group of experts appointed by the Secretary-General and was submitted to this session.

After carefully studying the report, we noted with great interest the following recommendation made in paragraph 183 of the final chapter of the updated report:

"It should be borne in mind that the bulk of the world's military expenditures is being devoted to the accumulation of conventional arms. The build-up of conventional arms in many parts of the world in recent years has generated increasing concern. Without denying the overriding importance of nuclear disarmament, which is undoubtedly the most urgent task of our time, nor the inalienable right of every sovereign State of self-defence, it should be stressed that maybe the time has come to study this problem thoroughly and to seek feasible ways to formulate international agreements on the transfer of weapons." (A/32/88, p. 76, para. 183)

We certainly share this view of the report. However, the wording in operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.12 reading

"... expresses the hope that it will help to focus future disarmament negotiations on nuclear disarmament and on the goal of general and complete disarmament..."

does not explicitly reflect the part of the report which I have just quoted.

In line with my country's position supporting the report in general, my delegation has supported the adoption of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/32/L.12 by consensus, with the understanding that operative paragraph 1 does not disagree with the part of the final chapter of the report to which I have referred.

Mr. CHAMPENOIS (Belgium): I shall be speaking on behalf of the nine States members of the European Community.

These countries have been content to go along with the consensus on draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.12. We indeed accept that the report addresses a subject of urgent and increasing importance, namely, the phenomenon of the increasing economic burden of the arms race in a world where the problems of poverty and deprivation cry out for solution. The report to which this draft resolution refers, document A/32/88, contains, moreover, some useful and interesting material. There is, for example, in paragraph 15 the well-argued contention, which is substantiated by the figures in the table on page 39 of the English text, that the arms race is gathering momentum in every major region and in the majority of countries in the world.

On the other hand, there are elements in the report which disfigure a survey which purports to be an objective inquiry.

(Mr. Champenois, Belgium)

The language which has been allowed to stand in various passages is, in our view, out of place in such a document. We find it one-sided, for example, that one super-Power only should be held up as an example of the misuse of resources for military purposes. We find it unbalanced that one group of economies should be criticized for not increasing their development aid while nothing is said about the performance of the other group.

Our approval of this resolution must not therefore be taken as an indication that we shall in the future be ready to support further studies that are conducted and presented in this manner. Therefore, we sincerely hope that future studies will be more balanced and objective.

As to the resolution which has just been adopted, our acceptance of the fourth preambular paragraph is without prejudice to the position adopted by each State member of the Community towards the Declaration and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

Mr. HSU Yi-min (China) (interpretation from Chinese): With regard to the draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.12 which has just been adopted by consensus, the Chinese delegation wishes to state that it dissociates itself from the said draft and would like this statement to be recorded.

Mr. PALMA (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Peru, which had the honour to be a sponsor of the draft resolution that has just been adopted by consensus, is very pleased at the way in which the Committee has dealt with the report of the Secretary-General (A/32/88), which was prepared with the assistance of expert consultants, designated by the Secretary-General, to whom my delegation wishes to express its gratitude.

In our opinion, that report enlightens us on the close link between the arms race and the economic and social conditions in all countries, to which many delegations have referred both in the general debate in the plenary Assembly and in the debate on disarmament questions in this Committee.

(Mr. Palma, Peru)

Hence my delegation expresses the hope that this report will be studied by all Governments with the attention that it richly deserves, and that its recommendations and conclusions will form the basis for a proposal to release the immense resources now devoted to the arms race, particularly in the nuclear-weapon States and other powerful military States, for other essential development tasks, the achievement and consolidation of which without doubt will constitute the best guarantee of security for all nations.

The CHAIRMAN: I take it that with that statement and the decision we have taken we have concluded our consideration of draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.12.

The Committee was supposed to take action on draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.14 but owing to the circumstances, and the fact that the representative of Niger has submitted amendments, the Committee will defer action on it to a later stage.

I call now on the representative of Pakistan, who wishes to speak on draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.7.

Mr. SATTAR (Pakistan): My purpose in asking to be allowed to speak this morning is to introduce the draft resolution in document A/C.1/32/L.7 concerning the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia.

Although not new, the proposal in this draft resolution remains relevant. It might still prevent the manufacture of nuclear weapons in the South Asian region.

The prevention of proliferation of nuclear weapons has been recognized as one of the measures that can contribute effectively to nuclear disarmament. The means to that end have not, however, been entirely effective. The Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) has not been accepted by all States. An important number remain outside its purview. Consequently, the need for additional measures effectively to halt the spread of nuclear weapons has been widely recognized.

(Mr. Sattar, Pakistan)

As a country committed from the beginning to the objective of non-proliferation and concerned about the tangible danger of the spread of nuclear weapons to its own region, Pakistan has for long urged that the necessary additional measures should include faster progress towards nuclear disarmament and, pending the elimination of nuclear weapons, security assurances by the nuclear States to the non-nuclear-weapon States, as well as measures to ensure universal commitment to the non-proliferation objective through the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones.

As far as the security assurances are concerned, the General Assembly last year adopted resolution 31/189 C, which requested the nuclear-weapon States to consider undertaking not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States not parties to any nuclear security arrangements. For this session of the Assembly also a draft resolution reaffirming that request is already under consideration by the Committee in document A/C.1/32/L.8, which was introduced by the Pakistan delegation on 9 November.

The proposal in document A/C.1/32/L.7 regarding the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia is founded in the accepted premise that the establishment of such zones in various areas represents one of the measures that can effectively contribute to the security of the members of the zones and to the prevention of proliferation of nuclear weapons. The General Assembly reiterated that conviction in its resolution 31/70 adopted on 10 December 1976. Nuclear-weapon-free zones do not conflict with the Non-Proliferation Treaty but, rather, complement it. At the same time, unlike the NPT, nuclear-weapon-free zones cannot be characterized as discriminatory, since equal obligations and rights are accepted by all parties.

(Mr. Sattar, Pakistan)

The General Assembly has at previous sessions endorsed specific proposals for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various areas of the world. Latin America provided a lead in this respect. The proposals for the creation of such zones in Africa, the Middle East and South Asia present real and urgent threats of the spread of nuclear weapons. In each of the three regions one State possesses nuclear facilities not subject to the application of safeguards by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). In Africa, as in the Middle East, a State is believed to have acquired the capability to manufacture nuclear explosive devices. In South Asia this capability has been demonstrated.

Pakistan proposed the denuclearization of South Asia in 1972, before the danger of proliferation in the region became tangible and real. After India tested a nuclear explosive device, which it said was not a nuclear weapon, we put forward a proposal for endorsement by the General Assembly concerning the concept of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia. We were gratified that the General Assembly adopted that proposal at its twenty-ninth session. Since then, the Assembly has reiterated its support for the creation of such a zone at its thirtieth and thirty-first sessions.

In South Asia all necessary conditions exist to evolve a viable arrangement for its denuclearization. First, all the States of South Asia have declared their intention not to manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons. Pakistan has confirmed this intention in deed by accepting the application of IAEA safeguards. Also, the other States of the region are committed to the objective of non-proliferation. India too has repeatedly affirmed that it will not manufacture nuclear weapons. This has been reiterated publicly by Prime Minister Desai in recent months. Secondly, there is a common desire to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in as wide an area as possible, including other neighbouring non-nuclear weapon States that may be interested. Thirdly, it is agreed that consultations are necessary on the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone. The establishment of the zone would translate the unilateral declarations of intention into a binding multilateral commitment. Such an arrangement for denuclearization would have tremendous significance for peace and tranquillity in South Asia, especially in view of the unfortunate history of relations among some of the States of this region, and in view of the fact that the possibility of a nuclear threat has been demonstrated there.

(Mr. Sattar, Pakistan)

The draft resolution in document A/C.1/32/L.7 seeks to consolidate the existing trends. By reaffirming its endorsement of the concept of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia, the General Assembly would lend its encouragement and support to the proposal and contribute to the realization of the objective of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Coming to the draft resolution itself, most of its provisions are similar to those of previous resolutions adopted on the subject, in particular resolution 31/73 of last year. In introducing the draft resolution I can therefore be brief.

The first preambular paragraph is a standard provision which recalls the previous resolutions that have endorsed the objective of establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia. The second and third preambular paragraphs, which concern the contribution such zones can make to non-proliferation and to the strengthening of the security of their members, merely reiterate propositions that have been recognized earlier by the Assembly, most recently in its resolution 31/70. The fourth preambular paragraph notes the recent declarations by South Asian States reaffirming that they will not acquire or manufacture nuclear weapons. The fifth and sixth preambular paragraphs of the draft resolution highlight the important provisions of the previous resolutions adopted by the Assembly regarding the nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia. These provisions remain relevant to the further efforts that will be required to achieve this objective.

Coming now to the operative part, paragraph 1 seeks to reaffirm the Assembly's endorsement in principle of the concept of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia. This endorsement was first made in resolution 3265 (XXIX), and was confirmed in the resolutions adopted at the thirtieth and thirty-first sessions of the General Assembly. My delegation considers that such a reaffirmation would be an appropriate and timely expression of the international community's support for the objective of denuclearization in South Asia.

South Asia is an appropriate region for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone. The General Assembly has given overwhelming support and endorsement to this view. Of course, such other neighbouring non-nuclear-weapon-States as may be interested would be welcome to join the zone, but if they should not be interested there is no reason why the States of South Asia should

(Mr. Sattar, Pakistan)

not initiate the denuclearization of their own region. We fully agree with operative paragraph 6 of the draft resolution submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union in document A/C.1/32/L.2 that nuclear-weapon-free zones may cover entire continents or large areas as well as groups of States or individual States. It is therefore our hope that all the States of the region will agree to join in consultations regarding the arrangements that can be evolved for the denuclearization of South Asia. Pakistan is flexible regarding the modalities by which this objective can be achieved. We are confident that through consultations an agreement can be reached on the most effective and credible way in which the common policy of the South Asian States could be jointly expressed in a binding treaty.

Pending the establishment of the zone, it is imperative, however, that the regional States should refrain from any action contrary to the objective of denuclearizing South Asia. A provision to that effect was contained in previous resolutions and is reiterated in operative paragraph 2 of the present draft resolution.

Some States have taken the stand that they could support the proposal for a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia only if prior agreement existed among all the regional States. My delegation believes that support for the general principle cannot correctly be construed as any imposition of a zone from the outside. Indeed, the concerned States do not all seem to apply the same yardstick to different proposals. My delegation welcomes the support extended by such States to one or both of the other proposals regarding Africa and the Middle East, although in each of these regions one State - South Africa in one region, and Israel in the other - is known to be defying the proposals. It would appear, therefore, that only in the case of South Asia is support for the general principle of nuclear-weapon-free zones subordinated to the particular preference of one State in the region. Such an approach, in our view, ignores the fact that the prospects of each of the nuclear-weapon-free-zone proposals are interrelated. Success in establishing a non-proliferation régime in one region will enhance the same objective in the other regions; failure to prevent proliferation in one cannot but erode the chances of the efforts in the others. Responsibility for the promotion of these nuclear-weapon-free zones is not restricted to the States of each region; it devolves upon the entire international community.

(Mr. Sattar, Pakistan)

Particularly, it is indispensable for the success of the objective of denuclearizing South Asia that the nuclear Powers extend their co-operation and support to the proposal. So far only one nuclear-weapon State has declared its willingness to undertake the responsibilities and obligations that would be involved for the nuclear Powers. The others have abstained on the proposal concerning South Asia. As I said the other day, such a stand may be viewed as passive acceptance of the inevitability of proliferation. It could encourage nuclear ambitions. In view of this danger, paragraph 3 of the draft resolution suggests that the Assembly call on "those nuclear-weapon States which have not done so to respond positively" to the proposal for the nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia and to extend the necessary co-operation in efforts to establish this zone.

The efforts to establish this zone could have been facilitated if an appropriate forum for consultations existed in South Asia. Such is not the case. Therefore, unless the regional States can evolve the modalities for such consultations, the Secretary-General may be able to play a part in assisting the efforts being made by one or more of the regional States to promote the denuclearization of South Asia. Operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution provides for such assistance.

The international community cannot allow the momentum of the move for regional denuclearization to slacken. We feel, therefore, that the opportunity presented by the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on disarmament should be seized to make progress on proposals for the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones. It is for that reason that our draft resolution in operative paragraph 4 requests the Secretary-General to report progress on this subject to both the special session on disarmament as well as the next regular session of the Assembly and, similarly, in operative paragraph 5 seeks to place this item on the agenda of both sessions.

The Government of Pakistan believes that the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia will serve the best interests of all the peoples of this region. It can free them from the nuclear threat.

(Mr. Sattar, Pakistan)

It will dispel the spectre of a nuclear arms race. It will save the developing countries of South Asia from the ruinous burden of such a race. Moreover, the establishment of such a nuclear-weapon-free zone will promote mutual confidence and, it is to be hoped, lead to other beneficial measures in disarmament and other fields. It will also serve the wider interest of promoting the general objective of non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament.

The Pakistan delegation, therefore, hopes that the draft resolution will receive the favourable consideration of all Member States and be adopted unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: As there are no further speakers for this morning, I should like to announce the following additions to the sponsors of the various draft resolutions: draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.10, Morocco; draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.16, Ghana, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Spain, Sudan, the United States of America and Yemen; draft resolutions A/C.1/32/L.6 and A/C.1/32/L.11, Yemen.

The amendments submitted by Niger to draft resolution A/C.1/32/L.14 will be available to delegations this afternoon.

As there are no speakers for this afternoon we are compelled to cancel the meeting scheduled for 3 o'clock. Our next meeting, therefore, will take place on Monday morning, 14 November, and it will be held in Conference Room 3 because the mechanical voting facility is available there.

May I urge delegations that are sponsors of the draft resolutions in documents A/C.1/32/L.3, A/C.1/32/L.13, A/C.1/32/L.17 and A/C.1/32/L.18, and the draft resolution in document A/32/29 on the Indian Ocean, which have not yet been introduced, to be so kind as to introduce those draft resolutions on Monday or as soon thereafter as they conveniently can do so.

I am not in a position at this moment to announce on which draft resolutions the Committee will take action on Monday. The Committee will be consulted on that subject by the Chairman on Monday.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.