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Chairman: Mr. PASTINEN (Finland)

later: Mr. PALMA (Peru)
(Vice-Chairman)

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

AGENDA ITEM 125 (continued)

REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS AND DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS TENTH SPECIAL SESSION: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/33/42, A/33/279, A/33/305, A/33/312, A/33/317; A/C.1/33/L.1-5)

Mr. HAMUDI (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic):

It gives us great pleasure to speak on the item "Review of the implementation of the recommendations and decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth special session" devoted to disarmament. That question is of basic interest and humanity is trying to resolve it because permanent peace and the maintenance of peace is one of the dearest aspirations of mankind, not to mention the fact that peace is one of the fundamental objectives of the United Nations Charter.

Notwithstanding the efforts made for peace, peace is still menaced because of the arms race, and in particular the nuclear arms race, which is a serious threat to humanity.

(Mr. Hamudi, United Arab Emirates)

Furthermore, the number of countries possessing nuclear weapons has grown, and in addition many countries are trying to acquire nuclear weapons. If States which possess nuclear weapons are able to impose the necessary restrictions so as to prevent a nuclear war, then we wonder whether other countries could be added to that list and what the situation would be then, given the waste of resources - concerning which we must note with regret that about \$400 billion are now being spent each year for military purposes, not to mention the fact that 25 million of the world's inhabitants are being threatened, despite the efforts made for peace, and in particular for the advancement of developing countries, which sorely need peace and security. The energy waste is taking place at a time when mankind needs all available energy for development ends. As our Foreign Minister said before the General Assembly:

"... the proliferation of lethal weapons, whether nuclear or otherwise, is a heavy burden on humanity and endangers international peace and security. We therefore believe that it is essential to take practical and concrete steps for the reduction of military budgets and the transfer of human and material resources from disarmament to the fields of development where they are most urgently needed". (A/32/PV.18, p. 56)

That is why the delegation of my country supports paragraph 16 of the Final Document, which stresses the danger of this enormous waste of material, technical and human resources that could be devoted to the development of developing countries, because such waste is incompatible with the establishment of the New International Economic Order based on equity and co-operation.

Our delegation considers that paragraph 89 of the Final Document provides for the reduction of military budgets and that paragraph 94 envisages the transfer of resources for the benefit of the developing countries. There is no doubt that the problem of disarmament is the greatest challenge facing all mankind. The tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was one of the greatest conferences that broached that problem and had the largest number of participants. Many eminent Heads of State and Government took part in it. If we look closely at the general debate that took place in the General Assembly this year, we see that the results of that special session were discussed by various Members. Some thought that great results had been achieved; others thought that there were negative aspects to it.

(Mr. Hamudi, United Arab Emirates)

Nevertheless, as was rightly stated by the Secretary-General in his report

"... the disarmament problem has become so complex that it has to be dealt with within a comprehensive framework. One of the achievements of the special session was the construction of such a framework and the agreement on basic principles and priorities". (A/33/1, p. 12)

Our delegation agrees with other delegations which consider that important measures were decided upon at that special session, including the Programme of Action on disarmament and the pinpointing of priority steps to be taken, not to mention the fact that a deliberative body and a negotiating body were established to try to reach results so as to spare mankind the horrors of wars such as those which have proliferated very dangerously over the last decade.

The United Arab Emirates, as a developing country, aspires to the attainment of détente as a positive element in international relations. However, détente must be global in nature. The reduction of tension should curb the arms race and allow for complete disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament.

We welcome the results attained at the tenth special session of the General Assembly, including the establishment of a Programme of Action and of machinery. Nevertheless, we think that much remains to be done. We associate ourselves with those speakers that have preceded me who advocated nuclear disarmament and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Special attention should be drawn to the fact that the atom should be used for peaceful purposes. We support paragraph 68 of the Final Document, which states:

"Non-proliferation measures should not jeopardize the full exercise of the inalienable rights of all States to apply and develop their programmes for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy for economic and social development in conformity with their priorities, interests and needs. All States should also have access to and be free to acquire technology, equipment and materials for peaceful uses of nuclear energy, taking into account the particular needs of the developing countries. International co-operation in this field should be under agreed and appropriate international safeguards applied through the International Atomic Energy Agency on a non-discriminatory basis in order to prevent effectively the proliferation of nuclear weapons." (resolution S-10/2)

(Mr. Hamudi, United Arab Emirates)

Our delegation favours the establishment of non-nuclear-weapon zones, in accordance with paragraphs 60 and 62 of the Final Document, and we exhort countries possessing nuclear weapons, and in particular those which have made no commitments heretofore, to enter into such commitments and to take the necessary measures to that end. We support the efforts to declare the region of the Middle East a nuclear-weapon-free zone, and we support the draft resolution directed to that end. We hope that measures will be taken to ensure that it shall be adopted. In accordance with paragraph 63 of the Final Document, all countries of the region should accede to a non-proliferation convention on nuclear weapons and solemnly declare that they will refrain on a reciprocal basis from producing, acquiring, or in any other way possessing those weapons or using them against another country in the region.

All activities of countries in the region in the nuclear field must be monitored by the IAEA. The Security Council likewise must play a major role in that process to make the region of the Middle East a nuclear-weapon-free zone. Since we are speaking of creating nuclear-weapon-free zones, with particular reference to the Middle East, we should like to say that our country, which is part of the Arab region, is facing considerable danger since there are territories that are under occupation. The people of Palestine have been expelled from their homeland and we favour the Palestinian people's exercise of their right to self-determination. We support their right to establish an independent homeland, and we note with concern the activities exerted by certain countries in support of the military capacities of Israel, giving it cluster bombs that it will use against the refugee camps. We want to draw the attention of the international community -

The CHAIRMAN: I am sorry to interrupt the speaker, but I would ask him to come back to the question that we are discussing in this Committee, which is item 125, "Review of the implementation of the recommendations and decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth special session".

Mr. HAMUDI (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): The international community must face its responsibilities in view of this constant threat to the Middle East and Africa and peace in the world as a whole. Israel refuses to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and that is an important fact. Moreover, Israel persists in flouting the General Assembly resolutions on the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East; it is pursuing its defiance of other General Assembly resolutions and refuses to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Consequently, a resolution must be adopted to prevent Israel from possessing nuclear weapons and fissionable materials. The General Assembly must adopt such a resolution so as to make the Middle East a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

The United Arab Emirates is aware of the fact that we are part of a vital region of the world, the Gulf region, and we are anxious to shelter that region from the rivalries of the great Powers, because that rivalry is a threat to our peace and security. That is why we support the United Nations resolution designed to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and urge the international community to implement it.

Our delegation welcomes paragraph 59 of the Final Document, concerning measures to be taken by nuclear Powers to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. We welcome the Soviet initiative concerning the establishment of an international convention to preserve the security of non-nuclear-weapon countries, and we hope that that draft convention will be supported. Reciprocal commitments between nuclear and non-nuclear Powers in accordance with an international convention would be a positive step, and we hope that further positive steps will be taken so that peace and security can be established throughout the world.

(Mr. Harudi, United Arab Emirates)

As regards the convening of a second special session devoted to disarmament, we welcome the initiative taken here as we welcomed the results of the first such special session of the General Assembly, which will strengthen the idea of convening a second session. We consider appropriate a three-year period in which to implement the decisions and recommendations of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. We hope that the next special session on disarmament will enable us to strengthen measures adopted to lead to disarmament and, as our Foreign Minister said, we hope that the next special session on disarmament will enable us to make greater progress in that field, that a conference will be convened after the necessary preparations have been successfully concluded and that it will achieve all its goals, for the sake of peace for mankind as a whole under effective international control.

Mrs. GORDAH (Tunisia) (interpretation from French): While the holding of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament may not have come up to expectations, it did at least take place and it enabled Governments to devote priority attention to the problems of disarmament.

It also defined the framework in which efforts should be made at this time in order to promote the attainment of general agreement on specific measures, and this we consider to be the beginning of a process which will ultimately lead us to the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

(Mrs. Gordah, Tunisia)

In the Programme of Action priority has been given to efforts to halt the production and eliminate means of mass destruction, in particular nuclear weapons. The current state of the arms race, and especially the technological progress that has been made in this field, justifies that priority attention. Nuclear arsenals are constantly becoming more sophisticated, and the arms race has become one of technology, because the rate of technological progress far outstrips the speed of negotiations on the control and limitation of armaments.

In this respect, primary responsibility lies with the nuclear Powers, particularly the two greatest. Their withdrawal behind the invocation of the principle of mutual deterrence - by virtue of which we, the small and medium-size countries, were unable at the special session to obtain a solemn commitment from them not to use those weapons pending their eventual elimination - is no longer accepted inasmuch as the validity of that principle disproved at least two decades ago. The success of our effort depends largely on the measures which those Powers will take in order to reflect the views and aspirations, particularly those listed in the Programme of Action, of all other States.

Hence the first measure should be to eliminate the most dangerous weapons of mass destruction. The Final Document advocates urgent negotiations and agreements in the field of nuclear disarmament, and we expect nuclear-weapon States to act promptly in that direction.

As regards agreements, Tunisia has signed and ratified all multilateral disarmament agreements, from the partial nuclear test-ban treaty to the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques and the Non-Proliferation Treaty, because, despite our reservations and the shortcomings of those agreements, we wish to encourage even the smallest step towards security.

(Mrs. Gordah, Tunisia)

Unfortunately, we are compelled to note that none of those agreements or others which may be adopted in the future will have any real meaning until an international monitoring agency has been established. In this connexion, my delegation supports the proposal of France concerning the establishment of an international satellite monitoring agency. We deplore the delay in concluding a treaty on the total prohibition of nuclear testing, and we hope that in the meantime a moratorium will be declared without delay. My delegation similarly supports India's initiative on this subject.

My country attaches great importance to another aspect of the arms race: the production, trade in and transfer of conventional weapons, which directly or indirectly threatens regional stability and peace and security, while compromising our efforts to establish a more just international economic order. The Final Document has the merit of mentioning the reduction of both conventional and nuclear weapons as a priority disarmament issue, and of emphasizing that nothing should prevent States from starting negotiations on all priority matters "simultaneously". Tunisia attaches similar importance to the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, with a guarantee on the part of nuclear-weapon States that such weapons will never be used there.

(Mrs. Gordah, Tunisia)

My delegation welcomes with interest the Soviet proposals on the subject. We hope that the views expressed in the Final Document will in practice be reflected in such a way as to eliminate the serious threat which weighs on the security of Africa and of the Middle East.

Finally, we have to take into account, for the purposes of review and consideration, the various proposals contained in paragraph 125 of the Final Document which were not examined in depth at the special session. In this respect Tunisia considers it important that some major aspects of the relationship between the efforts to achieve disarmament and economic and social progress be clarified in as much detail as possible. Another study might be required to review in detail questions such as the effects of nuclear expenditures on economic growth and others, as well as the methods to be adopted for the rational reconversion of those resources at present allocated to military production.

Regarding the question of fellowships, I should like to refer to the report of the Secretary-General and make some remarks. Approximately 20 fellowships will be available to candidates who will be chosen mainly in the developing countries, and for a duration not to exceed six months, to study the functioning of all bodies dealing with disarmament and to attend the negotiations in the Committee on Disarmament. The number of these fellowships is rather small in comparison with the number of States which could claim them. So would it not be fairer to award them entirely to the developing countries? The duration hardly seems realistic either. Since it is precisely a matter of training and obtaining specialized knowledge in a field so complex as that of disarmament, six months is a valid period for recycling but not for training people, however well-educated they may be, who are in turn expected to train staff in their own countries.

To strengthen continuity in disarmament activities, a second special session should allow us between now and 1981 to review the progress achieved in implementing the recommendations and decisions of the first session, to make headway along the stages of disarmament and to ensure that political circles remain attentive to the need for sustained concrete action.

The special session, to our great satisfaction, established new bodies within which future deliberations and negotiations on disarmament will take place within

(Mrs. Gordah, Tunisia)

their natural framework, the United Nations, which has primary responsibility in this field. The General Assembly remains the main deliberative and central organ. The First Committee will now deal exclusively with disarmament questions and others related to international security. Moreover, the Assembly also set up a subsidiary deliberative body, the Disarmament Commission, which has just held its first organizational meeting. The task incumbent upon the Assembly during this session is to define and guide the work of the Commission so that it will be able to tackle the substantive problems with which it will be seized when it begins its work in May 1979, particularly the comprehensive programme and goals set in the Final Document. The Committee on Disarmament as a negotiating body, while limited in membership has the advantage, by giving up the system of co-chairmanship, of being open to all nuclear-weapon States and making their participation possible. We welcome France's decision to take its seat in the Committee, and we hope that China too will soon be able to do the same.

The Final Document specifies that the decisions of the Committee will be taken by consensus. It is to be hoped that in practice consensus will not simply mean that the strongest are able to impose their will on others. It also states that the composition of the Committee will be reviewed at regular periods. The rules of procedure that the Committee will probably consider at its 1979 January session will, of course, have to indicate the duration of the term of office so as to respect the concept of rotation which is implied.

We also note with satisfaction that all Member States may state their views to the Committee. The Committee will report to the General Assembly, which will thus play a regulatory role among the various bodies. Moreover, the United Nations Centre for Disarmament must be given the facilities it needs in order to do its study and research work. If all nations believe in disarmament, they have the duty today to provide specific evidence by implementing the recommendations of the special session. In so doing they will ensure that security and not the balance of terror will be the basis on which man's survival rests.

Mr. MADADHA (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): Jordan was honoured to participate in the adoption of the General Assembly resolution on the convening of the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

We were also honoured to take part in the international consensus which was reached on the Final Document of the special session. It is my pleasure today to speak of that session and of the results that were obtained during Disarmament Week which began on 24 October.

While we think it premature to evaluate the results of that session only a few months after it was held, some purpose may be served by taking stock of what was done. The international consensus regarding the draft of the Final Document was a source of satisfaction to us, because it allowed us to achieve success at that session, although a number of important proposals were not included in the Final Document. Nevertheless, the order of priorities established in the Document had a part in the success of the results of the special session devoted to disarmament.

Among the results achieved by the tenth special session, we welcome the expansion of the membership of the Committee on Disarmament. We congratulate the new members and we wish them well in their work. Among the results obtained at that session, the revival of the Disarmament Commission, consisting of all Member States, was a success. We hope that it will be successful at its meeting to be held in May 1979.

We hope that the Commission will recommend to the thirty-fourth General Assembly regular session the convening of another special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. While on the subject of the new Commission, we express the hope that close collaboration will be established between the Committee and the Commission. The latter is somewhat different from the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD), which was a negotiating body, whereas the Commission is a deliberative body, where necessary decisions can be taken.

(Mr. Madadha, Jordan)

But both bodies are pursuing the same goal, the establishment of a global disarmament programme. The Final Document has established priorities concerning the disarmament programme, and paragraphs 28, 48 and 57 of the Final Document assign special responsibility to the nuclear Powers. The Secretary-General of the United Nations spoke to the Committee on Disarmament and, as can be seen from its final report, said:

"Particular importance in the nuclear disarmament field is incumbent on the nuclear Powers, in particular the two super-Powers. Hence we see the importance of the second SALT round."

We think that all countries share our hope that the two super-Powers will achieve success in their Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, to the benefit of mankind as a whole. The spirit in the past has been marked by rivalry and a race to achieve supremacy or a nuclear balance. We express the hope that our generation will see greater balance established and a new stage in the road to global nuclear disarmament. We consider that the political will, mutual trust and the trust of the masses concerning the danger of the nuclear race are questions of particular importance.

While speaking of the danger of nuclear weapons, we should like to express our entire satisfaction with the declaration made by three nuclear Powers during the special session concerning the security of non-nuclear countries. We should like stronger measures to be taken in this connexion, as provided for in paragraphs 32 and 59 of the Final Document, which request nuclear Powers to take the necessary steps to reassure the non-nuclear countries and protect them from the dangers of nuclear weapons.

The Final Document of the special session stressed the importance of the mass media in making public opinion more aware of the dangers of the arms race and its pernicious effects on peace, security and economic development throughout the world. We have read the organizational report submitted by a group of governmental experts that mentions the link between disarmament and development. We welcome the report, and wish the group of experts every success in the mission entrusted to it so that it can draw up further studies highlighting the link between disarmament and world economic development.

(Mr. Madadha, Jordan)

To quote figures and statistics would take up too much of the time available for the debate. Suffice it to say that if the countries which produce and export weapons stopped their production for one week - for example, if they had done so during Disarmament Week, which began on 24 October - those resources which would have been used for the arms race could be transferred to the development field, and they would equal one seventh of the national income of many developing countries, including Jordan.

Turning now to the Programme of Fellowships on Disarmament, we should like to thank the Secretary-General for the report he drew up on the subject. We consider that increasing the number of fellowships from 20 to 30, if the period could be reduced progressively, would have a favourable effect for all the countries concerned. Jordan has always been one of those countries which have applied and supported international decisions on disarmament. We are committed to pursuing our efforts along these lines. During the last regular session we voted in favour of 29 resolutions on disarmament matters adopted by the General Assembly. We were among the sponsors of seven of the 14 of those resolutions voted on by the international community that were adopted by consensus.

I hope my statement on the special session has not been too long. I should like to reserve the right to make further comments later.

Mr. RIVAS (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish): My delegation is pleased that the First Committee, the work of which is being so skilfully guided by you, Mr. Chairman, has begun its work with an attempt to assess the conclusions of the tenth special session, devoted to an item which has priority among the concerns of the international community. We realize that we still do not have all the facts to enable us to assess completely the results of the session devoted to disarmament, bearing in mind the complexity of the problem and the fact that the session was held such a short time ago. But it is a good thing that we should now begin to analyse with the attention that the item deserves all the developments in a process which has so far not shown positive results in spite of the efforts made to achieve them.

(Mr. Rivas, Colombia)

Even countries that expressed their scepticism, from the time of the convening of the special session, concerning the possibility of such success must recognize that significant progress was made and in general the effort made to arrive at the Final Document, which was approved by consensus, was justified. That Document, as perhaps was to be expected, is not sufficiently explicit on various aspects of profound concern to the peoples of the earth and in particular to the developing countries, which are not taking part in the arms race. The entire agreement remains subject to the political will of the States that are in the vanguard of the development of the war industry, but there is no doubt that satisfactory progress was made in formulating points which have the character of a formal commitment for all the nations of the world. Among the conclusions that have acquired the rank of principles governing the international community, that can no longer be subjected to accommodating interpretations and that constitute an unalterable basis for coexistence among nations, are those that appear in the Introduction to the Final Document and that, inter alia, affirm that: international security is weakened by the accumulation of arms, particularly nuclear arms; the constant arms race represents a growing threat to international peace and security and even to the survival of mankind; the resources released by measures to reduce investment in arms must be used for economic and social development; general and complete disarmament under effective international control must be the final goal in our efforts in regard to disarmament; the obligations and responsibilities concerning disarmament are universal in character and cannot be the monopoly of a few States; the immediate objective must be to eliminate the danger of a nuclear war and to apply measures to halt and reverse the arms race; the central role of the United Nations in disarmament is recognized, as is the right of all States to participate in disarmament negotiations; the strengthening of the deliberative and negotiating bodies and the necessary political will of the States constitutes an essential condition of progress on disarmament.

(Mr. Rivas, Colombia)

We consider that the examination of conscience by the international community during the special session, enabling it to recognize the failure of the efforts to halt or reverse the arms race, particularly in nuclear weapons, was one of the most important aspects of the session. Only a frank and unequivocal acceptance of the failure so far of the Disarmament Decade proclaimed in 1969 will enable us realistically to approach what remains to be done. Therefore it would seem that we are only at the beginning of a lengthy process that so far has really not been able to start, despite the oversaturation of speech-making that we have reached after more than 30 years of expressing our concern and making appeals to common sense which have been largely ignored. In indicating that there is a new beginning, the special session constitutes a valuable experience and a commitment that cannot be overlooked without risking inconceivable dangers.

However, not everything has been negative in recent years in regard to disarmament. Although the role of the Organization has been secondary in the efforts which have successfully culminated in limiting certain weapons and diminishing the dangers created by the testing of certain instruments of war, we must welcome the partial agreements which have made it possible to move forward on the road to disarmament.

My delegation considers that the Declaration in the Final Document of the special session represents a correct expression of the concerns shared by all peoples on earth in regard to the arms race. It reflects the fears prompted by the danger of a nuclear conflagration as a result of an accelerated race to establish increasingly large atomic arsenals. In paragraph 22 it also highlights the importance of the problem of conventional weapons and appeals for negotiations regarding the reduction of those weapons. It is true that some exceptions are contained there which limit the possibilities of making substantial progress in this respect, by emphasizing that the reduction of conventional weapons must not diminish the security of the parties, since the international community still adheres to the old idea that the only form of national security is military security; but at any rate recognition of the danger of conventional weapons is in itself an advance which should be stressed.

(Mr. Rivas, Colombia)

My delegation, nevertheless, would have wished that the problem of the international transfer of conventional weapons had been dealt with in a more explicit manner in the Final Document. In recent years the impressive increase in war budgets has been caused not exclusively by the growth of the nuclear arsenals of a few Powers but rather by an expansion of world trade in conventional weapons, which has become one of the most important factors in the international market. The manufacture of conventional weapons is at present one of the most flourishing industries, to the extent of having become the most significant element of the economic prosperity of several industrialized countries. As my delegation had the opportunity to state during the general debate at the special session on disarmament:

"The increase in world trade, the growing sophistication of advertising and marketing techniques, the credit facilities and the pitiless exploitation of the internal difficulties of third world countries have endowed the conventional arms of producing countries with almost captive markets, which grow and gain strength with the ebb and flow of the pressures of the major industrial centres.

"On a number of occasions, my delegation has stressed the need for a serious study to be made, under the auspices and with the guidance of the United Nations, of the problem of the production of and trade in conventional weapons. It has thus far not proved possible, however, to interest the major military Powers in such an inquiry, which would allow us to assess exactly the size of the problem, the main axes of that trade, its trends and projections, and which countries or regions either benefit or suffer most from this new pattern of international relations, based on the exploitation of death and violence. We cannot disregard the fact that the trade in conventional weapons, the value of which is close to \$30 billion every year, is closely linked to the acts of violence which occur every day in many places around the world, and that conventional weapons are responsible for all the wars that have taken place, and hence for the deaths that have characterized this latest post-war period."

(A/S-10/PV.12, pp. 26-27)

(Mr. Rivas, Colombia)

Because of the special importance my country attaches to the trade in conventional weapons in the world today, we should have been pleased if the Final Document had gone somewhat further in indicating norms and guidelines for bolder international action. The machinery of bilateral consultations among producing and purchasing countries mentioned in paragraph 85 of the Final Document is not enough. It will in the future be necessary to insist on the importance of establishing principles and mechanisms of a multilateral nature which will facilitate a reduction of trade in conventional weapons, by setting standards which will be complied with by the entire international community.

We wish to state that we reject any accommodating interpretation, which would be dangerous, of this trade in conventional weapons - such as, regrettably, is gaining ground in some international forums and we have heard even in this Committee. From the point of view of some countries producing and exporting conventional weapons, the world market is determined by the requirements and the whims of the purchasing countries, which thus transform the industrial Powers into innocent victims of the appetites for war of States which disturb international peace. This simplistic vision radically changes the role played by the interests of the industrialized countries, which have in the production of arms one of the mainstays of their economies, and must be rejected by all those countries overwhelmed by the commercial claims of those who have transformed the industry of death and violence into the nerve centre of their productive capacity.

It is not superfluous to emphasize the importance of the Ayacucho Declaration, signed on 9 December 1974 by eight Latin American countries, in an effort to come closer to conventional disarmament. It is hoped, as stated by the signatory countries, that the other countries of the region will join in this non-binding instrument, which has been described as an example to other areas of the world in paragraph 84 of that same Final Document.

(Mr. Rivas, Colombia)

One of the major barriers encountered by the United Nations in regard to disarmament has been the ineffectiveness of the machinery that it had been using, especially for negotiations. We hope that the decisions taken by the special session will bring about the desired results, in view of the restatements in paragraphs 114 and 115 of the Final Document. Conversion of the Disarmament Commission into a deliberative subsidiary body of the General Assembly, whose special mission will be to draw up a comprehensive disarmament programme to be submitted to the General Assembly, is a positive element, particularly because of the care taken in the very detailed preparation of its next session. The decision to be taken by the General Assembly at this session regarding the date for a second special session devoted to disarmament should take into account the fact that the Disarmament Commission must have enough time to proceed with its work, lest the special session to be convened run the risk of being an unnecessary repetition of the first.

The changes approved for the Committee on Disarmament both in the composition of the Committee and in the system of chairmanship as well as in its working methods are measures which my delegation appreciates. It is to be hoped that the Committee on Disarmament thus revitalized will become the dynamic and imaginative machinery which the United Nations needs to fulfil the role assigned to it by the Charter in regard to disarmament. But to this end what is required is a sincere political commitment from all countries, both nuclear and non-nuclear, and without exception among the former. If that commitment is made the negotiations leading to general and complete disarmament will really be the result of the collective undertaking by the entire international community and not the circumstantial and limited product of bilateral agreements based on the balance of terror and selfish national interests.

(Mr. Rivas, Colombia)

Lastly, my delegation is confident that the item on the relationship between disarmament and development will be dealt with more in keeping with its importance in the future work of United Nations bodies. The cursory reference in paragraph 35 of the Final Document does not measure up to the importance of the problem. However, we are pleased to note the mandate given to the Secretary-General to prepare a study on the relationship between disarmament and development, and we hope that those countries in the forefront of the group of States which devote the most resources to the arms race will now commit themselves to action making it possible to channel part of these resources used for military purposes into the economic and social development of the world, in particular for the benefit of the developing countries.

Mr. VAN BUUREN (Netherlands): I am conscious of the fact that I am speaking during the week that has been proclaimed a week devoted to fostering the objectives of disarmament. I can assure all delegations here present that in the Netherlands issues of disarmament and peace are and have for many years been the subject of lively discussions. We believe that not only governmental institutions are responsible for generating awareness of these vital problems. Disarmament and peace questions are constantly being raised in our churches, in the various organized groups in our society, including those of the younger generation, and in our political parties and in Parliament.

I come now to the subject under discussion. The first special session of the United Nations General Assembly exclusively devoted to disarmament questions did focus the attention of the world community on one of the most complex and certainly one of the most serious problems of our time: the tremendous accumulation of armaments, which threatens human life and civilization. The mere fact that this special session could take place points to an increased awareness of this problem, and we can therefore hope that the adoption by consensus of the Final Document of the special session on disarmament, and especially the gradual implementation of the part of the Document containing the Programme of Action, will give new impetus to the process that should eventually result in effective and concrete measures in the field of disarmament.

(Mr. van Buuren, Netherlands)

I think this is how we should evaluate the significance of the special session on disarmament: as an expression of the strong desire shared by all members of the world community to achieve further relaxation of international tensions, to avert a nuclear catastrophe, and to arrive at important reductions of military arsenals and expenditures in favour of the application of human endeavours and resources to the stimulation of economic and social development. The special session on disarmament further strengthened the political commitments among Member States to bring those objectives nearer and, furthermore, the international community agreed on a Programme of Action and the machinery needed to reach these goals.

It would take me too far to attempt to give a full analysis of the special session. Let me emphasize a few points which seem to merit our special attention.

On the positive side of the balance-sheet of the special session on disarmament, I should like to mention the following: the participation by all nuclear-weapon States; the particularly high level of representation through the attendance of many Heads of State or Government; the beginning of an educational process leading to a better understanding of the real aspirations of all nations and the acceleration and intensification of the international debate on disarmament; and, finally, the fact that consensus could prevail.

On the other side of the balance-sheet, one should mention the following: the paragraphs on nuclear disarmament, which are hardly satisfactory; the need for a comprehensive test ban which is formulated in such a way as to make it almost non-committal; the paragraphs on non-proliferation, which lack a sense of urgency and which reflect the absence of universally accepted principles in this field; the not very conclusive passage on conventional weapons and the need to limit international transfer of those weapons; and the regrettably ambiguous language in many parts of the Programme of Action.

(Mr. van Buuren, Netherlands)

However, it was encouraging to note that during the special session on disarmament there was no confrontation and that there was a general desire to adhere to the procedure of taking decisions by consensus.

I now should like to elaborate somewhat on the restructured disarmament machinery. The revitalization of the United Nations Disarmament Commission, the transformation of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD) into the Committee on Disarmament with an enlarged membership and a First Committee of the General Assembly dealing exclusively with disarmament problems are among the most concrete results of the special session on disarmament. However, these organs should have clearly distinct functions. The United Nations Disarmament Commission is meant to be, as it should be, a deliberative organ, while the Committee on Disarmament has to continue the CCD's function as a negotiating body. The First Committee will, inter alia, review the proceedings of both organs and, if it deems it necessary to do so, make recommendations for further work. As a deliberative organ the United Nations Disarmament Commission constitutes a forum where a comprehensive exchange of views and ideas on disarmament and security issues can take place and where the process of understanding of each other's positions and security concerns, generated at the special session on disarmament, may continue. The restructuring of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament into the Committee on Disarmament did not change its function as the major negotiating body with a restricted membership. My Government welcomes the recently announced participation of France in the Committee on Disarmament. Four of the five nuclear-weapon States will henceforth participate in the Committee on Disarmament, a fact which will further increase its importance. We also hope that China will be persuaded to reconsider its position towards the Committee on Disarmament, thereby making the Geneva body truly representative.

I should like to conclude my statement with a few remarks on the proposal put forward at the special session on disarmament by the Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs with respect to the establishment of an international disarmament organization. As has been stated on many previous occasions, this new organization should be considered as an operational

(Mr. van Buuren, Netherlands)

framework for the implementation of present and future international disarmament agreements, with emphasis on their verification. Due to the understandable priority that has been given at the special session on disarmament to the central, major issues that were at stake, a great number of new ideas and proposals that were introduced, our proposal among them, unfortunately did not receive sufficient attention. Nevertheless, we did receive quite a number of positive reactions. We believe that in the near future the indispensability of an international disarmament organization will be generally recognized, taking into account the complexity of emerging multilateral disarmament agreements such as a comprehensive test-ban treaty and a treaty on chemical weapons. Therefore, we shall continue to evoke discussions on our proposal as elaborated in working document A/AC.187/108, which the Netherlands submitted to the Preparatory Committee of the special session on disarmament. We hope that our suggestion will gradually mature and we intend to propose further steps towards its implementation in due course.

Mr. GLAIEL (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic):

The question of disarmament is closely linked to the problem of peace on earth, culture, civilization and in general the economic development of the world. The effects of this problem are felt in the developing countries which lack the means to forestall such effects and which must bear the consequence of the arms race, and in most cases are the scene of the wars of various kinds take place. We are convinced of the fact that the small developing countries must play a role, particularly in the field of disarmament. It is from this standpoint that our delegation participates in the discussion of agenda item 125 concerning the recommendations and decisions adopted by the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, and we assure members of the Committee that we shall co-operate fully with all of them.

(Mr. Glaiel, Syrian Arab Republic)

The tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was a unique historic event, because it was devoted solely to the problems of disarmament in all their aspects and ramifications and exerted tireless efforts to arrive at a consensus which made it possible to agree on a Final Document that was adopted by consensus. That document contains ideas and recommendations, and if it is implemented with sincere political will, particularly on the part of the major Powers possessing nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, with the support of the developing countries, which represent the majority of this international Organization, we shall be able to fulfil the hopes of all mankind for a world where peace and freedom from fear will reign.

We are pleased that the tenth special session was held at the initiative of the non-aligned countries, for the developing countries have played a primary role in defending the interests of the small countries and have made every effort to spare them the dangers which threaten them as a result of the huge stockpiles of conventional weapons, nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction which the major Powers and their allies possess in various parts of the world.

As a small developing country of the third world and a member of the group of non-aligned countries, we are concerned in the first place with peace, security and the future of coming generations. We should like to see come into being a world in which the principles of law, peace and security prevail, a world where peoples can live with the assurance of respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity. That is possible only if humanity can rid itself of colonialism, which is an affront to the history of mankind, of zionism, of racism and of apartheid, in order to achieve our objective, namely, a better world.

(Mr. Glaiel, Syrian Arab Republic)

Through the declarations made by Heads of State and Government and through the decisions and recommendations adopted, the special session emphasized what a waste it is to allocate massive resources for weapons of mass destruction at the expense of budgets for the economic development and prosperity of the poor countries.

I also wish to highlight the relevant ideas which appeared in the Declaration and in the Final Document, and we should like to urge that all the measures adopted at the special session should be implemented.

All countries in the world have a vital interest in and are concerned about disarmament negotiations, so that all must participate in the efforts for disarmament. All countries have the right to participate in negotiations on disarmament on a footing of equality, because those negotiations have a direct effect on their national security, as is indicated in the first part of paragraph 28 of the Final Document.

Basing itself on this principle, our delegation proclaims its will actively and objectively to participate in the work of the Committee on Disarmament and of the Disarmament Commission which is to be the deliberative body, open to all nuclear-weapon States and to additional countries, among which the Syrian Arab Republic is a candidate. We were not consulted, and my country is not a member of the Committee on Disarmament, but we shall not dwell on this aspect. I am authorized to state before this Committee that the Syrian Arab Republic will actively continue to co-operate in all deliberations leading to disarmament, and we associate ourselves with other delegations in expressing the hope that membership of the Committee on Disarmament will be for a limited duration and on a rotation basis, so that all countries will have an opportunity to participate, since we are all anxious to take a constructive part in its work. The intention expressed by France to participate in the Committee on Disarmament is a source of genuine pleasure because of the importance of that Committee and the hopes placed in it.

(Mr. Glaiel, Syrian Arab Republic)

Paragraph 45 of the Final Document establishes the priorities in disarmament negotiations: first, nuclear weapons, which are then followed by weapons of mass destruction, including chemical and conventional weapons. Paragraph 50 indicates where nuclear disarmament should begin. My delegation attaches special importance to the danger of nuclear weapons to international peace and security. Therefore, we should like to speak here of the situation prevailing in the Middle East and in southern Africa and to refer to the nefarious effects of the present or potential acquisition of nuclear power by Israel and South Africa. This threatens the peace and security not only of the two regions but of the whole world. Furthermore, we must wonder at the motives for the continued stockpiling of conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction, and the close co-operation between Israel and South Africa in the acquisition and production of nuclear power. During the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the non-aligned countries were sponsors of a draft resolution on military co-operation between Israel and South Africa which called on all countries, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, to forestall any danger to international peace and security caused by the arms build-up by Israel. That draft resolution called on the Security Council to urge all countries to refrain from giving nuclear weapons to Israel. It called on third countries not to transfer nuclear technology or fissile material to Israel, and requested the Security Council to set up adequate machinery to this end, in accordance with paragraph 2 of the draft resolution.

In response to the appeal of the General Committee - and we express our appreciation of the positive role played by that Committee - the authors of the draft resolution agreed to postpone its consideration and to submit it to this session of the General Assembly. Our delegation is particularly concerned with this draft resolution and we consider that it is necessary that this Committee adopt it, so that it may be implemented as an effective measure for the maintenance of peace and security in the Middle East region, one of the most dangerous hotbeds of tension in the world, and so as to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security.

(Mr. Glaiel, Syrian Arab Republic)

The Final Document provides for priority to be given to the measures to be taken for nuclear disarmament, so as to prevent a war and to proceed to a reduction and then to a total reversal of the arms race, and to take steps compatible with the exercise by all countries of their inalienable right to have access to nuclear technology, and to set up a priority programmes in accord with their national interests.

Account must be taken of the fact that it is necessary to ensure the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the devotion of nuclear energy to peaceful purposes, within the framework of agreed international safeguards, on a non-discriminatory basis. Our delegation considers that the United Nations should emphasize the question of safeguards, so that no régime will seek to disregard United Nations resolutions. It is possible to check the proliferation of nuclear weapons by preventing certain countries from acquiring fissile material; but if this is possible at present, it will become impossible in the future because fissile material is available in various parts of the world, and that is why several countries have been able to acquire nuclear weapons. We must put an end to nuclear tests, unless there are effective guarantees regarding those tests and the peaceful use of nuclear power.

My delegation had an opportunity at the special session to declare that we are particularly concerned about the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the acquisition of nuclear weapons by Israel and South Africa. It worries us that neither country has adhered to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Those countries must comply with all treaties and instruments adopted in this respect. Nuclear-weapon States - and particularly countries which have well-known warlike policies - must offer small developing countries guarantees about the non-recourse to the use of nuclear weapons against them. Those small countries must have the necessary guarantees that other countries - particularly in the same region - will not use these weapons against them.

Our delegation can but support the Soviet proposal concerning the conclusion of a treaty offering guarantees to non-nuclear-weapon States that nuclear weapons will not be used against them or against countries in their area, and that such weapons will not be stockpiled.

Our delegation believes that the speeding up of a SALT II agreement would represent a very important and positive step along the road to disarmament, in accordance with paragraph 52 of the Final Document. That is a proof of goodwill and an example that should be followed by other countries. Such an agreement should be followed by other similar agreements on every aspect of disarmament, in particular the reduction of stocks of nuclear weapons.

We support the statements in paragraphs 51 and 56, as follows:

"The cessation of nuclear-weapon testing by all States within the framework of an effective nuclear disarmament process would be in the interest of mankind." (Resolution S/10-2, para. 51)

"The most effective guarantee against the danger of nuclear war and the use of nuclear weapons is nuclear disarmament and the complete elimination of nuclear weapons." (Ibid., para. 56)

We support the measure suggested in paragraph 63 (d), as follows:

"The serious consideration of the practical and urgent steps, as described in the paragraphs above, required for the implementation of the proposal to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, in accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolutions, where all parties directly concerned have expressed their support for the concept and where the danger of nuclear-weapon proliferation exists. The establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East would greatly enhance international peace and security." (Ibid., para. 63 (d))

Measures taken with a view to the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones will reassure the countries in those regions, particularly if they commit themselves to abiding by the relevant resolutions, especially those which benefit the small non-nuclear-weapon States, by giving them a guarantee of non-recourse to nuclear weapons.

(Mr. Glaiel, Syrian Arab Republic)

Once again may I say how pleased I am with the Soviet proposal and commitment in that respect. We hope that that great Power will take the necessary steps to halt the transfer of such technology and not establish military bases in our region.

The convening of another special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament is a positive step. We think it would be premature to hold such a session soon, since we have not yet implemented the decisions and recommendations of the tenth special session. Therefore we must carefully study the decision on convening a special session in the near future.

It is also necessary to consider convening a world disarmament conference in the near future, in accordance with paragraph 122 of the Final Document.

Likewise, studies and reports must be prepared, as provided for in the Final Document, so that the world may be kept informed of the results of the tenth special session and evaluate those results. And we must determine what has been done through national legislation to reduce military budgets.

We agree with the Secretary-General regarding the link between disarmament and economic development, and the need for periodic reports on the effects on economic and social development of the arms race. Such studies will contribute to the measures for the education of peoples through the mechanisms established by the United Nations, in particular the United Nations Centre for Disarmament. Such education is really necessary if we wish good-neighbourly principles to be established and recognized by all countries. In this respect, we welcome Poland's initiative concerning a declaration on the need to live in peace so as to achieve the objectives of peace throughout the world.

Our main idea is that small countries should play an increasingly effective role in disarmament; that is why we consider paragraphs 106, 107 and 108 on setting up disarmament programmes and fellowships to improve technological knowledge, particularly in the developing countries, to be of the utmost importance. We should accelerate the implementation of those decisions: the arms race shows no sign of slowing down.

Disarmament, in accordance with the major principles of the Charter, should bring about a world where peace and security will prevail and where future generations will enjoy prosperity and well-being.

Mr. TERNOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): I do not think anyone will deny the fact that there is no more vital and urgent matter today than halting the arms race. The burden that goes with it is becoming ever heavier and the dangers ever more acute. The arms race is wastefully devouring gigantic material resources that are needed for the well-being and progress of peoples. The struggle for disarmament is one of the main trends of the foreign policy of the Soviet State and was one of its first steps in international affairs. In that struggle Soviet diplomacy bases itself unswervingly on the Leninist tenets of principle on the close link between the problem of disarmament and the vital questions of social development; linking the policies of various classes in the field of international affairs with the task of providing for a just peace between countries.

No other country has made such a far-reaching, concrete and realistic proposal for a programme aimed at reducing and completely eliminating the dangers of a new war as has the Soviet Union, whose new Constitution stresses the need to achieve general and complete disarmament.

The countries of the socialist community made a constructive contribution in preparing for and taking part in the last special session of the United Nations devoted to disarmament.

Constantly following the course of peace and implementing the programme adopted at the XXVth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on continuing the struggle for peace, international co-operation and the freedom and independence of peoples, the Soviet Union put forward at that special session a number of far-reaching constructive initiatives and formulated a number of new specific proposals. These are set out in the document entitled "Practical ways to end the arms race" and encompass all the main aspects of disarmament.

(Mr. Ternov, Byelorussian SSR)

We are talking here, first and foremost, about taking concrete measures for a complete halt to any further qualitative and quantitative growth of armaments and armed forces of States having a large military potential and creating the conditions for their subsequent reduction. We are talking about steps such as halting the production of nuclear weapons in all their aspects, the cessation of production and the banning of all other kinds of weapons of mass destruction, stopping the creation of new types of conventional weaponry of great destructive power and not allowing the expansion of the armies and an increase in the conventional weapons of the permanent members of the Security Council as well as countries allied with them in military agreements.

The Soviet proposal and initiatives give a number of broad and realistic steps to be taken within that programme for the complete ban of the arms race. It is noteworthy that many proposals and ideas put forward by the Soviet Union formed the basis of the Final Document adopted by the General Assembly.

The work of the special session of the United Nations and its documented results are a noteworthy success of peace-loving peoples and countries. Disarmament is favoured by the overwhelming majority of States Members of our Organization. The special session once more reaffirmed the deep concern of humanity at large in halting the arms race. It showed once more how great are the obstacles placed on the path to disarmament by its multifarious enemies. Everyone will recall quite well that at the same time that the international forum devoted to disarmament was meeting another session was taking place in Washington, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Council session, which took a decision to step up armaments by countries of that bloc for many years to come. According to the Washington Post, dated 15 October this year, the United States is continuing to increase further its military expenditures. It is planned that by 1983 the amount of military appropriations will reach the astronomical figure of \$172.7 billion. Despite the oft-repeated alarm over the effect of inflation on governmental expenditures, the newspaper emphasized, President Carter and Congress combined their forces to burden the country with a record military expenditure.

All this shows that certain Western Governments are being inconsistent and giving in to the pressure of certain circles which have become involved in military production. The activation of militarist and reactionary forces which are

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trying to prevent the deepening and development of progress in international détente have blocked once and for all negotiations on the problems of disarmament and ultimately wish to prevent the cutting down of stockpiling and to call for decisive counteraction to it. The United Nations must take an authoritative stand on this question. Despite the counter action of the enemies of military détente, the special session on the whole concluded successfully. Of course, as was noted in the Final Document, it marks not really the end but rather the beginning of a new stage in United Nations efforts in the field of disarmament.

Speaking on 25 June this year at Minsk as he evaluated the work of the special session, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Chairman of the Supreme Presidium of the Soviet Union, Comrade Brezhnev, said:

"The ideas and proposals put forward there will doubtless continue to live. They will have their influence. The struggle for real achievements in the field of curbing the arms race and in the field of disarmament will continue and must be strengthened".

One of the most important tasks facing the United Nations now is that of promoting the practical realization of the key proposals of the Final Document. Constructive proposals that were put forward by the Soviet Union and a number of other countries must be studied in depth. During the special session attention was focused on halting the arms race and on nuclear disarmament. In paragraph 47 of the Final Document the need is emphasized to halt and reverse the nuclear arms race in all its aspects in order to avert the danger of war involving nuclear weapons. In paragraph 50, measures are noted relating to the cessation of the qualitative improvement and development of nuclear-weapon systems, the cessation of the production and cutting down of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, leading to their complete elimination.

It is important in present-day conditions that the General Assembly, as proposed by the Soviet Union, should make an appeal to all nuclear Powers to take steps to start negotiations at once on halting the nuclear-arms race, and thus to contact each other for the practical preparation of negotiations on nuclear disarmament. Of course, those negotiations should take place on the

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basis of the principle of undiminished security of all States. Many delegations pointed out the need for a speedy conclusion of a treaty banning nuclear-weapon tests. That appeal was contained in the Final Document of the special session as well. We know that some progress has recently been achieved in reaching agreement on a treaty to ban nuclear-weapon tests, and this is contained in the protocol relating to nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes which is an integral part of the treaty.

In order to clear the way for agreement, the Soviet Union has taken a number of steps in recent times and has agreed to monitor the observance of commitments on a voluntary basis and to establish a moratorium on peaceful nuclear explosions. It has further agreed that the treaty should come into force even if not all five nuclear-weapon States but only three - the USSR, the United States and the United Kingdom, accede to it. Now a real possibility exists for those negotiations to be led to a successful conclusion. In the opinion of our delegation, the task is not only that of ensuring the speedy signing of such a treaty. It is just as important that the example set by those three Powers should be effective. Nuclear testing must be completely stopped in all environments, regardless of whoever is carrying them out.

As a result of the persistent efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the Final Document included a provision emphasizing the urgent need to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. It is clear that the threat of a nuclear war would grow immeasurably if the process of creating and stockpiling nuclear weapons were to involve countries which do not possess them thus far. Cessation of the arms race and beginning disarmament would be made much more difficult in such a case. The acquisition of nuclear weapons by States would be particularly dangerous for those States that are in the hot spots of this world. Of course it is not difficult to imagine what this would lead to in the region of the Middle East or in South Africa. All the more should we be alarmed by plans to produce nuclear weapons hatched by South Africa and Israel. It is also dangerous for Peking also, in pursuing its chauvinistic aims, to come forward as a rabid enemy of the non-proliferation régime.

In this situation, our primordial task should be the increasing of the number of parties to the non-proliferation Treaty, in particular the nuclear- and near nuclear-States. Accession to that treaty by States would turn it into a

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universal document and would convince humanity that a brake had been put on the spread of nuclear weapons.

At the tenth special session of the General Assembly, the Soviet Union took an important step in stating that it would never use nuclear weapons against States which had refrained from producing or acquiring those weapons or did not possess them in their territories. In developing that initiative at the present session of the General Assembly, the USSR came forward with a concrete proposal to draft an international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States. That proposal was supported by the majority of States.

To our mind, after the discussion of that question at the General Assembly session, the Committee on Disarmament could once more start working on an agreement on the text of the convention.

The implementation of the second Soviet proposal - that of the non-emplacement of nuclear weapons in the territory of States which do not yet possess them - would thus be very important. Achievement of international agreement on that question is very relevant to the strengthening of the non-proliferation régime. The Soviet Union expressed its readiness to achieve agreement on that. We consider that the General Assembly should express itself positively on that important Soviet proposal as well, and we call on the other nuclear Powers to co-operate in that matter.

Nowadays, the Soviet initiative on concluding an international agreement to ban the development and production of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction is gaining in importance. The General Assembly should pronounce itself in favour of reaching a speedy agreement on this question and on speeding up work on special agreements on other types of weapons, where necessary.

The plans for creating the nuclear neutron weapon in the United States gives rise to great concern on the part of the peoples of the world. The recent decision of the President of the United States to allow production of the component parts of neutron weapon is, in fact, preparation for the production of that barbaric weapon itself. The peoples of the whole world are decisively speaking out against the production and deployment of that neutron weapon and demand that measures be taken to prevent its inclusion in the arsenals of States.

(Mr. Ternov, Byelorussian SSR)

Those ends are served likewise by the draft convention on the prohibition of the production, stockpiling, deployment and use of nuclear neutron weapons, which was submitted this year in the Committee on Disarmament. In our view, the General Assembly should take effective action to ban that type of nuclear weapon. In solving the problem of halting the arms race, the successful conclusion of the strategic arms limitation talks between the United States and the Soviet Union is particularly important - not only to those two Powers, but to the strengthening of peace and preventing another world war.

As mentioned in the Final Document, the conclusion of that agreement should constitute an important step towards nuclear disarmament, and ultimately the establishment of a world free of such weapons.

The Byelorussian SSR, as a co-sponsor of the draft convention introduced by the socialist States in 1972, advocates the banning and abolition of all means of chemical warfare, as in the case of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons. The Soviet Union, in speaking out for a constructive and immediate solution of that question, expressed its readiness to discuss, as an additional control measure, methodology for monitoring the destruction of chemical weapon stockpiles to be excluded from the arsenals of States. Recently, as well as the discussion of this subject in the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva, there have been several rounds of talks between the Soviet Union and the United States to prepare a joint initiative on the question. My delegation voices the hope that the way will soon be opened to reaching agreement on the full removal from States' arsenals of all means of chemical warfare.

(Mr. Ternov, Byelorussian SSR)

The Final Document of the special session touches on important questions such as the reduction of military budgets. This is a measure which would promote the curbing of the arms race. As is shown by the discussion at this session, many countries, particularly developing countries, pin great hopes on the reduction of military expenditures and on measures for solving their complicated economic problems. The Soviet Union, which is responsible for actually raising the issue, has proposed that countries having a large economic and military potential - in particular the permanent members of the Security Council - should agree to cut their military budgets, not in percentage but in absolute terms. From the technical point of view, that is not a difficult task if the States concerned show the political will to do it.

The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR favours specific General Assembly action to contribute to solving that question in practical terms.

In the light of the fact that the disarmament problem is general in character, all peoples - indeed, all of mankind - have a stake in its positive solution. In striving for this, each State, irrespective of its size or political weight, should make its contribution to solving the disarmament problem. Indeed, the Soviet Union has proposed the convening of an international forum to solve these problems, with the participation of all States of the world: the world disarmament conference. That forum could discuss authoritatively and in sufficient depth all questions relating to disarmament and could take binding decisions. Bearing in mind the importance of that conference and the fact that at its special session the United Nations General Assembly favoured its convening as soon as possible, practical measures must be taken for the speedy implementation of that decision.

(Mr. Ternov, Byelorussian SSR)

Our delegation supports the proposal made here that the present session should take specific steps in deciding on an actual date for convening the world disarmament conference and for establishing a body for its practical preparation.

In accordance with the decision taken at the special session, the international week devoted to fostering the objectives of disarmament is now being celebrated; a solemn meeting devoted to that important event has taken place here at the United Nations. We share the view that all States should take far-reaching measures to highlight the danger of the arms race and the need to halt it. They should propagate the urgent tasks of disarmament. That is why the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR supports the draft resolution on that issue contained in document A/C.1/33/L.4, introduced in the First Committee by the representative of Mongolia on behalf of its co-sponsors.

At the special session and during this debate as well a number of proposals have been made to carry out studies on disarmament questions. In deciding on the advisability of this or that study, first of all it is necessary to take into account the practical importance of those studies in solving disarmament problems. Of course, there is no need for studies which would side-track the United Nations from the consideration of constructive proposals or from solving concrete disarmament problems, or would replace real de facto disarmament measures by abstract studies, general in nature and with artificial themes.

This year, the First Committee has to discuss important matters connected with the problem of disarmament and halting the arms race. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR favours the adoption by the General Assembly of constructive measures for solving this most burning issue of modern times in a realistic fashion. In elaborating these decisions we are prepared to co-operate with all delegations that are striving for the same goal.

Mr. Al-HADDAD (Yemen): Mr. Chairman, it is most fitting that you, a distinguished diplomat from Finland, should be presiding over the proceedings of the First Committee at this highly important session of the General Assembly.

My delegation has listened with great attention and interest to the many valuable contributions made in this hall since the Committee began its consideration of item 125: Review of the implementation of the Recommendations and Decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its special session.

The convening of the special session devoted to disarmament on the proposal of the non-aligned countries represents a landmark in the annals of the United Nations. Our work today could be described as an honest endeavour to strengthen the chances for a tangible result in the field of disarmament and arms control. In fact, the convening of the special session, with such global attendance, offers a unique opportunity for all States, big, medium and small, nuclear and non-nuclear, to demonstrate through their united and collective action their determination to liberate humanity from the nightmare of war and destruction.

As you rightly said at the start of the Committee's substantive work on this item, our debate should be "action-oriented".

That is why the delegation of Yemen, which had made its modest contribution during the special session, shares the conviction of many representatives in this Committee that the adoption of the Final Document by consensus represents an encouraging sign for progress towards achieving the objectives of the special session. However, we recognize that the process of general and complete disarmament is far from being obtainable under the prevailing circumstances, which can be characterized by aggression, occupation and foreign domination. My delegation has, in its address at the special session devoted to disarmament, stressed the need for removing these circumstances as a prerequisite on the road to disarmament and effective arms control.

(Mr. Al-Haddad, Yemen)

In this connexion, greater efforts must be exerted to assist the people living under colonial rule and foreign occupation, whether in the Middle East or in Africa, in their just struggle to exercise their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

In our view, the elimination of all forms of injustice and occupation should begin, as a step towards reversing the arms race. Furthermore, the existing massive accumulation of armaments and the acquisition of nuclear capability by the racist régimes in the southern part of Africa and in occupied Palestine pose the gravest threat to the peace and security of all independent neighbouring States and, consequently, present an increasingly dangerous obstacle to the process of partial or general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

It is a well-known fact that armaments and the build-up of arms run counter to international peace and security. In the meantime, it has encouraged certain adventurous régimes to occupy others' land by the exercise of force and military supremacy. It is therefore essential, in the search for agreed measures for general and complete disarmament - that steps be taken to disarm the aggressive and racist régimes in Tel Aviv and Pretoria, in fulfilment of the objectives of the session.

One of the most urgent steps which seems to have acquired world-wide consensus is the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty. The conclusion of such a treaty would undoubtedly restrict the arms race and, consequently, would halt any further competition for qualitative refinement of both nuclear and conventional weapons. In this regard my delegation confirms its support for the proposal made by the Soviet Union for the conclusion of a convention guaranteeing the security of the non-nuclear States.

By restructuring the international disarmament machinery giving it additional new members and a rotating chairmanship, the General Assembly at its special session on disarmament has removed one of the stumbling blocks which had hindered the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament for the past years.

It is our hope that the new Committee on Disarmament can proceed to fulfil its mandate next January 1979, guided by the principles of the Charter and the

(Mr. Al-Haddad, Yemen)

provisions of the Final Document adopted at the special session of the General Assembly three and a half months ago.

With the collective determination and political will of all States and peoples of the world, the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective arms control can be achieved.

The CHAIRMAN: Before adjourning the meeting I wish to announce the following additional sponsors of draft resolutions now before the Committee: for draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.2, Romania; and for draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.5, Senegal.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.