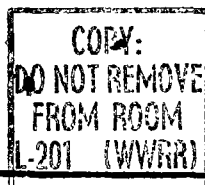


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THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION  
*Official Records\**



FIRST COMMITTEE  
25th meeting  
held on  
Thursday, 4 November 1982  
at 10.30 a.m.  
New York

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 25TH MEETING

Chairman: Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway)  
(Vice-Chairman)

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ENGLISH

The meeting was called to order at 10.50 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 39 TO 57, 133, 136, 138 AND 139 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. TARI (Israel): As this is the first substantive statement by my delegation, I should like to join other delegations in offering our best wishes to our Chairman and to all the officers of the Committee. I should also like, at the outset, to record our deep satisfaction that this year's Nobel Peace Prize has been conferred upon two personalities active in the field of disarmament: Ambassador Garcia Robles of Mexico and Mrs. Alva Myrdal of Sweden.

Throughout the years, my country has been a constant supporter of meaningful moves to promote disarmament on a global and regional scale. As in the past, our general debate on disarmament in the First Committee of the General Assembly has covered a wide range of subjects during the past weeks and has once again expressed mankind's awareness of its tragic inability to call a halt to its drive towards possible self-destruction. Indeed, as the late Nobel Peace Prize winner Philip Noel-Baker, for whom Israel has the greatest respect, noted in 1958:

"The arms race in its modern form of constantly increased preparation and counter-preparation, with ever new and more potent weapons, began only about three-quarters of a century ago. But with each decade it gathered momentum, and the pace since 1945 has been incomparably swifter than ever before."

Lord Bertram Russell wrote simply yet profoundly on nuclear disarmament in 1959 that:

"The peril involved in nuclear war is one which affects all mankind and one, therefore, in which the interests of all mankind are one. Those who wish to prevent the catastrophe which would result from a large scale H-bomb

(Mr. Tari, Israel)

war are not concerned to advocate the interests of this or that nation, of this or that class, or this or that continent.... The arguments that should be employed ... are concerned solely with the welfare of the human species as a whole and not with any special advantages to this or that group."

Lord Russell's words, written at the height of the cold war, are just as meaningful today, not only with regard to the great Powers whose interests span the globe, but for the majority of States, for whom it is regional matters of security, military preparedness and disarmament that pose questions of immediate concern. For those States currently in situations of conflict, these questions may be real and immediate matters of life and death.

The ever-recurring question then, is where does one draw the line or find the golden mean between the welfare of the human species, however localized, and States' interests?

In the past, the arms race was confined to the main contenders for supremacy, the major Powers of the day. This was true of the situations prevailing prior to the outbreak of the two World Wars and also in the 1950s and 1960s.

A number of factors have contributed to a change in the character of the arms race. Even the very term arms race is misleading today, because the competition for the acquisition of more arms is now being conducted simultaneously in different regions of the world.

The Foreign Minister of Singapore, speaking on 24 September 1979, noted:

"If the global crisis is left unresolved, the indications are that in the 1980s civil wars, small-nation wars and proxy wars will spread further in the third world. Already across southern Asia, South-East Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Central America, border and territorial disputes, recollections of injustices from times past and social upheavals are igniting countless conflicts...." (A/34/PV.6, p.41)

(Mr. Tari, Israel)

Representatives will not be surprised to learn that in the region which most immediately affects my country, the Middle East, there currently exist numerous small, localized conflicts within States, as well as some 12 armed conflicts between States. One particular new factor deserves to be underlined in this connection.

An unspoken taboo has prevailed in the United Nations for too long, which has prevented an unbiased discussion of the full impact of the soaring costs of petroleum on the world economy, on the amount of economic assistance to developing countries and on the proliferation and stockpiling of modern arms in parts of the world that have hitherto been spared the deadly contagious disease we call the arms race. Recently, however, the submerged anxieties over oil prices have erupted into open outbursts in some United Nations forums. The extensive discussions on disarmament in this Committee, encompassing a variety of factors present in the international arms build-up, can no longer be considered relevant unless the oil factor is included.

The Middle East, an area of profound and recent change, has recently seen a rapid growth in financial resources. Figures on the growing volume of arms transfers in the 1970s demonstrate that the greatest single boost to arms sales in the past decade came with the increasing wealth of this region, which found its first global political expression in the 1973 oil embargo and the resultant quadrupling of oil prices. Billions of dollars devoted to this purpose were disbursed from the coffers of the oil-producing countries. As the 1980 yearbook of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) noted:

"The explosive rise in crude oil prices has brought new and quick 'wealth' to some Middle East countries, which has been used for expensive purchases of modern arms and military equipment as well as for investments in respective infrastructure projects."

(Mr. Tari, Israel)

Indeed, the four main oil exporters are also the leading importers of arms in the Middle East. In 1979, one of them, for example, spent \$14.5 billion on military equipment, a huge jump from the \$2 billion spent in 1973. In fact, last year the same country spent more on armaments than seven countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) combined. One major war currently being fought in the region between two neighbouring countries also involves massive expenditures.

As Mrs. Alva Myrdal, former Minister of Disarmament of Sweden, noted in "The Game of Disarmament" in 1979:

"With the monopolistic rise in oil prices, some underdeveloped countries have suddenly become very rich and these countries have become major importers of highly sophisticated and expensive weapons.... (One country), for instance, in the Persian Gulf, with only around a million inhabitants, will have one of the world's most modern air defence systems."

In the developed countries, of course, the cycle has been completed by the rationalized necessity to meet huge deficits and national balances of payment and to provide employment. Even neutral States have joined the competition in the arms market for such reasons.

Indeed, this inflow of wealth has helped transform some Middle East oil-producing countries into regional weapons stores aimed at re-exportation. The outstanding example, of course, is a desert country with a population of two million and peaceful borders.

(Mr. Tari, Israel)

A paradox has indeed developed. As the SIPRI yearbook of 1981 noted: "Financial support from several of the richer countries of the region in turn allowed also some of the poorer countries to embark upon ambitious arms producing schemes."

In this Committee we have often heard the complaint that while enormous sums are being spent on research and development of armaments, comparatively little is being spent on helping the developing countries of the world. This is a justified grievance. Furthermore, there exists a tragic discrepancy within the third world between the lack of development on the one hand, and the presence of modern sophisticated means of destruction on the other. We have witnessed in the last decade the chilling spectacle of sophisticated airplanes with computerized weapons systems, being flown over fields that have never seen a tractor and where sowing is still done with the help of a wooden plough. One would wish that the dispensers of modern technology to the third world would be as liberal with aid in agriculture as they are in modernizing warfare.

My delegation deeply regrets the limited success of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, held last summer. But may I join the representatives who stressed that the time has come to increase our endeavours in order to make substantial progress in the vital field of disarmament. This Committee has been entrusted with a major responsibility by the second special session. We have no right to fail. Even knowing the unavoidable limitations of a body such as this Committee in altering the course of events, we should be able to do more than quibble over wording of paragraphs in repetitive draft resolutions. We should be able to promote the concrete confidence-building measures this Committee is aiming at.

In the foreword to his report on the "Economic and Social Consequences of the Armaments Race and its Extremely Harmful Effects on World Peace and Security", the Secretary-General notes that this report:

(Mr. Tari, Israel)

"... stresses the increasing interdependence of a world confronted with problems that either cannot be resolved except by joint efforts, or whose solution by national or regional means would be at much higher cost." (A/37/386)

My delegation acknowledges the reality of this axiom. But it is also of the view that when global solutions are out of reach or even far away, a regional approach could be the only way to not only solve regional problems, but also to contribute in concrete, though limited, terms to the solution of global problems.

Being situated in an area characterized by tensions and a frantic arms race bearing special relevance to international peace and security, Israel could not fail to pay special attention to the regional approach to disarmament. Therefore, Israel has advanced proposals for regional measures based on important principles and guidelines specific to the regional approach to disarmament. Israel regards it as imperative that the initiative for regional disarmament and the consultations necessary for reaching this aim originate with the States of the region and that they conduct negotiations with each other. Undertaking such a move would by itself constitute a valuable step in the direction of building much-needed confidence among the States of the region.

If this Committee were to agree to the establishment of regional disarmament commissions, as suggested by the Permanent Representative of Israel, we would at least give Member States a viable alternative to hostilities through the provision of institutional facilities for negotiations on arms control. We would then give practical substance to Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Finally, I should like to make a brief reference to the question of nuclear-weapon-free zones. Ever since the problem of nuclear armaments was raised in international forums, Israel has consistently supported resolutions aimed at preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Over the years, Israel has conducted several studies on this subject. The main question today is whether this objective can effectively be achieved without taking into

(Mr. Tari, Israel)

consideration political problems of even greater complexity. Nuclear proliferation cannot simply be inhibited by unilateral acts, since that would solve little in many areas characterized by numerous conflicts and constant rivalries and tensions.

In Israel's opinion, the most effective means of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons is through the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, by adopting the Latin American model (the Tlatelolco Treaty).

Israel has, of course, elaborated views on the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East. It will express these views before the First Committee on an appropriate occasion.

In closing, I should like to quote from the great scientist and philosopher, Albert Einstein, who wrote in 1946 that:

"Science has brought forth the danger, but the real problem is in the minds and hearts of men."

The choice between hope and destruction is still ours. Let us not wait until we have lost it forever.

Mr. CHANANA (India): During the past few weeks, this Committee has heard a number of important and thought-provoking statements. Unfortunately, we have also been witness to unproductive and bitter polemics which certainly do not advance the cause of disarmament. In handling the issues of peace and security, of the survival of our species, it is imperative that all States act with restraint and prudence, in particular those who bear the primary responsibility for disarmament. This return to the era of antagonism, of confrontation, this incomprehensible lack of sensitivity to the concerns of the vast majority of peoples and countries of the world, should alert us to the danger of allowing our common destiny to be determined by the policies of a handful of powerful nuclear-weapon States. The majority must assert itself and not allow the cause of human survival to become a casualty of the policies of rivalry and confrontation among the major Powers and the alliance



(Mr. Chanana, India)

systems headed by them. As a non-aligned country, India cannot and will not accept the role of a helpless spectator on the sidelines, while this slide towards mass annihilation continues. Together with other non-aligned and developing countries, we intend to raise our voice against forces that threaten our collective survival and join hands with the peoples all over the world who are beginning to stand up and say "Enough".

We sympathize with those in this Committee who have experienced a sense of frustration and even despair over the lack of results of our work. True, while the number of resolutions on disarmament adopted by the General Assembly has increased over the years, progress in the implementation of genuine measures of arms limitation and disarmament has, at best, been slow and halting. But this sense of despair and disappointment must not blind us to the true cause of the lack of progress in disarmament. It is the major Powers, which bear the primary responsibility for the pursuit of disarmament, which have made a mockery of the multilateral process and have undermined the authority of the General Assembly. We are all for consensus resolutions. We welcome the evolution of agreed positions on matters of international peace and security. The democratic principle is the essence of the United Nations system and therefore collective action is most effective when it has collective endorsement and sanction.

However, over the past several years how many consensus resolutions adopted by this Committee have been cynically and contemptuously ignored by those of its members which are militarily the most powerful? The Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was adopted by consensus, and yet four years later its principles, priorities and provisions remain in the realm of paper hopes. Determined efforts are still being made to repudiate the commitments solemnly entered into in 1978, even though a reaffirmation of the Final Document was made at the second special session devoted to disarmament without any reservations from any - and I repeat, any - Member State. The fate of the nuclear test ban is a case in point.

The majority of States represented in this Committee are not responsible for the sad state of affairs that we are witnessing today. It is those that have adopted and then contemptuously discarded the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly which bear responsibility for the erosion of the credibility of this world body. It is strange to hear some of those very countries calling for fewer resolutions and less debate in this Committee. Having effectively reduced this body to a state of impotence they now wish to reduce it to a state of innocence as well. No, the majority in this Committee must not allow itself to be silenced in the search for empty consensus. Consensus should not erode conscience. My delegation is not greatly worried by the so-called proliferation of resolutions. A proliferation of resolutions is preferable to a suppression of the voice of sanity and reason, the voice of the majority.

I should now like to take up certain important arguments that have been advanced in this Committee concerning the vital issues on our agenda, namely, the prevention of nuclear war, a nuclear test ban and nuclear disarmament.

Almost every statement that we have heard, both in plenary meetings and in this Committee, has drawn attention to the growing danger of the outbreak of a nuclear war. We join hands with those who have rejected the dangerous doctrines of nuclear deterrence and of limited or protracted nuclear war and have called for urgent measures to rid the world of the nuclear peril. My delegation, along with those of other non-aligned countries, is gratified at the support that has been voiced for our proposal to conclude an agreement on the prohibition of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. We are willing to consider any other proposals or ideas that would serve to reduce the risk of nuclear war. The cause of human survival demands that we bring into full play the creativity and intelligence of the entire collectivity of mankind. No one has a monopoly on wisdom in this respect.

What we cannot accept, however, is the idea that nuclear deterrence is necessary to prevent the outbreak of all war, both nuclear and conventional. To claim, as some speakers have done, that nuclear deterrence has kept the peace in Europe is to advance an argument that can be neither proved nor disproved. What can be proved, through historical experience and undeniable fact, is that reliance on the doctrine of nuclear deterrence lies at the very heart of the nuclear arms race, in both its quantitative and qualitative aspects. Would the advocates of nuclear deterrence deny that Europe today is a region with the highest concentration of both nuclear and conventional armaments and that the logic of deterrence is still fuelling an even greater saturation of that continent with more deadly and destructive weapons? That nuclear deterrence has kept the peace in Europe is not an argument; it is a superstition, and it is a superstition that mercifully is being increasingly put under rational scrutiny.

It has been stated that the prevention of nuclear war cannot be considered except in the context of the prevention of war in general. One speaker argued that "It would be an unacceptable simplification to detach the problem of preventing nuclear war from its overall context. Anyone who advocates this must answer

the question of whether starting a conventional war is not reprehensible. Human life must be protected, irrespective of the weapons threatening it".

The question that speaker posed has been answered many times in the past, by my delegation among others. Adopting measures for the prevention of nuclear war cannot be equated with encouraging conventional wars. This is an illogical corollary to draw from a faulty premise. We all accept the principle of refraining from the use or threat of use of force enshrined in the United Nations Charter. Measures to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war would strengthen this principle, not transcend it. And prevention of nuclear war goes beyond the security of States; it touches upon the very survival of mankind. It is reprehensible to start a conventional war. A war in which conventional weapons are used would cause widespread death and destruction. But a nuclear war would endanger not just human lives, but life itself. A nuclear war would be war against humanity, war on a scale and of a magnitude that not even the most destructive conventional war could possibly equal.

Prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons to ensure the survival of mankind is not equivalent to sanctioning the use of all other weapons. The international community has prohibited the use of chemical and biological weapons. Does this imply that the use of all other weapons is sanctioned? In 1980 certain categories of inhumane conventional weapons were banned. Does this mean that States can therefore freely use other weapons in armed conflict?

(Mr. Chanana, India)

If we were to accept the argument that has been put forward by some speakers that prevention of nuclear war must be considered only in the context of preventing all wars, then no purpose would be served by seeking negotiated prohibitions on the production and use of certain specific categories of weapons. This argument would imply that all weapons must be outlawed at once, or none at all.

Incidentally, it is these self-same States which argue for a step-by-step approach to disarmament and dismiss comprehensive measures as unrealistic and impractical.

I should now like to turn to the question of a nuclear test ban. Once again this Committee has been compelled to bear witness to a blatant disavowal of solemn treaty commitments and a contemptuous disregard of the strong sentiments of the international community in favour of the urgent conclusion of a treaty on a nuclear test ban. To state, as the United States representative did on 27 October 1982, that:

"... a comprehensive test ban remains a long-term United States arms control objective" (A/C.1/37/PV.13, p.29-30)

is not compatible with the commitments assumed by States parties to the 1963 partial Test Ban Treaty. In the preamble of that Treaty, the States parties solemnly committed themselves to:

"Seeking to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time, determined to continue negotiations to this end ..." (ENDC/100/Rev.1)

The disavowal of this commitment could have far-reaching adverse consequences on the confidence of States in solemn undertakings enshrined in international legal instruments. Those who emphasize the importance of mutual trust and confidence among States as a precondition to progress in disarmament must reflect upon the consequences of their own actions.

The question of verification has once again been brought up as the major obstacle to the conclusion of a treaty on a nuclear test ban. It has been argued that such a treaty must be adequately verifiable and generate confidence among States parties that "militarily significant"

(Mr. Chanana, India)

testing is not taking place clandestinely. Yet when we asked the States concerned to tell us what they considered "adequate" from the point of view of verification, in the Working Group on a nuclear test ban in the Committee on Disarmament, we drew a blank. Nor did we have much success when we asked them to be more specific about what constituted "militarily significant" testing. They told us we should not play a numbers game with such concepts. Yet in the past, it is they who ran rings around the international community with a dazzling numbers game involving so-called yield levels and seismic wave magnitudes.

Verification is not the real issue. The reluctance of certain powerful States to agree to an immediate cessation of the testing of nuclear weapons can be traced to other causes. Just a few days ago, we learnt that nuclear weapon experts in one major nuclear-weapon State have on their drawing boards a new generation of nuclear armaments whose heat, radiation or blast effects can be used far more selectively than those of existing weapons. These so-called third generation nuclear weapons will, of course, require a sustained testing programme, so that the nuclear arms race can continue on its destructive course. That is the real reason for the failure to conclude a treaty on a nuclear test ban, not verification.

Several speakers have stressed that the highest priority is attached to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. In this connection, references have been made to proposals for a freeze on nuclear weapons. It has been argued that what is required is a reduction of existing arsenals and not a codification or perpetuation of existing imbalances. Here again, we have an argument based on the same faulty logic that has been used to criticize proposals for the prevention of nuclear war. Proponents of a freeze on nuclear weapons are not arguing - and never have argued - against the reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons. To argue for a freeze is not equivalent to arguing against reductions in nuclear weapon arsenals. In fact, all freeze proposals are at pains to emphasize that such a measure is only a first but necessary step towards the reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear weapons.

(Mr. Chanana, India)

The logic of a freeze lies in its simplicity, in its enabling the process of nuclear disarmament to get started.

In 1964, while putting forward a proposal for a freeze on strategic delivery vehicles, based on what was then called "a common general philosophy" of arms limitation and disarmament, the United States representative in the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC) argued:

"This philosophy is that a logical first step is to freeze things where they are and thereby remove future obstacles to disarmament."

As for the argument that a freeze may result in a so-called codification of existing inequalities, I can offer no better argument than that offered by the same United States delegate in 1964, who said:

"Regardless of which side is ahead, these are the weapons which appear most threatening to all countries."

Frankly, my delegation is a little surprised at this talk of freezing of inequalities, and disincentives to disarmament, held to be inherent in the freeze concept. What about the grave inequalities which exist, for example, between the nuclear-weapon States on the one hand and the rest of the world on the other? Not only is this inequality being perpetuated but, in fact, with the nuclear arms race acquiring greater momentum, the gulf grows wider and wider. And yet there are enthusiastic proponents of a freeze on this unequal and discriminatory situation, even while leaving the nuclear-weapon States to pursue their feverish accumulation of nuclear armaments without let or hindrance.

The vast majority of the countries represented in this chamber yearn for a peaceful and orderly world in which we can pursue urgent goals of economic and social development. The arms race, particularly in its nuclear aspect, runs counter to the vital interests of these States and threatens their survival. The destiny of their peoples and the future of their children is being held hostage to the rivalry and confrontation among the major Powers and the alliance systems headed by them.

(Mr. Chanana, India)

As a responsible member of the majority, and as a non-aligned country, India remains committed to working for the early attainment of the goal of general and complete disarmament. From our experience, we know that the continuing arms race and the economic and social development of the three quarters of humanity which lives in poverty are incompatible. Despite setbacks and disappointments, we retain our faith in the triumph of human wisdom and the reassertion of man's instinct for self-preservation. It will be our endeavour to continue to arouse our collective conscience in the defence of peace. As the Prime Minister of India said in her message to the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament:

"In a war, the dominant thought is to win. Can we do less for peace?"

(A/S-12/PV.9, p. 93-95)

Mr. ADELMAN (United States of America): I speak today to agenda item 133 (d), concerning the World Disarmament Campaign. The United States supports the achievement of a truly universal, comprehensive and objective world-wide discussion of disarmament.

Over and over again in this century wars have been started by Governments opposed to the principle of free expression, Governments which deny their people a true voice in their governance and instead purport to speak on their behalf. Free nations do not want or choose war. Free speech leads them towards justice; freedom of opportunity offers progress without recourse to violence; and political freedom ensures that Governments reflect the views and concerns of their people.

Throughout this troubled century the United States has never been at war with another country committed to democracy and the free expression of ideas, whatever their content. Indeed, it has supported the process of democratic change from its inception as a nation, and it champions peaceful change today. In the contemporary world, as it has always been, the least free and most repressive countries are the main instigators of international tension and conflict. It is Soviet troops which are in Afghanistan today; Vietnamese troops which are in Laos and Cambodia



(Mr. Adelman, United States)

today; and Cuban troops which are in Angola and Ethiopia today. And it is Soviet weaponry, introduced through Cuba and Nicaragua, which is playing so active a destabilizing role in Latin America and which fuels the ambitions of such irresponsible dictatorships as Libya.

A working group of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament produced a consensus document last summer for a truly universal and effective World Disarmament Campaign. The language of the document is clear and unequivocal. It stipulates that the Campaign:

"should be carried out in all regions of the world in a balanced, factual and objective manner"

and that its universality:

"should be guaranteed by the co-operation and participation of all States and by the widest possible dissemination of information and opinions on questions of arms limitation and disarmament, and the dangers relating to all aspects of the arms race and war, in particular nuclear war."

(A/S-12/32, annex V, p. 1)

It also says that the Campaign "should provide an opportunity for discussion and debate in all countries on all points of view relating to disarmament issues, objectives and conditions."

Those are admirable goals. Now it is up to all Governments of the world to put those clear principles into practice, to realize in concrete deeds and in their day-by-day actions what all Member States of the United Nations have already endorsed in words.

In the United States and in all other open, democratic societies, the workings of a free, multi-sided media ensure that essential information about security and disarmament is readily available to the public. Scores of public and private institutions are working actively to propagate their views on arms control and security issues. No censors or commissars impede the flow of public information. Demonstrations are not staged, nor is participation in them restricted to those invited by the Government.

(Mr. Adelman, United States)

Unfortunately, this is not the case everywhere. In the Soviet Union and in other countries following similar domestic repressive policies, only that information which supports official Government positions can circulate freely and be openly and publicly discussed, even when it affects the most profound issues for mankind as a whole. Those who do demonstrate for peace and disarmament without permission run the risk of prison or internal exile.

It is particularly ironic that the Soviet Union's domestic actions contrast so sharply with its rhetorical support for peace movements in free countries. While the Soviet Union cynically seeks to exploit the noble aspirations of the peace movement in other States, it simultaneously inveighs against pacifism and arrests those who take part in unauthorized peace activities in its own country. The message is clear: for the Soviet Union, peace and disarmament are issues for propagandist exploitation abroad, but not for free discussion at home.

If the Soviet representative speaks, as he did here yesterday, of 20,000 demonstrations with over 60 million participants, the question is not one of peace, but only whether those persons had the option of not participating, or of expressing their views freely. They had no such choice, because freedom of expression - much less spontaneous demonstration - does not exist in the Soviet Union.

Let me cite a few examples - all recent, some continuing - from a dismal Soviet and Eastern European record in the treatment of their own incipient, authentic peace movements.

In contravention of the Helsinki Accords, the Soviet Union regularly jams Western radio broadcasts and strictly limits the circulation of foreign books and newspapers to keep its citizens from hearing about or discussing disarmament, as well as other topics, with foreigners. Ordinary Soviet citizens are admonished not to be in contact with foreigners, and KGB surveillance of foreigners generally intimidates Soviet citizens from contacting outsiders.

In the German Democratic Republic we even witness the remarkable spectacle of government repression of peace movements which use symbolic arm patches showing the beating of swords into ploughshares, a symbol reflecting the most basic

(Mr. Adelman, United States)

ideals of the United Nations Charter itself and a symbol similar to the monument that the Soviet Union presented as a gift to the United Nations. These arm patches were denounced by a frightened East German régime that considered such a pacifist image to be "the expression of a mentality hostile to the State and proof of membership of an illegal political association". Students and workers wearing "swords into ploughshares" patches face expulsion from school or their jobs.

In Czechoslovakia, members of Charter 77, a reformist group dedicated to the upholding of the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Accords and the United Nations Charter, have been harassed, arrested, and told not to discuss disarmament, as well as other topics.

During August the Polish authorities cynically sought to manipulate the Pugwash Conference in Warsaw to legitimize the ruling Jaruzelski régime. To their credit, the American contingent voted beforehand at Boston not to participate as an official group, and many individual European scientists chose to boycott the Conference. An open letter to the Conference from Nobel Peace Prize laureat Andrei Sakharov, dealing with issues of the arms race and condemning the closed nature of the Soviet Union and other "socialist" countries, was never put on the agenda - nor was the destabilizing and repressive situation outside the halls of the Pugwash Conference in Poland itself.

In regard to the arms race, the Sakharov letter reads:

"In the last decade there has been a very substantial increase in the Soviet army, navy, missile arsenal and air force, while the countries of the West, Europe especially, have weakened their defence efforts. The SS-20 missiles have changed the strategic equilibrium in Europe, although those who take part in pacifist demonstrations seem not to notice this fact."

Sakharov concludes his letter by urging that:

"there must be international efforts, efforts made by all honest people, to defend human rights, to overcome the closed nature of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries".

It is incumbent upon all countries in the United Nations to heed Sakharov's plea.

(Mr. Adelman, United States)

In January the official Soviet newspaper Pravda carried an enthusiastic editorial hailing the anti-war movement in Western Europe as "the vital cause of the peoples". The same newspaper had earlier declared that the Soviet internal

"propaganda must decisively rid itself of the traces of pacifism that are occasionally to be found in some instructional or propaganda materials."

And in February, on the occasion of Soviet Army-Navy Day, the Soviet Chief of Staff, Marshall Ogarkov, published a booklet deploring "elements of pacifism" among citizens of the Soviet Union.

Last spring several people attempted to unfurl a little hand-lettered banner in Red Square in Moscow with the Russian words for "Bread, Life and Disarmament". They were immediately arrested by the Soviet State Security Police. One wonders which of these three words was considered so dangerous that it had to be hidden from the people of Moscow.

In early summer an international group of peace advocates was towed out from Leningrad harbour after releasing 2,000 balloons carrying the message "USSR Stop Nuclear Testing Now". The Soviet explanation: "The peace advocates' vessel 'Greenpeace' was polluting the harbour". In reality it seems clear that the Soviet authorities regard spontaneous peace movements as the most dangerous pollutant of them all.

In July a group of several hundred Scandinavians who visited several Soviet cities on a peace march - billed in the Soviet press as the counterpart of similar marches in the West - learned that their marches had to be done the Soviet way. Soviet speakers, ignoring previous agreements, introduced Soviet political themes and disarmament proposals. Marching was cut to a minimum and where permitted, was tightly controlled. An effort was made to exploit the group by setting up a rally at Katyn, the site of the infamous Soviet execution of 4,000 Polish officers during the Second World War. Discussions were orchestrated and translations of speeches falsified, and two members of an independent Soviet peace group seeking contact with the marchers were sentenced to 15 days detention to keep them away from the marchers. So much for the international walks for peace cited yesterday by the Soviet representative here.

(Mr. Adelman, United States)

Also this past summer, just after one of the largest peaceful disarmament rallies in American history took place in New York, Soviet police moved against 11 Soviet citizens who had announced the formation of a fledgling independent disarmament group called the "Group to Establish Trust between the USA and the USSR". The group appealed -- very much in the spirit of the second special session on disarmament Working Group that same month -- for the widest possible access to information on questions relating to disarmament and arms limitation. They called on my Government, as the Soviet Government has, to ratify the SALT II Treaty. They called for a four-sided dialogue to include the Soviet and American publics along with their Governments on the issue of peace. They asked for permission to hold a real demonstration -- one not planned, sponsored and orchestrated by the Soviet Government -- in Moscow in support of disarmament.

As a result of these activities several members of the group were arrested and charged with "hooliganism". And on 6 August, the spokesman for that group, 25-year-old Sergei Batovrin, the son of a Soviet diplomat attached to the Soviet United Nations Mission from 1965 to 1970, was confined for a month in a psychiatric institution where he was forcibly treated with a powerful debilitating drug. His main sin seems to have been that in a country where suspicion is all-pervasive, he was notable for his openness and lack of suspicion. Perhaps, like anyone who had grown up in the United States, he had taken freedom for granted.

Just this week -- last Monday, 1 November -- Soviet authorities once again prevented a news conference by Batovrin's battered group of peace advocates, barring both members and Western reporters from the building where the meeting was to take place. Batovrin, who would have been making his first public appearance since his release from detention, was prevented by Soviet security agents from even leaving his apartment. The meeting was to have dealt with Oleg Radzinsky, a young linguist arrested last week for "anti-Soviet agitation". Before his arrest Radzinsky had had the temerity to call for an international observance of 10 minutes of peace during which all work would be stopped in the name of disarmament.

(Mr. Adelman, United States)

The very virulence with which these peace advocates have been harassed and suppressed illustrates the utter intolerance of the Soviet and Eastern bloc authorities of any challenge to the official Soviet policy of "peace" or to its carefully nurtured official image of a nation totally supportive of the ruling Communist Party's peace initiatives and policies. The Soviet Union yesterday pledged 1.5 million rubles to the disarmament campaign, a gesture of rich irony from a country where no true disarmament movements are allowed.

The Governments of the free world cannot and do not persecute or stifle their critics, whether we like them or not. We know that much of the progress of mankind -- in the arts and sciences, in the mastery of disease or the conquest of space, in the persistent assertion of human dignity and the rights of man -- is due to the work of courageous individuals who challenge falsehood in the name of truth, who speak for justice in the face of repression. We know better than to condemn critics to psychiatric wards, and we will not recoil if the passion for truth leads people to question our weaknesses or to expose our wrongs.

We have welcomed dissidents from the inception of the American republic, beginning in fact with those who landed at Plymouth Rock in 1620. Nor have these dissidents come only from Western Europe. Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Czechs and people subjected to totalitarian Governments elsewhere have flocked to these shores in search of self-expression and the right of individuals to shape their own lives. Those seeking freedom of intellectual and artistic expression have not threatened but vastly enriched the quality of thought and the fabric of our culture. Each, whether Solzhenitsyn, Rostropovich, Baryshnikov, General Grigorenko or a lesser known figure, has made a unique impact.

In early September 20 American leaders of the Movement to Freeze Soviet and American Nuclear Arsenals -- including among them a Nobel Prize winner, the chairman of the Council for a Livable World and one of the few American members of the Soviet Union's Academy of Sciences -- sent a letter to President Leonid Brezhnev protesting the Soviet efforts to "harass and persecute" their Soviet counterparts. A portion of that letter reads:

"The double standard by which the Soviet Government abides -- applauding widespread debate in the West, while crushing the most benign form of

(Mr. Adelman, United States)

free expression at home - only strengthens the complex of forces that impel the nuclear arms race."

That is from the letter of the nuclear-disarmament leaders in the United States.

The United States Government fully subscribes to that sentiment. That is why the United States would welcome a truly universal disarmament campaign allowed by all the Governments of the world, a campaign that meets the criteria established and agreed to by all Member States at the second special session on disarmament.

For our part, we are giving concrete expression to our commitment to increase freedom and openness, not only at home but in the international arena as well.

Let me review briefly some of the recent initiatives which the United States has undertaken in this regard.

The United States has engaged in an extensive active dialogue with the Soviet Union on important world issues. As one element of this, President Reagan offered recently in Berlin to provide President Brezhnev with an opportunity to speak on world issues directly to the American people on United States television if the Soviet leader provided a reciprocal opportunity. He also proposed that Soviet and American journalists exchange views in their respective media.

(Mr. Adelman, United States)

President Reagan also proposed, then and there, a number of new strategic confidence-building measures to foster greater openness and greater understanding. These include reciprocal United States-Soviet Union exchanges on advanced notification of major strategic exercises and on launches of intercontinental ballistic missiles within as well as beyond national borders; and an expanded exchange of strategic force data.

The United States also has supported and respected arrangements promoting greater openness in military matters as an outgrowth of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

At the second special session on disarmament this summer, President Reagan proposed the convening of an international conference on military expenditures to give a much-needed stimulus to the reporting of military budgets by countries, some of which continue to shroud their real military spending in secrecy and mask it behind patently false statistics.

In yet another effort to shed light on an important matter of world concern, the United States has strongly supported the efforts to induce the Governments of the Soviet Union, Laos and Viet Nam to facilitate access to areas where chemical weapon attacks have taken place over the last several years, so that the United Nations Group of Experts can conduct an impartial and complete investigation of these profoundly disturbing illegal and inhumane practices.

In arms control negotiations, we have pressed for acceptance, on a mutual basis, of appropriate verification measures to enhance mutual confidence, credibility and trust.

All these proposals represent specific and practical steps to increase freedom, openness, understanding and confidence; to flood light into areas hitherto shrouded by excessive obsession with secrecy and control; and to lessen the dangers of international miscalculation and misunderstanding. We would welcome the free flow of information on disarmament among citizens of all countries. Two days ago Americans in nine states exercised their right to vote in referendums on various disarmament issues. We regret that supporters of peace elsewhere still lack these basic rights. But we urge all other countries to undertake - in deeds, not only in words, at home as well



(Mr. Adelman, United States)

as abroad - concrete efforts to promote an unhindered flow of information to all peoples of the world and to permit the widest possible freedom of public expression and assembly on the crucial issues of world peace and disarmament.

Mr. SIBAY (Turkey): Mr. Chairman, as this is the first time the Turkish delegation has spoken here during this session of the General Assembly, allow me to commence by expressing my delegation's pleasure at seeing Ambassador Gbeho presiding over the Committee as our Chairman, together with you, Sir, and Ambassador Carasales as our two Vice-Chairmen and Mr. Erdenechuluun as our Rapporteur. I present to you our congratulations and our pledge for maximum possible collaboration in the Committee's work within the context of our policies and perspectives. At this point I also wish to express to Ambassador Golob of Yugoslavia our deep admiration and gratitude for his skilful conduct of our deliberations last year in this Committee.

At the same time, we wish to convey our warm felicitations to Mrs. Nyrdal of Sweden and Mr. Garcia Robles of Mexico for their well-deserved award of the Nobel Peace Prize. We also cherish with deep respect the dignified memory of the late Lord Noel-Baker.

We are assembled here to discuss outstanding disarmament issues in the wake of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and the summer session of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva.

Complex social, political, economic and humanitarian questions, which have somehow come to be accepted as constants of our times, are still affecting and afflicting international peace, stability and prosperity. New eruptions of armed conflict in different parts of the world have increased our sense of deep anxiety over the present world situation. The recent dramatic developments in the Middle East, the continuing tragedy in Afghanistan and the mounting terrorism and violence throughout the world remain causes for grave concern for the entire international community.

(Mr. Sibay, Turkey)

Determined efforts to alleviate some of the most persistent of these problems during the past year in other international forums, within the United Nations system and through bilateral contacts has yet to produce positive results.

On the other hand, in determining our expectations from our present and future efforts in the field of disarmament, the Turkish delegation believes that it is essential to focus on those elements and dynamics which define the state of affairs among nations.

The single remedy for the apparently undesirable current dynamics, in my delegation's opinion, would be the maximum exertion of efforts to build mutual trust among nations and thus gradually establish a feeling of confidence. Experience has amply proved that in the absence of mutual confidence no negotiation on security and disarmament matters stands a fair chance of success.

The delegation of Turkey firmly believes that this lack of confidence is the main factor underlying the unsatisfactory proceedings of the second special session on disarmament and such crucial forums as the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the talks on mutual and balanced force reductions in Vienna and the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean.

In that respect, we are of the opinion that, if at the forthcoming Madrid session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe a mandate could be drawn up in connection with a European disarmament conference, with a view to negotiating militarily significant, binding and verifiable confidence-building measures that would be applicable to the entire continent of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals and from northern Europe down south to the Mediterranean basin and the Balkan peninsula, it would indeed be a most outstanding achievement. Turkey is intimately involved in the proceedings of the negotiations on force reductions for central Europe, as a flank country, and we certainly hope that the draft text recently submitted will be utilized for a breakthrough in the apparent stalemate.

(Mr. Sibay, Turkey)

Another situation where confidence building is urgently and clearly needed for the elimination of the current impasse may be observed in the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean. The adoption of more restrained and reassuring courses of action as part of the policies of the States concerned with respect to the current situation in the Indian Ocean basin would certainly clear the way towards the holding of a conference on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

(Mr. Sibay, Turkey)

We believe that only through a spirit of a commitment to rebuild confidence would it be possible to attain verifiable and balanced conclusions in these arms control and disarmament efforts.

In that context, the Turkish Government hopes that the current negotiations on the intermediate-range nuclear missiles on the European continent and the efforts to reduce the strategic nuclear weapons can be concluded in a manner beneficial to the interests of all our nations.

In the broader perspective, what remains of primary importance is the effective evolution of a reliable régime for banning all nuclear tests. In that respect, Turkey notes the setting up of the working group within the Committee on Disarmament and hopes that in the 1983 proceedings of the Committee on Disarmament a satisfactory arrangement will be charted out for alleviating the present concerns over verification, so as eventually to provide momentum for the world community's efforts towards the conclusion of an effective and verifiable comprehensive test ban treaty.

Such a treaty would not only pre-empt further vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons, but would also discourage their horizontal proliferation. If such promising conditions could be brought about, we believe that the groundwork would be laid out for an efficient implementation of the other set of objectives foreseen within the context of the non-proliferation philosophy, namely, the enhancement of the peaceful nuclear programme of the developing countries.

To look at these issues from another angle, it could, we hope, be argued that the areas we have briefly touched on, namely, the mutual balanced force reduction and Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe talks, intermediate- and long-range missile negotiations and test-ban efforts are not devoid of positive promise for the future. Under the effect of widespread pessimism that unfortunately has been reigning lately over disarmament efforts as a whole, we tend to overlook the positive aspects of our undertakings.

One, and perhaps the most substantial positive aspect of these undertakings is, in our view, the reaffirmation of the validity of the tenth special session's Final Document. Although not much has been achieved in the way of realizing various recommendations contained in that Document, the universal expression of continuing commitment to its letter and spirit demonstrates the sincere aspirations of the international community to a more secure world order.

(Mr. Sibay, Turkey)

The launching of the World Disarmament Campaign is another cause for cherishing high hopes for a better future. We hope that through this Campaign, large segments of our societies will be exposed to the current international situation as it truly is and will have ever-increasing access to information essential for the proper formation of their perspectives on global issues.

Last year's United Nations study on the relationship between disarmament and development highlighted the potential advantages that could be derived from even a partial shifting of our limited resources from security-oriented expenditure areas to those aimed at accelerating the process of development which is undoubtedly a legitimate fundamental concern for the great majority of nations. My delegation hopes that our work this year will provide for an effective and pragmatic follow-up of those recommendations.

Among other developments in the United Nations Disarmament Commission this year, the adoption of guidelines for the Expert Group in preparing the study on conventional weapons deserves, in our opinion, particular mention.

Besides the welcome decision of the Geneva Committee on Disarmament to set up an ad hoc working group in connection with the test-ban efforts, this year has witnessed important developments in the work of the Committee on the issues of the verification of a chemical-weapon ban, the prevention of the prolongation of the arms race into outer space and negative security assurances.

On the issue of the consideration of a possible expansion of the Committee, my delegation notes with deep regret that the generally gloomy atmosphere prevailing over the proceedings of the twelfth special session of the General Assembly has allowed for only an inconclusive appreciation of the legitimate demands of certain countries that apparently felt the need of and demonstrated sincerity in expressing willingness to take part in multilateral disarmament negotiations. Consequently, the issue was referred back to the Committee for its conclusive resolution.

(Mr. Sibay, Turkey)

I quote now from the relevant paragraphs of the current report of the Committee on Disarmament to the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly:

"The Committee recognizes the legitimate concern of non-member States in the success of disarmament negotiations and their right to participate in multilateral negotiations.

"No objection in principle was raised to a limited expansion of the membership, but there are differences of opinion over how best to deal with it in practice...

"...proposals were made on the question of criteria and procedures for limited expansion, as well as on a possible revision of the organizational structure of the negotiating forum, etc. The Committee intends to continue its examination of these matters during the 1983 session and will report on the results to the thirty-eighth regular session of the United Nations General Assembly." (A/37/27, paras. 18, 19 and 20)

There is not much to add to that, other than saying that a few minutes ago I briefly touched upon some positive developments in the work of the Committee on Disarmament this year and that those developments constitute good examples of positive responses to the aspirations of the General Assembly. If credibility and an atmosphere of good will are to be restored in our work within the confines of this Organization, the General Assembly can only be expected to watch attentively for such positive responses to its other aspirations as well.

Nevertheless, we believe that there seems to be a practical measure that can be implemented without any difficulty in the interim period until the thirty-eighth General Assembly. Under section IX of the rules of procedure of the Committee, non-member States have been invited to participate in its work. However, this participation by non-member States and their access to formal and informal documents are subject to certain restrictions. The Turkish delegation believes that, pending the final conclusion of this important issue next year, a rational amelioration of such participation would be instrumental in the disposition of a favourable attitude on the part of the present Committee members which would merely be in conformity with the repeated statements of good intent and understanding on various previous occasions.

(Mr. Sibay, Turkey)

Turkey hopes that our deliberations this autumn will further enhance the common understanding among our Governments on the absolute necessity of sincere efforts towards the attainment of a climate of confidence, so vital in bringing about tangible elements of progress in disarmament.

I pledge at this point my delegation's sincere intention to collaborate constructively for the realization of such a climate.

Mr. AL-ATASSI (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic):

This is the first time that my delegation has spoken in this Committee. I should like to say that we are happy to see Mr. Gbeho presiding over our work and we should on this occasion like to congratulate him on his unanimous election. We are convinced that with his wisdom, tact and diplomacy, which are known to us all, the success of our work will be ensured. I should like to assure him of the co-operation of my country in all the activities of this Committee.

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

On this occasion, we also wish warmly to congratulate Ambassador Garcia Robles of Mexico and Mrs. Alva Myrdal on the occasion of the award to them of the Nobel Peace Prize.

Over three months ago, the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was held, and the least we can say is that it failed to achieve its objective. We were unable to adopt what we should have adopted during that session in respect of disarmament, namely, the comprehensive programme of disarmament. The expectations we had for that session were disappointed and despair and pessimism began to cast a shadow over international relations. Most of the statements made at the special session reflected that situation and painted a tragic picture of the world today. Attention was insistently drawn to the dangers faced by mankind's loss of control over the problem of armaments. A warning was voiced regarding the bleak fate awaiting all of mankind. The statements also expressed the desire of non-nuclear States, which represent the majority of countries in the world, to ensure their protection against the use of nuclear weapons or the threat of the use of such weapons.

Today, our First Committee is again considering the same items that it has been considering for many years, as if repeated consideration would lead to achievement of the desired objective, namely, the vision of a world where security and safety would prevail, a world in which States would co-exist through relations based on equality, mutual respect and non-interference in their internal affairs, a world in which a nuclear catastrophe no longer threatens human civilization with widespread destruction and even extermination.

Today, as our Committee resumes its debates, a question arises in the minds of us all: what are we going to discuss? Everything that can be said has already been said at past sessions either in this Committee or in other United Nations forums. We are still in a vicious circle and still faced with the same question: why has the international community been unable to achieve any progress in the field of disarmament?



(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

Before attempting to address that question, let me quote the noble objectives enunciated in paragraph 126 of the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament in 1978:

"In adopting this Final Document, the States Members of the United Nations solemnly reaffirm their determination to work for general and complete disarmament and to make further collective efforts aimed at strengthening peace and international security; eliminating the threat of war, particularly nuclear war; implementing practical measures aimed at halting and reversing the arms race; strengthening the procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes; and reducing military expenditures and utilizing the resources thus released in a manner which will help to promote the well-being of all peoples and to improve the economic conditions of the developing countries." (S-10/2, para. 126)

Let us now revert to our first question and let us try insofar as possible to determine the causes of this ailment. As described in most statements, the international community in its present condition is unable to achieve any progress in disarmament. Confrontation between nuclear-weapon States has replaced the policy of dialogue and détente. Tension in relations gradually escalated until it became a feature of the present era. This was followed by recourse to violence and to the use of force and aggression in settling disputes. Thus, the necessary confidence in relations between States has been lost; as a result, the military machine was maintained, and it was felt that military competition was inevitable and that all scientific progress should be placed at its service.

We are therefore living in the middle of an arms race and flouting all the principles and purposes in which all the peoples of the world believe. The nuclear arms race threatens all of mankind and present stockpiles of nuclear weapons are sufficient to destroy the world several times over. If such a war were unleashed, there would be no vanquished and no victors, and life on earth would be doomed to disappear. Hence, to say that a nuclear war can be localized and that victory is possible is simply to live in a world of dreams. Any such thought is absurd.

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

True constructive action to protect mankind from the dangers of nuclear war is a responsibility incumbent first and foremost on the nuclear Powers. Part of that responsibility is assumed by small and non-nuclear countries, because war makes no distinction between small or large, nuclear or non-nuclear States. We are proud of the great responsibilities assumed by the Non-Aligned Movement in the action it has taken to protect mankind from the danger of annihilation. We pay a tribute to the past and present efforts by the Non-Aligned Movement despite the aggravation of the international situation.

Since we are speaking of true constructive action, my delegation wishes to take this opportunity to express its appreciation and satisfaction to the Soviet Union for its initiative, which was taken at the highest level, namely that the Soviet Union will not be the first to use nuclear weapons against any other State.

This is the Committee concerned with disarmament, but it is also the Committee that deals with international peace and security because of the close relationship between armaments and peace and security. We see the security of the world continually deteriorating and we wonder what the real reason for that is. The only explanation, in our view, is the re-emergence of international imperialism bent on establishing domination over the world, especially the third world, the idea being that its peoples should remain backward in their civilization and progress and be a fertile field for political and economic exploitation in which neo-colonialism excels. World imperialism, mainly represented by the United States, has greatly contributed to the military, political and economic campaigns against the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The United States, in its campaign, does not simply restrain those who seek freedom and national independence. It goes further, by raining death and destruction on all who seek to escape from American hegemony and it does so by implanting racist and Zionist bases and minority régimes such as those of Tel Aviv and Pretoria.

The United States of America provides those two régimes with modern military hardware and the most lethal weapons. The racist régime in South Africa is taking a heavy toll of African freedom fighters, just as the Zionist régime in occupied Palestine is killing many Lebanese and Palestinians.

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

The destruction of the Lebanese capital by the Zionists was carried out by American aircraft provided by the United States to Israel, by American tanks and by American financing. The destruction of the capital of Lebanon was carried out with weapons given freely to America's favourite ally: The children, women and elderly persons killed during the invasion of Lebanon were the victims of the cluster bombs offered by the United States to Israel.

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

The United States does not only provide the Zionists with the means of destruction but tries to hinder the action of the United Nations, which is our only hope for the realization of the objectives of disarmament, by abusing the right of veto in the Security Council to prevent sanctions being applied against Israel either for its annexation of the Golan Heights or for its latest invasion of Lebanon.

In southern Africa the United States hinders peace efforts aimed at liberating Namibia. In this connection we should remember the pressure exercised by the United States of America to have the International Monetary Fund (IMF) offer \$1,000 million in special drawing rights to the racist régime in South Africa.

In dealing with the question of disarmament, my delegation starts from a common position shared by the non-aligned and other peace-loving countries. That situation is based on the close relationship between disarmament and true peace. There can be no peace without comprehensive disarmament. Just as the arms race threatens international peace and security, the achievement of world peace through disarmament should go hand in hand with the struggle against colonialism until its total elimination and the liquidation of apartheid, Zionism and racism in all its forms, because these are all threats to world peace. In the Syrian Republic we look forward to peace, and together with other peoples seek to bring about a better world.

In this connection, I wish to emphasize that peoples should not despair and remain impassive, waiting for war to be unleashed. They should act to maintain international peace and security. In our view there can be no peace and security until we banish forever all forms of tyranny and oppression. My delegation wishes to reaffirm that world peace and security can only be guaranteed by eliminating hotbeds of tension and aggression, as represented by the Zionist régime in occupied Palestine and the apartheid régime in South Africa.

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

At a time when we speak of disarmament and the need to establish effective measures to eliminate the spectre of war and restore confidence in international relations, my delegation believes that we must take up another important question, which has already been mentioned by many of my colleagues here and which is closely connected to disarmament. I am referring to the relationship between disarmament on the one hand and world economic and social development on the other.

The Secretary-General, in his report to the second special session devoted to disarmament, quoted mind-boggling annual figures for armaments throughout the world. An astonishing \$600 billion was squandered on weapons. If one part of that sum were earmarked for development programmes in the developing countries to provide food for the population, there would not be in the world today 600 million persons suffering from malnutrition and one and a half billion homeless living in tragic circumstances, with over one quarter of the children of the world deprived of education and food. If those billions were spent on the development of poor countries and on improving the standard of living of their people there would be no more exploitation and poverty in the world.

We wish to recall here that the developing countries are the first to suffer from the arms race, because they are attempting to defend their independence and territorial integrity and are compelled to obtain weapons at the highest prices, to the detriment of the well-being of their people.

My delegation urges the Committee to make every effort to achieve the task that the special session devoted to disarmament was unable to achieve. We sincerely hope that this will be done. It might confine itself to analysing the present situation and evaluate the causes of the failure of the second special session. We should concentrate on important disarmament questions, such as the creation of demilitarized zones, the consequences of the arms race, its limitation and the prohibition of chemical weapons. Similarly, our Committee should give priority to conventional disarmament, primarily sophisticated weapons, since those weapons are used in many conventional wars.

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

The fact that my delegation does not mention other disarmament items is not because we are not interested in them but because they have been discussed at great length, and all that is needed are good intentions and the political will to succeed.

The Syrian delegation supports the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, free of nuclear weapons as it does those relating to Latin America, Africa and the Middle East. Permit me to dwell somewhat on the last two questions, by which I mean the declarations of Africa and the Middle East as nuclear weapon-free zones. These two regions are plagued by two barbarous enemies who resent their peoples and plan to establish their hegemony, expansion and domination. They have succeeded in introducing nuclear weapons into these two regions, with the co-operation of their Western allies, in particular the United States of America, despite the aspirations of the African and Arab peoples to live in peace, far from any nuclear threat.

It is no secret to anyone that nuclear co-operation between the racist régimes in Palestine and South Africa is a source of concern for all peoples, because the philosophy of those two régimes is similar and both are outlaws. The first, the Pretoria régime, was expelled from our international Organization, and almost the whole world severed relations with it. The other, the racist régime in Palestine, during this year alone refused to implement many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, requesting it to withdraw its forces from the occupied Arab territories and condemning its aggressive acts in Beirut, Jerusalem and on the Syrian Golan Heights. It is in every way a régime hostile to peace, as laid down in resolution ES-9/1 adopted on 8 February 1982.

The establishment of a nuclear weapon-free zone in the Middle East is closely connected with the restoration of peace in the region. What peace are we talking about at a time when much of Arab territory is under the yoke of Israeli occupation, when the ink with which the law for the annexation of the Golan Heights was written, a law signed by the terrorist Begin, has hardly dried.

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

What peace are we talking about at a time when Israel is occupying Beirut and invading innocent Palestinian refugee camps, killing hundreds of elderly persons, women and children? We are convinced that the creation of nuclear-free zones in the Middle East will remain a dead letter in the present international situation. It is ironical and ridiculous to be told that the Zionist enemy has what it calls a plan for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East. In fact, this is no more than a lie and nuclear blackmail, starting from a position of force. The allegation was repeated in the statement made by the terrorist Shamir before the General Assembly on 30 September 1982 when he said that none of the conflicts between the States in the Middle East should be allowed to obstruct the way to creating a nuclear-weapon-free zone, and that the Israeli Government was ready to start negotiations.

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

These words are nothing but lies and sheer blackmail. Shamir knows that Israel is the only country in the region to possess nuclear weapons. Israel has many times refused, and it still refuses, to place its nuclear facilities under safeguards and inspection. Israel is the only country in the region to refuse to accede to the international Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Their allegations are a mere propaganda campaign to mask Israel's aggressive actions in the region.

My delegation would like to remind the international community of Israel's aggression against the Iraqi nuclear facilities, which were intended to be used for the economic and social development of Iraq through the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Iraq is among the countries which have acceded to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and it has placed all its nuclear facilities under the safeguards régime of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

Israel's act of aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations constitutes an act of defiance against the right of countries to benefit from the technological advances and place them in the service of economic development. We therefore condemn Israel's aggression and call on the international community to put an end to Zionist arrogance.

This leads us to the question of Israeli nuclear armaments. Nothing could be more indicative or significant than the important report submitted by the Secretary-General to the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly contained in document A/37/431. That report states inter alia that:

The Group of Experts considers that the possession of nuclear weapons by Israel would be a seriously destabilizing factor in the already tense situation prevailing in the Middle East, in addition to being a serious danger to the cause of non-proliferation in general. However, they wish to add the final observation that it would, in their view, contribute to avoiding the danger of a nuclear arms race in the region of the Middle East if Israel should renounce, without delay, the possession of or any intention to possess nuclear weapons, submitting all its nuclear activities to international safeguards, through adherence to a nuclear-weapon-free zone in accordance with paragraphs 60 to 63 of the Final Document of the



(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament (resolution S-10/2) and with Assembly resolution 35/147, through accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, or by unilaterally accepting such safeguards." (A/36/431, annex, para. 83)

We urge the international community to condemn Israel's nuclear armament. Our Committee should furthermore assume the responsibility of calling on States to refrain from exporting technology and radioactive substances to Israel. The international community is also requested to call on those countries which have not already signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty, particularly the Zionist régime in Israel, to do so.

Finally my delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the Committee on Disarmament for its efforts during its last session. In our view, that Committee is the most effective negotiating forum, and we attach vital importance to it as a means of protecting mankind from the danger of destruction and annihilation. That being so, my delegation considers it important that Syria become a member of that Committee, on the basis of existing procedures. We consider that the phenomenon of mass participation in the expressions of opinion which took place during this year and in the period preceding the second special session on disarmament is a sign of vitality and helps to induce those who hold in their hands the fate of mankind to respect the wishes of the masses and their yearning for peace, security and an end to the arms race.

Mr. AL-DOSARI (Bahrain)(interpretation from Arabic): Since this is my first statement at this session of the Committee, I should like to extend to Ambassador Gbeho our congratulations on his election to the chairmanship. I should like also to congratulate all the other Committee officers. The Chairman's task is not easy, but we are sure that, with his ability and experience, Ambassador Gbeho will guide our work to a successful conclusion.

(Mr. Al-Dosari, Bahrain)

Looking at the state of international relations, we see no real prospect of progress in international peace and security. New centres of tension appear daily, and the use of force is becoming the decisive factor in many regional conflicts, to the extent that logic and reason have little influence in bringing about a settlement of these disputes by peaceful means.

The tendency to use force in international relations has become a source of serious concern to many States which do not possess the weapons they need for self-defence. A recent example of the use of such force is the Israeli occupation of Lebanon, whose sovereignty Israel continues to violate, after destroying its cities and killing its citizens.

States have been discussing disarmament for many years now, but unfortunately neither the super-Powers nor other Powers have been able to make any progress in this area. Worse still, military expenditures and arms build-ups, both in the conventional and in the nuclear fields, have significantly increased. The question of disarmament is thus turning into a mirage and an impossible dream.

We believe that the super-Powers should continue their negotiations on strategic and conventional arms reduction in good faith, with a view to arriving at a genuine, verifiable and effective agreement. The question of nuclear weapons is no longer the concern only of those countries which possess such weapons; it is the concern of mankind as a whole, because a nuclear war would mean the end of civilization.

There should be a freeze on the production of nuclear weapons as a first step towards general and complete disarmament. World military expenditures are increasing at a fearsome pace; some States are even allocating a major part of their gross national product to armaments. The major weapon-producing Powers are using the third world States as a market for the export of their weapons of destruction.

(Mr. Al-Dosari, Bahrain)

Unfortunately, billions of dollars are being spent on arms at a time when millions of people are suffering from hunger and deprivation and cannot satisfy their basic needs. My delegation supports the recommendations of the first and second special sessions on disarmament. I shall not dwell on this, but I should just like to emphasize here once again that any recommendation is worthless and will remain a dead letter unless it is taken seriously.

We would join preceding speakers in calling for the Middle East to be declared a nuclear-weapon-free zone and the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, to be protected from international conflict, particularly in view of the recent intensification of major-Power activities in the Indian Ocean.

The Israeli attack against Iraq's peaceful nuclear facility is unprecedented in international relations. Until that happened, no country had ever bombed the peaceful nuclear facilities of other States. The Israeli aggression against Iraq was a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law and practice. Israeli tactics, full of arrogance, show that Israel is a State that does not hold peace dear, and its actions are not in accordance with its pledges to the United Nations when that Organization legitimized it as a State and accepted it as a Member at the expense of the expulsion of the Palestinians from their homeland where they had lived for thousands of years.

The world now knows that Israel has nuclear weapons; various studies and reports made by the United Nations and other scientific bodies have confirmed that fact. However, Israel denies this and is deceiving world public opinion by its false statement that it would not be the first to introduce such weapons into the Middle East. In this respect Israel was misleading its ally and the source of its strength, the United States of America, until the Central Intelligence Agency was able to discover the truth about the "textile plant" which is in fact a nuclear reactor.

Israel also proved to excel in maritime piracy, and stole quantities of uranium from some Western countries. Those robberies showed that Israel is a State without principles, for it is hard to conceive of a State robbing an ally which gave it life, and provided all sorts of economic and military

(Mr. Al-Dosari, Bahrain)

assistance. What is worse is that the Western countries kept the matter secret for many years, and made no attempt to punish Israel for its crimes or exercise pressure to recover the stolen uranium. We may ask what those Western countries would have done if a State other than Israel had committed those historic robberies, and whether they would have remained silent.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon showed world public opinion more clearly than ever before the barbarous nature of Israeli policy. Israel has been duping the world for many years by claiming that it wants peace and peaceful coexistence with its neighbours. In spite of its military superiority it savagely bombed cities, villages and refugee camps. In so doing it used the most modern and deadly American aircraft, dropping tons of cluster bombs and phosphorus bombs on Beirut, even though they are internationally prohibited. Millions of people have seen on television the acts of genocide against civilians, old people, women and children, the result of insensate Israeli air raids.

It is high time for Israel to stop talking about nazism, because the Israelis themselves are proving to be neo-Nazis.

Mr. NUNEZ MOSQUERA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): One of the items on our agenda to which my delegation attaches the highest importance is that relating to the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. Since the adoption of the Declaration by the General Assembly more than 10 years ago, events have occurred in such a way that they affect its effective implementation, against the legitimate interests of the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean.

It has been recognized on many occasions that the adoption of specific measures to achieve the objectives laid down in the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace is imperative, since it would represent a valuable contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security.

In accordance with these criteria, the General Assembly decided to convene a conference on the Indian Ocean in 1981 in Colombo, Sri Lanka. But for reasons of which we are all well aware, it was not possible for that event to take place as intended. Far from it, foreign military bases in the region were expanded and reinforced; the imperialist military and weapon build-up, in keeping with its

(Mr. Nuñez Mosquera, Cuba)

strategy for the region, was increased; co-operation with South Africa in all fields was enhanced; interventionist rapid deployment forces were moved and, lastly, pressures of every kind and interference in the internal affairs of States in the region also increased.

My delegation condemns the past and present efforts to defer to the Greek Kalends the convening of a conference on the Indian Ocean. Such actions are conducive to the exacerbation of international tension and foster confrontation, thus enriching the culture plate and spurring the arms race, and the increase in military expenditure.

On the other hand, it is quite clear that by not allowing and, indeed, placing barriers to the holding of the conference, going so far as to include the threat to withdraw from the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean, an attempt is being made to hinder the struggle of national liberation movements to eliminate colonialism, racism and apartheid, and at the same time to disregard the principle of peaceful coexistence.

We most strongly support the convening of a conference on the Indian Ocean at the scheduled time, that is to say, the first half of 1983, in keeping with the wishes of the overwhelming majority of States represented here. It is high time to give proof of good will and co-operation.

Today we heard the representative of the United States speak about democracy and freedom. Why do not the people who call themselves the champions of democracy adopt, even if it is for the first time in this Assembly, a democratic attitude and permit the convening of a conference on the Indian Ocean in the first half of 1983? Further still, why do they not vote in favour of the resolutions on the denuclearization of Africa, or in favour of the prohibition of nuclear tests, or in favour of the establishment of a working group in the Committee on Disarmament to prevent a nuclear war, or in favour of the initiation of urgent negotiations on nuclear disarmament, or in favour of the condemnation of the Israeli nuclear weapon, or in favour of the non-use of force in international relations?

(Mr. Nuñez Mosquera, Cuba)

Why, for example, did it not give visas to the thousands of peaceful citizens who were unable to come and speak freely to the United Nations during the people's march when the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was being held? Finally, why does it not act democratically in accordance with the desires of the international community? On the contrary, rather than playing a constructive role, it uses its statements here to make insolent attacks on sovereign States or to threaten to withdraw from certain international organizations, including the United Nations. Threats by the United States to withdraw from certain places are all the rage now, so we are waiting for it to threaten to withdraw from Guantanamo.

I do not need to speak at length to deny what the representative of the United States said about Cuban weapons and their alleged destabilizing role. Everyone here knows who is the champion of democracy and who is the champion of destabilization throughout the world. In any event, we understand the fury of the United States against our military forces, which have shown their efficiency and bravery in the face of the imperialists appetite: they are the people in uniform. The only thing that we are destabilizing is arrogance, and imperialism's policy of aggression at every level. Furthermore, long before the representative of the United States had even contemplated coming to the United Nations, the Cuban people already knew how to shout "The fatherland or death! We shall conquer!"

Another aspect that we do not wish to overlook in our intervention relates to the bilateral and trilateral negotiations which were under way on the control and limitation of armaments and which are now at a standstill following their unilateral, unjustified suspension. We should also demand the resumption of the bilateral negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on the Indian Ocean. They would certainly contribute to the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, and we should insist that they be resumed.

However, we are not concerned only about the item on the Indian Ocean. Bilateral or trilateral negotiations, as appropriate, should be resumed on the prohibition of chemical weapons, on the prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, and on outer space.

(Mr. Nuñez Mosquera, Cuba)

Those are questions that become more important with each passing day. While we believe that bilateral or trilateral negotiations can be no substitute for multilateral negotiations, we acknowledge that they help those negotiations and may well contribute useful elements.

With respect to the continuing bilateral negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States, we applaud their initiation but regret that there has been no tangible progress. We urge that they be speeded up so that they may end in practical results as soon as possible.

Another question to which we should give due attention is that of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. In this case there is no question of having a meaningless discussion about whether those weapons must first exist in order to be banned or whether it is better to have a comprehensive instrument outlawing the emergence of such weapons. Such a discussion would divert us from the main purpose of considering the question and would only delay the achievement of a specific and effective agreement on the subject.

The important thing here is to prevent the use of the development of science and technology for military purposes, through the production of new, increasingly sophisticated weapons, which we have no doubt would further complicate disarmament negotiations. Many outstanding scientists have said as much, and we must not allow a real danger to be minimized. Paragraph 77 of the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament says:

"In order to help prevent a qualitative arms race and so that scientific and technological achievements may ultimately be used solely for peaceful purposes, effective measures should be taken to avoid the danger and prevent the emergence of new types of weapons of mass destruction based on new scientific principles and achievements." (S-10/2, para. 77)

(Mr. Nuñez Mosquera, Cuba)

I draw attention to the words "and to prevent the emergence" of such weapons. The paragraph also says that specific agreements should be concluded on particular types of new weapons of mass destruction which may be identified. If that is so, why allow piecemeal interpretations of the paragraph? It is clear that we must negotiate an agreement, above all in the Committee on Disarmament, to prevent the emergence of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. That is what is said in the Final Document that we adopted by consensus in 1978.

The other alternative, although it exists, is only this: an option to deal with those weapons of mass destruction that can be identified. Let us hope that we shall never have to fall back on that alternative, because the history of disarmament negotiations has shown how difficult it is to prohibit any type of weapon once it exists.

My delegation considers that the same analysis applies in respect of outer space. Here, too, we would support an appeal to the Committee on Disarmament to initiate meaningful negotiations aimed at the adoption of a treaty prohibiting the stationing of any type of weapon in outer space. Preventing the arms race spreading to outer space means no weapon of any kind being stationed there. The Committee on Disarmament should start negotiations to that end without delay.

We view this subject in the same light as that of weapons of mass destruction, and we do not understand why obstacles to its being dealt with are being created, since, as the Concluding Document of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament declares, all States reaffirmed the validity of the Final Document of 1978.

In conclusion, I should like to make a few brief comments about the question of the reduction of military budgets. In my delegation's view, this aspect deserves very careful consideration, since the staggering military expenditures of today not only stimulate the arms race but also affect the social programmes on which millions of people in some countries depend, and certain measures are taken which have a powerful effect on social welfare.



(Mr. Nuñez Mosquera, Cuba)

We must keep this matter very much in mind, in order to approach military expenditures from the proper angle and consider them in all their magnitude. We must also analyse the evolution of the consideration of this item since the Soviet proposal was made for the reduction of the military budgets of the States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent, allotting the funds thus released for economic and social development. Since then we have seen the actions and efforts of those who oppose the reduction of military budgets, in order to hinder its effective implementation.

(Mr. Nuñez Mosquera, Cuba)

Now the United States delegation has put forward the idea of convening a conference on military budgets which would discuss not reductions, but only the transparency of information. Why, then, do the advocates of this idea not accept the immediate freezing of military expenditures, if they are really so concerned about the question? Why do they not accept the simultaneous freezing of all nuclear-weapon States of the qualitative and quantitative development of nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles and emplacement, if they are really interested in reducing military expenditures? Why do they not accept the initiative of specific negotiations on a ban of nuclear-weapon tests if they really wish to reduce military budgets? Is it that the adoption of specific disarmament measures will limit military expenditures, or is it that they do not want the adoption of specific disarmament measures?

My delegation is not prepared to support those who suggest measures which obviously hamper the effective reduction of military budgets and which are aimed at delaying the serious consideration of this important question. On the other hand, why are we being asked for data, information, transparency? So that all our activities can be put under surveillance by means of the powerful means of obtaining information that they possess? We are not prepared to agree to that.

These are not mere words and conjectures. We are not prepared to give information to those who have used and continue to use their extensive means of compiling, storing and processing data to the detriment of our legitimate interests and in particular the protection of our integrity and sovereignty. Recent events in the south Atlantic provide tangible evidence of how the so-called champions of transparency of information used all their technological resources, including their spy satellites, to provide the aggressor with military data on the Argentine Republic. We cannot permit this Organization to be used for special interests and we are not prepared to do so.

The CHAIRMAN: According to the Committee's programme of work, this was to be the last day of the general debate on all disarmament items. However, there are still 20 delegations wishing to speak. In order to enable those delegations to make their statements, I propose that the Committee extend the general debate for one day, so that it would conclude on Friday, 5 November. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Committee agrees to that proposal.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.