



*President:* Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

## AGENDA ITEM 8

### General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. DESSANDE (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Chad, I should like to express deep satisfaction and offer you warm congratulations on your brilliant election to the presidency of the tenth special session of the General Assembly. Your election is a recognition of your personal qualities and it is also an honour for your country, Yugoslavia, in view of the major role it has always played in the matter now under discussion.

2. My delegation also warmly congratulates Mr. Ortiz de Rozas for his energetic efforts as Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for this session. I am sure that under his effective and perspicacious guidance the Preparatory Committee, over which he was unanimously elected to preside, will make practical recommendations to the General Assembly.

3. I should also like to express to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, our deeply felt appreciation for the tireless efforts he has made to organize this session, which he has quite correctly described as "the largest, most representative meeting ever convened to consider the problem of disarmament" [*1st meeting, para. 36*].

4. I also take this opportunity to welcome the representatives of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and I hail their courage.

5. For the first time the United Nations has convened a special session of the General Assembly to discuss matters relating to disarmament. This historic decision demonstrates the great interest which the international community has in these problems, and it emphasizes the determination of the Members of our universal Organization to find a solution to these problems, which, in addition to seriously hampering normal relations, also endanger the inalienable right of mankind to life and the right of men, women and children to a bountiful life, to education, to health and to well-being in general. As preceding speakers have stressed, this session is proof that the question of disarmament has become a matter of universal concern. All Governments have now realized that in this nuclear age the arms race is increasingly threatening the lives of the peoples they govern.

6. Disarmament is no longer the exclusive concern of the two super-Powers or of a small number of States. This question, which was previously reserved for a few, can no longer be resolved unless all participate and unless there is strict international control for the benefit of all States, large and small, strong and weak. The level of debate and the participation of many heads of State or Government bear witness to the collective awareness of this problem, which is a serious threat to the human species.

7. Since 1945 disarmament has always figured prominently on the agendas of the various sessions. The United Nations, whose role is to do everything possible to preserve future generations from the scourge of war and to promote social progress and better standards of life, has adopted hundreds of resolutions relating to disarmament, which undoubtedly reflects the concern of its Members over the dangerous escalation of the arms race.

8. It is significant that the first of those resolutions, that of 24 January 1946, established a Commission which had the urgent task of submitting specific proposals to ensure that nuclear energy would be used only for peaceful purposes, and to ensure the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other weapons of mass destruction. In resolution 41 (I) of 14 December 1946, the General Assembly recognized the paramount importance of disarmament for international peace and security. A few years later it stated that the question of general and complete disarmament was the most important question the world had to face, and it then invited all Governments to do all they could to try to find a constructive solution to the problem, expressing the hope that as soon as possible measures would be drafted and adopted by consensus to move towards the objective of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

9. Twenty-four years after the adoption of the Charter, the General Assembly, in its resolution 2602 E (XXIV) of 16 December 1969, highlighted the serious dangers involved in the accelerated nuclear arms race and the heavy and unproductive outlay it involved for the peoples and countries of the north as well as of the south, and it proclaimed the 1970s the Disarmament Decade. It invited all Governments immediately to intensify their efforts to eliminate nuclear weapons and to conclude a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

10. So every year all aspects of disarmament, in terms of both substance and form, are discussed. Resolutions advocate a ban on nuclear arms tests and the establishment of denuclearized zones in various parts of the world. Other resolutions deal with the banning of chemical weapons, in-

cendiary weapons and other categories of conventional weapons, and call for the banning of research on or development of new weapons of mass destruction.

11. However, we must recognize that the measures taken and the resolutions adopted have not been applied, and all the efforts made have not yielded the desired results. The international community remains an impotent witness of the rapid escalation of the arms race and the growing danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. At the same time it continues to suffer from famine and above all from the persistence of unprecedented poverty. This testifies to the lack of political will of the heavily armed States to achieve positive results in this difficult and complex area.

12. Cynical efforts are made to convince us that real success has been achieved since the end of the Second World War. However, that is not the case. In fact, it has been more a question of limiting arms than of disarmament, more a question of regulating cut-throat competition and prohibiting some particularly undesirable inventions than of substantially reducing the scale of arms systems.

13. The Secretary-General referred to this situation in his report on the work of the Organization at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. He said:

“It is now becoming increasingly clear that such an approach is wholly inadequate to stem the tide of an innovating arms race, where technological ingenuity tends constantly to outstrip the pace of negotiations. We cannot take for granted, as a permanent feature of life, that new military developments must and will always be controllable in a stable balance of mutual or multiple deterrence. If we continue to try only to regulate or to temporize with the arms race, treating the symptoms rather than the underlying causes, we run an increasing risk of temporizing ourselves into oblivion.”<sup>1</sup>

14. We have already said that in the past the international community set itself the objective of general and complete disarmament. It endorsed that objective in a resolution adopted in 1961. It will be recalled that at that time the General Assembly unanimously adopted a programme for general and complete disarmament which gave us a glimpse of a world in which arms and military expenditure would be limited to internal police and security needs. Seventeen years have elapsed, and our objective is still eminently desirable, but still difficult to attain because we continue to excel in our own type of rhetoric. So since 1961 we have been deliberately ignoring the steps we must take to achieve the very praiseworthy objective we have set ourselves. We are still groping for the key to this problem, and on our success, as we all know, depends the very survival of our threatened human species.

15. What seems paradoxical is that, as it seeks the key to the problem, the world community, now polarized, is still using the dignity of the human race, our intelligence, our genius, our creative ability to continue to invent ways of self-destruction.

16. We venture to believe that it is because we want to move forward that we all find ourselves here today. Experience has unfortunately shown that we have suffered many more failures than encouraging results, in spite of our frequently stated good intentions. Whilst it is true that the last two world wars, which spared no people, broke out in Europe, it is more difficult today to believe that a war would necessarily break out in the northern hemisphere. The climate of détente must work for the whole world.

17. In order that our society may regain the confidence it has lost, we must draw up specific agreements to ensure as stable a balance of forces as possible at as low a level of arms as prevailed at the beginning of the present century. The most important aspect requiring an urgent solution is the elimination of nuclear weapons and of other weapons of mass destruction. In creating this new atmosphere of confidence, the super-Powers have a responsibility commensurate with their destructive capacity.

18. It is henceforth imperative that the United States and the Soviet Union should reach agreement in the negotiations on the limitation of strategic arms, which are followed with such interest throughout the world. We feel that such an agreement is a prior condition for nuclear disarmament. There are grounds for involving all the nuclear Powers in the negotiations, in so far as the objective is not simply to eliminate nuclear weapons from the United States and Soviet national arsenals but to eliminate the national nuclear stockpiles of all the States which possess these death-dealing devices.

19. The Supreme Military Council, the Provisional Government and the people of Chad are following with great interest the work of this session. For us it is absolutely necessary to halt the mad escalation of the arms race, which is creating in various parts of the world an insane militarism. Unfortunately, this militarism is becoming totally absurd and scandalous, and it is using ways of thinking which are totally opposed to reason. As that militarism develops, confidence among States ceases to guarantee the rights of States and is replaced by fear and intolerance. Those who practise militarism are using anachronistic principles to impose their own will in the region to which they belong and are a threat to those around them. They are also trying to undermine the natural desire of their neighbours to choose their own political, economic and social institutions. The trend towards militarism can lead to war, particularly at a time when the nuclear threat is constantly growing. This dangerous trend is completely inadmissible, not only because it is outdated but, above all, because it is contrary to respect for the principle of the equality of peoples and their right to self-determination and the obligation for all to abstain from the threat or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

20. Militarism in a country reflects the imminent dangers which can flare up at any moment. It is the negation of the principles of peaceful coexistence. Africa's concern over the nuclear threat from South Africa is legitimate. The behaviour of the Pretoria régime in southern Africa is the most striking example given by a militarized country. We

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Supplement No. 1, sect. IV.*

must spare no effort to discourage that régime's desire to acquire nuclear weapons.

21. The excessive armaments which are sought by certain Governments give rise to a strange feeling in relations between States. The Charter of the United Nations contains principles on relations between States which are perfectly in keeping with the requirements of peaceful coexistence. As everyone knows, these principles have created a sound basis for guaranteeing international peace and security. They are also a valuable contribution towards the effective expansion of co-operation among all nations.

22. My country, Chad, has always been aware of the need for States to base their relations on those principles. Since independence our guiding principles have been the principles of the United Nations, the non-aligned movement and the Organization of African Unity. Our foreign policy and our relations are based on those principles, because our Government has always fulfilled in good faith its obligations deriving from the various charters to which it has subscribed.

23. We are convinced that understanding among States is irreversible. It is a prelude to a just and lasting peace, which all regions of the world seek. We believe in seeking and working for a climate of confidence.

24. We believe that finding a solution to the question of disarmament involves struggling against national pride, compounded by blind chauvinism, and the aggressive superiority complex of most régimes in the world. It also means combating the new tendency towards annexation, invasion, occupation and interference in internal affairs, which has become the philosophy of many Governments. Solving the problem of disarmament also means opposing the new hypocritical methods to which some Governments have had recourse as a means of undermining the independence and social progress of other States. It also means struggling against a new imperialism and a new form of hegemony which can take as many varied forms as the means available to the practitioners of those policies.

25. This new imperialism and inclination to hegemony led the head of the diplomatic service of Chad, representing General Felix Malloum Ngakoutou Bey-Ndi, President of the Supreme Military Council and Head of State, to say at the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Colombo in August 1976:

"We have noted that some States are more imperialist than others which they are constantly attacking. We must be very consistent and logical. Those States are the ones which are encouraging and financing subversion, rebellion and internal disorder in other States through subsidies and advice and by maintaining mercenaries on their territories."

26. We see disarmament as a general mobilization of the international community against under-development and poverty and against injustice. We also see it as a general mobilization in favour of just causes and to ensure the triumph of, and full respect for, the principles of sovereign equality, non-recourse to the threat or use of force, the in-

violability of frontiers, the territorial integrity of States, the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-intervention in internal affairs and respect for national rights, principles which for Chad constitute the basis of a just settlement of any dispute.

27. My Government's only desire is to ensure national reconciliation and to work for the well-being of the people of Chad and the gradual integration of the national economy. Our only desires are peace, prosperity and good relations with all States in the world that respect the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Chad.

28. We know that we have much to do, and we know that peace and security are prerequisites for any economic, technical or cultural development. We denounce any attempts at destabilization of our country as well as the introduction of arms of all kinds. History will judge all those who continue to send to Chad the most sophisticated weapons, thus inciting the sons of Chad to kill one another. Currently, surface-to-air missiles, Sam 7s, 106-mm cannons and 57-mm recoil-less cannons, 60-mm mortars, anti-tank weapons and RPG-7s are to be found all over Chad, not to mention heavy machine-guns and the many personal weapons.

29. The weapons I have just listed have been brought to Chad and placed in the hands of the sons of that country without the knowledge of the legitimate authorities. Weapons of this kind are being used daily at focal points of tension deliberately created by those who seek buyers likely to spread and defend their ideologies.

30. All those who have introduced these weapons with the aim of fulfilling their covert intentions are responsible for everything that is happening in my country. We wonder why, in making patently false allegations, they are trying to make Chad a theatre of sinister events. Chad, whatever may be said, is certainly a nation. We reaffirm that nothing will alter the fact that we constitute a nation, for the nation to us is the idea of a homeland on the map, the idea of frontiers to be defended, the idea of the sovereignty of a people and its Government over a territory, the duty to defend these ideals by all available means. Such positions, in our country or elsewhere, must not be disregarded if we want to avoid pointless tragedy.

31. I cannot conclude this particular part of my statement on the effects of insane militarism on international relations without mentioning that genuine disarmament would do away with the focal points of tension now existing in various degrees in Africa and also in the Middle East. Because of its strategic position, that region is now becoming one of the major and most dangerous arsenals of the world—both from the qualitative and the quantitative viewpoints. Thus it is high time to halt the arms race, for, as we all recognize, the arms race is becoming a crime because arms, even if they are not used, condemn the poor to hunger in view of the tremendous sums of money expended on weapons. Disarmament is inseparable from the great objectives of mankind: unity, justice and harmony. The victory of disarmament will certainly be a victory for peace and the harmonious development of the peoples of the world.

32. No generation can boast of having achieved such significant scientific advances as ours. However, none has witnessed so much horror, loss of human life and material destruction as our generation during the past few years as well as equally brutal wars which are usually fought in the name of concepts as fanciful as ethnic superiority and ideological considerations. Given the unprecedented technical potential of mankind today, we can expect it to be used to solve many political, social and economic problems facing the international community. It must be used to combat poverty, ignorance, disease and hunger in the world.

33. The primary objective of any disarmament strategy must be to ensure that the human and material resources made available by disarmament will be placed at the service of the economic and social development of all countries, in particular the developing countries.

34. The policy of producing and stockpiling weapons of mass destruction is unacceptable and absurd. The arms race has long since entered the realm of the irrational, and a developing country such as mine cannot but be outraged over the fact that military expenditure throughout the world amounts to \$400 thousand millions a year, a figure which may double in the near future if this special session does not adopt disarmament measures.

35. Our world is seriously faced with a series of problems: the problem of the energy crisis as well as that of supplies of raw materials; the problem of pollution as well as that of hunger and disease.

36. We the developing countries must establish public services and create the necessary infrastructures in the health, education and housing sectors. It is an imperative duty for our Governments to do everything possible to protect the human environment and to ensure the economic and social advancement of peoples in general. One is therefore entitled to ask why vast resources that are now being squandered on armaments cannot be diverted to help suffering peoples to recover.

37. It is unthinkable that, while we recognize that these tremendous military expenditures of States are having the most adverse effects on the economic and social development of the world, we can continue to allocate to armaments the sum of over \$1 billion every day.

38. We are convinced that the \$1 thousand millions thus spent should have gone to improving, as the report of Ruth Leger Sivard on military and social expenditures in the world indicates,<sup>2</sup> the standard of living of 1 million people suffering from malnutrition out of the world population of 4.2 thousand millions; of 800 million illiterate adults; of 1.4 thousand millions who do not have any drinking water; of 800 million who do not enjoy basic comforts; and of 1.4 thousand millions who have no medical protection of any kind.

39. Because of its economic, social and political consequences the arms race is a serious obstacle to progress for the new international economic order, which all wish to establish to correct the economic imbalance between the developing and the developed countries.

40. The group of non-aligned States, upon whose initiative the Assembly is in session, has put forward several reasonable proposals for disarmament.

41. In addition to these proposals, many delegations have made specific suggestions of which the final objective is to halt the arms race. The exchange of views which we have begun since the start of the session will, we hope, make it possible to arrive at an effective negotiating machinery. Our session will have attained its goal only if we are able to come out of it with substantial and concrete results. We welcome any initiative aimed at the establishment of a democratic negotiating machinery for disarmament and a universal verification system.

42. That is why we greatly appreciate the French plan for establishing a satellite control agency under the jurisdiction of our Organization and subject to international control [see A/S-10/AC.1/7]. This plan, just like the plan of the Nordic countries, shows that some progress is being made in the area of verification for disarmament and should therefore be analysed with a view to immediately implementing the measures that it contains.

43. We support the idea of holding another special session in so far as regular meetings would enable us to evaluate the progress made. It is our inescapable duty to determine the principles, the priorities and the measures aimed at strengthening peace, security and confidence among our States. The peoples of the world have placed in us all their confidence and their hope. We must not disappoint them in the results of our work. Most delegations have told us that their Governments are ready to make sincere contributions to disarmament.

44. Chad has faith in reason and cannot but appreciate and support any initiative aimed at securing peace based on mutual understanding and justice. Our optimism leads us to believe that the current climate of international détente will be strengthened by the measures which the General Assembly intends to adopt. We believe in positive peace and we are convinced that with the prohibition of genocidal weapons the world will be able to distribute its wealth and resources equitably. We support any action against any form of imperialist enslavement, against exploitation and impulsive acts and we shall support any proposal designed to alleviate the suffering caused by the arms race. That explains our presence at this session.

45. Mr. AMIN (Afghanistan): Mr. President, permit me at the outset to express my sincere congratulations and those of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on the occasion of your election to the presidency of this important special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has pleasure in seeing an experienced diplomat and distin-

<sup>2</sup> *World Military and Social Expenditures 1976*, Leesburg, Va., WMSE Publications, 1976.

guished personality such as yourself from non-aligned Yugoslavia, with which Afghanistan has always had close and amicable relations, as President of such an important session.

46. My delegation also wishes to extend its heartfelt gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, for his tireless efforts and dedication to the cause of the United Nations and, in particular, to world peace.

47. As this is my first opportunity since the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to be present in this august Assembly, I consider it my duty briefly to draw the attention of representatives to the important historical and liberating event that has occurred in the life of the people of Afghanistan. The liberating armed uprising of the people of Afghanistan on 27 April 1978, marking the beginning of the national and democratic revolution carried out by patriotic officers and valiant soldiers of my country on the basis of the free will of the people of Afghanistan and under the creative leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, began a new era in the destiny of our people.

48. Throughout half a century the people of Afghanistan, under the oppressive and tyrannical régime of Mohammad Nader Shah's dynasty and its last despotic remnant, Mohammad Daoud, tolerated mediaeval anti-human miseries and tortures—a kind of colonial and tribal feudalistic régime connected with the dark reaction of imperialism. The ruling Nader-Daoud family represented the most reactionary type of feudal aristocracy, which tried every possible deceitful and Machiavellian means to prevent the rapid and healthy economic, social, cultural and political development of Afghanistan. Thus, by keeping the people of Afghanistan in ignorance and poverty, they safeguarded the greedy interests of their own family and those of the oppressive and exploiting ruling classes and internal and external forces of reaction.

49. To avoid talking at length, I call respectfully on the representatives and world public opinion to consider the facts and figures provided by the various organs and agencies of the United Nations and the other international organizations concerning Afghanistan as proof that Afghanistan, despite its enormous natural and human resources, remained during the 50 years of the dark régime of the aristocratic family of Nader-Daoud among the 20 least developed and most backward countries of the world—a situation which was no longer tolerable to the people of Afghanistan. During the past half-century all the necessary objective and subjective conditions have existed in the country and all the regional and international possibilities have been available for Afghanistan to rank among the developed and advanced countries and to fulfil actively its international obligations as regards peace, together with other peace-loving nations of the world.

50. These were the reasons for the triumph of the national and democratic revolution of the people of Afghanistan, culminating in the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The basic lines of our revolutionary duties, which the Government is charged with imple-

menting, were announced by Noor Mohammad Taraki, Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Copies of the basic lines of revolutionary duties of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have already been distributed to representatives for their perusal.

51. While the relations of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan with neighbouring countries in the region and the world are based upon their treatment of our democratic and national revolution, the peace-seeking foreign policy of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in accordance with the basic lines of our revolutionary duties, consists in the following: pursuance of a policy of positive and active non-alignment, in independence and on the basis of principles of peaceful coexistence; the establishment of relations of good-neighbourliness, friendship and co-operation with all neighbours of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan; the consolidation, widening and all-round expansion of friendly relations with our great northern neighbour the Soviet Union; the expansion of friendly relations with India; ensuring friendly relations between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Iran, Pakistan, and China; the settlement of the national issue of the Pashtun and Baluch people on the basis of their own will and historical background, by means of understanding and peaceful political talks between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan; efforts for the preservation of world peace and the consolidation of the foundations of peace in the region; campaigning for general disarmament and particularly for the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear arms, the dismantling of aggressive military bases on foreign soil and the expansion and deepening of international détente; respect for and observance of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

52. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, on the basis of its peace-seeking policy, attaches special importance to this great and vast gathering of international significance convened at the suggestion of the non-aligned nations, in which representatives of 149 countries of the world are participating in order to deliberate on the problems of disarmament.

53. Although the peace-loving forces of the world have exerted tireless efforts against imperialist reactionaries and warmongers and also against the arms race, with some important achievements, and although ending the arms race and providing a suitable atmosphere for the reduction and eventual eradication of the danger of nuclear confrontation is a basic issue related to human life, unfortunately the arms race has not come to an end. Moreover, the policy of new scientific and technical military inventions is being followed greedily and relentlessly, with an aggressive and warlike attitude to the creation and completion of various types of inhuman weapons of mass destruction.

54. The continuation of the arms race not only prevents the growth and expansion of the profound and beneficial



process of the easing of tensions, as well as international détente, but can even cause a serious danger of nuclear war—a war that can destroy all human beings and indeed human civilization. The arms race, started by imperialism, is being aggravated by the influence of the warmongering quarters of the world. The opponents of détente and disarmament have recently expanded their destructive activities against the programme and policy of peace. The shocking day-by-day increase in the military expenditures of the imperialists and those related to them and their insane interest in the production of new weapons of mass destruction are the best evidence of the validity of our statement.

55. We believe that the views of a large circle of countries and world public opinion play a considerable role in solving the complex outstanding problems of disarmament and in the efforts towards the achievement of disarmament. This special session of the General Assembly has today drawn to itself the vital interests of all humanity; all the peoples of the world earnestly wish and hope for, and demand that the General Assembly adopt, decisive measures in this regard for the salvation of all.

56. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan believes that the inability to solve the problem of disarmament and the inherent danger to humanity caused by the lack of progress in this matter is doing irreparable damage to international peace and security and to the economic and social development of all the nations of the world.

57. One of the fundamental aims of the progressive forces of the world is to achieve general and complete disarmament under international control; to guarantee peace and security and the right of the peoples on earth to live; and to solve the main economic and social development problems of the developing countries.

58. While confirming the peaceful proposals of Mr. Gromyko, Foreign Minister and head of the delegation of the Soviet Union and of others who are the real advocates of peace, and bearing in mind the need actually to achieve general and complete disarmament in order to ensure permanent peace in the world, we consider the following specific measures to be necessary.

59. First, there must be an end to the production of all types of nuclear weapons, the number of such weapons must be reduced and, ultimately, they must be totally eradicated. Towards the achievement of this aim, the production of nuclear weapons and all other types of weapons creating the danger of the mass destruction of human beings must be banned. Stockpiles and the delivery systems of nuclear weapons must be reduced. The financial resources thus released must be utilized for peaceful purposes—namely, to assist the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. All types of nuclear weapons—strategic or tactical, offensive or defensive—must finally be eradicated.

60. Secondly, military forces must be reduced. This lofty aim must be implemented parallel with nuclear disarmament. The production of all conventional weapons having

a high destructive capability must be stopped. It is also imperative that all military bases on foreign soil be dissolved and foreign forces withdrawn from them.

61. Thirdly, atomic war must be prevented. All countries should be invited to act in such a manner as to prevent the creation of regional and international tension and atomic war. In this regard, nuclear countries must bear the bulk of the responsibility. Those countries that have not made any commitment must enter into treaties with the nuclear countries for the prevention of atomic warfare.

62. Fourthly, there must be a general and complete ban on nuclear tests. This important measure, for the implementation of which all the necessary conditions exist, can contribute very effectively to banning the production of all kinds of new nuclear weapons.

63. Fifthly, there must be a comprehensive consolidation of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*, *annex*] must be given a more general form, and the guarantee system in this regard must be strengthened in such a way as to ensure that non-nuclear countries will not obtain nuclear weapons.

64. Sixthly, chemical weapons must be banned and finally eradicated. In this connexion, necessary negotiations must begin immediately and must continue.

65. Seventhly, there must be a ban on the production of all types and systems of new weapons of mass destruction. In this regard, the immediate commitment of the United States and the Soviet Union to prevent the production of neutron weapons—in conformity with the proposal of Mr. Gromyko, the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union [*5th meeting*—] is totally in the interest of peace.

66. Eighthly, military budgets must be reduced. The implementation of this reduction would be an effective measure for preventing an arms race. Negotiations must be conducted on this issue, and a gradual reduction of military budgets must begin. The sums thus released should be utilized to better the standard of living of hundreds of millions of people of the world who suffer from poverty, sickness, illiteracy and colonialism.

67. Ninthly, the sea-bed and oceans must be demilitarized. The prevention of the installation on the sea-bed of nuclear weapons and other types of weapons of mass destruction must begin. The sea-bed and oceans should be utilized for peaceful purposes, and an international treaty for the demilitarization of the sea-bed must be signed.

68. Tenthly, I would mention regional measures for military détente and disarmament. Efforts in this regard play a major role in the reduction of the arms race and in disarmament, particularly in the regions where there is a huge amount of taking of sides militarily. Military regional détente must be observed in the non-nuclear areas. Zones of peace must be created in the various regions of the world. The recognition of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, the withdrawal of nuclear vessels and submarines

from the Mediterranean Sea and the establishment of zones of peace in various parts of the world are in conformity with the spirit of this important session.

69. It is imperative to utilize practically and effectively all types, forms and channels of negotiations and talks towards putting an end to the arms race. As a matter of principle, the discontinuation of talks concerning disarmament makes the solution of the problems of disarmament even more complicated. The responsibility for the serious consequences of the discontinuation of these talks lies in the parties which, using various pretexts, refuse to negotiate.

70. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan fully supports the convening of a world conference on disarmament shortly after this special session devoted to disarmament.

71. The acquisition of nuclear weapons by Israel is a source of serious concern and anxiety to us. We consider the consequences of this an element seriously and adversely affecting peace and security in the Middle East and the world. This is yet another dangerous and undesirable development in the Middle East crisis.

72. The covert proliferation of nuclear weapons to Israel and South Africa is a disturbing violation of the international Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons on the part of some nuclear countries that have signed and even acceded to it. The collaboration and co-operation between Israel and the racist régime of South Africa is a cause of further concern to the Afghan delegation.

73. The peoples of the world expect this special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to adopt concrete measures in support of the efforts for disarmament. This special session must result in the profound expansion and consolidation of détente, including military détente, and the reduction of international tensions.

74. Let us unite all our forces and efforts for the salvation of humanity, the world, and indeed human civilization from the holocaust of global war and the mass annihilation of the inhabitants of the earth. We believe that we have the capability of utilizing our reason and knowledge for peace, the friendship of nations and the prosperity of the peoples of the world.

75. Mr. MWALE (Zambia): Mr. President, at the outset, I wish to congratulate you on your election, for the third time this year, to preside over yet another special session of the General Assembly. Your election bears testimony to the confidence that the international community has placed in your person and in your country, Yugoslavia.

76. It is equally significant that the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament should be presided over by a distinguished national of a country which acted as host to the founding conference of the non-aligned movement. Delegates are all aware by now that this session has been convened at the initiative of the non-aligned countries. We, the members of this movement, hope that in acceding to our request all the other members

of the international community are equally desirous that this special session will achieve the positive results for which it was mooted and convened. Leaders of the non-aligned movement had called for this session because of their concern for and commitment to international peace and security. Moreover, the task of this special session is at the very core of the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

77. Disarmament is a global issue which requires global solutions because it involves the security of each and every human being. No nation or people can afford to remain oblivious to the real dangers and consequences which are posed by the constant escalation of the arms race.

78. Zambia believes that all States have a responsibility to work towards the attainment of disarmament. However, it is those Powers which have the largest share of armaments that have the responsibility for halting the arms race. My delegation appeals to them to demonstrate their political will in disarmament negotiations during and after the session, if a global catastrophe is to be averted.

79. Several speakers who have preceded me have eloquently outlined the contemporary state of armaments on our planet. Volumes upon volumes of statistics on armaments bear testimony to the peril in which we live today. The situation is as alarming as it is perilous. We live in the age of the precarious balance of terror. The reality of the prevailing situation is that mankind is alive today because those who are armed to the teeth against other human beings have not decided to strike the final blow. Our era can therefore be truly characterized as one of permitted survival.

80. We are painfully aware of the death-dealing capacity of modern weapons, and of nuclear weapons in particular. Much has been said about the fact that weapons which are now in the arsenals of the major Powers can annihilate the human race several times over. Thus, it is deadly enough to have weapons that can kill once; it is outrageous to keep amassing modern weapons of mass destruction with over-kill capacity.

81. The arms race both in its horizontal and vertical dimensions is at its peak in human history. If present trends persist, the situation is likely to worsen and thereby increase the dangers of a holocaust. Indeed, man appears intent on accelerating what one candid observer has called a "race to oblivion". The arms race is truly a race to oblivion.

82. Zambia believes that this special session provides a unique opportunity to re-appraise the situation. This session is therefore an opportunity to chart the course of human survival, which should not elude us. My delegation hopes that all countries will avoid using this platform for propaganda purposes and approach the critical question of disarmament with the seriousness it deserves. To do otherwise would be to undermine the very fabric upon which confidence-building measures could be based. We may not achieve all the positive results in the course of one session, but a start has to be made on the rough road to general and

complete disarmament. Therefore, we must come out of this important special session with a serious programme of action on disarmament.

83. Disarmament is interlinked with the strengthening of international security. We cannot, therefore, discuss disarmament without the intention of committing ourselves to strict compliance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of implementing fully the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*]<sup>—</sup>in which documents the principles of justice, equality, independence, peace and development are enshrined. It behoves us, therefore, to eliminate the causes of conflict in the world by striving to find just solutions to the crises in such areas as southern Africa, the Middle East and Cyprus.

84. While discussing the need to eliminate international tensions, I wish to draw attention to the escalating and dangerous conflict in southern Africa, the root cause of which is the continued existence of arrogant and aggressive white minority régimes. These régimes, by their actions, are intent on fomenting an East-West confrontation which could result in a third world war. President Kaunda has repeatedly sounded a note of warning about this impending conflagration. This threat posed to international peace and security by the racist minority régimes of southern Africa has become all the more ominous as a result of the decision of South Africa to become a nuclear-weapon Power. South Africa is now on the threshold of detonating a nuclear device. South Africa has reached that level of military build-up primarily because of the assistance which it continues to receive from certain States represented here.

85. We in Zambia view the continuing supply of nuclear materials to South Africa as a dangerous trade with ominous consequences for Africa and the world. What those who collaborate with racist South Africa must realize is that they are arming a deranged and neurotic régime which has little or no respect for human life or for norms of civilized conduct and international law. This matter cannot be treated casually, at least not at this special session on disarmament.

86. The special session of the General Assembly must call for an immediate end to all collaboration with racist South Africa in the nuclear field. We urge all the Western countries which supply nuclear materials to South Africa publicly to renounce this treacherous trade. In this respect, once again, we implore the international community to implement seriously the recent arms embargo imposed on South Africa by the Security Council. If the racist régimes in southern Africa had not been armed to the present levels, the current conflict in the region would not have reached its present alarming proportions. The international community would greatly contribute to the ideals of disarmament and the relaxation of international tensions if it were to halt the further supply of arms to racist South Africa, a country which has amassed the largest arsenal of weapons on the African continent for repressive and aggressive purposes.

87. While efforts are being exerted in the field of disarm-

ament, members of the international community must also work towards the elimination of tension as a means of building confidence. In that regard, the powerful military States must not exaggerate the requirements of their national security. What we have in our contemporary world is a disequilibrium between national security requirements on the part of the major Powers and the demands of international peace and security. An exaggerated sense of national insecurity breeds dangers for international security. Is the time not yet ripe for States to redefine their national security needs?

88. It is in that context that we call for a re-examination of military power blocs with a view to dismantling them. The dangers of military power blocs to the security of all of us are self-evident.

89. At the regional level, efforts to achieve disarmament goals are being frustrated by external forces. Attempts by States in some regions to create zones of peace or nuclear-free zones continue to be thwarted by the ambitions of certain major Powers and blocs. In Africa, the efforts of littoral and hinterland States to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace is a case in point. We urge all those who intrude in this region to reverse their policies in the interests of peace.

90. Africa has chosen the path of non-alignment. Non-alignment for us means that we have the right to choose our friends and, indeed, that we can be the friends of all if we so wish. It means that we shall have no permanent enemies but that in this world of human interdependence we shall seek dependable allies, to achieve international peace and security. It means that we shall not accept tutoring or blackmail from friend or foe as to what is in our best interest. We know our objectives and our priorities. We are committed to the maintenance of our independence and are preoccupied with the struggle to liberate southern Africa.

91. We are witnessing the revival of cold-war rhetoric and, concurrently, manoeuvres which seek to make Africa a pawn in the great Power rivalries. My Government is gravely concerned about this serious development and by the dangerous notion entertained in certain quarters that Africa can only maintain its independence within the context of international power politics. Consequently, extraneous factors have been introduced in a calculated bid to control and recolonize Africa and to justify external interference. We are today witnessing the spreading of alarm designed to shift the focus from the struggle for the liberation of southern Africa, the implied net result of which is to provide protection and give a further lease of life to the white racist minority régimes. Racist Vorster's statement last week is sufficient proof that the white minority régimes of southern Africa are very pleased with the new obsession prevalent in certain quarters, for they know full well that it provides them with a shield to stem the tide of liberation in southern Africa.

92. A further manifestation of the new forms of recolonization of Africa is the hatching of strange ideas about Africa's presumed security by those who purport to know better than us what is right for our continent. In addition,



we are witnessing schemes designed to use parts of our continent as guinea-pigs in experimenting with certain weapons of mass destruction. That is a dangerous trend which must be halted in the interests of Africa and of world peace. I take this opportunity earnestly to appeal to all States to respect the sovereign right of African countries to decide what is in the best interests of their continent. We wish that all the noise today about Africa could take the form of pressure being brought to bear against the white minority régimes of southern Africa, which are certainly the root cause of the present state of the African continent. My delegation urges all States to redouble their support for us in Africa in the struggle to liberate southern Africa from the clutches of the oppressive, exploiting racist white minority régimes and not to fall prey to cheap propaganda.

93. We in Zambia see disarmament as the potential source of a positive contribution to world development and to the establishment of the new international economic order. We share the indisputable opinion that the \$400 thousand millions which are being wasted annually on armaments could be better and more rationally utilized to promote economic and social development, in particular that of developing countries, could help to narrow the ever-widening gap between developed and developing countries, and serve as a measure of impetus towards the establishment of the new international economic order, a system based on principles of equity, sovereign equality and the concept of self-reliance. Let us all constantly remind ourselves that the quest for the new international economic order is but one integral ingredient of a universal movement towards a new, rational and genuinely secure global order.

94. It remains Zambia's fervent hope that the growing spirit of interdependence and the demands of the prevailing world economic crisis will inspire greater and more sincere efforts towards disarmament by States commensurate with their respective share of the burden. We remain confident that any effective and meaningful effort to reverse and halt the arms race would release valuable resources for better productive deployment in the sphere of development; disarmament and development are thus dialectically inter-linked. Let me emphasize that the sense of security that would be engendered by the establishment of the new international economic order would be genuine and sincere, not illusory.

95. This special session has the vital responsibility of enabling mankind to chart a programme of action which should contain specific measures aimed at halting the arms race and ensuring arms reduction. In this effort, the long-term role of the United Nations in the field must be clearly outlined.

96. My Government believes that there is an urgent need to democratize the forums for disarmament negotiations and deliberations, because peace is indivisible and therefore rightly it is the concern of all States. That process would complement the other bilateral and multilateral efforts aimed at resolving the disarmament problem.

97. We are aware that for decades schemes have been devised to reach agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control and, thus, to enhance the disarmament process. However, the results of these efforts, including the enforcement of disarmament through multilateral agreements, have been minimal, to say the least. A lot remains to be done in the years ahead. Moreover, the machinery to enforce strict compliance with the multilateral agreements has been weak. In some local conflicts, for example, asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and bacteriological methods of warfare have been used, in contravention of the 1925 Geneva Protocol<sup>3</sup> and of the Hague declarations and conventions adopted at the turn of the century. Zambia urges the United Nations to devise means of dealing with the culprits as a matter of course when they breach these international norms of civilized conduct.

98. Whatever positive results have been achieved so far, the arms race continues unabated. Other efforts to realize disarmament objectives in a bilateral framework should be encouraged. The super-Powers have a responsibility to negotiate the limitation of the deadly weapons in their possession. We are only too well aware that there is an urgent need to approach the issue of disarmament from different angles.

99. Zambia, as a member of the Preparatory Committee, joined the other non-aligned nations in submitting proposals which are now before the special session for consideration. I take this opportunity to commend these proposals. While I do not want to discuss all the recommendations in detail, I wish to highlight certain aspects of some of them.

100. Our first set of proposals relates to how the problem of disarmament should be approached. We feel strongly that there should be, in one form or another, a deliberative democratic organ embracing the entire membership of the United Nations. Needless to point out, the First Committee of the General Assembly does not, in its present form, satisfy this criterion. To us, however, it is the principle, rather than the nomenclature, which matters.

101. Directly responsible to the deliberative organ there should be a body that would constitute the permanent machinery for the conduct of effective negotiations. That body should be assisted by a world research institute or specialized institute on disarmament, to which other research and peace institutes might be affiliated. We recommend that all those bodies be under United Nations tutelage.

102. Our second set of proposals relates to what should be done to achieve the ultimate goal of disarmament. In our opinion that goal is general and complete disarmament. In this area, we prescribe a system of classifying arsenals in a ranking order of destructive capability, from nuclear weapons down to conventional weapons. Furthermore, there should be a reliable system of enforcing international rules of conduct in conflict situations.

<sup>3</sup> Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare (League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XCIV (1929), No. 2138, p. 65).

103. In conclusion, may I say that this special session is one of the rare opportunities which mankind, through its representatives assembled here, has devised to change the course of history. By our actions in this chamber, we may not only save succeeding generations from the scourge of war; we may also save ourselves and civilization from extinction as a result of catastrophes which can be triggered off merely by pressing a button on a deadly weapon.

104. Mankind, our living species, will continue to be in mortal danger of annihilation if the present arms race is not halted and reversed. Let this special session put an end to man's obnoxious race to oblivion.

105. Mr. KINENE (Uganda): Mr. President, may I take this opportunity to congratulate you upon your election to preside over this special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. Your unanimous election to this high office bears testimony to the Assembly's confidence in, and respect for, your outstanding qualities and personal experience. At this juncture I should like to pay a tribute to the dedication of your country to the search for a solution to the problem of disarmament. That dedication was evident as far back as 1961, when the first Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, at Belgrade, led to the adoption of the resolution at the fifth conference at Colombo—a resolution endorsed by the General Assembly—resulting in this special session devoted to disarmament.

106. Allow me also to convey to you and to all representatives at this session the very best wishes of Field Marshal Idi Amin Dada, President of the Republic of Uganda.

107. The convening of the special session on disarmament coincided happily with the appeal of the Life President of Uganda in his New Year message to the nation, and, indeed, to the whole world, that this year should be a year of love, peace and reconciliation. Uganda's stand on this important issue of disarmament has been spelt out clearly. We supported the proposal to convene this special session, a proposal made at the fifth conference of non-aligned countries at Colombo, and we also agreed to the convening of a United Nations conference on disarmament in the near future.

108. Like many of the representatives who have spoken before me, Uganda believes that the security of States is of paramount importance and that, before anything else, each country, big or small, has a responsibility or duty to preserve its security. By the same token, Uganda believes that its security will remain threatened so long as the security of Africa is threatened. Our continent cannot be fully secure so long as any part of it is under colonial or racist domination. It is with this in mind that we must make a clear distinction between disarmament and the struggle for national liberation, whether in Africa, the Middle East or any other part of the world. Full assistance, in arms, should be given to liberation movements, regardless of where they come from.

109. My delegation is fully confident that the deliberations of this session will be conducted in an atmosphere of

co-operation and understanding coupled with a genuine degree of sincerity and a determined desire to find and formulate practical solutions for the establishment of a sound framework that will regulate armaments. My delegation also hopes that during this special session a set of principles will emerge on which general and complete disarmament will be negotiated within the next few years.

*Mr. Asensio-Wunderlich (Guatemala), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

110. We are all aware that the issue of disarmament is a very complex one. It requires a spirit of caution, patience and flexibility. It is, therefore, our hope that all delegations represented here will refrain from maintaining fixed positions, so as to avoid a deadlock. The United Nations, under whose auspices this special session is being held, is the greatest bastion of peace, human dignity and fundamental freedom. It is here at the United Nations that all nations of the world, big or small, developed or developing, can meet in an atmosphere of peace in order to discuss any problems that affect mankind with a view to finding appropriate solutions to them. This is why the Uganda delegation sincerely believes that the United Nations should play an ever-increasing role in providing the machinery for negotiations on disarmament.

111. The United Nations should also assume a new role of direction and encourage the conclusion and ratification of a treaty incorporating agreed procedures for general and complete disarmament such as the creation of a new institutional structure in international relations where dialogue, negotiations and peaceful settlement of disputes would replace war and the use of force.

112. As we are all aware, disarmament negotiations have in the past proved to be very difficult, complex, and highly technical. Most of the difficulties surrounding these negotiations have been to a great extent political and psychological. Any delay in negotiating and reaching practical solutions to the question of disarmament would, therefore, make it even more difficult to find solutions to this complex problem. In the meantime, new dangers are likely to come to the fore, since new deadly weapons would be deployed by those who make them, thus holding all of mankind at ransom. It is the sincere hope of the Uganda delegation that Member States of this Organization will display the necessary political will and wisdom so as to bring about a successful conclusion to our deliberations.

113. In the last three decades, we have witnessed the deployment of deadly weapons and the accumulation of sophisticated nuclear weapons. In short, a new dictionary of armaments has been devised. But what is all this for? If disarmament negotiations had taken root immediately after the Second World War, and if secrecy had not surrounded the manufacture and deployment of new types of deadly weapons, mankind would not today be living in permanent fear of the most brutal form of death.

114. The arms race has sparked tensions and fury among the super-Powers, and created misunderstanding among them to the consternation of the rest of the international

community. These tensions have in turn produced a situation where war and armed conflicts have become highly feasible. Tensions have a tendency to breed more tensions. More tensions have bred more armaments in different forms and sizes. Thus the tragedy of our time is that technological discoveries, instead of being put to good use, have been turned into instruments of destruction of the human race. The irony of technology is that man has made wonderful scientific discoveries but has not managed to create a new framework in which he can live in security and peace.

115. Disarmament negotiations cannot make any progress unless we have a climate in which all nuclear-weapon States agree to sit at the same conference table to iron out their differences. All of us gathered here have a common goal, namely, to bring about general and complete disarmament. What is required at this session is to undertake to devise a new negotiating machinery where all nuclear and non-nuclear States could exchange very useful views on how to destroy weapons of mass destruction.

116. A cursory look at the history of disarmament negotiations gives the impression that whenever there was an impasse or deadlock in these negotiations, a new body was created. While we welcome all efforts directed to bringing about disarmament, it is the feeling of my delegation that these separate efforts should not be regarded as replacing the over-all machinery in which all of us are to be involved in solving the issue of disarmament.

117. Multilateral negotiations on issues pertaining to disarmament are very useful as a means of working out principles on which a sound foundation for disarmament can be based. But this session will be wasted if the principles which we so sincerely hope will emerge from it do not evolve on the basis of mutual respect and equality. The international community cannot leave anything to chance. That is why we call upon all States, especially all nuclear-weapon States, to exert more efforts in the disarmament negotiations.

118. At the multilateral level my delegation is of the view that we need machinery for furthering the negotiations or implementing the decisions which this session will have endorsed and recommended. Allow me to reiterate Uganda's position, which is in line with that of other non-aligned countries, that the membership of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should be broadened to reflect the increased membership of the United Nations and that the link between the General Assembly and the Conference be strengthened. This membership should also include all nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon States, and the recommendations and proposals of the Member States should be taken into consideration.

119. The proposal of Sri Lanka concerning the establishment of a world disarmament authority [see A/S-10/AC.1/9], deserves serious consideration by this session devoted to disarmament, as this could be one of the ways by which the United Nations system might positively contribute to the realization of the objectives of general and complete disarmament.

120. The bilateral negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union that resulted in the strategic arms limitation talks were a welcome development. That was a gesture that displayed a spirit of co-operation in the field of disarmament. Difficulties and disagreements between the parties to the talks are bound to create technical and other problems. In this connexion, I wish to point out that bilateral negotiations, of which the strategic arms limitation talks are an example, tend to exclude other States which also have nuclear stockpiles. Thus, while the United States and the Soviet Union may reach agreement on placing a ceiling on a particular category of armaments, other States might be attempting to exceed the limit already set. There is also the possibility that agreements reached in such limited talks might not be acceded to by other nuclear States. Uganda feels that, in order to meet the challenges of such problems, there is a need to expand the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament so that all negotiations concerning strategic weapons, nuclear weapons and conventional weapons and the reduction of armed forces are brought within the ambit of the General Assembly. The advantage of that arrangement would be that a process of consultations could be established within an enlarged body so as to facilitate a consensus.

121. The last one and a half decades bear testimony to how general and complete disarmament can be achieved through treaties. Treaties may themselves be legally well formulated, and the intentions may be real and practical, but treaties might not be obeyed by some States which might for one reason or another decide not to sign, accede to or ratify them. There are cases where some treaties have been drafted for motives other than those of general and complete disarmament. Notable among them is the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. A substantial number of States have not become parties to this Treaty, and for very good reasons. As long as it tends to deprive the non-nuclear-weapon States of the opportunity of producing weapons while other States are producing and holding stockpiles of them, the Treaty cannot make any meaningful contribution it might otherwise have made to general and complete disarmament.

122. It is curious to note that this Treaty was signed and even ratified by some States known to possess nuclear armaments. Their intentions are well known. How can those States expect other States not to follow their example? Security should be an integral part of any disarmament talks. Blackmail should not be the backbone of nuclear disarmament. That is why Uganda has refused to be a party to that Treaty. While Uganda appreciates the principles underlying the Treaty, it feels that it tends to arm those countries already possessing nuclear armaments and to disarm those which do not have them at all. It tends to leave the super-Powers and other nuclear-weapon States the policemen of the world. It is with this in mind that Uganda holds strongly to the view that if any genuine disarmament is to be realized in the foreseeable future, then nuclear weapons should be destroyed first.

123. We appear to be living in an era that is happily referred to as civilized, but a close look shows some grounds for scepticism as to whether we really are civilized when

in our midst we hold instruments calculated to cause the most brutal kind of death, when every minute we are living in fear of the most devastating war.

124. We have committed ourselves to the establishment of a new international economic order based on justice and equity. We have to examine the problem of disarmament bearing in mind that international economic order. Instead of fostering enmity and belligerent situations, let us foster development. United Nations statistics show that there are large numbers of undernourished children all over the world, especially in the developing countries. Natural disasters are a source of misery and suffering for large numbers of people in different parts of the world. Many people go without food and are living in conditions of abject poverty. Instead of spending \$400 billion a year on armaments of mass destruction, let us channel a substantial part of this money to economic development. There is a lot of room for development and for averting abnormal situations, but there should not be room for destructive instruments of war. Let those countries that feel they have resources to spend on the manufacture of deadly weapons rededicate themselves to changing the plight of mankind by stepping up their contributions to the United Nations in assisting developing nations and especially the least developed among the developing and land-locked countries that face the hardships of our time in this increasingly competitive world. Let us know one thing: that mankind is a family in which the welfare of everybody should be paramount in this world of interdependency.

125. We on the African continent are not unmindful of the dangers posed by the ever-increasing collaboration in the field of nuclear arms between some Western Powers and the racist régime of South Africa. Uganda feels that such co-operation is a threat to Africa as a whole. We call upon all those involved in such co-operation to desist from it. That is why Uganda calls for strict respect for nuclear-weapon-free zones or zones of peace as long as they command the support of the countries of the region.

126. The last half of the nineteenth century witnessed the final stage in the scramble for Africa by the Western imperialists. It is after untold suffering and sacrifice that Africa is emerging from under the imperialist yoke to occupy its rightful place in the world. However, barely two decades have passed and yet the whole world is witnessing a new and more vicious scramble for our continent by those same colonialists of yesterday, who are using the excuse of defending Africa against chimerical enemies. In this world there is nothing as hypocritical as the imperialists. Africans know quite well which are the countries that stood by its side when they were fighting against the colonialists. We also know which countries supported the colonialists against us. Today we also know who is supporting the freedom fighters and who is supporting and supplying deadly weapons to the racists to massacre our brothers and sisters.

127. Our challenge to those who seem to have just discovered Africa is that if they are really concerned with the welfare of Africans, then let them give arms to the freedom fighters and not to the racists. Otherwise, let it be

known that Africa is not unmindful of those manoeuvres and will resist them to the end.

128. The international community is awaiting real results from this special session. My delegation will support any useful proposals. Uganda is fully committed to disarmament, and that is why we fully support the proposals submitted by the non-aligned countries. We are confident that these proposals, together with the reports of the Preparatory Committee, particularly the declaration and programme of action, will provide this session with a broad framework from which a consensus will emerge.

129. In conclusion, while wishing this special session very useful discussions, my delegation hopes that man will create a new world so that the society in which he lives will be safe and secure.

130. Mr. HUMAIDAN (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of my delegation I should like to convey our sincere congratulations to the President of this special session on his election, which reflects the deep respect and appreciation that the international community feels for Yugoslavia because of its pioneering role in promoting disarmament and working for the creation of a world of peace and security, of justice and prosperity. His election is also a tribute to Yugoslavia, which is a founding member of the non-aligned movement, as well as a recognition of the initiative taken by Yugoslavia in convening this special session.

131. The interest of the peoples of the world in the problem of disarmament is mainly due to the problem's close relation to the basic purpose for which the United Nations was established—the maintenance of international peace and security.

132. The United Arab Emirates, a developing and non-aligned State, attaches great importance to this special session, which we hope will lay the foundation for the adoption of concrete measures and actions directed to the achievement of complete and general disarmament.

133. We have witnessed year after year a proliferation in the number of nuclear-weapon States, and we know that some other States have the capacity and ability to produce nuclear weapons, while yet others will acquire such weapons in the near future. The nuclear-weapon States can exercise self-restraint and avoid the outbreak of nuclear war between themselves, although doubts are raised in some circles about that assertion for the future, but such restraint might not be possible if the nuclear circle were enlarged. Can we accept living under the shadow of the growing fear of nuclear war? Because we cannot do so, we associate ourselves with all those voices that call for a ban on all nuclear tests by all parties and in all regions, without exception, and for accession by all States to a convention on the total prohibition of nuclear weapons.

134. My delegation also welcomes the increased recognition by all States, especially the nuclear States, of the concept of nuclear-weapon-free zones and the creation of such zones in some regions, such as Latin America, Africa,

South Asia and the Middle East. Our delegation was among those which took part in the adoption of resolution 3263(XXIX) concerning the declaration of the Middle East as a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

135. Our world is also witnessing a terrible race towards the development and acquisition of conventional weapons. It is a race in which the two military pacts and some third-world countries take part. We fully understand the reasons and the factors that impel those countries to acquire weapons, but we also know that those reasons and factors can be eliminated if there is goodwill, if there is a clear determination to do so, and if the following conditions obtain.

136. The first is respect for the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as the application of the resolutions adopted by the various organs of the United Nations. The second is respect for the rules of international law—decolonization, the elimination of the consequences of aggression, the rejection of the policy of *fait accompli*, including the policy of colonization and expansion, and respect for the right of all colonized peoples and peoples under alien subjugation to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. Thirdly, there should be recognition of the sovereignty of States over their natural resources and an end to the use of threats to control production or determine the price of raw materials. Fourthly, the new international economic order should be established. The fifth condition is the dissolution of the military pacts and big-Power alliances, with the dismantling of military bases and an end to all forms of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of States.

137. We believe that it is not impossible to realize these conditions, if some States give up their desire to dominate and to monopolize and if they accept the rules of equality, justice and mutual benefit.

138. In speaking of the problem of disarmament, we must refer to the necessity of refraining from the production, development and stockpiling of chemical, bacteriological and incendiary weapons and of destroying this type of weapons.

139. Our Foreign Minister in his statement from this rostrum at the thirty-second session declared that:

“The failure to achieve any substantial progress on the question of disarmament is a matter of concern to us. The arms race and the proliferation of lethal weapons, whether nuclear or otherwise, is a heavy burden on humanity and endangers international peace and security. We therefore believe that it is essential to take practical and concrete steps for the reduction of military budgets and the transfer of human and material resources from disarmament to the fields of development where they are most urgently needed.”<sup>4</sup>

140. It is regrettable that the amount of resources wasted

annually on armaments has reached \$400 thousand millions while development assistance to the developing countries does not exceed \$20 thousand millions.

141. In this connexion I should like to emphasize that the United Arab Emirates earmarks a large part of its national income to provide assistance to brother Arab States as well as other friendly developing nations. Our State is peaceful and does not stockpile advanced or conventional weapons, and we have no intention of doing so in future.

142. Another fact must be mentioned in this respect—our State is part of the Arab region; it belongs to the Arab nation, that nation which is now facing a real danger, that is, the occupation of some of its territory as well as the expulsion of the Palestinian people and the blocking of the exercise by that people of its right to self-determination and to the establishment of its own independent State on its national soil. We notice with great regret that some big Powers are continuing to support the Israeli military authorities and to provide them with the most modern weapons. We are also greatly concerned about recent reports of co-operation between the two racist régimes of Israel and South Africa with a view to acquiring and developing nuclear weapons. We believe that it is the responsibility of the international community as a whole to avoid this danger, which would threaten peace and security not only in Africa and the Middle East but also in the whole world. Another significant fact is that Israel has persistently refused to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Arms. It has also persistently refused to accept General Assembly resolution 3263 (XXIX), calling for the declaration of the Middle East as a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

143. The United Arab Emirates is conscious of the fact that it is part of the Arab world, which is facing the dangers I just mentioned. At the same time, we are aware that our State is located in a very important and sensitive area—the Gulf region. That is why we are making every effort to isolate the region from big-Power rivalry, because this rivalry is a threat to our security and national independence.

144. On the basis of what I have just said, our State since its independence has supported the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*]. We support all measures and efforts aimed at giving effect to this resolution. Our Government has held consultations with other Gulf States in order to preserve security and stability in our region. Our action in this field is based on two fundamental principles: first, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States; and, second, the peaceful settlement of present or future disputes between the States of the region without any foreign interference.

145. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to reiterate its hope that the work of this special session will lead to the adoption of a new strategy for the implementation of genuine disarmament measures.

146. Mr. AL-HADDAD (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is a great pleasure for my delegation to extend

<sup>4</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings, 18th meeting, para. 133.



to the President our warmest congratulations on the unanimous trust that this august Assembly has placed in him in electing him to preside over its deliberations. Indeed, it augurs well that this special session devoted to disarmament should be held under the guidance of a brilliant and dedicated statesman from Yugoslavia, a founding country of the non-aligned movement. The delegation of Yemen is therefore certain of a successful and effective conclusion to this session.

147. The special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament offers a unique opportunity for us all to review and assess the extent and magnitude of the danger that the arms race, in both nuclear and conventional weapons, is posing to the very existence of mankind. Today we must seize this opportunity to demonstrate our genuine desire to free the world from the threat of nuclear war and destruction.

148. The delegation of Yemen attaches great importance to this special session which represents a significant development in the history of the United Nations.

149. Hence it is incumbent on all countries, and in particular the nuclear Powers, to declare in good faith their political will to ensure the successful conclusion of the special session devoted to disarmament, thus fulfilling their obligations concerning international peace and security in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

150. The non-aligned countries, guided by their lofty principles and ideals of peace and justice the world over, proposed the convening of a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to disarmament, which provides a forum open to all States, big and small, nuclear and non-nuclear, so that they can lay the groundwork for complete and general disarmament. However, the United Nations membership is called upon to play a greater role and to shoulder its responsibility for the success of this session. The delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic is hopeful that our deliberations at this session will produce concrete results which could assist positively in laying the groundwork for complete and general disarmament.

151. While we recognize the value and significance of our exercise on disarmament and arms control during the regular session of the General Assembly, which may reflect the concern of world opinion, it nevertheless has not produced concrete results that could reduce the fear of nuclear war and destruction and, at best, build up the confidence of our generation in the success of the disarmament and arms-control negotiations. My delegation believes, therefore, that the orientation of the special session on disarmament should be towards specific goals and objectives as regards general and complete disarmament. This should be made clear in order to dispel the doubts and despair which have been accumulating during the past decades, so that disarmament and arms control have continued to be a mirage, or at best a pleasant dream of the optimists.

152. The arms race in both nuclear and conventional armaments is the underlying factor which has contributed

greatly to the increase of international tension and the creation of hotbeds in many parts of the world. The 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons remains a dead letter because some nuclear States continue to violate the provisions of that Treaty, which in turn makes possible a new technological break-through for non-nuclear States which might provide them with a super-weapon.

153. Indeed, many countries which have signed the Treaty could not accept a situation in which the nuclear Powers continue to carry out underground tests, including underground tests of weapons, of up to 150 kilotons; therefore a comprehensive ban on tests of any size by the nuclear-weapon countries must be negotiated if a disarmament plan emerges from this session, because this would be a very important step towards the achievement of disarmament.

154. At the present time, the arms race, in addition to its threat to international peace and security, constitutes a squandering of resources badly needed for economic and social development in many parts of the world. In fact, armament is incompatible with development in every aspect. Furthermore, we note with distress and grave concern that the danger of the arms race has not only reduced the priority given to aid and technical assistance but distorted the noble idea and objective of aid to the developing countries, because of its strings and political considerations. In the meantime, it has had a negative impact on the flow of aid, or has obliged some countries to enter into security arrangements, thus becoming a source of tension or adding more fuel to the already inflamed situation.

155. My delegation notes with grave concern the steps taken by the Zionist authorities to establish a programme for the development of nuclear weapons in co-operation with the racist régime in South Africa. Furthermore, the attempt to link possession of nuclear weapons, or the desire to possess them, and national security is fallacious. We feel that a trend of this sort and in that direction is certainly dangerous and should be condemned and prevented. In fact, we believe that security can only be maintained through the removal of all the injustices and aggression that characterize international relations today. Furthermore, the arms race has encouraged certain States, in particular Israel and the racist régime of Pretoria, to secure a decisive military advantage in order to satisfy their expansionist and aggressive policy and ambition. In both cases such attitudes should be deplored and prevented from acquiring a deadly momentum which would endanger the whole process of life. The acquisition by Israel of nuclear weapons, which would represent a grave threat to international peace and security, must be prevented.

156. Our objective in pursuing disarmament is to save present and succeeding generations from the scourge of war and all its dreadful consequences, strengthen the cause of justice, peace and security throughout the world and foster a climate of understanding and co-operation. We must all strive to achieve disarmament. We must change the direction of policies which have led to the arms race. We must reject foreign policies of intervention and expansion expressed through military might.

157. My delegation stresses once again that the continued Zionist aggression against the Palestinian people and the Arab world represents a grave danger not only to the security and stability of the countries of the region, but to the peace and security of the entire international community. Therefore discussions on disarmament must be aimed, in the first place, at the removal of the Zionist aggression by halting all military and financial support to the racist régime until they abide by the rules of the international community which means: first, recognition of the legitimate national rights of the struggling Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and to a national State in Palestine; secondly, withdrawal of Zionist forces from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, as an important step in the international efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament, and in order to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. If we fail to redress injustice, I fear that no discussion on disarmament will have any meaning or value while Israeli occupation of the land of others is permitted and Zionist aggression by the use of force and military power continues unabated.

158. Disarmament should be pursued for economic and social ends, through the promotion of peace and relaxation of international tension as well as through the release of resources which can be transferred to peaceful uses and redirected to raise standards of living and promote faster progress, and action to eliminate poverty, mass unemployment, disease, hunger and illiteracy.

159. The International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626(XXV)*] calls for a 6 per cent target rate of growth of gross national output for developing countries. In the meantime, the Strategy calls upon the developed countries to increase the rate of official development assistance to developing countries to 0.7 per cent of the gross national product, with the aim of achieving those rates by the end of the decade.

160. At present the flow of development assistance to developing countries amounts to only 0.35 per cent of the gross national product of the developed industrialized countries. Meanwhile, military expenditures of the latter countries, that is to say the developed countries, are estimated to be 6.7 per cent of their gross national product or 25 times greater than the development assistance provided to developing countries. On the other hand, if the share of their gross national product spent on military expenditure were to remain as in 1970, it would reach \$360 thousand millions by 1980.

161. Today our objective should be an honest adherence to and strict observation of the principles and purposes of the Charter which should guide our deliberations and proceedings to a successful conclusion of this special session of the General Assembly. We must be prepared at this special session to make a solemn declaration of principles which will be the framework of a comprehensive plan of disarmament so as to avert the danger of nuclear war, the use of force or the threat of the use of force.

162. My country, which belongs to the third world, would like to make its modest contribution towards concrete proposals that could form the basis of a comprehensive plan for general and complete disarmament. We believe that such a plan should contain the following ingredients: first, a comprehensive nuclear test ban agreement should be worked out as soon as possible; secondly, a prohibition on the production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons; thirdly, the elimination of injustices and aggressions which now prevail in many parts of the world, especially in the Middle East and southern Africa; fourthly, the dismantling of all naval and military bases in the Indian Ocean, which has been declared a zone of peace by the General Assembly; fifthly, a strict halt to development of any new nuclear weapons; sixthly, the development of an adequate system of control and verification; seventhly, the strict observance of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons; eighthly, a substantial reduction in the production and deployment of nuclear weapons through an agreement to limit and reduce military budgets which would help the transition from partial measures to general and complete disarmament; ninthly, a reduction in the military budgets of the permanent members of the Security Council and the allocation of part of the resources thus released for economic and social assistance to the developing countries; tenthly, in order to draw the attention of the Governments and peoples of the world to the direction the arms race is taking, the Secretary-General should keep the facts under periodic review and inform the Assembly thereon; and, finally, the adoption of the Secretary-General's suggestion to devote to national and international disarmament efforts \$1 million for every \$1,000 million currently spent on arms [*1st meeting*].

163. Mr. BANDIO (Central African Empire) (*interpretation from French*): The tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament which was convened on the initiative of the non-aligned countries at the fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries held at Colombo, is an extremely important and unprecedented event for our world:

164. The delegation of the Central African Empire welcomes this opportunity to join its voice to those preceding speakers who have congratulated the President on his brilliant election to the presidency of this tenth special session. For our delegation it is a real pleasure to see a distinguished diplomat from a friendly country, Yugoslavia, which was a founding member of the non-aligned movement and was host to the first conference of the movement, preside over the debates of this important and memorable session on which the future of mankind undoubtedly depends.

165. My delegation would also take this opportunity to express to Mr. Waldheim, Secretary-General of the Organization, our admiration for the most praiseworthy, persevering and tireless efforts which he has been making to ensure that we work towards conditions which will be favourable to the search for and indeed the attainment of the objectives of lasting peace in the interests of international détente as provided for in the Charter of our Organization.

166. We would also take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Ortiz de Rozas and his team for the excellent work which they have done in making available to us such a full and comprehensive document. The delegation of the Central African Empire hopes that the discussions which will be held on this important instrument will in fact open up prospects which will enable us to accelerate the process of general disarmament. The development of nuclear weapons, thermonuclear weapons, and other kinds of weapons constantly threatens the security of mankind.

167. Man of peace and advocate of the peaceful settlement of disputes among nations, His Majesty Bokassa I strongly condemns the arms race and encourages and supports all efforts to pursue international détente.

168. Many speakers, including representatives from the super-Powers and Powers possessing nuclear weapons, have come to this very rostrum to make their statements and to deplore the destructive consequences of these instruments of war. The delegation of the Central African Empire hopes that the political will will emerge to transcend selfishness and ambitions of hegemony and that the cry of distress of the entire human race will at last be heard. It is important to realize that recourse to force in international relations is linked to the fundamental inequalities which are a feature of our world. Moreover, force necessarily implies the danger of war and of a series of lesser conflicts.

169. We all remember what happened at Hiroshima and at Nagasaki on 6 and 9 August 1945, and we also remember what, unfortunately, is taking place now in various parts of the world.

170. The African continent was long ignored and escaped covetous designs at the international level, but today it has become the stake in the gambling of the major Powers. Adjectives have been invented to describe each one of our countries to create divisions amongst us in order to try to give the map of Africa the same political, social and economic appearance which it had in 1885 at Berlin.

171. The Central African Empire responds in the negative to those who would divide Africa and set one part of Africa against another. His Majesty Bokassa I, of Central Africa, said in this connexion: "We want agricultural equipment to develop our rich and fertile lands, but instead we are offered guns with which to kill each other".

172. My delegation strongly emphasizes the fact that the arms race represents a situation in which the weaker nations are subjected in a most dangerous manner to domination and interference by other States which are economically and militarily powerful.

173. Like preceding speakers, we, too, condemn the exorbitant world expenditure on the construction and development of the whole range of lethal weapons of war. One thousand millions of dollars a day: What happiness that money could bring to those people who are doomed to every sort of disaster—in a word, to grinding poverty.

174. My country, the Central African Empire, which suffers doubly because it is both a land-locked country and is one of the 25 poorest countries in the world, would, I assure you, Mr. President, greatly appreciate any effort made to ensure a reduction in this colossal military expenditure by the great Powers. We would greatly appreciate it if those Powers were to devote just a little more of their national product to the social and economic development of the poor countries.

175. I should like to end my statement by quoting once again the words of His Majesty Bokassa I, words which are still very relevant today, although he pronounced them from this same rostrum on 20 October 1970, when he participated in the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Organization. He said:

"The Second United Nations Development Decade ought to be both the Second Development Decade and the disarmament decade. I think it would be pointless to refer to a disarmament decade if an ever-growing multiplicity of situations of wretchedness, hunger and frustration did not give hundreds of millions of men, who would have little to fear from an apocalyptic death from modern weapons, the ultimate recourse of a different sort of death, but one which in the end analysis is just as final."<sup>5</sup>

176. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

177. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in his statement to the General Assembly earlier this afternoon, declared that among the foreign policy aims of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is the ensuring of friendly relations with neighbouring countries, including Pakistan.

178. On behalf of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, I welcome that statement. Afghanistan and Pakistan are close neighbouring countries whose peoples from time immemorial have been bound together by ties of race, culture and a common faith. In the contemporary age, peace, goodwill and friendship between the two countries are vital to the promotion of their national interests and their deepest aspirations.

179. The Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, faithful to its established principle and policy of improving relations with Afghanistan, has notified the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan of its readiness to continue the political dialogue with a view to the settlement of the outstanding differences between the two countries in accordance with the five principles of peaceful co-existence, as mentioned in the Pakistan/Soviet Union communiqué of October 1974, issued in Moscow, and the Pakistan/Afghanistan joint communiqué of June 1976 at Kabul. Among the five principles of peaceful co-

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Twenty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1875th meeting, para. 146.

existence are the duty of States not to interfere in the internal affairs of one another, as well as the duty to respect the political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. It is in accordance with the letter and spirit of those joint declarations that Pakistan is ready to maintain its relations with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

180. Mr. MAROOFI (Afghanistan): My delegation did not intend to ask for the right to speak at this late hour. However, the remarks which have just been made by the distinguished head of the delegation of Pakistan, remarks

in which reference was made to the statement of the head of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan outlining the foreign policy of the new democratic national Government vis-à-vis its neighbours, impel us to do so. The representative of Pakistan alluded to certain points which, in the view of my delegation, require clarification. We therefore reserve our right to reply on another occasion.

*The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.*