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President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

AGENDA ITEM 8

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, I have the pleasure, on behalf of the delegation of the State of Qatar and on my own behalf, to convey to you our warm and sincere congratulations upon your unanimous election to the presidency of this important session. The diplomatic skill and personal competence that you have displayed during the proceedings of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly as well as at the ninth special session devoted to the problem of Namibia confirm the confidence of my delegation in the success of our debate at this special session devoted to disarmament.

2. I should also like to take this opportunity to express, on behalf of my delegation, our whole-hearted satisfaction and high esteem for the valuable efforts made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Waldheim, in the service of the international community in the field of disarmament.

3. Permit me also to express my thanks and sincere esteem as well as that of my delegation for the efforts made by the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee of this Special Session, Mr. Ortiz de Rozas, and also the members of the Committee throughout their long and intensive series of meetings. Those efforts merit our admiration and respect.

4. Since the General Assembly adopted its first resolution in 1946, in which it called for definite proposals to be made regarding the halting of the nuclear arms race and the race to acquire other weapons of mass destruction, the United Nations has been making continuous and determined efforts to limit nuclear armaments and conventional weapons and definitively to prohibit these weapons, in the conviction that the banning of nuclear tests and disarmament are in the highest interests of the human race. This is an important stage on the road to the limitation of the invention of nuclear weapons and their proliferation and also to the elimination from the world of the problems of contamination and pollution which have such deleterious effects on present and future generations.

5. The psychological capacity of man and the political wisdom of human society are closely connected with social and moral advantages and with the experience accumulated

in the organization of collective efforts to attain the objectives we all aspire to. If good intentions and wise policies prevail among all the parties concerned—and I am thinking particularly of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America—in efforts to bring about an agreement on this subject and if negotiations take place in a spirit of understanding transcending the limits of narrow political self-interest, this will undoubtedly lead to appreciable results in the field of disarmament.

6. Man has been victorious in his struggle with other species on this planet. Gradually he evolved until he came to master nature. In spite of the errors that he has committed against himself he was nevertheless able to create the productive civilization which we enjoy today. We must do our best to preserve that civilization because it is closely connected with man's survival. It will not be easy to ensure the future of mankind, unless we in the international community are able to arrive at a consensus in favour of general and complete disarmament.

7. My country's delegation believes that disarmament is of the highest importance in the minds of all the people of the world and that it is a matter of urgent necessity. We must find practical ways and means acceptable to all countries, of solving this dangerous and continuing problem. We also believe that this session is the appropriate forum for discussion among all States—particularly the nuclear States—of their common problems, in order that they may shoulder their own responsibilities in solving the problems of disarmament and bringing about the success of this session by all possible means, including concerted and joint action to define the conditions necessary for achieving a general and complete agreement on the limitation of the arms race and disarmament and for ensuring for the United Nations a primary role in all efforts aimed at disarmament.

8. The danger threatening mankind is the existence of military nuclear arsenals and other forms of weapons of mass destruction which are enough to annihilate the human race. There is no doubt that the continuous development of technology for the manufacture of new and more destructive weapons is accelerating and increases the danger of military confrontation and of a nuclear war that would destroy everything.

9. It has become urgent for us all to take the necessary measures to limit armaments and to bring about disarmament—in particular nuclear disarmament which should be given pride of place. The same is true with regard to the creation of nuclear-free zones and peace zones. The banning of war, respect for sovereignty and the non-use of

force or the threat of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, non-intervention in the internal affairs of countries, the total prohibition of nuclear weapons, the banning of napalm and other weapons which cause unnecessary suffering to human beings, the study of the economic effects of the arms race, the limitation of the military budgets of major Powers and other countries with a great military and economic potential, the elimination of racism, the eradication of colonialism and the liberation of peoples from foreign domination—all that should be taken together. At the same time we must refuse to encourage colonial countries in committing aggression against others, as is the case in southern Africa and the Middle East and should strive for the elimination of regional and other wars, in many of which the great Powers are directly involved because they provide modern arms to the countries concerned. It is becoming indispensable to redouble international efforts to create conditions favouring the attainment of the objective to which we all aspire, namely, general and complete disarmament.

10. On the subject of the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East, the delegation of my country believes that the threat to this region and what increases the danger of war is that nuclear technology has now fallen into the hands of the racists and colonialists in Israel and South Africa. This constitutes for us a direct threat and a dangerous increase in the instability in the region of the Middle East and the African continent, thus endangering the peace and security of the whole world. The great Powers which created those régimes and provide them with the most modern weapons bear a special responsibility for the increasingly rapid proliferation of nuclear armaments in the possession of those States, while the States which possess nuclear weapons could have enjoyed the immense advantages offered to them by the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and for development, which in turn would facilitate the development and establishment of the New International Economic Order for the well-being of all peoples.

11. My country, which is a small State, understands the reality of the political conditions in the Middle East. The continuous increase in Israeli armaments, the unlimited economic and military support given to Israel by certain States, apart from the stocks of sophisticated and complex weapons already in the Israeli arsenals, the nuclear blackmail exerted by Israel against the peoples of the region, the vast increase in military expenditure by the Israelis, which represented 75 per cent of the 1974 budget making it the highest rate of military expenditure of any State in the world—all this confirms the aggressive intentions of the State of Israel, which is based on a policy of occupation and expansion which it pursues in the region and which is contrary to the objectives and aims of disarmament and the declaration of the Middle East as a nuclear-free zone. It also serves to increase the danger of military confrontation among the great Powers and constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

12. Because of a profound conviction concerning the essential objectives of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, we call upon all States which give any eco-

nomie and military support to Israel to refrain henceforth from providing that support, since in our view that does not in any way serve the cause of peace and disarmament in the region but rather encourages Israel to carry out its plans of aggression and expansion at the expense of the Arab nations.

13. We understand our responsibility now and in the future in the Middle East, and our delegation believes that in order to reassure non-nuclear States with regard to any fears they may have concerning their security, it is necessary: first, for all the States concerned solemnly to declare that they will refrain from producing or possessing nuclear weapons; secondly, to insist on the need for all States which possess nuclear weapons to refrain from helping the States in that region to develop or produce nuclear weapons; thirdly, for those States to undertake not to have recourse to the threat or use of nuclear weapons against States in that region however serious the circumstances; fourthly, to prohibit the development and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and to move towards the elimination of the military equipment of all the States in that region and the destruction of existing stockpiles; fifthly, that all States in the region which possess nuclear weapons accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] as it applies to the Middle East.

14. My country attaches great importance to the initiative aimed at making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace in which there will be no type of offensive or aggressive weapons, military installations, nuclear weapons or any other weapons of mass destruction. The military presence of great Powers or others, in whatever form, must be abolished, as must the use of warships or military aircraft in that region for aggressive purposes or for the purpose of threatening or using force against any coastal State of the Indian Ocean or any land-locked State in that area, in order not to infringe the rights or the national sovereignty of any of those States.

15. Qatar appeals to all States and particularly those with a military presence in that area to agree to accept and respect the principles and objectives of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace and the provisions appearing in resolution 2832(XXVI), thus putting that resolution into effect with a view to adopting the necessary measures for the elimination of all military bases and all aspects of foreign military presence in that region.

16. My country whole-heartedly and firmly supports the declaration aimed at making south Asia, Africa and Latin America nuclear-free regions, and believes that all the oceans and seas should be declared zones of peace, which in our opinion would lead to a reduction of the tensions and fears which are rife among all the countries and peoples of those regions and would help to consolidate peace and security not only in that area but in the world as a whole.

17. Since the last world war the effects of the arms race and the constant increase in military budgets have had a direct bearing on destabilizing the economic, political and social situations which stem from the arms race.

18. At its twenty-fifth session the General Assembly adopted resolution 2626(XXV) which marked the beginning of the United Nations Second Development Decade and specified an international development strategy for the decade. The success of development efforts at the international level depends upon an improvement in the international situation, in particular appreciable progress towards general and complete disarmament. The General Assembly noted in resolution 2602(XXIV) that there was a close link between the Second Development Decade and the Disarmament Decade. Similarly, in resolution 32/75 of 1977 the General Assembly noted the economic and social consequences of the armaments race and its extremely harmful effects on world peace and security.

19. The nuclear and conventional arms race constitutes a heavy burden for both the advanced and the developing countries and swallows up vast material and human resources, so that the reduction of military budgets and the cessation of the arms race would have a positive effect by permitting the use of part of the resources thus saved for the attainment of the objectives of general and complete disarmament, through increasing assistance to the developing countries, thus enabling them to put into effect their economic and social development plans and thus put an end to illiteracy, suffering and poverty in those countries which are so plagued. Thus, we would put an end to situations which make possible the domination of certain countries by other countries. In that way we would have acquitted ourselves of our responsibilities vis-à-vis present and future generations.

20. The adverse economic and social implications of the arms race have given rise to inflation and to an imbalance in the world monetary system, as well as an increase in military expenditures and a growth in the arms trade which, in turn, has an adverse effect on the economies of developing countries. World public opinion needs to be woken up to this so that we can restructure international economic relations and put into effect the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 3201(S-VI) and 3202(S-VI) adopted in 1974. That would also be in keeping with the provisions of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, set forth in General Assembly resolution 3281 (XXIX) adopted in 1974, and the provisions of General Assembly resolution 3362(S-VII) adopted in 1975.

21. The danger of a nuclear war threatens the very survival of the human species. To avert this threat is a most important task which the international community must perform. According to statistics from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute the number of nuclear warheads carried by missiles is increasing, having risen from 3,700 in 1970 to about 12,000 in 1976. Thus the number is more than three times what it was. The destructive capacity of these nuclear warheads is equivalent to that of 1.3 million nuclear bombs such as those dropped on Hiroshima. It is equivalent to 100 million tons of dynamite and 50,000 bombs like those dropped on Hiroshima, according to statistics from the Stockholm Institute. That indicates the growing magnitude of the arsenals and of the

stockpiles of biological and chemical weapons and other weapons of mass destruction in the possession of the major nuclear Powers.

22. We must shoulder an historic responsibility for the survival of man and of civilization. We are aware of the danger threatening international peace and security because of the continuance of the development of new weapons and the stockpiling of nuclear weapons and other arms of mass destruction, in short because of the continuing of the nuclear-arms race. In spite of all efforts made to limit the arms race and bring about disarmament, so far no appreciable progress has been made towards implementing measures which might contribute to a solution of the problems of disarmament. The State of Qatar believes that it is necessary, imperative even, to redouble our efforts to seek a real solution to these problems so that we can draw closer to the goal of general and complete disarmament, it being understood that the major Powers which possess nuclear weapons and other arms of mass destruction should undertake to continue their negotiations in a spirit of good faith in order to attain this goal in a climate of good faith.

23. In conclusion, I should like to say that at this special session we should renew our determination to achieve these aims. We must assess the progress achieved so far in the solution of disarmament problems. We must study ways and means of ensuring the continuance of negotiations between the great Powers and giving them the necessary momentum so that we can achieve real disarmament, prepare the way for the halting of the arms race and devote our resources to social and economic development of all peoples on the basis of justice and equality, and in conditions better than those which have hitherto prevailed.

24. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): In the millennia of man's persistent search for forms of society which effectively meet his needs for food, for shelter, for safety and for a more satisfying way of life, there have been points of crisis, points of retrogression and points of breakthrough. At those crucial junctures in man's history when movement forward has been recorded, there was investment and commitment to new forms of societal organization even when it involved uncertainties that untried paths sometimes entail. It was man's creative responses on those occasions of success which have propelled humanity as a whole to higher and higher levels of living. Examples of this process have been the domestication of certain forms of plant and animal life and the harnessing of natural energy forces to constructive production for human needs.

25. Today, it may well be that we have within our grasp the opportunity to reach a similar point of breakthrough. The inevitable march of history requires no less. It is the way in which we grapple with our present problems that will dictate the pace of that march.

26. Whether it be the issue of international economic co-operation, in respect of which the New International Economic Order articulates necessary perceptions, the management system we devise in the new recognition of the finiteness of many of the earth's resources, or the steps taken to confront the problems of poverty, malnutrition

and human degradation—these problems are best solved through the institution of universal arrangements for global co-operation. The problems I have enumerated, as well as others, have already found their place on the international agenda for discussion and action.

27. Unhappily the reality of our acknowledged interdependence and the necessity for a global solution have not permeated universal human concern in the area of security.

28. The challenge faced today by mankind is whether in seeking universal solutions to all these global problems, some of us, operating within a framework of old assumptions, will continue to adhere to the ways, of custom, or whether we will confront them courageously and innovatively.

29. That is why, Mr. President, it is a happy augury for the final success of our deliberations at this tenth special session devoted exclusively to disarmament that we should be meeting under your wise and skilful guidance. Your long experience at a high level in the public affairs of your country, Yugoslavia, and in major consultations, including those of the non-aligned movement, will be of inestimable value to us as we seek to resolve the difficulties of the issue before us.

30. From time immemorial the right of self-defence has formed part of the corpus of principles which have been central to man's long and arduous search for peace and security. It is a right which finds reflection in the Charter of this Organization.

31. An objective historical analysis will however reveal that when man has engaged in war it has not always been in pursuance of the right of legitimate self-defence. Indeed, it is the case that the right of self-defence has often been invoked to justify aggression. The desire for territorial aggrandizement, the denial of peoples' rights to self-determination and national liberation, the drive for exploitation of natural resources, activities spawned by class interests within and across nation States have been the essential underpinnings of armed conflicts.

32. Are we not entitled to ask, why has there been such corruption and abuse in the name of an exercise of the right of self-defence? The answer surely lies in the utilization of a certain paradigm of the world and the structural relationships between its constituent elements. Such a paradigm, informed as it is by a belief in the validity of hierarchical relationships, and a belief that growth can be achieved only at the expense of others, is manifested in an aggressive assertion of power and exploitation, and results in an ordering of international relations based on domination and control.

33. It was as a consequence of the fashioning of such an international system, and the desire to sustain it, that the structures of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism were produced.

34. Success in our efforts during this special session on disarmament, as well as in regard to other issues of universal concern requiring global action, will be hindered or as-

sisted by the extent to which there is persistence in the pursuit of such concepts and the habits of thought and behaviour which derive from them.

35. When in December 1946 the General Assembly adopted an early resolution on disarmament, the international milieu was significantly different from what it is today. The second European civil war, which engulfed the entire human community, with monumental loss of life, was behind us. Since then of course there have been costly and no less tragic so-called regional wars; and there has been the hotly contested cold war in the ideological polarity between East and West.

36. It is, I suggest, not inapposite to recall that despite the tentative indications of fissures in the wartime alliance in the 1940s, those who framed the Charter of this Organization proceeded on the assumption that peace having been achieved, the prime requirement was its "maintenance", a perception which is naturally reflected in the language of the Charter.

37. Our 33 years' experience have however taught us otherwise in this particular regard. For "peace" is illusory if it is "maintained" in a world which tolerates colonial excrescences and is plagued with hierarchical relations of domination and exploitation, with racism, and with an international economic system rooted in inequality and injustice, side by side with selective affluence.

38. But that is not all which our experience of more recent attempts at international organization and co-operation has demonstrated. The deficiencies of the structures devised in the wake of the victory over fascism in the 1940s for the rational and just management of the global polity are self-evident. What the current argument is really about is whether the refurbishment of those structures is sufficient or whether their complete reconstruction is necessary.

39. Our experience has also served to demonstrate other objective verities. Not least among them is the perception and acknowledgement of our interdependence. Without any undervaluation of the contradictions which intrude in processes of transition, as societies, including the international community, move inevitably to higher forms of organization, the paramount concern should be that individual and collective actions be informed and sustained by the ineluctable triumph of justice and equity. For otherwise the global society will hover on the precipice of annihilation or oscillate between the prospect of it and the narrow parameters of an equilibrium founded on terror.

40. Thus, parallel to the efforts which the international community makes in the field of disarmament must be further steps for the democratization of international political and economic relations. Progress in both fields will be mutually reinforcing. Acknowledgement of global interdependence and the requirements of peaceful coexistence demand such action contemporaneously, and with equal vigour.

41. In more specific terms, there needs to be greater respect for certain fundamental principles. For in regard to

many of them there has been too often only rhetorical commitment. Foremost among those principles is the right of each State to pursue freely its own path of political, economic and social development—the concept of pluralism—and to do so without outside interference. The breach of this fundamental right, and the all-too-frequent negation of the concomitant obligation of non-interference in the affairs of States, not only retard the possibilities for more harmonious inter-State relations but also breed mistrust and hostility.

42. Included among those principles is the question of territorial integrity. It is a principle of primordial importance. After centuries of internecine wars, Europe finally settled its borders at the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Earlier, the continent of Africa, with wisdom and foresight, committed itself to respect for inherited boundaries. The universal observance of this principle would remove potential sources of conflict and tension.

43. Non-alignment has always provided an alternative view of the way in which inter-State relations should be structured. It has consistently advocated the democratization of international relations. It has always been in the vanguard of forces struggling for international peace and security. It is a philosophy whose inward thrust is toward transformation and which externally promotes true interdependence. Consequently, it adheres to the view that situations of conflict can be dealt with through consultation and co-operation and that the objective of reconciliation and adjusting the legitimate interests of all States is feasible.

44. Adherence to these principles is, I venture to suggest, a guarantee against the extinction of life on this planet.

45. All who have spoken before me from this rostrum have emphasized that globally we are heavily over-armed in nuclear and conventional terms. Both the capacity for global overkill and the vast expenditure and resource consumption involved identify the nuclear arsenals as the focus of our foremost concern. The possession of nuclear arms has been projected as a source of stability and balance. Yet the race which has ensued is predicated on competition and has served to increase the potential for conflict. For in that competitive search for stability and balance, every technological advance and refinement leads to newer and more terrifying weapon systems based on a need to pre-empt the adversary. In short, there seems to be an inbuilt thrust towards vertical proliferation and an increasingly uneasy balance.

46. We recognize, however, that there has been some evolution of positions among the nuclear Powers. Despite the present apparent difficulties, it is clearly desirable that further agreements on arms limitations be encouraged as they will create a milieu which will make feasible the objective—and it is an urgent one—of halting the further development of nuclear armaments and establishing a time-bound programme for the reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and for their complete elimination.

47. At a time when more and more developing countries are seeking access to nuclear technology to quicken the pace of their development, it is particularly disturbing that one feature of the proliferation of nuclear technology is the emergence of the so-called tactical nuclear weapon for battlefield use. We must guard against the danger of the development of a doctrine which regards as feasible the use of such weapons in any situation, not least in the developing world.

48. As I said earlier, a prime objective is the complete elimination of all nuclear weapons. As we seek to attain this objective it is nevertheless desirable to prevent the spread of such weapons. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons sought to achieve this latter result. But it has been limited in its effect by the discriminatory nature of some of its provisions and the unequal obligations it places on members of the family of nations. It is now an urgent necessity that correlative steps be taken by the nuclear Powers.

49. Meanwhile, however, there should be no insistence on conditions for access to nuclear technology for developmental purposes which reflect adherence to hierarchical structures of power. It is neither justifiable nor feasible to decouple the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons from the nuclear disarmament of existing nuclear-weapon Powers.

50. Despite these difficulties and set-backs the process of détente has been a significant development in the relaxation of international tensions. Starting essentially from a desire to adjust relations between the two super-Powers and their respective allies, détente, to be truly effective, must extend to all areas of the globe. The relaxation of international tensions is a necessary condition for peaceful coexistence. But the vision of a régime of inter-State relations today must not be informed by the perceptions of a bygone era. Genuine détente must take account of the interests of the developing countries, and it cannot be a smoke-screen behind which we dress our old perceptions in a new garb so as better to maintain former habits of thought and behaviour motivated by an assumed need for spheres of influence. Nor should the testing of the validity of détente be allowed in areas which, though welcoming its initiation and continuance, have not yet been integrated as full and equal partners in its operation. Above all, there cannot be a permanent narrow operational perspective for détente.

51. That is why we must express anxiety at what appear to be the dangerous developments in relation to Africa. On all accounts we need to ensure that the embers of the cold war are not reignited in Africa or in any other part of the developing world.

52. The enormous global traffic in arms and the waste of funds and skilled manpower have been dealt with by many speakers in this debate. I wish merely to remark upon the opportunity that modern sophisticated military equipment provides for linkages of influence and control beyond national boundaries and to observe that the high replacement capacity of some weapons systems sold to the developing

world make such traffic an enormously profitable enterprise.

53. It should be one of the main tasks of the Assembly at this special session to explore the closely interlinked relationship between international security and disarmament.

54. In identifying a programme of action for disarmament it is therefore essential that at the same time we intensify the attention given to certain specific problems of international security. In this regard, the international community must maintain its pressure to see to it that the processes of decolonization in southern Africa are not thwarted by the adoption of sham solutions designed to preserve the power of minority racist régimes. In the Middle East, the recovery of a homeland for the Palestinians and the effective assertion of their full national rights must remain the core of any just and lasting settlement. In the case of Cyprus, we must continue to insist on a just and fair solution which will permit all the people of Cyprus to live in peace and security.

55. An essential corollary to the disarmament effort must be the strengthening of the modalities and mechanisms for the resolution of conflicts under the auspices of the United Nations. Although some basic components of a peace and security system were envisaged in the Charter, the international milieu has so far impeded their full development. A global community committed to disarmament must, to take one example, be ready to implement Article 43 of the Charter, under which all Members undertook to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with special arrangements armed forces and supporting facilities for the purposes of international peace and security.

56. There is already a body of achievement and experience in the area of peace-keeping and peace-making. It is essential that these techniques be improved. In this context, special attention should be given to the role of the Security Council so as to enable it to be more effective as a global peace-making and peace-keeping organ responsive to the wishes of the majority of the international community.

57. The General Assembly has sought in such major framework instruments as the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734(XXV)*] and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625(XXV)*] to elaborate norms of conduct for an interdependent global community. The adoption of a declaration on non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the conclusion of a treaty on the non-use of force would be supportive of these declarations and could act as stimuli to the disarmament process.

58. The United Nations must likewise support and promote the implementation of regional arrangements designed to advance security. In this area, the Treaty of Tlatelolco¹, which seeks to commit the States of the region

and the international community as a whole to the denuclearization of Latin America, is an important initiative. However, such arrangements will not secure their primary objective of regional security if they are conceived as, or serve as instruments for the perpetuation of controversies and disputes which originate from colonialism. It is therefore a matter for regret that a provision of the Treaty of Tlatelolco discriminates against my country. We consider that this exclusionary clause should be excised from the Treaty so that it might better serve as a model for those other regions of the world where similar proposals are under consideration.

59. Wider in its scope than regional denuclearization is the concept of the zone of peace. We note that in the case of the implementation of the zone in the Indian Ocean, important talks are in progress between the two major nuclear Powers. We consider that it would significantly enhance the prospects for the early establishment of that zone if the concerned States in the region could institute among themselves mechanisms for regular consultation and programmes of co-operation to bridge divisions which are a heritage from the past. The zone of peace provides a feasible formula for regional disarmament and may well be pursued in other regions, including the Mediterranean.

60. If the resolution of conflict and the construction of a régime of genuine peace and security provide the essential framework for the exercise of options for disarmament, very closely inter-linked is the problem of development.

61. It has been asserted by more than one speaker that there is need for an in-depth study of the link between development and disarmament. Guyana supports this proposal. We are confident, however, that the results of such a study will show that the re-allocation of resources, including technology and research, and the creation of new employment opportunities, which disarmament involves, will be best possible within the context of the New International Economic Order.

62. It is true that in some economies, military expenditure is embraced as a conscious mechanism for stimulating aggregate demand. But armaments production is not the most efficient engine of growth in economies which engage in it extensively. Indeed, it is significant that the two industrialized market economies whose growth rates in recent times have been outstanding, were in large measure freed from the burden of significant defence expenditure. Equally to the point, it is at least possible that such intransigent problems as inflation and monetary disruption are best solved within an order which facilitates an equitable redistribution of resources and gains.

63. This special session should endeavour to reduce the various proposals advanced for channelling resources from disarmament to development to a flexible formula which would enable the States with major military expenditure to begin at once to commit an element of those funds to an appropriate capital fund under the auspices of the United Nations. Such funds may initially be earmarked for projects which in a short period significantly advance human welfare and, at the same time, are of high visibility. The

¹ *Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America* (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 283).

favourable public opinion which such projects could attract should help to maintain the will and the commitment to disarmament.

64. The possibilities for the reorganization of economic and social activities which must result from genuine disarmament must be seen in its proper perspective. For it is an investment in global development and international security.

65. As we proceed to consider a programme of action which is necessary and feasible for the achievement of genuine disarmament, we need to look carefully at the institutions we employ and the modalities we utilize. We must ensure that the requirements of universality in approach and effectiveness in result are not ignored. Thus it is important that we take account of the experience gleaned from the operations of existing institutions, in other fields, which do violence to the principles of sovereignty and of equality.

66. Guyana considers that the General Assembly should be directly linked with all machinery devised to promote disarmament. It should be continuously active in those processes. We believe as well that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, appropriately reconstituted, should include all nuclear Powers, should have a democratic system for its chairmanship and should remain pivotal in the negotiating process.

67. At this special session appropriate mechanisms should be identified for the regular review of progress in disarmament and for the widespread dissemination of information on the subject. In this connexion, Guyana supports the proposal of the Secretary-General that an advisory board should be appointed [*1st meeting*].

68. Guyana fully identifies itself with the proposals advanced by non-aligned countries. While we remain responsible to creative ideas from other quarters, we consider that the proposals of the non-aligned countries provide a basis for global consensus.

69. In the aftermath of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the peoples of the world were acutely alerted to the dangers of a senseless nuclear arms programme. In many areas, peoples, individually and collectively, worked to arrest developments in the nuclear arms field. I, personally, recall vividly the activities of people in England which culminated in a stirring march from Aldermaston. But thereafter, peoples sensitivities to these dangers were lulled through a false sense of security brought about by the concept of a tolerable balance based on nuclear terror. It is thus of tremendous importance that we at this special session heed the renewed awareness of the world's peoples.

70. No longer can we afford to conceive in pre-nuclear terms the measures we take and the system we create. We need more than ever, as the non-aligned movement has consistently urged, a survival-oriented and life-sustaining system of world order. We are faced with a choice among difficult necessities. Let us not on this occasion, as has too often been the case, display a capacity for turning away

from—for confining to the limbo of forgetfulness—those facts which we find unbearable and those situations which appear intractable.

71. Mr. CHARLES (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, before delving into the substance of the subject before us today, namely general and complete disarmament, I hope you will allow me, without offending your sense of modesty, to extend to you my warmest congratulations on your election as President of this session. By this choice the Assembly unanimously paid tribute once more to your outstanding qualities as a statesman and diplomat. It is also a tribute to your country, Yugoslavia, the cradle of non-alignment, Yugoslavia, which has always been distinguished by its primary role in advancing the cause of genuine disarmament and peace in the world.

72. My delegation would be remiss if it did not mention the commendable and courageous efforts of the Preparatory Committee for this special session. On this occasion we should like to convey our gratitude to the members of that Committee.

73. The participation of the Republic of Haiti in this very important discussion, upon the outcome of which the very survival of mankind will to a great extent depend, is more than a simple formality—it is an essential duty. As a peace-loving and developing country, with a particular interest in the issue of disarmament, we cannot evade our responsibilities. Moreover, this is an opportunity for us to stress the effects of the arms race on our security and our development. We categorically reject the idea that this issue is of concern only to the military Powers. While it is true that those Powers must accept full responsibility for the very dangerous situation which they created, it is also true that the third-world countries must see to it that all necessary steps are taken to rid mankind of the spectre of war.

74. That is why we congratulate the group of non-aligned countries for having taken the highly timely initiative of requesting the convening of this special session on disarmament, thus proving to be, as described by Morgenthau in his very important article, a force capable of acting as an arbiter among the major Powers in resolving conflicts, and contributing decisively to the preservation of peace.

Mr. Alzamora (Peru), Vice-President, took the Chair.

75. We have come to this session without excessive illusions, hoping that, in view of the seriousness of the situation, it will be possible for this Assembly to start a process of seeking a formula which will enable States to eliminate the threat of the arms race, so that mankind in distress will finally enter an era of genuine peace which will generate progress.

76. Speaking of peace, General Eisenhower, former President of the United States and hero of the Second World War, said, in one of his statements on the disastrous consequences of a nuclear-age war, that "there is no alternative to peace".

77. The search for peace is even more essential now than it was in the past. In this very forum, numerous representatives have spoken on behalf of their peoples, who are demanding an end to the senseless arms race and asking that the vast sums devoted to it be used to meet their needs.

78. While there seems to be unanimous agreement on the need to put an end to the arms race, up to the present the main authors of this tragedy have seemed incapable of freeing themselves of an excessive concern for this security. We recognize that all States have a legitimate right to security. Indeed, one of the responsibilities of a Government is to safeguard and protect its citizens, as well as the security of its national territory. But we know also that security is not purely and simply a military problem. If it were, it would be purely and simply a problem of armaments or materials. It was Mr. Robert MacNamara who told us in 1966, while he was Secretary of Defense of the United States, that we still tend to see internal security as a state of military preparedness, as though security were based on an immense and terrifying arsenal. Mr. MacNamara stressed that in the final analysis strength alone cannot guarantee security, and that beyond a certain stage the margin of security is not expanded by the simple acquisition of a greater volume of military materials.

79. Those very wise remarks command our full support. In fact, we feel that, far from contributing to the security of a State, an increase in the volume, or a refinement, of armaments produces the opposite effect. Over-arming to guarantee one's security against another State actually prompts a similar reaction from that State. Hence an exaggerated over-all build-up of the engines of destruction endangers not only one's own country but mankind as a whole.

80. In a world where it is no longer arrows and swords which are at issue, but rather missiles capable of sowing total destruction over a radius of more than 15,000 miles, and with power unprecedented in the history of explosives, we find it hard to imagine that people can discuss security in such naive terms without being parties to outrageous duplicity.

81. If we are truly interested in the question of disarmament we must approach it seriously, objectively and with pragmatism, avoiding any attitude or situation likely to engender distrust, bad faith or cynicism.

82. We are certainly not exaggerating when we stress the danger facing our world owing to the feverish action of the arms industry, whose one and only aim is to destroy.

83. As time goes by, negotiations become more complicated. Already more than 30 years have been devoted to the study of disarmament, yet the results so far have been practically negligible, involving only points of detail which bear no relationship to general and complete disarmament, the subject of this special session. The Treaty Banning Nuclear Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water², and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of

Nuclear Weapons were planned with the sole, unavowed aim of concentrating nuclear capability in the hands of a few major Powers. Although we participated in the preparation of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, which makes Latin America a nuclear-free zone, and its Protocols, we wonder how useful they would be to a country such as Mexico if a nuclear war were to break out between the United States and the Soviet Union. This demonstrates that the existence of denuclearized zones here and there cannot replace general and complete disarmament, which alone can avert catastrophe.

84. We are also among those who feel that the first step towards the solution of this problem is the restructuring and strengthening of the role and authority of the United Nations. We feel that if the Organization is to serve, as we hope it will, as a catalyst in harmonizing diverging views, by dispelling distrust and fear, we must ensure that it is strengthened. We understand the view of those States which feel that in the present state of affairs they cannot entrust their security to the United Nations. We tend to agree with them, since we know that the Organization has not always been able to ensure the implementation of its resolutions. A classic example of the Organization's inability to resolve the thorny problems within its purview is the case of Namibia, where it is supposed to be administering a Territory to which it does not even have access and where it is not able to guarantee the protection of the individuals for whom it has accepted full responsibility. Day after day it stands powerless and witnesses the massacre of the peace-loving, innocent and defenceless victims of Vorster's fascist and racist régime. The situation is the same in Cyprus and in the Middle East. It is obvious that there can be no peace as long as those hotbeds of tension subsist, and they will subsist as long as leaders continue to show a lack of foresight and wisdom and choose to give free rein to their lower instincts by resorting to force when they should use procedures set forth in the United Nations Charter for the peaceful solution of disputes.

85. On more than one occasion the world has experienced immense disasters that came close to plunging us all into oblivion because, in each case, force was substituted for law. These, in our view, are the clear lessons which should have inspired our work on disarmament.

86. The irony of the situation is that those who suffered those disasters and calamities can now afford to arm themselves and to prepare others for the purposes of destruction. The paradox is even more striking since the spectre of a world war still exists and is hovering over us. The arms race which we are witnessing today only increases the possibility of a catastrophe. Yet we must recognize that in many cases we are witnessing a situation of cause and effect. At the local or regional level, there is a need to eliminate the sources of conflict, to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of States on any pretext and to refrain from occupying or committing acts of aggression against the territories of neighbouring States.

87. The major Powers should also refrain from establishing strategic zones, spheres of influence or spheres of national interest. In brief, they must return to the ideals

² United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480, No. 6964, p. 43.

which prevailed at the establishment of the United Nations, so that our Organization can be a centre for harmonizing the efforts of nations. It is then and only then that the prerequisites will exist for the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

88. In the meantime, since the world is now in a state of over-armament, since existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons are more than sufficient by themselves to destroy all life in our world, the main nuclear Powers can reach immediate agreement to halt the arms race at its present point and can also agree upon a date for beginning the process of reducing their nuclear armaments until they are completely destroyed, according to a schedule which the nuclear Powers should themselves establish. At the same time, they should reach agreement on the reduction of military budgets. All of this can be done without in any way undermining their security.

89. The United Nations is the most appropriate forum in which to facilitate dialogue in this field.

90. It is understood that these measures in no way affect the right of all States, including the developing countries, to access to technology, to nuclear substances or equipment in order to meet their energy needs. Such access should be under international control.

91. We are also inclined to feel that any genuine progress in nuclear disarmament cannot fail to have a beneficial impact on all other disarmament negotiations.

92. With respect to the dissemination of these weapons, of which we seem to accuse the third world of having an excessive share, we should like to stress that these weapons are not produced in the third world; they are imported. It would suffice to prohibit their export to solve the problem.

93. All these steps, if they were to succeed, would release considerable sums of money which could then be devoted to development purposes.

94. There is no doubt that the arms race hampers the social and economic development of States. This is even more the case with the countries of the third world, which are powerless witnesses to the plundering of their natural resources.

95. The war industry must be transformed in order to meet the legitimate needs of mankind. It is not a war industry which can resolve the ever-growing problems in the years to come, but rather an industry planned and oriented towards the production of consumer goods which will help to eliminate the scourges that are the source of inexcusable misery in our world today.

96. In summary, I should like to state that we feel it is essential to strengthen the structure and authority of the United Nations in order to enable it effectively to play its role. We shall support all efforts towards genuine, general and complete disarmament. The horizontal and vertical

proliferation of nuclear and classical weapons must be limited and, by stages, completely eliminated. It is also necessary to strengthen the means of verification that are already in existence.

97. However, it should be stated that all our efforts at disarmament will remain futile if the Powers which possess armaments industries do not decide to make their contribution to such actions. Only the desire of nations to cooperate closely can guarantee the success of our work.

98. This is certainly not an easy task, nor is it a task which can be accomplished overnight. Just as with any historical change, this change must stem from a whole series of adjustments, from an objective assessment of the contemporary balance of power and from a courageous redefinition of priorities. The forces that enable this readaptation to take place should make their various contributions in keeping with their ability to draw a lesson from history.

99. Mr. TSHERING (Bhutan): I have the honour and privilege of conveying to the President and to all the representatives meeting here the good wishes of the King of Bhutan, His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck, for the success of this special session devoted to disarmament.

100. I should also like to congratulate the President on his well-deserved election to the presidency of this tenth special session of the General Assembly. His experience in international affairs and the excellent guidance he gave during past special sessions assures us that he will be able to bring these important discussions to a successful conclusion.

101. We in Bhutan attach great importance to this special session not only because it was initiated by the movement of non-aligned countries, but also because we believe that disarmament is a question which concerns the very survival of mankind. It is a question which has occupied a permanent place in the thinking of persons and countries concerned with world peace for about a century. Since the Hague Conference in 1899, many international initiatives have been taken, including the Disarmament Conference at Geneva in 1932. The framers of the Covenant of the League of Nations took pains to make disarmament one of the primary aspects of the collective quest for peace and security. The League was indeed almost continuously engaged in efforts to formulate an acceptable plan for the limitation of military forces.

102. The events that followed compelled the Founding Members of the United Nations to confer upon both the Security Council and the General Assembly specific responsibilities in the field of armament and disarmament. Articles 26 and 11 (1) of the Charter provide these specific responsibilities in order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources. The discussions, negotiations and studies which have taken place since 1946 form many volumes of documents of the United Nations and other concerned international organizations.

103. I do not, therefore, propose to dwell on what is al-

ready available in the records or on the position of the delegation of the Kingdom of Bhutan on all aspects of disarmament. We have reviewed the progress made and we find that nothing has changed to necessitate a revision of our position as recorded in the documents of the General Assembly and the First Committee. I shall however concentrate briefly on some of the issues which, in our opinion, call for urgent solution.

104. We participate in this session as a small State Member of the United Nations. We are keenly aware that the international community is living under the constant threat of nuclear holocaust. The movement for arms reduction and limitation has been as unproductive of results as it has been productive of words. The efforts of the League of Nations were a tragic failure; those of the United Nations have thus far produced no tangible results. The time has come to seek a new and positive approach.

105. In the numerous debates, meetings and conferences on disarmament which have taken place, one thing has never been in dispute, that global disarmament, the destruction of all existing lethal weapons and a total ban on the production of new weapons of mass destruction without reservations or exceptions is the only way to ensure real and lasting peace and security and progress for the people of the world.

106. The logic of this concept is irrefutable. As long as there exist stockpiles of nuclear weapons sufficient to destroy all of mankind many times over, the possibility of a global holocaust will remain a constant threat. As long as a burgeoning arms trade continues to cause proliferation of the supply of conventional weapons in all parts of the world, wars will continue. As long as the arms race continues to divert vast scientific, technological and economic resources away from the areas of peaceful development in which they are so desperately needed, millions of the world's people will be prevented from achieving even the most rudimentary means of living a decent, dignified life.

107. And yet—as patently logical and obvious as this goal is—we enter the last quarter of the Disarmament Decade barely closer to its realization than we were all those years ago. The litany is familiar, and so is the response. The complex technical problems of disarmament are often cited: the difficulties of implementing the necessary measures; of agreeing upon which armaments may and which may not justifiably be retained to ensure the internal stability of nations; and of setting up and maintaining supervisory machinery.

108. These are complex questions which must be resolved, and they are by no means insoluble. It has therefore become increasingly clear that the real problem—the real reason why progress towards disarmament has in concrete terms been virtually zero—goes much deeper than these technicalities, for even in cases where technical and procedural questions have been adequately resolved we are witnessing a reluctance on the part of concerned States to implement agreements and treaties.

109. As we study this paradox, we arrive at an inescap-

able conclusion that, beneath all the noble aims and promising statements, lies a deep-rooted, partly psychological but partly real fear of disarmament, a fear of finding oneself defenceless and vulnerable in a world in which constant warfare of one kind or another has throughout history been a fact of life. There is the fear of the weak of being threatened or coerced by the strong. The results of this are pervasive. There is suspicion that, while some countries may comply with their commitments to disarm, others may not. There is fear of being outpaced in the name of the balance of power. There is fear of being the one to take the first step and distrust in the good faith of other nations to do likewise.

110. As long as these powerful factors continue to hold sway over the Governments of the world and their citizens, disarmament negotiations will be a pointless and cruel game, promising so much and delivering so little to a world longing desperately for a sane and permanent peace.

111. How can these barriers be overcome? It is our belief that all nations must be involved and actively involved in a fresh and enlightened examination of the crucial issues. Chief among these nations are the two super-Powers, and yet it is ironic that it is these very super-Powers which have shown perhaps the least willingness in recent years to lead the way towards complete and general disarmament. In fact, the reverse is true. While arms limitation talks have continued, so has the development of ever more sophisticated and destructive weaponry, so that the negotiations have barely been able—if indeed they have been able at all—even to keep pace with technological innovations. Far from halting research and development, which represent an estimated 15 per cent of total military expenditures, the arms talks have actually accelerated them, as each side, while paying lip-service to the concept of arms “equivalence”, in reality strives for superiority with ever more powerful weapons and delivery systems. The list of deadly counter-weapons with which we are living—cruise missile, Trident, MX, neutron bomb and SS-20, to name but a few—continues to grow. At the same time, world trade in arms has spiralled to a staggering \$12 thousand millions or so annually, with the United States and the Soviet Union accounting for around two-thirds of total deliveries.

112. Such, then, is the scenario of danger and duplicity facing the world. It is not surprising that, as is quite apparent from the current debate, this example has not inspired confidence among many nations in the concept of disarmament. The effect has been the opposite: a widespread and discouraging loss of faith. In this decade the focus has steadily shifted from complete and general disarmament to piecemeal measures. We now hear of the strategic equivalence of arms, not of their total elimination. We hear of partial disarmament, of the banning of weapons not yet invented, of the prohibition of arms in areas in which they are not already present. We talk of nuclear-weapon-free zones, not of a nuclear-weapon-free world. It is a telling fact that the only agreement on the actual destruction and elimination of existing weapons has been the 1972 Convention on the prohibition of bacteriological weapons³, and

³ Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction (resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex).

the universal implementation even of that important measure is far from certain. My Government has recently acceded to that Convention, not because we have anything to eliminate or prohibit, but to show our commitment to and support for this and all other positive steps towards disarmament.

113. For some time these partial measures gave us hope that we were coming nearer to our goal of total disarmament. Today a hard look at the facts suggests that this is not the case. It suggests that these collateral measures have become not means to an end, but ends in themselves; not steps towards general and complete disarmament, but rather alternatives to it. In the past 50 years, while the world gross national product has risen fivefold, military spending has increased tenfold, until today it consumes between \$350 and \$400 thousand millions annually. We are horrified to find that an estimated one third of all world expenditure on research and development today goes for military purposes.

114. The reallocation of even a small percentage of those resources for peaceful purposes would bring enormous benefits to underdeveloped parts of the world. Indeed it is hard to imagine how a truly equitable economic order could ever come into being without such reallocation. We accept the concept of the interdependence of the world's communities. Economic and social tension and instability in one part of the world, we believe, will inevitably affect the other parts of the world and diminish the prospects of peace for people everywhere.

115. The arms race and arms trade have become in our time a global phenomenon involving not only the major Powers but many developing nations, for which, as long as many of their people lack even the basic necessities of survival, it is a luxury they can ill afford. The proliferation of arms compels countries to subordinate economic requirements to military needs. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute reports that in 1974 and 1975 alone the amount of weapons transferred to the developing countries increased by more than 60 per cent. It is costing nations more and more to be less and less secure. History tells us that the transformation of the world into armed camps is a perilous enterprise, but efforts to this end have not ceased.

116. One of the most important roles the United Nations can play today is in the realm of disarmament. If we are to combat the fear which is impeding progress in disarmament we must confront it head on. We must work together, and be seen to work together, with universality of purpose to transform the concept of disarmament into a living, credible possibility. My delegation, therefore, would support proposals which could strengthen the role of the United Nations in this field. We would also support the programme of action and the machinery for its implementation. That programme must of necessity be worked out in such a way as to make it acceptable to the international community. My delegation can support short-term and long-term action programmes in general, as outlined by the Preparatory Committee, with appropriate deliberative and negotiating bodies acceptable to most of the Member States. The existing negotiating body, if retained, should

be modified appropriately so as to accommodate all nuclear-weapon Powers. Many heads of State or Government and leaders of delegations and the Secretary-General of the United Nations have presented sound guidelines; we must examine these with the utmost care.

117. We are not talking in this forum about the interests of a limited group of people or a small handful of nations; we are talking about the future of each and every person on this planet. Let us resolve that, in the protracted and difficult negotiations which have characterized and will of necessity continue to characterize the road to disarmament, we will not lose sight of this awesome responsibility—the responsibility for saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

118. Mr. SOURINHO (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): First of all I should like, on behalf of the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, to extend to Mr. Lazar Mojsov, my warm congratulations on his unanimous election to the presidency of the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. My delegation welcomes that choice and is convinced that he will carry out his task with all the competence resulting from his long experience.

119. Within the present context, when militarism, racism and reaction are swallowing up vast resources in the arms race and the creation of new means of mass annihilation and creating a real threat of nuclear catastrophe for all mankind, there is no need to dwell on the importance of this special session whose task it is to curb the arms race in order to bring about general and complete disarmament under strict international control, for the consolidation of peace and peaceful coexistence.

120. In this regard, my delegation would like to pay a tribute to the non-aligned countries, which, since the movement's first summit conference in Belgrade, have stressed the necessity of convening a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to disarmament and which, since that time, have fought indefatigably for the holding of this session. We pay a tribute also to the Preparatory Committee for the session which worked very hard to present us with a report containing a draft declaration, a draft programme of action and a draft concerning machinery for negotiations [*see A/S-10/1, vol. I*], which document will serve as a useful basis for our negotiations in the days to come.

121. The Lao People's Democratic Republic, which for many years suffered fierce imperialist aggression and which is still suffering from the consequences of that war of aggression is strongly in favour of disarmament. We have therefore worked steadfastly in that direction, together with the non-aligned countries, the socialist countries and the forces throughout the world which love peace and justice. We act in this way in the firm conviction that international peace and security, which are indispensable factors for progress and development, can only be ensured in lasting fashion in a disarmed world.

122. However, although we aspire ardently to general and complete disarmament, we are also aware that the

problem of the cessation of the arms race and disarmament is a very complex one. And there is no doubt that this complexity to some extent explains why the intensive efforts deployed in this area by the United Nations ever since its foundation have not led to very substantial results, but rather to an enormous number of resolutions which, far from bringing us closer to the goal, have in fact taken us further from it. It seems, however, that bilateral or multilateral negotiations held in other international forums have led to certain results which, although appreciable, are none the less limited and, consequently, have not led to a reduction of military expenditures, which in 1977 reached the astronomical figure of \$400 thousand millions, or double the figure for 1970, when the Disarmament Decade was proclaimed.

123. In the face of this extraordinary situation, the task of the present special session promises to be a difficult but not an impossible one. Because of our natural and restrained optimism, we persist in believing that with the active and constructive participation of all countries, great and small, powerful or weak, the international community will succeed in taking certain significant measures which will mark a true turning-point in our collective efforts to spare humanity the frightful consequences of a new world conflagration.

124. However, the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic would like to make the following points clear. To meet the profound desire for peace and security of the peoples of the world and of our own people, the Lao People's Democratic Republic is in favour of disarmament and calls for positive measures to be taken immediately to clear the way towards general and complete disarmament under effective international control. However, we would have to express our reservations with regard to any consensus, if there were a consensus on disarmament, which would have the effect of restricting or reducing the drive of the peoples of the world to free themselves from the domination, oppression and exploitation of colonialism, imperialism, racism and *apartheid*. Furthermore, in our view rational disarmament measures should be based upon the principles of the United Nations Charter relating to the right of the individual or collective self-defence of States, particularly the small developing States which are always exposed to the plots and naked acts of aggression by the forces of reaction, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

125. In order to reverse the course of the arms race which is imperilling mankind ever more seriously, it is necessary and realistic for us in our approach to this question to take seriously into account the realities of the present situation in the world, and on the basis of that analysis of the facts, to make concerted efforts to attain our established goal, which is the achievement of true general and complete disarmament.

126. The present situation in the world, thanks to the efforts of the forces of peace and democracy, is marked by a generally favourable trend towards the promotion of understanding and co-operation among all peoples on the planet, on the basis of peaceful coexistence and the principles of the United Nations Charter; but we are still witnessing the

persistent resurgence of a pernicious trend which constitutes the true obstacle to the strengthening of international peace and security, namely, the tendency manifested by the neo-colonialist imperialist forces which, unwilling to give up their dark designs to continue dominating and exploiting the peoples of the world and playing the role of world policeman, are engaging still in all kinds of plots and activities, either directly or through the agency of mercenaries—as was the case with the aggression committed against Benin last year—in order to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries, particularly small developing countries which have newly become independent and sovereign.

127. Furthermore, the neo-colonialists and imperialists continue obstinately to maintain bases and military installations in various parts of the world, thus exerting pressure on and constantly threatening neighbouring peoples and countries; they continue to give aid and support in massive volume by providing the most modern and deadly weapons to the *apartheid* régime in South Africa and the expansionist régime of Israel, both of which are intensifying their oppression and acts of aggression against the peoples of southern Africa and the Arab peoples of the Middle East, and which are persisting, in spite of the condemnation of the international community and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, to occupy territories which do not belong to them and engaging there in shameless exploitation of natural and human resources. In other parts of the world, particularly in South Korea, imperialism continues to maintain a situation of tension by its obstinate refusal to withdraw its military forces from that country, camouflaged as they are under the banner of the United Nations, and by introducing into that part of Korea the most sophisticated weapons, including nuclear bombs. In this regard the United States must heed the sovereign will of the Korean people which has demanded that they withdraw all their troops and military equipment from the southern part of Korea and to comply strictly with General Assembly resolution 3390 B (XXX) adopted at the thirtieth session.

128. All of the facts we have just enunciated, clearly prove, if proof were needed, that the neo-colonialists and imperialists are persisting in the process of encouraging armaments and are, furthermore, engaging dangerously in the proliferation of both conventional and nuclear weapons.

129. These actions which jeopardize international peace and security should be severely condemned by the international community and should be halted immediately in order to create a climate favourable to the process of disarmament.

130. Within the context of general and complete disarmament, disarmament measures must relate to all categories of arms both nuclear and conventional and weapons of mass destruction. However, in the light of the immense danger which nuclear weapons pose to the world, we share the view that nuclear disarmament should be the subject of urgent examination. This special session should come to an agreement in this area on a programme of action establishing concrete measures and judiciously staggered stages

leading to the halting of production and the control of these arms and the gradual reduction of existing stockpiles until they are completely eliminated. In this context, the present session should also issue a severe warning against the production of neutron bombs, which would only serve to increase the spiralling arms race in nuclear weapons and increase the threat to international peace and security.

131. In order to strengthen the security of non-nuclear States and to remove the danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, my delegation welcomes with great interest the idea of creating nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, where that is possible, with the consent of all the countries making up the zone.

132. The same consent of all the countries concerned and interested should also be sought with regard to the creation of peace zones. It goes without saying that in order to achieve its goal the creation of a peace zone should entail the dismantling of all foreign military bases and installations in the zone and all States should work to strengthen the peace and security of the peoples and countries in the region and to promote among them ties of fruitful co-operation.

133. With regard to the chemical and conventional weapons which at the present time are important elements in the neo-colonialist imperialist war machine and which have recently undergone further refinement in the course of the long imperialist war of aggression against the peoples of Laos, Viet Nam and Kampuchea, the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic is in favour of the total prohibition of the manufacture of chemical weapons and attaches particular importance to the question of the transfer of conventional weapons. Because, as we all know, since the end of the Indo-China war, imperialist military-industrial complexes, in order to preserve and promote their short-term interests, are seeking by every means at their disposal to maintain hotbeds of tension which exist in various parts of the world, like the Middle East and southern Africa. In so doing, they are continuing to distribute, as we have stressed before, and to sell at very low prices enormous quantities of those sophisticated weapons to the racist régimes of South Africa and Israel, in order to perpetuate their oppression and to multiply their acts of aggression against the African and Arab peoples, including the Palestinian people, who are fighting to gain independence and for the recovery of their usurped territory. It would be eminently desirable for this session to lay down methods which would put an end to that kind of transfer of conventional weapons, but which would have the effect, furthermore, of strengthening the rights of the oppressed peoples which are subject to domination and colonialist aggression, racism and imperialism.

134. In the course of this debate, my delegation has noted proposals to improve disarmament machinery. In this regard, we have noted an almost unanimous demand for the stepping-up of efforts of the United Nations in the field of disarmament, an area which has always belonged to it under the Charter. Since the consequences, of the failure to disarm would affect all countries without exception, it is desirable for the United Nations, which numbers

among its Members at the present time almost all the countries on the planet, to be given a leading role in accelerating the disarmament process.

135. But until we are able to bring together in the not too distant future, we hope, a world disarmament conference, the principle of which and the good reasons for which are recognized by the international community, the possibility of convening another special session of the General Assembly in order to undertake an exhaustive appraisal of the process of disarmament and to give it, if necessary, the required momentum, should not be eliminated.

136. The unprecedented debate on disarmament at the world level is now drawing to a close and will give way to arduous negotiations which will be undertaken in order to overcome the difficulties encountered so far, and in order to adopt by consensus measures which will reassure a deeply concerned mankind, searching for peace and security in disarmament. We very much hope that those negotiations will be fruitful and will justify the hopes, however small, that the peoples of the world have placed in this historic session of the General Assembly. My delegation will do everything in its power to satisfy the legitimate hopes of the peoples of the world.

137. Mr. OYONO (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, on behalf of His Excellency Ahmadou Ahidjo, father of the nation and the State of Cameroon, on my own behalf and on behalf of my delegation, I should like to extend my most heartfelt congratulations to Mr. Mojsov on his unanimous election to the presidency of this special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. Since his outstanding election last year as the President of the thirty-second session, he has held, with just a few months interval, the same lofty responsibilities at the eighth and ninth special sessions devoted to the problems of Lebanon and Namibia. The positive results of those two sessions clearly demonstrate his outstanding qualities as a diplomat, and are an honour to him and to his country, Yugoslavia, with which Cameroon has long-standing ties of friendship and fruitful co-operation.

138. Please allow me also to convey the same congratulations to our Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, as well as to all the members of the Preparatory Committee, for the steadfastness, the competence and the devotion with which they discharged the duties entrusted to them in preparing the present session, the results of which are reflected in the report [A/S-10/1] so brilliantly presented here in our Assembly by Ambassador Ortiz de Rozas [*1st meeting*].

139. It is particularly significant that the convocation of this special session of the General Assembly devoted to the problem of disarmament, a paramount problem for world peace, international co-operation and development, is the result of the initiative of the great family of the non-aligned countries, of which my country is a member, together with, *inter alia*, almost all the formerly colonized countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, who have indicated their non-alignment vis-à-vis the east-west antagonism and its expansion.

140. Since the end of the Second World War and after the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the major Powers have moved, between 1952 and 1978, from the atomic bomb to the hydrogen bomb and then to the neutron bomb. The destructive power of those formidable weapons has also increased from a kiloton to a megaton of TNT.

141. In this respect, it should be recalled that, as experts have stated, "a nuclear bomb of a few megatons, exploding at a height of 30 kilometres, would burn many thousands of square kilometres, and a few bombs would suffice to destroy the large cities of the world".

142. The notion of megaton equivalents of missiles has become one of the major concerns of States in large military alliances, in their rivalry for hegemonic predominance. Their satellites, their intercontinental missiles capable of accurately hitting targets at 10,000 kilometres, their atomic submarines that escape all detection, their delivery systems, their MIRVs, their anti-missile missiles, the strengthening of their first strike capacity and their deterrence force, as well as their vast networks of communications and control, keep our planet in a basically explosive situation despite the assurances provided—or supposedly provided—by a refinement and multiplication of procedures to avoid an automatic retaliatory strike.

143. Never has the credibility of a nuclear apocalypse, capable of destroying mankind many times over, seemed so real and been so deeply felt.

144. We can understand that, since the non-aligned countries do not share the concept of this suicidal adventure and since they are convinced that international peace and security are based not on a confrontation and a balance of terror but rather on international co-operation, transcending divisions imposed by blocs, the non-aligned countries, aware that non-alignment is a vital force in the establishment of a new system, have taken the generous and salutary initiative of organizing this special session on disarmament. As I have said, it can be no surprise that the newly independent countries of the developing continents, *inter alia*, Asia, Africa and Latin America, are the dynamic core of this movement.

145. All these countries are still experiencing upheavals in their cultural, social and economic structures which were the legacy of colonization. They are still, first and foremost, concerned and often hesitatingly attempting to define, in keeping with their objectives and their well-founded national interests, models to stabilize their peoples and to promote the well-being and modernization of their countries.

146. These countries, in addition to struggling against natural disasters, must triumph against all the ills generated and heightened by their under-development. We can thus easily understand their over-all concern and reservations in the face of ever more dangerous developments in the hegemonic rivalries of major Powers and the squandering of energy and resources caused by the intensive arms race.

147. The distrust, the mobilization of minds which often leads to confusion compels the third-world countries, because of their need to survive, to allocate to military expenditures human and material resources that could have been appropriated to the economic and social sectors.

148. If we keep a sense of proportion, we can see that funds thus appropriated are negligible compared with the fantastic sums devoted by the developed countries to the armaments industry, going far beyond their security requirements. These death and destruction dealing industries provide vast profits which are steadily increasing. It is thus not surprising that this sector of activity is not experiencing a recession in the present period of crisis since it feeds on the sources of hegemonic tension of the major Powers and on the focal points of tension of which the third world is the arena.

149. In 1969, the President of the United Republic of Cameroon, Mr. Ahmadou Ahidjo, stated before this Assembly:

"It is . . . absurd that huge sums should continue to be swallowed up by the arms race while the bulk of mankind lives in tragic and unjust penury. Tragic, not only because it robs man of his basic dignity, but also because there seems to be no prospect of immediate improvement, even though the world's means of overcoming poverty are steadily increasing. Unjust because, in the world of today, one of the common tasks of mankind is to achieve progress the benefits of which must be shared fairly among all".⁴

150. This special session is being held almost 10 years after that statement was made, a statement which strikingly highlights the close relationship between the two most urgent problems of our times: development and disarmament. Undoubtedly, this session is an extension of the sixth and seventh special sessions and enhances the efforts being steadily made by the overwhelming majority of peoples for decades in order to establish a new more balanced and more just international order.

151. We have seen that the representatives of more than 100 countries, poor and rich, who for the last two weeks have come to this rostrum, have unanimously recognized this crucial truth of the link between disarmament and development and have illustrated it with alarming statistics.

152. Thus, the whole world, which has, since 23 May, been awaiting the outcome of our discussions with great expectations, learned that this year the sum of \$400 thousand million—that is, more than \$1 thousand millions a day—will be devoted to death-dealing projects and barely \$20 thousand millions to development.

153. In order to perfect the instruments of our common destruction, 500,000 research workers and engineers are working relentlessly day after day. Yet, a tiny portion of these vast resources would suffice to combat and even to

⁴ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1780th meeting, para. 28.*

overcome famine and disease and to triumph over the poverty that still afflicts two thirds of mankind and to offer it wide-ranging prospects for dynamic development, equal opportunities and access to well-being so that in overcoming our ills the universal civilization to which we all aspire can emerge from the limbo of lofty thoughts.

154. One of the paradoxes of our time is that since the Second World War and in spite of developments and the East-West antagonism characterized by the establishment of the two military alliances, which I have already mentioned, the emergence of arms of mass destruction and the refinement of military equipment of all types, the northern hemisphere has remained a zone of peace where the two camps have unceasingly co-operated and engaged in dialogue.

155. The objective solidarity thus demonstrated by the industrialized countries against an atomic war that would lead to their mutual destruction seems to be limited within their own international frontiers. According to information provided to us by the Prime Minister of Canada, since 1945 almost 80 countries have been involved in 133 wars which have brought about the death of more than 25 million people. During that same period, not one of the five countries that spend more than three fourths of the sums devoted annually to the arms industry in the world, have served as a battlefield. On the contrary, it is the rest of the world—Asia, Africa, the Near East and Latin America—that have almost constantly experienced unstable and explosive situations and have been the scene of bloody confrontations. In most cases, these disturbances were caused by the need of the so-called third-world peoples to react against colonial oppression and imperialist domination in order to be the masters of their own destiny. And when we witnessed what apparently was a civil war it often became clear that behind tribal and national rival factions there lurked foreign Powers.

156. In the same period, as was demonstrated by discussions during our sixth and seventh special sessions, the plundering of raw materials, 80 per cent of which are located in the third world, increased scandalously to the benefit of a minority of countries. Hotbeds of tension which increase the poverty of so many countries stem from confrontations, from the universalist ambitions of some States constantly in search of raw materials and spheres of influence. Africans are more aware of this than anyone, since for a century their continent has continuously been the stage for imperialist rivalry and since in its southern part it still suffers the hideous scourge called *apartheid*, which the Security Council has declared a danger to international peace and security. Africa is at the mercy of the gangsterism of white and racist minorities comfortably installed in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

157. Thus we can see that despite the principles of our Charter, despite the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the protests from all sides, the overarmament that we denounce today stems from the will to dominate and to be supreme. And it is the 3.5 thousand millions of people who constitute the non-aligned countries who are paying a high price with the loss of millions of human lives and immeasurable material destruction.

158. It can come as no surprise that, together with other countries of the non-aligned movement, which is quite rightly described as the conscience of this world, we have seen the need to seek in a representative forum such as this gathering the means to stem a race for hegemony which may lead to a nuclear apocalypse. It is clear, in fact, that the means of destruction in the hands of those who today vie for domination of the world exceed all tolerable limits and cannot indefinitely be mere sources of fear. Substantial steps towards disarmament must thus be taken here.

159. The presence in this forum and in the streets of this city of some of the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki demonstrates that the lust for power can push mankind to any extreme, even to the destruction of the human race. It is thus urgent that we rid ourselves of this formidable danger threatening our world.

160. Of course, we cannot hope to find in a special session a miracle solution opening up the path towards genuine disarmament. Our hopes would be more than fulfilled if the States which because of their power would bear primary responsibility in the event of a world conflagration were to take this opportunity to return to the negotiating table, inspired by a genuine, determined political will and firmly resolved to comply with the noble principles and ideals of our Charter.

161. We know they are capable of doing that, but we are also aware of our common destiny, which gives equal responsibility to all in this problem of collective security. That is why we urgently appeal to them to endeavour, with the support of all peace-loving peoples, to attain the lofty objectives that are to be defined at this special session of the General Assembly, to abandon a policy based on the precarious balance of terror and to refrain from creating and fostering hotbeds of tension in the third world, especially in Africa. Détente should not be considered the attribute or privilege of one hemisphere alone.

162. In my delegation's view the primary objective remains general and complete disarmament under genuine and effective international control. That is, in fact, the only radical means of saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to use the words of the Charter agreed upon by all States represented here.

163. If we accept the possibility of each State possessing a reasonable quantity of conventional weapons, which have always enabled societies to defend themselves and to maintain order, we do not do so in the case of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, which, since they are designed to cause untold and needless suffering to mankind and irreparable damage to our whole race, should be subject to strict limitations, progressive reduction and, finally, complete destruction.

164. Until that objective is attained, my country supports and will continue to support any partial action undertaken either within the framework of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva or at the level of regional conferences or as a result of talks between the two major super-Powers on the limitation of strategic arms, which in 1972 led to a first agreement.

165. Regardless of the hopes that may be raised by all these steps, we must deplore the fact that they have not achieved the desired results.

166. In Geneva, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has become a sterile dialogue between the co-Chairmen and led to the denial of ties with the United Nations through which all States, and above all the nuclear-weapon States, should have been associated with the negotiations. We are therefore in favour of measures that have been advocated here by very eminent speakers to broaden the framework of talks in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and to increase its ties with the United Nations system.

167. As far as the Strategic Arms Limitation talks are concerned, we cannot fail to join all those who have expressed regret that the first Agreement has been so quickly side-stepped, since the quantitative limitation of nuclear launchers has been compensated for by qualitative improvements.

168. My country favours the idea that all the States of the region can agree to eliminate the presence of nuclear weapons. The example of Latin America should be followed. In saying this, I am, of course, thinking of Africa, which has for years expressed its intention to proceed in this way. In this respect we cannot conceal its concern over the criminal activities of the racist Pretoria régime, which for some months has been undertaking nuclear tests in the Kalahari. We are in duty bound once more to stress the great responsibility of States which continue their political, economic and military co-operation with the condemned régime, which has based its policy on the denial of the rights and dignity of the black man.

169. It goes without saying that the rejection by some countries of the very presence of nuclear weapons on their territory, should induce from nuclear States a firm commitment never to resort to the threat or use of nuclear weapons against the non-nuclear States. We were pleased to note statements made in this very forum along these lines by the nuclear Powers and we hope that these commitments will soon take a more binding form through an international convention.

170. The conventional arms race, while it does not prompt fears of a holocaust of the same nature as that caused by nuclear weapons, none the less is a cause for deep concern since it absorbs 80 per cent of the resources devoted to armaments and thus greatly contributes to the diversion of assistance from development.

171. The United Republic of Cameroon is thus in favour of a substantial and balanced reduction of conventional weapons. At the first stage these armaments should be frozen at their present level until military budgets, above all those of the main weapons suppliers, can be brought to more reasonable levels. The resources thus released should be allocated to the disarmament fund for development, whose establishment was proposed more than 25 years ago.

172. It is above all for development purposes that information gathered through remote sensing should be used; countries thus sensed by satellite should be given free access to this data.

173. The United Republic of Cameroon supports the Secretary-General's proposal for the establishment of an agency to help the United Nations in the area of information and studies in the field of armaments and specific measures for the verification of disarmament [1st meeting].

174. It supports the programme of action for disarmament the broad lines of which have been defined by the non-aligned countries [A/S-10/1, vol. IV, document A/AC.187/55 and Add.1. and Corr.1 and Corr.2].

175. We hope that every State concerned will take advantage of the major movement that we hope will be created by this session by taking specific unilateral measures in this direction. Disarmament should not become an eternal propaganda theme and the subject of good intentions. The major Powers and the militarily important countries are aware of their responsibilities and must take bold initiatives in the interest of our security and our common well-being. It is illusory to think that an increase in weaponry beyond limits accepted by all as reasonable can guarantee full security, which can only be achieved through universal peace and respect for the basic principles of our Charter, *inter alia*, non-use of force in international relations, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, and the ending of colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*. As far as the small and medium-sized countries are concerned, we are also convinced that many of them could also reduce the resources which they devote to purely military purposes; they can also entrust their armed forces, as Cameroon has done, with important tasks of economic and social interest, such as the construction of roads and bridges or the training of rural youth. Thus, men and women whose primary mission is, according to classical concepts, to wage war and thus to destroy, are taught to become at all times useful workers for the community.

176. Everyone is aware that these measures of limitation, reduction and prohibition, can only be truly credible and effective if they are accompanied by international control measures decided upon and applicable within the framework of the United Nations. It is thus urgent to strengthen the role of the United Nations as the instrument entrusted with maintaining collective security and promoting international co-operation.

177. This naturally implies that States must freely agree to sacrifice some of the attributes of their sovereignty where necessary in the areas of necessary interdependence which characterize today's world. This applies to international security, which cannot be the exclusive responsibility of one State or group of States.

178. This also implies that we must resolutely set aside the selfish philosophies and forms of behaviour which divide nations, and accept the vision of that world of brotherliness for which the authors of the San Francisco Charter laid the foundations.

179. As a non-aligned country, the United Republic of Cameroon, which has chosen peace as the first word of its slogan, which is "Peace, Work, Homeland" bases its foreign policy on the search for that peace through international co-operation with all States that respect its independence, regardless of their ideology. We are convinced of the urgent need for specific measures to eliminate the danger of destruction arising from over-arming, above all nuclear over-arming, and to direct the resources thus released towards the elimination of the vast differences in standards of living which also threaten international peace.

180. We hope that this special session will begin this process and we hope that before the convening in a few years of a second session and of a world conference on disarmament, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament will make it possible, through a change in its structures and working methods, to accomplish significant progress.

181. I do not wish to conclude without referring to another statement made by President Ahmadou Ahidjo at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly:

"This world of ours is more and more a unified world, a world that more and more stresses our community of destiny. It is for us to become aware of this objective solidarity and this community of destiny. In other words, we must be profoundly and sincerely convinced of the fraternity of all men and of the fact that their common future in this universe cannot validly be created except in the free and equitable co-operation of all men, all nations and all peoples."⁵

182. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call those members who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply. Members will recall that, in keeping with General Assembly practice these statements should be limited to 10 minutes.

183. Mr. KABEYA WA MUKEBA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): It is with great reluctance that a representative of my delegation comes once again to this rostrum, not to engage in polemics with any delegation, but simply to provide clarification for the benefit of those who felt offended or put out by what I said yesterday.

184. The diplomacy of my country has always been marked by total candour.

185. The positive neutrality which underlies our diplomatic approach places my country neither on the right nor on the left. It does not place it even in the centre, because if we regarded ourselves as being in the centre we would be comparing ourselves with the two extremes, and we want to ignore them. If we are asked who we are we answer that we are Zairians. That is the path we have chosen. In other words, what we practise is our authenticity.

186. The noisy, subversive and, at times, paltry state-

ments made by the Cuban delegation, in exercise of its right of reply, betray the inherent flaws of character of a style enameured of hollow and outmoded phraseology, but the Cuban representative did not answer the five main questions which we had asked.

187. My delegation is not satisfied and will therefore confine itself to replying very briefly, point by point, to the essential aspects of his rhetorical excesses.

188. First, it would appear that the Cuban presence not far from Zaire is justified because it was the result of an invitation from a legal Government. It seems to us that that belief stems from an inability to see events in their historical context. In fact, the Cubans became involved in the confrontation before 11 November 1975, having been invited by a party, just as Zaire had been invited by another party, the FNLA. I suppose the Republic of South Africa, with which we were linked, although we had nothing to do with it, was invited in by another party which is very well known to Cuba but not Zaire.

189. Zaire has never sympathized with the racist régime of Pretoria. In fact, it has always condemned that régime unequivocally.

190. My delegation almost takes pleasure in reminding this august Assembly that in other battlefields, also in Africa, we have seen Cuba and its master defending a common friend, side by side with a Power from outside Africa which many hate just as much. Neither the friends nor the enemies of Cuba have complained to it about this unnatural and ephemeral marriage.

191. Let us raise the tone of our debate. Zaire is authentically African. Most of our citizens have had a Latin education and are Latino-Africans; we are not what we were described yesterday as being. As an authentically African country Zaire advises the small island in the Antilles to calm down and to deal with its own many internal problems which my country, in a characteristic spirit of dignity, will not refer to at this time.

192. Cuba, it would appear, does not practise racism. We are happy to hear its representatives say so. I do not want to talk about its internal problems because that would be to interfere in the internal affairs of an independent country. However, we should like to know how many Cubans of African origin, people who can really call themselves Latino-Africans, occupy important political posts in their country.

193. The frightful Katangan ex-gendarmes who, at that time in the service of the sinister Tshombe, killed Patrice Lumumba, are today the allies of Cuba. Is that not a strange kind of alliance? In this regard we should like to refresh the memories of certain people by telling them that it was in 1966, under the present régime in Zaire, that Lumumba was rehabilitated and, at a ceremony in which distinguished African Heads of State took part, proclaimed a national hero.

194. Thirdly, the worthy and distinguished representative of Cuba stated that my people were dying of hunger. We

⁵ *Ibid.*, Twenty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1845th meeting, para. 34.

share his view, but we would say to him that the exodus from agriculture areas by peace-loving peasants is a result of the guns in the hands of Cuban mercenaries and their allies. After 1960, when my country was being torn apart internally, we knew hunger because peasants were wrested from the fields and were unable to do what was necessary to feed the population. A short time later everything returned to normal and no one in Zaire was dying of hunger. Recently peasants in the Shaba region had to flee from their fields in order to avoid being dragooned into some kind of army, so there was no point in cultivating, ploughing and sowing because there was no certainty of their being able to reap their crops. Since it appears that our Cuban brothers are Latino-Africans we should like to receive technical—and I do not mean military but agricultural—assistance from them so that Zairian people need no longer die of hunger.

195. As a free and sovereign State Zaire has always had the courage of its convictions, even in its relations with its Belgian, American and even Russian friends. Can the lackeys of social imperialism say the same? Throughout our history, when the options of those countries have not matched our choices we have always called them to order. We have even expelled their Ambassadors. The past abounds with concrete examples. It is not enough to have force of arms. One must be free and magnanimous in order to be worthy of the name "man". The famous French scientist, Louis Pasteur, said "Freedom is the implicit condition of responsibility. Man was made to look upward."

196. I repeat that in the speech made yesterday in exercise of the right of reply I heard no reply to any of the questions which I had asked from this rostrum.

197. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Again, I should like to recall that it has been the practice of the Assembly to limit statements made in exercise of the right of reply to 10 minutes.

198. Mr. DE FIGUEIREDO (Angola): It is a pity that this Assembly, which should and can be a forum for wisdom, international opinion and objective debate, should be misused through unsubstantiated allegations, factual misrepresentations and terminological inexactitudes, to present a picture of total falsehood. However, this campaign of calumny and vilification which has been carried on against the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, against our land and our people, against our revolutionary ideology and against our support of the cause of genuine liberation, will not succeed in its aim, which is to prevent the defeat of imperialism in Africa.

199. In his statement made at the 21st meeting, the representative of Zaire sought to press ridiculous charges against anti-imperialist forces in Africa and to offer a ludicrous defence of blatant colonialism and imperialism that cannot be disguised as any other phenomena.

200. The representative of Zaire stated yesterday that the first shot for Angolan independence came from Zaire. I beg to set the record straight, for we cannot allow either ignorance of reality or historical inaccuracy to present a

distorted picture. The first shot and subsequent shots for the armed liberation of Angola were fired on 4 February 1961 inside Angola, in fact in Luanda. Prior to that, the Angolan people had been resisting colonial rule for over five centuries. The colonialists arrived in Angola in 1482, but were unable to impose a colonial administration over our people until 1922. However, with reference to the Zairian claim, I admit that many shots fired against the liberation movement in Angola and against the independence of the People's Republic of Angola were fired from Zaire.

201. In connexion with recent events in our part of Africa and in reply to the hysterical allegations voiced by the Western media, by Western Governments and by their puppet clubs in Africa, I should like to offer the following observations.

202. First I should like to quote an outstanding statement made today by Mr. Julius Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania. He said:

"... various Western countries, led by the United States of America, decided to try to prevent the establishment of an MPLA government in that country. They conspired with South Africa and gave undercover finance and arms to rival nationalist movements which had previously been almost inactive. Faced with this conspiracy and the consequent attacks on Angola from South Africa and across the Zaire border, the MPLA Government sought help from those who had given support to the movement during the independence struggle. Cuba and the Soviet Union responded to those requests. With their help, the Angolan Government overcame the immediate military threat to its existence, pushed South African troops back across the border into Namibia and pushed the FNLA troops back to where they had come from—Zaire."

203. What the world saw and what a part of Africa experienced in the recent past is a classic example of the brutal suppression of a liberation attempt by all the might of Western imperialism and by the full mobilization of its considerable resources. I should like to remind the Assembly that Zairian opposition to the present régime is nothing new. It started well before the independence of the People's Republic of Angola and has continued unabated as a direct response to the brutal and repressive conditions prevailing in that country.

204. Western imperialists are quick to refer to a Cuban presence in some areas of Africa. How often do we see or hear references to the thousands of French troops in Africa, limited not just to a few countries but spread all over in a gigantic "Club de France", from north-west Africa to central Africa to the Horn of Africa. When one couples this massive French presence and armament with the presence of other Western troops and arms, the map of Africa appears like a base for an exercise of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. And this is not merely a metaphor. The massive contingents and arms deployed against Zairian nationals on the pretext of the evacuation of a small number of European civilians were part of NATO troops which were equipped from the NATO arsenal. And the

shame is that various African allies of western imperialism supported that act of rape against the African continent.

205. Another source of potential horror is the proposal to create a so-called Pan-African military force of intervention, or shall I say "farce", which to all intents and purposes will be NATO's African arm. That African surrogate of NATO will rush in to guard Western mining interests, the supplies of fuels and other natural resources without which the economies of the industrialized West would grind to an agonizing halt. How can one explain that for many years when various countries have at times been in jeopardy, when their independence and their very existence have been threatened and when the majority populations have been gunned down by white minority racist régimes, no one put forth the idea of establishing an African military force to help the cause of independence in Namibia, Zimbabwe or South Africa?

206. Behind every Western intervention in Africa to prop up tyrannical fascist régimes are invaluable mineral interests, notably those for Western nuclear programmes.

207. It appears that Africa has not fully awakened to the threat and ramifications of the missile base in southern Zaire, where, with the knowledge and approval of the United States, West Germany is testing the cruise missile—potentially the most deadly weapon of the nuclear age—and the Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile, in contravention of the 1954 Treaty of Brussels. Under the terms of the contract with the West German Orbital Transport and Rocket Company (OTRAG), Zaire gets \$50 million per annum in return for handing over an area of 100,000 square miles to OTRAG. Article 3 of the contract, which has no parallel in international law, gives OTRAG full authority as to which persons may live in the area. The OTRAG lease runs until the year 2000, and neither President Mobuto nor his successors can cancel it.

208. The genuinely independent States of Africa are expected to accept this situation where cruise missiles are built and tested on African soil—four or five prototypes have already been flown over the Shaba province—and where OTRAG will place in orbit, free of charge, a reconnaissance satellite for Zaire. With South Africa's known nuclear programme, and OTRAG's nuclear site in Zaire, Africa is in direct range of nuclear attack from within the continent. And we are expected to remain silent in the face of this threat.

209. What happened in Kolwezi not so long ago has many parallels in the third world, both in terms of Western strategy, Western hysteria and propaganda, and the collaboration of the Western media with the vested interests of Western Governments. Photographs in various newspapers

showed the bodies of Europeans allegedly killed by guerrillas. Just a week or so earlier, 700 Namibians had been brutally murdered in refugee camps inside Angola by para-troop and airborne attacks by the illegal racist South African Government. Where were the protestations of sympathy then? Why were Western Governments, and especially the media, silent about the large-scale slaughter? Are black African lives cheaper than European ones, or of no consequence at all?

210. If Western imperialism wants to make an African "Indo-China", then we have many African "Hanois" to repel the invaders.

211. We are at present only replying to some of the ridiculous charges levelled by my colleague the representative of Zaire. However, I should like to state for the benefit of the representatives gathered here today that we choose at this point not to open the Zaire dossier; for that there are other, more appropriate forums.

212. The People's Republic of Angola is determined to continue its fight against imperialism in Africa and elsewhere. We welcome the support given us by our Latin-African comrades, our revolutionary brothers of Cuba and elsewhere. We are indeed definitely ready to face the might of Western imperialism and neo-colonialism in our defence of African liberation. The struggle continues; victory is certain.

213. Mr. KABEYA WA MUKEBA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): If I come to the rostrum again it is certainly not to exercise any right of reply, because I do not want to tax the patience of representatives, who might in that case have to wait another ten minutes.

214. I merely wish to inform the Assembly that I listened very attentively to what was just stated by the representative of Angola. I take note of everything he said. We shall make reference to this on another occasion. But I should like to stress that, if we do not want to dwell on this at any length, it is because Angola is our neighbour and will remain our neighbour whether we like it or not. No one can change geography; no one could put Angola in the Indian Ocean or elsewhere. We shall have an opportunity to settle our problems and we all hope that we shall settle them.

215. The remarks we heard were not addressed to us directly, but lengthy reference was made to imperialism, which is something we all condemn, for it is our intention to fight colonialism of whatever colour. Only then shall we be on the right road.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.