



*President:* Mr. Ismat KITTANI (Iraq)

**AGENDA ITEM 8**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. BOLE (Fiji): Mr. President, we share the hope that the success of the General Assembly's thirty-sixth session under your able leadership and the exemplary manner in which you conducted its affairs will permeate this very important world disarmament effort. In the face of the history of disarmament efforts your task is certainly not an easy one, but you may be assured of my delegation's assistance and support in our work towards the attainment of a peaceful world.

2. Like the tenth special session, the first devoted to disarmament, this twelfth special session has as its ultimate goal general and complete disarmament. As with the tenth special session, that goal is as elusive and remote as ever.

3. A review of the implementation of the decisions and recommendations adopted at the tenth special session more than adequately reveals why the goal of general and complete disarmament has not been achieved and remains beyond our grasp. Multilateral and bilateral arms control agreements, including restrictions on nuclear-weapon testing, strategic arms limitations, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the prohibition of non-nuclear weapons of mass destruction, and demilitarization and denuclearization in certain environments and areas, remain unimplemented, and where progress has been made the achievements have, at the very most, been moderate and unimpressive.

4. Parallel with the inaction and the leisurely progress made in the disarmament field is the very alarming and unprecedented acceleration of the arms buildup rate, both nuclear and conventional, and what is more disconcerting is the fact that this upward trend is coupled with the refinement of those conventional weapons and nuclear-weapon systems to the point where they are enough to kill man not once but many times over.

5. It is all too clear from the many voices heard from this rostrum, and equally from the non-governmental organizations and the public, that the present continuation of arms buildup, especially of nuclear weapons, is not only futile but dangerous, because the saturation point is within reach. Already scenarios for evacuation in case of nuclear attack have been drawn up in the capitals and major cities of the world, as if to point to the inevitability of a nuclear war.

There has recently been talk of a protracted nuclear war.

6. Never in the history of mankind has the threat of a major war and/or nuclear holocaust hung so ominously over us. The time for genuine disarmament has come and, thanks to millions around the world, of whom we in this Hall are but an insignificant part, the pressing necessity to act now and save the world from the horrors of nuclear war is recognized as being urgent as never before. When will we ever learn that enduring international peace and security cannot be built on the accumulation of armaments and the development of the most sophisticated weapons systems?

7. Enduring international peace and security cannot be built on a precarious balance of deterrence or doctrines of strategic superiority. Enduring international peace and security, which my Government subscribes to and works towards, is peace and security created through effective implementation of the Charter of the United Nations and the speedy and substantial reduction of arms leading ultimately to general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Enduring international peace and security, to which my Government is committed, leads to reduction and collective effective control of the causes of the arms race, the elimination of tensions and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means.

8. I shall comment very briefly on some of our disarmament efforts which my Government has continued to support in the belief that their success will make a major contribution to peace. In the field of nuclear armaments, which pose a threat to mankind and to the survival of civilization, we offer the following comments.

9. A comprehensive phased programme for the progressive and balanced reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons, including strategic arms, as envisaged in the Final Document of 1978 [*resolution S-10/2*] has not materialized. The two super-Powers, which we are all agreed bear a special responsibility in this area, have yet to reach a binding agreement. The SALT II agreements, the ratification and implementation of which would have provided a firm basis for substantial reductions of strategic arms, lies dormant, despite the urgings of Member States. We are, however, gratified to learn of the decision by the super-Powers to renew their strategic arms negotiations at Geneva next week. It is our earnest hope that they will approach their negotiations in a positive and deliberative frame of mind and in an atmosphere of trust and confidence, in the full knowledge that we, the rest of the world, are anxiously looking to those talks and their outcome as an omen for the future.

10. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], regulating the transfer of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, has been in force for the last 12 years. Its effectiveness is sadly limited both by the fact that two of the nuclear-weapon States have not acceded to the Treaty and by the reluctance of some non-nuclear-weapon States to enter into safeguards agreements with IAEA, while still others have not yet acceded to the Treaty. Should the role of IAEA in this regard be found wanting, then it is vital that that role be enhanced, to generate the confidence in it needed for the participation of all States.

11. My Government regards the accession of all States to the Non-Proliferation Treaty not only as an essential component in checking further nuclear-arms proliferation but as a significant step towards nuclear disarmament. In this, all Member States have primary responsibilities to the international community.

12. The call for a cessation of or freeze on all further development of new nuclear arms has also gone unheeded. On the contrary, new forms of nuclear weapons, such as the neutron bomb, have been tested and have added new dimensions to the nuclear-arms race. We believe, therefore, that as a matter of priority negotiations on the cessation of further development and production of new nuclear weapons should be undertaken within the framework of the Committee on Disarmament.

13. The question of the cessation of all nuclear-weapon testing has been a matter of priority concern to my delegation and my Government ever since we were admitted to the United Nations nearly 12 years ago. The reasons are twofold.

14. First, we see the cessation of nuclear-weapon testing as a vital element in the success of efforts to prevent both vertical and horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons and a necessary contribution to nuclear disarmament. In this regard, we view the 1963 partial test-ban Treaty<sup>1</sup> as a starting-point towards a more comprehensive ban that would include all nuclear testing in all environments.

15. The trilateral comprehensive test-ban negotiations conducted by the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union from 1977 until 1980 should be resumed at the earliest possible opportunity to explore areas of general agreement, with a view to arriving at a comprehensive test-ban treaty. At the same time, we also appeal to the remaining two nuclear-weapon States to join in the negotiations. It is of paramount importance for each nuclear-weapon State, as for the rest of the world, that a comprehensive test-ban treaty be negotiated by all that possess such weapons.

16. The second reason for my Government's concern over the years and for its unequivocal opposition to nuclear-weapon testing is the geographical situation of some of the tests and their immediate effect on the environment. Together with the other island nations of the Pacific, we know only too well the devastation of our environment caused by the tests and the ill effects on the health and well-being of our peoples.

17. From the time the United States and the United Kingdom—and in later years, up to the present,

France—began testing on some of our Pacific coral atolls, we have seen whole populations evacuated from those atolls, never to return, because nuclear-weapon testing has devastated whole islands, rendering them unfit for human habitation. At other times, we have had reports of the dispersal of radioactive materials both from the earlier atmospheric tests and later from underground tests, causing irreparable harm not only to the islands' ecosystem but to the health of our peoples. No doubt the experience of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the north-west of our area is a stark reminder to our people of the very real threat of such a catastrophe.

18. In spite of our protestations over the years, both by individual island nations and collectively by the South Pacific Forum, testing of nuclear devices continues in our region. It was therefore a matter of grave concern to hear the Foreign Minister of France state here, over a week ago [*9th meeting*], that France would not halt its nuclear-weapon testing, presumably in the South Pacific, where it has conducted such tests in recent years. Against the background of international disarmament efforts and the continuing protestations of the peoples of the South Pacific, that statement reflects a policy that is insensitive to the well-founded concern in the region. It is estimated that since the Second World War there have been well over 200 nuclear explosions in the Pacific. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute [*SIPRI*] 1982 Yearbook reports that of the 49 nuclear explosions that took place last year—1981—11 were conducted in the South Pacific. In the same report, many scientists claim that nuclear-weapon technology has reached a "state of maturity" and that, while further development may lead to some increases in the efficiency of the weapon or its adaptation to specialized missions, it is not likely to result in qualitatively new developments. From those statistics, it is clear that more explosions have taken place in the Pacific than elsewhere and that this trend must be brought to a halt before more of our region becomes uninhabitable.

19. I wish to restate here my Government's commitment to keeping the South Pacific free of nuclear and other forms of contamination and conflict. In this regard, within the framework of the Final Document, we shall seek assurances from all States, and especially the nuclear-weapon States, that they will refrain from testing, developing, and manufacturing nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices in the South Pacific, that they will not transfer nuclear explosive devices or weapons to any State or country within the South Pacific region, and that they will not use, or threaten to use, such devices and weapons against any State or country in the South Pacific region.

20. We shall continue to support the call for a voluntary moratorium on or cessation of nuclear testing as an interim measure pending a comprehensive test-ban treaty. However, it remains for the nuclear-weapon States to heed the call, in conformity with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

21. With regard to non-nuclear weapons of mass destruction, we support the call by Member States for negotiations to be undertaken within the framework of the Committee on Disarmament on the adoption

of a chemical-weapons treaty. In our view, such a convention would complement the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction [*resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex*].

22. While it is true that nuclear weapons pose the greatest danger to mankind, the conventional arms race, as reflected in world military expenditure, arms production and the arms trade, is equally ominous. We need only to refer to the 1981 SIPRI Yearbook to see that in every corner of the globe each nation of the world is apparently bent on arming itself to the teeth.

23. The added dimension that makes the picture of the conventional arms buildup even gloomier is the increasing militarization of the third world, as both recipient and supplier. The United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency reported last year that in the past decade the value of arms exported by developing nations and smaller industrialized countries rose from \$300 million in 1970 to \$1.5 billion in 1980. At the same time, the value of arms produced in the third world climbed from less than \$1 billion to more than \$6 billion, representing 5 per cent of the world total. Thirty countries in the third world now manufacture arms, and the number of developing nations capable of building or assembling military equipment other than small arms has more than doubled, from 6 to 14. In addition, there is that estimated 75 per cent of total global arms transfers that go to the third world.

24. The economic and social consequences are, to say the least, staggering, and the political instability and upheavals that this brings about are all around for us to see.

25. The numerous calls by the United Nations addressed to the industrialized nations and the super-Powers to cut back military spending and channel portions of the funds thus released to the development needs of the poor have met with little response. Ironically, the aid that is in fact given is made up in a majority of cases of military wares. To compound the situation further, the resources used by many in the third world for military aims are often so used at enormous cost to the development needs of those countries themselves.

26. We, the inhabitants of what was once the most tranquil region of the world but who in the three decades since the Second World War have seen the tentacles of military adventurism reaching out towards our shores, cannot remain oblivious to the moral decadence that pervades a world that spent \$600 billion last year for military purposes while the basic human needs of water, food and shelter are denied to the majority of the world's population.

27. Given this prevailing situation, the message for the developing world in its struggle to improve the quality of life of its people is clear: that goal will be difficult if not impossible to achieve if there is no measure of success in the disarmament field.

28. The appeal of my delegation for cut-backs in—or, better still, a freeze on—military budgets and for the channelling of those funds to the most needy of the

world is addressed equally to the developed and the developing nations. Recommendations made as a result of studies undertaken by various groups of experts at the request of the United Nations, such as that concerning an international system of reporting of military expenditures [*A/S-12/7, para. 59*],<sup>2</sup> should facilitate our collective progress towards our common goal.

29. We all realize that a necessary component of success in many areas of our disarmament efforts is an international political climate conducive to that success. As long as there are wars and armed conflicts around the world, nations big and small will continue to arm themselves. As long as violence within and between States remains, the need to acquire arms for individual or collective self-defence is perpetuated. Acquisition of arms for whatever purpose fans the flames of the arms race, and as long as the practice continues any effort to achieve a relaxation of international tensions and to establish international relations based on peaceful coexistence will, in our view, come to nought.

30. While we recognize every State's right under the Charter to acquire arms for its own security, my Government is equally convinced that the security of any State need not be based on arming itself. The present deplorable world situation is not immutable. The road to international peace and security lies in world-wide détente.

31. We reiterate the need for détente between the Soviet Union and the United States. We need détente between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [*NATO*] and the Warsaw Pact. We need détente especially among the developing countries, for the unfortunate fact is that almost all the armed conflicts in the world occur in the third world.

32. We need look no further than Articles 1 and 2 of the Charter for our code of conduct with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security. And yet, after almost 37 years of the Charter's existence, very little has been done to remove threats to world peace through effective collective measures, which was and remains the primary purpose of the United Nations.

33. It remains for us, the present generation, by our actions during this session to show our political will and our commitment to a future of peace and security for mankind. Let actions speak louder than words. For our part, my Government and the people of Fiji pledge that our support will not be found wanting. Let us not hesitate at this decisive crossroads of our future.

34. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, please accept our congratulations on the new and responsible duties entrusted to you. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR extends its very best wishes to the Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, and wishes him success in his pursuit of the lofty goals of the Charter of the United Nations.

35. This general debate at the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament is drawing to a close. One of its distinctive features is the concern shared by the overwhelming majority

of speakers about the acuteness and complexity of the situation that has arisen in the world through the fault of the forces of imperialism and reaction. The unrestrained arms race which is being spurred on by militarist circles poses a threat to every living thing. It is estimated that the total amount of explosives used in the entire history of war does not exceed 10 megatons of TNT. In the world today, however, the aggregate yield of accumulated nuclear weapons is 500 times greater than that. But the quantitative aspect is not the only problem. A qualitatively different danger is looming over the world: the danger of the thermonuclear destruction of the entire centuries-old civilization on earth.

36. The special significance of the current session and the responsible tasks it faces derive from the situation as it has evolved. We are confident that the international community will be fully equal to those tasks if all States demonstrate the political will to tackle them, with due regard for each other's legitimate security interests and in strict accordance with the principle of equality and equal security. It is imperative, of course, that the efforts being undertaken be aimed at achieving genuine limitation of the arms race and at disarmament and that they not serve as a demagogic screen for an unrestrained accumulation of arms by one side and upsetting the existing parity in the illusory hope that it can thus impose its will on the other side.

37. Now that a fundamental solution is being sought to the questions of how international relations will develop further and of whether the arms race will be halted and reversed, two foreign policy programmes stand out before the whole world in particularly sharp contrast. One of these is the programme of the States of the socialist community and is aimed unconditionally at saving the peoples from the threat of nuclear war, at ending the arms race and achieving disarmament, at establishing peace on earth and at ensuring peaceful, mutually beneficial co-operation among nations.

38. This programme is not being proclaimed in words only. Year in and year out it has been steadily and consistently translated into specific actions and practical deeds. It will be recalled that it was the socialist countries that made a decisive contribution to the preparation and conclusion in the 1970s of a whole series of treaties and agreements which formed the international legal basis for détente and for the arms limitation process that was under way during those years.

39. Perhaps it is worth recalling that in the period following the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament alone the United Nations took important decisions based on Soviet initiatives aimed at preventing the policy of hegemonism in international relations, dissolving military alliances or ensuring that they are not expanded, ending the arms race, reducing arms and achieving real disarmament. In the field of nuclear armaments specifically, these initiatives include proposals concerning the Declaration on the Prevention of Nuclear Catastrophe and a concrete programme of nuclear disarmament even to the total elimination of nuclear weapons; proposals on drafting an international convention on strengthening security guarantees for non-nuclear States; agreements on the non-stationing of

nuclear weapons in the territory of countries where there are no such weapons at present while refraining from further action to deploy nuclear weapons in the territory of other States; a convention banning the production, stockpiling, deployment and use of the nuclear neutron weapon; proposals to ban weapons of any kind in outer space, to eliminate chemical weapons and prohibit the deployment of these weapons in countries where there are no such weapons at present and to ban the development and production of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction; and the proposal not to increase armed forces and conventional armaments, as a first step towards their subsequent reduction. We all know who prevented these and other proposals of the Soviet Union, which are consistent with the provisions of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session, from being implemented. We are convinced that the implementation of those proposals even now would make possible significant progress towards curbing the arms race.

40. The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community continue to put forward more and more new ideas and proposals aimed at solving the most crucial problem of today, that of disarmament. This is borne out by the decisions of the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the message from the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, L. I. Brezhnev, to the twelfth special session [*12th meeting*] as well as by the memorandum submitted by the Soviet Union to this session for its consideration, entitled "Averting the growing nuclear threat and curbing the arms race" [*A/S-12/AC.1/11 and Corr.1*].

41. The message of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev reflects not only the aspirations of the Soviet people but also those of people in all corners of the world. It manifests the concern to halt the endless buildup of ever more destructive types of weapons, achieve a breakthrough in improving international relations, raise the degree of trust among nations and prevent nuclear catastrophe. The solemn statement that the Soviet Union pledges not to be the first to use nuclear weapons would lead to a general prohibition of the use of those weapons—which the majority of the countries of the world desire—if a similar commitment were made by the other nuclear Powers. Also directly relevant is the idea of freezing nuclear arsenals as a first step towards their reduction and, ultimately, their total elimination, as well as the prohibition of chemical weapons and the elimination of stockpiles of such weapons.

42. There is no area of international relations in which the socialist countries have not made a major contribution, imbued with goodwill and a readiness for businesslike and constructive co-operation, backed up by practical action. Suffice it to recall that in the past two years alone the Soviet Union has unilaterally withdrawn from the territory of the German Democratic Republic 20,000 Soviet troops, 1,000 tanks and other military equipment. The Soviet Union has declared a moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear weapons in the European part of the Soviet Union and is actually reducing them. And it has now taken another step of overriding importance

by assuming an obligation, which became effective immediately, not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

43. Understandably, this policy, which serves the fundamental interests of all peoples of the world, enjoys broad support and approval. This makes it viable and effective, inasmuch as it promotes a turning away from the current dangers towards a safer and more stable world. The peoples of this planet have the right to expect that the decision by the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons will be matched by similar action by the other nuclear Powers. Unfortunately, this has not yet been the case.

44. The forces of imperialism, which set the tone in the NATO bloc, put forward a diametrically opposite programme in the international arena. The implementation of new measures for an intensive buildup of their strategic armaments, the large-scale production of new varieties of weapons of mass destruction such as neutron and binary chemical weapons, plans for deploying new types of medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the expansion and reinforcement of a network of military bases in various parts of the world, the declaration of many regions of the world as spheres of their vital interests and the establishment of an interventionist rapid deployment force represent the real picture of their practical deeds, to which must be added colonial brigandage in the South Atlantic, actual encouragement of the Zionist aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian people and continuing interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries.

45. Inflamed by their own warmongering rhetoric and possessed by imperial arrogance, the architects of this dangerous policy advance criminal concepts about the admissibility of nuclear war and all kinds of adventurist doctrines about delivering a first strike or firing warning, demonstration or other shots. They are doing their utmost to depict the use of nuclear weapons as a rational means of achieving political aims.

46. The ultimate objective of these forces in the West is to secure for themselves military supremacy in the world. To achieve military superiority they are prepared to build up masses of new weapons instead of destroying existing ones. It should be pointed out in passing that, of the \$200 billion increase in military spending in the world in the period between the two special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the United States accounts for more than \$150 billion.

47. There can be no doubt that the only rational policy in present-day conditions is that of maintaining the existing strategic stability at a lower level. The policy of military superiority as the alternative is unacceptable. It runs counter to the principles of the sovereign equality of States and erodes the foundations of the security of all peoples, including the peoples of the States in whose capitals this course is being plotted. It is incompatible with the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations and its other major political instruments, in particular the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the Declaration on International Cooperation for Disarmament and the resolution on the

inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations [resolution 34/103].

48. It should not be forgotten that the hopeless attempts by the United States to achieve military superiority are a factor that militates against efforts to limit the arms race and achieve disarmament. This attempt is the prime mover behind the arms race.

49. In other words, the chimera of nuclear superiority is a phenomenon that is extremely dangerous and is inconsistent with the desire of mankind to follow a road that leads from war to peace.

50. The socialist countries have never set themselves the goal of achieving military superiority, nor are they doing so now; they have never sought, nor are they now seeking, confrontation. To make every effort to seek and find mutual understanding, strengthen world peace, end the arms race and achieve disarmament on the basis of compliance with the principle of equality and equal security—this is what we consider to be the only correct, honest and effective policy. It has been emphasized once again during this session that the socialist countries are always ready to discuss without prejudice any constructive proposals aimed at strengthening international security and at a mutual reduction of the levels of military confrontation. Yet, for all that, as the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, stated recently, "It is no longer enough to talk about peace. What is needed are concrete and practical deeds."

51. The Soviet proposals truly stand out as specific and action-oriented. They are aimed at solving a wide range of disarmament issues and, in the first instance, at accomplishing the key task of our times, which is to ease nuclear confrontation in Europe, now at a critical level, and to check the further buildup of the nuclear potential there. The peoples of Europe, including the Byelorussian people, know all about the privations and suffering of war and cherish peace as a supreme blessing. They cannot allow Europe, after decades of peaceful development, to again become a theatre of war, as it is already being referred to by some overseas politicians only recently out of their military uniforms.

52. My statement today is made on a sad anniversary. It is 41 years ago today since the fascist aggressors launched a treacherous attack against our country. That war brought untold misery and suffering. Peace was won by our people at a terrible price: 20 million sons and daughters of the Soviet land perished in the flames of war; one out of every four inhabitants of Byelorussia gave his or her life in the fight for victory. That is why I should like to stress most emphatically that the present and the future of Europe do not lie in a further accumulation of nuclear missiles, escalating confrontation, expanding military alliances or inciting animosity and enmity, which is what the leading circles of the NATO bloc are aiming at.

53. The vital needs of the European peoples will be met by taking a different course, that of reducing military confrontation, particularly in the nuclear field; of intensifying efforts to rid Europe of nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical, or at least

to carry out quite a substantial reduction in the number of medium-range nuclear weapons. This is the aim of the well-known package of Soviet initiatives.

54. We express the hope that this constructive position and the well-known measures undertaken unilaterally by the Soviet Union in this field will contribute to the success of the Soviet-American talks under way at Geneva.

55. The fate of war and peace also largely depends on whether or not Soviet-American agreement to limit and reduce strategic arms is reached—an honest and equitable agreement infringing the interests of none. In this connexion, the Soviet proposal to freeze Soviet and United States strategic arms once the talks begin is of exceptional importance. By maintaining the stability of the international situation, such a freeze would be important both in itself and as a factor facilitating movement towards the radical limitation and reduction of strategic arms, something that must become the subject of the forthcoming Soviet-American negotiations. It is clear to every person of common sense that if the arms race is to be reversed it has first to be stopped.

56. Like many delegations which have spoken, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR believes that the current special session of the General Assembly must focus on concrete and tangible disarmament measures, particularly in the field of nuclear disarmament, and must give an impetus to the practical consideration and solution of the problems they present.

57. In addition to the goals of preventing nuclear war and limiting and eliminating nuclear weapons, of vital importance are efforts to ban other weapons of mass destruction, first and foremost chemical weapons. The significance of a chemical weapons ban is all the greater since this weapon of mass destruction, no less lethal in its effects than nuclear weapons, could easily become part of the arsenals of a large number of States.

58. The Soviet State has consistently advocated and continues to advocate the outlawing and elimination of chemical means of warfare. It has been seeking this goal since well before the Second World War and following it. The Soviet side has made considerable efforts both in the framework of the Soviet-American negotiations and in the Committee on Disarmament, where already in 1972 the Soviet Union, together with other socialist countries, submitted a draft international convention to that effect. However, despite all these efforts and the express desire of an overwhelming number of States that chemical weapons be excluded from military arsenals, an international convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction has not yet been concluded. The reason for this is that there are forces in the world that are not interested in banning chemical weapons. They are working in the opposite direction, seeking to confront mankind with the threat of a qualitatively new turn in the chemical arms race. They are the ones who suspend talks with the Soviet Union. They block the work of the Committee on Disarmament and take decisions to develop increasingly sophisticated poisonous agents and to launch full-scale production and deployment of them in other countries. The

situation is becoming ever more dangerous, since all this is being done by the Power that did not hesitate to use chemical weapons in Viet Nam.

59. For quite obvious reasons slanderous rumours are being spread alleging that the Soviet Union has some time, somewhere, used chemical weapons. This is a dirty fabrication and those that resort to it know that full well. But, as popular wisdom has it, a clear spring will not be muddied by water from the sewer. The Soviet Union has never used chemical weapons anywhere, nor has it ever transferred them to others. All this anti-Soviet slander is spouted by enemies of peace to conceal their unwillingness to conduct meaningful negotiations on banning chemical weapons.

60. In these circumstances the goals of this special session of the General Assembly in this field become considerably more important.

61. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers it necessary to emphasize that a real opportunity to reach agreement on eliminating chemical weapons has opened up as a result of the Soviet Union's proposal entitled "Basic provisions of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction" [A/S-12/AC.1/12 and Corr.1], which was drafted with due account being taken of the positions of other countries and of the question of verification. It is essential that every State undertake never in any circumstances to develop, manufacture, acquire in any other way, stockpile, maintain or transfer chemical weapons and undertake also to destroy existing stockpiles of such weapons or divert to permissible purposes and to destroy or dismantle plants capable of producing chemical weapons.

62. The limiting and banning of weapons of mass destruction are not the only tasks before this special session. Among them are problems crucial for the strengthening of international security, such as the prevention of an arms race in outer space, the limitation of the naval activities of States, the limitation and reduction of conventional arms and armed forces, the reduction of military budgets and the use of the resources thus released for development and co-operation, the renunciation of the use of new discoveries and scientific and technological achievements for military purposes, the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, and others.

63. It is with deep satisfaction that our delegation would like to inform the General Assembly that, on 4 June 1982, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian SSR ratified the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects.<sup>3</sup> The Byelorussian SSR has also accepted as binding all three Protocols to that Convention.

64. The existing disarmament machinery, including that of the United Nations, now has all that is required to promote the successful solution of many of the aforementioned problems. That machinery and the relevant institutional arrangements existing in the United Nations Secretariat have, we are convinced, great potential, and therefore the most important

thing now is to make full use of it. There can be no doubt that progress towards disarmament depends, in the final analysis, on the political will and readiness of States to make maximum use of all available possibilities in order to press with determination for a halt to the arms race, not just in words but in actual deeds. No institutional restructuring will make up for the lack of such political will. Moreover, such restructuring will only divert attention and efforts from solving really urgent problems. What we need is not a maze of institutional reforms but the intensification of the ongoing talks, the resumption of those that have been suspended and the initiation of new ones on outstanding issues so as to ensure movement towards practical measures for real disarmament.

65. Having lived through two world wars and being aware of the threat of nuclear catastrophe, mankind has learned to tell the difference between real and fake peaceful intentions.

66. We are witnessing an unprecedented upsurge in anti-war movements in various countries of the world. They are inspired by one great goal: to save our planet from the threat of the thermonuclear disaster looming over it. To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to leave them a blossoming earth, not an earth ravaged by explosions—these are the natural feelings that prompt broad sectors of the public to become ever more active in defending peace. These movements have sprung up on their national soil and they respond to the aspirations and interests of peoples and the cause of peace. The stronger the voice of peoples in favour of peace and disarmament, the sooner it will be heard by those who so far have been stubbornly turning a deaf ear to the aspirations of the broad popular masses.

67. The public in Byelorussia has been very active in the struggle for peace and disarmament. At the end of May a Week of Action for the Defence of Peace was held in our country. Broad masses of people, veterans of the Great Patriotic War among them, took part in it. During the Week of Action, letters from working people, appeals and resolutions adopted at rallies and meetings were addressed to this special session with one main thought in mind: to stop the arms race and safeguard this planet from nuclear catastrophe.

68. Public actions in support of peace and disarmament are intensifying. An important event will take place in July this year—"Peace March '82"—which will last for weeks. One of its phases is to be held in the Byelorussian SSR with the participation of the Soviet and foreign public.

69. Given the fact that mass anti-war popular movements have become an important political factor, the idea of a world campaign for collecting signatures in support of measures to prevent nuclear war, limit the arms race and achieve disarmament has assumed special relevance. The collection of signatures under an appropriate appeal will provide world public opinion with an important lever to influence the efforts of States to that end and will be an instrument of its direct involvement in the struggle for a peaceful future for mankind. The collection of signatures could be an important element of the World Disarmament

Campaign, to which we will give our active support, including material support.

70. The twelfth special session can become an important political factor in ensuring real progress in this area, provided that all States take a serious and responsible approach to the problems on which the fate of mankind depends, an approach aimed at achieving mutually acceptable solutions rather than unilateral advantages. Fully aware of the anxieties felt in the world today, we are nevertheless not disposed to succumb to a feeling of pessimism. The present situation in the world not only must but can be changed for the better and the threat of war can be averted. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR will do its best to promote that objective.

71. Mr. ANDREI (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is a great honour for me to convey to you, as well as to the Secretary-General and all delegations participating in this special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the greetings of the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu, and his best wishes for complete success in attaining the objectives of such paramount importance for which we have gathered here at the United Nations.

72. Romania and its President attach the utmost importance to this session, which is called upon to contribute effectively to the elimination of the extremely serious danger that the arms race, particularly the nuclear-arms race, represents for peace and security throughout the world and for the very existence of human civilization, and to remove the increasingly heavy burden for all States of huge military expenditures. We are profoundly convinced that the vital interests of the maintenance and consolidation of world peace and security and the preservation of life on earth demand that the Governments of all States take the opportunity offered them and act in a highly responsible spirit so that the results of the special session will fully meet the expectations of peoples and constitute a turning-point towards the cessation of the arms race and the beginning of a real process of disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament.

73. The particular attention and importance attached by Romania to the proceedings and objectives of the special session are illustrated by the fact that the mandate of the Romanian delegation to this session was approved by the parliament of our country, the Grand National Assembly, which by this action expressed the will of the Romanian nation to act with great responsibility and co-operate widely with the other nations of the world to achieve agreement among all States to proceed to effective disarmament measures, in particular with regard to nuclear disarmament, and thus establish lasting peace on earth.

74. The Romanian people is deeply attached to the cause of disarmament and international understanding and co-operation, all the more so since it has been engaged in building a new society in a tremendous national effort for economic and social development, for the success of which international tranquillity and co-operation are essential prerequisites. Our people's attachment to the cause of disarmament and international understanding also stems from the fact

that, during the course of its thousand-year history, it has itself more than once suffered the horrors and destruction of war.

75. Fully aware of the danger of a nuclear war and of the extremely serious consequences of the arms race for all mankind, our people views with great sympathy and highly appreciates the movements that have sprung up and the rallies that are taking place in the world in favour of peace and against the armaments policy and adds its voice to the voices of all nations in the noble struggle for disarmament and peace. Millions and millions of citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania have recently been putting their signatures to the appeal of the Romanian people addressed to the special session devoted to disarmament. Through public manifestations, people's meetings, rallies, peace marches and other mass activities, the Romanian people has been affirming its strong solidarity with other nations in an endeavour to ward off threats to their peaceful life and work and to their very future, since it is determined to say a resolute "No" to war before it is too late.

76. In this spirit, Romania has steadily worked to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament, to eliminate force for ever from inter-State relations and to settle all international conflicts and disputes exclusively by political means, through negotiations, in order that mankind's supreme desire to live in a world without weapons and without wars may be fulfilled. The President of Romania, in his frequent contacts and talks with leaders of other States and with politicians from all over the world, as well as within international forums, unswervingly and firmly supports co-operation and understanding among peoples, as well as the co-ordination of the efforts of all nations, in order to bring about the complete renunciation by all States of the policy of force and diktat and to do everything for the defence of the fundamental right of people and nations to life, peace and a free and dignified existence.

77. On the instructions of President Nicolae Ceaușescu and on the basis of the mandate entrusted to us by the Grand National Assembly, I have the honour to present the position of Romania and its proposals concerning the questions now before this important forum of the States of the world.

78. Romania considers that the current special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament is taking place in difficult circumstances because of very serious tension in international relations which increases the danger of new military conflicts, including the outbreak of a new world war. Even in the past few days tension in the Middle East has significantly increased as a result of the military actions of Israel in Lebanon. In this situation, Romania has adopted a resolute stand and pronounced itself in favour of the cessation of all military operations, the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops and respect for the independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon. It is only in this way that efforts can be sustained for a comprehensive solution of the Middle East conflict, for a just and lasting peace based on the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, for the exercise of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the creation of its own national State, and

for guaranteeing the independence and territorial integrity of all States in the region.

79. The arms policy has intensified to excess, and a huge arsenal of nuclear weapons of enormous destructive potential has been accumulated in the world. The arms race is going on in conditions of maintaining and even sharpening old conflicts and tensions and the emergence of new ones, with a recrudescence of the policy of force, the consolidation of old and the division of new spheres of influence, interference in the internal affairs of others and encroachment on the sovereign right of peoples to free and independent development. All this is happening as the world economic crisis grows worse and the gap between the rich and the poor countries grows wider.

80. It can be said that we are passing through an extremely complex period in international life. The old balance of forces established after the Second World War no longer corresponds to the new social, national, economic and political realities of the contemporary world. New States and State groupings are claiming a more important role in world affairs and want to assert themselves independently. The balance based on military blocs is outdated by the present historical realities. Apart from the old contradictions in the world, a new contradiction has been developing and growing continuously more acute as a result of the division of the world into developed and developing countries, into rich and poor countries. This is becoming one of the fundamental contradictions of our time. In fact, we are in a period when a new relationship of forces is being established and a new world balance among various States and groups of States is being achieved. The new relationship of forces, the new balance and the future necessarily more democratic organization of inter-State relations will be based on a greater diversity of power centres and take more into account the role of the third world, of the small and medium-sized countries and of the developing and non-aligned countries. However, until this new relationship of forces and this new balance is achieved, new conflicts and tensions may arise which, in the conditions of the ever closer interdependence which characterizes the evolution of contemporary international life, could have unpredictable consequences for the peace and security of all mankind.

81. It is a fact of great concern that since the tenth special session the situation in the field of armaments has developed in a direction contrary to that of the conclusions in the documents adopted at that time. The arms race has continued at an ever more rapid pace; the volume of military expenditures has greatly increased; and efforts to create and produce new types and systems of weapons with ever greater destructive capacity have been intensified. The role and influence of the military-industrial complex in foreign policy have increased, which has resulted in an increasing trend towards the militarization of international life.

82. The situation in Europe is particularly serious. Europe has become a huge nuclear arsenal where enormous quantities of weapons have been accumulated, far surpassing any rational defence need, and where the two opposing military blocs face each other. The deployment and development on the European continent of new medium-range missiles

further increase the danger to peace and security on that continent and throughout the world, thus jeopardizing life itself on our planet.

83. Military expenditures create great difficulties and distortions in economic and social development of all countries, particularly among the developing countries. They worsen the world economic crisis and are a major obstacle to the elimination of underdevelopment, the establishment of the new international economic order and the achievement of real progress towards the restoration of world economic and political stability.

84. On the basis of those realities, Romania believes that everything should be done to ensure that the Assembly at this special session adopts concrete decisions and measures capable of putting an end to this dangerous evolution, halting the arms race, contributing to the establishment of a climate of confidence and co-operation and opening the way to effective negotiations on disarmament, first of all on nuclear disarmament.

85. Today more than ever the fundamental problem facing mankind is that of peace or war. That is why we believe that the most urgent requirement of our time is to unite the efforts of all nations and to strengthen their co-operation in order to halt the dangerous developments towards confrontation and war, to renounce completely the use and threat of force in international relations, and to support a policy of détente and respect for national sovereignty and independence, understanding, co-operation and good-neighbourliness among States. The peoples and world public opinion are fully entitled to demand that the special session should end with positive and substantive results.

86. Acting in this spirit and expressing the will of its people for peace, Romania has presented in the General Assembly, in various other United Nations bodies, at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, as well as in other international meetings, concrete initiatives and proposals aimed at halting the arms race and achieving disarmament. We have made sustained efforts for that same purpose and have acted to make our greatest possible contribution to the preparation of the present session. Together with the group of the 21 non-aligned and neutral States and in co-operation with all the other States members of the Committee on Disarmament, the Romanian delegation has participated in the drafting of the comprehensive programme of disarmament, which should include a set of concrete and substantive measures leading to the immediate initiation of a real disarmament process.

87. Romania believes a number of important proposals have been presented by States during this session which should be examined with the utmost attention, as they constitute the basis for the elaboration of the comprehensive programme of disarmament. To that end, I wish to present to the General Assembly the views of the Grand National Assembly and of the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu, concerning the problems which are the subject of this special session of the General Assembly.

88. Romania believes that the following measures should be urgently negotiated and agreed upon. All efforts by Governments and responsible bodies should be consistently aimed at the attainment of the fundamental objective, namely, the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of effective steps towards disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament. To attain that objective it is necessary to stop the production of nuclear weapons and to start the gradual reduction of existing stockpiles until their complete liquidation is achieved and to ban for ever all nuclear weapons, as well as other weapons of mass destruction. It is especially important that all nuclear-weapon States should accept the firm commitment not to be the first to use such weapons.

89. It is necessary to intensify efforts to conclude in the shortest possible time agreements on the prohibition of all nuclear-weapon tests, the prohibition of the production and development of neutron weapons, the prevention of the use of new technological achievements for producing and developing new types or systems of weapons of mass destruction, the prohibition of the production and development of chemical weapons and the liquidation of the existing stockpiles of such weapons, the prohibition of radiological weapons, the granting of security guarantees to all non-nuclear-weapon States and acceptance of the firm commitment that no nuclear weapons and, in general, no other weapons or threat of force will be used against those States.

90. Romania welcomes the numerous proposals submitted so far on the cessation of nuclear tests and the production of atomic weapons. We are in favour of a substantial reduction by the two major Powers of their nuclear weapons, for example, by 50 per cent in the first stage, as a step towards the total elimination of nuclear weapons.

91. Romania has welcomed the understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States to begin negotiations on strategic armaments this month. The major interests of all peoples require that action should be taken in a spirit of responsibility and that everything should be done to eliminate nuclear armaments; they require the Soviet Union and the United States—the two major States which possess the most important nuclear arsenals—each to make every effort and to act with goodwill to reach agreement. Undoubtedly, there are differences between the proposals submitted so far by the two sides. However, we believe that all proposals should be considered and that negotiations should be started with a view to common agreement.

92. At the same time, we believe that all countries and all peoples of the world have the duty, without waiting for the outcome of the negotiations between the two countries, to act directly, firmly and with determination to achieve disarmament and to make their contribution to the fulfilment of mankind's desire to put an end to armaments and to live in a world without wars.

93. In order to halt the arms race, we propose the freezing of military expenditures at the 1982 level and their reduction by 10 to 15 per cent by 1985. Thirty to fifty per cent of the funds thus saved would be used to support the efforts of the developing coun-

tries, the rest being used to create new jobs and to carry out other economic and social measures in the countries making such reductions.

94. Romania considers that, in order to encourage efforts in this field, it would be particularly important for the General Assembly to adopt a declaration containing the principles that should govern the activities of States in the field of the freezing and reduction of military budgets.

95. Proceeding from the particular importance which the adoption of effective measures for the substantial reduction of conventional armaments would have for ensuring international peace and security, Romania supports an agreement between the two blocs, and generally between the two sides, on a maximum ceiling for the principal armaments, namely, aircraft, tanks, battleships, missiles, heavy guns and others.

96. Aware of the very serious situation on the European continent, Romania firmly supports the cessation of the deployment and development of medium-range missiles in Europe, the withdrawal and destruction of those that exist and the elimination of all nuclear weapons from the continent.

97. Our country has welcomed the opening of the Soviet-American negotiations at Geneva concerning medium-range nuclear weapons, and we hope that those talks will achieve concrete and positive results towards reducing and eliminating the nuclear danger in Europe. In our opinion, since this problem is of direct interest to all European nations, all the States of the continent should participate in the Geneva negotiations in one form or another.

98. To reduce and eliminate the danger of war on the European continent, an agreement must be reached on convening a conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe.

99. The resumed proceedings of the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe must be held in a constructive spirit and must achieve, in the shortest possible time, positive results, with decisions that reaffirm the principles and commitments undertaken in the Final Act of the Conference and that contribute to their overall implementation. It is also necessary to agree on convening a conference on confidence-building and disarmament and to ensure the continuity of the process started at Helsinki. The organization of such a conference would meet the ardent interests and aspirations of the European peoples and would help to promote a steady process towards détente and disarmament as well as the establishment of a climate of security and co-operation on our continent. Romania supports the building of a united Europe, in which all States, irrespective of their social systems, could co-operate fruitfully, on the basis of equality and mutual respect, and every nation could develop in freedom and independence, without any outside interference.

100. We attach great significance to the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world through agreements among the States in the respective areas, with the nuclear Powers committing themselves not to use atomic weapons or force in general against the States participating in the estab-

lishment of such zones. By acting steadily towards this end, Romania is carrying out an active policy of development of broad relations with other States in the Balkans, both bilaterally and multilaterally. In this spirit, it favours a Balkan meeting at the level of heads of State and Government and is working and acting for the transformation of the Balkans into a zone of friendship, co-operation, good-neighbourliness and peaceful coexistence, free from nuclear weapons. The establishment of such a zone in the Balkans, linked with other nuclear-free zones in Europe, would be a step towards a Europe without nuclear weapons and would have most positive effects on the political climate in Europe as a whole.

101. In the present international circumstances, the adoption, with the participation of all States, of effective measures for confidence-building among States would be of particular importance. Romania considers it of the utmost importance for the strengthening of confidence and détente among States that there be agreement on the withdrawal of all foreign troops to within their national borders and that every State make the firm commitment not to deploy troops on the territory of other States.

102. In the opinion of Romania, such confidence-building measures should also be aimed at reducing manifestations of bloc policy and of military activities of blocs and intensifying efforts to bring about their simultaneous dissolution; dismantling military bases situated in the territory of other States; renouncing military manoeuvres and demonstrations, particularly those involving the participation of several States, near the national borders of other countries; steadily implementing the confidence-building measures provided for in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975; and ensuring observance by all States, in good faith, of the commitments undertaken by virtue of existing agreements in the field of disarmament, as well as of United Nations decisions concerning disarmament negotiations, particularly those adopted by consensus.

103. Increased confidence among States and the strengthening of international security require that relations among all States be firmly based on the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equality of rights and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. It requires the complete renunciation of force and the threat of force and the renunciation of armaments policy, and that the balance of military forces should be ensured at an ever lower level through the gradual reduction of military expenditures, personnel and armaments, primarily nuclear weapons.

104. To create conditions favourable for disarmament, more determined action should be taken without delay for the settlement of all conflicts between States by peaceful means only, for the cessation of the present conflicts and their political solution through negotiations and for the prevention of any new military conflicts and confrontations. In the opinion of the Romanian Government, disarmament and the peaceful settlement of international disputes are interdependent and condition one another. The perpetuation of armed conflicts and hotbeds of tension and war is a serious obstacle in the path of disarmament. Life and events

demonstrate that it is easy to start a conflict, to create tension in one part of the world or another, but much more difficult to stop the conflicts and relieve the tensions. That is why everything should be done to prevent recourse to military means, to force, for the settlement of the various issues arising among States. No matter how long negotiations would take, it is much better, in the interests of the countries concerned and of the cause of peace and détente, that the peaceful way, that of negotiations, be chosen for the settlement of conflicts.

105. All States should commit themselves to solving all their international disputes by peaceful means, displaying moderation and self-restraint and renouncing any form of recourse to force or the threat of force. In this regard the adoption by the General Assembly of a declaration on the settlement of all disputes among States exclusively by peaceful means would be of great importance.

106. In order to prevent and settle conflicts and disputes between States by peaceful means, and having in mind the numerous existing problems, Romania proposes the creation within the United Nations of a special body that would take steps to organize talks and solve disputes between States by peaceful means only. States which failed to make use of such a body, ignored its activities or disregarded the fundamental requirement to settle all disputes by peaceful means only, thus ignoring the imperative need for the complete elimination of all acts or threats of force from international life, would be considered aggressors.

107. The implementation of a set of measures aimed at the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of disarmament should be carried out in conditions of mutual confidence and equal security for all countries. Romania believes it is necessary to ensure strict and effective control over the discharge of obligations undertaken by States, with a view to achieving real disarmament and encouraging and assisting negotiations. To that end, Romania is in favour of the setting up, within the framework of the United Nations, of an international body authorized to monitor and inspect the implementation of disarmament measures, to which Governments should lend their full support.

108. Romania firmly declares itself in favour of achieving a balance based not on an increase in armaments, military forces and expenditures but, on the contrary, on their steady reduction. Therefore we believe that the success of efforts to that end requires States to co-operate, in good faith, by providing the elements necessary for ascertaining and measuring military budgets and forces as well as armaments.

109. Romania considers that, in order to strengthen peace, security and sound co-operation among nations, it is of considerable importance for all States to make a solemn commitment to renounce force and the threat of force and to respect the independence of all peoples and their inalienable right freely to decide their own future, without any interference from outside.

110. In the opinion of Romania, an objective of such scope as general and complete disarmament can be attained only gradually, through partial measures and by stages. That is why the General Assembly must adopt, at this session, the comprehensive programme

of disarmament. As we see it, that programme should be as binding as possible, should establish priorities and time frames and should include a set of measures to be negotiated both bilaterally and multilaterally, within a continuing disarmament process which would be conceived as a long-term objective, leading ultimately to general and complete disarmament. The General Assembly should take note of the solemn commitment of all States to co-operate in a constructive spirit and in good faith to put that programme into practice.

111. Action must be taken to ensure that all States comply with and implement United Nations decisions and resolutions in order to improve the effectiveness of this world forum, so that it may make a greater contribution to the settlement of international issues through negotiation, to the development of co-operation among all States, irrespective of their social system, and to the achievement of lasting peace in the world. Strict compliance by every State with United Nations decisions is in the interests of all nations, since those who today disregard or refuse to implement United Nations decisions and resolutions jeopardize their own independence, because tomorrow those same practices will operate against them.

112. Romania attaches great importance to strengthening the role of peoples and world public opinion in the settlement of all issues relating to the peace and progress of mankind, to furthering its solidarity and to co-operation in the promotion of a policy of détente, peace and national independence. The enormous demonstrations and rallies in favour of peace and disarmament which have recently taken place in many States, including Romania, and whose vigour and force were previously unknown in the post-war period, clearly show that the action of peoples, of world public opinion, for disarmament and peace has developed as a new and progressive factor in contemporary international relations, and this is of particular importance for the cessation of the arms race and the salvation of mankind from a nuclear catastrophe.

113. We should like to emphasize the special role in the struggle for disarmament, peace and understanding, in order to ensure a peaceful and happy future, which falls to the young generation, which represents the majority of the world's population, makes the greatest sacrifices in armed conflicts and is vitally interested in peace.

114. Romania actively supports the launching of the World Disarmament Campaign under the aegis of the United Nations.

115. In the historic effort to put an end to the arms race and achieve disarmament scientists have a particular responsibility and role. They are in the best position to know the destructive capacity of modern weapons and the catastrophic consequences of a nuclear war. In the present circumstances, no scientist can remain indifferent to the fact that the latest achievements of modern science and technology are used for the production of ever more deadly weapons and that enormous amounts of material resources and a huge scientific potential are monopolized by the armaments policy. In these circumstances, Romania considers that it is necessary to create the conditions in which the voice of scientists may be heard at the

United Nations and in other international bodies, and that they should participate directly in the debate on all problems relating to disarmament and peace.

116. Starting from the need to do everything possible to ensure a climate of confidence, peace and co-operation between nations, Romania considers it particularly important to put an end to propaganda in favour of armaments and war and to undertake broad measures to educate peoples in the spirit of the ideals of peace and against war and armaments. That is why Romania proposes the organization under United Nations auspices of a world conference of the mass media to examine and establish appropriate measures to that end.

117. In today's world the problem of disarmament, like other major international problems of vital interest to mankind, must be solved in a democratic manner, with the active participation of all States. In this context, we declare ourselves strongly in favour of strengthening the role and responsibility of the United Nations in bringing about disarmament. The Final Document of the Tenth Special Session clearly confirmed that the United Nations provides the broad democratic framework within which disarmament agreements should be achieved and implemented, with the participation of all States of the world. The present situation requires the continual consolidation and democratization of the deliberative and negotiating machinery for disarmament established at the tenth special session.

118. Romania supports the enlargement of the Committee on Disarmament and the access of other States to its proceedings and the strengthening of the role of the United Nations Centre for Disarmament and the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, as well as other measures capable of contributing to the increased effectiveness of United Nations bodies in the field of disarmament.

119. While presenting those proposals, the Romanian delegation is ready to co-operate with the delegations of other States in the examination of all other constructive proposals that could contribute to finding, with the participation of all nations, reasonable solutions to the fundamental problem of our time, that of eliminating the danger of war and ensuring lasting peace on earth.

120. In expressing Romania's full support for the United Nations and its Charter, adopted almost four decades ago, we believe that all nations, the United Nations, must do everything possible and act with determination to find the solution to the fundamental problem of our time, that of halting the arms race, proceeding to disarmament, beginning with nuclear disarmament, and ensuring lasting peace in the world. We are firmly convinced that the twelfth special session can, and must, bring about a radical change in the international situation, a change from tension and confrontation through détente and disarmament, by a policy of broad international co-operation and understanding between all States, irrespective of their size or social system.

121. Romania is confident that it is within the power of States Members of the United Nations, acting in a responsible spirit and demonstrating the necessary political will, to make of this session a decisive

moment in the struggle for the realization of the ardent aspirations of the peoples to live in a peaceful world, without weapons and without wars, a world of understanding and co-operation. The peoples hope that the results of this special session will constitute proof of our generation's determination to rise to the level of the historic task of achieving disarmament, preserving life and civilization on our planet and guaranteeing a safe and peaceful future for coming generations. Nothing justifies, and nothing can justify, the policy of armaments and war. Peoples must be told the truth; the highest sense of responsibility must be shown for mankind's destiny; everything must be done to secure peace.

122. We are convinced that the halting of the arms race, the reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and disarmament in general are the only reasonable alternatives to the real danger of a devastating nuclear conflagration. In authorizing me to present to the General Assembly Romania's concepts and proposals on disarmament, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Grand National Assembly of my country make an urgent appeal to all heads of State and to the parliaments and Governments of all the countries of the world to make a positive contribution to the work of this special session, in order that it may respond to the desires and hopes of peoples by achieving positive, concrete results leading to the adoption of practical measures to halt the arms race and bring about disarmament, beginning with nuclear disarmament.

123. In the spirit of its policy of peace, co-operation and international understanding, Romania expresses once again its determination to continue to make, together with all the other nations of the world, its full contribution to every endeavour to ensure a peaceful life, the freedom and independence of peoples and the achievement of disarmament, peace and security throughout the world.

124. Mr. SLIM (Tunisia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like first, on behalf of Tunisia, its Government and people, to express my deep regret and sorrow at the loss of His Majesty King Khalid ibn Abdul Aziz. The Islamic and Arab world has lost a great leader and supporter of justice and peace. May the Almighty give his soul peace. We should like to extend our sincerest condolences to the Saudi Arabian delegation. We are convinced that the brotherly country of Saudi Arabia will continue its unalterable progress under the leadership of His Majesty King Fahd ibn Abdul Aziz, in whom we see great wisdom and sagacity.

[*The speaker continued in French (interpretation from French).*]

125. Because of its importance and the expectations to which it has given rise throughout the world, the present session will doubtless need all the skill, competence and devotion that we have long recognized in you, Mr. President. It is a source of satisfaction to Tunisia that this session has been entrusted to your guidance, which promises its success. In extending its congratulations to you, my delegation assures you of its full co-operation. I should like also to take this opportunity to pay a sincere and merited

tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, for the action he has taken since assuming his post and for his tireless efforts in particularly complex situations, which have severely tested the principles of the Charter, to whose defence he has resolutely devoted himself.

126. As the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was solemnly opened, as you, Mr. President, were launching the World Disarmament Campaign on behalf of us all, as eminent world dignitaries spoke in turn from this rostrum to reaffirm forcefully the need to put an end to recourse to weapons in international relations—at that very time we heard the odious sound of marching boots and the terrifying sound of tanks, guns and bombs. At that very time tragic pictures were arriving from Lebanon, pictures of men, women and children falling by the thousand under the indiscriminate, cynical blows of an adversary too long used to impunity and complacency and relying squarely on over-armorment. The Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, against whom Israel launched its war machine, were guilty only of having proclaimed their faith in the principles of the Charter, principles calling for respect for the independence and territorial integrity of States as well as respect for the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination.

127. When basic principles of international law are flouted in this way, when premeditated genocide is being committed before the eyes and with the knowledge of everyone without the guilty party being vigorously stopped in his grim designs, when international peace and security are dealt such a rude blow without the Security Council properly and promptly discharging its primary responsibility, we are entitled to wonder with anguish about the effectiveness and reliability of today's international order, an international order which continues to allow an entity like Israel to trample unanimously recognized principles underfoot and to base its policies on domination and exploitation, oppression and repression, force and a quest for supremacy, and expansionism and *faits accomplis*.

128. The time has passed for mere verbal condemnations of Israel; however useful they may be, they have thus far proved to be without effect. We and the Organization must look to the Charter for the enforcement measures demanded by such a barbarous and recalcitrant attitude towards the norms of the civilized world. In order to re-establish an international order based on law, justice and equity, we are obligated to make our own principles prevail and to defend the values in which all of us here believe. We should undoubtedly make a valuable contribution thereby to the restoration of peace and security in the blazing fire of the Middle East.

129. Thus, it is under the gravest auspices that the twelfth special session is taking place. We have only to note the disorder now prevailing in international relations to realize the genuine risk of a generalized conflagration. Whether we talk about the hotbeds of tension which we have been unable to extinguish, or the appearance of new armed conflicts which we have been unable to prevent, or the growing imbalance in international economic relations and its disastrous consequences for the countries of the third world, or

security problems and the frantic arms race, we are faced inevitably with the most uncontrollable of situations.

130. We all agree that the international situation is now more critical than ever before, and we are tempted to state that the international community has entered a dangerous phase which carries within itself the seeds of a generalized conflagration whose backdrop is the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

131. How can we fail to raise the alarm at the amount of human and financial resources used in the horrendous arms race we are witnessing today? How can we fail to be concerned when we learn that the sums swallowed up by military activities surpassed the dizzying figure of \$600 billion in 1981 alone, and that a quarter of all the world's scientists are applying their knowledge to military ends?

132. How can we fail to show our dismay at the continuous development of new weapons, ever more sophisticated and ever more able to destroy all human life on the planet? How can we fail to be distressed by the prospect of another arms race in outer space, with the development and projected deployment of anti-satellite satellites, military space shuttles, and space-based laser-beam anti-ballistic missile systems? Are we fully aware of the nuclear holocaust that is being prepared?

133. The cries of alarm that reach us from the public at large and those uttered in this forum remind us that the fate of all humanity is at stake when nuclear weapons are involved. We cannot fail to join in those appeals in order to stave off any risk of self-destruction. That should be the priority goal of this special session.

134. In this connexion we recently heard here an encouraging statement by one of the super-Powers: a formal commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Our wish is that that statement will be followed by concrete actions to reassure the nuclear partners and to convince them to come to a comprehensive agreement banning for ever the use of nuclear weapons. In the mean time, the non-nuclear-weapon countries have a right to demand from this special session formal assurances and adequate guarantees that the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons will never be directed against them.

135. There is no need to recall that, although it was adopted by consensus four years ago, the Final Document, which was the culmination of the work of the tenth special session, has not been implemented in any way.

136. We believed in 1978 that the Programme of Action that was adopted could provide an appropriate basis for the initiation of a process of reducing military arsenals. The facts today force us to note that that has not been the case. On the contrary, it is precisely during these past four years that the arms race has attained its highest level and that disarmament negotiations have been marking time.

137. However, the international situation makes it more necessary than ever that we redouble our efforts to halt the arms race, in particular the nuclear-arms race, and reverse it. There is no doubt that the international community, particularly the big Powers, will fail

in their obligations to future generations if they do not undertake now, by formal commitments and specific actions, to proceed to the reduction of armaments.

138. The concepts of balance and deterrence undoubtedly caused the failure of the negotiations on arms control because of their ambiguity and lack of precision in defining the notion of the balance of forces, which led each party to adopt a worst-case scenario. Both tried, in line with these principles, to seek virtual superiority and to place themselves at the highest point of that balance, which naturally led to the vicious circle in the arms race that we are today witnessing. This is also true of the consequences of the emphasis on concepts of parity and nuclear deterrence, which are modern but no less ambiguous versions of the classic idea of the balance of forces.

139. While we agree that the use of nuclear weapons would be a catastrophe which we must prevent at all costs as a matter of priority, that does not give grounds for underestimating the danger represented by so-called conventional weapons. Technical competition and technological progress in the field of conventional weapons have endowed these weapons with incalculable destructive power. Unfortunately, we do not seem to be sufficiently aware of the real danger and the financial burden represented by the accumulation of weapons and the buildup of military arsenals at the expense of the objectives of national development and regional peace.

140. Must it be spelt out that the bulk of arms expenditures in the world is devoted to conventional weapons, which absorb more than 80 per cent of world military budgets? While the part of this percentage taken up by the countries of the third world remains relatively minute compared to overall world expenditures, it remains the case that arms imports by these countries represent close to 70 per cent of the world total.

141. It is hardly necessary to recall that the territories of third world countries have been and still are the theatre of most of the conflicts which have broken out since the Second World War. This doubtless has to do with the fact that the system of collective security laid down in the Charter has not yet been implemented; this doubtless has to do with the fact that the Organization, created to maintain international peace and security, has not been able totally to fulfil its responsibilities.

142. The understandable determination of States to organize their own defence has been engendered largely by this generalized insecurity. However, while it is clear that each State is entitled to ensure its own security, it is still regrettable that some countries embroil themselves in this endless arms race and stockpile highly sophisticated weapons, to a degree that is massive, immoderate and often disproportionate to their security needs.

143. Convinced that regional disarmament is an important step towards general and complete disarmament, we support the establishment of increasing numbers of zones of peace. The progress achieved in implementing the Treaty of Tlatelolco<sup>4</sup> should encourage us to create further zones of peace, particularly in the Mediterranean, which we would like to see

become a sea of peace, as well as in Africa and the Middle East.

144. But how is it possible to achieve the goal laid down by the African States when the South African racist régime is pursuing its nuclear programme in defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council? Not only does that régime of *apartheid* and of the most abject colonialism in Namibia refuse to submit to IAEA safeguards, but it is strengthening its arsenal, thanks to major external aid which allows it ceaselessly to increase its military potential in both the conventional and nuclear fields.

145. The States of the Middle East confront the same situation. The arms potential of all kinds, including the nuclear-weapon potential, enjoyed by the Zionist State, which benefits from assistance of the same kind as that enjoyed by South Africa, makes any idea of establishing a zone of peace in that region illusory. The destructive power possessed by Israel is in fact directed against neighbouring countries, as can be seen by its repeated acts of aggression, its indescribable attack against the peaceful nuclear installation in Iraq, or the genocide in which it is currently engaged on Lebanese soil. The excessively belligerent behaviour of Israel is in itself a factor of profound tension in the Middle East and a decisive factor in the arms race.

146. In pleading the cause of general and complete disarmament, Tunisia remains faithful to its principles, to its basically peaceful vocation and to the fundamental choices it made at the dawn of its independence. While domestically it devotes most of its energy and resources to promoting man and his social and economic development, in the area of foreign policy it promotes relations of good-neighbourliness and the peaceful settlement of disputes through dialogue and negotiation.

147. In so doing, Tunisia has as a matter of principle renounced the establishment of a war machine, maintaining a very small army, in both units and equipment, to which it devotes one of the lowest percentages of gross national product in the world. The doctrine on which the Tunisian military establishment has always been based remains a strictly "intramural" one. This characteristic has never failed us in our contemporary history. The only exceptions to this—situations in which a Tunisian military presence has been noted abroad—are those which stem from our participation in peace-keeping missions within the framework of the United Nations.

148. On another subject, Tunisia has signed and ratified almost all multilateral agreements on disarmament: the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof, and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Indeed, we believe that signing these agreements, notwithstanding their imperfections, and supporting the principles and obligations they embrace, not only demonstrate goodwill but also show commitment to respect for their spirit and letter. That is why we appeal to all States that have not yet done so to sign the Non-Proliferation

Treaty, which we deem to be the basic text and one of the pillars of all international legislation on disarmament.

149. The recent study entitled *The Relationship between Disarmament and Development*,<sup>5</sup> submitted at the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, sheds new light on the importance of disarmament for détente, peace and international security, economic and social development and the promotion of international co-operation. That study confirms our position and that of the non-aligned countries in general, which is that disarmament and development are not two separate problems. They constitute a single problem. These two matters must be dealt with together, otherwise neither can be resolved.

150. It has become undeniable, as was emphasized by Mrs. Inga Thorsson, Chairman of the Group of Governmental Experts, at the 5th meeting of the First Committee during the thirty-sixth session, that "the world can either continue to pursue the arms race with characteristic vigour or it can move consciously and with deliberate speed toward a more sustainable international economic and political order. It cannot do both."

151. The present situation proves this fully. Indeed, almost \$600 billion is spent annually on war preparations, whereas 570 million people are suffering from malnutrition, 800 million are illiterate, 1.5 billion have very limited access to medical services and 250 million children have no schooling.

152. When we acknowledge that relations between States are based more and more on the principles of interdependence and that the crisis that affects some automatically has repercussions on the interests of others, we must note that we are one; one in the way that we wish to fashion the world for ourselves and for future generations; one as regards the consequences of a possible decision to annihilate the world.

153. It is in this forum and nowhere else, it is within this universal Organization that this solidarity must be expressed and made specific. It is in the field of disarmament and in preventing war, particularly nuclear war, that the unity of our objectives must be made manifest at the same time as the unity of our action.

154. While the responsibility of the super-Powers, which possess most of the existing military arsenals, is necessary for finding appropriate solutions to the problem posed by the frenetic arms race, it is certain that the United Nations bears special responsibility in this field, a responsibility which is justified not only by the very objective for which the Organization was created, that is, the maintenance of world peace and security, but particularly by the universal nature of the

problem of disarmament: the quantity and quality of weapons accumulated everywhere means that no one can feel safe from the disastrous consequences of a possible conflagration.

155. Therefore the disarmament bodies of the Organization must be strengthened. The Committee on Disarmament, to which Tunisia accords particular interest and which is the only multilateral negotiating body in the field of disarmament, must be in a position fully to discharge its responsibilities and to rally the greatest number of countries of the international community around the quest for effective solutions to the arms race.

156. The World Disarmament Campaign that you, Sir, launched at the beginning of the session and whose aim is to make world public opinion even more aware of the dangers to humanity of the accumulation of nuclear and conventional weapons obliges us, for otherwise we would be contradicting ourselves, to ensure the success of our present session by adopting, with all due solemnity, a comprehensive programme of disarmament with specific objectives and precise measures to be implemented according to a timetable that we will have to establish.

157. We believe that the gravity and complexity which mark the international situation should impel us to give more thought to substantive issues and to avoid transforming this forum into an arena of confrontation. We believe that at this stage we must stop accusing and start co-operating with all the necessary political will to find ways and means to usher in an era of peace and détente based on trust and co-operation.

*The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.*

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480, No. 6964, p. 43).

<sup>2</sup> The report was subsequently issued with the title *Reduction of Military Budgets—Refinement of International Reporting and Comparison of Military Expenditures* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.IX.4).

<sup>3</sup> A/CONF.95/15 and Corr.2, annex I. For the printed text of the Convention and its Protocols, see *United Nations Disarmament Yearbook*, vol. 5: 1980 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.IX.4), appendix VII.

<sup>4</sup> Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326).

<sup>5</sup> United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.IX.1.