



President: Mr. Ismat KITTANI (Iraq)

AGENDA ITEM 8

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. VELAYATI (Iran):* This is the second time since the Second World War that such a huge assembly has met within the framework of the General Assembly to exchange views on, find solutions to and probably take decisions on a matter of vital importance closely related to the future of every individual and all human society.

2. The second special session on disarmament has been organized in circumstances in which human society has passed the First Disarmament Decade and has begun the Second Disarmament Decade under its pompous title. It has been organized in circumstances in which four full years of panic, concern, distress and anxiety, arising from the intensifying of the arms race, have elapsed since the first special session on disarmament was held in 1978. At that session a declaration was issued, a programme of action was outlined and resolutions were approved. If an optimistic approach is desired, we can say only that beautiful phrases were carefully packed into a bundle of papers.

3. The representatives of 157 countries have gathered in this great Assembly to examine the relationships between peace and international security and disarmament, this when millions of people—homeless men, women, and children of Palestine, freedom-seekers of El Salvador, the tyrannized people of South Africa, Afghan crusaders and the risen Muslims of Iran—are the targets of bullets which are the result of aggressive arms policies.

4. We are speaking about peace, international security and disarmament at a time when statistics and published figures show that the budgets of the war machines of the super-Powers has increased year by year. The growth rate of the military budget of the United States during the years 1978-1980—that is, during the last years of the First Disarmament Decade—was 13 per cent, and in 1981 it further increased to 19 per cent. According to plans reported for 1985, America intends to appropriate \$340 billion for military purposes and to spend a total of \$1.5 trillion within the next five years in this field.

5. Forty-five per cent of the trade in and export of armaments in the world is in the hands of America. The exports of American weapons to the region where

my country is located, the Middle East, were worth \$600 million in 1970, but by the end of the First Disarmament Decade, 1980, this figure had reached \$8.5 billion. Generally this export was for the protection of despotic régimes and for the purpose of suppressing third world countries.

6. It is natural that, in the conditions of the arms race which is continuing with full force between the two super-Powers, the opposing blocs do not sit idle but spend sizeable amounts on armaments. It is said that 135 huge weapons and ammunition factories are functioning in the Soviet Union and that similarly 146 complexes and 4,000 huge companies in the private sector are engaged in arms manufacture in America. For whom are these weapons and ammunition being manufactured? Have America and the Soviet Union fired a single bullet against each other in the course of these years? Will not this military equipment finally find its victims among the deprived and tyrannized people of the third world countries? Are not these figures and soaring budgets in fact supplied by the resources and wealth of the deprived, oppressed and tyrannized people of the world? Are not the nations under domination forced, instead of using their own wealth for their own welfare and social and economic development, to present the morsels of food for their hungry children to the world-devourers in order to obtain a supply of weapons?

7. We are sitting in this opulent palace to identify the roots of the ills and find remedies to them when 570 million people in the world are faced with hunger and malnutrition, 800 million with illiteracy and 1.5 billion with nonexistent or inadequate medical services, and when every year millions of people die of disease and hunger. How long should this tyranny and injustice continue, and which authority must look into them?

8. We have organized this session at a time when every year nearly \$600 billion is spent for military purposes, and \$110 per capita is spent on the potential annihilation of each man, woman, and child on earth.

9. At the present time 50,000 atomic warheads are stored throughout the world. The explosive power of these bombs is a million times that of the first atomic bomb exploded over Hiroshima.

10. Vast human and financial resources are wasted on the arms race. According to the reports of United Nations experts, within the last 10 years WHO has allocated less than \$100 million from the international budget for assisting countries throughout the world in combating smallpox, whereas the price of a strategic bomber is more than \$100 million. Every year malaria kills 1 million children throughout the world, whereas an amount of \$1.5 billion, which means something less than one day's expenditure on arms, would be

* Mr. Velayati spoke in Persian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

enough to eradicate this disease from the world. In developing countries at least 300 million children are not able to use medical and educational services, and of every three or four children in the developing countries one dies before reaching the age of five.

11. The world today is confronted with difficulties and problems that have been created by a group of human beings and can be solved only by those who have created them. This is a fact, and if it were generally conceived of, accepted and used as a basis for international and collective uprisings against tyrants and tyranny it could be used to uproot the forces that see their survival in the creation of disorder and in domination of the nations of the world. The arms race and the production and stockpiling of nuclear, neutron, chemical and conventional weapons that compound the danger of the annihilation of humanity and civilization, and the need for total and complete disarmament, are among these problems. So far, great efforts have been made at the international level, in the United Nations and in organizations concerned with disarmament. Various proposals for the creation of non-nuclear zones throughout the world, the creation of peace zones, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons and so on have been made, but owing to the lack of sanctions most such measures have met with failure. Progress in such vital and delicate problems is impeded by differing opinions, procedural formalities, bureaucracy at the national and international levels, the indifference of great Powers, conflicts, competition and rivalries and the lack of confidence among the Powers of East and West, as a result of which the disarmament issue is deadlocked.

12. This practical experience has proved to the countries of the world that progress cannot be made through existing means, that is, giving lectures, organizing committees and commissions, holding talks and making proposals. Besides, the forces that intend to bring these movements to deadlock and that disregard the will of the people of the world and international public opinion will create obstacles in their way.

13. Therefore it is felt that the era of ineffective discussions, proposals and statements of views has come to an end and that we should deal with practical and tangible realities, as manifested in the arms race, the production and proliferation of nuclear weapons and the sale of great quantities of conventional arms by the super-Powers to third world countries, by practical collective resistance.

14. Discussions, conferences and debates will attain the desired objectives only when the participants have the desire and determination in good faith to solve the difficulty, and this will not be possible unless morality, spirituality, perspicacity and international public opinion prevail. As long as spiritual and moral degradation govern international relations, how can we expect wise decisions to be taken on this important matter? In such circumstances, even if decisions were taken they would be no more than futile and empty slogans.

15. The question propounded today is whether the balance of fear prevailing in the world today can

remain stable and undisturbed. Will technical developments not upset this situation?

16. Another factor that upsets this balance is the proliferation of nuclear weapons to countries outside the balance zone of the two central Powers. At this time there are many countries which have to some extent acquired nuclear know-how but have not signed the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Most such countries claim to be using their nuclear know-how for peaceful purposes, but what guarantees are there? The nuclear super-Powers apparently claim to be trying to limit their existing nuclear arsenals while at the same time not expecting to reduce their defence budgets. At the present time, unfortunately, there is no prohibition on the producing and piling up of nuclear weapons by the five nuclear countries. They do not even feel any responsibility towards human society for the quantity of special materials used for the production of such weapons.

17. Why do all these international efforts to protect humanity and civilization from total annihilation not lead to any conclusion? Is it not because of the lack of sincerity in what they say and the fact that their action is totally different from what they claim? The socio-economic orders of capitalism and socialism are at such an impasse that they must exploit third world countries for their survival. On the other hand, through their widespread propaganda the super-Powers have spread fear of foreign invasion among the countries of the world and encouraged the need to be armed and prepared to fight off any invasion to the extent that some countries, influenced by such propaganda, have equipped themselves beyond what seems rational and reasonable.

18. This need is more seriously felt when a real war breaks out between two or more countries; therefore the greater and more important part of the efforts of the economic and military complexes is aimed at fostering war in various parts of the world, thus forcing the third world countries to purchase and use the weapons manufactured in the East and the West. The third world countries are the victims of the well-known diabolical plots of neo-colonialism, whose sole objective is to prolong the existence of super-Powers at the expense of the human and financial resources of other countries.

19. The expenditures of the super-Powers on the arms race and the development of nuclear weapons are so high that those Powers are obliged to exploit other countries, especially those rich in oil and other resources, in order to provide the means for meeting such expenditures; therefore the intensifying of the arms race around the world involves the vital interests of the super-Powers and imperialist forces. Considering these facts, one comes to understand that one cannot oppose oppression by the super-Powers and the imperialist Powers, which are the main factors of instability and insecurity throughout the world, with the weapon of discussion and the holding of conferences.

20. Third world countries, in order to realize their objective, are in need of cultural development and must awaken from their deep sleep. Their several hundred years of experience of the policies of the

imperialist forces show that imperialism is based on a careful study of the history of the peoples of different countries, with special attention given to their points of friction and to promoting probable conflicts among them for the purpose of future exploitation. This line of action is summed up in the policy of "divide and rule", as a result of which those Powers, by creating conflicts among nations, have been able to establish their imperialist sovereignty and exploitative systems. The cultural development of the third world countries, their awakening from their deep sleep and their profiting from the bitter experiences of the past should be aimed at identifying the roots of disputes and should lead to serious collective determination of such countries to eliminate those disputes in order to attain a collective human ideal.

21. In order to attain these objectives, to put an end to artificial disputes inherited from colonial times and to eliminate the threats and dangers of war in their mutual relations and in their regions, third world countries, by establishing a system of mutual guarantees and the non-use of force in their relations, should try to deal with each other within the context of the objectives of the non-aligned movement. In this connexion, third world countries should endeavour to put an end to, or at least reduce to a minimum, their dependence on the super-Powers and, by expelling from the non-aligned movement the super-Powers' lackeys and agents who are responsible for the weakening and violation of the basic principles of non-alignment, use their human and financial resources for the welfare, the expansion of health services and the promotion of the culture of their deprived peoples, thus clearing the way for the overthrow of the tyrannical and oppressive system whose shadow is cast throughout the world.

22. What is expected from this session and what constitutes its responsibilities is nothing more than what was included in the Programme of Action [*resolution S-10/2, sect. III*] established at the tenth special session. A study of how much practical progress that Programme has made will show us that a great deal of time will be required for achieving those objectives, whereas the progress of nuclear and non-nuclear technology is so rapid, as the means of mass destruction become more sophisticated, that new questions and problems replace the former unsolved ones and the expectation of living in a peaceful atmosphere is never fulfilled.

23. At special sessions and conferences on disarmament, priority has usually been given to discussing weapons of mass destruction, chemical weapons, conventional weapons and the reduction of armed forces. Even if the United Nations achieves the goal of fixing priorities in disarmament talks, it will be faced with the complexity of the talks themselves. How long will those talks continue and how long should people wait? God knows.

24. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, for example, are indicative of the difficulties and perplexities that exist in any talks in such a field. To take another example, the mutual and balanced force reduction talks encounter certain problems and difficulties, such as those concerning the security and territorial integrity of nations, the balance of power in the region and the dangers from certain countries that threaten

other countries. These problems and perplexities are so great that a deadlock can be foreseen from the beginning, which makes it very clear that the continuance of this method of holding talks will achieve no results but will simply mean wasting time and falling behind, because of the rapid progress of technology, which is the source of all modern problems. Mankind will never catch up with the arms race unless it changes its method and its approach with respect to the problem and embarks on collective action of a different nature. It is obvious that the meaning of this is not that we should ignore the efforts of the international community in the field of disarmament, but rather that we should give its feeble body a new soul.

25. The approach to the question of disarmament should be based on wisdom and knowledge rather than on figures, statistics and technological information.

26. At the previous special session on disarmament mention was made of the responsibilities of the countries possessing nuclear arms. Now we shall see whether the measures taken by those countries are indicative of their sense of responsibility or of their heedlessness of international opinion. It has been said that for the purpose of guaranteeing the security of all the nations of the world a qualitative and quantitative assessment of the arsenals of the nuclear and non-nuclear countries must be made. Has there been any progress in this field? Do all countries give the United Nations permission to carry out such an assessment? Indeed, in view of the atmosphere of threat and danger that hovers over the world, is that goal attainable? How much progress has been made in the field of international control and the prevention of the conversion of raw materials for use in nuclear arms, and how long will talks on compelling countries to agree to undergo international supervision last?

27. With regard to the items dealing with the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones, what policy can the United Nations adopt concerning countries which openly disregard their international obligations, their international responsibilities and the international community and secretly produce and amass nuclear arms? What progress has been made in that field?

28. In the case of the total and effective prohibition of the production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and of their eradication, and the necessity for concluding an agreement on this subject and for countries to adhere to that agreement, what progress has been attained? At the very least, the behaviour of America in Viet Nam, its use of chemical weapons and the announcement of the new programme of the American Government regarding the production of chemical weapons are indications of the vainness of this hope.

29. The reduction of military budgets and the adoption of measures to build confidence among countries for the purpose of facilitating the process of disarmament are items that must be fully supported.

30. With regard to the relationship between expenditures on armaments and economic and social development, the need to allocate resources now spent for military purposes to the economic and social development of the world, especially for the benefit of the developing countries, and the study of the

practical possibilities of allocating military expenditures for national, regional and international development, we hope that the efforts of the United Nations will achieve the desired objectives, with the participation of all Member States.

31. The ailment known as the arms race, which has spread to other countries from the super-Powers, has left its destructive effects on the developing and backward countries, which are the real victims of the prevalence of terror in the world. It has forced those countries onto the slope of collapse, annihilation and the speedy waste of their human and mineral resources, so that those countries, instead of healing the wounds of the enslaved masses and providing for their comfort and mental elevation, have placed all their sources of wealth solely at the service of the greed of the super-Powers.

32. As shown by available statistics, military expenditures in the developing countries are rising fast. The increase between 1970 and 1979 was at a rate of between 7 and 8 per cent, that is to say faster than the rate of increase of the gross national products of those countries. During the last 20 years the gross national product of the developing third world countries has almost tripled, while the military expenditures of those countries have increased four and a half times.

33. The arms race not only despoils the countries possessing raw materials and manpower of their great resources, but also entails catastrophic effects. On the one hand it hinders the economic and social growth of the developing countries, and on the other hand it is the cause of inflation, unemployment and poverty in those territories. In addition, it has further diminished the global spirit of co-operation and friendship, converting it to animosity, defiance and resistance.

34. In the developing countries, less than 15 per cent of the rural people and the poor have access to hygiene facilities. At least 300 million children cannot benefit from health services and education, and less than 10 per cent of the children in those territories are vaccinated against diseases.

35. In the field of scientific and technological research the conditions are no better. About 25 per cent of the scientific workforce world-wide is engaged in military research. On the basis of the latest United Nations statistics, we can say that 50 million people are directly engaged in military activities. There are 25 million people in the armies of the world and 10 million in the militia forces; 500,000 scientists, engineers and specialists are engaged in research activities with military aims; and 5 million workers are directly employed in the production of arms and special military equipment.

36. The use of oil for military aims, including its indirect use in military industries, amounts to between 5 and 6 per cent of total world consumption. The total expenditure on research and development in the military field in 1980 amounted to \$35 billion, or almost one fourth of total research expenditures throughout the world.

37. The military sector makes use of the greater part of the mineral resources and other raw materials. However, if a rational and just system were governing

the world instead of the system of modern barbarism and ferocity, all these sources of wealth could be spent on the welfare and betterment of living conditions and on the mental and spiritual elevation of the oppressed of the world. This injustice and cruelty derives from the desire of the super-Powers to preserve and expand illiteracy and ignorance and to give support to the unpopular and corrupt régimes that are the regular customers of the military weapons they produce.

38. With regard to the relationship between disarmament and international security, a point worthy of attention is that the escalation of the arms race imparts negative effects on every aspect of international relations. The arms race brings any kind of progress and betterment in international relations based on mutual understanding and co-operation and also parity face to face with obstacles. In such conditions, the probability of collision and conflict between countries increases. Therefore, for their own safety countries are compelled to take refuge under the protective umbrella of one of the two super-Powers, which is the final goal pursued by the super-Powers—that is, absolute and unconditional sovereignty over the financial and human resources of the countries which, under pressure of an atmosphere of insecurity, join the ranks of satellite countries. The goal of the super-Powers in imposing terror and fear on the world is to have easy access to the national resources of other countries.

39. The international policy of the rule of terror and fear pursues two objectives. The first is to exert pressure on countries by creating tension in international relations to force them to purchase and stockpile all sorts of weaponry to resist possible dangers. This ultimately establishes a system of exploitation in the relations of the super-Powers with the country concerned on the basis of military contracts and orders and employment of specialists and others. In these conditions, the arms dealer supports the dictatorial, demagogic and unpopular régimes, which protect these trade links with the super-Powers and ignore the fate of their own peoples. Secondly, as a result of speedy progress in nuclear technology, the third world countries feel that they are unable to maintain their security and therefore place themselves under the protective umbrella of a super-Power.

40. The relationship between disarmament and international security has been stipulated in the Charter of the United Nations. Article 1, paragraph 1, indicates that the primary purpose of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security and that, to achieve this objective, all countries of the world must act collectively. Article 1 refers to effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression. States Members of the United Nations have adhered to this principle. But is there any country in the world today that enjoys a feeling of security, remaining confident that the United Nations is its supporter and that in emergencies, before it is in danger or after an act of aggression has occurred on its soil, the United Nations will hurry to repel the danger or eliminate the aggression? The answer is "No".

41. An obvious example of this is the tragic war imposed on Iran by Iraq. The countries of the world are witness to the fact that Iraq, in spite of the explicit stipulations of the Charter and international norms, has violated existing agreements and, ignoring the necessity of conducting negotiations in international affairs, as provided for in the Charter, embarked on an act of aggression on our soil.

42. Twenty months have passed since the Iraqi attack on and invasion of Iranian soil, and during this time the Iraqi forces have had part of our territory under occupation. But the United Nations has never taken any measure for the elimination of the aggression and condemnation of the aggressor. The silence and procrastination of the United Nations on the elimination of this aggression has each day caused the loss of lives and property of many Iranians. The Tabas incident, in which American helicopters flagrantly invaded our territory, is another example worth mentioning. Although news of this event was carried throughout the world, the United Nations even refrained from condemning America.

43. Who is responsible for the ground, sea and air attacks of all kinds on Lebanon by the forces of the régime of occupied Al-Quds—this illegitimate son of world-devouring America, the Great Satan—in the course of which the fighters, boats and tanks of this criminal régime have in recent days, under chimerical and unjustifiable pretexts and with expansionist and dominance-seeking intentions in the region, engulfed in flames the defenceless people, residential areas and civil institutions of southern Lebanon and coastal areas of that country? We have learned from our past experience that this time too the Security Council, because of the influence of the stepfather and master of this régime—that is, criminal America—will be unable to take any practical measures for the elimination of this flagrant aggression; it will only play with words and phrases. And this time too the blood of the defenceless and deprived people of southern Lebanon, of Syrian brothers, of the struggling Moslem people of Palestine and of the fighters of the Palestine Liberation Organization, who are the victims of the avarice of world imperialism, will be shed.

44. The United Nations is still entrapped in the impasse of defining and interpreting the word "aggression" and in many other deadlocks which the super-Powers have created for it, and it is unable to do anything against the policy of hegemonism and warmongering of the super-Powers and their allies and agents.

45. Therefore, if the effective collective measures referred to in the Charter were to become reality, substantial developments in international relations would emerge with respect to the establishment and maintenance of peace. With the establishment of a system of international peace and security, the way would be cleared for world disarmament and, with global disarmament, international peace and security would be restored to the world.

46. In the Security Council the maintenance of international peace and security and the investigation of breaches of peace and of acts of aggression with respect to international peace have been entrusted to

the Powers that are themselves the causes of insecurity, instability and tension in the world. The Security Council will be able correctly to fulfil its responsibility with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security only when the composition of its membership and its methods of taking decisions undergo basic changes. Changes are required because the super-Powers, by enjoying the right of veto, have so far been able to disarm the United Nations and render it all the more feeble.

47. How can the disarmed United Nations accomplish the task of global disarmament?

48. In the final analysis, as United Nations experts have also taken into consideration, solutions must be sought so that countries, by having recourse to such solutions and without getting involved in the arms race, can live in peace and security, because the outcome of an arms race is nothing but the further expansion of insecurity throughout the world.

49. One objective that deserves serious attention is that of attempting to create confidence in international relations. In our opinion, if the United Nations could become a reliable international organization and attract the confidence of the international community, it would prove more successful. But the United Nations has not, within the context of the responsibilities of the Security Council, been able to carry out its responsibilities with respect to the violation of the Charter and to aggression against the territory and sovereignty of members of the international community. It has allowed negligence in carrying out its duties in many cases; it has kept silent in the case of overt aggression against the rights of Member States; it has unfortunately become a puppet of the super-Powers. Therefore it has lost the confidence of the international community, at least in the field of maintaining international security.

50. Hence, in our opinion it is necessary for the United Nations itself, or the members of the international community as a whole or in groups, to make a comprehensive evaluation of the actions taken by the United Nations since its foundation, taking into consideration its strong and its weak points, with the aim of improving, in quality and in quantity, the functioning of the Organization in general and of the Security Council in particular.

51. Despite the fact that we agree with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, we believe the implementation of this Treaty without the total eradication of all existing nuclear weapons is in vain, because in this way nuclear weapons will remain solely at the disposal of the super-Powers.

52. In the Middle East and in Africa the actions by the racist régimes of occupied Al-Quds and of South Africa to try to thwart the measures taken to prevent them from obtaining nuclear weapons must be stopped in an appropriate manner.

53. It might be worthy of mention that Aristotle once said that he was afraid of the cow because it had horns but no wisdom. In our world today we are faced with corrupt, aggressive, criminal and insane régimes whose horns must be broken before their ferocious and aggressive nature can cause an irreparable catastrophe.

54. We support the creation of zones of peace in the world, in particular in the Indian Ocean, as well as the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. We also support efforts to ensure peace and security in the region and demand the dismantling of all foreign military bases and the elimination of the military presence and rivalries of foreign Powers from various regions of the world, in particular from the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf.

55. We consider the formation of the rapid deployment force as the newest blow to international security and a new method of extortion practised by world-devouring America in the world. We condemn the régimes of Egypt, Oman and Morocco, which have placed military bases at the disposal of the world-devouring imperialism of America and call upon the people of such countries not to allow their territories to be placed at the service of this aggressive force. We also call upon all the countries of the world to announce their aversion to this aggressive act and to condemn it.

56. Regarding the actions and efforts necessary to alleviate international tensions, we call for the withdrawal of foreign aggressive forces from the territories of countries like Afghanistan, as well as for the observance of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of countries.

57. We consider the super-Powers, especially world-devouring America, responsible for the deadlock in disarmament talks. We should like to propose that the United Nations disseminate information on disarmament among all nations of the world as a matter of popular and public interest.

58. We are looking forward to the day when the United Nations, on the basis of its mission provided in the Charter, may free itself from the influential clutches of the super-Powers, directed against the third world countries, and may succeed in contributing to international peace, security and disarmament. That day shall never come except through the unity of the oppressed and tyrannized nations of the world and through their faith in and reliance on God the Almighty in their struggles against oppression and world imperialism.

59. May the oppressed be victorious over the oppressors.

60. Mr. MOHAMMED (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, from this international rostrum I should like, at the outset, to salute the heroic Lebanese and Palestinian martyrs who have fallen in the recent battles. I wish to pay a tribute to those men and women of our Lebanese and Palestinian peoples who are today opposing the act of aggression perpetrated by zionism, the valiant and courageous people who are opposing Israeli-American terrorism and who are fighting on bravely. I salute their resistance and their steadfast spirit.

61. At this very moment when we are convening this session to study ways and means of bringing about the elimination of the threat of war and restoration of peace, we find that Israel, with the support and encouragement of the United States Government, is perpetrating a new and overt act of aggression against Lebanon, its people and its land, and against

Palestinian camps and does not hesitate to kill or wound hundreds of innocent people and to destroy property.

62. Israel, in pursuing its policy of aggression, occupation and expansion in Arab territories and killing innocent Palestinians and Lebanese, is escalating this aggressive war against the Palestinian and Lebanese people with the support of the United States war machine, with all its sophisticated means of mass destruction, as well as with its political and economic aid.

63. The current balance of power in the Middle East may lead Israel to believe that this is an opportunity to make zionism's racist dream to establish Greater Israel come true, but we are convinced that the Arab nation, with the Palestinian people as its vanguard, is willing and determined to resist aggression, occupation and expansionism, for it is indeed fighting a just struggle for its legitimate rights. Behind it stand all the peace-loving peoples of the world, who are ready to sacrifice many martyrs for a generation to come rather than relinquish their rights, convinced as they are of their final victory. This is their right, which cannot be denied or contested, and which has been recognized by the international community in hundreds of resolutions.

64. We confirm what has been recognized by the international community, that the conflict in the Middle East cannot be settled unless Israel withdraws completely and unconditionally from all the occupied Arab territories and there is a just and honourable solution to the Palestinian issue which will guarantee the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including its right to return to its homeland and to exercise its right to self-determination and establish its own national independent State under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO].

65. This Zionist aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese people cannot be considered in isolation from the fierce imperialist United States aggression which our region is suffering, the objective of which is to impose complete control over the area and to plunder its wealth, by destabilizing and frustrating the progressive nationalist régimes which oppose its policies and its aggressive and hostile practices and by thwarting their aspirations to progress and stability.

66. Conspiracies, acts of destruction, terrorist practices, aggression, pressure and economic and information blockade practised in our region by the imperialist Powers, under the leadership of the United States imperialists, particularly against Democratic Yemen, Syria, Libya, Algeria and Ethiopia; the display of military force in the large-scale military manoeuvres being carried out on the borders of States of our region, using the most advanced and sophisticated weapons; and the escalation of the arms race at the regional level by providing certain States in the region with advanced weapons exceeding their potential and capabilities—all this imposes on our peoples unequal situations which threaten our security and stability and compel us to take the necessary measures to maintain our independence and sovereignty. This in turn affects our development plans, which are aimed at improving the standard of living of our peoples,

and aggravates the backwardness which we have inherited from the colonialist era.

67. What we are subjected to today is the type of aggressive war suffered by developing countries, in Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Angola, Mozambique and other States. These wars reflect the insistence on maintaining the colonialist hegemony over our peoples. Today we are witnessing another type of such aggressive colonialist wars, as exemplified by the British aggression against the Argentine Malvinas Islands, in which Britain is using the most sophisticated weapons, with the support of the United States.

68. The existence of areas of tension in the world, particularly the Middle East and southern Africa, increases the risk of war through the arms race in conventional and nuclear weapons. Disarmament efforts are continually impeded, in particular by the unprecedented military buildup taking place in those regions, the creation of the United States rapid deployment forces and the escalation of the imperialist intervention against the territorial integrity and political independence of sovereign States and against the people struggling for their national independence, self-determination and the elimination of colonialist and racist hegemony. The two racist régimes, in Tel Aviv and Pretoria, are indeed military arsenals. With the close collaboration of the United States and other Western Powers, and also bilaterally, they have today gained possession of nuclear weapons, which indeed constitute an increasing threat not only to the neighbouring Arab and African countries but to the peace of the whole world.

69. In the light of such threats to the security and peace of the peoples of the region, this session is called upon to take practical steps leading to the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in the Middle East and Africa, the elimination of imperialist bases and military alliances, the prohibition of the granting of military facilities to the United States rapid deployment forces and the maintenance of the independence and sovereignty of the countries of the region and their right to control their own natural resources.

70. The imperialist forces, led by the American imperialists, have tried to contain and abort all efforts exerted by the coastal and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean area and by other peace-loving forces to implement General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI), the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. The efforts aim to impose complete hegemony over the region by trying to strengthen their military presence in the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea by increasing their naval and military forces and expanding American bases, by establishing infrastructures to support the military operations of their naval and rapid deployment forces they have created by transforming Diego Garcia Island into a bridgehead for their naval forces and for storing nuclear weapons, by creating new bases extending over a huge area and by declaring the Indian Ocean area of vital American interest, ignoring the legitimate interests of the countries of the region.

71. We ask that this special session produce a firm resolution on the convening of a conference on the Indian Ocean in the first half of 1983. It must also

adopt specific measures on the immediate removal of the imperialist military bases and presence from the region in order to achieve the objective of declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

72. We appreciate the Soviet proposals aimed at transforming the Gulf and the Indian Ocean into a zone free of foreign military presence and military bases. Democratic Yemen, in line with its foreign policy based on peaceful coexistence and its concern for the maintenance of peace in our area, which we consider to be a vital matter on which the development and growth of our peoples depend, submitted in January 1981 the proposal by President Ali Nasser Mohammed on the convening of a summit conference of the States of the Gulf, the Arabian Peninsula and the Horn of Africa, with the participation of the other parties concerned, in order to examine the question of the complete elimination of foreign military bases from the area.

73. The main motivation for the increasing military budgets and expenditures of capitalist countries, disregarding the plight of the millions of children of our people in the developing countries—particularly in the least developed countries, where children are deprived of the bare necessities of daily life and many suffer from disease and the lack of hygiene, health and educational services—is the profits to be made by producing weapons. It is high time that we worked together to eliminate backwardness, poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy.

74. The price paid by mankind as a result of the absence of peace in the world is very high. The annual world expenditure on arms has doubled from \$US 300 billion in 1978 to \$US 600 billion in 1981. If we aspire to peace, those resources should be devoted and geared to economic development for all peoples, in particular those of the developing countries. Unless that is done we shall be able neither to achieve development nor to ensure peace. On the contrary, we shall continue to suffer from the direct effects of the diversion of resources for military objectives. The enormous resources being squandered on the arms race could contribute to the building of more than 1 million schools, which would take more than 700 million children; or 100 million homes, which would shelter more than 500 million people; or 60,000 hospitals with a total of more than 20 million beds. They could be devoted to building thousands of factories, providing employment for millions of people, or could be invested in the production of food to satisfy the needs of more than 1.5 billion people.

75. The central idea in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session is that disarmament, and particularly nuclear disarmament, has top priority and is of major importance. The continual accumulation and hoarding of war machines and weapons of mass destruction is an obstacle to the efforts exerted to lessen international tension and establish relationships based on peaceful coexistence, co-operation and confidence.

76. The convening of this second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament testifies to the importance which most States attach to efforts to achieve the goal of disarmament and to

would out measures to give effect to the resolutions of the first special session, establish peace and bring about nuclear disarmament, which would lead to general and complete disarmament under effective international control. This is particularly true since this session is convened at a time when there is a deterioration in international relations, which subjects a large number of States and peoples to the threat of aggression and blatant intervention by the imperialist Powers in their internal affairs. The production of the neutron bomb and the "first strike" theory by the United States, its refusal to ratify the SALT II agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive arms, its continued development of nuclear weapons, the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and the setting-up of a new network of weapons of mass destruction, the establishment of the American rapid deployment forces, the creation of new hotbeds of tension and instability throughout the world, the new United States theories on the use of nuclear weapons and the use of food as a weapon and the plans for producing new chemical weapons—all this has increased tension in international relations and the danger of war, including nuclear war, to a degree that threatens the very existence of mankind and civilization.

77. Although we would like to record our appreciation of the efforts and initiatives undertaken by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, headed by the Soviet Union, to lessen the tension and strengthen the policy of world détente in the interest of international peace and security, we feel that the final document and the comprehensive programme for disarmament that will emerge from the present session should include practical steps leading to the following.

78. In the first place, the opposition of the United States and a number of other Western States to carrying out multilateral negotiations on disarmament and on banning all nuclear tests and the production and stockpiling of nuclear neutron weapons should be eliminated.

79. Secondly, all States should participate in and contribute to negotiations aimed at achieving disarmament under effective international control, in compliance with the will of the peoples of the world and the majority of States Members of the United Nations, and should demonstrate the necessary political will to achieve general and complete disarmament, lessen international tensions and ban the use of force in international relations.

80. Thirdly, there must be the elimination of the difficulties created by the United States and other Western States by their refusal to provide guarantees to non-nuclear States that they will not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against them or allow nuclear weapons on territories where there are none at present.

81. Fourthly, a treaty must be concluded on chemical weapons and a separate treaty on radiation weapons, and the necessary measures must be adopted to prevent the Government of the United States from proceeding with its plans for the production of chemical weapons and threatening to use such weapons in the Middle East, Africa and other regions. A comprehensive agreement banning the development

and production of new weapons of mass destruction and any arms race in outer space must be concluded.

82. Fifthly, a special conference on disarmament in which all countries would participate must be convened as soon possible after this special session and after making the necessary preparations for the conclusion of conventions on disarmament and taking specific steps to general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

83. We indeed appreciate the active role played by non-governmental organizations, together with the United Nations, in mobilizing world public opinion in support of the speedy implementation of the resolutions adopted at the first special session on disarmament.

84. We emphasize the importance of the mass peace rallies and demonstrations against nuclear weapons and for peace that have been held in a number of capitalist countries. In February of this year we had the great honour of hosting the world peace conference devoted to the elimination of the American military buildup in the Middle East. We would like to reaffirm the importance of world public opinion in achieving the objectives of disarmament and the necessity of taking at this session the appropriate steps to increase universal public awareness of the need to reject all imperialist attempts to negotiate from positions of force and achieve military supremacy or to resort to procrastination.

85. Peace is indeed the embodiment of the aspiration of all the peoples of the world. In the struggle to achieve it, it is necessary to end the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, prevent a nuclear war, the victim of which would be all mankind, and exert all our efforts to maintain détente in international relations, in order to establish an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence leading to peace throughout the world and bringing about the economic and social development of all the peoples of the world. Without détente and disarmament there cannot be peace or development. We hope that this special session will adopt resolutions that respond to the aspirations and ambitions of our peoples for peace and security.

86. Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): On behalf of the delegation of Sierra Leone, I should like to extend to Mr. Kittani our warm felicitations on his unanimous election to preside over the deliberations of this important special session on disarmament. The field of disarmament is not a new one to him, for I am aware of the tremendous efforts he exerted some two years ago during the Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Given that background and his outstanding ability to find solutions to international problems, my delegation is confident that the work of this special session will be crowned with success.

87. Since this is the first opportunity my delegation has had to do so from this podium, I also wish to congratulate the Secretary-General on his election. We are aware of his role in the past as an apostle of peace, and we have observed with admiration his tireless exertions in that pursuit. I should also like to pay a special tribute to him for his inspiring and

thought-provoking address yesterday at the opening meeting of this special session.

88. While in this congratulatory mood, I should also like to take this opportunity to express my delegation's appreciation to Mr. Adeniji of Nigeria for the excellent work he performed as Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for this special session. His unanimous endorsement here yesterday as Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee is a tribute to his constructive effort and profound contribution to the process of disarmament.

89. Four years ago, the United Nations, as the custodian of international peace and security but troubled by the perilous arms race, particularly in the field of nuclear weapons, and by the threat thus posed to the security of nations, convened the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. That was indeed an event of historical significance and a milestone in the annals of the Organization, for on that occasion, and for the first time in the history of mankind, the States members of the family of nations reached a consensus on a strategy to achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control. That historic consensus came about because of the awareness of the dangers the existence of nuclear arsenals and the continued arms race pose to the very existence of mankind. It was also predicated on the idea that the security and prosperity of States could be enhanced only through complete and effective disarmament measures.

90. Having mapped out its strategy, the General Assembly decided to call for a second special session devoted to disarmament in order to review how much real progress had been made with regard to disarmament and to implementing the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [resolution S-10/2], with the goal of safeguarding international peace and security. Thus the decision to hold this special session at this moment, whether by coincidence or by design, or both, could not have been more propitious, for with every day that passes mankind has continued to live dangerously, and to that extent we have become helpless hostages to the dictates of a limited few even on the manner of our perdition.

91. We are informed by those who have knowledge about these matters that today the danger of a nuclear war from various quarters is real and not just an alarm. Such a danger is of profound concern to my Government and is the foremost reason for our decision to participate in this session. The formulation of practical and concrete measures for the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe should, therefore, be the urgent and important task of this session. Now more than ever Governments should undertake to refrain from the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons and reaffirm their commitment to the proposition that

“Enduring international peace and security cannot be built on the accumulation of weaponry by military alliances nor be sustained by a precarious balance of deterrence or doctrines of strategic superiority.” [*Ibid.*, para. 13.]

92. For almost four years now, since the adoption of the Final Document on disarmament, the disarmament negotiations have achieved virtually no results.

The expectations aroused during the first special session on disarmament, that significant progress would be made in the disarmament field, have unfortunately come to naught. Since that special session the world has witnessed a galloping advance in the arms race, thereby shattering the hope and aspirations of mankind that at last the world was going to embark on the road to disarmament. Almost no objective, priority and principle endorsed in the Final Document has been either faithfully respected or observed. Instead, we have witnessed an escalation of arms spending to over \$600 billion annually. We have heard chilling statements claiming that a limited nuclear war is feasible and winnable. We have heard orders made for the production of the nuclear neutron bomb, which destroys living organisms while maintaining infrastructures intact. It is such decisions that have led to a further and even more dangerous spiral in the arms race and significantly lowered the threshold of a nuclear war.

93. It is also manifest that the four years since 1978 have witnessed an escalation in the frequency of the use or threat of use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of States. The continued massive acquisition of arms and nuclear weapons has resulted in the flagrant denial of the inalienable right to self-determination and independence of peoples and nations under colonial, foreign and alien domination, in gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations, and allows régimes thus established to blackmail with the threat of nuclear annihilation those who have been uncompromising in their opposition to their sinister policies.

94. But, quite apart from the danger of nuclear annihilation which the arms race represents, it also constitutes a tremendous waste and diversion of human and material resources much needed for development. This, in large measure, has contributed to the economic crisis that is being experienced today, not only by the military and industrialized nations but quite substantially by the developing countries, all of which are barely able to survive the tremendous economic calamities which have befallen them recently. By the same token, international co-operation for development is being increasingly discouraged and frustrated, and the basic developmental needs of the developing countries are being ignored or denied. All these factors underline the necessity for the pursuit of disarmament to be followed by a concerted effort for the establishment of a new international economic order.

95. In this regard, I should like to acknowledge the important contribution which has been made by Mrs. Inga Thorsson of Sweden, Chairman of the Group of Governmental Experts which in its study¹ established a direct relationship between disarmament and development, and by Mr. Olof Palme and his Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues in their invaluable report² on the relationship between disarmament and international security.

96. As a member of the international community, Sierra Leone, like, indeed, mankind as a whole, has a vital interest in the success of all disarmament negotiations. We perceive it our duty to contribute

positively to the efforts to achieve genuine disarmament. Unfortunately, disarmament has fallen prey to the current international climate of tension and confrontation. As a consequence, the Sierra Leone delegation expresses its dismay and consternation that certain agreements concluded have so far not been implemented. The non-ratification of the second strategic arms limitation agreement is a case in point.

97. It is, therefore, of the utmost necessity and importance that the Soviet Union and the United States resume their talks on strategic arms limitation without delay. Such talks should lead to a significant reduction of and a qualitative limitation on strategic arms. In this connexion, my Government welcomes the initiative on the strategic arms reduction talks [START], which are scheduled to begin on 29 June this year.

98. The Sierra Leone delegation is dismayed that the testing of nuclear weapons has continued unabated since the first special session devoted to disarmament. It is reported that since 1978 over 200 nuclear-weapon tests have been conducted, and such tests have occurred while the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and the United States have been engaged in negotiations. Unfortunately, those tripartite negotiations have been suspended without reaching a successful conclusion. Furthermore, the single multilateral negotiating body on disarmament-related issues, the Committee on Disarmament, has been prevented from effectively discharging its responsibilities by some nuclear-weapon States which have endeavoured to overturn the priorities established for negotiation on nuclear disarmament by relegating the nuclear test ban to the position of a long-term objective which must be dealt with within the context of the whole range of nuclear issues.

99. My Government calls for the immediate conclusion of a nuclear-test-ban treaty aimed at the complete cessation of the testing of nuclear weapons in all environments. Such a ban must include an agreement on measures of verification, which should be applied on a universal and non-discriminatory basis.

100. The General Assembly has, in several resolutions, said and reiterated that the use of nuclear weapons would constitute a crime against humanity and be a violation of the Charter. It is, therefore, of vital interest to mankind that the nuclear-weapon States propose to us non-nuclear-weapon States an agreement on the complete prohibition of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, pending nuclear disarmament.

101. Non-nuclear-weapon States, such as Sierra Leone, endorsed the objective enshrined in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the prevention of horizontal and vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons. Unfortunately, the arms race has escalated at a very fast pace. This is definitely contrary to the objective of the reduction and ultimately the complete elimination of nuclear weapons and to the letter and spirit of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. We have witnessed a proliferation of nuclear weapons and have seen certain countries, such as racist South Africa, with its sinister *apartheid* policy, being provided by certain

Western countries with the materials and technological know-how to develop their nuclear capability.

102. The latter situation, like the nuclear-arms buildup itself, is not only totally incomprehensible, but is also fraught with serious danger, for the policy of *apartheid*, to our pain, represents a veritable threat to international peace and security, and to compound this by supplying nuclear weapons or nuclear capability is certainly a nuclear felony. There must therefore be an end to such nuclear collusion with the racist régime of South Africa, in conformity with the relevant decisions of the Security Council.

103. Steps must also be taken to enforce the non-proliferation régime on a universal and non-discriminatory basis.

104. The Sierra Leone delegation would like to recall that non-nuclear-weapon States in various regions of the world have at various times submitted proposals to set up nuclear-weapon-free zones as a very important step towards attaining nuclear disarmament. The Organization of African Unity has put forward one such proposal to make Africa a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

105. Today, we in Africa are faced with a growing threat from South Africa's nuclear capability, which threatens the security of our continent. We have therefore called on the Security Council to take measures to prevent the objective of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa³ from being thwarted. The General Assembly has also reiterated this position. The Sierra Leone delegation calls upon all countries, in particular the Western countries, to desist from all collaboration in the nuclear field with racist South Africa. Failure to eliminate the South African nuclear threat can only give impetus to the arms race, including the nuclear-arms race, since independent African States will have no alternative but to take concrete measures to prepare for self-defence.

106. The Sierra Leone Government calls upon the international community, and in particular the major manufacturers and producers of new weapons of mass destruction, to adopt effective measures to prevent the emergence of such new weapons. We call also for renewed efforts to prohibit the production of such new weapons, because the rapid development of science and technology and the application of new scientific principles and technological advances in the area of armaments have continuously and relentlessly overtaken efforts to limit, reduce and totally eliminate arms arsenals. Yet, little effort is being exerted to anticipate and forestall the development of these new advanced weapons. Negotiations on arms limitation have been limited in scope and unable to deal or cope with the dynamic range and complexity of the problems surrounding the arms race.

107. The Sierra Leone Government has on previous occasions called for general and complete disarmament in all areas, be it in the nuclear or conventional field. We reiterate that call here today. We recommend that, together with the reduction and ultimately the complete elimination of nuclear arsenals, there also be a reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons. States with the largest military arsenals have a special duty to pursue the process of

conventional disarmament because it is those very States which develop, produce, stockpile and sell the largest share of the world's conventional weaponry, the consequences of which are all too obvious in the various corners of the world as we deliberate here.

108. Another area of concern to the Government and people of Sierra Leone is the development of chemical weapons. The Government of Sierra Leone is disturbed at the report that in recent years there has been increasing evidence of the use of chemical weapons in certain parts of the world. We are further distressed at the fact that a decision has been taken to begin production of such a cruel and inhumane weapon. We take this opportunity to appeal to all the Powers involved to restrain themselves from such action.

109. For several years now the United Nations has been active in preventing the arms race from spilling over into outer space. Since the first special session devoted to disarmament, rapid developments in science and technology have unfortunately brought us closer to the extension of the arms race into outer space, thus creating the possibility that space will become the new arena for military confrontation. With this threat at hand, the Sierra Leone Government reiterates its appeal for the non-installation of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction both in outer space and on the sea-bed, as called for by the Secretary-General in his statement during the session's 1st meeting.

110. Amidst these dark clouds of impending doom and gloom, the only silver lining in view in recent months has been the massed voices of peoples from all corners of the globe raised in an appeal to the super-Powers to put a freeze on their nuclear programmes. The Sierra Leone delegation welcomes that initiative and joins its voice to those concerned world citizens making this plea. The nuclear Powers should hearken to their cry and immediately take appropriate action to reduce and eventually to eliminate nuclear weapons.

111. The Sierra Leone delegation was privileged to participate in the preparation of the study annexed to the Secretary-General's report,⁴ prepared by the Group of Experts on the Organization and Financing of a World Disarmament Campaign under the Auspices of the United Nations and submitted to the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session. In view of the absence of any significant action and results in the area of disarmament because of the lack of political will by those States that have the primary duty to disarm, the Sierra Leone Government adds its voice to the call for the mobilization of world public opinion and for a world conference on disarmament. It is against this background that the Sierra Leone delegation fully endorses the call for an immediate launching of a world-wide disarmament campaign. We therefore believe that for such a mobilization of world public opinion to be effective the United Nations must work together with governments and non-governmental organizations, universities and other educational institutions and community organizations from various regions of the world to achieve this goal. We subscribe also to a 1980 UNESCO declaration affirming:

"As a consequence of the prohibition of war, that the right of States to arm is not unlimited and that the restrictions on this right should be developed under a new branch of international law".

112. Also in this connexion, we urge world-wide support for the World Disarmament Campaign and propose that, because of the unequal level of disarmament knowledge in various regions, information centres should be established in each region of the world, or existing United Nations information centres around the world should be strengthened and mandated to educate and inform the peoples of all countries and increase their awareness of the dangers of the arms race, in particular the need for and urgency of disarmament. The United Nations Centre for Disarmament and the United Nations Department of Public Information should work closely together in this regard.

113. The Sierra Leone delegation is of the opinion that the United Nations Centre for Disarmament has provided valuable support to activities in the field of disarmament. The Centre has provided substantial help and support to the Members of the United Nations and to the world community at large by providing disarmament-related information, supporting research and studies and organizing the disarmament fellowship programme. We believe that the Centre should be given all the support necessary to achieve its objective in the various regions of the world.

114. In conclusion, and as I said at the beginning of this statement, the General Assembly, whether by coincidence or by design, could not have chosen a more propitious moment to meet on the question of conventional and nuclear weapons. For those who may still be in doubt that the arms race is a veritable threat to international peace and security, the evidence to the contrary has perhaps never been more poignant or more depressing, for as we meet here, as the Secretary-General reminded us yesterday, war brought about by the accumulation of weapons is raging in several corners of the earth, and at the same time the world moves inexorably towards an uncontrolled conflagration.

115. My Foreign Minister, in addressing the Assembly during its thirty-sixth session last year, stated as follows:

"One sure lesson of history throughout the ages has been that there is no security in armament, let alone in its accumulation. The only assurance of peace and survival is justice and tolerance.

"It is, in our view, as pernicious as it is inhuman to believe that a balance of terror can ensure the peace of the world; for there can be no dividends in a holocaust—we are all losers. Let those, then, who would condemn our world to the uncertainty of a nuclear future . . . and hold to ransom the hopes of humanity, search their consciences."
[10th meeting, paras. 273 and 274.]

116. That is the challenge we throw out to the world.

117. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The current world situation, with its real threat to international peace and security and its

reflection of the widening of hotbeds of tension and crisis on the one hand and expanding military conflicts on the other, is not only of itself the logical justification for the convening of the special session but also a new incentive, to be added to the other historical incentives, to the international community to stand firmly and with determination against the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the continuous evolution of their destructive power, and against the threat involved in the accumulation of strategic weapons. This is a threat not only to the States which possess those weapons but also to all those States which do not have and do not seek to possess such weapons and are not parties to the rivalry between the two super-Powers in their respective zones of influence.

118. There is no doubt that the countries of the world, large and small, realize that the economic and social development programmes which their peoples need in order to raise their standard of living and that of future generations are in dire need of some part of the funds allocated to military budgets, which today exceed 6 per cent of the total world product. The majority of those States, in particular the small ones which have not yet succeeded in eliminating the effects of centuries of colonialism, today face a clear contradiction between their desire to devote their limited material resources to development and construction and the necessity imposed on them to spend money on armaments in order to defend their legitimate national interests and their rights.

119. If the rationale of events in our age would justify such behaviour as the only way to defend what one party deems to be its rights, it is still regrettable indeed that this should mean the partial recognition of the fact that although man, in his centuries-long march to civilization, has been able to achieve tremendous progress in his knowledge of the universe and in developing science and technology and adapting them to serve his objectives, he has so far failed to repress his primitive instincts, which rely on the logic of the use of force whether for usurping the rights of others or for recovering usurped rights.

120. There might be some justification for the prevalence of the use of force in international relations in the absence of principles, rules and laws governing such relations and ensuring respect for the sovereignty and rights of peoples and States and the preservation of international peace and security. But all this has been carefully provided for in the Charter of the United Nations. Basically, the problem of the settlement of international disputes by force, which leads to increases in military expenditures and the escalation of the arms race, is not due to the absence of principles which should govern international relations. It lies rather in the fact that the international community has lost confidence. Undoubtedly that lack of confidence undermines the very basis upon which the Charter was built. Without mutual trust and confidence, without trust as a starting point, all international agreements and charters become mere scraps of paper.

121. If confidence in international relations is a basic prerequisite for eliminating the existing tensions from the international climate, tensions which have been increasing in recent years to an extent unprecedented at the height of the cold war, yet the absence of

confidence is not an inexplicable phenomenon. In general it is a reflection of the very nature of the rivalry between the two super-Powers, which is based on the mistrust each feels of the intentions of the other. It is, further, a natural result of the inability of the United Nations—for reasons with which we are all familiar—to ensure the implementation of its resolutions and consequently to achieve the objectives and aims of the Charter. I do not think that we need to deal in detail with the history of the various major political issues which the Organization has been discussing since its inception, in spite of the many resolutions that have been adopted in connexion with them.

122. I shall limit myself to one example, since we are discussing disarmament at this session. What does it signify that a country such as Iraq ratifies the Non-Proliferation Treaty and abides by IAEA safeguards if a Member State of this Organization which has not signed that Treaty can attack Iraq and destroy its nuclear installations, which are subjected to international control and intended for peaceful purposes? Such behaviour, which reflects Israel's disregard of international laws and conventions, affects the credibility of the provisions and principles of the Charter, especially when it becomes an aggressive policy, systematically applied, in an open challenge to the international community. Moreover, there is an important psychological factor involved in the attempt to identify the main obstacles which to this day impede the implementation of the resolutions of the first special session on disarmament, although all countries are committed to implement the Programme of Action [*resolution S-10/2, sect. III*] adopted in 1978, which provided for specific measures of disarmament to be carried out within a few years.

123. The super-Powers, which possess arsenals of nuclear weapons, are more than any other countries called upon to shoulder their special responsibilities with regard to achieving the objective of nuclear disarmament and avoiding the risk of a nuclear war. There is also the question of the stagnation of the strategic arms limitation talks and the non-ratification of the SALT II treaty and the adoption by the two super-Powers of the theory of the balance of nuclear terror, which each of them credits with preventing a direct military confrontation between them for more than 30 years.

124. It is certain that this situation has caused the rivalry between the two super-Powers to take the form of regional struggle, which may at first glance appear to be mere traditional struggles caused by a conflict about common borders or by historical rivalries which remain unsettled. But in fact these motives are a disguise for the true motive, which is the rivalry between the two super-Powers over zones of influence. This leads to a direct revival of rivalries or to a settlement of accounts concerning conflicting interests in an area by proxy. The adoption of the theory of the balance of nuclear terror has reduced man's dream of comprehensive disarmament to a mere attempt to agree on the limitation of strategic arms. And even that attempt stumbled on big difficulties concerning implementation, and finally reached deadlock.

125. There is no question but that the direct responsibility for all the complex aspects of the disarmament

issue falls squarely on the shoulders of the big Powers, in particular, the United States and the Soviet Union, because of the tremendous stockpile of nuclear warheads, intercontinental ballistic missiles and other sophisticated death-dealing systems that they possess and which are being produced every day by the technology of death and destruction. Despite that, however, the other countries of the world, particularly those that do not possess nuclear weapons, feel that they at least share the responsibility for saving humanity and its heritage of civilization from the miseries of a future war that would spare no one and nothing and which could be triggered by the wrong evaluation of a given situation or even by mere chance because of a simple breakdown or malfunction of the pushbuttons on the missile launching site. Such responsibility, we feel, is not inspired by exaggerated concern; it is an obligation and a commitment, because of our belief in the human heritage and the future of the world, and because nuclear weapons, by their very nature, are not selective; consequently, countries which are not parties to any conflict will not be spared.

126. Therefore the delegation of Qatar wishes to express its deep concern at the failure to implement resolution 2832 (XXVI) declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, although 10 years have elapsed since it was adopted. All attempts thus far have failed to persuade the two super-Powers to limit their military presence in that region and thus to comply with the will of its peoples and States. What is really regrettable is that that military presence has increased since the escalation of the rivalry between the two Powers over zones of influence in South Asia and the Horn of Africa since the adoption of the Declaration.

127. The delegation of Qatar requests that this session pay special attention to the question of nuclear blackmail by Israel in the Middle East. The international community is asking the super-Powers to abandon the concept of the balance of nuclear terror on the basis that it constitutes an obstacle to the lessening of tension and the achievement of disarmament. How is it possible, then, to remain indifferent to the reactivation of this concept and its conversion into international blackmail and terrorism, with the purpose of justifying repeated aggression against the sovereignty of Arab States and the occupation and usurpation of Arab and Palestinian territories? Israel has carried this blackmail to the point of passing sentence on an Arab country with which it has no common border—namely, Iraq—by putting an end to its aspiration to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. This took place and is continuing in the full view of the world, yet no deterrent or coercive action has been taken.

128. The evolution of events in the Middle East emphasizes the gravity of Israel's military buildup and the danger of giving it a free hand to commit acts of aggression against the Arabs and to drive out the Palestinians in accordance with the plans of Ariel Sharon to liquidate once and for all the Palestinian issue.

129. Western commentators agree unanimously that Israel needed no pretext for its invasion of Lebanon, which it had been preparing for months by massing its forces and equipment at the borders,

awaiting the appropriate moment to strike. But Israel has nevertheless used the assassination attempt on its Ambassador to London as a pretext for invading Lebanon and occupying part of its territory with unprecedented barbarism. Mrs. Thatcher's declaration that the name of the representative of the PLO in London was at the top of the list of the targets found on the accused fundamentally contradicts the Israeli claims. But certainly Israel needed no pretext for its fierce military aggression and its occupation of Lebanese territory. What is more strange is that the invasion, which was condemned by the entire world, was carried out after the unanimous adoption by the Security Council of resolution 508 (1982), which called on Israel to agree to a cease-fire, and after the Secretary-General had appealed to all parties to agree to an immediate cease-fire. Israel's response to the Council and to the appeal of the Secretary-General was to ignore them completely, which amounts to contempt. Israeli invading forces continue to carry out their plans, using all the American weaponry at their disposal to destroy any obstacle to their criminal advance, shelling populated cities and killing helpless civilians indiscriminately. Israel continued to show its contempt for the international community by ignoring also Security Council resolution 509 (1982), which called for a cease-fire and for the withdrawal forthwith of all Israeli forces.

130. We call upon the international community, and particularly the United States, to exert pressure upon Israel to stop this war of annihilation carried out by its forces and to withdraw them from Lebanese territory. If we remain silent in the face of this savage crime, or even merely denounce it—which the Council failed to do—when hundreds and thousands of innocent people are falling and dying, we are undermining the principles of the Charter and agreeing to the settlement of international conflicts by force.

131. It is no secret that Israel's arrogance derives from the support of the United States, which denies it neither money nor equipment. Everybody knows that the provision of arms to Israel is an expression of the aggressive expansionist policies of the United States.

132. It is indeed regrettable that this special relationship, which has impeded all attempts so far by the Security Council to settle the Israeli-Arab question and find a peaceful solution to the Palestinian question, has developed recently and brought about strategic co-operation between the two countries. On 18 December 1981 the United States Government tried to suspend this co-operation when Israel illegally annexed the Golan Heights. And yet Israel proceeded with its annexation of that territory in spite of the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. Recently, that co-operation between Israel and the United States was reaffirmed in Washington. The suspension for a few months of the co-operation agreement was in itself the price of the Golan Heights. If such behaviour does not constitute a consecration and support of Israel's expansionist and aggressive policy, what then does it constitute?

133. The State of Qatar hopes that this session will be crowned with success. This session should once again declare the Indian Ocean a zone of peace free from nuclear weapons and declare also that the Middle

East should be considered a nuclear-weapon-free zone by the imposition of international controls over the countries of the region which have nuclear reactors, and particularly Israel, which has been provided by the Western Powers with the capability to produce nuclear weapons. The Assembly should reaffirm that providing Israel with weapons by the United States, which, as declared by its own representatives, aims to have Israel's military power exceed that of all the Arab States taken together, is a violation of the United Nations principle of the non-use of force.

134. Qatar wishes to urge the nuclear-weapon countries, particularly the two super-Powers, to end the arms race and limit their rivalry to science and technology and to promoting the welfare of mankind.

135. Mr. TOMA (Samoa): No people on earth can remain passive and unconcerned about the destructive capacity of the nuclear arsenals already in existence. Nor can it help but be terrified by the nuclear arms race and the calamitous consequences it seems bound to bring. We cannot believe that man's purpose on this earth is to bring about its ultimate incineration. We certainly have no wish to suffer such a fate or to see any more of our fellow men suffer such a fate. Surely Hiroshima and Nagasaki and their horrendous after-effects, which continue to this day, should have been sufficient to convince us that mankind was moving into an area where the results of our actions were beyond our comprehension and certainly beyond even our most hideous imaginings or nightmares.

136. Had the horrors of those explosions, in which in many cases human beings just disappeared, evaporated by the blast, been more widely publicized—and many of the facts are only now coming to light—we would have paused and possibly even halted completely the development of nuclear weapons. And now that we have a redundancy of bombs that would make those previous explosions seem like backyard bonfires—and even one that completely erases people without damaging property—one can but wonder what our future priorities will be. Are we planning for a planet without people or living creatures of any kind except maybe a few monstrous mutations? It would seem so. We continue to witness expanded nuclear programmes and expenditure, as well as a quickening proliferation of nuclear capacity. The two super-Powers are, of course, the leaders in this trend, which seems to have got completely out of control and to have become quite unstoppable.

137. The world seems now to have become so used to the existence of nuclear weapons of mass destruction and the possibility of their eventual use that preparation for survival and existence after a nuclear holocaust is receiving the legitimate attention of man's ingenuity. This is seen as logical and a natural enough progression in the scheme of things, as we drift along to the tune of the nuclear piper as if in a dream.

138. The aspirations of the super-Powers and their never-ending pursuit of advantage in the past have resulted in the escalation of their own frightening nuclear capabilities. The movement along the drastic path they have chosen to take in the name of self-protection and deterrence has acquired a momentum of its own which not only carries these very powerful countries onward to new heights of destructive

capability but also draws along with them on the nuclear path other major Powers which, naturally, do not enjoy being too far behind the so-called super-Powers. In addition, the whole process has legitimized the pursuit of nuclear capability by numerous other countries as a matter of national entitlement.

139. Nuclear disarmament and control would have been difficult enough when one or even two States possessed nuclear weapons. As the Assembly well knows, the problem has become so much more complicated in the circumstances and realities of today.

140. The runaway nature of the nuclear-weapons problem is a direct reflection of the failure of the major Powers from the very beginning to come to terms with the obvious consequences that the possession of nuclear capability by any country poses for the whole of mankind and with the futility of engaging in a nuclear arms race.

141. It is not too late for the super-Powers to live up to the responsibilities that devolve on them as such and to lead the world away from the brink of destruction. Only they can set a meaningful course for nuclear and comprehensive disarmament. We are encouraged by the agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to begin the START negotiations at Geneva at the end of June. We hope to see a genuine reduction of ballistic missiles. President Reagan proposes a reduction in ballistic missile warheads to a third below current levels. This proposed reduction of strategic nuclear arms, while certainly not removing the threat of a nuclear holocaust, would be a step in the right direction. The task before the super-Powers is an extremely difficult one. Any genuine efforts by them deserve the conscientious support and co-operation of the entire international community. The rest of the world cannot just sit back and expect the super-Powers somehow to sort out the whole sorry mess with some magic formula. Nations need to do all in their power to reduce tension throughout the world, thereby helping to create the kind of political climate conducive to progress. The threat to mankind posed by the existence and further development of nuclear arsenals is without doubt the gravest problem facing the world today. It needs urgent action and can no longer be secondary to other preoccupations of the international community.

142. Nor can the prospects for a successful resolution continue to be jeopardized by the many strictly parochial objectives and political machinations which all too often fuel super-Power suspicions and competition. It is a sad commentary on international behaviour that this special session should share the media headlines with no fewer than three wars.

143. We see this special session as part of the continuing effort drastically to readjust priorities so that the enrichment of mankind and its environment should be our ultimate goal, not annihilation and desecration. Though the political climate has not been encouraging, the growing awareness of the public is, and it is to be hoped that public concern will continue to bring pressure to bear on all Governments, be they developed or third world, which insist on recklessly increasing armaments no matter what the cost. It is disappointing and sad to note, for instance, that the

world public health expenditure amounts to only about 60 per cent of military expenditure and that resources devoted to medical research are only one fifth of those that go to military research and development.

144. Although we can appreciate the fact that many Governments may feel they are meeting legitimate security needs by increasing their arsenals, it must be obvious that in many cases the self-serving wishes of military-industrial complexes rather than any real defence needs dictate those increases. The fear and distrust among nations play into the hands of those who have a vested interest in perpetuating the arms race, as well as into the hands of those Powers that encourage and exploit political instability around the world. It is the unquestioned responsibility of the international community to encourage adherence to the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to promote greater understanding and peace between nations. So let us hope that we shall have not more hot air and hypocrisy but honest proposals and genuine efforts to build on the small successes we have achieved and to come up with new initiatives in areas where we have so far failed.

145. My small country recognizes that a comprehensive solution cannot be achieved overnight. The realities of the problem require the resolution of key elements essential to a meaningful and comprehensive programme of disarmament. Among these is the crucial problem of adequate surveillance and the establishment of mutual confidence. We feel, however, that there are measures that can be taken with relative ease if the international community is serious about eventual nuclear disarmament. These measures should be taken now. The first of them, in our view, is a total ban on all nuclear testing. There is little doubt that adequate surveillance of compliance is possible if there is a will among nations to take this step.

146. The Pacific peoples have been strongly opposed to nuclear testing for some considerable time. Their opposition springs not only from recognition of the futility, in the long run, of defence plans based on nuclear weaponry, but also from a more immediate and very real fear that nuclear tests would damage the once pristine and peaceful area they live in.

147. Nuclear experiments have resulted in whole populations being evacuated from islands, one of which has been rendered forever unfit for human habitation, to say nothing of serious medical problems that either have already been well documented or are yet to be understood. Perhaps because we are a remote region little heed has been given to our complaints. Few know that there have been well over 200 explosions of nuclear devices in the Pacific, that there are thousands of nuclear warheads stored or deployed there, that nuclear submarines roam portions of our waters and that radioactive wastes abound.

148. For a very long time we ourselves were not aware of the facts, and even now we are unable to know all the facts because we are not allowed access to or knowledge of these activities. We are therefore denied even the basic right to know exactly what damage has been done to our environment. It is up to those who have destroyed and polluted to

give us all the facts, perhaps as a first act of good faith, though the damage cannot be reversed; this has already been tried once, unsuccessfully, in Micronesia. At least we shall be aware of the dangers.

149. We have no wish to be an international nuclear garbage dump nor a laboratory for the scientists of destruction and certainly not sitting ducks for the first panic push of the doomsday button.

150. Much work has to be done to contain further proliferation of nuclear weapons and to check the development of chemical and bacteriological weapons. Conventional weapons should not be overlooked either.

151. For although nuclear weapons are undoubtedly the most devastating with which we have to deal, we cannot ignore the fact that 80 per cent of world military expenditures are on conventional weapons and armed forces. We must also bear in mind that while nuclear weapons have not been used in war since Hiroshima and Nagasaki, conventional weapons are killing and maiming many in trouble spots all over the world even as we sit here.

152. It is ironic that while we of the less-developed countries have continually called for reductions in military budgets so that the funds thus released could be diverted to economic and social development, it is the third world that has increased its military spending on conventional weapons over the past few years at a far greater rate than the developed countries at which the finger is usually pointed.

153. The wishes and yearnings of people the world over on the question of disarmament are clear. It is the duty of Governments and this Organization to transform their aspirations into reality.

154. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Iraq, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply. May I remind him that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, his statement in exercise of the right of reply is limited to 10 minutes and should be made from his seat.

155. Mr. SALMAN (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Foreign Minister of Iran in the statement he made this afternoon said that my country, Iraq, had started the war against Iran. Perhaps he has not had enough time to read the documents and resolutions which say exactly who started the war, so I shall refresh his memory. Everybody is in fact aware that it was Iran which started the armed aggression against Iraq on 4 September 1980 by bombing Khanakin, Zorbatia, Mandelee, Noktat Khana, in the border areas, in an initial attempt to implement the Iranian leaders' designs to export their revolution and to exercise their power and put pressure on the countries of the region.

156. All the appeals that were made and the notes and reminders that my country sent to Teheran calling on Iran to respect international conventions, the Charter of the United Nations and international law went unheeded. This was interpreted as weakness on the part of the Iraqi State. Then on 22 September 1980 my country, Iraq, began to defend its territory, its citizens and its borders.

157. On the subject of the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other sovereign

States I should like to remind the Foreign Minister of Iran of the statements made by Iranian politicians, old and new, such as Mr. Rafsanjani, Mr. Khamini, Mr. Mur and others. The Iranian leaders stressed in those statements the interference in the internal affairs of Iraq and other countries of the region which they consider to be part of the Persian Empire. How can we interpret their statements to mean that Iran will not stop at the international borders?

158. Iraq has repeatedly stated that it is determined to put an end to the bloodshed and to withdraw from Iranian territory if Iran respects the legitimate rights of Iraq in its own waters and territories. Iraq has no ambitions concerning Iranian territory. It has always responded positively to all the efforts made by the world Organization, through the personal representative of the Secretary-General, the Mediation Committee of the Organization of the Islamic Conference

and the mediation committee of the non-aligned movement to restore peace to the region. Iran, however, has rejected all the vain efforts to restore peace to the region and persists in its position of hostility to my country, Iraq.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *The Relationship between Disarmament and Development* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.IX.1).

² A/CN.10/38. See also A/CN.10/51.

³ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 105, document A/5975.

⁴ A/36/458, annex.