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DISARMAMENT COMMISSION

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Thursday, 15 May 1980, at 3 p.m.

Chairman:

Mr. VELLODI

(India)

Agenda item 4: (continued)

- (a) Consideration of various aspects of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament, in order to expedite negotiations aimed at effective elimination of the danger of nuclear war
- (b) Consideration of the agenda items contained in section II of resolution 33/71 H, with the aim of elaborating, within the framework and in accordance with the priorities established at the tenth special session, a general approach to negotiations on nuclear and conventional disarmament

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The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 4 (continued)

- (a) CONSIDERATION OF VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE ARMS RACE, PARTICULARLY THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AND NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, IN ORDER TO EXPEDITE NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT EFFECTIVE ELIMINATION OF THE DANGER OF NUCLEAR WAR
- (b) CONSIDERATION OF THE AGENDA ITEMS CONTAINED IN SECTION II OF RESOLUTION 33/71 H, WITH THE AIM OF ELABORATING, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRIORITIES ESTABLISHED AT THE TENTH SPECIAL SESSION, A GENERAL APPROACH TO NEGOTIATIONS ON NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL DISARMAMENT

Mr. AKRAM (Pakistan): The Pakistan delegation would like to take this opportunity to express its views on item 4 of the agenda regarding various aspects of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament, as well as the question of evolving a general approach to negotiations towards nuclear and conventional disarmament.

Despite the sharp escalation of the nuclear and conventional arms races over the past three decades, the hopes of mankind for genuine disarmament were aroused by the unanimous adoption of the Final Document at the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. That session reversed the political fragmentation of disarmament negotiations and set out various measures for arms control and disarmament within the framework of a programme which has as its ultimate aim the achievement of general and complete disarmament. The special session also invigorated the machinery for disarmament negotiations and established this body, with universal representation, as well as a new negotiating forum, which now includes all five nuclear-weapon States.

When we met in the General Assembly here last autumn, there was a degree of disappointment at the fact that progress had not been registered during 1979 on priority issues identified by the special session, such as the comprehensive test ban treaty and the prohibition of chemical weapons. But there was also

(Mr. Akram, Pakistan)

an air of optimism. After protracted negotiations, the SALT II Treaty had been signed by the two super-Powers and we were led to believe that progress was imminent in other restricted negotiations.

Today we are confronted with a situation which is, to say the least, dismal for the disarmament process. This situation has come about because one of the principal goals of disarmament, which is, in the words of the Final Document, to eliminate "the use and the threat of force ... from international life" (resolution S-10/2, para. 19), has been grossly violated by a major Power. The very first principle of disarmament, in accordance with which Member States stressed at the special session

".... the special importance of refraining from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of any State ... non-interference in the internal affairs of other States; and the inviolability of international frontiers ..."

(ibid., para. 26)

has been abrogated with impunity.

The sovereign and independent State of Afghanistan, a non-aligned and Islamic country, has been occupied by the military forces of a super-Power. That occupation and the continued presence of Soviet forces in Afghanistan are a matter of concern for the entire international community. It has rightly been deplored by 104 States Members of the United Nations, by the Conference of Islamic States and by the Commission on Human Rights. Not only is the occupation of Afghanistan a flagrant violation of the norms of international conduct but it has opened an ominous new perspective in the concept of great-Power pressures. That action will set a precedent that will endanger the very existence of small non-aligned countries.

The international community has the right to expect that its demand for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Soviet forces in Afghanistan will be heeded without further delay. That will facilitate the creation of conditions in Afghanistan that would encourage the more than 700,000 Afghan refugees in my country to return to their homeland and enable the people of Afghanistan freely to determine their own destiny.

(Mr. Akram, Pakistan)

The situations in other regions of the world, such as the Middle East, southern Africa and South-East Asia, also continue to pose a threat to international peace and security because of the involvement there of one or another of the two major Powers, as well as the aggressive and expansionist designs of regional Powers such as Israel and South Africa.

(Mr. Akram, Pakistan)

The Disarmament Commission must express its deep concern over the present threats to world peace and security arising from the acts of foreign aggression and occupation and competition for spheres of influence. It must call for strict respect of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States and in particular of the non-aligned countries. We must urge that all military forces in occupation of foreign countries or territories should be withdrawn immediately and that all peoples and nations should be enabled to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, free from domination and occupation.

As paragraph 34 of the Final Document states, disarmament is intimately linked to the question of relaxation of international tensions, respect for the right of self-determination and national independence and the peaceful settlement of disputes. That paragraph goes on to say:

"Progress in any of these spheres has a beneficial effect on all of them; in turn, failure in one sphere has negative effects on others."

(Resolution S-10/2, para. 34)

Unfortunately, although not altogether unexpectedly, the cause of disarmament has been an important casualty of the present climate of international tension. Recent developments have brought impediments to the early ratification of the SALT II agreement. My delegation is of the view that, with all its imperfections and notwithstanding the current international situation, the SALT II agreement should be ratified by both the parties as soon as possible. In the meantime, it is in the interest of the super-Powers and in the interest of a saner and safer world that they strictly observe the limitations and restrictions agreed upon in SALT II. We note with concern that both these Powers are pursuing with renewed determination the development of such weapon systems as were not strictly prohibited under the SALT II agreement. It is our fear, however, that this escalation may build a momentum of its own and render even more difficult the negotiation of further agreements for the limitation and reduction of strategic and other nuclear forces of the super-Powers and their alliance systems. The Disarmament Commission must issue a strong appeal to these Powers to review their recent decisions regarding the development of new nuclear weapons.

(Mr. Akram, Pakistan)

My delegation is also deeply disturbed by the growing escalation of the naval armadas of the super-Powers in the Indian Ocean and in the vicinity of our shores. This development poses a threat to the security of the littoral States in the area and is in direct contradiction to their aspirations to establish a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean.

The prevailing climate of confrontation between the major Powers and the impasse in their restricted negotiations have increased the responsibilities of multilateral disarmament forums such as this Commission. It is with a sense of this responsibility, rather than any illusion about the objective conditions in the world, that my delegation would like to submit its views on the general approach to negotiations on nuclear and conventional disarmament.

There can be no doubt that nuclear disarmament is the task of the first and highest priority. At the special session we were able to reach a limited degree of agreement on the measures to be undertaken in this most important area of disarmament. The Final Document's recommendations regarding the SALT negotiations and the comprehensive test ban remain to be implemented. For the longer term, the objectives of nuclear disarmament have been set out in general terms in paragraph 50 of the Final Document. The Committee on Disarmament has held interesting preliminary discussions on the ways and means of initiating the process of nuclear disarmament. Some important points have emerged from these discussions.

First of all, the objective of initiating nuclear disarmament negotiations in a global context must confront the singular asymmetry in the military capabilities of States, both among the five nuclear Powers and between the nuclear and non-nuclear-weapon States. In this context, a balanced process of nuclear disarmament implies that those nuclear Powers with the largest arsenals must take the first steps in halting the further development of their nuclear weapons and in bringing about significant reductions in their arsenals. In opening and pursuing the SALT negotiations, the two super-Powers appear to have acknowledged this responsibility. The early ratification of SALT II and the opening of negotiations for a SALT III are therefore indispensable if general negotiations on nuclear disarmament among all the nuclear Powers

(Mr. Akram, Pakistan)

are to be commenced in the Committee on Disarmament in accordance with paragraph 50 of the Final Document. In the meantime, the Committee on Disarmament should take up certain important aspects of nuclear disarmament such as the comprehensive test ban treaty and the cessation of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes.

In accordance with the Programme of Work adopted at the special session, efforts are also to be made to build a new "consensus" on the question of nuclear non-proliferation. We await with interest the outcome of the forthcoming Second Non-Proliferation Test Review Conference, especially as regards the steps to be taken to introduce greater equality between the obligations and the responsibilities of the nuclear and non-nuclear-weapon States. The results of the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation (INFCE) study have confirmed the need for the efficient and effective promotion and utilization of nuclear energy and fuel through the development of the most advanced technologies and reactor systems. There is also growing recognition that non-proliferation can best be promoted through political action rather than technical restraints. We hope that these important conclusions will come to be reflected in the positions of all States.

Pakistan continues to believe that a most feasible way to promote the goal of non-proliferation is through the creation of nuclear-weapon free zones in various parts of the world. We remain committed to the objective of establishing such a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia. The creation of such zones is also particularly important in Africa and the Middle East because of the nuclear ambitions of South Africa and Israel. We are deeply concerned about the nuclear test conducted by South Africa reportedly with the collaboration of the Israeli régime.

Since nuclear disarmament is likely to be a long and arduous task, an urgent effort is needed to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war. We must continue the endeavour to erode the rationale for the possession of nuclear weapons. A fairly sound legal case can be made in support of the proposition adopted on two occasions by the General Assembly that the use of nuclear

(Mr. Akram, Pakistan)

weapons would constitute a violation of the United Nations Charter and a crime against humanity. Although my delegation fully accepts the validity of this proposition, we consider that, as a practical matter, the total prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons can be achieved in three stages.

At the first stage, we should seek to exclude the non-nuclear States from the threat of nuclear attack or blackmail. The Committee on Disarmament is currently considering two draft conventions, one of which has been submitted by my delegation, to evolve undertakings by the nuclear-weapon States not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States.



(Mr. Akram, Pakistan)

The Disarmament Commission should urge the nuclear-weapon States to display a greater willingness to respond to the insistent demand of the non-nuclear States about assurances against the use or threat of the use of nuclear weapons.

Secondly, each of the nuclear-weapon States must be urged to undertake not to be the first to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons. China has made such a declaration. The members of the Warsaw Treaty have proposed such an undertaking, but only in the context of Europe. These positions could be enlarged and applied at the international level in the near future.

At a later stage, perhaps when negotiations for nuclear disarmament are opened with the participation of all nuclear Powers, a general agreement on the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons could be evolved.

For a number of years there has been some controversy regarding the relative priorities and importance of nuclear and conventional disarmament measures. As far as my delegation is concerned, we believe that the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament has clearly and categorically decided that measures for nuclear disarmament are of the first and most immediate priority. This does not imply that we are averse to the consideration of conventional disarmament. But we do believe that proposals for restraint in the conventional arms race should not deflect the international community from the more important task of promoting nuclear disarmament.

The Pakistan delegation is cognizant of the preoccupation of certain delegations regarding the relationship between nuclear and conventional disarmament. Although my delegation does not endorse any defence strategy or doctrine that is based on the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons, we acknowledge that the defence posture of the two major alliance systems includes reliance on both conventional and nuclear weapons. Whether or not it is considered that there is an imbalance in conventional forces, particularly in Europe, it seems reasonable to state that, while we seek to reduce reliance on one of the components of the security equation, attention will need to be given to its other component as well.

In the conventional as in the nuclear field, the most pressing need for a cessation and reduction in armaments is in Europe. We hope that progress can yet be achieved in the Vienna talks for European force reductions. But if the impasse

(Mr. Akram, Pakistan)

in these negotiations persists, perhaps a single European disarmament forum, where both the nuclear and conventional aspects could be promoted simultaneously, may be the way to achieve a breakthrough. Efforts to restrain the build-up of conventional weapons in other parts of the world can be more productive once the escalation of armaments in Europe is halted and reversed.

Nevertheless, Pakistan is prepared to participate in the consideration of measures to avoid the arms race in other regions of the world, particularly where international peace and security are threatened. Regional agreements for arms control would be facilitated by steps to resolve outstanding conflicts and disputes on the basis of peace and justice. These regional arms control measures should be promoted bearing in mind the important principle that each State has the right to acquire the means to safeguard its security and that any measure of disarmament must promote equal security for all States and in a balanced manner. Significant military acquisitions by certain States in a region and the denial of any defensive capability to other States in the same region are not consonant with these principles and would exacerbate, rather than mitigate, threats to peace. Furthermore, in considering the question of arms transfers, it must be borne in mind that all States in a region do not have equal capability for indigenous production of their defence requirements. The smaller and weaker States are especially dependent on the transfer of armaments to acquire the basic capability of self-defence.

My delegation has noted with interest the documents submitted by Denmark and Spain on the question of conventional weapons. If it is decided to take up consideration of this question in greater depth, we shall offer more detailed comments on the subject.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I should like to assure you of the fullest co-operation of the Pakistan delegation in the discharge of your onerous responsibilities during the current session of the Disarmament Commission.

Mr. FRELEK (Poland): Mr. Chairman, the Polish delegation is indeed very much pleased to see you presiding again. We listened to your introductory statement with the greatest interest. We rest assured that under your able guidance and benefiting from your optimism that is so important in overcoming difficulties, the Disarmament Commission will move forward in the performance of its tasks.

(Mr. Frelek, Poland)

We have come to this session well aware of the complexity of the problems involved, but at the same time deeply convinced of the necessity of achieving real progress on the issues we have on the agenda.

Six days ago the peoples of the world solemnly commemorated the thirty-fifth anniversary of the great victory and the end of the Second World War in Europe. My nation, the aggression against which had started that war, made its contribution to the final victory, paying one of the heaviest tolls in millions of lives, enormous sufferings and sacrifices.

We know the dreadful price of wars, and we enjoy the benefits of a peace that has already lasted for three decades in Europe. We also know that the entire history of mankind gives the lie to the old Roman axiom "si vis pacem, para bellum". Armaments have always led to wars.

After the experience of many centuries, in particular after two world wars, and facing the deadly threat of modern weapons of mass destruction, we have to realize that "si vis pacem, para pacem" is the only right assumption. Desiring peace, we have to prepare and to build it. Putting an end to the arms race and starting disarmament is an essential condition for that. This matter is the essential and only subject of our Commission, so we should not allow our attention to be diverted and, what is more, the atmosphere of our discussion to be spoilt by statements such as that of the Chinese delegation.

I should like to express the hope that in our future meetings all of us will adhere to the agenda adopted and that we will preserve a climate helpful to achieving positive results in our common work.

I think there is no need to convince anybody that defending peace and strengthening international security are the most important objectives of Poland's foreign policy. Poland's constructive initiatives, as well as those put forth together with its socialist friends, are well known and well reflected in the records of the United Nations, including those of this Commission.

(Mr. Frelek, Poland)

Our Commission is also aware of the initiative put forward not so long ago by Poland's leader, Edward Gierek, for the convening in Warsaw of a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe.

We do not conceal our deep worry about present tensions in the international situation that are causing concern in regard to preserving world peace. There are reasons for much deeper concern now than in the past decades. The main cause of all present tensions that determine the international situation as a whole is the threat of a new, exceptionally dangerous phase of the arms race - nuclear missile armaments in particular. It is also obvious that preventing that threat is a condition of the peaceful solution of difficult political problems which still exist and those which have recently emerged.

Just yesterday, at the opening of the meeting of the States members of the Warsaw Treaty, Edward Gierek once again emphasized:

"The entire post-war history has proved beyond any doubt that there is only one reasonable way to develop relations between the East and the West. This is the way of political dialogue, continuation of the process of détente, halting the arms race and undertaking effective steps towards disarmament, the way of equal security and equal-rights co-operation in all fields."

He underlined that the Warsaw Treaty member States, which are invariably loyal to the principles of their peaceful policy, will continue to follow that very way consistently.

In the final communiqué of the Warsaw meeting, issued today, we read the following:

"The State-Sides to the Warsaw Treaty confirmed their determination to continue the struggle for consolidating security and developing détente in Europe, for world peace, national freedom and independence, for international détente, for halting the arms race and for disarmament. In this struggle the Warsaw Treaty States are prepared to co-operate closely with all States and social forces interested in strengthening peace and international security."

(Mr. Frelek, Poland)

The efforts aimed at the implementation of disarmament goals during the First Disarmament Decade proclaimed by the United Nations have not brought about a radical change in the curbing of the arms race. However, there have been numerous unquestionable accomplishments. The Polish Government has pointed them out in its reply to the Note by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Of the greatest importance to this cause, to world peace, are the agreements concluded between the USSR and the United States on the offensive strategic arms limitation. We have welcomed them as particularly positive steps stabilizing global security and announcing the intensification of disarmament negotiations. We are certainly glad that these agreements are being observed by both States. At the same time, we should like the will to go on adhering to their provisions to be confirmed by the speedy ratification of SALT II. This would also open the door to extremely important negotiations on SALT III.

With regard to Europe, Poland and other socialist States pursued in the 1970s a policy of not increasing their military potential. They spared no effort in seeking an agreement in the Vienna talks on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. The programmes of action presented by the State-Members of the Warsaw Treaty were designed for the limitation and reduction of practically every weapons system and type of armed forces in Europe on the basis of the undiminished security of both sides.

Unfortunately, NATO's decision last November on the production and deployment of new systems of nuclear missile weapons in Western Europe endanger the prospects for progress. It constitutes a threat to the existing strategic-military balance, with all its negative effects in the political field and with its detrimental impact on disarmament negotiations. Thus the importance of the Polish initiative about which I have already spoken is all the greater. The speediest possible convening of a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe would be of particular importance today. Agreement to that effect might become a turning point in the present situation in Europe - and not only in Europe.

(Mr. Frelek, Poland)

The agenda of our work, in accordance with the relevant resolution of the General Assembly, foresees the preparation of the elements of a draft resolution entitled "Declaration of the 1980s as a Second Disarmament Decade".

In discussing the programmes of disarmament, the levels and the fields, the elements of the Decade, we must remember that the Decade is also linked to consolidating the idea of disarmament in the conscience of the peoples. The Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace, adopted by the thirty-third session of the General Assembly on the initiative of Poland, has profound relevance to disarmament. Scientists, men of letters, educators and people from the mass media - all those who influence the forming of public opinion - will have in this respect a particularly important role to play, and an obligation too.

The Second Disarmament Decade must refer to the most vital aims drawn up in the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly. Similarly, high priority should be accorded to the preparation of a comprehensive disarmament programme combining partial solutions with general ones. We also hope that a world disarmament conference will be convened in the 1980s.

Our first responsibility is to reduce the danger and destructiveness of nuclear war. We want to emphasize strongly that the elimination of the threat of a thermonuclear conflict constitutes the most essential problem, requiring the concentration of all possible efforts of both Governments and peoples. Achieving that goal is possible only as a result of effective curbing, a gradual reduction, and a ban on and then the total destruction of all types of nuclear arms.

All States which have such weapons at their disposal should, without any exception, participate both in the negotiations and in the process of reduction and destruction of nuclear weapons. It is also advisable that the States with a considerable conventional military potential take part in these negotiations. The conclusion of the treaties on: a comprehensive nuclear test ban, a ban on the production, deployment and use of neutron weapons, a ban on the development of other weapons of mass destruction and the system of such weapons, is of the greatest importance.

(Mr. Frelek, Poland)

Adherence by all States to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is of the utmost necessity. We should further strengthen the non-proliferation régime.

There is also an urgent need to take proper steps in the field of conventional disarmament. This pertains, in particular, to the issue of a non-increase of their armed forces by the permanent members of the Security Council, as well as other States having a considerable military potential.

The arms race is being accelerated not only vertically but also horizontally. It is spreading all over the world. It constitutes a constantly growing burden for almost all States and nations. It hinders the implementation of their plans for development. Disarmament and development are therefore the inseparable objectives today. The halting of the arms race and genuine disarmament would free gigantic means to be used for development.

My delegation has presented its point of view on the subject-matter pertinent to items 3 and 4 of the agenda. Once again I should like to emphasize the importance of a constructive atmosphere for our work.

Along those lines, and as always in a spirit of constructive co-operation, my delegation will spare no effort to contribute effectively to the work and, I hope, to the success of this session of the Disarmament Commission.

Mr. de la FUENTE (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): First of all, allow me to say how pleased my delegation is at seeing you, Sir, presiding once more over this Commission's work. In addition to confirming our recognition of the excellent work that you did during our last session, this allows us to be confident that conclusions will be reached that will make an effective contribution to meeting the daily more universal and urgent demand for general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

My delegation would like to begin its statement in this deliberative forum by pointing out that we do not share the sort of pessimism which characterizes statements that have been made about the difficult situations now facing the international community. We are confident in human intelligence seeking ways and means of guaranteeing the survival of mankind. None the less, this optimism is a reaction to the fact that the world seems to be working increasingly towards self-destruction. It suffices to mention only a few figures to be aware of that reality.

In 1979, it is calculated, the astronomical sum of \$450 billion was spent on weaponry, while two thirds of the world population was not able to meet its most basic needs. We also know that today millions of human beings - men, women and children - are dying from hunger or lack of elementary medical services, and that, in spite of that there hangs over the head of every inhabitant of our world the threat of three tons of TNT. In these circumstances we wonder what are the logical, human and security reasons that prompt the building up of this destructive potential. The arms race can be justified only by irrational thinking. The accumulation of weapons, especially nuclear weapons, is therefore a threat, not a protection, to mankind.

We should not forget that the goal of security, which is inevitably related to peace, has always been one of the greatest aspirations of humanity. Unless something is done to impede this constant arms race we shall be placing insurmountable obstacles in the path of the development of the vast majority of the peoples in our world, making it impossible to resolve the various problems faced by mankind, and involving a growing threat to international peace and security.



(Mr. de la Fuente, Peru)

This Commission should therefore highlight the dangers to international peace and security and request that the nuclear-weapon and militarily powerful States put an end to this senseless arms race, and in the more immediate term make recommendations on specific agenda items. Hence the Commission must recommend to the General Assembly practical measures on the present international situation where there seems to be a clear process of deterioration, and also insist on the growing need to limit the arms race and military expenditures and to set in motion negotiating machinery on genuine disarmament measures. This is made necessary by the evidence that the arms race is continuing, especially the nuclear-weapons race. By the actual or announced increases in military budgets and by the fact that negotiations on nuclear disarmament are practically at a standstill. For that reason, too, the Commission should urge the major nuclear-weapon States to take immediate and appropriate action aimed at stemming the arms race and suspending any increase in military budgets, as well as to begin negotiations on specific nuclear disarmament measures on the basis of the Final Document adopted at the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

We believe also that it is of vital importance that the SALT II Treaty -- whose ratification and entry into force we are awaiting with interest -- should be implemented and, as soon as possible, followed by other agreements that would represent true reductions in the nuclear capacity of the principal States which possess nuclear weapons.

My delegation has always felt that in respect of disarmament we are all responsible, although we know that some are more responsible than others. All nations have the same aspirations to peace and security. But since, in order that there can be disarmament, security must be maintained -- the security that everyone desires -- this process should be started by those that possess the greatest destructive capacity. A positive response, followed by concrete action in this respect, could be the cornerstone and the key to the success of the Second Disarmament Decade and, therefore, to international peace and security.

(Mr. de la Fuente, Peru)

We believe it is essential that we all make the needed efforts to maintain or strengthen the spirit underlying the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, whose Final Document is, if implemented, the best guarantee of international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, thus giving true effect to respect for the sovereignty of States, the renunciation of the threat or use of force against the national security or the political independence of any State, and non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States.

(Mr. de la Fuente, Peru)

In spite of the circumstances through which the international community is passing at present, we would highlight two specific areas where Latin America has given a clear demonstration of its peace-loving vocation, one which might well be emulated by the military Powers. One is the nuclear field, where the Treaty of Tlatelolco is a model, unique in the world, for a system of nuclear non-proliferation providing adequate access to nuclear technology, and guaranteeing regional security, through Additional Protocols I and II, as well as international security, by presenting a denuclearized continent and tending, moreover, to discourage such factors as prestige and power, which are so intimately related to nuclear arsenals, by promoting regional co-operation in a non-discriminatory way.

Similarly, in the field of the limitation of conventional weapons, we must point out that in 1973, on the initiative of the Peruvian Government, there emerged the idea of reaching an agreement among Latin American countries with a view to the effective limitation of weapons - an idea closely linked to the economic situation of the countries of the region and highlighting the need to put an end to the acquisition of weapons so that as many resources as possible could be devoted to economic and social development. That Peruvian initiative was generally welcomed, at the world level as in the regional sphere.

In this connexion, our country decided formally to submit a proposal addressed, as an initial step, to the Andean group of countries with a view to an international gathering that would lay the foundations for an agreement on arms limitations. Thus on 9 December 1974, at Lima, the Ayacucho Declaration was signed by the Heads of State and Government of Bolivia, Panama, Peru and Venezuela, as well as by representatives of the Heads of State of Argentina, Colombia, Chile and Ecuador, whereby they committed themselves to promoting and supporting the creation of a permanent order of peace and international co-operation and to creating conditions for effective arms limitation.

We could also mention subsequent initiatives, such as the Washington Declaration, formulated by the Andean ministers, on the indispensability of disarmament and arms limitation for the preservation of international peace and security, and the informal meeting of Latin American and Caribbean nations on the limitation and prohibition of the transfer and use of certain conventional weapons. That meeting, held in Mexico, represented another important step in the effort to create conditions conducive to peace, trust, co-operation and development on the continent.

Thus, by all this, our region has demonstrated that where political will exists decisions can be reached that can strengthen international peace and security. It is the bounden duty of all States to contribute to the attainment of that objective, to which we must all aspire.

Mr. KOSTOV (Bulgaria): Mr. Chairman, in your preliminary remarks at the outset of our work you pointed out most reasonably the significance of the current session of the Disarmament Commission in imparting a new impetus to the disarmament efforts. Many of the previous speakers spoke also to the same effect.

My delegation attaches particular importance to the second substantive session of the Disarmament Commission. In our submission, in the present international situation a matter of priority should be the reaffirmation of the vital necessity of checking the arms race, of sustaining, consolidating and speeding up the process of disarmament. We express the hope that the conclusions and recommendations formulated in the work of this session will be conducive to the achievement of that aim.

A few days ago we celebrated the thirty-fifth anniversary of the victory over fascism and the end of the Second World War. Because of the persistent efforts of all peace-loving forces it has been possible to avoid the outbreak of another world war. The process of détente and co-operation which was successfully initiated in Europe has made a positive impact on the over-all efforts to preserve peace and to strengthen international security. It is well known, however, that at present the world is faced with a serious deterioration of the international situation.

My delegation notes with deep concern that, under the pressure of the most aggressive cold war forces, the ruling circles of certain Western countries have embarked upon an adventurous course of deliberate aggravation of the international situation and of undermining the process of détente. Deliberate steps have been taken aimed at whipping up the arms race, torpedoing the existing strategic balance of forces and renouncing the principle of equality and not impairing the security interests of any State.

The facts leading to such a conclusion are widely known, but nevertheless it is not without point to recall some of them.

Under the pressure of the present United States administration, NATO adopted a decision for automatic annual increases in military spending and a steep escalation of the arms race. What is more, that decision was taken at the very moment of the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament. In that way, the momentum of disarmament, generated with so much effort and painstaking negotiation, has suffered a severe blow. No less detrimental to both the disarmament talks and détente in general have been the decision to install in Europe new types of medium-range nuclear missiles, the speedy creation of "rapid deployment forces", the strengthening of the United States military presence in the Indian Ocean zone, the attempts at securing new military bases in the region of the Middle East and the deliberate procrastination on the ratification of Salt II, and so on.

All these steps taken by the NATO countries contravene and undermine the established global balance of military forces and, more particularly, the strategic parity between the United States and the Soviet Union, which is the basis for the whole concept of halting the arms race and proceeding to disarmament. Those actions are elements of a certain policy which has faced mankind with the menace of a new and unprecedented round in the arms race, entailing grave and far-reaching consequences for world peace and security.

This policy, which is accompanied by a wide anti-socialist propaganda campaign, can be neither disguised nor justified under any false pretexts, nor can it conceal the lack of desire on the part of the military and aggressive quarters in the West to engage in any genuine disarmament efforts.

As Todor Zhivkov, President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has stated:

(Mr. Kostov, Bulgaria)

"There is and there could be no doubt that the policy of imperialism, of the reactionary circles, is now a policy of new tension in international relations, of a new round in the arms race, a policy of anti-détente. Under any guise, this policy runs counter to the interests of peace, to the interests of the nations, to the interests of the working people. It poses new threats and dangers to the modern world. We condemn and denounce this policy."

My delegation supports the view that the efforts of all countries should basically be aimed at preventing the initiation of another round in the arms race. The attainment of this goal demands, first and foremost, that the States which have recently taken steps impairing the existing balance of forces should display goodwill and political realism and abandon their plans for obtaining military supremacy. We all know that plans of such a nature are completely irrelevant. Not only do they ensure no lasting military advantages for their initiators but, on the contrary, they only impose on peoples a still heavier burden of arms expenditure and diminish mutual security. The current session must therefore reaffirm the need for ever more persistent efforts for the elaboration and implementation of practical measures for putting an end to the arms race and for the step-by-step reduction of the present level of armaments. The People's Republic of Bulgaria, together with the other socialist countries, is ready to contribute to this process. The record of the socialist countries in the field of disarmament is well known. The various constructive initiatives and proposals made by the countries of the socialist community, and mainly by the Soviet Union, constitute a comprehensive programme of viable measures encompassing all aspects of the problem of disarmament. Those proposals are still valid today.

The States Members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, whose Heads of State have just met in Warsaw to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of that organization have, as is stated in the final communiqué, issued today, reaffirmed their unremitting policy of preserving and deepening détente, of strengthening world peace and security and of promoting co-operation among States. In this respect I should like to point out that that exclusively defensive organization, which came into being six years after the creation of NATO with the sole purpose of countering the latter's military threat, has throughout its existence remained

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firmly dedicated to the cause of peace, détente and disarmament. There has not been a single instance of the Warsaw Treaty Organization being the initiator of a new escalation of the arms race. On the contrary, it has exerted all possible efforts to avert a new round in the arms race.

My delegation shares the view that the elaboration of the elements of the draft resolution on the declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade is a particularly important and urgent task facing this Commission. The position of the Bulgarian Government on this issue is explained in detail in its reply to the Secretary-General (A/CN.10/10/Add.1). Although I am not going to dwell at length on this question, I should like to touch upon some of its key aspects.

In our submission, the draft should reaffirm the positive developments and achievements in curbing the arms race during the first Development Decade. No matter how limited and insufficient, those achievements should be pointed out and emphasized as a basis for further successes in this field.

My country resolutely supports the view shared by the overwhelming majority of Member States that priority should be accorded to the efforts aimed at curbing the arms race and achieving disarmament in the field of nuclear arms. The key to the solution of this problem is contained in the proposal for the cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of stockpiles to the point where they are completely eliminated. We support unreservedly the appeal for the immediate initiation of relevant negotiations on this problem with the participation of all nuclear States and a number of non-nuclear States. Certainly the steps in the field of nuclear disarmament ought to be coupled with parallel measures aimed at strengthening the political guarantees of the security of States and those provided by international law. In this regard the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations will be of great significance.

It is vitally important that the process of limitation and elimination of strategic offensive weapons be continued. The ratification of SALT II will pave the way for further steps in this field and facilitate all other disarmament efforts.

The conclusion of agreements on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapons tests, the strengthening of the guarantees for non-nuclear States and the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons on the territory of



(Mr. Kostov, Bulgaria)

States in which none are now located would undoubtedly contribute to the bringing about of a comprehensive solution to the problem of nuclear disarmament. Tangible progress in the negotiations on these questions is particularly important in the light of the need to consolidate the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons should lend a further impetus to the efforts in this field and be conducive to its universal application.

Immediate and serious negotiations are necessary to tackle the complex problem of concluding a comprehensive agreement on the prohibition of the development and production of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. The progress achieved so far in connexion with the prohibition of radiological weapons is encouraging. However, we continue to believe that a comprehensive approach is needed to resolve effectively the whole question of prohibiting the development and production of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction.

The solving of the important problem of the prohibition of chemical weapons requires the active continuation of the negotiations with the aim of gradually surmounting all existing obstacles.

Without dwelling on the rest of the disarmament problems that should in our submission be set forth in the programme for the 1980s, I should like to note that my Government is fully aware of their significance in the general context of the efforts aimed at halting the arms race. However, we reaffirm our deep conviction that in the 1980s the efforts to make decisive progress in the solving of the whole variety of disarmament problems would be given a powerful impetus with the convening of a world disarmament conference. Let me assure the Commission that my delegation would readily participate in the working group on the draft resolution on the Second Disarmament Decade and would contribute as much as it could to the successful completion of the tasks to be entrusted to it.

In conclusion, permit me, Sir, to express the satisfaction of my delegation at seeing you, the representative of friendly India, continuing to preside as Chairman of our Commission. We are confident that under your highly competent and experienced guidance this body will successfully fulfil its mandate. In this respect I should like to pledge the full support and co-operation of my delegation.

Mr. SHELDON (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): Mr. Chairman, first of all I should like on behalf of the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR to associate myself with previous speakers and to congratulate you on your once again conducting the proceedings of the United Nations Commission on Disarmament. I would express the hope that under your chairmanship this session will culminate in positive results. In compliance with your appeal, Sir, our delegation intends to focus its statement primarily on agenda item 4, which relates to the nuclear arms race and the elaboration of a general approach to negotiations on nuclear and conventional disarmament.

The year 1980 is the first year of a new decade in the life of mankind. It is a year marked by a proliferation of conferences and meetings on the most burning issue of the day - the problem of disarmament. The Conference of States Parties to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction has already taken place.

(Mr. Sheldov, Byelorussian SSR)

We have ahead of us this autumn the Conference of States Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the second session of the Conference on the Prohibition or Restriction of Use of Certain Conventional Weapons. In addition, the Committee on Disarmament with its enlarged membership has held its session, the Vienna talks are still going on, the tripartite talks on the prohibition of nuclear tests are continuing and various groups of experts are at work.

Another important forum is the United Nations Disarmament Commission, which at its current session, on the basis of a decision of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, will have to deal with the element of a draft resolution declaring the 1980s the Second Disarmament Decade. In our view, we must in performing this task do everything possible to improve and to make use of all those constructive elements that emerged in the course of the 1970s, which were proclaimed by the United Nations the First Disarmament Decade.

Representatives will recall, as was quite rightly pointed out in the note by the Secretary-General of the United Nations of 29 April 1980, circulated as document A/CN.10/11, that it was precisely during that decade that certain positive results were achieved in the limitation and partial curbing of the arms race. A number of important multilateral treaty documents were concluded in this field and bilateral understandings were arrived at with regard to strategic armaments. A system of bilateral and multilateral negotiations on disarmament questions was formulated. For the first time a special session of the General Assembly was devoted to disarmament and that session took some useful decisions. A number of positive measures were also carried out in the area of improving the political climate in Europe.

It was in the territory of Europe that aggressive forces launched the First and Second World Wars, wars which brought untold suffering and catastrophe to the peoples of this continent. In this area, we should point out the important positive role which has been played and continues to be played by the historic conference of the Heads of 35 States, held at Helsinki, and by the Final Act adopted there. A positive trend in international affairs has gained strength and been consolidated and that is the easing of tensions.

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The experience of the 1970s has shown that, given political will on the part of States, genuine results in the fields of limiting the arms race and of disarmament are possible and feasible. The logic and the whole development of international events have given the highest priority in world politics, and have highlighted as their most pressing problem - the limitation of armaments and disarmament.

It is becoming ever more urgent to solve this problem in circumstances in which, over recent years, the United States and other countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) have been carrying out a whole series of measures designed appreciably to strengthen and qualitatively to improve their armaments, and to step up military preparations as a whole, counting, in this, on a long-term spiralling of the arms race and on blocking disarmament talks, disrupting the military balance which has arisen in the world and on scrapping the principles of equality and equal security.

Thus, the material preparations which have been carried out by imperialism on the basis of the most modern industrial advances and the most recent innovations in technology have shown us that the dangers to the cause of peace are genuine and real. Naturally, this course of events arouses serious alarm throughout the world.

That alarm has been reflected, in particular, in the recent message of a group of leading representatives of the medical profession in the United States, addressed to Mr. Brezhnev and Mr. Carter, in which they spoke out publicly about the consequences of the use of nuclear weapons. Representatives will recall that Mr. Brezhnev expressed to those American scientists his wholehearted support for their concern and their good intentions.

A further twist in the spiral of the arms race has been made by the NATO countries and is, as always in these cases, accompanied by a dishonourable political hue and cry on the tired old theme of the so-called Soviet military threat. It would not be out of place to recall in this regard the tragic experience of the preparations for and launching of the Second World War. At that time, too, the most aggressive circles of the imperialist Powers were also engaged in diverting world public opinion from the true reasons for the growing danger of war, by relying on cries about the "Bolshevik threat". It is

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particularly timely and relevant to recall this now, at a time when we are celebrating the thirty-fifth anniversary of the victory over the forces of fascism in the Second World War - a war which caused which tremendous suffering and disaster to mankind and which took the lives of 20 million Soviet citizens, including the lives of every fourth inhabitant of Byelorussia.

Everyone knows who, in actual fact, is causing military expenditures to mount today, not by the day but by the hour, and many facts may be adduced in corroboration of this. The countries of the socialist community urge not only the continuation of the negotiations which have begun in recent years but also the holding of talks on other important problems of disarmament and we urge the attainment of agreement on these questions with other States, without prejudice to the security of any, in circumstances of complete reciprocity among States possessing the armaments in question.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly stated its readiness, without any preconditions or any lengthy preparations, to sit down at the table of peace with anyone else who was willing to do so. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, has stressed:

"It is our burning desire to bury the axe of war so deep into the ground that no dark forces will ever be able to dig it out again.

This is the aim of our proposals for merging political détente with military détente and for holding all-embracing talks on disarmament, including nuclear disarmament."

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The constancy of the peace-loving foreign policy of the countries of the socialist community was confirmed once again in the final communiqué recently issued by the Conference of States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty. That communiqué expresses the firm determination of those countries to continue the struggle for peace throughout the world, for easing international tension, for curbing the arms race and for disarmament.

The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic was among those countries that supported General Assembly resolution 34/75, which proclaimed the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade. The concrete measures on which, in the view of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, efforts should be concentrated in the course of the Second Disarmament Decade were set forth in a letter from the Foreign Minister of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, document A/CN.10/10/Add.3 and Corr.1. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic is convinced that provisions listed therein could serve as a basis for preparing the elements of a draft resolution of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade". This would be in keeping with the principal task of our day, namely, that of consolidating and developing the positive results achieved in the 1970s towards curbing the arms race and achieving the concrete implementation of practical measures in this area.

With respect to the nuclear arms race, everyone knows of the numerous initiatives put forward in this area by the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. The purpose of these initiatives is to halt and turn back the arms race in this area. The countries of the socialist community have constantly favoured the cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons in all their forms and the reduction of stockpiles of those weapons up to and including their total elimination. We must immediately embark on preparations for and the holding of talks on this question with the participation of all nuclear Powers and a certain number of non-nuclear Powers. An important basis for practical steps in the area of nuclear disarmament

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could be provided by the proposals of the seven socialist countries submitted for the consideration of the Disarmament Committee in February 1979. Those proposals provide for concrete measures in connexion with talks on the halting of the manufacture of nuclear weapons in all their forms and the gradual reduction of the stockpiles of those weapons up to and including their total elimination.

Realizing that this task is difficult to accomplish in one fell swoop, the countries of the socialist community have expressed their readiness also to take part in talks on limited measures in this area at the present time, that is to say, a stage-by-stage cessation of the manufacture and the elimination of nuclear weapons, something which should be carried out on a mutually acceptable and agreed basis, without any disturbance of the existing balance of forces, while at the same time their level is constantly reduced. The task of the Disarmament Committee, as we see it, is to embark on such talks as a matter of the highest priority.

There is no doubt that along with the adoption of measures in the field of the cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons and the gradual elimination of their stockpiles, effective measures should also be taken to strengthen the political and international legal guarantees of security for States. An important step to this end would be the earliest possible preparation and conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. A draft of that treaty was submitted for the consideration of the United Nations by the Soviet Union. That proposal has been supported by the overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations, as shown by, among other things, the recently concluded third session of the Special Committee on the Non-Use of Force. The conclusion of such a treaty, which would exclude the possibility of the use of both nuclear and conventional weapons, would be in keeping with the interests of all States regardless of their social systems, the size of their territory or their population.

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As a result of the conclusion of such a treaty, the nuclear Powers would obtain a greater measure of security in the absence of a threat from each other and each could depend more on that security. This would also benefit those States which do not possess nuclear weapons and which have felt well-founded concern about the danger that nuclear weapons might be used against them.

In this context, we should like to draw the attention of the Commission to the position repeatedly and solemnly proclaimed by the Soviet Union never to use nuclear weapons against those States which renounce the manufacture and acquisition of such weapons and possess none of them on their territory. As members will recall, the proposal of the Soviet Union for the conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of security guarantees for non-nuclear States is still being considered in the Disarmament Committee.

At its thirty-fourth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 34/84, of which the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic was a sponsor. That resolution commended the decision of the Committee on Disarmament "to continue the negotiations on this subject at the beginning of its 1980 session". It seems to us that the United Nations Disarmament Commission should also pronounce itself in favour of the earliest possible preparation and conclusion of such a convention. There is no need to attempt to prove the importance of a general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapon testing. The course of talks on this question, and indeed on other disarmament matters once again confirm that attempts by Western Powers to derive one-sided advantages and infringe on the legitimate interests of others will not lead to any positive results.

We are convinced that the earliest possible preparation and conclusion of a treaty on this question would erect a barrier to the qualitative improvement of weapons of mass destruction and thus would promote progress in disarmament and détente.



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Of particular significance in the matter of calling a halt to the nuclear arms race is the strengthening of the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, an important constituent element of which is the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Together with other delegations, the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic vigorously condemns attempts on the part of certain States which entertain ideas that are extremely dangerous to peace to acquire nuclear weapons. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic welcomes the desire of States in various parts of the world to establish nuclear-weapon-free zones. In this regard, it is of the utmost necessity at the earliest possible time to arrive at an international agreement on the non-deployment of nuclear weapons on the territory of those States where they do not exist at present. In the resolution adopted on this subject by the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session, of which the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic was a sponsor, States are called upon to submit their views on the possibility of concluding such an agreement. A positive response from the largest possible number of States to that appeal would undoubtedly promote the earliest possible positive solution of this problem.

With respect to the general approach to talks on nuclear and conventional armaments, we, like other socialist countries, are in favour of talks on a wide spectrum of issues related to the multifaceted and complex problem of disarmament. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have not been behindhand with initiatives or concrete steps on questions pertaining to the curbing of the arms race and achieving disarmament. I shall venture to recall just a few of them which have been taken recently.

First, as enunciated in Mr. Brezhnev's statement on 6 October 1979 in Berlin, there was the readiness of the Soviet Union to reduce from their present level the number of medium-range nuclear devices deployed in western regions of the Soviet Union if, of course, there was no additional deployment of similar nuclear devices in Western Europe. There was also the decision to reduce unilaterally the number of Soviet troops in central Europe, the broad programme of measures for disarmament set forth at the meeting of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of States Members of the Warsaw Treaty held on 5 and 6 December 1979, and so forth.

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In contrast to such constructive actions and proposals, the NATO bloc decided in December 1979 to deploy in Western Europe about 600 new American missiles. In the circumstances, only the rescinding of that decision or a general halting of its actual implementation would make it possible to embark on effective talks on the question of medium-range nuclear weapons.

Everything goes to show, therefore, that in the present international circumstances it is extremely important not only not to weaken but, indeed, to do everything possible to step up the struggle on the part of all peace-loving forces to strengthen peace, to eliminate the threat of war and to achieve concrete measures to curb the arms race and bring about disarmament; and this has been precisely the focus of attention of the appeal for peace and disarmament that was addressed to the peoples of European countries by the participants in the recent meeting concluded in Paris of communist and workers' parties of Europe.

In conclusion, I should like to state that at this session of the Commission also we have come up against a situation where attempts are being made to raise questions here without contributing constructively to the Commission's activities - questions that are not to be found on the agenda - in an attempt to divert the Commission from its proper tasks.

The solution of the problem of disarmament which will determine the fate of civilization can only be achieved when, faced with the combined forces of peace, the opponents of disarmament are forced to change their position and when, instead of making their oft-expressed general considerations about the usefulness of disarmament, they, together with the initiators of concrete proposals on disarmament, get down to work on practical measures in this area. It is precisely such actions that are needed so that the 1980s may really become a period when the arms race is halted and genuine disarmament is achieved.

Mr. RAHMAN (Bangladesh): In June last year, when we had dispersed after concluding the deliberations of the first session of the revitalized United Nations Disarmament Commission, a certain amount of hope and expectation was discernible in our countenances. Today, when we are sitting down again to make a review of our efforts, our quest for the elements of a comprehensive programme of disarmament

(Mr. Rahman, Bangladesh)

and charting our future course in an action programme, we cannot but pause for a moment and ask ourselves the inevitable question, which is: have we taken a step forward or a giant step backward?

Mr. Chairman, you very ably set the tone of the present session when you said:

"We are passing through a very crucial and critical stage in the evolution of international relations, which have suffered somewhat in recent times as a result of various events that have taken place in different parts of the world". (A/CN.10/PV.25, p. 2)

We agree with you entirely, Sir, that in the field of disarmament the outlook is far from encouraging. We also recognize that practically all bilateral and multilateral negotiations have almost come to a halt. We do not hear anything more about negotiations on the comprehensive test ban.

My delegation in particular would like to draw the attention of this Commission to the extremely dangerous situation in which the world is poised today. With heightening tension between the two blocs, the Commission must take cognizance of the danger of a military conflict between them. This is why we should like this Commission to make practical and action-oriented recommendations, in particular on items 3 and 4, for the creation of a situation that would ensure the preservation of peace and security in conformity with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter.

Yesterday we listened with great attention to the important statements made in this Commission. I am particularly mindful of the statement made by the representative of Cyprus in which he drew our attention to the gradual but inexorable erosion of the confidence of the peoples of the world in the Charter of the United Nations because of our inability to give content and meaning to various resolutions that have hitherto been adopted in the Security Council and in the General Assembly but never implemented. Some were ignored, some were flouted with impunity, some were laughed at and some resolutions withered on the vine. It is a macabre spectacle, to say the least.

The realities of the world situation notwithstanding, or because of them, it is more imperative today than ever before to strive collectively and harmoniously to explore ways and means of securing and strengthening international peace and security within the framework of the United Nations Charter and resolutions adopted at the tenth special session devoted to disarmament.

(Mr. Rahman, Bangladesh)

It is against this background that my delegation attaches the utmost importance to this session of the United Nations Disarmament Commission. The agenda is extensive, but given the will, at least on the level demonstrated last year, we can still find ways and means to prepare concrete proposals to be submitted to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session.

When the disarmament measures are listed, the state and course of the arms race should be taken into account. Similarly, all the elements necessary for achieving the goal of general and complete disarmament and the realization of just and lasting international peace and security, as well as the New International Economic Order, should also be included. The list of disarmament measures should be presented separately for each category of weapons and weapons systems and in accordance with agreed priorities. For example, the following categories and types of weapons must be elaborated further: first, nuclear weapons; second, other weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons; third, conventional weapons, including those that may cause unnecessary suffering or have indiscriminate effects; and, fourth, reduction of the armed forces and military expenditures.

(Mr. Rahman, Bangladesh)

In paragraph 31 of the Final Document of the tenth special session, a measure of verification was established. It was agreed that any disarmament measures to be effective must be verifiable. What is needed is the establishment of an international machinery for disarmament verification within the United Nations system itself.

At the tenth special session of the General Assembly a close relationship was recognized between disarmament and international security. The special session also recognized the close, indeed indivisible, relationship between disarmament, economic and social development and the establishment of a New International Economic Order.

Bangladesh believes that peace and prosperity are indivisible. Acceleration of military expenditures not only absorb considerable resources: they constitute a basic destabilizing element in the entire world economy. Recurring economic crises in recent years have served to highlight that fact. It is our belief that a viable international system must be based on the establishment of a link between disarmament and development.

In addition, this Commission at this session must call on the leading nuclear-weapon States to take immediate steps with a view to freezing the nuclear arms race in all its aspects. The Commission should also call on the militarily significant countries to suspend further increases in military budgets and resume meaningful negotiations on concrete and effective nuclear disarmament measures, in conformity with the resolutions of the tenth special session of the Assembly. The Commission should call on the nuclear Powers to give security guarantees to non-nuclear-weapon States. Further, this Commission should call upon all concerned parties to pursue actively the goal of holding in 1981 the proposed conference on the Indian Ocean. Efforts to establish zones of peace in the Mediterranean and other areas should also be pursued. The United Nations Disarmament Commission should call for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other countries, the removal of nuclear weapons from the territories of non-nuclear-weapon States

(Mr. Rahman, Bangladesh)

and the elimination of all foreign military bases. The Commission will fail in its duty if it cannot underscore the fact that our ultimate goal will remain unrealized unless we all accept and abide by the cardinal principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States. Concrete and action-oriented proposals on disarmament measures from this Commission to the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly are but one vital aspect of the totality of our efforts to achieve that goal.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, my delegation assures you of its fullest co-operation in your efforts to conclude successfully the deliberations of this session.

The CHAIRMAN: As we agreed, tomorrow afternoon we shall have the first meeting of the Working Group that has been established to consider agenda item 3, on the Disarmament Decade.

We have enough speakers to hold a plenary meeting tomorrow morning. As I indicated this morning, the general exchange of views on item 4 will continue - and we hope will be completed - on Monday morning.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.