



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

**AGENDA ITEM 8**

**General debate (continued)**

1. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker this morning in the general debate is the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Angola. I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency Mr. Lopo do Nascimento, and in inviting him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. DO NASCIMENTO (Angola)<sup>1</sup>: Since this is the first time that I have had the honour of addressing the General Assembly, I wish to tell the Secretary-General how deeply I respect and believe in the work done by the Organization and by him.

3. Mr. President, it is a special pleasure for the Angolan delegation to see you, the representative of an eminent non-aligned State, presiding over the tenth special session devoted to disarmament. On behalf of my Government I take this opportunity to compliment and congratulate you on the efficient manner in which you led the General Assembly in the enormous work of the thirty-second session, as well as the eighth and ninth special sessions.

4. The Government of the People's Republic of Angola and the entire Angolan population, together with the vast majority of States and peoples of the world, attach exceptional importance to this special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, convened on the initiative of the fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo in 1976.

5. For the first time in the history of the United Nations, a session of the General Assembly is dealing exclusively with matters related to the limitation of arms and with disarmament as a whole. This forum is therefore debating one of the most burning and high priority tasks of our time, that is, the task of progressively decreasing the risk of new conflagrations, halting any increase in the already excessive arsenals of weapons, and stopping the mad arms race.

6. In view of the exorbitant accumulation of war material and barbarous means of mass annihilation, and the stepped-up armaments observed in various important world centres, which threaten to spread to new countries and regions, it must be stated that both the present and the future

of mankind are closely related to the serious steps and concrete measures that will be taken in the field of disarmament, specifically in stopping the nuclear arms race, and which must eventually lead to general and concrete disarmament.

7. In the world today, there are stocks of nuclear weapons whose explosive power is more than one million times that of the Hiroshima bomb. The amount of explosive material accumulated in the world is about 15 tons *per capita*, not including biological and chemical weapons and other weapons which have a destructive effect on the environment. The use of such means of mass extermination in a war would have devastating consequences for all of mankind.

8. In the light of these sober facts and figures, which could easily be expanded upon, the question of disarmament assumes a new dimension. What is certain is that disarmament constitutes a fundamental problem, upon the solution of which depends the existence of mankind as such, and the future existence of life. Hence no State, big or small, can have an attitude of indifference towards disarmament, and Governments will be judged primarily in terms of their behaviour in respect of this crucial question, which is that of ensuring the existence of mankind and hence the lives of the peoples which make up mankind.

9. In this content we cannot close our eyes to the causes which underlie the present arms race and which constantly instigate it. The main reason lies in the desire of the big armaments consortia, merged into military-industrial complexes, to make bigger profits. It is well known that the profits made by those arms consortia are very much greater than those made by other consortia of comparable size, so that business in arms is very much more lucrative than any other kind. Nor can we fail to note that the arms race is being dictated by the vehement desire of imperialist circles to achieve world military supremacy, with a view to hindering the peaceful solution of the contradictions between the two major social systems and halting the process of the national and social liberation of the peoples.

10. In view of this situation, we fully understand that the community of socialist States and other peace-loving States find themselves obliged to pay great attention to and to divert substantial resources to the reinforcement of their defensive power. In so doing, they are making an essential contribution to the preservation of peace and to the protection of the interests of those States which have freed themselves from the colonial yoke and which have chosen to build a just and decent society, among which States is also the young People's Republic of Angola.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. do Nascimento spoke in Portuguese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

11. It is imperative to recognize here the efforts made by the socialist nations and some non-aligned countries, which have progressively been taking concrete steps towards the attainment of complete and general disarmament.

12. It may seem strange to some people that the People's Republic of Angola, recently independent, underdeveloped and with countless problems stemming from its colonial past, should attach exceptional importance to the problem of disarmament in general. At the same time, the various references to the need to strengthen and increase my country's defence capacity, made by Mr. Agostinho Neto, President of the *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola*, the Workers' Party, and President of the People's Republic of Angola, cannot be interpreted as any ordinary form of arms race, even conventional. They are a result of its location in the geopolitical context of southern Africa.

13. The needs which stem from the location of the People's Republic of Angola in southern Africa—a region of great military tension provoked by imperialist acts of aggression—and its adherence to the policy of non-alignment, reinforce the necessity for my country's deep commitment to the goals of general and complete disarmament. Disarmament, in that region of the world, is also an imperative prerequisite for peace, which depends of necessity on the destruction of the Fascist and racist minority régime. We therefore call on the international community to redouble its efforts to remove the hotbeds of tension and the destabilizing factors in that region, efforts which necessarily depend on the elimination of the hateful régime of *apartheid*.

14. We are very much concerned about the arming of the racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia. It is specifically the armed forces of South Africa, one of the most modern armies, which constitute a permanent threat to independent and sovereign States, and particularly to the People's Republic of Angola.

15. Very recently, on 4 May this year, my country was the target of a fresh act of aggression by the South African racist régime, aggression which warranted the vigorous condemnation of the Security Council of the United Nations [*resolution 428 (1978)*] and the world community. In this respect, we wish to inform this Assembly that from the investigations we carried out on the spot, we have drawn the conclusion that in this further act of aggression weapons were used of which we had had no knowledge up to now and which caused the victims to die the most horrible of deaths. At the same time—and this question has already been referred to in United Nations documents and in discussions in various bodies—the possession of nuclear weapons by the Government of South Africa constitutes a particularly grave danger to peace in Africa and the world.

16. Although the struggle against the dangers of atomic war and the prohibition of the qualitative and quantitative development of nuclear weapons must be given absolute priority, particularly with regard to the African continent, the People's Republic of Angola considers that conven-

tional armed forces and weapons must be covered by the general process of disarmament. There is a need to prevent the establishment of new military bases and the creation of new military alliances in different regions of the world, because they poison the international climate and can lead to new conflicts and tensions in international relations. In this context, it is urgent once again to call the attention of the world to the agreement signed between the West German Orbital Transport and Rocket Company (OTRAG) and the State of Zaire on the establishment of a missile base on Zairian territory.

17. This agreement and the installation of the base it provides for—which constitutes the barrel of a gun aimed at the very heart of my country—is clear evidence that the neo-colonial policy of certain circles is closely bound up with the intensification of the arms race. We reaffirm that the installation of that missile-launching base constitutes a grave threat to the security of all African States and to the lives of the peoples of our continent.

18. Furthermore, certain member States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) have not yet given up their intentions of endeavouring to set up a military alliance in the South Atlantic to serve as a complement to NATO. They hope to include in this military pact in particular certain Latin American military régimes, while attributing a global rôle to the racist and Fascist South African régime. Although there are apparently conflicting concepts of the form that this alliance should take and although the different countries involved have divergent hegemonic desires, this in no way changes the wish to create a military alliance aimed above all at strengthening NATO's political power at sea and at ensuring its control of the strategically important sea routes of the South Atlantic and its access to the Antarctic. In addition, it is intended to increase NATO's political influence in southern Africa and to ensure the long-term preservation of economic interests in that area.

19. The basic goal pursued in the establishment of this military pact is the creation of a political and military instrument against the development of progressive African States, among them the People's Republic of Angola, and against the national liberation movements in southern Africa. A particularly grave danger to the peace and security of the peoples lies in the fact that, within the framework of these plans, the formation and consolidation of a nuclear belt involving South Africa and some Latin American nations is becoming increasingly imminent.

20. A further cause of great concern for us are the efforts we note on the part of some former colonial Powers to form military blocs in Africa with their former colonies; this will certainly lead to an aggravation of relations on the continent and could cause the emergence of new hotbeds of conflict. Europe has travelled an almost identical road and we must learn lessons from the present situation prevailing on that continent.

21. In the interest of improving the international climate, the People's Republic of Angola, which continues to be unreservedly true to the policy of non-alignment, considers

it necessary to take the relevant measures to prevent the establishment of new military alliances. It is important that we do everything possible to promote confidence among States and peoples and increase international security. In this respect, the Treaty of Tlatelolco<sup>2</sup> is a good example for the African continent to follow, since the denuclearization of Africa is the task of the moment. In this respect, too, the People's Republic of Angola considers that the adoption of an international convention on the renunciation of the use of force in international relations would greatly contribute to healthier international relations and would benefit the whole of mankind.

22. Questions of disarmament are closely related to the solution of the economic and social problems of the peoples of the world, that is, to mankind's progress. According to estimates, it has been calculated that about \$400 billion are now spent annually for military purposes, which means that more than \$1 billion are spent every day solely for the manufacture of means of destruction.

23. Hence the need to put an end to the senseless waste and dissipation of the world's resources. We must use these fabulous material resources for the benefit of mankind and for the solution of the pressing social problems of the development of new sources of energy, the fight against hunger and disease, the protection of the environment, the overcoming of the accumulated backwardness of countries which have freed themselves from colonial dependence and, finally, support for the underdeveloped countries. An important step in that direction would be the adoption and implementation of the proposals on the freezing and reduction of military expenditure, starting with that of the permanent members of the Security Council, and on placing the resources thus released at the service of the solution of the most urgent economic and social problems of the underdeveloped countries.

24. Of course, questions of disarmament are difficult and complex by nature. The final goal is unquestionably general and complete disarmament, but it is proper to acknowledge that there have been some results in some fields related to arms limitation. To minimize this fact would be to defend an "all-or-nothing" policy, rejecting partial advances and leading matters to a deadlock. However, one cannot ignore the fact that many of the hopes and just demands of the peoples still remain unfulfilled, and in some negotiations no outcome can be foreseen; this is a situation which will still require substantial efforts. Since the question of nuclear weapons is the priority question of disarmament, an important step towards disarmament would be the prohibition of the quantitative and qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons and the strengthening of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] by all nuclear Powers adhering to that Treaty. The non-proliferation of nuclear weapons contributes decisively towards preventing local conflicts from expanding into nuclear war, while safeguarding the possibilities of using technical and scientific gains for exclusively peaceful purposes.

25. There is no doubt that the Powers which already have nuclear weapons bear particularly great responsibilities. In our view, however, in addition to those States, all other States should be called upon to exert pressure, with the means at their disposal, to ensure that an end is put to the qualitative improvement and the quantitative accumulation of nuclear weapons. We therefore support all efforts aimed at the adoption of concrete measures to stop the development and production of new types of atomic weapons and at their gradual reduction.

26. However, it is now of the utmost urgency to prevent the production of the neutron bomb, a new and particularly inhuman weapon of mass destruction. The manufacture of this abominable weapon would eliminate any kind of threshold separating military confrontation with conventional weapons from that with nuclear weapons, thus enormously increasing the danger of the unleashing of an atomic war. The bomb is truly a nuclear weapon; hence anyone who used it would be initiating an atomic war. The neutron bomb is a particularly treacherous weapon which has been especially developed with the aim of annihilating man.

27. There are some enemies of mankind who speak of the neutron bomb as a "clean" bomb because, as they say, it destroys human life in a "clean" way, saving the "material wealth"—that is, buildings, machinery and equipment. We most decidedly reject the annihilation of mankind in a "clean" way. It is clear that the manufacture of the neutron bomb would cause the arms race to escalate to such a point that it would lead to an even more serious threat to the security of all States. In view of the possibility of its being used anywhere, if adventurist enemies were to get hold of it, it would also constitute a terrible danger to the peoples of the African continent and a permanent threat of death to millions of people.

28. For all these reasons, we are of the opinion that this session of the Assembly will be but fulfilling its responsibility, justifying the trust placed in it by the peoples, if it comes out clearly and unequivocally for the banning of the neutron bomb. The People's Republic of Angola calls for the adoption of a resolution on the banning of the manufacture or use of the neutron bomb.

29. In recent years, broad machinery for multilateral and bilateral negotiations has taken form, machinery which provides scope for achieving some results. If, up to now, only limited progress has been achieved in the field of disarmament, this fact should not be ascribed primarily to the structure or proceedings of various organs, but to the lack of political will on the part of some States—which does not mean that the working methods and procedures of the various bodies negotiating disarmament should not be critically analysed with a view to improving them. Hence, what is decisive for the achievement of effective agreements in the field of disarmament is the political will and a constructive attitude on the part of States, as well as the desire to abstain from acts likely to affect the negotiations negatively.

30. The People's Republic of Angola considers that a more important role in this vital question should be given

<sup>2</sup> Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326).

to the United Nations, in the awareness that the exaggerated importance given to the problems of functioning and structure could deflect attention from fundamental questions. We should not fail to see the wood for the trees. Since questions of disarmament are bound up with the interests of all peoples, my country advocates the convening of a world conference on disarmament. The objective of a world conference on disarmament, which would be attended by all States in the world, should be to debate the problems of disarmament from an over-all standpoint and seek the most effective ways of stopping the arms race. Since this is a problem for all peoples, the declaration and programme of action should properly emphasize the need for the direct participation of all States that possess nuclear weapons in the efforts to eliminate the nuclear arms race.

31. Conscious of the importance and high priority we must give to the solution of the problem of nuclear weapons, the People's Republic of Angola—a country which does not even manufacture a bullet—considers that the question of the limitation and control of the trade in conventional arms is also of strategic importance. There is an interdependence between the processes which should make it impossible to reduce one type of arms and increase another type. This is a crucial problem for countries such as ours which are forced to divert their scant resources to the maintenance of their security and integrity.

32. In this respect, the People's Republic of Angola declares itself prepared, in the future also, to make its modest contribution to the solution of the crucial problem of the existence of mankind. With this attitude, it will always be at the side of those States and people who consistently defend the welfare of the peoples and the progress of mankind on every continent.

33. The struggle continues; victory is certain.

34. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Angola for the important statement he has just made.

35. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, when you opened the present special session devoted to disarmament, you rightly outlined the dimension of the task to be carried out when you stated that the responsibility of the General Assembly "is not only to our generation but to future generations, for their very chance of survival is threatened by the existing situation" [1st meeting, para. 17].

36. Accordingly, we face an enormous task and we can harbour no illusions about our success, but can only trust in the pressure of all kinds which, without let or hindrance, the vast majorities of the human race can exercise through persevering and constant efforts to make the nuclear super-Powers, on a world-wide scale, and the other Powers, at a regional level, agree to counteract the negative consequences of the arms race.

37. We were accordingly pleased that Mr. Walter F. Mondale, the Vice-President of the United States, affirmed

here on 24 May that this meeting on disarmament is due to the initiative of the non-aligned States, which, as he stated: "comprising the bulk of the world's people, are particularly aware of the helplessness and hopelessness spawned by the arms race" [2nd meeting, para. 30]. At the same time the Vice-President saluted those States "for calling us together to confront this challenge" [*ibid.*].

38. Indeed, this special session has been promoted essentially by the non-aligned countries as a prior necessary step to the convening of a world disarmament conference intended to put an end to a costly arms race which is incompatible with the establishment of a new international economic order.

39. At the fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Sri Lanka in 1976, the item on disarmament and security was given special consideration, and under the leadership of the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, Salim Ahmed Salim, Chairman of the Political Committee, a group was set up comprising India, Panama, Yugoslavia and Mexico which, although an observer, participated actively in the task of reconciling the various proposals and arriving at a formula which would win unanimous support at the Conference.

40. Thus the Political Declaration of Colombo which was adopted on 19 August 1976,<sup>3</sup> recommended:

"... that members of the non-aligned movement request the holding of a special session of the General Assembly as early as possible and not later than 1978. The agenda of the special session should include:

"a. A review of the problem of disarmament,

"b. The promotion and elaboration of a programme of priorities and recommendations in the field of disarmament,

"c. The question of convening a world disarmament conference".

Mr. N'Dong (Gabon), Vice-President, took the Chair.

41. The joint action of the non-aligned countries seeking a global solution within a disarmament programme, formulated initially at the first Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Belgrade in 1961, was reaffirmed at the subsequent summit meetings at Lusaka in 1970, at Algiers in 1973, at Cairo in 1974 and at Colombo in 1976, and took final shape in the proposal made by about 80 non-aligned countries, later reflected in resolution 31/189 B on general and complete disarmament adopted by this Assembly on 21 December 1976, whereby it was agreed to convene the present special session devoted to disarmament.

42. In accordance with the provisions of that resolution, the Preparatory Committee, made up of 54 Member States, under the brilliant chairmanship of the eminent Argentinian lawyer, Carlos Ortiz de Rozas, considered all pertinent questions relating to the special session, including its

<sup>3</sup> See document A/31/197 of 8 September 1976. ❧

agenda, and submitted to the General Assembly at its thirty-second session a report containing its recommendations. The report was endorsed in resolution 32/88 B of 12 December 1977, in which the General Assembly also expressed its appreciation to the members of the Preparatory Committee for their positive contribution.

43. It will be readily observed that the provisional agenda proposed by the Preparatory Committee and which was approved by this General Assembly at its first meeting is, in essence, a further elaboration of the agenda drawn up at the summit Conference of Colombo. It is our hope that in view of the recommendation of the Preparatory Committee, its consideration will lead to the approval by this Assembly of a single document. That document should consist of a first section containing as an introduction, a comprehensive approach to the problems of disarmament; a second section setting out a declaration on disarmament, which would include a review and evaluation of the present international situation, a statement of objectives and priorities and a formulation of principles; a third section regarding a programme of action on disarmament; and, finally, a fourth section on the international machinery for disarmament negotiations, including in particular the question of convening a world disarmament conference at the time which may prove most suitable.

44. The disarmament process is an undertaking which concerns the entire world and one in which not only has mankind, unfortunately, fallen behind and lost its way, but which has condemned entire peoples to the unhappy lot of living under the torture of hopelessness in areas where justice seems to recede further and further into the distance.

45. The statesmen of 1945, with the tragic sufferings of the last world conflagration still fresh in their minds, clearly sightedly recorded in the San Francisco Charter their determination "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind". Similarly, taking into account the fact that since wars began in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the bulwarks of peace must be built, they decided to establish the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to give priority to the gradual achievement, by means of co-operation among the nations of the world in the fields of education, science and culture, of the objectives of common prosperity for mankind and international peace which 32 years ago the founders of the Organization decided should be established on the foundations of the intellectual and moral solidarity among all men.

46. The progress achieved in this direction within the United Nations system, however significant it may seem, falls far short of the goal set.

47. It is true that some positive steps have been taken; although they are not all those we might have expected, they take the form of treaties prohibiting nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water, restricting the proliferation of nuclear weapons, prohibiting the emplacement

of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof, banning the emplacement of nuclear arms in the Antarctic, prohibiting the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons and calling for their destruction, prohibiting the use of environmental modification techniques for military or other hostile purposes, and creating in Latin America the first nuclear-weapon-free zone.

48. Yet a great deal remains to be done, not only as regards nuclear disarmament, including the total prohibition of nuclear tests and the prohibition of the manufacture and use of nuclear neutron weapons, but also as regards the prohibition of chemical weapons, the prohibition of new kinds of weapons of mass destruction and new systems for such weapons, the prohibition of radiological weapons and, in general, measures for general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

49. Only yesterday the delegation of Panama received a most impressive visit from distinguished persons from the Japanese national delegation of non-governmental organizations to this special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. They reminded us that in August 1945 two atomic bombs fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, destroying all vestiges of life. They further reminded us that more than 200,000 people perished in terrible agony in the course of that year and that 100,000 more victims died during the next five years. They reminded us, too, that although 33 years have elapsed since then, there are still 370,000 victims of the atomic bomb who are called *hibakusha* and who still suffer from painful diseases, difficulties in their daily life and social and psychological problems. Their message to this Assembly is to demand absolute nuclear disarmament, and their call is for "no more Hiroshimas, no more Nagasakis, no more *hibakushas*".

50. The tragic memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is striking proof that what has been achieved so far in disarmament pales into insignificance when compared with the terrifying overkill capacity accumulated by the nuclear super-Powers which can extinguish every vestige of living civilization not once but many times over throughout the universe. Hence, the merit which this special session could have would be, as the Secretary-General has said, to "set a course which will turn the world away from potential disaster", to devote itself "to the search for a common understanding of the options with which we are faced and to the drafting of an action programme that finds widest international acceptance" [1st meeting, para. 41].

51. Obviously, the interest of Panama in disarmament must be centred more especially in an awareness of its geographical function as a peaceful waterway of communication between all nations of the world, and, of course, in creating conditions of peace and security everywhere, but more especially in the Latin American region.

52. On 7 September 1977, Panama and the United States signed the Panama Canal Treaty of 1977 as well as the Treaty Concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal. The instruments for ratification will



be exchanged between President Carter and General Torrijos Herrera in the city of Panama on 16 June 1978.

53. It is most significant that at the urging of Panama paragraph 6 of article IV of the agreement signed by the two Governments for the implementation of the Panama Canal Treaty, dealing with the protection and defence of the interoceanic waterway, the contracting parties stated that "Whereas the Republic of Panama is a party to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco), the United States will not install any kind of nuclear weapons in the territory of Panama".

54. It should further be pointed out that, in article II of the Treaty Concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal,<sup>4</sup> "the Republic of Panama declares the neutrality of the Canal in order that both in time of peace and in time of war it shall remain secure and open to peaceful transit by the vessels of all nations on terms of entire equality, so that there will be no discrimination against any nation, or its citizens or subjects, concerning the conditions or charges of transit, or for any other reason, and so that the Canal, and therefore the Isthmus of Panama, shall not be the target of reprisals in any armed conflict between other nations of the world."

55. Panama, consistent with its peaceful tradition as evidenced by its low military budgets and high level of investment in education and health, does not wish its territory to be used for military purposes nor to harbour foreign contingents that could be used for insurgence or counter-insurgence in other countries within or outside the hemisphere.

56. It is therefore logical that we Panamanians hope that the régime of permanent neutrality for the interoceanic waterway be perfected with the help of the international community. To this end, the contracting parties have opened the accession by all States of the world a Protocol whereby the signatory States can contribute to making the neutrality régime of the Panama Canal world-wide.

57. We are most pleased and happy to note that in its final communiqué<sup>5</sup> the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, at its last ministerial meeting held at Havana from 15 to 20 May of this year, congratulated the Government and people of Panama "for their success in their efforts to regain the effective exercise of their sovereignty over all their national territory. It took note of the signing by the United States and Panama of the Treaty Concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal and the Panama Canal Treaty of 1977, which both countries had decided to ratify, with express reaffirmation by the United States of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of Panama". The Bureau considered that "the treaties were a step towards the elimination of colonial conditions in the strip of Panamanian territory in which the Canal was situated, and they also contributed to progress towards full decolonization throughout Central America and the Caribbean".

<sup>4</sup> See document A/33/174 of 10 July 1978.

<sup>5</sup> See document A/33/118 of 7 June 1978.

58. The Bureau also took note of the fact that "Panama and the United States had agreed to open the Protocol of the Treaty Concerning the Permanent Neutrality of the Canal to accession by all States, and asked all Powers to respect the permanent neutrality of the interoceanic waterway and to observe strictly the principle of non-intervention in the affairs of the Republic of Panama, emphasizing that any act or activity hostile to the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of Panama would be an infringement of the United Nations Charter, the principles of international law that govern relations among the States of the region, and it would constitute a threat to world peace and security".

59. The military denuclearization of Latin America which, on the noble proposal of Mexico, put forward by that great apostle of disarmament, Alfonso García Robles, is enshrined in the Treaty of Tlatelolco, is of the utmost importance for my country. We therefore welcome the fact that Protocol I of the Treaty was signed last year by the President of the United States, Mr. Jimmy Carter, and that the President of France, Mr. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, announced at the 3rd meeting that, in the same spirit in which France had signed and ratified Protocol II in 1974, he hoped to be able to sign Protocol I as well, and for that purpose he would make contact with the authorities established under the Treaty to consider the conditions in which the signature could be effected. My delegation is equally pleased to have learned that the United Kingdom, the United States of America, France and the People's Republic of China have become parties to Additional Protocol II of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, and that on the occasion of the visit to Moscow of the President of Mexico, Mr. López Portillo, the Soviet Union some days ago signed Additional Protocol II, thus fulfilling by that historic act the hope expressed by the Assembly in its resolution 32/79 of 12 December 1977.

60. International experience demonstrates that regionalism and universality are not mutually exclusive within the United Nations system. In Latin America, our regional activities started with the invitation extended by Bolívar from Lima on 7 December 1824 on the eve of the Battle of Ayacucho to constitute a confederation "in order to arrive at a system of guarantees which in war and in peace would be the shield of our fate". The Panamanian isthmus was chosen by the Liberator as the site for the Congress of Panama of 1826 at which principles were drafted to ensure that the new Latin American States would be protected from external aggression and that peace would be preserved among the member states.

61. On the occasion of the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Ayacucho, which signalled Spanish-American independence, a movement was initiated to broaden the already accepted concept that Latin America should be a nuclear-weapon-free zone and that Latin American co-operation should be extended to the joint determination expressed by the Governments of Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, Peru and Venezuela to reduce the levels of conventional weapons and put an end to their acquisition for offensive war purposes, so as to devote all possible resources to the eco-

conomic and social development of each and every one of the countries of Latin America.

62. The circumstance that Latin America, too, has been painfully dragged into the arms race led President Pérez of Venezuela to propose to the heads of State signatories to the Declaration of Ayacucho<sup>6</sup> that their Foreign Ministers should meet informally in New York during this special session, as indeed they have already done, to explore the possibility of all Latin American countries undertaking a commitment in regard to conventional weapons. The announcement of the proposal of President Pérez, brought to the Assembly by Mr. Consalvi in his address at the 2nd meeting, gained the enthusiastic and resolute support of the Government of Panama, which had participated in the decision taken that the Foreign Ministers of the Governments signatories to the Ayacucho Declaration should meet again next June to consider further the Venezuelan proposal.

63. For the non-aligned countries, competition between the United States and the Soviet Union to arrive at world hegemony is fraught with risks and dangers that could lead to a nuclear holocaust. Mankind is living in a situation of a balance of terror, which is evidenced by the menace of a fearful uncertainty. The United Nations, which came into being at the end of the Second World War as a system of co-operation and not of confrontation, has not been able to operate successfully the machinery provided in the San Francisco Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security. Proof of that is to be found in the tragic conflicts between the Arab nations and the State of Israel in the Near East, the Calvary of the Palestinian nation with its inalienable rights trampled under foot, the infamous aggression and untold suffering to which the people of Lebanon have been subjected, the tragic occupation of the Republic of Cyprus by the illegitimate action of the Turkish army, the repugnant subjugation of Namibia by the racist régime of Pretoria, the abominable imposition of *apartheid* at the expense of the vast native majority in South Africa, the arbitrary and obstinate persistence of the illegal minority régime of Ian Smith in preventing the peoples of Zimbabwe from exercising their right to self-determination and independence, the bloody conflicts among sister nations on the African continent and the reprehensible colonialist cells which still persist as hateful blots on the Latin American map.

64. It has been rightly said in this hall that to achieve disarmament we must first relax tensions. However, for small- and medium-sized Powers those words will be no more than a mere demagoguery unless we realize that tensions can only be alleviated and made to disappear if just solutions are applied to international disputes and conflicts, with due respect for the principles of international law regarding friendship and co-operation among States. That, of course, implies the will not to have recourse to the use of force in international relations and the operation of effective machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes. There is no doubt that that is the best way to eradicate aggression and intervention, which are today the worst enemies of disarmament.

<sup>6</sup> Signed at Lima on 9 December 1974.

65. Bearing in mind the close relationship which we all know exists between development, peace and international security, and economic development, the delegation of Panama will make a special endeavour to work for the success of the efforts made at this special session to establish a United Nations international fund for disarmament and development, with the support of the most important military Powers and to which all countries should contribute within the limits of their national possibilities.

66. No one doubts that disarmament would contribute to economic and social development by promoting peace, reducing international tensions, and releasing resources which could be used for peaceful purposes. We therefore agree with the group of experts under the chairmanship of Mrs. Alva Myrdal, which in 1972 studied the economic and social consequences of disarmament<sup>7</sup> and pointed out that the resources thus released would promote the two principal objectives of the world policies for economic and social development: raising the standard of living of all peoples and reducing the differences in income both within countries and among countries; it was also emphasized that in the poor countries the most important objective was to reduce poverty and generalized unemployment. Those were the words of the Myrdal report, which we endorse.

67. The goals of international disarmament must therefore be kept before the peoples' minds in view of their direct relationship with the goals of economic and social development for the inhabitants of all countries. That would encourage world public opinion to work in favour of agreements for disarmament on the bilateral, regional and international levels.

68. I would be failing in a duty of conscience were I not to express in this hall, before concluding, the general feeling of admiration among the Latin American countries—and particularly in Panama—for Yugoslavia's international policy and for the person of Mr. Mojsov, who has earned so many laurels in the service of the best causes of the peoples of the world.

69. Furthermore, the delegation of Panama wishes to join in the enthusiastic expressions of praise so richly deserved by Mr. Carlos Ortiz de Rozas for the outstanding work he performed as Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament. We congratulate him not only for having impeccably organized this historic session but also for having—with the assistance of the members of that Committee—drafted this magnificent report [A/S-10/1], which, with its extensive annexes, constitutes the fundamental basis for our work and, we are sure, will result in future United Nations achievements in disarmament. We could have expected no less from an intellectual of his stature who follows the best legal traditions of Latin America and the permanent teachings of the great Argentine luminaries who, like Calvo and Drago, continue to project their beneficial doctrines throughout the American continent.

70. Mr. CONTEH (Sierra Leone): Today we are meeting

<sup>7</sup> See *Disarmament and Development* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.IX.1).

in the third of three special sessions of the General Assembly held in 1978: the first was the eighth special session on Lebanon, the second was the ninth on Namibia, and this one on disarmament.

71. There is a constant and disturbing motif underlining all the issues before those special sessions of the General Assembly: from the trials and tribulations of Lebanon to the oppressive, callous and inhuman denial of the right of self-determination to the people of Namibia, namely, the peace and security of our world. It is therefore fitting that this tenth special session of the General Assembly is devoted to the issue of disarmament—for the frightening accumulation of armaments in the arsenals of the nations of the world which has triggered the clamant calls for disarmament is but a manifestation of the insecurity and the threat to the peace of our world.

72. May I also take this opportunity to register our appreciation to Mr. Carlos Ortiz de Rozas of Argentina, the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament, for the work of that Committee which has resulted in the draft document to be considered by this special session. It is therefore gratifying to note that, as a mark of appreciation, the Assembly at the start of our present deliberations elected Mr. Ortiz de Rozas as Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the current session. Our appreciation also goes to the other 54 States members of the Preparatory Committee.

73. We are meeting at the tenth special session of the General Assembly, the first special session of the United Nations devoted to disarmament; it is also in a historical continuum, the second global conference on the question of disarmament. The precursor of this special session was the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments held at Geneva in 1932. With painful irony, the world was engulfed in a global conflagration barely seven years after that meeting—an event that was no doubt the direct sequel of the unbridled accumulation of arms by States in their arsenals.

74. Dare we express the hope that the same fate will not attend our present meeting? Mankind can ill-afford it this time, for next time round there will be no United Nations to rise Phoenix-like from the ash of the nuclear debris and, indeed, no victors.

75. This time we are meeting at the behest of the non-aligned movement, the bulk of which is made up of developing countries. This session marks the culmination of 17 years of incessant call for a world disarmament conference. We see a certain irony that this conference is only now being convened at the closing phase of a decade designated as the Disarmament Decade. Therefore we can only express the hope that it will mark the beginning of redoubled efforts by the world community to tackle this ever-spiralling spectacle of the armaments race.

76. Developing countries, like developed countries, have security requirements and there is undoubtedly a distinct correlation between security and disarmament. To the de-

veloped countries, particularly the super-Powers which still indulge in sterile military competition, the arms race is closely linked with security. For them security is seen in terms of preserving the *status quo* as reflected in their respective clashing ideologies. For the developing countries, on the other hand, security connotes the stabilization of their societies destabilized by the inadequacy of resources to meet their basic human requirements—a situation regrettably compounded by years of colonial domination and benign neglect.

77. In a world in which a strong military capability and the readiness to meet any external threat are traditionally believed to be the bulwark of a State's security, the issue of disarmament assumes significant proportions. To a nation State, the effects of disarmament on its security—the security of its independence and sovereignty, the integrity of its national territory and its well-being—and on its ability to maintain its position and influence internationally, are fundamental and important. Therefore, the issue has at one and the same time the twin aspects of national and international implications. Consequently, it is important for all nations of the world, large and small, rich and poor, to be given full joint responsibility for disarmament—for that is the only means by which the peace of the world will be preserved and endure.

78. During the League of Nations era the primary concern in relation to armaments was their production and limitation. In contrast, we are confronted in our time in the United Nations with the imperious necessity of disarming. Because of the tremendous scientific and technological advances which man has made over the years, advances that were themselves spawned by his pursuit of his genius for death and destruction, the issue of disarmament has come to assume an eerie poignancy, for on it may well depend the survival of the human species as we know it on this planet.

79. Apart from passing references, in some of its provisions, to disarmament and armaments, no particular weapon or class of weapon as such is mentioned expressly in the Charter of the United Nations as being either a permissible or prohibited means of the use of force in those limited cases where the Organization concedes the need for force. It was ironical, therefore, that, just as the world's statesmen were putting the finishing touches to the Organization dedicated "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", mankind was on the threshold of unleashing the most devastating, fearsome and, indeed, loathsome weapons system ever invented, namely, that of nuclear weapons. To its credit the Assembly, realizing that this development could have dire consequences for mankind, rallied to the challenge, and the first unanimous resolution of the General Assembly was that atomic energy should be placed under international control and that nuclear weapons should be eliminated from national arsenals.

80. It is, therefore, not surprising that, in the context of disarmament, considerable attention is focused on this weapons system in all its forms: a position that underscores the dominant theme of the 1899 and 1907 Hague Conventions on the Laws of War, namely, that belligerents



do not have an unlimited right as to the choice of means of injuring the enemy.

81. Furthermore, although there is not yet any international treaty expressly prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons, it is our view that certain actions both of the United Nations and of individual Member States demonstrate a strong repugnance for this weapons system. On 24 November 1961 the General Assembly itself, in the Declaration on the Prohibition of the Use of Nuclear and Thermonuclear Weapons [*resolution 1653 (XVI)*], formally declared that the use of such weapons was impermissible. In our view, the prohibition on the placing of these weapons in certain regions or environments, the express prohibition on testing them in certain environments, and the prohibition on their transfer or proliferation all cast grave doubts on the legality of the use of this weapons system, for whatever purpose.

82. In the light of this, the Sierra Leone Government views with grave disquiet attempts to refine this despicable weapons system and to make it more sophisticated when efforts should be exerted towards its elimination from national arsenals. It was therefore with a feeling of numb disbelief and anguish that the Government of Sierra Leone received the news that South Africa was on the threshold of acquiring weapons of this class. This will not only negate the possibility of making Africa a denuclearized zone, it will also put in the hands of the oppressive *apartheid* régime a cruel and callous weapon for blackmail against all mankind. Those entities, whether States or corporations, which brought about this development bear tremendous responsibility, and we call for appropriate action from the special session to meet this inhuman threat to the peace and security of the African continent.

83. Today the world is weighed down by an ever-mounting arms bill—it stands currently, we are told, at \$400 billion—and by the frightening and awesome diversion of scarce resources to new weapons systems, marking the perfecting of man's genius for death and destruction. This is in stark contrast to the ennobling intentions of the founding fathers of our Organization, who committed it to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the promotion of this objective with the least diversion, for armament purposes, of the world's human and economic resources. My delegation is therefore convinced that, though disarmament may have an organic link with national security and national interest, States can pursue this objective as the aim of their foreign policy within the co-operative synthesis embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

84. The relationship between disarmament and international economic development has been emphasized on a number of occasions in various international forums. The fears and suspicions engendered by the arms race provide a veritable barrier to the natural exchange between countries, in respect of trade, the flow of capital, the transfer of knowledge, including technical know-how and, indeed, the very human mobility that is necessary for cooperation on our planet. We are aware of the fact that armament industries play a major role in the economies of industrial-

ized countries. We are aware also that the effect of disarmament on the national labour market would be considerable. Large numbers of workers in the armaments industry, as well as a number of highly trained and specialized research and development scientists, would have to be diverted to the civilian sector of the economy. We submit that the resources currently devoted to the arms industries could be profitably used for peaceful purposes. We are confident that this challenge is not beyond the ability of the industrialized countries. We submit, further, that there is more security in peaceful co-operation than there is in the balance of terror which the world has had to endure.

85. Current world armaments expenditure is estimated at about \$400 billion annually, and of that total expenditure about 85 per cent is that of the nine major industrialized countries. The level of investment in armaments and in research into and development of sophisticated weapons systems gives us cause for grave concern. It is quantitatively and qualitatively out of proportion to its consumption of the world's natural resources that are already at a low level; it is also ruthlessly efficient in its diversion of the most skilled and gifted people from the world's manpower resources. This diversion of material and human resources has consequently put constraints on the establishment of the much-heralded new international economic order and, in turn, those constraints have inhibited the social development which is so necessary in both the developed and the third-world nations.

86. We are told that the armed forces of the world are the major consumers of a wide range of non-renewable resources. We are told also that in the world there are 22 million men under arms and that 25 per cent of the most skilled and gifted scientists are employed in military weapon research and development establishments. Further, it is estimated that 60 million people are engaged in military-related activities.

87. The diversion of this immense number of men and material resources from peaceful socio-economic activities to military and para-military activities, is sterile, unproductive, callous and wicked.

88. Frequent attention has also been drawn in particular to the impact of the armaments race on the utilization of scientific potential, namely, on expenditure on military research and development. In the latest United Nations report on development and disarmament, it is estimated that \$25 billion out of \$60 billion are devoted to para-military research and development in general, for the world as a whole. Military research and development activities sponsored by Governments consume in the developed market economies from 30 to 50 per cent of all States' expenditure on science in general.

89. For the poor and needy in the developed and developing countries alike, who cannot meet their basic needs because scarce national resources are diverted to the manufacture or purchase of armaments, the present arms race can rightfully be seen as a callous and insensitive denial of their fundamental human right to a decent standard of living, and for them the need for urgent disarmament becomes imperative.

90. Another area in which the armaments race inhibits both national and international co-operative effort is in the field of education and health. In the world today it is estimated that there are as many armed services-related personnel as there are teachers. Perhaps it is pertinent at this stage to remind ourselves of the importance of health to peace and security, as this fact is vividly brought to us in the preambular paragraphs of the Constitution of the World Health Organization:

"The States Parties to this Constitution declare in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations that the following principles are basic to happiness, harmonious relations and security of all peoples: . . . The health of all peoples is fundamental to the attainment of peace and security and is dependent upon the fullest co-operation of individuals and States."

91. In other words, the absence of a state of good health is as much a threat to international peace and security as indeed is the armaments race.

92. Yet global public health expenditure amounts to about 60 per cent of military expenditure on a world-wide basis and resources devoted to medical research are only one fifth of those devoted to military research and development. Poignantly reminding us further is the fact that the World Health Organization in 10 years spent \$83 million on its programme to eradicate smallpox. By contrast, the amount of \$83 million is hardly enough to purchase a single strategic bomber. And yet again, the World Health Organization malaria eradication programme is estimated at \$450 million. This programme is doomed for lack of funding, but it is ironic and sad to note that the entire cost of this programme over the years corresponds to only one third of the cost of each of the new *Trident* nuclear submarines.

93. Moreover, man's industrial activities intensified by the armaments race have not only threatened the ecological balance of our environment, but have also threatened the quality of life in it. Environmental degradation and deprivation can no longer be confined to times of war, as indeed peacetime military manoeuvres and nuclear tests account for considerable deprivation and the degradation of our environment.

94. Furthermore, there is now an evident causal link between disarmament and under-development. In terms of manpower, the diversion from socio-economic priorities of a large number of men and resources to military and paramilitary activities creates a ripple effect on an already cruelly imperfect and unjust international economic system and impedes the establishment of a new international economic order which is admitted on all sides to be necessary today.

95. Sierra Leone cannot remain indifferent to the threat to the survival of the human race caused by the intensive armaments race. In this connexion, we should like to submit the following proposals for consideration within the framework of the draft declaration and programme of action that will emanate from this special session.

96. First, that the NATO and Warsaw Pact Powers, the two major competing military blocs, enter into immediate negotiations with a view to achieving mutual force reduction. We note that the Vienna talks now in progress aim merely at deployment of forces and not at their actual reduction in terms of numbers.

97. Secondly, that the strategic arms limitation talks now going on between the United States and the Soviet Union be widened to include all nuclear power States.

98. Thirdly, we call for the immediate dismantling of all foreign military bases, for we believe that these bases are an insidious and pernicious means of fuelling the arms race.

99. Fourthly, we call upon all members of the international community to enter into immediate negotiations with a view to concluding a general treaty on disarmament.

100. Fifthly, we call upon all States to desist forthwith from developing new types of weapons systems.

101. Sixthly, we call upon the great Powers to undertake to phase out their military research and development programmes as soon as practicable.

102. Seventhly, we support the call for the establishment of an international disarmament organization. We believe, in line with the aphorism, that war is too serious a business to be left to generals. Disarmament is too serious to be left with the super-Powers alone. The establishment of such an organization would reflect the genuine concern for disarmament of the whole international community.

103. Eighthly, we call for the conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty to halt the spread of this weapons system and the destruction of present nuclear stockpiles in the arsenals of nations.

104. In conclusion, we would underscore the proposition that man is the measure of all things and that he must be allowed to live in a fear-free world—a world without the possibility of war.

105. Let us depart from this session with the words of the prophet Isaiah ringing in our ears and spurring us to action: ". . . nations . . . shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." (*Isaiah ii.4.*)

106. Mr. HAMMADI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, once again it is my pleasure to extend to you the heartfelt congratulations of the Iraqi delegation on your election as President of the General Assembly. It is particularly fitting that a distinguished son of Yugoslavia should preside over the deliberations of this special session devoted to the most crucial subject for mankind and its future on this planet—the subject of disarmament. For it was none other than your great President, a legend in his lifetime, who first proposed the convening of this session at the fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of

Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo in August 1976. We of the non-aligned movement take particular pride, therefore, in seeing you again at the helm of the General Assembly.

107. Perhaps the most distinguishing and alarming feature of the subject before this special session is the discrepancy between what is said and professed about disarmament and what is actually done about it. On the one hand, for over 30 years meeting after laborious meeting inside and outside the United Nations has been devoted to the ever-proliferating aspects of disarmament. These deliberations have been especially prolific in producing resolution upon resolution and decision upon decision. On the other hand, the world has witnessed, instead of disarmament, a relentless arms race which puts the very sanity of man in serious question. Only a few years ago speakers from this rostrum were expressing their, and their peoples', deep anxiety and alarm over the fact that total expenditures on armaments had reached \$200 billion. Today that figure has reached \$400 billion, at a time when millions of people live in underdevelopment, poverty, disease, illiteracy and widening inequity. Is it going too far to question the sanity of that community when a fraction of this largely wasted expenditure could transform the lot of hundreds of millions of human beings and make the world a much safer place in which all mankind can live?

108. Nor can we regard this tragic state of affairs in the field of disarmament in isolation from the other monumental tasks facing the family of nations. In recent years the non-aligned countries have taken the lead in persuading the Assembly that the major problems facing a shrinking world cannot be solved in separate compartments but must be tackled together and comprehensively. Nor can they be solved by any country or group of countries, no matter how great or powerful. Only an approach based on the recognized need for the transformation of the entire fabric of international relations, from an inherited system no longer adequate to a new political, economic and social order designed for a future free from domination and glaring injustices has any chance of success. But success in this difficult, complex and long process is hardly conceivable unless we arrest and reverse the insane arms race and the increasing tendency to rely on brute force as the major factor in international relations. Thirty-two years of regarding "national security" and "vital national interests" as supreme have not increased the security of an ever more interdependent world.

109. That is why my delegation looks upon this session as a historic opportunity. The peoples of the world have placed much hope on the results of our deliberations and they can truly mark a turning point. The technical data, scientific evidence and identification of the multitude of issues are before us in abundance. What is needed is sufficient political will, statesmanship and the courage to take decisions and reach agreements long overdue. Our primary concern and highest priority relate to the need for effective and enforceable measures in the field of nuclear disarmament. The nuclear Powers are called upon to reach concrete agreements designed to stop the nuclear arms spiral and begin the process of actual disarmament instead of

confining their negotiations to proposals for limiting the increase and further sophistication of nuclear weapons. Renewed and vigorous steps must be taken for the widest implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2372 (XXII), annex] and of the various resolutions relating to denuclearized zones. We also believe in the urgent need to put a final end to all nuclear and thermonuclear tests and a complete ban on chemical and biological weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly.

110. The Preparatory Committee, on which Iraq had the honour to serve, has done an excellent job. It has submitted to the General Assembly a very useful report identifying many areas of agreement as a basis for our discussions on the draft declaration, the programme of concrete measures and the machinery for future disarmament negotiations.

111. My delegation is hopeful that the Assembly will, over the next few weeks, be able to overcome many of the remaining obstacles and differences of views on some of the outstanding issues involved in the most complex problem facing the international community. Our peoples expect no less of us; we must come out of this session with substantial and concrete results and we must build a solid new foundation for rapid progress in future negotiations on disarmament.

112. Talking about disarmament inevitably leads us to talk about the deterioration of the situation in the Middle East. We are quite certain that the United Nations is aware of the fact that the Zionist entity is the cause of the explosive situation in the region. It has consistently threatened security and peace in that region, with a view to consolidating its aggression and strengthening its unholy alliance with imperialism. This requires that practical measures be taken against that entity by treating it in the same way as the racist régime in South Africa and the white minority régime in Zimbabwe, isolating it internationally and putting pressure on imperialist Powers, especially the United States, to limit their continued support for Zionism and its expansionist aims. That is especially so since it has been established that this American support is the most important factor behind the arrogance of the Zionist entity, its aggression against the Palestinian people and its denial of their national rights and just cause.

113. The General Assembly should bear in mind the aggression against southern Lebanon, which took place last March, when Zionist forces swept through southern Lebanon, an independent Member State of the United Nations. It should also bear in mind that the Zionists used aircraft, tanks, naval vessels, rockets and other weapons provided by the United States of America. The most lethal weapon they used in invading southern Lebanon was the cluster bomb of American manufacture, which was provided by the United States and caused the death of hundreds of innocent civilians.

114. We must recall that the Zionist invasion of Lebanon did not aim only at liquidating the resistance of the Pales-

tinian people but also at achieving more far-reaching expansionist ambitions. We are aware of the ultimate expansionist goals of Zionism towards which this racist movement has incessantly worked. It has used Western-American imperialism, exerted pressure and blackmail, as well as threatened to bring about the defeat of candidates for the United States presidency and membership of the Congress until it attained its goals. Zionism continues these same policies in disregard of the United Nations and world opinion. Zionism obtains encouragement to carry out its aggression from imperialist leaders of certain capitalist countries. It also makes promises of political and election benefits to those leaders in exchange for their financial aid, arms, political support and even justification of its raids and aggression.

115. We know that Zionist armaments have far outstripped those of many big Powers, thanks to the support it gets from the United States and to the latter's continued support in enabling it to expand at the expense of the Arab countries and to guard imperialist interests in that area. In this regard, there has been no difference between all of the successive American administrations over the past 30 years, whether in war or in peace. It has become an established fact that Zionism and the United States of America are two sides of the same coin and that their aim is the consolidation of settler colonialism in the Arab world.

116. Available figures indicate that American aid to Zionism has equalled in value all aid given by the United States to the corrupt régime of South Viet Nam before and during the Viet Nam war. Thus the Zionist entity has today become the strongest power in the area, and it continues to demand more advanced weapons used only by NATO and the United States army.

117. Moreover, the Zionist armaments industry has developed, to include jet aircraft, tanks, rockets, military vessels and electronic weapons.

118. Figures also indicate that the Zionist military budget has become one of the biggest budgets in the world. It ranks first among the world's budgets in the ratio of expenditure to gross national income. Whereas military expenditures in 1966 amounted to 10 per cent of its total gross national income, the military budget for 1974-1975 reached \$3.7 billion—that is, more than one third of its gross national income for that year. The military budget for 1977 reached 4.1 billion Israeli pounds, as against 54.5 billion for 1978. Military imports for last year totalled \$1.3 billion, whereas they are estimated to reach \$1.6 billion for this year.

*Mr. Mojsov (Yugoslavia) resumed the Chair.*

119. One phenomenon that is worthy of attention is that the militarization of the Zionist society and the military orientation of its economy is designed only to serve its expansionist aims. To that end, the Zionist entity has developed military industries as well as established new war industries which will reduce rampant unemployment and establish settlements with specific military functions. Naturally, when the volume of Zionist military industrial pro-

duction surpassed local needs, Zionist planning turned to the outside world, looking for new markets and expanding traditional markets for the sale of arms, ammunition and a variety of military equipment. The increase of exports, of course, provides the Zionist entity with more income to be utilized for the expansion of its military industry and the purchase of new advanced weapons, thus perpetuating its racist and expansionist policies in the Arab world.

120. American military aid to the Zionist entity is not confined to conventional armaments, but has also enabled it to acquire nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery. The Zionist entity has, since the fifties, established a nuclear industry and overcome the difficulties of acquiring uranium. It did so by various means, including local production of uranium, the theft of uranium by well-trained bands or its purchase from imperialist Powers and the racist régime in South Africa. The Zionists are now able to manufacture nuclear weapons, and it has been established that they now have a number of such weapons. This has been confirmed by certain top officials of the United States Government by members of the Congress and officials of the Central Intelligence Agency; it is also the general assessment of the European, American and even the Zionist press. A spokesman for the Weizmann Institute was quoted as saying that the Zionist entity has become the eleventh State capable of manufacturing a nuclear bomb, has the means to deliver that bomb and is engaged in manufacturing missiles to carry nuclear warheads.

121. There is another very serious situation which deserves the attention of the General Assembly because it involves a grave risk which would increase tension in the southern part of the African continent and complicate the situation, thus endangering the security and stability of the area and violating the rights of the indigenous inhabitants. By that I mean the collusion between the Zionist entity and the racist régime in South Africa, because of the racist character, policy of settler colonialism and aggressive designs which characterize both entities. Such collusion takes various forms, including the following:

122. First, military co-operation, as manifested in the training of the white minority forces to increase their fighting capability and enable them to strike at the African liberation movements, thwart their armed struggle and suppress national uprisings. This is done by developing the formations of racist forces, by sending Zionist officers and non-commissioned officers to South Africa or by sending white soldiers from South Africa to occupied Palestine for military training and for training in fighting techniques. The Zionists themselves have admitted that their forces and mercenaries have participated in military operations carried out by the racist régime in South Africa against Angola.

123. Secondly, the Zionist entity provides the racists in South Africa with ammunition and traditional, advanced automatic and electronic weapons, as well as missiles, in exchange for uranium and gold.

124. Thirdly, the two entities carry out joint enterprises and projects to develop the armaments industry and in-

crease its efficacy. They exchange technical expertise under special agreements.

125. Fourthly, there is nuclear co-operation between the two entities. Whereas the Zionists provide the white racists with nuclear technology, they receive from them uranium in exchange. Co-operation between them is closest in this field.

126. Fifthly, the Zionist entity provides political support for the white minority in defiance of the Security Council which has approved a ban on weapons, ammunition and technical aid to the Vorster régime. The Zionists have never complied with that ban and continue to strengthen their special relations with the white racists.

127. Sixthly, the Zionist entity has failed to accede to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 2106 A (XX)] and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII)] both of which were adopted by the General Assembly several years ago.

128. Seventhly, the two entities maintain growing commercial and cultural relations and exchange diplomatic representation. They also have a joint ministerial committee entrusted with the task of establishing closer relations between them in all fields.

129. In drawing attention to the Zionist danger surrounding the Arab region by reason of the escalation of its armaments, we call upon the General Assembly to reflect on the real aims of the Zionist entity which lie behind that escalation. The Iraqi delegation urges all nations to live up to their responsibilities and promote the maintenance of peace and security throughout the world by putting an end to the escalation of Zionist armaments. The Iraqi delegation has submitted to the General Assembly a study covering this and disclosing certain aspects of Zionist armaments which we hope will bring about a greater awareness of the dangers involved. It is of vital importance that this arming be halted at its various sources, that technological expertise be withheld from the Zionist entity and that it be prevented from transferring its technology to the racist régime in South Africa.

130. Mr. NGUYEN VAN HIEU (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, permit me, on behalf of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, to extend to you our warm congratulations.

131. This special session convened in accordance with an initiative taken at a summit conference of the non-aligned countries held 17 years ago—an initiative that was approved by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session [resolution 31/189 B] constitutes without any doubt an event of the greatest significance, a new step forward in the struggle of the peoples of the world for a lasting peace.

132. Billions of human beings on our planet aspire ardently to live in peace and security. But war has constantly caused suffering and incalculable destruction in history and

the life of peoples. Nevertheless, war is not inevitable. Today the forces of war are being repelled, the united forces of the people of the world are proving perfectly capable of safeguarding and consolidating a just peace for all.

133. When we talk of disarmament, we naturally come to consider the other side of the coin, namely, the arms race which poses such a grave threat to world peace and to the survival of the whole of mankind because of the terrible destructive power of the weapons involved. A question arises. Who is stepping up armaments, and for what reason?

134. The history of the most recent world wars has been very instructive; colonial ambitions leading to rivalry in the division of the colonies between the imperialist countries at the beginning of the century were the root cause of the First World War; 20 years later, the same causes led to the outbreak of the Second World War, which once again inflicted on mankind devastating material damage and loss of human life. Since then wars have continued to occur here and there in the world. Most often these wars break out at a time and in parts of the world where the forces of aggression and international forces of reaction are attempting to eliminate national liberation movements, to prevent the exercise of the right to self-determination, and to curb the development of the freedom and independence of peoples which have chosen the course of progress in their domestic and foreign policies. That is why imperialism and colonialism have never been willing to give up the arms race. They issue appeals for disarmament, but in actual practice they never follow them up by deeds.

135. In the face of this situation, characterized as it is by both a quantitative and qualitative intensification of the arms race, the constant increase in production and the further refinement of new arms of mass destruction such as neutron bombs and radiological weapons, the peoples of the world have good grounds for being concerned and for stepping up their vigilance. But objective and irrefutable facts demonstrate that where there is colonialism there is a national liberation struggle; where there is aggression, a war against aggression is being organized.

136. At this very time, millions upon millions of people throughout the world are unable to enjoy the benefits of peace. They are obliged to take up arms to defend themselves against the imperialist aggressors and their agents solely in order to be able to live independently and in freedom and to be masters of their own destinies and of their countries.

137. It is in full consciousness of what is at stake and what is involved that the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam recalls these facts, because our people was the victim for 30 years of weapons of all kinds used by aggressors in their ambition to enslave us and to use our country as a field and our countrymen as subjects of experimentation for their modern weapons, including the most deadly ones, such as fragmentation bombs, chemical weapons and so forth. But the Vietnamese people waged a persevering and victorious struggle in the course of two terrible wars in order to win back national independence, freedom and peace.



138. Our own experience and that drawn from the success of other peoples entitle us to assert that the struggle for peace, against war and against the arms race is closely bound up with the struggle for national independence and freedom. That is why, in our view, the problem of disarmament—disarmament as a means of struggling for the maintenance of peace—should be based on the principles of respect for the independence, freedom and sovereignty of peoples.

139. The peoples of the world ardently desire disarmament, but as long as the imperialists fail to disarm and continue their arms race, as long as they go on fomenting wars of aggression in order to enslave and to exploit the peoples of the world, we must remain vigilant and strengthen our defence capacity so that we can, if the need arises, repel imperialist aggressive ventures against our countries.

140. Our Government and our people support the fight for disarmament and believe it to be an important specific measure for the safeguarding of international peace and security, of peaceful coexistence between States with different political régimes and in the struggle against oppression, exploitation and unjust wars.

141. General and complete disarmament, were it to come about, would constitute a guarantee for solid and lasting peace. But this is a long and difficult struggle because imperialism and colonialism will never, of their own free will, give up their ambitions to enslave peoples nor the arms race itself. Shoulder to shoulder with the millions upon millions of peace-loving peoples throughout the world, our country will persist in this fight until we attain the final goal, which is general and complete disarmament.

142. The process of the limitation and halting of the arms race which will lead to general and complete disarmament, like the process of détente and of decolonization, embraces a great number of measures, all interconnected. At the same time, it is important for our States to be sufficiently aware of this and for the broad masses of all countries to take an active part in this fight.

143. We live in a world where all questions are intimately linked. That is why this struggle to avert a nuclear war should not be limited to a few countries while others also possess nuclear weapons. Nor is it right to impose limitations solely in respect of certain links, while in other aspects the threats of a new world war remain real.

144. Measures to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons and the manufacture of neutron bombs, to halt the manufacture and to prohibit the use of all weapons of mass destruction and to prohibit the production of new conventional weapons having great destructive power would constitute, once carried out, an important contribution to the cause of the consolidation of international peace and security. We hope that very soon positive agreements on disarmament measures will be concluded. However, in the light of experience in international political affairs, we believe that disarmament measures can be positive only if they are oriented towards general and complete disarmament,

do not preserve supremacy for imperialist and reactionary forces and do not tie the hands of peoples in their struggle for self-defence or liberation, in their endeavours to build and to develop a peaceful society. If we do not want all this to remain a dead letter, it is up to each country to demonstrate the will to abide by commitments that have been undertaken.

145. The establishment of zones of peace and denuclearization should be encouraged, but it is important to bear in mind the opinion of the countries concerned in the zones in question. We vigorously support the appeal of the ministerial meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, held recently at Havana, which called upon the General Assembly at this special session devoted to disarmament to demand the unconditional dismantling of foreign military bases that still exist in so many places—in Asia, in Africa and in Latin America—in order that the peoples of those regions may be assured of the full and free exercise of their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence.

146. Very different views have been expressed as to the limitation of sales and the transfer of conventional weapons. With regard to this problem we believe that it is necessary to adopt an appropriate attitude in each specific case. Thus the solidarity with and support for the patriotic movements, including armed struggles for national liberation which have been shown, have long been a question of conscience and obligation for all peace-loving and justice-loving humanity. In this connexion we take great pleasure in paying a sincere tribute to Cuba, as a socialist country and an active member of the non-aligned movement, for its effective support and assistance to the peoples struggling for their national liberation. However, one opinion which is gaining ground daily is vigorously opposed to the supply of weapons to international reactionary forces, to the forces of aggression and racial discrimination. We are convinced that there are very few among us who approve of the sending of arms to Israel to enable it to occupy Arab lands illegally, to trample under foot the fundamental national rights of the Palestinian people and to permit fresh crimes in southern Lebanon. There are very few who approve of the supplying of arms to the Vorster and Smith cliques so that they can massacre South African patriots and the patriots of Namibia and Zimbabwe and commit aggression against the front-line countries in that area. In that context we express condemnation of imperialist activities designed to create a situation of tension in Korea, such as the recent joint military manoeuvres in South Korea, and the introduction into that part of the world of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction. We support the struggle of the Korean people for the immediate withdrawal of armed forces, arms and military equipment belonging to foreign Powers from South Korea.

147. With regard to machinery for disarmament, the wish to give an ever more authoritative voice on disarmament to the General Assembly is a legitimate aspiration. The convening of a world disarmament conference following this special session is necessary and would be extremely useful.

148. We are very pleased that, globally speaking, the balance of forces has changed in favour of peace-loving and progress-loving forces and in consequence to the detriment of the forces which are pursuing the arms race and the reckless adventures of unjust wars.

149. We are convinced that the cause of the struggle for disarmament, for independence, freedom, peace, democ-

racy and the social advancement of the peoples will progress with giant strides.

150. We express our sincere wish that this special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations will have the success we all hope for.

*The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.*