

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

TENTH SPECIAL SESSION

Official Records



2nd
PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, 24 May 1978,
at 3.35 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

AGENDA ITEM 8

General debate

1. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker in the general debate is the President of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. I have the great pleasure and personal privilege of welcoming Mr. Veselin Djuranović and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. DJURANOVIĆ (Yugoslavia):¹ Speaking in the general debate in this most important organ of the United Nations, may I first express the profound gratification of President Tito and of the Government and the peoples of Yugoslavia that this special session is taking place. I feel particularly privileged and honoured to be able to convey to this distinguished gathering the message of the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, one of the founders of the policy and movement of non-alignment on whose initiative this session has been convened. The message² reads as follows:

“Imbued with a sense of great obligation towards ourselves and towards the coming generations, we who experienced the horrors of two world wars and witnessed human suffering inflicted by the use and abuse of weapons in the post-war decades, are faced, at the present moment, with a particular responsibility towards history. For the first time since its inception, the world Organization has included in the agenda of its special session a problem on the solution of which directly depends the destiny of countries, nations and people, even the very survival of mankind. The United Nations has done so only today when the spectre of a potential nuclear catastrophe has become a real one, posing an ever present, rather than a remote, threat to the whole of mankind.

“As responsible statesmen and, above all, as human beings, we should strive to break out, at long last, of the vicious circle in which futile debates on disarmament have been for years reduced to seeking answers to the artificially created dilemma—whether disarmament paves the way to a confidence that does not exist or whether confidence established beforehand should render disarmament possible.

“In the meantime, before our very eyes, the arms race is continuing and gaining in intensity, reducing peace to a very fragile balance largely based on force, which engenders distrust and fear. Regretfully, the destructive force of the existing stockpiles of weapons is measured in terms of “how many times” a potential adversary and, by the same token, the whole of mankind can be destroyed. Yet, it is precisely on the curbing of the arms race that largely depend the over-all development of international relations, their substantive democratization, the changing of inherited and untenable inequalities and injustices prevailing in the present pattern of world economic relations and the finding of most appropriate answers to the imperative demands and tasks facing mankind. Our decisions and their implementation will determine whether mankind will be given the possibility to develop in a way that has become an historical necessity and which is the only road leading to the general security and progress of the human race, or whether this development will be denied or jeopardized. We have no right to ignore this alternative and our tremendous responsibilities.

“It is for this reason that the convening of this session of the General Assembly of the United Nations—on the initiative of the countries pursuing a policy of non-alignment, with the full understanding and support of the other States Members of the United Nations—provides an invaluable opportunity for mankind to come to its senses at the eleventh hour and solve a problem fraught with the gravest risks for peace and the fate of mankind, and to stop marking time, a tendency that has unfortunately been a characteristic feature of post-war efforts, and thereby, once and for all, to eliminate the very fear of nuclear and similar catastrophes.

“We welcome, of course, the results achieved so far in the field of limitation and control of certain types of armaments, as the first encouraging signs that have contributed to some extent toward creating the necessary more favourable climate in relations between the leading military Powers possessing the main arsenals of destructive power which threaten the whole of mankind. These results, however, are far from satisfying the legitimate strivings of all peoples who feel the need for an urgent consolidation of peace and security in the world and for undertaking more seriously, effectively and comprehensively the solution of accumulated pressing issues. And that implies the narrowing of the gap between the developed and the developing countries, the achievement of more harmonious and rapid development, the elimination of dire poverty, of illness and hunger, the solution of problems brought about by recession, inflation and

¹ Mr. Djuranović spoke in Serbo-Croatian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

² Subsequently circulated as document A/S-10/AC.1/1.

unemployment as well as other grave and complex problems of the world economy. At this point, I should like to lay particular stress on the need to establish the new international economic order. Unfortunately, all of this has been to a large extent rendered impossible or has been drastically hampered by the arms race, which has reached absurd proportions.

"How can we then close our eyes to the fact to which the non-aligned countries have been drawing attention ever since their first meeting at Belgrade 17 years ago, that the initiating of the process of disarmament would not only reduce the danger of a nuclear catastrophe but would also release vast resources for the most beneficial uses. The beginning of such a process of disarmament would ensure conditions for gradually overcoming the existing division into antagonistic military and political blocs, for intensifying the process of relaxation of international tensions and transforming this process into universal active and peaceful coexistence. This would, in turn, narrow the area for the pursuit of policies from a position of strength, for attacks on the freedom and independence of peoples and for interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

"It seems to me, therefore, that it is of utmost importance to ensure that competence and responsibility for solving problems of general disarmament, under effective international control, should become, as a result of this session, a substantive and integral part of the constant activity of the United Nations and not the prerogative of only some of its members who are most responsible for the present arms race.

"Precisely for this reason I should like to express my firm conviction that this special session, besides strengthening the role of the United Nations in actions aimed at genuine progress in disarmament, will contribute towards translating words into deeds, translating resolutions which are not implemented into concrete programmes and proposals, positions and decisions for the solving of this problem, which is the greatest source of danger confronting the present-day world. This calls for harmonious, resolute and energetic action on our part—in line with the true dimensions of the problems and dangers confronting us.

"I am convinced that present and future generations will not judge countries or statesmen by the destructive power of weapons in their possession, but rather by the genuine efforts and contribution towards stopping destruction and self-annihilation and towards placing human energy, wisdom and wealth in the service of the security and prosperity of all countries, of all peoples, in the service of the most humane ideals of man.

"I avail myself of this opportunity to extend to the participants in the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament my very best wishes for success in the fulfilment of their highly responsible tasks.

“(Signed) Josip BROZ TITO”

3. Proceeding from the message of President Tito, allow me to set forth the views of the Yugoslav Government on the most important aspects of the disarmament problem which is on the agenda of the present session.

4. As already pointed out on numerous occasions by other representatives of my country, as well as by representatives of other non-aligned countries, the very fact that the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament is being held and that all the States Members of the world Organization are participating in the debate on this question on an equal footing, provides the best proof of a new approach to the problem of disarmament, as well as of the desire of all nations that the whole international community should become actively involved in the search for adequate solutions to this problem.

5. It is the right and the duty of all States, as President Tito has pointed out in his message, to contribute to the efforts exerted in the field of disarmament and to participate in disarmament negotiations on an equal footing. However, all States do not bear equal responsibility for halting the arms race and for reducing its far-reaching implications, since they do not have equal capabilities. Therefore, it is indispensable that the major military Powers should take important initiatives towards strengthening international confidence and accelerating the process of disarmament. These processes should develop in an even and balanced manner and through a mutually acceptable sharing of responsibilities and ensurance of their respect, both among the nuclear Powers and between the nuclear and non-nuclear-weapon States.

6. The efforts exerted since the Second World War to reach agreement on general and complete disarmament, under strict and effective international control, and to initiate the disarmament process have not yielded positive results. A certain number of international agreements have been concluded concerning partial measures of arms control and the prevention of armaments in certain geographical areas where such weapons did not previously exist. However positive as initial steps, these agreements have not had any essential effect in slowing down the arms race.

7. Within the context of relaxation of international tensions, negotiations have been under way, for many years, between major military Powers and military alliances on different aspects of limitation and control of armaments. This encouraging and positive process is being jeopardized at present by the ever more intensive arms race and the distrust aroused by this race, which is assuming global dimensions.

8. We hope that negotiations within the framework of the second round of the strategic arms limitation talks will bring about the conclusion of definitive agreements and that they will mark a step forward in the efforts aimed at halting the nuclear arms race as well as gradually eliminating it. We expect the major nuclear Powers to proceed, immediately after the conclusion of these talks, to a third round of negotiations for the conclusion of a new agreement, which would envisage a more resolute limitation of production and reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons,

as well as other weapons of mass destruction. We consider that in this respect the nuclear Powers have particular responsibilities and an obligation towards the entire international community.

9. No real progress has yet been achieved in negotiations between the countries of NATO and the Warsaw Pact on the mutual reduction of armaments and forces in Central Europe, which have been going on in Vienna for several years. We consider that a positive outcome of these talks could provide a powerful incentive for further efforts to achieve an effective reduction of armed forces and armaments in other regions of the world.

10. Yugoslavia has always believed that all negotiations on disarmament contribute to the solving of this problem. However, it has warned against the danger of negotiations being conducted to the detriment of other countries and has emphasized that such negotiations and the results achieved are not the concern merely of the countries taking a direct part in negotiations, but also the concern of all other States. Considering that the United Nations, in accordance with the Charter, has a primary role and responsibility in the field of disarmament, we feel that in order to discharge this role effectively the world Organization should be kept appropriately informed of all negotiations and results achieved in the field of disarmament as well as of the difficulties and obstacles encountered along the way.

11. Yugoslavia will continue to support consistently the principle of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. However, Yugoslavia would like to draw attention once again to the fragility of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*, *annex*], since no results have been achieved so far in the implementation of one of its most important provisions relating to nuclear disarmament. In advocating the prevention of so-called horizontal proliferation, we cannot lose sight of the fact that vertical proliferation—whose protagonists are the major nuclear-weapon States—continues unabated. The credibility of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons depends, to a great extent, on whether all of its provisions are respected.

12. Adhering strictly to the provisions of that Treaty, Yugoslavia rejects the attempts aimed at the establishment of a complete monopoly by a small group of nuclear Powers over the transfer and utilization of nuclear technology and energy for peaceful purposes under the pretext of preventing nuclear proliferation. We should jointly endeavour to find solutions ensuring, without any discrimination, an unhindered transfer of nuclear technology and fuel and their utilization for the accelerated development of non-nuclear countries, primarily developing countries. Access to such technology and nuclear materials should be subject to universal international control on a non-discriminatory basis. Disarmament measures should be conceived in such a way as to ensure respect for the principle that the achievements of technology and science constitute a common heritage of the whole of mankind and cannot be the privilege of one country or a group of countries only. Discrimination in the utilization of the positive results of science and technology and technological discov-

eries is in fact practised to maintain inequitable relations between States. Yugoslavia considers that broad international co-operation is the best way to halt the further proliferation of nuclear weapons.

13. The General Assembly at this session, however, would not fulfil the expectations of the international community and world public opinion if it failed to adopt a programme of action containing specific measures aimed at halting the arms race and initiating the process of genuine disarmament as well as specifying the long-term tasks of the United Nations in that area, which should lead to the realization of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

14. Among these measures, we attach the greatest priority to those related to nuclear weapons. In this connexion, Yugoslavia, like many other countries, considers that the following urgent measures should be undertaken: the halting of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, and the cessation in the first place of the production and refinement of nuclear weapons as a prerequisite for the initiation of the disarmament process; the banning of all nuclear-weapon tests and the cessation of the production of fissionable materials for military purposes; the gradual reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery until they have been completely eliminated; and the prohibition of all other weapons of mass destruction.

15. The assumption by nuclear-weapon States of the obligation not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against States which have renounced such weapons and which have no nuclear weapons on their territories, as well as the adoption of other confidence-building measures, would greatly contribute to the creation of a favourable climate, without which it is not possible to initiate the process of disarmament.

16. We also attach importance to the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in different regions of the world, as well as to the establishment of a zone of peace and co-operation in the Indian Ocean. The creation of such zones, with the consent of the States concerned and with the obligation assumed by nuclear-weapon States to respect such a status for these zones would no doubt contribute to the creation of confidence among the States and the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We are particularly interested in the creation of conditions which will allow the Mediterranean to become a zone of peace and co-operation also, since that would be fully in accordance with the spirit both of the fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo in August 1976, and the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held at Helsinki. We shall likewise support the creation of zones of peace and co-operation in other regions of the world.

17. In attaching primary importance to nuclear weapons Yugoslavia considers that conventional weapons too give cause for serious and justified concern both because of the

enormous increase in their stockpiles and arsenals and because of their sophistication with respect to destructive power and precision, as a result of which many of these weapons have by their effects actually come closer to being weapons of mass destruction.

18. In view of the fact that since the Second World War numerous local wars and military interventions have been conducted exclusively with conventional weapons, we consider that increased attention should be devoted to the adoption of concrete measures in respect of this type of weapon. That is why Yugoslavia advocates the banning of the development, production and deployment of new types of conventional weapons and new systems of such weapons.

19. Negotiations on the limitation and gradual reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons should be held simultaneously with negotiations on measures for nuclear disarmament, particularly of nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant countries. Such negotiations should, of course, be conducted, wherever the necessary conditions exist, on a multilateral, regional or bilateral basis with a view to strengthening peace and security with a lower level of forces. Such negotiations are of particular significance for Europe, where the biggest concentration of arms and armed forces in the world is to be found today.

20. We furthermore believe that under contemporary conditions it is not possible to implement effective disarmament measures without adequate measures of control. However, we have never shared the view that verification should have priority over disarmament measures. If there is a political will to reach certain agreements, it will also be possible to adopt adequate measures for disarmament control.

21. Yugoslavia has always believed that the holding of a world disarmament conference could contribute to the creation of conditions for successful negotiations on outstanding issues, particularly on those which have been blocked for a long time by reason of a lack of goodwill on the part of some countries. The initiative for the convening of such a conference, as well as for the convening of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which is taking place only now, was taken by non-aligned countries as early as their first summit conference at Belgrade in 1961. However, before convening such a world conference it is necessary in our opinion to make adequate preparations and to ensure the participation of all the countries of the world in its work, particularly the participation of all nuclear-weapon States.

22. Yugoslavia is of the opinion that we should reaffirm here that the General Assembly is the highest political organ responsible for the adoption of decisions by the United Nations in the field of disarmament. With a view to strengthening the role of the United Nations in this sphere and in general, we believe that it is necessary to reconvene as soon as possible the Disarmament Commission of the United Nations and to specify at the present session the character and contents of its terms of reference. Furthermore, it is likewise necessary to establish a closer link between the United Nations in general and the Conference of

the Committee on Disarmament; to re-examine the existing composition and organizational set-up of the Conference with a view to harmonizing its activities with the changed conditions in the world and the increased interest of States in actively participating in the examination of disarmament issues. In reviewing the machinery for disarmament negotiations it is of particular importance to create conditions for the participation in the negotiating process of all nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant countries on a footing of equality and for more adequate representation of non-nuclear-weapon States.

23. The strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament should be secured also through the supervisory role of the General Assembly with regard to the implementation of the programme of action and measures to be adopted. To that end we believe that it would be useful to convene at appropriate intervals new special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. This would ensure continuity in the field of disarmament, while the General Assembly would be enabled to carry out the role entrusted to it by the Charter.

24. Allow me, finally, to point out once again that the success of the present session, as well as the success of further steps in the field of disarmament, depends on the readiness of all Member States, and of the great Powers in particular, to exert joint efforts with a view to halting the arms race and initiating the process of genuine disarmament. Yugoslavia, as an independent, socialist and non-aligned country, has always acted in favour of solving the problem of disarmament and creating a world in which all nations, freed from the scourge of war, will live in peace and prosperity, thus enabling them to use their knowledge and material resources for building a better and more just world. As President Tito stated at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly "disarmament, if viewed in a sufficiently broad perspective, is a specific form of changing the world in a positive sense, as well as of relations therein."³

25. Consequently we consider that there exist today the necessary conditions for solving the vital problem of mankind, namely, the problem of disarmament, and transforming existing international relations and that there is increased interest in this among the international community, world public opinion and all progressive and peace-loving forces in the world. At the same time there is growing awareness that neither the developing nor the developed industrial countries can achieve progress in conditions of an ever more intensive and irrational arms race. Therefore this session offers a unique opportunity for taking joint action and proceeding by common agreement to the solution of the problem of disarmament, a task to the accomplishment of which all States, both large and small, should contribute according to their capabilities. Of course, this special session cannot provide answers to all the questions related to disarmament. I am confident, however, that through a sincere and open dialogue in which all the States Members of the United Nations take part, profoundly aware that any delay in the taking of measures of genuine

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 868th meeting, para. 136.

disarmament increases the danger of a new world cataclysm, we shall be able to adopt such a course of action and decisions as will open up new prospects for a more secure future for mankind. This is our great obligation to present and future generations. United we can achieve everything.

26. Mr. President, in conclusion, may I say how gratified my delegation is that the General Assembly has entrusted you with the task of presiding over its special session devoted to disarmament. We regard your election to perform this responsible function as a special tribute paid to socialist and non-aligned Yugoslavia and to you personally, as one of its eminent diplomats.

27. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for the important statement he has just made and particularly for transmitting to the General Assembly the inspiring message of the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito.

28. The next speaker in the general debate is the Vice-President of the United States of America. I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency Mr. Walter Mondale and in inviting him to address the General Assembly.

29. Mr. MONDALE (United States of America): I am honoured to represent the President of the United States at this special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

30. The nations of the world are gathered here today to pursue the most vital and solemn obligation of the Charter of the United Nations, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". We meet today on the initiative of the non-aligned States. Those nations, comprising the bulk of the world's people, are particularly aware of the helplessness and hopelessness spawned by the arms race. I salute them for calling us together to confront this challenge.

31. And we applaud as well the dedication and contribution of the many non-governmental organizations represented here. The arms race touches the life of every man, woman and child in the world. The control of arms is too crucial to leave to a few Governments, or even all Governments, alone. You are our conscience and inspiration.

32. The voice of my beloved friend Hubert Humphrey was one of the earliest calling for arms control and disarmament. He spoke of the challenge we face today in these words: "Ours is a new era, one which calls for a new kind of courage. For the first time in the history of mankind, one generation literally has the power to destroy the past, the present and the future; the power to bring time to an end." If we do not curb the arms race we not only threaten the future, we impoverish the present.

33. While the people of the world cry for food and shelter, for medicine and education, the vast resources of our planet are being devoted more and more to the means of

destroying, instead of enriching, human life. The global cost of arms has reached \$400,000 million a year, almost \$1 million a minute for weapons, and over 26 million men and women are in military service around the world.

34. No world leader, no parent and no individual on this earth can live securely in the shadow of the growing world arsenal. But in the face of that mounting danger this conference is a symbol of hope. This special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament offers hope of greater progress towards disarmament and a world in which the threat of war is vastly diminished and the security of each nation more fully ensured.

35. The United States attaches major importance to the work of this session. Last October President Carter made a special trip here to emphasize America's strong commitment to arms control and disarmament. He stressed our willingness to work towards a world truly free of nuclear weapons. He pledged our total commitment to reversing the build-up of armaments and reducing trade in them.

36. Since that time the United States has been engaged in the broadest set of arms-control negotiations in our history. Together with our negotiating partners, the United States has developed an agenda more extensive than any nation has ever attempted. We are taking concrete action in 10 different areas—from nuclear-weapon accords to regional restraint and limits on conventional and unconventional arms such as anti-satellite and radiological weapons.

37. Before too long, the United States expects to take part in two historic achievements. For the first time since the dawn of the atomic era we will reach an agreement to reduce the combined total of strategic nuclear weapons delivery vehicles of the Soviet Union and the United States; and after two decades of negotiations, we will produce a comprehensive test ban controlling nuclear explosions by the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union.

38. The United States welcomes this opportunity to review what is being accomplished, to chart our course for the years ahead, and to rededicate ourselves to further success.

39. We are here to listen to the voices of other nations, as well as to raise our own in behalf of arms control and disarmament, for this session is a part of a process in which all of us must work together in a spirit of openness and mutual respect.

40. As President Kennedy once said, "genuine peace must be the product of many nations, the sum of many acts".

41. To avoid a world a decade hence in which three quarters of a trillion dollars is spent on arms, in which there are more nuclear-weapon States, we must have a programme that is visionary in concept and realistic in action.

42. Realism requires that we face squarely the central issue of the arms race—the concern of each nation and Gov-

ernment for the security of its people. If the arms race were driven by madmen, there would be no hope. Controls would be beyond the reach of rational discourse. Irrational forces no doubt play a part, but the arms race is driven by other considerations as well—technology, international tensions, legitimate security concerns.

43. The prudent policy of any nation must include both sufficient military preparedness and arms control efforts, if its security is to be assured. In the short run no nation can be asked to reduce its defences to levels below the threats it faces. But without arms control among nations, in the long run weapon will be piled on weapon, with a loss in security for all.

44. This meeting at the United Nations and the NATO summit meeting next week at Washington dramatize the determination of the United States to take every step possible towards greater arms control while at the same time assuring essential security needs.

45. Today, our defence budget is no larger in real terms than in the late 1950s, and it is less than it was a decade ago. But other nations have increased their military budgets in real terms by more than one third over the last decade.

46. We and our NATO allies are strong, and we will remain strong to provide for the defence of our peoples. But we face a continuing build-up of unprecedented proportions in Europe. The Warsaw Pact countries have developed an almost three to one advantage in tanks. The SS-20 nuclear missile now being deployed against Western Europe is a new departure in destructive power and represents a substantial increase in the nuclear threat of the Soviet Union.

47. The NATO summit meeting next week at Washington will recommit the Western democracies to a military posture capable of deterring attacks and defending against them. We will remain prepared to resist attack across the spectrum of conventional, tactical nuclear, and strategic forces. In the face of the continuing build-up of Warsaw Pact forces we will moderately increase the defence budgets of our nations. We do so not from preference but from necessity.

48. At the same time, the NATO summit will reaffirm and re-emphasize the commitment of the West to the other dimension of our common security policy—the pursuit of arms control. We will address the arms control initiatives the West has recently taken and will continue to take. We will offer our continued strong support for the success of the special session.

49. In his Day of Peace message this January, His Holiness Pope Paul, in effect, spoke to the work of this special session. He said:

“The conscience of the world is horrified by the hypothesis that our peace is nothing but a truce and that an uncontrollable conflagration can be suddenly unleashed.

“We would like to be able to dispel this threatening and terrible nightmare by proclaiming at the top of our voice the absurdity of modern war and the absolute necessity of peace—peace not founded on the power of arms that today are endowed with an infernal destructive capacity...nor founded on the structural violence of some political régimes, but founded on the patient, rational and loyal method of justice and freedom, such as the great international institutions of today are promoting and defending.”

Today I wish to speak of that message.

50. I want to set forth bold objectives and realistic steps, a vision that should guide our arms control efforts, and that can help us develop the centre-piece of our work over the next few weeks: the programme of action.

51. First, we should substantially cut the number of strategic nuclear arms and place increasingly stringent qualitative limitations on their further development.

52. The United States recognizes that it bears, together with the Soviet Union and other nuclear-weapon Powers, a very special responsibility. The agreement that will result from the second round of strategic arms limitation talks and which is rapidly taking shape will reduce the number of strategic delivery vehicles now in existence and put a ceiling on the remainder; establish sublimits on those systems which are most threatening and destabilizing; impose restraints on the improvement of existing weapons and the development of new and more sophisticated systems.

53. Equally important, this agreement must and will be adequately verifiable. Neither side can be permitted to emerge suddenly superior through undetected cheating, thus upsetting the strategic balance upon which deterrence of nuclear war depends.

54. The success of these negotiations will make a major contribution to peace. The agreement serves the interests of all nations and it deserves universal support.

55. But it is only a step in a very difficult long-term process. We hope soon to begin the third round of negotiations. The United States is committed—and I emphasize this point—to a further substantial reduction in nuclear weapons and to still stricter limitations on modernization and new types of delivery vehicles.

56. A commitment by others will also be required if strategic arms limitation and other negotiations are to succeed.

57. Yet, Soviet theatre nuclear forces have increased. The most significant development has been the deployment of the SS-20—a new, mobile intermediate-range ballistic missile. Each one of these missiles, which may number in the hundreds when deployment is complete, carries three nuclear warheads, each with an estimated yield of 500 kilotons. This high yield, coupled with the weapon's accuracy, has significantly increased the Soviets' military capability against both military and civilian targets. But the high yield also means that damage to innocent civilians would be extensive, with effects extending 12 kilometres

from an explosion. The SS-20 missile, while not targeted at the United States, is capable of striking targets not only in Western Europe but in Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Its deployment runs totally contrary to all that this special session seeks to achieve. What can justify this escalation in nuclear arms?

58. Secondly, our agenda should provide for an end to explosions of nuclear devices.

59. Soon after his inauguration, President Carter announced his intention to "proceed quickly and aggressively with a comprehensive test-ban treaty...eliminating the testing of all nuclear devices, whether for peaceful or military purposes". After that, the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union entered into trilateral negotiations aimed at accomplishing this historic objective. If successful, this will represent the culmination of a process which began in the late 1950s. It will build on the interim results of the limited test-ban treaty of 1963⁴ and the United States-Soviet Union threshold test ban⁵ and peaceful nuclear explosions⁶ treaties signed in 1974 and 1976.

60. A comprehensive test ban would make a major contribution to curbing the nuclear competition between the super-Powers. It would lessen incentives for the development of nuclear weapons by States which do not now possess them, and thus would reinforce the non-proliferation treaty.

61. Trilateral negotiations are under way at Geneva. Important progress towards an adequately verifiable agreement has been made. Once agreement is reached, we will move vigorously to seek a multilateral comprehensive test-ban treaty accepted by all States. All nations must be persuaded to forswear testing.

62. The continued explosion of nuclear devices has been the major symbol of man's unwillingness to put aside the further development of the world's most devastating weapons. It can, it must and it will be stopped.

63. Thirdly, as we limit and reduce the weapons of existing nuclear States, we must work in concert to ensure that no additional nuclear-weapon States emerge over the next decade and beyond.

64. The spread of nuclear weapons to an ever-increasing number of countries and regions is a chilling prospect. It brings ever closer the probability of their use. Such proliferation would seriously heighten regional and global tensions. It would impede peaceful commerce in the field of nuclear energy. And it would make the achievement of nuclear disarmament vastly more difficult.

65. The United States understands the concerns of some

⁴ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480, No. 6964, p. 43).

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex II, sect. 13.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 27*. Vol. II, document CCD/496.

non-nuclear-weapon States that they are being discriminated against. To help meet these concerns and to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, I repeat today the solemn declaration which President Carter made from this podium that the United States will not use nuclear weapons except in self-defence; that is, in circumstances of an actual nuclear or conventional attack on the United States, our territories or armed forces, or of such an attack on our allies. I call on other nations to make this same pledge. The President will propose new and expanded contributions by the United States to the peaceful nuclear programmes of States which support non-proliferation. As President Eisenhower said as long ago as 1956, we must ultimately work out, with other nations, suitable, verifiable and safeguarded arrangements so that the future production of fissionable materials anywhere in the world would no longer be used to increase the stockpiles of explosive weapons. We will pursue the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation, to explore further how to ensure the benefits of nuclear energy to all without its proliferation risks.

66. We must redouble our efforts to increase still further the distance between the military and the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Nuclear power stations should produce energy for people—not plutonium for bombs.

67. Let us learn from the example set by Latin America. Let us expand the regions of the earth where nuclear weapons will be banned. At the initiative of several Latin American nations, the Treaty of Tlatelolco, which bans nuclear weapons from the area, was signed at Mexico City in 1967.⁷ Since then, almost all potential parties to the Treaty, including the United States, have signed. The United States congratulates the Soviet Union on its recent signing of Protocol II to that Treaty. There is now only one country in this region which has yet to indicate its interest in signing, and that should be remedied now.

68. It is our hope that the Treaty will come fully into force as soon as possible, thereby creating the first major nuclear-weapon-free zone in the world. We hope that Latin America's bold initiative will be a model for other regions to follow.

69. Fourthly, as we move to gain control over the nuclear threat, we must seek mutual agreement to ban other weapons of mass destruction.

70. The horror of gas warfare during the First World War is etched in the memory of mankind. We have made some progress in recent years by prohibiting biological weapons. The United States and the Soviet Union are moving closer to an agreement on banning radiological weapons, an agreement which we would then put before the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. Our discussions on chemical weapons are proving more difficult. Any agreement on chemical or new and exotic weapons must be adequately verifiable. The United States is committed to finding the solution, assuming there is a fair-minded approach on the other side.

⁷ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9368, p. 326).

71. Fifthly, we must immediately slow down and then reverse the sharp growth in conventional arms.

72. The vast bulk of the \$400,000 million being spent for military purposes is in fact spent on conventional arms.

73. We recognize the legitimate concern of nations that they not be denied arbitrarily access to arms needed for their legitimate defence. Such needs must and will be met. At the same time, our common interests demand a vast reduction in the flow of conventional arms. Fresh thought is required to come to grips with this neglected but increasingly important dimension of arms control. But we can and we must take action now. Fuelling the conventional arms race is the rapidly expanding international trade in these arms. The value of arms imports by the developing nations has increased 75 per cent over the last decade. A limited, but growing, number of suppliers and recipients accounts for most of this \$20 thousand million of trade.

74. The United States has on its own initiative begun to reduce the volume of the arms it sells. Under President Carter's conventional arms policy, we have placed a ceiling—a reduction of 8 percent in fiscal year 1978—on weapons and weapons-related items to countries other than those of NATO, Australia, New Zealand and Japan. The United States will not be the first to introduce into a region a newly developed advanced weapons system which would create a new or significantly higher combat capability. We will not sell any such weapons systems until they are operationally deployed with United States forces. We will not permit development or modification of advanced systems solely for export. We have placed strict controls on co-production and retransfers.

75. Recognizing that this problem requires action by all suppliers, we have initiated discussions with other major suppliers and consumers. The results so far have been modest. Much more remains to be done. It will be increasingly difficult for us to sustain our policy unilaterally unless there is more rapid movement toward a meaningful multilateral effort at restraint.

76. Sixthly, regional arms control arrangements and capabilities should be expanded and strengthened.

77. Regional arms control is at a very primitive stage. Few negotiations are under way. Only a few nations have the technical competence required to verify agreements. Many of the techniques, like confidence-building measures which increase predictability and lessen the fear of sudden attack, are largely untried.

78. For our part, in Europe, the United States and its allies have recently taken the initiative to get the five-year-old mutual and balance force reductions talks moving, and are considering additional measures to increase stability and security in central Europe. In yet another region, while we have proposed and commenced talks with the Soviet Union on arms limitations in the Indian Ocean, increases in the Soviet naval presence there have hampered those talks.

79. Beyond its own negotiations, the United States would like to stimulate regional arms control efforts by offering others assistance with verification and stabilizing measures. Our experience in the Middle East has demonstrated that technical assistance with monitoring systems such as aerial photography and ground detection devices can help to create the confidence necessary to make disengagement and stabilizing agreements work. Building on that experience, we are prepared to consider joint requests for these so-called "eyes and ears of peace" from countries that want such monitoring services. Such requests should come preferably via regional organizations or the United Nations.

80. The United States is prepared to provide specialists who can help other nations to find ways of using confidence-building and stabilizing measures, including notification of manoeuvres, the invitation of observers to manoeuvres and United Nations machinery to promote such measures.

81. Seventhly, we should fully develop the institutions and expertise required for arms control.

82. We must continue to strengthen United Nations arms control institutions without undercutting those institutions that we have developed. While we are prepared to consider changes in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, our major concern is to ensure the continued, productive activity of a serious negotiating body operating by consensus.

83. The peace-keeping and peace-making capabilities of the United Nations and of regional organizations like the Organization of American States and the Organization of African Unity should be an integral part of arms reduction efforts. The role of such regional organizations is critical in minimizing intrusion by outsiders. We encourage a strong and prominent role for those organizations.

84. The United Nations plays an essential role. At this moment United Nations forces in Lebanon, Cyprus, the Golan Heights and Sinai are making it possible for negotiations to move towards lasting peaceful settlements. To make these United Nations efforts even more effective, we propose the establishment of a United Nations peace-keeping reserve force. Such a force would comprise national contingents trained in United Nations peace-keeping methods and earmarked by their Governments for United Nations duty. This peace-keeping reserve would be drawn upon by the Secretary-General whenever the Security Council decided to establish a United Nations force to maintain international peace and security.

85. There is also a critical national dimension. Every Government must strengthen the institutions and expertise needed for arms control. Let each of us resolve at this session that our nations will examine the priority which we now give to disarmament in organization, in budget, and in personnel.

86. Eighthly, progress in arms control agreements should release additional resources for economic and social development.

87. Collectively, we have the capacity to eliminate the worst vestiges of poverty from the world by the end of this century. The tremendous expenditure of resources devoted to building military strength stands in the path of development today. The developing countries' share of world military expenditures has grown from 15 to 23 per cent in the last decade. The developing nations are now spending a greater proportion of their gross national product for military purposes than the developed countries.

88. Just 1 per cent of the world's annual military budget would be enough to provide food and healthy development for 200 million malnourished children today. Let us, through the work of this session, begin to turn the world's resources from ever-growing stockpiles of destruction to ever-growing opportunities for life.

89. Arms control agreements can help to free the economies of industrial as well as developing nations to solve pressing social problems. We realize the vast potential of the American economy. The American people have no more fervent wish than to turn more of their potential from the manufacture of arms to the fulfilment of human needs. As nations conclude arms control agreements and show restraint in arms expenditures, the United States favours re-allocating to development projects funds which previously were earmarked for military assistance.

90. Our ability to redirect funds for development hinges on the willingness of other nations to limit their current arming of developing nations. If the United Nations is to deal effectively with the problems of development, it cannot have countries pouring arms into the developing world while at the same time devoting minimal funding to development assistance. We cannot have nations using their military power to exploit differences between nations and to exacerbate serious conflicts.

91. My country for years has sought to limit military shipments to Africa. Our economic development assistance far outstrips the amount of military assistance that we have provided. In 1977 the United States contributed \$327 million in economic assistance to African nations compared with only \$59 million in military aid. That record, with its special emphasis on funding for food, stands in marked contrast to predominantly military assistance extended by others. Our orientation represents, I believe, a far better contribution to the long-term future of the people of Africa. The choice here is one of encouraging the constructive and creative capabilities of the developing world or of encouraging those tendencies which generate conflict. Let us place our hopes in development.

92. Our recognition of the relationship between disarmament and development should inform and give urgency to all of our arms control objectives. In addition, we strongly support the United Nations study of disarmament and development. This study should include consideration of the economic problems which may result from disarmament; we favour efforts to reduce military expenditures and we have volunteered to provide our own accurate information on national military expenditures to a United Nations pilot programme testing a method to measure such expendi-

tures. We encourage others to be equally open. Greater openness about military expenditures is a necessary companion to arms restraint. Over time, openness can gradually replace fear with trust, promote confidence, encourage self-restraint and eliminate needless sources of conflict.

93. Thirty-three years ago, President Truman addressed the first session of the United Nations in San Francisco in these words: "By your labours at this conference we shall know if suffering humanity is to achieve a just and lasting peace."

94. That is our challenge at this special session. The world watches what we do here, and mankind's deepest hopes are with us today. The success or failure of our efforts will determine, more than any other endeavour, the shape of the world that our children will inherit, or whether they will inherit a habitable world at all. It is their interests which unite us today. No matter what nation we are from, no matter what our political philosophy, our children are 100 per cent of our future. We owe them 100 per cent of our efforts in halting the arms race today.

95. Arms control must not be the agenda of this session only or of this year alone; it must be the moral agenda of our times. Our work must be kept in the full view of the world community. We need the pressure of world opinion to give urgency to our task. That is why the United States calls on this session to follow up its efforts with another special session of the General Assembly in 1981. Let the next session monitor the progress that we have made, and let it press upon us the agenda of issues which we must still resolve.

96. The challenge of controlling the arms race is indeed awesome. But Emerson said that we measure a man's wisdom by his hope. Let us proceed with hope today. I am confident that if each of our nations can look beyond its own ambitions; if, in the work of this session, we can bridge the distances of geography, of history and of fear; and if all of us can bring to our efforts the deepest yearnings of the peoples we represent, then we shall serve all the world's children with our labours and, in the words of Isaiah, "the work of righteousness shall be peace".

97. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Vice-President of the United States for the important statement he has just made.

98. The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Cyprus.

99. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome His Excellency Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

100. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): Mr. President, may I first express to you my warmest congratulations on your unanimous election to the presidency of this special session of the General Assembly. It is a happy augury that this historic session on disarmament is being held under your wise and experienced guidance based on your dedi-

cated and continuous service to the cause of world peace and security. In view of the fact that Yugoslavia, under the inspired leadership of President Tito, is the main initiator of the non-aligned movement inaugurated at Belgrade at the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in 1961, to which I had the privilege in my capacity as Foreign Minister at that time to accompany our great leader the late President Archbishop Makarios—also a leading co-founder of non-alignment—it is only fitting that a distinguished statesman of Yugoslavia should preside over this important conference. As you know, Mr. President, the very essence of non-alignment is non-participation in the antagonisms of military blocs and therefore in the arms race.

101. This special session devoted to disarmament is the largest and most representative gathering ever convened to discuss this central problem of the contemporary world. The very convening of the special session is meaningful. It reflects the profound mutations that have taken place in society in our contemporary world. Mention should be made in this respect of the fact that as a result of the intensification of the national liberation movements by peoples under foreign domination, the emergence to independence of a large number of new countries coupled with the speedy advance of technology has created a radically transformed world, a world of growing and compelling interdependence. The new States, by their increasing determination to control their national destiny and forge a truly independent existence, are playing an expanding role in international life.

102. The mere fact that this special session is convened at the initiative of the smaller and the small nations in general—the developing and non-aligned countries of the world—reflects awareness of their responsibility regarding the destiny of mankind and their determination effectively to act upon that responsibility, as well as their apprehension of the gravity of the problem of the arms race for the future of humanity as a whole.

103. The special session is a reflection of the growing struggle to find solutions to problems in a new spirit, to reject the old policies of force as well as all forms of domination and oppression and to establish new and genuinely democratic international relations based on justice and on respect for the sacred right of all peoples to live and progress freely in accordance with their sovereign will.

104. Mankind is on the threshold of a new era, ushered in by the break-through in science and technology. It has on the one hand created new means for the advancement of human civilization and the promotion of the well-being of man, but at the same time man has suddenly found himself in possession—for good or evil—of unprecedented technological power, to the point of either reaching great heights of progress or destroying all human life on this planet. A corresponding sense of responsibility, achieved through the attainment of comparable ethical levels in international and human relations, is now demanded; it is, indeed, absolutely needed for the very survival of mankind. The enormity and the great speed of change poses the problem of the possibility of human adjustment in the

comparatively brief span of time allowed by the rapidity of change. And this question lies at the root of almost all present-day problems—global, international and national.

105. This special session is expected to facilitate such adjustment by taking steps to promote a new order throughout the world, encourage relations of mutual respect and confidence among countries, and provide new and more effective guarantees that each country will be able to ensure and develop its own existence without any threats of force or outside intervention of whatever kind. The issue at stake is, in the last analysis, the security of States. Directly connected with it is the problem of the arms race, the continuation of which has been rendering unproductive and futile all efforts towards disarmament made over so many years.

106. The main purpose of the special session on disarmament if we were to derive and inspire some optimism for the future of humanity, should be seen as the beginning of a truly systematic and co-operative effort to deal, effectively this time, with the threatening problem of an ever-escalating arms race which must be halted. For this is indeed the crux of the problem. The arms race problem, arising from the extreme antagonism on policies of force and domination—now outdated and obsolete in a nuclear age of interdependence—has assumed such immeasurable dimensions in its repercussions and its ramifications in all fields of human activity as to become a growing menace to the very foundations of our contemporary world society. It has reached the point of eroding the very integrity of man and the moral fibre of our present-day civilization.

107. The first lines of the Charter of the United Nations in its preamble express the determination of the Members of this world Organization to save mankind from the scourge of war. The determination of the peoples of the United Nations, assembled in this special session, must be to save mankind from the scourge of the arms race, as an absolutely necessary first step towards achieving that goal.

108. The convening of this special session is to offer the opportunity and time for in-depth study and review of this problem. Only by taking a close look at the problem and grasping it by its roots can we hope to find an effective solution to it.

109. Our world today is over-saturated with weapons which can destroy it many times over. It is estimated that the number of deliverable missile warheads of the two major nuclear Powers reached the figure of 12,000 in 1976, and their combined explosive power is equivalent to over 1 million Hiroshima-type bombs. The explosive power of tactical nuclear weapons is equivalent to 50,000 Hiroshima-type bombs. To this should be added the growing stockpile of conventional weapons. The implications in terms of global catastrophe to be drawn from this picture is beyond conception.

110. The arms race is a planetary phenomenon and almost no part of the world can be kept out of it. The competition in armaments between the main military Powers is admittedly by far the most significant. It involves the

greatest diversion of resources as well as the gravest inherent dangers, and constitutes the principal driving force of the world-wide arms race. It is only proper to recall that half a dozen countries—and these are the main military Powers—account for three fourths of world military expenditures. In an international environment dominated by a high state of military preparedness on all sides, military-strategic considerations become paramount in the policies of nations tending to shape the over-all relations between States, thus rendering useless both the Charter of the United Nations as well as the spirit and letter of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. They lead to the creation of rivalries on spheres of influence, while local conflicts tend to become linked to regional or global confrontations. It is obvious that such a state of affairs cannot but create increasing insecurity. The huge arsenal of weapons in existence undermines and negates the very purpose for which they were purportedly created, namely, security.

111. According to military doctrines, present-day developments now under way in nuclear weapons and in their carrier and guidance system tend to increase the danger of armed conflicts and wars. States try to enhance their security by strengthening their military defence capacity and a number of them do so by entering into military alliances, which are themselves based on military might. The natural consequence of this approach is the concept of balance of power, which is conceived as a means of maintaining international peace and security. Needless to say, this is a totally negative and counter-productive concept that also runs against all concepts of the United Nations era and the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, which aim at harmonizing international relations towards collective security and peace, based on equality, freedom, justice and human rights.

112. The escalating arms race is but the consequence of the balance of power—an outworn concept of the nineteenth century—which in our times of polarized power has become virtually the balance of weapons and the very threat to peace and security. For it provides a false sense of security and leads in fact to the very opposite. It constantly feeds the arms race in an endless competition to attain or retain the balance, but in reality each side constantly tries to acquire an edge over the other in that dangerous and futile competition. It thus obstructs all progress towards disarmament and towards real international security and peace.

113. The concept of balance of power has no place in our present-day interdependent world of the United Nations and in a nuclear age. Peace cannot hang from the thin thread of this outmoded concept, in which entrenched hostility and mistrust are ingrained. So long as this concept of balance of power inherited from the past lingers on as a means of security, the arms race will continue escalating. Acts of aggression and terrorism will multiply both in the international field and internally, through growing instances of the abhorrent practice, among others, of taking hostages, in a world of all round anarchy and insecurity.

114. Among the dire consequences of this situation is that

in the post-Second World War period, brushfire warfare has become an almost permanent and, to some extent, inevitable feature. It is estimated that some 100 wars have taken place in the last 30 years. Countries have been the victims of foreign intervention, aggression and armed attack. The invasion by Turkey in 1974 of my own country, before the very eyes of an entirely hopelessly, helplessly inactive and ineffective international community, in violation of the Charter and of all norms of international justice, the consequences of which have not yet been removed despite repeated calls and resolutions by the United Nations, and from which our people are still suffering in an unprecedented drama, is one of the most glaring examples.

115. Furthermore, when security is conceived almost exclusively in terms of competitive military force, the obvious consequence is the diversion of vast material and human resources away from the urgent tasks confronting the international community today within the new and realistic concept of security and in an interdependent world.

116. The arms race is the most powerful factor ever known in history which wastes enormous resources and uses them for unproductive, unsocial and destructive aims. Military expenditures swallow up to 5 or 6 per cent of the world total gross national product. This sum, now at \$400,000 million a year, is tantamount to two thirds of the gross national product of the countries where the poorest half of the world's population lives.

117. By diverting vast resources away from development needs and contributing to inflation and economic crises, which affect many countries, the arms race finds itself also in direct contradiction and incompatibility with the objectives of establishing a new international economic order.

118. All this indicates the need for a redefinition of the concept of security so that the triangular interrelationship among disarmament, development and international peace and security be properly reflected.

119. Such an understanding of the concept of security was in fact envisaged—although systematically ignored—in the Charter of the United Nations. Thus for many years the unsuccessful disarmament endeavour has been kept isolated with no parallel effort for effective international security without—not surprisingly—any meaningful results. That isolation has deprived disarmament efforts and negotiations of the necessary background of international security and of the resulting climate of confidence. Effective progress on the problem of the arms race and disarmament will continue to be hampered so long as there is no means of ensuring the security of nations other than by dependence on armaments. Disarmament should be seen not as an aim in itself but as closely related to the security of States, to the attainment of conditions of lasting peace which, again, can be based only on the principles of the Charter, on freedom and on justice.

120. Current methods of disarmament negotiations have so far been in a vicious circle, the reason being that the whole discussion has been taking place in isolation and not in its proper context. The stand of Cyprus on disarmament

in the United Nations over the years has been one of consistent effort to place disarmament in its proper context as directly related to international security and development. It is against this background that Cyprus, at the last session of the General Assembly, initiated and introduced resolution 32/87 C calling for a study on the interrelation of disarmament and international security.

121. We are gratified to see the progress on this study from the report submitted to us by the Secretary-General [*A/S-10/7 and Corr.1*], and I should like to express my deep appreciation for his very commendable efforts. One of the conclusions that should be drawn from this progress report, as well as from previous reports prepared and submitted by the Secretary-General on armaments and disarmament, is that what is needed in order to halt and reverse the arms race is a clearer understanding of the issues involved in the various processes which sustain the arms race and determine its orientation.

122. Cyprus will propose a draft resolution asking for the continuation of the study with the participation of governmental experts representing all the regions of the world, and inviting them to look deeper into the causes and the inner mechanism of the arms race. In this context, the Secretary-General's suggestion at the last meeting for the appointment of an advisory board to deal with research in the field of disarmament is most constructive and it has our full support.

123. Disarmament cannot be conceived without the existence of a system of international security and legal order affording some guarantee of security.

124. For, admittedly, nations cannot easily abandon the arms competition in a vacuum and, more particularly, smaller countries which are in danger cannot abandon their defence needs without some effective guarantee of their security through the United Nations. The necessary system of international security and legal order—let us remind ourselves—is provided for in the Charter. As the main organ of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council has the responsibility and the duty to establish the relevant system by proceeding to the measures for enforcing its decisions in compliance with the basic provisions in Chapter VII of the Charter. And the time has come for this to be invariably and consistently pursued, and we intend to initiate it in the case of Cyprus also.

125. During the years of the cold war, steps in that direction did not materialize. But in the present period of détente, when decisions by the Security Council are readily and in some cases unanimously adopted, as in the case of Cyprus—for example, Security Council resolution 365 (1974), endorsing General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX)—of Namibia and others, it is inadmissible that such decisions remain wholly unimplemented and without effect over the years, while emboldened aggressors proceed unrestrained and unhindered to further aggressive acts. The effectiveness of the Security Council and the credibility of the United Nations in its primary function are thereby seriously questioned. This should be a matter of grave concern to the United Nations and its membership,

and in particular the great Powers whose responsibility is immense. Recent cases of aggression and terrorism, both in the international and in the domestic field, are a distressing display of anarchy and of the breakdown of legal order and security.

126. Cyprus is the most tragic instance of a victim of ferocious aggression—and I am sure that members of the Assembly will understand why I feel so strongly about it and why I must mention it as an example. It is the most striking manifestation of the total lack of international order and security on which so much depends in the era of the United Nations. The aggressive occupation of its territory, violating its independence and territorial integrity, has continued for almost four years now, in contemptuous disregard of the unanimous resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council, which remain wholly unimplemented and ineffective. And the time has come to do something effective about it. The Security Council must act. The United Nations must act. Chapter VII should be applied with the alternative, only as a first step, of other steps such as joint action by the great Powers or the holding of a wide international conference under the auspices of the United Nations for the implementation of United Nations resolutions on Cyprus.

127. The introduction to the draft final document of this special session emphasizes the need for strict observance of the fundamental provisions of the Charter. In its declaration, that document states that genuine and lasting peace can be established only through the effective implementation of the Security Council system provided for in the Charter of the United Nations.

128. The time has come to take action to remedy this situation through the system of international security and legal order to which I have already referred. There are now hopeful trends in the United Nations in these respects. A number of General Assembly resolutions adopted during the last two sessions call on the Security Council to take the necessary steps for the effective implementation of its resolutions. An auspicious start in this direction was made in recent decisions of the Security Council on the subject of Namibia and on that of South Africa in aggression against Angola, both of which contain provisions of enforcement action for the implementation of the resolutions. Such developments, we confidently trust, will lead to the full application of the relevant provisions of Chapter VII, in all cases with consistency, such as in the case of Cyprus also, thereby creating a system of international security through the United Nations. This would mark a major positive step in rendering the halting of the arms race and disarmament a realizable proposition. The Security Council, therefore, has a prominent role to play in improving the effectiveness and productivity of the disarmament endeavour, and I would wish to underline once again the grave responsibility of its permanent members.

129. Meanwhile, in an effort to reduce the dangers of war, cuts in armaments to levels of minimum real needs could constitute serious contributions to the strengthening of confidence among States and to the diminishing of the risk of an outbreak of war. In considering the issues before the special session, one should always take into account

the alternative of what might happen if no meaningful progress is made in terms of real and significant measures adopted towards disarmament. For it should be stressed that there is no alternative to halting the arms race and proceeding to disarmament in a world over-saturated with destructive capabilities.

130. We express the hope that agreements on collateral measures will prove possible. A comprehensive test ban treaty to complete the partial test ban of 15 years ago must not elude this special session. There is no justification for again postponing agreement on this treaty, particularly with the present highly improved means of verification. Such a comprehensive treaty would be of immeasurable value in halting the competition in the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons and at the same time avoiding the dangers involved in the underground nuclear test explosions.

131. We look forward to the abandonment of the neutron bomb, as well as of all other such weapons to be produced by any country, whether the United States, the Soviet Union or others, and we also look forward to an agreement within the framework of the second round of strategic arms limitation talks, which will not only be a welcome sign of military detente between the super-Powers, but would also be an indication of good faith to negotiate nuclear disarmament under article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The best way to stop the horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons is to put an end to the vertical stockpile.

132. Regarding conventional weapons, a ban on chemical as well as incendiary weapons should also be given prior consideration. We are gratified by the adoption of resolution 32/152 at the last regular session of the General Assembly, which calls for the convening in 1979 of a conference to seek final agreement to ban weapons that are designed to be excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate effects. One of the most inhuman weapons of this kind is the napalm bomb, which causes excruciating pain and long, protracted agony leading to death.

133. My country, Cyprus, has been its latest victim. It is not a secret that napalm bombs, like all other kinds of military means and equipment which were given by the United States to Turkey for defence purposes, were used by Turkey against Cyprus in 1974, in violation of American law and the Charter of the United Nations. And it is well known that the occupation continues, as well as the violations of the United Nations resolutions, the American laws and human rights, with Turkey aiming at legalizing the crime by trying to mislead the world and, more particularly these days, the United States Congress.

134. The results of disarmament efforts so far—or more precisely the lack of results, for obvious reasons—are well known. To break the vicious circle in which disarmament negotiations find themselves, a completely new approach to disarmament is needed, one which would be both comprehensive in character and realistic in possibilities. The special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament should offer the opportunities for such an effort.

135. We believe that the following elements should be included in the final document of the special session relating to the declaration and the machinery for disarmament.

136. Disarmament problems are not the concern of a small group of States and Governments alone. All the peoples of the world have a vital interest in the success of disarmament negotiations. All States have a duty to contribute to every effort in the field of disarmament. They have the right to participate on an equal footing in disarmament negotiations which have a direct bearing on their national security and their very existence and survival. While disarmament is the responsibility of all States, the nuclear-weapon States have naturally a primary responsibility for nuclear disarmament and, together with other militarily significant States, for halting and effectively reversing the arms race.

137. Disarmament efforts should fully reflect the triangular interrelationship and interconditioning between disarmament, security and peace based on justice and freedom, and development. Progress in any one of these spheres has a beneficial effect on all of them. In turn, failure in one has negative effects on all the others.

138. The problem of disarmament directly affects the security and the very lives of all peoples. That is why all the peoples have the right to know what is going on in the field of armaments and disarmament efforts, so that they can defend their vital interests. Public opinion, which is the conscience of human solidarity, has proved to be a power stronger than force, and efforts aimed at disarmament cannot be successful unless they are properly backed by the peoples of the world.

139. In accordance with the Charter, the United Nations has the primary responsibility for disarmament. Accordingly, it should play a central role in this field, and in order to effectively discharge its functions, the United Nations should oversee, facilitate and encourage all disarmament measures, unilateral, bilateral, regional or multilateral, and be kept fully informed of all disarmament efforts outside its aegis.

140. In order to facilitate the disarmament process, it is absolutely indispensable to take measures and pursue policies to strengthen international peace and security and to build confidence among States. In our understanding, security presupposes a system of firm commitment, and adherence by all States to the principles contained in the Charter, as well as in other relevant acts and declarations, such as the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, and also concrete and effective measures which would exclude the use of force from international relations and give each and every country the guarantee that it is protected against aggression.

141. In this spirit we call for the reaffirmation by States of their obligation, as embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, strictly to observe the principles of the non-use of force or the threat of force in any form against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States as well as to act energetically to put into effect the

security system envisaged in the Charter, a system which regrettably has not yet come into actual effect. Thus they would make the United Nations really central to their defence policies, with which their foreign policies are and should be closely related and interconnected.

142. Only when Security Council decisions become effective can the foundations of collective security and peace in the world of progressive legal order be laid down. Only then can the arms race be halted, thus opening the way to effective progress on disarmament.

143. We therefore express the hope that at this special session meaningful progress will be made in this direction in the interests of peace and security, for the sake and progress of mankind, for a world of complete freedom, real justice and true happiness.

144. I come from a very small country which is situated in a very sensitive area of the world, and we are deeply concerned about what goes on in the field of disarmament and, therefore, in the field of security. We have a problem of our own, which is an international problem. It is a problem which concerns our people; it concerns the area; it concerns the United Nations; it concerns the entire world. And we feel quite sincerely that through strict implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations, and especially General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), as endorsed by the Security Council, the Cyprus problem will be solved and at the same time Cyprus will cease to be a source of friction and conflict in the world.

145. Taking advantage of this special session on disarmament, I would go a step further and publicly call upon the United Nations to act, and call upon the General Assembly, the Security Council and its permanent members to act, and call upon the United States and the Soviet Union to act. I propose total demilitarization and disarmament of the Republic of Cyprus and implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations. I propose a mixed police force of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, a police force composed in accordance with the proportions of the population and under the permanent guidance and control of an international United Nations police force. I make this proposition publicly, before all. If the world wants peace, Cyprus is ready to make its contribution, which would be a contribution to our own people because it would solve our problem and therefore remove the causes of our tragedy. But at the same time it would remove the cause of wider friction and wider conflict in the interests of world peace and security.

146. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank His Excellency the President of the Republic of Cyprus for the important statement he has just made.

147. Mr. CONSALVI (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, when you were elected President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly, I told you of the pleasure of the Venezuelan delegation at seeing an intellectual and a man of politics such as you presiding over our debates. Today I would repeat those sentiments.

148. We are here today at this special session of the General Assembly as a result of the growing awareness of the countries of the third world of one of the most challenging facts of our times, a fact which not only threatens to distort the course of history but is also liable to frustrate or to wipe out the entire human race. We countries of the third world are attending this special session fully aware, at the same time, of the tremendous difficulties and complexities which have to be dealt with here, and also fully aware that this is a time for clear and categorical definitions. We therefore reject all ambiguity here and every position that does not reflect and express the anxiety which is the reason for our being assembled today.

149. Neither the power nor the prestige of one or more super-Powers or of any nuclear Power is at stake. What is at stake is the destiny and survival of mankind. What is being put to the test is man's capacity to reason. We countries of the third world whose efforts and initiative have made this historic dialogue possible appeal to that capacity and place our trust in it. Venezuela was one of them from the very outset, not only because we are convinced that at a time of serious economic crisis it is impossible to ignore the havoc wrought on the world economy by the armaments race but also because that race is in itself a grave sign of moral crisis and of resignation or renunciation of all the other intelligent alternatives open to mankind.

150. The devastation and untold suffering caused by the Second World War gave rise to the hope that never again would a similar conflagration wreak destruction on peoples or nations. As world-wide awareness emerged, repudiating warlike adventures, it was also natural that a process should be started once and for all which would lead, if not to the elimination of armaments, at least to their substantial reduction. The atomic bombs which brought the Second World War to a close did not mark the end of a conflagration, but the beginning of the nuclear age. The post-war period did not bring peace; it was nothing but a long and tragic period of human history in which the nuclear Powers concentrated all their scientific and technological capability on the improvement, development and deployment of the most improbable weapons of destruction and annihilation.

151. In our opinion, this special session must be an occasion not only for realizing the danger and the death sentence threatening mankind, but also for drawing up a realistic balance sheet of the post-war period as one of preparation for annihilation and the quite inexplicable absence of world forces capable of correcting the policy of the great military blocs, which in their turn were subject to the manoeuvring and influences of the most negative sectors of modern society.

152. We are meeting in the ominous shadow of the arms race, which is gathering alarming momentum day by day. This anxiety, which is recognized by all, has found expression in a host of meetings and resolutions which, while recognizing the urgency of disarmament, have not yielded concrete results.

153. We are therefore meeting here in the shadow of the

most characteristic and predominant phenomenon of our time. So far no one has been able to halt the arms race. On the contrary, its influence on both the policy and the economy of the most powerful nations grows stronger every day. Here in the United Nations we discuss unceasingly all the aspects of disarmament, but we must confess that all the meetings, all the resolutions and all the good intentions have been of no avail; they lead to frustrations which only generate more uncertainty and fear.

154. The measures adopted in the field of disarmament, after undoubtedly intense negotiations, are concerned only with aspects of limited scope, and most of them do not constitute genuine disarmament measures.

155. The balance sheet which we propose shows that effective measures for ending the arms race, especially in the nuclear field, eliminating weapons of mass destruction and concluding a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control, have not been achieved. The diversion of vast material and human resources to an unproductive and costly arms race continues unabated, to the detriment of the economic and social well-being of peoples.

156. Obviously, the greatest danger facing mankind is the threat of the destructive power of nuclear weapons. No one can deceive himself or ignore that problem, which is the most urgent one confronting us. While the accumulation of armaments in general demands special consideration, the highest priority must be given to the nuclear question, not just because of the intolerable threat which nuclear weapons constitute, but also because the doctrines governing their use and the prospects of their proliferation to other States magnify that threat and may make disarmament just another future Utopia.

157. The idea advanced by certain groups in the United States, the Soviet Union and Western Europe that it is feasible to wage a nuclear war would seem to be gaining ground. Some qualitative advances in offensive and defensive strategic weapons and tactical nuclear weapons might give further support to the belief that a nuclear war can be waged and won. Naturally the technicians of these limited wars start from the premise that they are to be waged outside the territories of their own countries.

158. As the economic and social situation of the peoples of the world grows progressively worse, the military costs, the military budgets of the great Powers and the endless accumulation of nuclear weapons continue to increase. Never before has mankind been confronted with such a contradiction.

159. In an unprecedented common effort to achieve tangible progress out of an impasse, and in the hope of starting a real and genuine process of disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, the countries of the third world promoted the idea of convening this special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

160. We know, however, that opposing interests, such as those connected with asserting the prestige and supremacy of States, and also the lack of political decision are serious

impediments to world-wide understanding.

161. We cannot fail to express, therefore, the fears, the concern and in general the pessimism that we feel when we see that day after day enormous quantities of human and material resources are being allocated to the discovery, improvement and mass production of means of destruction in an irrational and absurd desire to consolidate or achieve a position of supremacy, even at the cost of exercising it over a planet in ruins.

162. Efforts have been made to impose upon us, the countries of the third world, the unacceptable idea that international peace and security are based on the world strategic balance maintained by opposing military blocs. This theory is advanced to explain the absence of world wars for over 30 years. This is pure fallacy, because the arsenals accumulated by the two super-Powers would by themselves be sufficient to wipe out every living being several times over, and because, although the military Powers have not confronted each other directly in a conflict, they have been the originators or instigators of countless wars outside their own territories—wars which, in addition to serving to test their most recent innovations in armaments, enable them to feed the war industry which yields them such great dividends.

163. The armaments and military race has moved beyond the land frontiers and spread at a startling pace to the oceans and outer space.

164. In recent years the rivalry in the oceans of the military blocs has increased, and outer space has become vitally important to the great Powers for various military purposes, such as navigation, aerial monitoring and the identification of targets. Naturally, the incursions into the ocean and space for military purposes are carried out in violation of the relevant international agreements.

165. It is an illusion to believe that peace and security can coexist with the vast accumulations of means of destruction. Real security can be found only in disarmament and in the promotion of international co-operation among all countries on the basis of common benefit and relationships which will make it possible to eliminate the present sources of tension and conflict.

166. We reject the idea that an armed peace can exist and that the larger the number of sophisticated weapons there are in a given area, such as that of the Middle East, the greater can be the guarantees for peace and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

167. We understand that the negotiations on the reduction of armaments are subject to reciprocal concessions and that the competition for spheres of influence and supremacy in the world have created frictions and mutual suspicions, which make it difficult to arrive at effective agreements on strategic matters. The consequences are grave because the longer substantive agreements are delayed, the more remote the possibilities of eliminating the expanding nuclear arsenals become.

168. Consequently, it is to be hoped that both super-Powers will agree on the urgent necessity of arriving at an agreement on major qualitative limitations and substantial reductions in their strategic nuclear weapon systems as a positive and indispensable step towards disarmament.

169. The advantages that would derive from a treaty designed to achieve a comprehensive nuclear test ban are, moreover, obvious. It would constitute a major step towards controlling the development and proliferation of nuclear weapons and alleviating the deep concern felt about the harmful effects of radioactive contamination.

170. The interest of peoples in eliminating the nuclear threat and ensuring that nuclear energy is used for positive purposes for all has been manifested in the desire to create nuclear-weapon-free zones as one of the most effective ways of strengthening international peace and security. This is an alternative which has been making headway for some years and of which Latin America, with the Treaty of Tlatelolco, is an example. It is therefore only natural that we should support the heartfelt desire of countless peoples to conclude similar treaties and also the specific proposals formulated in the United Nations to this end.

171. We cannot fail to express our gratification at the accession of the Soviet Union to Additional Protocol II of the Treaty of Tlatelolco—gratification which we already expressed when the United States took similar action. This is a significant step which will help to promote the full implementation of the Treaty's objectives.

172. In the same spirit Venezuela ratified the non-proliferation treaty because we have faith in its principles and consider that, having been already ratified by over 100 countries, it constitutes an effective instrument for avoiding the proliferation and for ensuring the limitation of the nuclear weapons so far available, although it is regrettable that it is not yet world-wide in scope.

173. We recognize the right of all States to develop nuclear technology for peaceful purposes and to have access to nuclear technology, equipment and materials. Nevertheless, the utilization of nuclear energy continues to arouse serious apprehensions concerning the use to which it may be put. We therefore consider it indispensable to ensure that the system of safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency enters into force on a world-wide, uniform and in no way discriminatory basis.

174. As if the nuclear threat encompassing us were not enough, scientists devoted to war and destruction have developed new systems of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction. The time has come for us to prevent the proliferation and further refinement of these means of mass annihilation and to proceed to the elimination of those now existing.

175. We are equally concerned about chemical, radiological and other particularly deadly weapons.

176. As a country of the third world, we are chiefly concerned at the proliferation of conventional weapons which,

with no justification, diverts resources that are vital for the development of peoples. No doubt there are regional conflicts and reasons of security or of questionable prestige which impel nations to arm themselves; however, the traffic in conventional arms, which is assuming ever-increasing proportions, is encouraged primarily by the manufacturers and suppliers of weapons some of whom are experts in dramatizing those conflicts for reasons of vested interest.

177. In the weapon-exporting countries there are powerful forces and interests which promote the war industry on various pretexts. Generally speaking, their sales of weapons constitute not only an important instrument of foreign policy, but also a large contribution to their balance of payments and, in the last analysis, a profitable business. Racist and colonialist régimes have therefore been using armaments supplied by countries which are signatories of instruments and declarations against racism and colonialism precisely in order to suppress human rights and crush legitimate aspirations for independence. Of course, we do not exempt from blame those who base their prestige on the unlimited acquisition of weapons.

178. With regard to the limitation of conventional weapons, Latin America has taken major initiatives such as the Declaration of Ayacucho, signed at Lima on 9 December 1974. Latin America is not unaffected by the alarming course which the armaments race is taking throughout the world and we must redouble our efforts to stop it. One step forward towards the achievement of these objectives would not only encourage disarmament in our region but would also promote the adoption of similar actions in other countries of the world.

179. President Carlos Andrés Pérez recently addressed the heads of the States which signed the Declaration of Ayacucho, proposing that we, their Foreign Ministers, should meet informally in New York during this special session in order to find out whether all the countries of Latin America are prepared to enter into a commitment in respect of conventional weapons. It is our hope that this Venezuelan initiative, taken in the same fraternal and friendly spirit as characterizes all our international actions, will receive all the support necessary to make it effective and that all our peoples can look forward to their still uncertain future with a little more confidence.

180. The armaments race is swallowing up human and material resources on an ever-increasing scale. The expenditures on armaments have risen to incredible heights and it is sufficient to cite only some of them to illustrate the seriousness of the problem. The President of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute recently pointed out that:

“Our world invests almost \$1 million per minute in military expenditure and that figure will be more than double by the end of the century. The world's current annual expenditure for military purposes amounts to \$400,000 million and, at the present rate, will exceed \$1 million million by the year 2000.”

This is reaffirmed in the report on the economic and social consequences of the armaments race and military expenditures, recently updated in the United Nations.⁸

181. The armaments race affects us all directly or indirectly. It affects us even on the Utopian assumption that it does not constitute a danger of extinction or a threat to our civilization. It affects us not only because \$400,000 million is spent on it each year while the majority of our peoples are denied the opportunity of enjoying all that science and technology can offer; it also affects us fundamentally because of the crisis in ideals and constructive goals which it clearly reveals.

182. The world is facing an economic and social crisis of extreme gravity which, of course, affects primarily the countries of the third world. The countless resources which the military Powers are allocating to both nuclear and conventional weapons have had a fundamental impact on the origins of this situation and on the inability of our societies to solve urgent problems.

183. Since the link between disarmament and development is indisputable, all States are in duty bound to promote both objectives and to ensure that progress towards disarmament is geared to the promotion of development. It is imperative that the major weapons manufacturers should begin the process of converting their war industries into industries for peace and the well-being of peoples.

184. Such efforts are all the more urgent as the Disarmament Decade and the Second United Nations Development Decade will be ending in a few years, by which time the international community will demand that an equitable international order be established. It is much more sensible and worthy of modern statesmen to promote an equitable order than to condemn us to chaos which no one would be able to control.

185. We consider the role that public opinion can play in disarmament to be of the utmost importance. In this connexion, we shall continue to support the preparation by the United Nations of studies and reports aimed at drawing attention to the danger and negative consequences of the armaments race. We also consider that the non-governmental organizations interested in disarmament can make a substantial contribution through the dissemination of information. Obviously, the idea is not to use the information media to spread propaganda material.

186. We think that by means of a systematic information campaign an international awareness can be developed at all levels repudiating and condemning the accumulation of armaments. The role of moderating and persuading which properly informed public opinion can play in solving problems affecting modern society is well known. Its opinions and viewpoints cannot be ignored by Governments.

187. The document submitted by the Venezuelan delegation to the Preparatory Committee for the special session sets forth these general concerns succinctly and proposes

some specific measures which can help to ensure that a well-informed public opinion plays a more active and fruitful role in the field of disarmament [A/S-10/1, vol. VI, document A/AC.187/94].

188. In view of its obvious importance, this special session was preceded by the most serious reflection. The Preparatory Committee, set up for the purpose, fully discharged the mandate assigned to it by the General Assembly, as regards both organization and procedure, and in the preparation of the draft final document, for the subsequent negotiation and final approval of which this session will be responsible.

189. It is a pleasure for us to express our appreciation to Mr. Carlos Ortiz de Rozas for the skill and intelligence with which he carried out his duties as Chairman of the Preparatory Committee.

190. We are aware of the difficulties and differences which prevented the preparation of a unified text of the final draft document, especially as regards the programme of action and the machinery for the negotiations on disarmament—differences which refer mainly to the aspects connected with nuclear disarmament.

191. It is to be hoped that on this historic occasion the inflexibility and intransigence which characterized the positions of the nuclear and military Powers in previous negotiations will disappear and that they will finally adopt a positive and conciliatory attitude in dealing with the urgent problems created by the nuclear threat. That is what mankind demands.

192. The basic objective of the special session is to achieve important advances and specific measures in the nuclear field, over the short, medium and long terms. If this objective is not attained, the prospects of achieving nuclear disarmament will become increasingly more remote and we will inexorably move closer to the final apocalypse, which, as we are all aware, could occur through an act of madness or irrationality, or merely by accident. We would then be irrevocably denying our common humanity.

193. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Sweden, His Excellency Mr. Thorbjörn Fälldin. I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency and in inviting him to address the General Assembly.

194. Mr. FÄLLDIN (Sweden):⁹ I should first like to express to you, Mr. President, my most sincere congratulations on your election to preside over this special session. You represent a country which contributes greatly to international co-operation and plays an active role in the movement of the non-aligned countries. Your vast experience and your diplomatic skill guarantee the successful conclusion of our important work.

195. I should like also to express my deep gratitude to

⁸ *Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.IX.1).

⁹ Mr. Fälldin spoke in Swedish. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, for his dedicated work for the world community. I wish to assure him of Sweden's full support for his tireless efforts.

196. We live in a world where, still, only a part of mankind can satisfy its basic needs for food, clothing, housing, education, health care and meaningful employment. The number of people living below the subsistence level is increasing rather than decreasing. An ever-increasing number of human beings is subjected to hopelessness and destitution.

197. Under these circumstances it should be mandatory to make an all-out effort to mobilize human and material resources towards ensuring human survival and safety and eliminating existing inequalities. Natural resources, capital and human ingenuity are still wasted at an ever-increasing rate, for the purpose of enhancing the power to kill and destroy. The arms race has already in many respects passed the limits of human comprehension. Nuclear weapons constitute a direct threat to our very existence.

198. A great deal of thinking goes into military planning in every State. Nevertheless, the gigantic build-up of armaments seems to be the result of an incomprehensible lack of collective foresight. We are faced with the consequences of a blindness resulting in one decision on arms production and deployment following another, without regard for basic global needs. This blind decision-making seriously curtails freedom of action. Only if we contain the arms race, if we reverse it into disarmament and if we use the resources of the world towards improving human conditions—only then can we hope to achieve what mankind has always aspired to: living in peace and in conditions fit for human beings, with the hope of a better future.

199. The facts speak for themselves. Nearly \$400,000 million a year are now being spent on armaments. At the same time, only \$15,000 million are spent on development co-operation. This lack of proportion runs counter to all human values. If we fail to come to grips with the arms race, the possibilities of achieving a new international economic order will be jeopardized. This should make us all realize that the arms race must be replaced by a strategy for economic and social development.

200. The grim facts are that armament seems to be accelerating rather than slowing down, and that disarmament efforts so far have yielded but meagre results. There is a widening gap between what has to be done and what has been achieved. But the absence of results must not paralyse the international disarmament efforts. All Governments must shoulder their responsibilities and take an active part in this endeavour. Only through a strong political will can we expect positive results in this situation.

201. The vicious circle of the arms race can be broken only through increased confidence and trust between nations, peoples and individuals. World-wide détente must be initiated. The work for international disarmament is therefore a task for each individual, for each nation and for the international community.

202. This session of the General Assembly devoted to

disarmament constitutes in itself a significant manifestation of the desire for peace and security among the peoples of the world. Never before has so representative a meeting on disarmament taken place. Never before has it been possible for the mass media and public opinion to follow a meeting of this kind so closely. If we are to succeed in bringing about a more secure and sound world order, the active involvement of public opinion is indispensable. The arms race and the widening gap between rich and poor countries can cause a sense of despair in the young and a lack of any sense of responsibility for the future. This session must result in a forceful expression of political will and in agreement on a programme of action which will open the way to speedy and concrete progress towards real disarmament.

203. The final goal, that of general and complete disarmament, is as remote as ever. Nevertheless, every single step towards reducing the risks and the costs of the arms race is of great significance. The maintenance of security at successively lower levels of armaments must remain our practical objective. It is the task of the special session, through its decisions, to pave the way for measures towards this end.

204. The nuclear arms race, which is the gravest threat to mankind, must be stopped. At the same time it would be wrong to underestimate the risks and the waste of resources connected with the continuing conventional weapons build-up. Restraints on conventional armaments as part of the policy of détente, whether globally or regionally, would also promote general disarmament.

205. The present situation in the nuclear weapons field is characterized by a technological development which outpaces efforts to negotiate verifiable disarmament treaties. Moreover, in a situation of crisis, decision-makers have less and less time at their disposal for rational thinking. The advance warning time in the case of nuclear attack, should anything so horrible occur, is now down to a few minutes. Therefore, it is becoming more and more crucial to mankind to ensure a better control of existing nuclear weapons and to prevent such weapons from ever being used.

206. The lengthy negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on the second round of the strategic arms limitations talks agreement seem likely to result only in minor reductions in the number of weapon carriers and warheads. Moreover, the qualitative development of nuclear arms does not seem to have come to a standstill. However, the fact that the agreement foreseen might contain a provision that the parties will wait a few years before deploying certain new types of strategic weapons may be considered a positive element. Even a limited agreement of that nature would be of value. It could facilitate a more far-reaching agreement later on. However, the negotiations now in progress concerning strategic nuclear weapons illustrate that the process must be accelerated if we are to achieve a halt to the arms race.

207. The principles of mutual deterrence and balance of terror may be realities in the world of today. However,

these principles continue to inspire a further build-up of the existing enormous strategic forces, they must be called into question at the international level even more strongly than before. New types and increased numbers of strategic weapons mean not only that added elements of uncertainty are built into the balance of terror with which we are still forced to live; they are also a driving force behind the entire process of the arms race. They contribute to the undermining of prospects for détente, both globally as well as in sensitive regions.

208. There are great risks inherent in a continued development of the large group of non-strategic nuclear weapons. The largest military forces in the world are concentrated in the European continent. Developments there have shown the close connexion between the build-up of conventional forces and nuclear forces. Concrete negotiations must now be started in relation to nuclear weapons primarily intended for use against targets in Europe. Until now insufficient attention has been focused on these weapons in the work of the United Nations and the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva, at the negotiations on the limitation of strategic arms or the talks at Vienna on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe.

209. The Swedish Government believes that the continuing development of all types of nuclear weapons must be halted, regardless of whether this development is undertaken by one military Power or the other.

210. One of several extremely worrying examples of this process is the development of the neutron weapon. At the United Nations and elsewhere, Sweden has strongly emphasized its profound concern about this terrible weapon. As we see it, the neutron weapon is a specialized nuclear weapon that might lower the nuclear threshold. That is one of the unacceptable properties of this weapon and it is the reason why we equate it with the so-called "mini-nuclear" weapons, against which Sweden has raised strong objections in various forums.

211. The medium-range nuclear missile is another category of weapons whose further development causes great concern. One example is the mobile missile known as the SS-20. This missile could be employed with great precision and terrible destructive power. The development of cruise missiles and killer satellites is another example of an arms race actually in progress which raises new obstacles on the road to disarmament.

212. Those topical examples suffice to illustrate the importance of expediting concrete negotiations with regard to these weapon systems. The logical long-term end results of present and future negotiations on nuclear disarmament may seem remote. The goal of such negotiations can be none other than that of the total elimination of the nuclear arsenals. That elimination must be carried out under effective international control. To that must be added a binding international undertaking by all States to refrain from acquiring nuclear weapons—that is, in practice, a world ban on nuclear weapons.

213. All regions must be freed from the threat of nuclear weapons. In representing a European country, I am thinking not least of Europe, where today by far the greatest accumulation of nuclear weapons is to be found. So long as the leading nuclear-weapon States have not abolished these weapons they must exercise the utmost restraint. They have a common responsibility for ensuring that the situation does not deteriorate further, either globally or in any particular region. In this context, let me recall the fact that no Nordic country has nuclear weapons on its territory.

214. A kind of balance of power between the two military blocs is supposed to ensure the peace. It is, however, not self-evident that the present security determinants in Europe or elsewhere will stay unchanged in the long run. That increases the importance of a halt in the further development of all nuclear weapons, as well as the need to exercise restraint in regard to conventional armaments. No one believes, for example, that a nuclear war would be started in cold blood. What we do know is that widespread devastation of human lives, of countries and of societies would result if, nevertheless, war should break out. That is true regardless of the differences in nuclear-weapon doctrines.

215. In the final document of this session of the General Assembly, the nuclear-weapon States must confirm that they take seriously the demands of the international community for real action to achieve nuclear disarmament. Both leading nuclear-weapon States must shoulder their tremendous and inescapable responsibility in this fatal issue. But other States also must take on their part of the responsibility; they must not remain passive. Together with the non-aligned States, Sweden has proposed a number of measures with a view to halting the qualitative development of nuclear weapons and effecting considerable reductions in nuclear-weapon arsenals.

216. A comprehensive ban on all nuclear-weapon tests has, and rightly so, been the highest priority item on the agenda of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament for a long time. An effective and durable test-ban treaty, to which all nuclear-weapon States eventually adhere, will play a major role in impeding the further development of nuclear weapons and preventing their proliferation. Such a treaty would also facilitate continued negotiations on the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons.

217. Negotiations are proceeding between three nuclear-weapon States with a view to establishing key elements for a test-ban treaty to be transmitted to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament for multilateral negotiations. We deeply regret that, owing to delays in the trilateral negotiations, it has been impossible for the Conference to meet the request of the General Assembly to seek to present this session with a draft treaty.

218. The trilateral negotiations must therefore be concluded at the earliest possible moment and their result transmitted to the Conference for multilateral negotiations at its forthcoming summer session. The negotiating parties must now provide the special session with full information on this matter.

219. Verification of a test-ban treaty will be carried out mainly by seismic methods. The Swedish Government has offered to establish, operate and finance an international seismological data centre in Sweden. A data centre of this kind would be an important element in the planned international monitoring system consisting of a global network of seismological stations which are being planned.

220. Real progress towards nuclear disarmament, such as a total cessation of all nuclear-weapon tests, can be decisive in efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons to additional States. The measures which the present nuclear-weapon States may adopt in order to check the absurd nuclear arms race have also a considerable influence on the will of other States not to acquire nuclear devices. It would be a tragic illusion if the possession of nuclear weapons were to be equated with special international prestige.

221. At this session we must attempt to reach basic agreement that all States have a national as well as a common interest to see that the number of nuclear-weapon States does not increase.

222. Sweden has rejected nuclear weapons for its own part. Our adherence to and our strong support for the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is a clear confirmation of this policy, both in terms of political will and of international law. The national security of Sweden is best ensured without these weapons. We are furthermore convinced that the prospects for avoiding a devastating nuclear war increase the fewer the States which possess nuclear weapons. Sweden's active struggle both for the initiation of genuine nuclear disarmament and for the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons is to be seen in this light.

223. The task of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons to more States cannot be postponed. Three years have passed since the first Review Conference of the non-proliferation treaty took place. In only two years from now the next review conference will be convened. No effort should be spared during this time to maintain and strengthen an effective and universally accepted non-proliferation régime.

224. The risk of a proliferation of nuclear weapons is also closely linked with the peaceful uses of atomic energy. All States have the right to decide how they can best ensure their energy supplies. As regards nuclear power for peaceful purposes, international co-operation and concord is of decisive importance. In order to avoid discrimination, all States, in the opinion of Sweden, must accept comprehensive and effective international safeguards for all fissionable material in the nuclear fuel cycle. It would be irresponsible to ourselves and to coming generations not to point to the risks inherent in a rapid and uncontrolled development of nuclear power in an increasing number of States by which also nuclear-weapons production capabilities are created. It would be equally irresponsible not to take advantage of the possibilities now provided by alternative sources of energy and improved energy conservation techniques.

225. It is imperative that nuclear weapons be given the greatest attention at this session. However, the destructive power of conventional weapons is already enormous and growing and must not be disregarded. The General Assembly of the United Nations must now pay adequate attention to this problem. The arsenals of conventional weapons should eventually be reduced to a minimum.

226. In the short term progress at the talks at Vienna on the reduction of forces in central Europe is of particular importance in view of the scale of armaments in that region. Similar negotiations on a regional basis in other parts of the world could actively promote co-operation and security. The quest for security by one State could thus more easily be realized without leading to insecurity for another.

227. Rapid advances in military technology have led to the emergence of weapons that inflict great and unnecessary suffering, often with indiscriminate effects, striking military personnel and civilians alike. As civilians usually have the least protection they will suffer the most. The legal restrictions on the use of such weapons are very few.

228. Sweden and several neutral and non-aligned States have demanded the prohibition of or restrictions on the use of a number of these weapons. Attention was first focused on incendiary weapons, particularly napalm. An overwhelming majority of nations in the world today want these weapons banned. Discussions have also dealt with the use of a number of other weapons such as, for example, some small-calibre projectiles, fragmentation bombs and fuel air explosives.

229. After many years of discussion it was decided at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly to convene in 1979 a special United Nations conference on certain conventional weapons [resolution 32/152]. Sweden appeals to all States, including those which are members of the two major military alliances, to make full use of this opportunity to bring about agreements on effective prohibitions or restrictions of the categories of weapons concerned which I have mentioned. Taking no action now would lead to a further tragic escalation of the injurious effects of a number of conventional weapons.

230. The immense volume of resources consumed for armaments stands out as particularly alarming when seen in the light of the world's urgent development needs, in a world where each day one fourth of mankind is exposed to hunger and destitution. Resources now set aside for armaments must be transferred to more constructive purposes in all States. That would facilitate the efforts of the international community to provide the developing countries with substantial resources for their economic and social development. In this way the glaring inequalities between peoples in various parts of the world and within States could be more speedily eliminated.

231. The lack of real progress in disarmament obviously must not be used as an excuse for inadequate efforts to promote development. Both disarmament and development are essential—each in its own right.

232. Together with the other Nordic countries, Sweden has proposed that the United Nations initiate an in-depth study of the relationship between disarmament and development [A/S-10/1, vol. V, document A/AC.187/80]. An expert group appointed by the Secretary-General and with a balanced composition has unanimously recommended a mandate for such a study [see S-10/9]. The study should clarify a number of problems relating to how resources can be transferred from military to civilian activities. The results of the work should be such as to form the basis of concrete measures to be undertaken by Governments. In our view, particular attention must be given to the urgency of transferring real resources released by disarmament measures to the developing countries for their economic and social development. We are convinced that in this way the study would be directly relevant to efforts to achieve a new international economic order. The Swedish Government has decided to place 1 million Swedish crowns at the disposal of the Secretary-General as a supplementary financial contribution to the forthcoming study. That contribution is intended to facilitate expert studies undertaken by the United Nations Centre for Disarmament in connexion with the main study.

233. The exaggerated secrecy connected with military matters is a constant source of mistrust between nations and becomes a powerful driving force behind the arms race. Sweden has long advocated greater openness as a means of increasing confidence among nations. We have taken an active part in the work carried out by the United Nations for many years on methods of making true comparisons between military budgets as a basis for possible later reductions. This implies that all States give a complete and open account of their military expenditures. A draft of an international standardized reporting instrument is now made available with the aim of making such comparisons possible. Thus, in order to continue this essential work and to test the standardized instrument, we hope that a group of States will declare themselves willing to take part in a pilot test which would involve reporting to the United Nations on the scope and allocation of their military expenditures. I wish to recall that Sweden is prepared to participate in such an activity.

234. Disarmament is the concern of every human being, wherever he or she may live on the earth. The waste of resources prevents millions and millions of people from satisfying their need for food and adequate housing and from breaking away from material and spiritual misery. Thus disarmament is the concern not only of politicians and negotiators. It is a vital necessity for all mankind. But if we are to halt the ever more threatening developments in the world, we shall have to start thinking along completely new lines and make an all-out effort towards this end.

Both the leaders of nations and individual citizens must be determined to work together for international disarmament.

235. Sweden has always maintained that non-governmental organizations and recognized international research institutes should also be given greater opportunities for making their voices heard in the disarmament debate at the United Nations. Their importance in mobilizing forceful public opinion in vital disarmament issues cannot be over-emphasized.

236. It is of utmost importance that this session be a success. Work must be started at once to implement the measures agreed upon here. One effective method of examining our implementation of the decisions of the session and of determining new goals and tasks is for the General Assembly to meet for a new special session devoted to disarmament. Sweden has proposed that a decision on such a session should be taken now and that the session should take place in 1982 [see A/S-10/1, vol. VI, document A/AC.187/95].

237. One prerequisite for halting the arms race and achieving concrete disarmament measures is greater confidence among nations. The policy of détente is the basis on which both disarmament and development must be built. A coherent view of the world's needs must not be obscured by concepts such as the balance of power and strategic equilibrium. In the interests of the security of all nations the international community must strive for a balance founded on reason and justice.

238. Disarmament is not an isolated political issue. It is closely related to the entire process of détente. Mistrust must be superseded by co-operation as the guiding principle of relations among States. Détente among States creates the most favourable climate for disarmament. Taking real steps towards disarmament is the best way to promote further détente. The arms race and the economic gaps typical of our world provoke tension and conflict. If we can create a more equitable distribution of the world's resources, we shall eliminate many future causes of tension and conflict. Then we can also release resources which are now being spent on armaments and use them instead for solving our common problems. The task before us is to transform the vicious circle of armaments and mistrust into unity and co-operation among the States and the peoples of the world.

239. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Sweden for the important statement that he has just made.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.