

**United Nations**  
**GENERAL**  
**ASSEMBLY**

**TENTH SPECIAL SESSION**

**Official Records**



**24th**  
**PLENARY MEETING**

*Friday, 9 June 1978,  
at 11.05 a.m.*

**NEW YORK**

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

**AGENDA ITEM 8**

**General debate (continued)**

1. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker in the general debate this morning is the Prime Minister of the Republic of India. I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency Mr. Morarji Desai, and in inviting him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. DESAI (India): We have met here at a crucial period of the world's history. Nuclear armament, despite its dangers and the threat of extinction to the whole world, has been escalated to a stage where even a small part of its weaponry can destroy the whole planet. Conventional arms and the armed forces of the world have attained astronomical proportions and numbers. Even without nuclear armament, we have witnessed during the last war what a scale of destruction the clash of these arms and forces can bring about. We in India believe that this special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament has met not a day too soon, and I bring to this august Assembly the greetings and good wishes of the peace-loving people of India.

3. Even though the central theme of this session is disarmament, it is also concerned with setting mankind firmly on the path of peace, which is also the path of sanity. I have no doubt, Mr. President, that you will impart to its deliberations the patience, the strength of purpose and the clarity of vision that this momentous task demands. I offer my felicitations to you, Sir, on being called upon to preside over the session.

4. Our sages long ago envisaged an ideal which is in the Vedic benediction:

“May all people be happy  
“May all people be without jealousies  
“May all people perceive the good  
“May no one get sorrow and misery.”

It is this ennobling vision of a world of happiness and contentment which I have always borne within me ever since I came into contact with the philosophy and personality of Mahatma Gandhi. It is a vision which we all should cherish and should strive to turn into a reality, not in the distant future but in our own time. This presupposes an atmosphere in which, to quote the biblical saying: “They

shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.”

5. The destructive potential of modern weapons used during the Second World War made the world fearful of war and crave for peace. At such a moment of realization was the United Nations founded. Almost simultaneously, India achieved freedom through non-violent means under the unique leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, which paved the way for the peaceful liberation of most of the nations from colonial domination during the last three decades. Viewed against this background and in the context of the near unanimity of world opinion, I believe that the times are propitious and the prospects of banishing war at present are brighter than at any time before.

6. It is a sad thought that, since time immemorial, the history of societies has always been interspersed with the history of wars. It is even sadder to reflect that, far from being condemned, the warlike attributes and image of conquering heroes have been exalted and glorified. The literature of every language, and children's books, even now, are replete with accounts of human slaughter in battles and wars.

7. Some latter-day conquerors have even tried to seek comfort in the theory of evolution through natural selection and survival of the fittest to provide plausible scientific support for the cult of genocide. Refinements of such arguments—racial, material and cultural—are still presented to us with varying degrees of sophistry. War had been an accepted instrument for advancing national interests in the past, but it no longer commands the same conventional legitimacy.

8. The current earnest quest for peace, however, seems to stem from fear of total annihilation. It is my firm conviction that fear is the worst, the everlasting and demoralizing influence on man. It should not, therefore, be the fear of war but love of peace which should rule our conduct. International power politics, however, appears to be merely the pursuit of selfish group interests—bringing to the surface much that is not noble in man—his pettiness, his jealousies, his suspicions of fellow men, his greed to acquire and dominate. The result is a general feeling of insecurity and fear leading to war.

9. Peace is not merely cessation of war, but a positive sense of identification with and concern for others. Instead of war, peace must abide in the minds of men. Little good can come of working for peace without a deep conviction that in peace alone there is human fulfilment and happi-

ness, but even if the goal appears distant it is well worth striving for, because movement in this direction itself reduces the causes of conflict. If we all seek peace, the world will one day become a real human family as embodied in our ancient saying: "The whole world is one family".

10. In more than 50 years of public life, in office as well as in prison, may I say in all humility that I have been sustained by the conviction, imparted to me by Mahatma Gandhi, that the noblest of ends cannot but be debased by resort to evil means to achieve them. The pursuit of truth with courage and sacrifice—*Satyagraha*—was for Gandhiji not only an article of faith but a guide for practical action. His whole life was a testimony to the truth that the only real freedom, and indeed the ultimate freedom, is freedom from fear. This fact has received homage from many, but has also been scoffed at as Utopian or unrealistic in the grim world of *realpolitik*. I believe that Gandhiji's message of non-violence and the innovative instrument of *Satyagraha* that he gave us have great relevance as we grope for a way out of the present impasse.

11. If we comprehend the unique and explosive crisis we collectively encounter, we must move towards disarmament through a solemn resolve to outlaw war and settle disputes through the beneficent process of negotiations. Only so would we be true to the Charter. As long as war is regarded as legitimate, disarmament will be a chimerical illusion.

12. Many wars have been fought in the past because nations were ruled by the desire to acquire power and domination, or material goods from others. But after every major human holocaust—whether the European wars of the period of the French Revolution or the two world wars in this century—there have been attempts, due to either temporary repentance or exhaustion, to build a structure of peace such as the Congress of Vienna, the League of Nations, or our own United Nations. Nevertheless, in the working of these institutions, some countries have become involved and have involved others in power politics, canvassing for blocs, competition for spheres of influence, promotion of sales of armaments and piling up of arsenals of terror, conventional and nuclear. The much-vaunted nuclear deterrent has failed to put an end to the arms race. In fact, it has stimulated further competition involving vastly destructive weaponry. The delays and difficulties which the super-Powers have experienced in coming to an agreement on the test ban, partial or total, on limitation of nuclear armaments, and on reduction of the armed strength of NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, over the last 30 years, indicate the utter futility of trying to secure even partial disarmament through a policy of balancing forces rooted in mutual suspicion and fear. The commitment to disarmament must therefore be total and without reservation. Though in actual implementation, having regard to the hard realities of the situation, we may accept the principle of gradualness in a time-bound programme, we must keep in view the final objective, and, in a spirit of dedication to that objective, work out a non-discriminatory programme based on universal application shorn of any monopolistic feature of preferential treatment.

13. In this context I should like to refer to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] of which much has been said in this hall and outside. India is among those who have not signed this Treaty. There has been considerable misunderstanding of our motives. To remedy this I should like to declare that we yield to none in our commitment to comprehensive disarmament. We are the only country which has pledged not to manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons even if the rest of the world does so. I solemnly reiterate that pledge before this august Assembly. In fact, we have gone further and abjured nuclear explosions even for peaceful purposes. We ask from others no more than the self-restraint we impose upon ourselves. But our objection to the Treaty is that it is so patently discriminatory. It makes an invidious distinction between countries having nuclear weaponry and those devoted to the pursuit of nuclear research and technology entirely for peaceful purposes. Paradoxically, the Treaty gives the former a monopoly of power and confers on them freedom for commercial exploitation of nuclear know-how, while on the latter it places restrictions which may impede peaceful development of nuclear science. Along with the partial test-ban treaty,<sup>1</sup> the non-proliferation treaty has placed the nuclear military Powers in a position which enables them to continue to utilize nuclear energy for military purposes while telling others: "Thus far and no further". Despite protestations of peace and despite realization of the dangers of nuclear warfare, the super-Powers between them have conducted 254 nuclear tests during the last eight years. The weapons now with the super-Powers are deadlier and larger in numbers. The non-proliferation treaty has thus failed to arrest the growth of nuclear armaments as anticipated, either qualitatively or quantitatively.

14. The history of the deliberations in the Assembly and the various committees, particularly the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, shows that even though the USSR and the United States of America have been active between themselves and with others, they have yet to provide a basis on which general agreements on the several aspects of disarmament could be reached. I am sure they recognize this, and it is the general view that the onus of finding the solution to the problems connected with nuclear disarmament lies heavily on them. In the discharge of that responsibility, suspicion and fear can have no place. This is not a matter of ideology or narrow national interests but of an assurance against the tragedy that the erosion of such trust might entail and which might engulf the whole world. It is in this sense that we regard nuclear armament as a threat to the very survival of mankind.

15. I am glad that the Presidents of the United States of America and the USSR have expressed their determination to finalize expeditiously the negotiations on the elimination of the testing of all nuclear devices, whether for development or for military purposes, and on a second agreement on the limitation of strategic arms. Certain other agreements, such as, for instance, that on the banning of radiological weapons, are in the offing.

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

16. It was in this hall that President Carter<sup>2</sup> solemnly declared last year that the United States would not use nuclear weapons except in self-defence. I am also happy that President Brezhnev has spoken of the replacement of the balance of terror by the balance of trust. While these are welcome signs, holding out some hope for the future, we have yet to see those benevolent intentions translated into action. I therefore share the concern of the President of France at the delays in these negotiations and the limited nature of the deliberations on disarmament which preceded the convening of this session.

17. My own earnest submission to this Assembly is that the problem of disarmament, particularly in the nuclear field, cannot be solved by a system of checks and balances devised as a result of bargaining. It can only be solved in a total manner keeping in view the whole of the globe and not the regions into which, presumably as a matter of political convenience or strategy, some countries seek to compartmentalize the world. It is idle to talk of regional nuclear-free zones if there are still zones which could continue to be endangered by nuclear weapons. Those which have such weapons lose nothing if some distant area is declared non-nuclear. The nations without nuclear capacity which imagine that their inclusion in such zones affords them security are under a delusion. We are convinced that there cannot be a limited approach to the question of freedom from nuclear threats and dangers, but that the whole world should be declared a nuclear-free zone.

18. It is now widely recognized that we have given sufficient time to the policies based on violence to produce a system of peace and security, and that we have now reached a point of exhaustion. We have therefore to take decisive steps to turn the minds of nations away from violence as a means of ensuring safety and security, and towards non-violence and *Satyagraha* as the means of resisting wrong.

19. Although I have urged and will continue to urge that the ultimate solution lies in the general acceptance of the philosophy and practice of non-violence, I believe with Gandhiji that one step is enough for me to start with, but that that step must mean abjuring violence as an instrument of national policy and a substantial reduction within a prescribed time-schedule in the weapons and forces of violence.

20. That first step, in my view, must consist in: first, a declaration that the utilization of nuclear technology for military purposes, including research in weapon technology, must be outlawed; secondly, qualitative and quantitative limitations on nuclear armament and the immediate freezing of present stockpiles under international inspection; thirdly, formulation of a time-bound programme—not exceeding a decade—for the gradual reduction of the stockpiles with a view to achieving the total elimination of all nuclear weapons; and fourthly, a comprehensive test-ban treaty with provision for safeguards to prevent breaches thereof, which in my view can only be done by independent inspection. The ban should apply to atmos-

pheric, underground and undersea tests and those in space. I would add also that the system of safeguards should be based on universality and non-discrimination. We must ensure that the system of inspection and safeguards is enforced objectively without bringing politics into such enforcement.

21. To initiate a programme of disarmament in the conventional field we should not wait until nuclear disarmament is completed. We should this very year begin efforts to work out an agreement on disarmament and the drastic reduction of armed strength in the conventional field. I can assure this Assembly on behalf of my country that India will co-operate to the fullest extent in the formulation of these various programmes and will pledge itself to their implementation. In fact, I visualize a time when the use of armed forces will not be necessary even for internal security.

22. The resources of the world we live in are too precious to be wasted on destruction. Millions round the globe suffer want, malnutrition, under-development and despair about today and tomorrow. We have misused the world's wealth for far too long. Let us now resolve to harness science and statesmanship to the cause of the welfare and happiness of mankind. Let us send out from here a message of succour and relief to the poor, the infirm and the undernourished and enable them to draw an assurance that a better life in a better world will be theirs.

23. It would be too much to claim that the eyes of all those people are on our Assembly, for many of them are unlettered and preoccupied with the exacting task of earning their daily bread. Even the literate citizens of the advanced countries are not in a position to restrain their Governments. But they know that all their comfort and affluence will be wiped out if someone presses a button somewhere. This apprehension is one of the basic causes of the anguish which makes life precariously uncertain in affluent countries, especially among the young. All this adds to the responsibility of all of us here who represent the nations of the world, big and small, rich and poor.

24. It is evident that no scheme of global peace and disarmament can last unless it is linked to the creation of an equitable world economic order. The nuclear Powers and their close allies are also those which dominate the world's economy and seek to manage it to their own advantage. Their military and economic strength support and reinforce each other. The poorer countries have to face not only the threat of domination but also the denial of a fair return for their produce and their labour. Disarmament could and should serve the larger purpose of ameliorating the economic injustice and deprivation to which two thirds of mankind are subject today.

25. Even if a small portion of the \$1 thousand million a day that are now spent on armaments could be diverted to the benevolent service of mankind through the spread of irrigation, feeding the undernourished, educating the unlettered, curing and ministering to the sick and the infirm in all countries, purifying the world's air and water and enlarging the understanding of other peoples' cultures, it

<sup>2</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, 18th meeting, para. 47.

would bring the ideal of a brave new world nearer achievement. I suggest that this Assembly recommend the setting up of a fund to be used to carry out studies on disarmament and non-violence and find ways and means of replacing bombs and bullets by bread and books. Working for the abolition of war is not only an historical necessity, not just a moral imperative, but a human duty. It is a plain matter of enlightened self-interest since it is indissolubly linked to our very survival.

26. If all this power of destruction came from the human intellect, surely that same intellect could create something more compassionate and benevolent.

27. The old prophets and seers who laid the foundations of human civilization may not have seen the mushroom clouds of atomic bombs, but they knew the nature of power, with their capacity to see the whole tree within the tiny seed. In one of our ancient books—the *Katha Upanishad*—there is a parable of a boy of tender years who carries on a dialogue with the God of Death who is also the God of Justice. The God offers the boy all the riches, all the pleasures and all the glory there can be. But Nachiketa, the boy, wants to know the nature of life and death and immortality. God parts with the mystery, but like all mysteries, it is not so mysterious. Victory over death, he says, comes from self-control. Lkening the body to a chariot, the mind to reins, the senses to horses, and the objects of the senses to roads, he adds:

“He who has no understanding and whose mind is never firmly held, his senses are unmanageable, like the vicious horses of a chariot. But he who has understanding and whose mind is always firmly held, his senses are under control like the good horses of a chariot.”

28. What is true of the individual is true of the world community. Man who has invented these engines of destruction is also filled with a desire for immortality. At this moment, death and life are poised as on a razor's edge. It is for us to choose what we will, but let us choose life. It is for this Assembly, representing the collective wisdom of mankind, to launch a movement in the conscience of men and embark on the great adventure of survival with a determination not to compromise with truth.

29. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of India for the important statement he has just made.

30. Mr. IENG SARY (Democratic Kampuchea)<sup>3</sup>: Mr. President, the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea congratulates you warmly on your election to the important post which you are occupying during our work. Your election is a well-deserved tribute to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, an independent and non-aligned country. Our delegation welcomes your election and wishes you every success in your highly responsible position.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Ieng Sary spoke in Khmer. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

31. The people of Kampuchea, like all other peoples, wish only to live in peace on the territory of their country in independence, honour and dignity. Since 17 April 1975, the date of the final and total liberation of Kampuchea, we have been struggling to build a new society. We want to mobilize all our forces and energies to realize this noble ideal, but the imperialist and expansionist Powers and their allies have always interfered in and hampered our peaceful efforts. In addition to their subversive activities and interference, together with their coups d'état, carried out in an endeavour to overturn the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, these Powers and their allies, employing their arms and armed forces, have been relentlessly harassing and provoking us along our frontiers; on several occasions they have launched large-scale aggressive attacks on and attempted invasions of the territory of Democratic Kampuchea. Our own experience and events which have taken place in various parts of the world make it clear to us that the problems facing the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and all independent and peace-loving countries, have the same root causes. They are to be found in the aggressive and expansionist action, together with the bellicose policy, of the major imperialist and expansionist Powers and their allies. Using their large arsenals and their armed forces, the latter are committing acts of aggression against many countries in the world and are destroying the peace, tranquillity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of those countries. That is why the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea believes that the problem of disarmament now being discussed at the special session of the General Assembly cannot be dissociated from the struggle of the peoples of the world to eliminate acts of aggression and expansion and the warlike policy of the major imperialist and expansionist Powers and their allies.

32. For more than 30 years, the United Nations General Assembly has adopted hundreds of resolutions on disarmament. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, for its part, has been carrying on its work for 17 years now. Moreover, there have been many negotiations, bilateral and multilateral, also dealing with disarmament. What is the result of all this? To date, the major imperialist and expansionist Powers have not reduced their arms by a single gun or a single bomb. On the contrary, their respective arsenals, both of nuclear and conventional weapons, have been expanding year by year.

33. The major imperialist and expansionist Powers talk about disarming themselves, halting the tests of various types of weapons and prohibiting various other kinds of weapons. However, in fact, as in the case of the strategic arms limitation talks over the last nine years, after they reached agreement on limiting their arms each of those Powers immediately started increasing and improving its respective weapons. Just to take the case of nuclear warheads, the number of those warheads has increased five times in the nine years since those negotiations began. Moreover, the weapons of mass destruction are becoming increasingly sophisticated and increasingly numerous.

34. The major imperialist and expansionist Powers are always indulging in idle talk on measures to avert the danger of nuclear war, but they pay no attention to the de-

mands made by the non-aligned countries and by the small- and medium-sized countries in the world, or else they impose conditions on them when they call for a solemn undertaking not to be the first to use nuclear weapons or weapons of mass destruction against countries which do not have those weapons, or against denuclearized zones. Those major Powers propose a total ban on nuclear tests and a halt in the production of nuclear weapons. However, they avoid the basic issue of a complete ban and total destruction of nuclear weapons. The propaganda of the major imperialist and expansionist Powers on a test ban or the prohibition of the production of nuclear weapons and arms of mass destruction, and also their propaganda on various measures relating to disarmament, security and peace, amount only to subterfuge to cover up their arms race, their attempts to ensure that they have a monopoly on nuclear weapons; that propaganda is simply a ploy to supplant each other, a means of disguising their bellicose policy. The major imperialist and expansionist Powers are continuing their arms race, not to defend themselves or to defend peace, as they claim, but to gain supremacy in nuclear weapons in order to obtain world domination. In the past, all they have done is to increase their weapons. In future, they will continue to do so. The arms race is a phenomenon which is linked to the aggressive, expansionist and bellicose nature of the major imperialist and expansionist Powers.

35. In their struggle for world domination, the major imperialist and expansionist Powers spare no effort. Nuclear missiles of the two camps are aimed at one another and are just waiting for the button to be pressed. In the Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean their warships and aircraft carriers move around very close to one another, and each camp indulges in demonstrations of strength against the other. Those major imperialist and expansionist Powers are feverishly jockeying for position in the world. Their rivalry is exercised in all corners of the world, increasing tension throughout the world. In Europe, a region more than any other of strategic importance for them at political, economic and military levels, those major Powers are waging an extremely bitter struggle. Their military deployment is on a scale unprecedented in the history of mankind. The negotiations which have been going on for more than four and a half years between the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries on the reduction of armed forces in central Europe can in no way hide the danger of war. During those four and a half years, the two camps have not even been able to reach agreement on the number of troops of the countries of the Warsaw Pact stationed in that region. Each of the two camps thinks only of how to increase its personnel, its weapons and its sophisticated arms of mass destruction. They think only of hurling invective and threats at each other. The danger of war is increasing day by day.

36. Moreover, in their rivalry to dominate the world, the major imperialist and expansionist Powers are constantly trying to strengthen and expand their military bases, including disguised bases, and they are seeking to establish new bases. They do not even stop at dismembering countries. For example, in Korea, American imperialism has seized the southern part of the country and has transformed it into a military base where sophisticated weapons are be-

ing built up, including nuclear weapons. American imperialism has imposed one of the cruelest kinds of neo-colonialist yokes on the population of South Korea, and it has been practising the criminal policy of "two Koreas" in an attempt to perpetuate the division of Korea. In other parts of the world, the major imperialist and expansionist Powers do not stop at violating the sovereignty of other countries, using such sinister theories as that of "limited sovereignty". To prevent the peoples from rising up and freeing themselves, they have sent their troops, equipped with the most modern weapons and war *matériel*, to crush and subjugate those peoples.

37. Still acting as rivals and endeavouring to obtain new positions in the world, the major imperialist and expansionist Powers are feverishly indulging in acts of subversion, interference and intervention against the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Within the non-aligned movement, in an attempt to have an ideology adopted which is in keeping with their bloc, and thus to use that movement for their policy of aggression and expansion, they are trying to create groups or allies and thus to distort the original principles of non-alignment based on an independent and anti-bloc policy.

38. When they speak, the major Powers and their allies say that they want peace and security in the world and in its various regions, but in practice they have committed innumerable crimes against security, peace, tranquillity, independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right to determine one's own fate in various countries of the world. Democratic Kampuchea, for its part, is now dealing with acts of aggression and annexation of its lands on a large scale. Currently, the enemy is mobilizing hundreds of thousands of soldiers along the frontiers and is relentlessly perpetrating acts of aggression against Democratic Kampuchea.

39. In the circumstances, the peoples and countries which love independence, peace and justice in the world have risen up to wage a strong struggle. Currently, the revolutionary movements of the peoples, the liberation movements of the oppressed peoples and nations, the struggles to safeguard independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right to self-determination, movements being carried on by the non-aligned countries, the third-world countries and all countries which hold dear independence, justice and peace in the world, are developing vigorously in spite of the many obstacles and complex problems which face them in their progress. The peoples of the world are becoming increasingly aware of the savage, stubborn and perfidious nature of the major imperialist and expansionist Powers and all their allies. They are waging energetic struggles against the acts of aggression, expansion, intervention, exploitation and brigandry and against the bellicose policies of those major Powers. In today's world, the flag of national independence and the flag of honour and national dignity are flying higher and higher.

40. The spirit of dependence and servility that was inculcated by the major imperialists and expansionist Powers is now tending to vanish. The broad international front against the policies of aggression and expansion and

against the ambitions of those major Powers is developing increasingly. Those Powers can no longer brandish their nuclear weapons and their weapons of mass destruction to threaten and intimidate the peoples of the world, to prevent them from carrying on their revolution or waging their struggle in full independence and sovereignty, or to lead those peoples to submit to them. The struggle of the peoples of the world has diminished the arrogance of the major imperialist and expansionist Powers and their allies, who can no longer conduct their activities of aggression to their liking and who are becoming increasingly isolated.

41. It is thanks to this valiant struggle of the peoples that a relative peace has prevailed in the world so far. Certainly, this peace has not come about as a result of goodwill on the part of the major Powers. It has been acquired at the price of sacrifice by millions of people who have waged their struggle and have overcome all kinds of difficulties. For their part, the people of Kampuchea have, during the revolutionary war for national liberation, given more than five years to the struggle against the war of aggression of the American imperialists. They have given more than a million of their sons and daughters. Today, in their struggle to defend and to safeguard their independence, their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and their right to determine their own fate, our people continue to make sacrifices to assist the struggle of the peoples of the world for a genuine peace and genuine independence, honour and dignity.

42. Through their long, tortuous struggles, the peoples of the world are becoming increasingly aware that it is imperialism and expansionism that want to destroy world peace and the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the various countries. That is why the peoples of the world are struggling valiantly and unyieldingly against the major imperialist and expansionist Powers. They do not demonstrate any spirit of submission or compromise, and they do not allow themselves to be carried away by the spirit of Munich. The spontaneous emergence of these struggles in various parts of the world clearly shows the highly developed political awareness of the peoples of the world.

43. Under such circumstances the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea believes that at this special session the General Assembly has a duty to encourage and support the struggle of the peoples and the countries that love independence, peace and justice against the acts of aggression and expansion and the war policy of the major imperialist and expansionist Powers. By taking appropriate measures to prevent the latter from continuing their heinous crimes, the General Assembly will be able to play a positive part in establishing genuine world peace and in supporting the cause of the independence of countries throughout the world.

44. As has always been the case in the past, the major imperialist and expansionist Powers want at this special session of the General Assembly to use this rostrum to continue their propaganda on fallacious disarmament measures and to create false hopes about their so-called will to achieve peace. They are sowing the seeds of confusion about the problem of war and peace in order to lull

the vigilance of the peoples of the world and continue their acts of aggression and expansion and their bellicose policies.

45. For example, in order to mislead world public opinion and to try to make people believe they really wish to proceed to disarm and that they really wish to use the resources that would thus be made available for assistance to the developing countries, the major imperialist and expansionist Powers have frequently indulged in propaganda on the reduction of military budgets. However, the facts have shown that the major imperialist and expansionist Powers are not disarming, and that they have spent a thousand million dollars to increase their arms and to meet the needs of their policy of aggression and expansion. Every year their military expenditure has risen by at least 5 per cent, while at the same time in their countries, tens of millions of people live in misery, are unemployed and see their standard of living falling year by year. Yet the major imperialist and expansionist Powers pay no attention at all to this. How can these major Powers love the peoples of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America when they are not even concerned about the fate of the peoples of their own countries? In addition, for defence purposes some countries have purchased weapons and military equipment from the major imperialist and expansionist Powers. However, whenever those countries are just a little late in their payments, the major Powers immediately halt delivery of weapons and spare parts—even if those countries must face problems of vital concern to them.

46. These facts show that the major imperialist and expansionist Powers are thinking only of how to quench their thirst for aggression and expansion. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have learned from their own experience, and they no longer have any illusions concerning the generosity of those major Powers. With good reason, they know that only by mobilizing their own strength, by relying on their own forces, will they be able to develop and progress in independence and sovereignty. Through their successive struggles against the policy of aggression and expansion of the major imperialist and expansionist Powers, the peoples and countries that hold dear independence, peace and justice have constantly heightened their vigilance in the face of these manoeuvres and ploys of the major Powers. They have overcome all obstacles. They have strengthened and developed the intrinsic strengths of their countries—that is, their own political, economic and military strength. They have endeavoured to be ready at the moral level, the political level and the material level so that, if necessary, they may deal with a war of aggression or expansion perpetrated by the major Powers. At the same time they have strengthened their solidarity, co-operation and mutual support on the basis of equality and reciprocal respect in order to ensure victory for their common cause.

47. As for the major imperialist and expansionist Powers, the political crises that occur in their countries have become chronic diseases. Their economy is in a state of recession, their political influence is decreasing. The peoples of their countries have less and less confidence in them. The contradictions between them and their respective allies are increasing. These major Powers are con-

demned daily by the peoples of the world. Moreover, they are unable to disseminate their views everywhere so as to control the world in keeping with their ambitions. Through experience in struggle, the small and medium-sized countries are coming increasingly to the realization that, once they are determined to fight on with perseverance, to become independent and to rely on the tremendous strength of their own peoples, then they are sure to be able to overcome the major imperialist and expansionist Powers.

48. We believe that, in order to encourage the struggle of the peoples of the world, the Assembly must thwart the evil designs of the major imperialist and expansionist Powers and prevent them from diverting its work so as to serve their policy of aggression, expansion and belligerence. If we allowed the major Powers to attain their purposes here, it would be difficult for the Assembly to discharge its mission of peace and, in future, other meetings on disarmament would not yield any result in keeping with the hopes of the peoples and countries of the world which hold dear independence, peace and justice. This Assembly has every opportunity now to help make the peoples more vigilant and encourage and advance their struggle, because at present the international situation on the whole is excellent and favourable to the struggle of the peoples of the world. In the past when the imperialist and expansionist Powers were stronger, the peoples and countries which loved independence, peace and justice were nevertheless able to wrest victories from them, one after another. Currently, the major Powers have become weaker and the peoples will therefore win greater and greater victories. The defence and safeguard of true peace in the world, like the defence and safeguard of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and its right to self-determination, depend on the peoples which are waging the struggle. The major imperialist and expansionist Powers are no longer able to impose their will as though they held the ship hand. This excellent situation strengthens the revolutionary optimism of the peoples of the world and gives us much better prospects for the thousands of millions of peoples of the world who are waging this struggle. We hope that at this session the Assembly will indeed be able to move in the direction of the struggle of the peoples of the world.

49. The people and Government of Democratic Kampuchea are now overcoming all obstacles and struggling with a highly developed spirit of combativeness and great determination to fight acts of aggression, expansion and annexation so as to defend and safeguard once and for all the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea and the right of its people to decide their fate for themselves. That is an historic national task of the people and Government of Democratic Kampuchea, and they must discharge it in order to ensure victory for their just cause. However, at the same time they are fully aware that their struggle is a direct contribution to the fight of the peoples and countries which hold dear independence, peace and justice, and against the policy of aggression, expansion and war of the major imperialist and expansionist Powers and their allies. That is why the people and Government of Democratic Kampuchea are increasingly marshalling their efforts to raise still higher the flag of national independence and the banner of honour

and national dignity. At the same time, they are fully demonstrating their solidarity with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as all countries which love peace, justice and independence, in their struggle for the total elimination and complete destruction of all nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction, primarily a ban on the use of those weapons against countries which do not have them and against denuclearized zones.

50. Democratic Kampuchea supports the establishment of denuclearized zones in southern Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America and any other region; we also support the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean.

51. Democratic Kampuchea supports the struggle to ensure that the major imperialist and expansionist Powers withdraw all their troops and mercenaries from the territories of other countries and that they dismantle all their military bases—including those that are disguised—that are in the territories of other countries.

52. The people and Government of Democratic Kampuchea resolutely stand by all peoples and countries which hold dear independence, peace and justice in the world.

53. Thus, guided correctly by the Communist Party of Kampuchea, and standing firmly by our position of independence, sovereignty, self-reliance and self-determination, the people of Kampuchea are endeavouring to carry out successfully the revolution in their country and to discharge their historic task of national defence and construction, so that soon Kampuchea will become stable and prosperous. We keep our revolutionary vigilance at a very high level so that, under all circumstances, we will be able to master the situation and crush any acts of aggression, expansion or annexation perpetrated by the major imperialist and expansionist Powers and their allies. Thus, directly and actively, in our modest way we are contributing to the struggle of the peoples of the world for genuine independence and peace.

54. Mr. KAISER (Bangladesh): Mr. President, permit me to join in the well-deserved tributes paid to you, Sir, and through you to your President and country. The initiatives launched by Yugoslavia in the vanguard of the efforts of the non-aligned countries have made this historic session a reality. As a member of that great movement, Bangladesh derived particular pride in this achievement and is fully committed to pursuing with dedication our common attempt to achieve a more equitable order in a truly disarmed world.

55. From time immemorial mankind has aspired for peace, but has suffered the travail of violence, destruction and war. The goal of disarmament has remained both an unfulfilled ideal and a fundamental dilemma fraught with disillusionment and despair. It is now universally acknowledged that if present trends continue the arms race will inevitably lead to a catastrophe.

56. This special session holds for Bangladesh a significance far beyond a mere symbolization of the unfulfilled

aspirations of the world's people. No longer can smaller States such as ours afford to view this question from the peripheries of the process as mere spectators. All nations and all individuals are accountable, for all are involved. They can and must play a part in the search for solutions. The arms race is clearly irrational, the build-up beyond our control. As the Foreign Minister of the Netherlands so aptly characterized it: "...the voice of reason rules out a new war as unacceptable; the voice of conscience commands that it is inadmissible. . ." [14th meeting, para. 128].

57. We cannot let unreason stand unchallenged. The hopes to retard and remove the mad momentum of the arms race can only be built on untiring efforts to rouse public opinion, to educate and inform people, to persuade Governments to see their true interests. Bangladesh stands irrevocably committed to the creation of this international constituency for peace, for a grass-roots movement directed at a radical change in the present security system away from military arsenals and a system predicated on war.

58. The Secretary-General, in his opening address, outlined the magnitude of the challenge facing us when he stated:

"...an effort of totally new dimensions is required, of a scope commensurate with the task at hand. It must encompass a broader and longer-range perspective than any previous effort; it must be more deeply rooted in the democratic involvement of peoples and nations—all nations—than any effort that has gone before; and it must rally an unprecedented measure of the world's reserves of talents and resources to the task." [1st meeting, para. 49.]

59. This session offers a vital momentum for the intensification of efforts to find new approaches to the age-old problem of disarmament, for stimulating progress and improving the climate for constructive action. The participation of so many important world leaders in this historic first disarmament session gives reason to believe that this challenge can be faced in a credible manner with hope and commitment

*Mr. Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

60. Bangladesh believes that certain overriding objectives must be kept uppermost in our minds. Perhaps the most important is the recognition that considerations of national security will remain incompatible with disarmament so long as there exists no viable international security system based on law and order and the collective responsibility of all nations for maintaining peace, abjuring the use of force and settling disputes through just and peaceful means.

61. It follows, therefore, that the focus of our attention must be directed along two parallel fronts, the first towards nothing less than bringing about a world free of war, through a series of comprehensive measures directed not

merely at the stabilization of the level of armaments but at a phased programme for the substantive reduction and elimination of such arms and the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The world community must search for a viable strategy that is both realistic and vastly more courageous than the piecemeal arms control endeavours of the past.

62. The second front would be that of simultaneous progress towards the creation of an adequate world security system to fill the void. A global perspective and universality of agreements are essential for the success of disarmament efforts. With the advance of the nuclear era, the rapid proliferation of nuclear technology and the development of intercontinental ballistic delivery vehicles, the concept of collective security acquires a new vitality and meaning. No longer can disarmament be relegated to the maintenance of strategic and military parity between the two Powers or their blocs to the exclusion of other Powers and nations from the peace-keeping efforts. The time has already come when world security depends to an ever-increasing degree on the co-operation of the whole family of nations and the pooling of forces and efforts.

63. There is no doubt that such a broad-based perspective is visionary. Yet the so-called realism of past endeavours in the field of disarmament has also proved illusory. What, indeed, has been the content of the arms-control or partial approaches in real terms? The answer is simple. They have not halted or reversed the arms race. On the contrary, the more we analyse the negotiations on arms control, the agreements reached and the dynamics of the arms race, the more surely we must conclude that the situation with regard to armaments is not improving but deteriorating. And, despite some appearances, the balance-of-power game on which it is predicated has enhanced neither security nor stability.

64. The imperatives for change, are, therefore, clearly in order and a strong case exists for a return to the idea of comprehensive measures within the framework of general and complete disarmament. The world greeted with high expectations the 1961 Soviet-American blueprint for general and complete disarmament—the joint statement of agreed principles for disarmament negotiations.<sup>4</sup> It was hailed then as a workable proposition, despite contemporary cold-war tensions. We believe that it remains the only realistic option, given the choice between the Utopia of arms control measures and the vision of general and complete disarmament.

65. I turn to the relationship between disarmament and development. Bangladesh believes that a cardinal imperative in disarmament approaches concerns the link between disarmament and economic development inherent in the recognition that peace and prosperity are indivisible. Nobody can deny the enormously extravagant waste of resources on armaments or the consequent sacrifice of the alternative uses to which such resources might have been put to facilitate progress and the acceleration of economic development. The blatant contrast is so compelling that in it-

<sup>4</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 19, document A/4879.*

self it provides a cogent rationale to rouse public opinion in favour of effective disarmament. Accelerating military expenditures not only absorb considerable resources but constitute a basically destabilizing element in the entire world economy. Such expenditures are destructive even if the weapons that proliferate as a result are never used, for they inflict painful economic hardships on millions of people—increasing inflation, decreasing productivity, raising the cost of consumer goods, depleting scarce natural resources and retarding development.

66. Recurring economic crises in recent years have served to dramatize the interdependency of the nations of the world and to bring about the realization that this interdependency will inevitably grow. It is becoming progressively more difficult to insulate any nation or group of nations from the effects of economic and social upheavals, tensions and conflicts elsewhere in the world. The prevailing dichotomy between the rich and the poor nations and the overriding disparities in their standards of living pose a serious danger to the maintenance of the measure of stability required within nations to permit the most effective mobilization of their energies and resources for their development and between nations to minimize the risk of confrontation, conflict and war. The spectacle of a world increasing its already absurd levels of lethal weapons, while neglecting the urgent welfare needs of millions of people, cannot but be a factor for disillusionment exacerbating international tension. These are some of the matters that underpin the call for the new international economic order.

67. Bangladesh fully appreciates that the problem is a complex one and that the problem of a link between development and disarmament has no simplistic solution. Nevertheless, we firmly believe that it is both possible and desirable to link disarmament and development in a systematic fashion so as to improve the prospects of achieving both. On sheer practical grounds, the world can neither afford nor allow the gigantic waste of resources that are consumed by unproductive armaments. A feasible international system linking disarmament and development will clearly take time to achieve and involve far larger inputs of knowledge than are at present available. It is therefore imperative that a beginning be made.

68. It is in this context that we have whole-heartedly supported the initiative of the Nordic group of countries in proposing that the United Nations undertake a comprehensive study to spell out the implications of global military expenditure on all relevant aspects of the economy and to examine methods for a planned reallocation of resources towards more productive ends, including in particular contributions to be made to the development efforts of poorer countries [A/S-10/1, vol. V, document A/AC.187/80].

69. Over the years proposals have periodically been made to forge a specific link between disarmament and the question of assistance to developing countries, mainly through apportioning savings from a reduction of military budgets to the cause of economic development and, more specifically, through the establishment of a disarmament fund. We welcome and commend in particular the reitera-

tion of those views, particularly by such eminent personages as the President of France and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, and the proposal made today by the Prime Minister of India for the establishment of a fund for studies on disarmament and non-violence. We believe that those proposals should be thoroughly examined and elaborated, with a view to their early realization. A major objective would be to accelerate implementation of the work on the international comparability of military expenditures with a view to facilitating agreements and, at least in the first instance, reducing the rate of growth of military expenditures.

70. The acid test of this special session will be our ability to devise a programme of action-oriented recommendations, incorporating specific objectives, meaningful priorities and achievable targets within a broadly defined time-frame and realistic enough to command the widest measure of support. As a member of the Preparatory Committee, Bangladesh has been involved in the painstaking endeavours to begin the process, and I stress the word "begin". We view this special session as a first important rung in the ladder leading to a viable agenda for disarmament which seeks not for a general solution at a stroke but one that, in a perspective way, is made up of a progression of specific but integrated measures.

71. Bangladesh considers the following areas to be of critical importance.

72. Regarding nuclear weapons, the highest priority must be accorded to measures pertaining to nuclear disarmament, and particularly to the reduction of the arsenals of the two super-Powers. The future of the world is being progressively mortgaged by the qualitative arms race. We therefore welcome the pronouncements of the Vice-President of the United States [2nd meeting] and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union [5th meeting] dealing with the issue of containing vertical proliferation, through the medium of the negotiations on the limitation of strategic arms, and their expressed readiness to reduce and limit qualitative development. Nevertheless, apprehension has existed in recent years that the dangers of a nuclear confrontation were being enhanced by groups who were increasingly being motivated by the idea that a nuclear war would be both fightable and winnable. Such fears are compounded by the development of more infernal and more sophisticated nuclear weaponry, including the improved accuracy of warhead delivery, the development of mobile land-based missiles to carry such weapons, and the development of cruise missiles and miniaturized tactical weapons.

73. The first imperative, therefore, is that a barrier be raised immediately against further competition in the improvements of weapons, new generations of weapons and new weapons systems. We fully support the proposals of Prime Minister Trudeau of Canada [6th meeting] in this context, and his rationale for arresting the dynamics of the nuclear arms race through a strategy of suffocation.

74. The priority short-range shut-down measure is the banning of all nuclear-weapon tests in all environments,

complemented by the longer-term objective of pursuing the progressive dismantling of the existing nuclear-weapon deterrent. Bangladesh welcomes the positive statements made by the two super-Powers and the United Kingdom on the question of a comprehensive nuclear-test ban and the fact that after two decades which have seen the qualitative intensification of the nuclear arms race and the development of even more deadly weapons, negotiations on this issue are approaching a decisive moment. It is our earnest hope that an early agreement will be reached on a convention on the prohibition of all nuclear-weapon tests.

75. Bangladesh firmly believes also that the international community should decry the use of nuclear weapons, in any circumstances, as illegal under international law. This special session must thus give consideration to generating the will for a convention on the question. In the interim, it should enjoin all nuclear-weapon States to pledge themselves never to use such weapons first, and never to use or threaten to use such weapons against non-nuclear States or regions whose territories are completely free from nuclear arms. The burden of responsibility for initiating such nuclear restraints rests squarely and heavily upon the two nuclear super-Powers, and their action should be followed by all the other nuclear Powers together. We are grateful to note that important advances have been made in this direction, particularly in the statements of leading nuclear representatives. China, of course, was the first and leading proponent of that approach.

76. Equally important are efforts to contain and curb horizontal proliferation by increasing the credibility of measures towards that end, the most crucial being the psychological climate that would be created by the nuclear-weapon Powers through prompt restraints and reductions in their nuclear arsenals. It is obvious that the smaller nations will not be induced to give up their access to nuclear weapons without a reciprocal prohibition against the right of nuclear-weapon States to retain them indefinitely. The crux of the argument revolves around the continued existence of nuclear weapons in any one State and not the potential possession of nuclear weapons by additional nations.

77. Bangladesh views the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as a positive measure, but our views are contingent on three interconnected concerns.

78. First, we consider that the Treaty must not be viewed as a discriminatory mechanism aimed at permanently dividing the world into nuclear and non-nuclear countries.

79. Secondly, we believe that a major incentive for adherence to the Treaty would be to safeguard the security of non-nuclear countries against nuclear attack or blackmail. This would involve an assurance that nuclear Powers themselves will guarantee, through effective treaty commitments, not to use such weapons against them.

80. The third issue revolves around the question of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. It is obvious that the nuclear Powers cannot expect indefinitely to retain a nuclear

monopoly option without significant guarantees ensuring the broad availability to non-nuclear States of peaceful nuclear energy under safe, economic and equitable conditions. Given the fact that commercial competition in the nuclear energy field and the vast profits attendant on the sale of nuclear technology have grown rapidly, the likelihood of collaboration with and assistance to developing countries is becoming less and less possible. There is, therefore, imperative need for exploring arrangements for closer co-operation among all States in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and the transfer of nuclear technology under adequate international and non-discriminatory safeguards. Bangladesh supports the work now under way in the International Fuel Cycle Evaluation exercise and believes that this should pave the way for the adoption of a special programme to promote technology for peaceful purposes in line with General Assembly resolution 32/50, adopted last year.

81. As regards chemical weapons, another important area in which prospects appear to be improving in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and in bilateral negotiations among the super-Powers is that of a treaty banning, we hope, all such weapons. Bangladesh believes that progress towards this end constitutes an important priority not only because of the desirability but because of the feasibility of reaching agreement. We strongly support all measures directed towards the banning of all chemical weapons and any new weapons of mass destruction, and to limitations on research and development programmes directed to this end.

82. Another vital action programme hinges upon conventional weapons. In this regard, we welcome the important statements made by many leaders, including, in particular, the Prime Minister of Australia [16th meeting]. Bangladesh subscribes to the growing view that among the serious omissions from the past disarmament discussions have been measures to curb the phenomenal growth in the conventional arms race. More than four fifths of world military expenditures are channelled into the purchase of conventional arms. World-wide trade has escalated rapidly to the extent that more than \$18 thousand million are spent annually. It is, therefore, vital that a systematic search be made for measures that can cope realistically with this problem, particularly since tradition and emotion are both on the side of conventional armaments, and limitation would touch all nations.

83. A general approach would be to lay bare the basic facts and then to seek active steps for introducing restraints, either by the indirect method of reducing military expenditures across the board or by the direct methods of curtailing production or limiting arms transfers. Regional agreements aimed at mutual restraints should also be actively encouraged. It is obvious that attitudes towards conventional force disarmament are key indicators of the world community's willingness to eliminate war as a means of settling international controversies. The forthcoming special United Nations conference on prohibitions or restrictions of the use of certain conventional weapons in 1979 will provide a particularly useful forum to gauge this willingness and bring about agreements on effective

prohibitions and restrictions of such weapons. Bangladesh is keenly awaiting its convening and outcome.

84. The fact that responsibility for hastening the process of disarmament rests primarily upon the nuclear Powers does not, however, preclude non-nuclear States from assuming their own obligations. Of paramount interest to Bangladesh are measures to strengthen regional and subregional co-operation, to elaborate basic principles and to identify elements of regional and subregional security, to encourage lessening of tensions through peaceful settlement of disputes and to reach agreements of mutual benefit on the basis of friendship and the recognition of equal sovereignty.

85. Turning to the subject of nuclear-weapon-free zones, perhaps the most welcome trend in this direction is the momentum towards regional approaches to disarmament apparent in such initiatives as the creation of zones of peace and nuclear-weapon-free zones. While there is an undoubted need to iron out difficulties with regard to definitions, both of concepts and geographical locations, as well as the obligations incumbent upon nuclear Powers towards such zones, we fully agree with the Secretary-General's conclusions that:

"Nuclear-free zones would in no way compete with or conflict with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and could indeed provide a means of extending and reinforcing the objectives of the Treaty and thus help to strengthen and promote the régime for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons."

86. We welcome the support being accorded to such zones by virtually all nuclear Powers and their growing willingness to accede to the obligations entailed in the respect for such zones. Bangladesh is fully aware of the constraints governing the realization of this objective in our own south Asian region. We stand committed to promote in any way the necessary co-operation and mutual consultation that could pave the way for the denuclearization of our region.

87. In relation to the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, Bangladesh has also repeatedly expressed its support for the proposal to establish the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, neutrality and denuclearization, with the dual objectives of excluding great-Power rivalry and competition, and strengthening regional co-operation and security. We firmly believe that the disappearance of great-Power presence or rivalry need not automatically ensure peace and tranquillity in that area, for while it would complement such a process, it cannot be a substitute for the obligations to be contracted by the countries of this region themselves to ensure their security. We fully support Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI), which called upon the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean, the permanent members of the Security Council and other major maritime users of the Indian Ocean to promote the objective of establishing a system of universal collective security without military alliances and strengthening international security through regional and international co-operation. Bangladesh welcomes the move for a conference of the aforementioned

States and believes that among its major tasks would be those directed towards strengthening guarantees and safeguards to preclude not only great-Power military presence or spheres of influence by any State or group of States but also potential rivalry and competition among regional States.

88. With respect to disarmament machinery, perhaps the most crucial aspect of our deliberations relates to the machinery for future disarmament negotiations. Discussions in the Preparatory Committee have revealed that there is an emerging consensus that for maximum effectiveness two distinct types of bodies are required—one deliberative in nature and the other responsible for conducting negotiations.

89. Agreement has also focused on the fact that the deliberative body must of necessity be one in which representation is universal—a truly democratic body. There is also near consensus that the negotiating body, to be effective, must be a more restricted through a broadly represented one. The general feeling is in favour of locating the negotiating forum within the already established confines of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, with certain essential preconditions. Bangladesh conforms to this view.

90. The preconditions relate basically to making the Conference more effective through improving its working procedures and strengthening its links with the United Nations through a greater frequency of reporting and wider and more open dissemination of its reports; increasing its membership to reflect its new status; providing wider access to the discussion in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament by non-member States; and finally, replacing the institution of co-chairmanship by a system of monthly rotation among all member States to give effect to the principle of equal rights and representation of sovereign member States. We have noted with care the statement of the President of France on this question [3rd meeting] and believe that all measures should be taken that could facilitate and encourage the participation of France and China in the proceedings of the negotiating body.

91. In so far as the deliberative body is concerned, Bangladesh strongly endorses the position of the non-aligned countries that it should be a distinct United Nations committee, preferably the United Nations Disarmament Commission which already exists.

92. Bangladesh also subscribes to the view that, in addition to these more or less permanent mechanisms, an additional special session or sessions could provide an important impetus towards the goal of disarmament and serve particularly for the purpose of reviewing progress. We believe that such special sessions serve as important rungs on the ladder towards the desired world disarmament conference.

93. Bangladesh has noted and welcomes for further consideration and synchronization the proposals submitted by the eminent leaders of France, Sri Lanka, the Netherlands and Venezuela directed, *inter alia*, towards the establish-

ment of a permanent disarmament body whose basic purpose would be to strengthen the ability of the international community to assimilate and disseminate information, studies and data relating to armaments, to monitor the implementation of disarmament measures and the verification of treaties and even to go beyond that, as disarmament progresses, to control and regulate the production and distribution of armaments and be vested with the authority to defend decisions of the United Nations in case of conflict where the use of arms was necessary. We particularly welcome the proposal of the President of France calling for a study on the creation of a satellite monitoring agency.

94. We stand today at a crucial crossroads in the shadow of potential annihilation. We have the ability to harness vast powers for the enrichment or the destruction of mankind. Yet a new kind of statesmanship and a new brand of courage are required. This session can mark the beginning of a new era, to move away from suspicion and distrust, to eschew interference by any means whatsoever and to build a new edifice founded on trust and co-operation in recognition of our inherent interdependence. The presence of many world leaders in our midst generates hope that the process has finally begun.

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

95. Mr. WAIYAKI (Kenya): The question of disarmament has been on the agenda of our Organization since its inception. The apt reminder of the President that the first resolution deals with disarmament clearly shows how the founding Members wanted to emphasize their desire "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". It was not, however, until 1961 that the idea of holding a special session to deal with this important matter was born in the first Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in the capital of your great country. It is thus fitting that an eminent son of Yugoslavia should preside over the first special session devoted exclusively to disarmament. May I join those who have spoken before me in extending to Mr. Mojsov most hearty congratulations on his unanimous election to the presidency of this very important session. We have full confidence in his leadership and we have no doubt that this session, like the other three over which he has already presided, will be successful. I should also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for all his peace-keeping efforts. Similarly, I should like to congratulate the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for this session for the great effort he has devoted to his difficult work.

96. It is a tragedy that although disarmament talks have been taking place in various forums and some agreements have been reached, there has been no real progress towards the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Recent agreements have not slowed the arms race. Indeed, the speed at which new weapons are developed exceeds the pace of arms-control agreements. Nuclear proliferation, both vertical and horizontal, has not been halted. Many nations, including the racist régime in South Africa, now have or soon will have the capability to produce nuclear weapons. Twenty countries now have that capability in the form of nuclear power

plants—in fact the plants are in operation—and another eight will have them by 1980. Experimental reactors are now in operation in well over 50 countries. As far as most industrialized and many developing countries are concerned, there are no longer serious technological or economic barriers to initiating a nuclear programme, which could lead to the development of a nuclear weapon potential.

97. In the area of conventional weapons the picture is no less frightening. Huge quantities of new and refined weapons have been accumulated. Also, significant developments have taken place in a number of other fields, such as those of radar technology, low-altitude interceptor aircraft, laser-guided weapons, and many more. As representatives present here know, technological advances in several areas have been combined to produce new types of conventional weapons with potentially far-reaching military and political implications. The new weapons are likely to accelerate the pace of modern warfare and to place a still higher premium on standing military forces.

98. We are told that today the world military expenditure is about the same as total world-wide expenditure on education and almost twice as much as expenditure on health. A United Nations study has revealed that total annual military expenditure is about \$400 thousand million or, in other words, over \$100 *per capita*. Although the arms race is a world-wide phenomenon, the competition in armaments between the super-Powers is by far the most important. It involves the greatest diversion of resources, the greatest inherent dangers and serves as the major factor accelerating the arms race. This competition is even more intense than is suggested by the immense size and quality and the rapid expansion of the arsenals of those Powers. Just when everybody believed that the ideological battles and flames were abating, they have reared their ugly heads again with fierce intensity, not only within the borders of the two super-Powers, but also elsewhere in an attempt again to develop spheres of interest and influence.

99. The picture I have drawn is quite dismal. Unless we curb the arms race, we shall surely fail to achieve the main objective of this Organization, namely, peace and security. I should like to express a few views on how Kenya considers this whole problem and how we should go about solving what is agreed by everyone assembled here to be a grave danger to the whole of mankind. There are no easy answers or solutions to what is definitely a complex issue.

100. Kenya maintains that, in order to solve this problem, we must find its root cause. Unfortunately, quite often we tend to treat the symptoms rather than the cause. While it is true that nations have a sacred duty to ensure the security of their States—and Kenya supports this assertion—we must nevertheless ask ourselves why we should fear each other to such an extent that only arms will provide us with security. The truth is, of course, that we are not true to each other. We mistrust each other. The first prerequisite for disarmament, therefore, must be the creation of conditions that evoke united trust. We believe that when mutual trust amongst nations has been achieved, there will be a lessening of tension.

101. An attempt has been made to achieve the lowering of tension by détente. Détente has had and could continue to have an important effect in changing the international climate, thereby improving the conditions for beneficial interaction between the major Powers and the development of their economic and social ties. But we must be concerned that political détente has not been accompanied by corresponding measures of disarmament and military disengagement. International détente is being undermined by the momentum of the technological development and refinement of armaments and the deployment of new weapons. The organizers of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe had hoped to consolidate détente, which would lead to a substantial reduction in armaments, and particularly in the nuclear weapons of those countries whose military arsenals and military budgets are the most massive. It is deplorable, therefore, that the results of the Helsinki Conference have not reversed the arms race. Genuine disarmament still remains a task of the greatest urgency.

102. Kenya does not view international détente within the narrow and now familiar context of a dialogue or relaxation of tension between the two super-Powers. In our view, détente should mean the involvement of all States in the solution of international problems. Any effort by the super-Powers to use détente in order to protect or create special spheres of influence does not serve the purpose and interest of the international community and should be condemned. Kenya believes that international détente should mean respect for each other's territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and genuine good-neighbourliness, which has also been called peaceful co-existence. Only when international détente is viewed from this wider perspective can there be genuine lowering of tension which will lead to a general reduction of armaments.

103. When this propitious atmosphere has been established, this Organization can look into what further steps it can take to achieve disarmament. One such step is to design the machinery that will ensure that disarmament is carried out for the benefit of all, not of a few nations or groups of nations. Currently, negotiations on disarmament are carried on mainly outside the Organization. We consider this to be undesirable and unsatisfactory. Since disarmament is the concern of all, all should be involved in the process. Kenya therefore will lend support to those proposals that would give this Organization an effective role in the struggle towards disarmament.

104. We have observed with regret the failure of the major Powers to agree on the final implementation of those chapters of the Charter dealing specifically with security. We feel that this is another area that should be given attention urgently if a world of peace and security is truly to evolve.

105. We are all agreed that nuclear weapons constitute the major threat to our world today. Kenya is against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We are interested in the potential benefits of the peaceful applications of nuclear energy. We do not believe that the peaceful application of

nuclear energy will lead to proliferation of nuclear weapons so long as all States, nuclear and non-nuclear, agree to observe strictly the safeguards laid down by the International Atomic Energy Agency. The continuance of the arms race does not encourage but limits the free transfer of nuclear technology to the non-nuclear-weapon States. It is obvious, therefore, that the main problem lies in the arms race. In conditions of non-proliferation, the danger of the dissemination of nuclear-arms technology would be reduced and a better environment created for the free application of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

106. I believe that it is now widely recognized that there is a direct link between disarmament and development. It has been pointed out in a United Nations study that the high level of military spending in the world not only diverts resources that are urgently needed for dealing effectively with economic problems, but also helps to exacerbate those problems. Furthermore, large military expenditures contribute to the depletion of resources and add to existing balance-of-payments problems. In this way they have contributed to economic disruption and political instability in various parts of the world, and particularly in developing countries. Without those expenditures money would have to be used elsewhere. Our hope is that such financial resources would be used to remove poverty, ignorance and disease from our world.

107. By diverting vast resources away from production and growth, and by contributing to inflation and the economic crises which have affected many countries, the arms race, I wish to emphasize, has impeded the full development of international trade. The flow of trade and aid is distorted by interference for political and strategic considerations, resulting in the misallocation of resources on a global scale. Furthermore, the arms race has contributed to widening the gap between and within the developed and developing countries and has hampered co-operation among States, socio-economic progress generally and the promotion of the new international economic order.

108. With regard to the new international economic order, there is a need for increasing development assistance in all its forms; not only in the form of official grants and loans on concessionary terms, but also in the form of development-promoting measures with a concessionary component in such fields as trade in industrial goods and transfer of technology. Measures of disarmament would obviously improve the possibility of more assistance. The polarization of wealth and poverty in the world can no longer be tolerated. The perpetuation and, indeed, the exacerbation of enormous disparities in levels of well-being are not only morally unacceptable but also exceedingly dangerous from the standpoint of future relations between States and world peace and security.

109. It is in this context that Kenya attaches great importance to this special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The peoples of the world and the Governments represented at this special session should, here and now, reaffirm their commitment to the goal of general and complete disarmament by adopting a declaration of principles and a comprehensive programme of

action. Efforts should be made to improve the disarmament machinery in order to reassert the responsibility of the United Nations and its central role in the field of disarmament.

110. This special session should openly declare disarmament to be an integral part of a new international economic order based on sovereign equality, independence and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. We must create mutual trust and justice for all and be prepared to renounce the policy of creating spheres of influence and the attitude of eliminating others. Non-aligned countries should be strong in their determination to remain non-aligned and to strengthen their movement towards peace and against the dangers that can bring about war.

111. It was not arms *per se* that caused inter-State wars in the past and it is not arms that will cause inter-State wars in the future. It is rivalry between States or groups of States that has been the cause of wars. It is the desire to push down the throats of others one's own ideas, philosophy, concepts and models of ways of life, many of them having not the slightest relationship to the aspirations of the country being subjected to pressure or even blackmail of itself, its leaders and its people. The attention of this Organization should be directed increasingly to the elimination of this cause of war, this unremitting crusade aimed at denying peoples the right to self-determination, this incessant desire to direct minds and use others. It is this push to "pocket" and influence nations, to side like robots with a foreign Power or foreign Powers, that many small and medium-sized countries resent and wish to steer clear of. Hence the refusal by African countries to grant military bases to super-Powers.

112. When the movement of non-aligned countries was launched, the world was living in a continuous state of heightened tension created by the two armed camps of East and West. In that state of tension, the chances of war between the two camps were real and were always round the corner. It was believed then that ideological differences were the real cause of the rivalry. The movement of non-aligned countries made every effort to reduce the tension and, by example, to show that co-existence was possible between States of differing ideological orientation. It was through the efforts of that movement that the concept of détente between the two armed camps was eventually accepted. Unfortunately, although détente was beneficial to the two armed camps and to the world community as a whole, the former are now fast slipping back to a situation where they are creating tension, and they want to involve the rest of us. Together we must resist this trend.

113. A brief survey of the world scene in the last few years reveals that in fact the ideological rivalry was not the only cause of tension and of the arms race between the two armed camps. Indeed, the alignment of States, 35 years ago and now, confirms that ideological differences are no more than a convenient label, like a flag, to distinguish who belongs to which bloc of rivals. If the movement of non-aligned countries was needed 17 years ago to defuse the situation by counselling moderation and common sense in international relations, it is needed even more now.

114. Dangerous developments are taking place. There is a struggle over the sources of raw materials, the safety of investments, the availability of markets, the safety of sea lanes and sources of energy. We have no wish to see the continent of Africa once again treated in the way it was treated 100 years ago. It is our duty in the Organization of African Unity, in the movement of non-aligned countries and also in the United Nations to say loudly that Africa is for us, the Africans. As it is, we have enough difficulty in freeing our continent from colonialism and in developing it economically without having it subjected to the effects of the irrational and dangerous rivalry of the two foreign armed camps on our soil. We certainly do not need another Conference of Berlin to divide Africa. We in OAU have made great efforts to unite our continent and despite jeers and discouragement from those who would like to divide the continent, our efforts are succeeding. Those efforts are for peace and not for war; they are for the freedom of our people in southern Africa; and they are for development throughout the continent. We therefore call for the cessation of all foreign interference in the affairs of Africa. Help us instead to work out a better life for present and future generations. Help us to remove colonialism and racial subjugation. Help us by not dividing us. We need no blocs in Africa based on the super-Power blocs. Kenya strongly opposes the idea that is being mooted of the creation of multinational and opposing armies in Africa.

115. The United Nations has been able to unite from time to time against colonialism, and particularly against racism, and it is our belief and hope that that will continue. Kenya believes that until this Organization agrees to unite for peace in the same way, all our calls for disarmament will fall on deaf ears. This Organization has not yet even agreed to impose sanctions against a Member State guilty of aggression. That is sad. It is true that it took a long time to define aggression, but, now that this has been done, it should be possible for the United Nations to speak with one voice and to impose sanctions against an aggressor State. If this provision in our Charter is not utilized, it is futile to call upon States to disarm as there is no way that their security can be guaranteed. We believe that the greatest effort should be directed towards creating machinery, as provided for in our Charter, for the peaceful settlement of disputes and for bringing into operation those provisions of the Charter which will fully enable this Organization to deal with States that disrupt international peace and security. In that way a climate of confidence and trust will be developed to make the goal of general and complete disarmament once again more of a practical proposition than a dream.

116. While we must not turn disarmament into a subject of academic study by the United Nations, in the view of the Kenya delegation there is a great deal of merit in the proposals for practical study and preparation which, if implemented, would enable Member States to become really useful in the work for the realization of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

*The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.*