



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 26TH MEETING

Chairman: Mr. MULLOY (Ireland)
(Vice-Chairman)

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Statements were made by:

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 31 TO 49 AND 121 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): I should like to congratulate the Chairman upon his election to the chairmanship of the First Committee and to wish him every success in the performance of his duties involving the organization and promotion of the successful work of the Committee in the field of disarmament and the strengthening of international security.

Developments in the international arena have taken a sharp turn towards a greater military threat, while the world has been faced with the bleak prospect of being thrown back to the period of the cold war. Such a situation has been brought about by the policy of imperialist and hegemonist forces who are attempting to undermine the process of détente to ensure military superiority for themselves and to establish conditions for interfering in the internal affairs of other States.

Afghanistan, as an Asian country, has been particularly concerned over the dangerous manifestations of that policy in Asia. With regard to Afghanistan, it has taken the shape of an undeclared war aimed at strangling the April revolution and turning Afghanistan into a staging area for the suppression of progressive movements in Asia. In Afghanistan, these sinister plans have ended in failure. Yet, unfortunately, the imperialists, hegemonists and their allies have so far failed to realize this, and they continue to interfere in our internal affairs. What is more, while slandering our country they are trying to cover up, through the so-called Afghan question, an unprecedented build-up of their militaristic activities in the entire world, including Asia.

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

To use the internal developments in Afghanistan as a pretext to escalate their warmongering and militaristic activities is merely an ironic excuse. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) declaration of May 1978 concerning a substantial increase in the military expenditure of its member countries until the year 2000, the NATO declaration of December 1979 regarding the deployment of nuclear medium-range cruise missiles in Europe, the creation of rapid deployment forces and the expansion of military bases around the world could serve as good examples of the launching by world imperialism, headed by the United States, of anti-peace and war-preparation policies which have resulted in the sharp deterioration of the international situation and the intensification of the arms race. These are the policies which have damaged the process of détente and the relaxation of international tension, and not the internal developments in my country.

It is quite obvious that in the current complicated international situation, the process of détente and of limiting the arms race has increasingly come under attack by imperialist and hegemonistic forces. Their designs are being countered by broad movements of peoples and peace-loving countries which are increasingly coming out in favour of curbing the growth of and reducing and ultimately destroying the military arsenals which have already accumulated an enormous amount of destructive capacity.

(Mr. Zarf, Afghanistan)

The people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are in total solidarity with those who struggle consistently to save mankind from the greatest of tragedies: another devastating world war that could put an end to the human race. Our support of the noble goals of that struggle follows from the fundamental principles of the foreign policy of my country, as one of the founders of the Non-Aligned Movement. The General Secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, President of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister, Babrak Karmal, during his official visit to the USSR, stated that:

"Afghanistan's foreign policy is based on the principles of peaceful co-existence, respect for the United Nations Charter, non-alignment, international solidarity, the consolidation of détente, greater security in the region and throughout the world, an end to the arms race, the promotion of peace, friendship and co-operation between peoples".

Thanks to the combined efforts of peace-loving countries it has become possible during the last decade to attain considerable successes in the field of disarmament; yet what has been achieved still proves to be insufficient. Therefore international actions in support of disarmament should be multiplied. We are prepared to support any constructive proposal in that direction.

At this current session the Soviet Union has come out with a new variant of such a proposal, one that outlines "Urgent measures for reducing the danger of war". That Soviet initiative provides powerful impetus for the struggle for the strengthening of peace. We therefore fully support that proposal and shall vote in favour of the relevant draft resolution.

The peoples of the world have quite rightly attached great hopes to the implementation of real disarmament measures, aware of the fact that that will strengthen universal peace and security and release the enormous resources that are so necessary for their socio-economic development. As a non-aligned country, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan fully shares in the appeal by the Sixth Summit Conference of the non-aligned countries, held in Havana in September last year, for the adoption of

"...concrete measures of disarmament the implementation of which would progressively enable a significant portion of the resources so diverted to be used for social and economic needs, particularly those of developing countries." (A/34/542, part I, para. 225)

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

No problem is more pressing for mankind than that of doing away with nuclear weapons that entail a serious and lethal threat to its very survival. That threat increases in view of the adoption of doctrines justifying 'acceptability' and 'admissibility' of the use of nuclear weapons and the concept of a 'limited nuclear war'. Nobody will succeed in convincing peoples to get accustomed to those criminal inhuman concepts in order to weaken the struggle to prevent nuclear catastrophe.

Today more than ever before urgent talks are needed to end the production of nuclear weapons, to reduce and totally destroy their stockpiles on the basis of positive proposals put forward in the Committee on Disarmament. The stubbornness and intransigence of those nuclear-weapon States that refuse to enter into such talks should not stand in the way of achieving the common objective of mankind, the elimination of the danger of nuclear war.

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan attaches great significance to the entry into force of the SALT II Treaty. The Soviet-United States talks on limiting medium-range nuclear missile systems in Europe and the United States forward-based nuclear system in that region which have recently been started in Geneva should also contribute to the reduction of the danger of nuclear war.

There are no convincing reasons to postpone the conclusion of a treaty on the prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. Progress in that direction should be accelerated. In that context we note with satisfaction a new Soviet proposal for a one-year moratorium on any nuclear explosions, embracing all nuclear Powers. That proposal, if implemented, would be in the interests of all non-nuclear countries. We resolutely condemn China's recent nuclear-weapon test in the atmosphere which produced a radioactive cloud that passed over many densely populated areas, including New York, the venue of the United Nations General Assembly.

As a non-nuclear State, Afghanistan has been closely following the talks on strengthening security guarantees for non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or the threat of use of those weapons.

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

Afghanistan advocates the conclusion of a corresponding convention as the most effective means of protecting the interests of non-nuclear States. Before an international consensus is reached on such a convention it would be useful to consider provisional measures through the use of the powers and responsibilities of the Security Council. Such measures and guarantees should be identical and binding in nature. Strengthening the security of non-nuclear-weapon countries and working out an agreement on the non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of those States where there are no such weapons at present would make a positive contribution to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Efforts towards the universality of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the consolidation in every way of the régime of non-proliferation can help reliably to block the channels for spreading nuclear weapons, to check the nuclear ambitions that can still be felt in the policies of certain countries, including Israel and South Africa. We express our solidarity the peoples of Palestine and Africa against the aggressive policies of occupation pursued by the racists and the Zionists. Those policies will evidently become more dangerous if the ambitions of the régimes in those countries to obtain nuclear weapons are fulfilled.

Nuclear weapons are but one type of weapon of mass destruction that threaten the whole of mankind. Another is chemical weapons whose use has been prohibited by the 1925 Geneva Protocol. Afghanistan has repeatedly drawn the attention of the international community to the criminal facts regarding the use of United States manufactured chemical ammunition in the course of subversive activities and acts of direct aggression against Afghanistan.

The representative of the United States, in his statement before this Committee on 30 October 1980, once again attempted to distort the facts about the continued interference by his Government in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan when he referred to the use of chemical weapons in my country. In an apparent act of hypocrisy, he referred to the actual use in Afghanistan of chemical weapons by counter-revolutionaries as mere reports. I should like to draw the attention of representatives to document A/35/435, dated 4 September 1980, which contains convincing accounts and details of the use of United States made chemical weapons in Afghanistan and the involvement of the United States Government.

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has expressed its resolute protest and indignation at the provision of such weapons to the bands of Afghan counter-revolutionaries and it has brought it to the notice of the Governments of the neighbouring countries that offer them the use of their territories.

The total destruction of stockpiles of chemical weapons is in the interest of all peoples. What is regrettable is the slow progress at the talks on that subject. My delegation strongly hopes that the participants in those negotiations will exert their utmost efforts to conclude a speedy agreement.

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan attaches exceptionally great importance to regional measures for the slowing down of the arms race and for disarmament.

(Mr. Zarif, Afghanistan)

In this context it has been closely following the discussion on turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, so that all foreign military bases there would be dismantled and no one could threaten the security, independence and sovereignty of coastal States. The General Secretary of the People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Babrak Karmal, has declared Afghanistan's resolute support for the peaceful proposals designed to foil the sinister plans of United States imperialism and Chinese hegemonism in regard to the countries and the peoples in that area. For a number of years now the United States, in the context of its policy of domination and diktat, has been building up its military presence in the Indian Ocean, the Arabian Sea and the Red Sea and the Gulf. Work has been stepped up to expand the United States military base on Diego Garcia and new staging areas have been established for United States interference in the internal affairs of African and Asian States. The intrigues of imperialism and hegemonism should not and cannot be allowed to disrupt the convening of an international Conference on the Indian Ocean, scheduled for 1981. For its part Afghanistan is prepared to contribute to its success. We also support Madagascar's important initiative on holding a summit conference in Antananarivo with the participation of all countries interested in preserving peace and security in the Indian Ocean area.

A realistic programme of measures for limiting the arms race in all its aspects and of disarmament should be the essence of the second United Nations Disarmament Decade. All efforts should be made by all forums concerned for its implementation and, in particular, the potentialities of the world disarmament conference advocated by Afghanistan should be tapped.

We call upon all States to multiply their efforts in order to make substantial progress in the field of disarmament and for limiting the arms race. That would strengthen the security foundations of each and every nation and contribute to a more secure peace and a decrease in international tension.

Mr. TERREFE (Ethiopia): In my first statement I had an opportunity to speak on the need for a renewed commitment on the part of all States to implement the objectives of the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament. I made that remark in connexion with the report of the Committee on Disarmament. Today I should like briefly to express my delegation's views on the disarmament items which are the subjects of special reports by the Secretary-General.

One of them is the "Comprehensive study on nuclear weapons" (A/35/392). My delegation fully appreciates the work of the Group of Experts which made this useful study available to the First Committee. Thanks to this study, the international community is now fully aware of the effects of the possible use of nuclear weapons. The implications for States of the acquisition and the further development of these weapons of terror are clearly set out in the Secretary-General's report. It would be sheer lunacy for any Government to ignore these implications and to continue propagating new deterrence strategies and to allow further nuclear-weapon proliferation.

The general debate in this Committee during the past three weeks has clearly shown that no international endeavour holds greater potential for world peace and security than genuine efforts aimed at disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, and this despite the fact that in no area of collective endeavour has the international community encountered so much disappointment and frustration as in the field of nuclear disarmament.

It is for that reason that my delegation stresses the need for a speedy conclusion of an international treaty on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests in all environments. This move is particularly relevant in view of the 1,256 nuclear explosions that have been registered since 1945 at an average rate of 40 explosions per year.

With respect to the denuclearization of Africa, the following is noted from the Secretary-General's report (A/35/402).

Following the French nuclear test explosion, the General Assembly in 1961 in its resolution 1652 (XVI) called upon Member States to refrain from nuclear-weapon testing in Africa and to respect the continent as a denuclearized zone. In 1964 the Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in Cairo, reaffirmed their readiness to undertake, through an international agreement

(Mr. Terrefe, Ethiopia)

to be concluded under United Nations auspices, not to manufacture or control atomic weapons. The declaration was endorsed by the Second Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Cairo in 1964.

In 1965 the General Assembly in its resolution 2033 (XX) called upon all States to refrain from testing, manufacturing, using or deploying nuclear weapons on the continent, as well as from transferring such weapons, scientific data or technological assistance in any form which might be used to assist in the manufacture of nuclear weapons in Africa.

In 1976 the General Assembly appealed to all States not to deliver to South Africa or place at its disposal any equipment, fissionable material or technology that would enable it to acquire a nuclear-weapon capability.

In 1977 the construction in the Kalahari desert of a nuclear test site was reported and in September 1979 a nuclear device was reportedly detonated in the area of the Indian Ocean. In its resolution 34/93 A of 12 December 1979 the Assembly reiterated that South Africa's apartheid policies constituted a crime against humanity and declared that any collaboration with the racist régime and apartheid institutions was a hostile act against the purposes and principles of the United Nations and constituted a threat to international peace and security. In its resolution 181 (1963) the Security Council had already called upon all States to cease the sale and shipment of arms, ammunitions of all types and military vehicles to South Africa. In addition, the Security Council had strongly condemned South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and the repeated invasions of Angola by South Africa. However, some countries have relied on South Africa for their supplies of uranium for their expanding nuclear-weapon programmes. After Canada, South Africa is the second most important supplier of uranium to the countries of the European Economic Community (EEC) and to the United States.

There is no reason now to doubt the broadly-accepted conclusion that South Africa is capable of constructing nuclear devices. It already possesses suitable delivery systems. The defence policy of South Africa is upholding the apartheid system by military means.

Those are facts which emerge from the report I referred to earlier.

(Mr. Terrefe, Ethiopia)

Regrettably, and in open defiance of United Nations decisions, the Western allies of the racist South African régime have effectively contributed to that régime's nuclear capability. As a result, the apartheid régime of Pretoria today is not only relying on the established fact of its technical capability to make nuclear weapons but also intimidating the third world as a possible intervention force in the region.

Alarmed at the reported nuclear detonation by South Africa, the General Assembly in its resolution 34/76 B of 11 December 1979 requested the Secretary-General to prepare, with the assistance of appropriate experts, a comprehensive report on South Africa's plan and capability in the nuclear field. The report has now been submitted to this session of the General Assembly in document A/35/402, and the Ethiopian delegation wishes to express its gratitude to the Secretary-General for having taken such prompt action. We also wish to congratulate the Group of Experts for a job well done in assisting in the preparation of that report.

(Mr. Terrefe, Ethiopia)

The report has unmistakably underlined the imminent danger posed by racist South Africa together with its imperialist allies of the West to the security of Africa and international peace. The unavoidable conclusions drawn in the report include the following:

"Without underestimating the extreme dangers of nuclear weapons in general, they take on especially ominous dimensions if in the hands of a régime desperate to preserve white supremacy. Traditional concepts of security interests and perceptions of threat may apply only to a very limited extent in a situation where the greatest threat actually stems from a racist régime's denial of basic rights to the overwhelming majority of the population and where such a régime is prepared to use strong repressive means to preserve its interests and privileges. Such a situation clearly invites illogical responses and actions by South Africa.

"The proliferation of nuclear weapons to any country is a matter of serious concern to the world. The introduction of nuclear weapons to the African continent, and particularly in such a volatile region as southern Africa, not only would be a severe blow to world-wide efforts at non-proliferation but also would upset many years' efforts to spare the African continent from the nuclear arms race and to make it a nuclear-weapon-free zone. Judgements of the consequences of that development only can be pessimistic." (A/35/402, paras. 91 and 92).

Another ominous development closely linked to the explosive situation in southern Africa is the acquisition by the United States of military bases, the deployment of all types of sophisticated weapon systems, the congesting of the Indian Ocean and the adjacent regions with warships, and the so-called 'quick intervention forces'. Those new moves, together with the expansionist and hegemonistic policy being nurtured in the Horn of Africa not only constitute a blow to the many years of efforts of the Organization of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations to implement the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace; they also pose an ominous threat to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of particular States in the region. It is, therefore, the responsibility of

(Mr. Terrefe, Ethiopia)

the international community as a whole, and the United Nations in particular, to consider this imminent danger in all its aspects and ensure the speedy implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace and the denuclearization of Africa. They should resist any moves which are inconsistent with the principle of equal sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity of all States.

The First United Nations Disarmament Decade was proclaimed in December 1969. General Assembly resolution 2602 E (XXIV) urged all Governments to intensify without delay their concerted efforts for effective measures for the cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament as well as the elimination of other weapons of mass destruction with a view to the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control. The goal of the Second Disarmament Decade is also to halt and reverse the arms race.

The beginning of the Second Disarmament Decade is, however, marked by a severe erosion of détente, which was carefully cultivated and nourished in the 1970s and on which so much hope for the future had rested.

The arms race has not only continued unabated, outstripping all efforts to curb it, but has also entered a new and dangerous phase. The heightening of global tension and the sharp deterioration of the international situation signal the beginning of a new age of anxiety with the increased possibility of nuclear catastrophe.

Last year, we hailed the conclusion of the SALT II agreement as an important step forward. This year, as many previous speakers have stressed, we must still urge the early ratification of that agreement and the opening of a new round of negotiations on SALT III. Unless progress is made to curb the nuclear arms race and halt vertical proliferation, the chances for nuclear war will be increased considerably. The failure to agree on a final document regarding the appraisal of the implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons at the Second Review Conference is a clear warning of the impending grave danger of horizontal proliferation. The fact is that the arms race, especially in the nuclear field, has accelerated despite all the disarmament talks. Still worse, negotiations

(Mr. Terrefa Ethiopia)

on some of the crucial disarmament issues have not been started. As a party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, Ethiopia cannot fail to emphasize the urgent and pressing need for maximizing our collective efforts in order to ensure the continued usefulness of that Treaty.

World military expenditure now exceeds \$500 billion yearly or \$1 million per minute. That is particularly significant in view of the third United Nations development decade whose major objective is to combat poverty, ill health, illiteracy and underdevelopment. Resources released as a result of disarmament measures could be used to accelerate the economic and social development of developing countries. Thus, the decade of the 1980s clearly calls for the vigorous intensification of the efforts of all Governments and the United Nations to implement effective measures of disarmament. To this end, the promotion of international peace and security, the relaxation of tension and the prevention of nuclear war should be our preoccupation and the preoccupation of all nuclear-weapon States, for we have now reached a stage where, in the words of the United Nations study on nuclear weapons to which I referred earlier

"The development of nuclear weapons has, at least for the present, drastically altered all military strategic thinking. Never before have States been in a position to destroy the very basis of the continued existence of other States or regions; never before has the destructive capacity of weapons been so immediate, complete and universal; never before has mankind been faced, as today, with the real danger of self-extinction." (A/35/392, para. 491)

One further point - we believe that national and international efforts should also be made in favour of disarmament, including disarmament education and information. I say this because I believe that the public, nationally and internationally, is not adequately informed of the real danger of nuclear war. I have a second reason for drawing the attention of the Committee to this aspect of the problem. That reason is best explained by the preamble of the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which reads as follows:

"... since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed."

Mr. AWANIS (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): At the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament Iraq reaffirmed the need to relate the world-wide arms race to the economic, social and political problems besetting the world. Iraq has always believed and still believes that the essential element for the adoption of genuine disarmament measures is nothing but the political will of States.

The Final Document adopted by the Non-Aligned States at the last summit conference held in Havana last year stressed the importance of talks between the two nuclear super-Powers, as well as of the results of the SALT II negotiations. Indeed, according to paragraph 25 of that document:

"The treaties that include the results of SALT II are an important step in the negotiations between the two main nuclear Powers and could open prospects for more comprehensive negotiations that should lead to general disarmament and a relaxation of international tensions."

(A/34/542, para. 25)

The question of general and complete disarmament is one of the fundamental objectives of freedom-loving peoples of the world that aspire to a world free from the spectre of war, destruction and aggression.

My delegation wishes to draw particular attention to the question of nuclear weapons and of weapons of mass destruction, especially after the recent developments in nuclear technology and the constant perfecting of the nuclear arsenals of the big-Powers, as well as the nuclear strategic doctrines that certain international quarters have repeatedly quoted - particularly in the course of the current year - and also after the two racist entities, the Zionist entity and South Africa, obtained possession of nuclear weapons, especially the Zionist entity, which refuses to accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty or to place its nuclear facilities under international control. This indicates the determination of the Zionist entity to use those weapons in any coming war.

(Mr. Awanis, Iraq)

Obviously, all that will lead not only the region but the whole world into a devastating war.

Our emphasis on nuclear weapons is in conformity with the content of the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which states:

'Priorities in disarmament negotiations shall be: nuclear weapons; other weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons; ...'.
(resolution S-10/2, para. 45)

The greatest danger faced by mankind is that of nuclear weapons, and in this connexion document A/35/392, prepared by the United Nations and entitled "Comprehensive study on nuclear weapons" reflects the threat posed by nuclear weapons. It states, in particular, as follows:

"The exact number of nuclear warheads in the world today ... may be in excess of 40,000. In explosive power these warheads are reported to ... be equivalent to about 1 million Hiroshima bombs, i.e., some 13,000 million tons of TNT." (A/35/392, annex, para. 9)

It was with great anguish that the world learned of the three nuclear alarms that sounded this year caused by computer errors. It seems that the computer has been entrusted with the most horrendous task in the history of mankind: that of declaring doomsday, and that the computers are ready today to unleash nuclear war, intentionally or inadvertently. In either case the result would be the destruction of this small planet on which we live. The great scientist Albert Einstein foresaw that when he alluded to the dangers implicit in entrusting electronic computers with the task of unleashing nuclear war. He stated as follows:

"Taking a decision through a computer is undoubtedly more rapid but it cannot be relied upon in the same way as can a decision by the human mind, because sometimes the complex dynamics of computers can err."

(Mr. Awanis, Iraq)

Ever since the existence of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, we have heard many doctrines and strategies concerning the use of such dangerous weapons, including the doctrines of massive retaliation, of nuclear deterrence, and of the balance of nuclear terror, as well as other doctrines which seek the annihilation of the human race.

This year the United States of America, which is the enemy of the peoples, adopted the doctrine of limited nuclear war and second strike capability, directing its nuclear missile force against the military targets of the Soviet Union and against points where Soviet leaders are concentrated, in the belief that this strategy would enable it to win a nuclear war. While the United States has adopted this aggressive strategy and is developing its nuclear potential in terms of destructive force and precision and is resorting to the MX mobile missile programme, not to mention the fact that the United States was the first in the world to produce nuclear weapons, President Jimmy Carter, on Tuesday last 28 October, during the debate with his adversary Ronald Reagan, forgetting the question he was asked about the American hostages, was not ashamed to start voicing his fears over Iraq's possession of nuclear reactors for peaceful purposes. In the opinion of Mr. Carter, the leader of imperialism, Iraq is a terrorist State, whereas those who practise actual terrorism, such as that carried out by the United States against innocent people throughout the world, are human, and revolutionaries who deserve to be rewarded with offers of military assistance. Iraq and the Arab nation warn America against any intervention in the current conflict. For its part, Iraq will meet such assistance with the appropriate measures.

Mr. SEALY (Trinidad and Tobago): Mr. Chairman, my delegation extends to you its sincere congratulations on your election and hopes that the link which you bring from your recent chairmanship of the Committee which dealt with the elaboration of a strategy for the third United Nations development decade will serve to emphasize the relationship between disarmament and development.

The goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control remains a basic commitment of the States Members of the international community yet little tangible progress has been made over the years towards the attainment of that goal. The prospects for any major improvement in this sad state of affairs in the immediate future appear to be even more evanescent than ever in the light of the rapidly deteriorating international situation brought about not only by the continuing existence of areas of tension in the Middle East and in southern Africa, but also by the opening up of new areas of tension in other regions of the globe where force has been used illegally to violate the territorial integrity of States and to undermine their sovereignty and national independence.

(Mr. Sealy, Trinidad and Tobago)

In this worsening international climate of fear and distrust, and of growing insecurity and instability at both the regional and global levels, it is not surprising that States, be they militarily significant or insignificant, are finding increasing difficulty in agreeing on effective measures in the field of disarmament.

The restoration of a positive international atmosphere, through strict respect for the principles of the Charter by all States, big and small, in all circumstances is an essential precondition for the resumption of any meaningful steps along the long road towards the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international controls. The international community must eschew the use of force as a means for resolving differences that arise between States and must enhance further the collective security system created by the Charter so that it can assist the international community to achieve the primary purpose for which the United Nations was founded, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security.

In spite of the prevailing grave international situation, both the Committee on Disarmament and the Disarmament Commission were able to initiate discussion on various aspects of the multidimensional question of disarmament. The Disarmament Commission, in its report requested by the General Assembly in resolution 34/75, has submitted elements of a draft resolution entitled "Declaration of the 1980s as the second Disarmament Decade", elements to which the delegation of Trinidad and Tobago fully subscribes. In respect of the work of the Committee on Disarmament, the single multilateral negotiating body in the field of disarmament, my delegation notes with satisfaction that that Committee has established several working groups to undertake substantive negotiations in the areas of negative security assurances, chemical weapons and radiological weapons and on the comprehensive programme of disarmament.

(Mr. Sealy, Trinidad and Tobago)

While we wish to warn against the proliferation of disarmament negotiating structures which only serve to mask the reality of the absence of common agreement on measures of disarmament, the delegation of Trinidad and Tobago is concerned at the fact that the Committee on Disarmament was unable to agree on the setting up of a working group to conduct substantive negotiations leading to an agreement on the cessation of nuclear weapon testing in all environments. The delegation of Trinidad and Tobago accordingly expresses the hope that the Committee on Disarmament will in the near future be in a position to discharge fully its responsibilities in respect of halting the nuclear arms race and achieving nuclear disarmament, central to the attainment of which is the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty which would have the effect of restraining the qualitative aspect of the nuclear arms race. From all accounts, it appears that substantial progress has been made towards reaching agreement on the verification aspects of the matter and that all that remains is for the nuclear-weapon States to demonstrate the necessary political will to bring the negotiations on this subject to a speedy and successful conclusion. We would urge them to demonstrate the necessary political commitment.

This task of nuclear disarmament is all the more urgent in view of the threat to the very survival of mankind posed by the use of nuclear weapons. The report submitted by the Secretary-General of the United Nations entitled "Comprehensive study on nuclear weapons" has pointed to the fact that

"Never before have States been in a position to destroy the very basis of the continued existence of other States or regions; never before has the destructive capacity of weapons been so immediate, complete and universal; never before has mankind been faced, as today, with the real danger of self-extinction." (A/35/392, annex, para. 491)

The danger of global catastrophe arising out of either a human or a systems failure is all too real and all too present. Acceptable political solutions can and must be found on which to base international security other than on the capability of the nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant States to inflict unacceptable levels of destruction on one another.

(Mr. Sealy, Trinidad and Tobago)

The threat that nuclear armaments pose has long been recognized in Latin America. The Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, which is a unique regional disarmament measure, seeks to protect that populated continent against the threat of an armed nuclear-weapon attack. Accordingly, in order to perfect the interrelationship of mutual rights and obligations that the Treaty and its two Additional Protocols impose on the member States of the region, on nuclear-weapon States and on extraregional States having responsibility for territories within the contemplated nuclear-weapon-free zone, the delegation of Trinidad and Tobago urges the Governments of France and the United States of America, which have signed but not ratified Additional Protocol I, to do so in order that the nuclear-weapon-free status created by the Treaty can be extended to those territories lying within the zone of application of the Treaty which de jure or de facto are under their jurisdiction. Even as signatories to that Protocol, it is incumbent on those States under general international law to refrain from acts which would defeat the object and purpose of the Protocol.

While the use of nuclear weapons poses the most serious and most direct threat to the future of our entire civilization, the massive build-up of conventional weapons, their deployment and their use are no less a threat to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and national independence of States. The delegation of Trinidad and Tobago has noted in this connexion that the Disarmament Commission approved a proposal for a study to be undertaken on disarmament relating to conventional weapons and armed forces. The general approach of the study, its structure and its scope are still to be discussed and agreed upon in the Disarmament Commission, but it is the view of Trinidad and Tobago that reduction in the levels of armaments at the global, regional and subregional levels can in no way diminish the security of any State but can only enhance it.

The Minister of External Affairs of Trinidad and Tobago in his address to the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly expressed concern at the state of acute deprivation which is the lot of peoples of the third world.

(Mr. Sealy, Trinidad and Tobago)

He noted that the present level of economic development in the third world "is characterized by malnutrition, ... high levels of illiteracy, short life expectancy: in short, an absence of most of the basic needs for survival" (A/35/PV.27, p. 41).

Against this backdrop we witness an intensification of expenditures in the suicidal sophistication and proliferation of weapons for which the international community in 1980 would have to pay in excess of \$500 billion.

My delegation once more joins others in calling attention to the necessity of freeing resources now used in the sterile arms race for the promotion of the economic and social development of all nations and in particular for the economic and social development and scientific and technological progress of developing countries. It should by now be obvious that even a marginal release of the staggering resources now used in the manufacture of war weapons would effectively eradicate illiteracy in the entire world.

The disappointments and failures of the first Disarmament Decade must not be repeated in the second Disarmament Decade if we are to achieve the peace and progress for which mankind strives. If the second special session on disarmament in 1982 is to have any meaning, we must work with a resolute will towards concluding agreements on nuclear disarmament, limiting the spiralling sale and manufacture of conventional weapons and reducing military expenditures. In short, we must work towards placing greater reliance on peaceful co-operation and on mutual recognition of our independence, towards greater respect for the principles of the Charter, towards building greater confidence in the minds of men, instead of in their war machines, for, as the preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO states, "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed."

The meeting rose at 4.10 p.m.