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GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before we proceed with the general debate on the disarmament items on the agenda for today, I should like to express my deep sorrow at the cyclone that struck East Pakistan, and caused the death of many persons. The exact figures are not yet known but the cyclone has caused incalculable material damage and loss of human life. On behalf of the First Committee, I should like to ask the delegation of Pakistan to convey to its Government and people our deep sorrow at this terrible tragedy.

2. I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Committee to a letter dated 13 November 1970 from the President of the General Assembly concerning the organization of the work of the Committee, which is contained in document A/8165. I hope that the members of the Committee will take the various points made in that letter very much into consideration.

3. I should now like to ask the Committee to note that Peru has become a sponsor of the draft resolutions contained in documents A/C.1/L.529, 530 and 532; and that Ireland has become a sponsor of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.530.

4. Mr. BAYÜLKEN (Turkey): Before beginning my statement, permit me to express on behalf of the Asian Group, of which I am the Chairman for the month of November, as well as on behalf of my own delegation, our heartfelt sympathy and condolences to the delegation of Pakistan for the awesome disaster that has struck the friendly people of that country. Since Saturday we have followed with shock and grief the news dispatches describing the immensity of the loss of life as well as material damage from the 120-mile-an-hour cyclone and the 20-foot tidal wave sweeping over the offshore islands and coastal districts of East Pakistan. In the areas most affected by this disaster,

Chairman: Mr. Andrés AGUILAR M. (Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEMS 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 93 AND 94

Question of general and complete disarmament: report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (*continued*) (A/7958, A/7960 and Corr.1, A/7961, A/8059-DC/233, A/C.1/1001 and 1010, A/C.1/L.523, 528 and 532)

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Establishment, within the framework of the International Atomic Energy Agency, of an international service for

16,000 deaths have already been confirmed and it is feared that the loss of life may reach higher proportions. In fact, mention has been made of a possible death toll of more than 100,000. In the islands of Hatia, Sandwip, Kutubdia and Dubla and in the districts of Noakhali, Barisal and Chittagong, tens of thousands are homeless and deprived of their livelihood. The latest figures indicate that more than half a million people are homeless at the present time.

5. As for my own country, the Turkish people have felt deep sorrow because of this disaster and share the grief of their Pakistan brethren. My Government has extended its condolences to the Government and people of Pakistan, and the Turkish Red Crescent Society has declared itself ready to dispatch the necessary first aid to Pakistan. We are sure that many countries are doing the same, and we are also sure that the United Nations Secretariat is considering on an urgent basis the kind of help that would best suit the present situation in Pakistan. My delegation and others are now holding consultations on the drafting of a resolution that will be discussed in the appropriate organs of the General Assembly and should, in our view, lay the groundwork for comprehensive aid to this friendly country, which has been stricken by this catastrophe.

6. It will be recalled that my Foreign Minister stressed during the general debate in the General Assembly [1849th plenary meeting] the need for more concerted and general action on natural disasters within the family of the United Nations. We hope to be able soon to present to the appropriate Committee a draft resolution to that effect, with as many sponsors as possible. These catastrophes are indeed a constant reminder of the urgency of the question.

7. Before ending my remarks on this subject, I should like to ask the delegation of Pakistan to be good enough to convey our brotherly feelings and most sincere condolences to the bereaved families and to the people of Pakistan.

8. Speaking of natural disasters, my delegation would also like to present its most sincere condolences to the United States delegation on the recent air tragedy that caused the death of many innocent passengers, among them the Marshall University football team, young men in the prime of life. It is indeed very sad and tragic to witness, in less than six weeks, yet another tragedy involving the death of many young members of a team whose sole aim was to take part in a friendly sports competition. We should be grateful if the United States delegation would kindly convey our condolences to the bereaved families.

9. Now, turning to the question under discussion, I should like to say that the statements made in this Committee by the representatives who have preceded me in the deliberations on the present item have all pointed to the importance of the disarmament question. Furthermore, the previous item discussed in this Committee, as well as the general debate and the subsequent commemorative session concluded two weeks ago, have provided another opportunity for Member States to emphasize the vital link between international peace and security on the one hand and the question of disarmament on the other. Besides, this year, 1970, has been declared by the General Assembly as the beginning of the Disarmament Decade [resolution 2602 E (XXIV)]. What can, indeed, be more expressive than this

decision of the General Assembly to remind us all of the importance of the problem at hand? The views of my Government on these aspects of the problem are on record, and I think that I can add little to what has already been said. Keeping all this in mind, as well as our own desire to economize in our time in order to increase the efficiency of our work, I shall, Mr. Chairman, with your permission confine my remarks at this late stage to specific questions of disarmament.

10. The question now before us is how to promote the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament in a most effective way within the realities of international life. Starting from this point of view, the prerequisite for all disarmament efforts is to ensure every sovereign nation's security needs at every stage of the disarmament measures.

11. I am convinced that it is the common view of all the delegations here that the ultimate goal is to achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control, thus creating a secure world, free from fear, for all nations. However, as was stressed by my Foreign Minister in the General Assembly, we have a long and arduous road ahead of us before arriving at such a goal. My delegation, in the future as in the past, will support every single effort aimed at achieving this ultimate goal. In this respect, let me say that we consider the draft comprehensive programme of disarmament proposed by Mexico, Sweden and Yugoslavia [A/8059-DC/233, annex C, sect. 42] to be helpful in so far as it may serve as a guideline in our endeavours in this direction.

12. I do not think that I am merely uttering high-sounding phrases when I point to the fact that radical disarmament can occur only when political tensions have subsided and the necessary degree of confidence has been created. For this reason, we also support partial disarmament measures, which would help to build up the necessary confidence for further and more radical measures. If disarmament in itself is a source of security, the steps taken in that direction would, of course, be conducive to further steps towards disarmament. In this sense, it is correct to say that partial disarmament measures have their own momentum, which would lead eventually to general and complete disarmament.

13. In an age of *pax atomica*, where progress in technology has begun to threaten a nuclear balance, it is in the interest of all nations to see that a more secure peace is maintained by imposing certain limits on the qualitative arms race. In this connexion, the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), which have been resumed after a short interval, are in our opinion a step of significant importance, as we feel that no horizontal non-proliferation measures will prove successful unless accompanied by vertical measures.

14. My delegation emphasized last year [1703rd meeting] the very close ties that exist between strategic arms limitation, on the one hand, and other measures of disarmament on the other. My delegation also referred to the usefulness of establishing relations, at an appropriate stage of negotiations, with the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, whose mandate *inter alia*, is to ensure a balance in the various measures relating to the

problems of the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons. If, as we hope, the Soviet-United States talks succeed, those ties might play a decisive role in regard to the possibility of achieving our disarmament objective and also in regard to international security.

15. One of the problems connected with the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons is no doubt the complete cessation of nuclear tests. In 1963 we co-sponsored a resolution adopted by the General Assembly [*resolution 1910 (XVIII)*], calling upon all States to become parties to the Treaty on a partial nuclear test-ban,¹ and requesting the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee to continue its negotiations to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions.

16. But the fact remains that the testing is still continuing. We think there is an urgent need for the cessation of all nuclear and thermonuclear weapon tests under effective international control, and we hope that by technological development and the emergence of a more auspicious political will, the difficulties arising from the verification problem will be overcome. In this respect, we are encouraged by the fact that keen interest has been shown by an overwhelming majority of Member States in the exchange of seismic data and that substantial data has been given in the replies to the Secretary-General's circular on the subject [*see A/7967/Rev.1*]. We consider this exchange of information to be a significant step which will facilitate the achievement of a comprehensive test-ban under effective international control. It was with this earnest hope and expectation that we had the honour to co-sponsor the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.529.

17. Nuclear tests are not the only danger from which mankind should be protected. Chemical and biological warfare also create an ever-increasing danger which needs urgent solution. The fact that chemical and biological agents are unconfined in their effects both in space and time creates an additional factor in the sense of insecurity and tension brought about by the arms race. We consider both weapons as weapons of mass destruction, and because a combination of both agents can be used as a single and more effective weapon and can be delivered by similar means, we consider both of these weapons in the same category as those dealt with in the Geneva Protocol.² But we also recognize the importance of setting up a complete and detailed machinery of verification in this field without which any agreement would be incomplete.

18. Turkey attaches great importance to the question of prohibiting chemical and biological warfare. My country adhered to the Geneva Protocol in 1929 without any reservations and passed a law in 1934 ensuring the implementation of the provisions of the Protocol within its own boundaries. It is our sincere desire to see the Protocol strengthened both by an increase in the number of

countries becoming parties to the Protocol and by efforts to make it a more comprehensive instrument.

19. The draft treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof is another important achievement [*A/8059-DC/233, annex A*] highlighting the first year of the Disarmament Decade. We do not consider it a final step in this field and we hope that it will pave the way for a more comprehensive treaty. In fact, such an eventuality has already been foreseen in article V of the draft treaty. We would like to take this opportunity to reiterate our appreciation to the two Co-Chairmen of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and equally to all delegations, thanks to whose efforts considerable improvements have been achieved. It is due to this achievement that a larger adherence to the treaty is now possible.

20. At this point I would like to emphasize the significance of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.522 which is sponsored by seventeen Latin American countries. We think the Treaty of Tlatelolco³ is an important step towards the common goal, which is general and complete disarmament under international control. When put into effect we hope most sincerely that it will be instrumental in promoting peace and security in the region concerned.

21. I know how arduous the task is with which the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament is entrusted. We are, of course, very appreciative of the efforts made by the Conference, which this year have been crowned with, *inter alia*, a successful text on the prohibition of nuclear weapons on the sea-bed and the ocean floor. We are, on the other hand, of the opinion that both the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and this Committee might be more effective if States which are not at present members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament were supplied with a more systematic flow of information in order to keep the non-members abreast of the work of this important body. As a suggestion we think it might be helpful for all of us to receive periodic reports on the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament instead of one comprehensive report every year which, very understandably, is circulated at the beginning of the General Assembly session.

22. We also consider it important that closer relations should be maintained between the General Assembly and the International Atomic Energy Agency and we support the views of the representative of Ireland, who asked that the annual report of the Agency should be allocated to this Committee.

23. In this connexion my delegation, while noting with satisfaction the work done by the International Atomic Energy Agency, is of the opinion that special attention should be paid to the interests of the developing nations in regard to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, and in this respect the technical assistance extended to the developing countries by the Agency should be increased.

¹ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480 (1963), No. 6964).

² Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare (League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XCIV (1929), No. 2138).

³ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634 (1968), No. 9068).

24. One of the fields in which more extensive work needs to be done by the Agency concerns the legal aspects of the peaceful use of nuclear energy. While considerable improvements have been made in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, there is still room for improvement in the legal field to overcome the gap between the progress achieved and the international legal norms regulating those uses.

25. Before concluding we should like to express our appreciation to the Romanian delegation for inscribing in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly an item concerning the economic and social consequences of the armaments race and its extremely harmful effects on world peace and security [A/7994]. In a world where poverty still prevails for the larger part of humanity it is a sad observation that a considerable part of mankind's wealth, of its material and human resources, is absorbed by the arms race. We sincerely hope that progress towards general and complete disarmament will release resources which could be utilized for economic and social development, particularly in the developing countries. In this respect I should like to recall the view expressed in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, adopted by the General Assembly in its resolution 2626 (XXV), namely that there should be a close link between the Second Development Decade and the Disarmament Decade.

26. Mr. NAVA CARRILLO (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, may I associate my delegation with the expressions of sympathy that you, Mr. Chairman, were good enough to offer at the beginning of our meeting with respect to the tragedy which struck East Pakistan causing great damage and loss of life. We also sincerely share these feelings of sorrow and we trust of course that through this Organization human solidarity will be expressed by the appropriate efforts to alleviate the suffering, loss of life and material damage.

27. In this general debate on the seven items on our agenda concerning disarmament my delegation will confine itself to setting forth a few general considerations and to establishing its position on some specific points which, in our opinion, are of particular importance. This selective approach, does not, of course, signify any lack of interest in the matters I do not touch upon at this time.

28. In its resolution 2602 E (XXIV), the General Assembly proclaimed the decade of 1970-1979 as the Disarmament Decade, and asked the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament "to work out . . . a comprehensive programme, dealing with all aspects of the problem of the cessation of the arms race and general and complete disarmament under effective international control, which would provide the Conference with a guideline to chart the course of its further work and its negotiations" and to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session.

29. In our opinion, the preparation of such a programme is of special importance. In the statement we made on this same question at the twenty-fourth session, we said that "a strategy is also required for the Disarmament Decade", and we added that "what we really need is a blueprint or outline which could serve as a guideline in dealing with an issue as complex as this one." [1711th meeting, para. 229.]

30. We are gratified to note that while the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament did not finally take any decision on the point, the matter was nonetheless discussed in full detail. The working papers submitted by the delegations of the Netherlands and Italy and the draft comprehensive programme of disarmament submitted jointly by the delegations of Mexico, Sweden and Yugoslavia, which are annexed to the report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament [A/8059-DC/233, annex C, sects. 5, 38 and 42] are of particular interest. The contents and scope of the draft programme, which have been described to us by the authors in their statements in this general debate, call for special comment on my part.

31. First of all, we should like to express our agreement with the statement by the sponsors in the introduction to the draft programme to the effect that "the comprehensive programme of disarmament should embrace not only the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, but all negotiations and other acts related to this matter, whichever the forum and the form in which they may take place, and that the programme should include effective procedures in order to facilitate the co-ordination of such activities and ensure that the United Nations General Assembly be kept informed on their progress so as to permit it the proper performance of its functions, including the constant evaluation of the situation." It appears to us that those observations are in accord with the letter and the spirit of General Assembly resolution 2602 E (XXIV).

32. We also agree with the idea set forth in section I, on the "Objective" of the programme, although we would prefer a formulation that would more clearly bring out the close relationship between disarmament, the strengthening of international security and economic and social development.

33. In this connexion I should like to recall—as indeed other speakers have already done in the course of this debate—that operative paragraph 9 of draft resolution A/C.1/L.517, on measures for the strengthening of international security⁴, sponsored by twenty-three Latin American States, including Venezuela, reaffirms the belief "that there is a close connexion between the strengthening of international security, the economic development of the developing countries and disarmament, so that any progress made towards any of these objectives will constitute progress towards all of them".

34. At this time we cannot go into a consideration in depth of the very important sections concerning "Principles" and the "Elements and phases of the programme", which, in general terms, are acceptable to my delegation. We shall merely confine ourselves to the following observations: in section II, paragraph 11, on "Principles", it is stated almost as an afterthought that "Measures in such a context might not only be concerned with disarmament but might also contain elements of a confidence-building nature."

35. It seems to us that this reference, in passing so to speak, to that aspect of the problem does not do justice to

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 32, document A/8096, para. 5(e).

the importance of the question. The question of disarmament is, in the final analysis, a matter of confidence. The reason we are witnessing a titanic effort on the part of the two nuclear super-Powers to maintain the balance of strategic weapons, is because each one is afraid that the other may reach what has come to be called "first strike capability", that is, the capability to destroy at one blow the nuclear forces of the adversary, and that mutual lack of confidence exists not only between the United States and the Soviet Union but also between many other large, medium and small Powers.

36. If the arms race both in nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, as well as in conventional and traditional weapons, has been a characteristic feature of the past twenty-five years and if in that period we have barely achieved agreement on partial or collateral measures it is because we have not succeeded in creating a climate of confidence. To alter this state of affairs is not an easy task. Unfortunately, there are no quick means or remedies of recognized efficiency to dispel fears and to create overnight a new climate of friendship and confidence.

37. More than seeking for magic formulae we must patiently seek for areas of co-operation and understanding. What has already been achieved within the framework of the United Nations and its specialized agencies in regard to relations in labour, education, science and culture, agriculture and nutrition, health, international trade, telecommunications, civil aviation and in many other areas is excellent evidence of the fact that in these matters of common interest peoples rapidly see all the ties that link them together and the speedy progress that can be achieved through dialogue and sincere co-operation. The establishment of a climate of such confidence by these and other means is essential if we are to achieve the objective of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

38. The working paper submitted by Italy on a comprehensive programme of disarmament brings out this point very well. In part B, "Main elements of the programme", which contains a number of preliminary considerations, it is stated—and quite rightly—that "In order to establish the international climate of confidence and good will necessary for progress, specific measures to build up confidence should urgently be agreed upon, including special studies on certain subjects." And later, in speaking of the various measures to be taken, it mentions in the first instance measures for increasing international confidence.

39. For these reasons, we would venture to suggest to the sponsors of the draft comprehensive programme of disarmament under review that a special paragraph—perhaps the first paragraph—in section II, on "Principles", should be devoted to this exceedingly important aspect of the problem, and that a separate reference to that point should also be included in section IV, dealing with "Peace-keeping and security", which mentions this aspect at the end of paragraph 1.

40. Another observation we should like to make deals with paragraph 12 of the "Principles", which has a bearing on section V, on "Procedure". This paragraph states that "The United Nations, which has specific responsibility for

disarmament under the Charter, should be kept informed of all efforts thereon, whether unilateral, bilateral, regional or multilateral." The text goes on to say that "Public opinion should be given adequate information about armament and disarmament, so that it might bring its influence to bear on the strengthening of disarmament efforts."

41. Reference in one and the same paragraph of the section devoted to "Principles" to the information that the United Nations should receive and the information that should be provided to world public opinion is open to the criticism that the Organization, "which has specific responsibility for disarmament under the Charter", is being placed on a level with the general public.

42. We hasten to note that mankind as a whole is entitled to be duly informed on a question such as this which affects its own survival. We therefore agree that a separate paragraph should be included on this item.

43. In the light of what was said in the introduction and in section V on "Procedure", we also believe that the paragraph in question is not designed to attribute to the United Nations a merely passive role on recording the measures taken in the field of disarmament.

44. To avoid any misunderstanding, perhaps it would be appropriate to include under section II, on "Principles", in one of the early paragraphs of that section, a specific reference to the role and responsibility of the United Nations in this field. Precisely for the reasons just given, we attach special importance to section V concerning "Procedure", and we should also like to make a few observations on that chapter.

45. In the last sentence of paragraph 1 of that section, we find the following statement: "The United Nations Disarmament Commission might be reactivated and entrusted with a part of this task." In our statement last year we said:

"Another idea which would be worthwhile studying is the convening of the Disarmament Commission at appropriate intervals in order to examine the results achieved by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and to review goals and working procedures." [1711th meeting, para. 232.]

46. Today we are convinced that it is necessary to reactivate the Disarmament Commission. Not two, not four, not twenty-five Members of the United Nations must participate in the consideration of this problem, but rather all the Members of the Organization, without mentioning the obvious need to associate the militarily important States, in particular the nuclear-weapon Powers with those efforts.

47. We have already said earlier that what is at stake is the very survival of mankind. Nuclear explosions, the existence of those weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, threaten the life not only of the inhabitants of the States that possess them but also of every human being on earth.

48. The interest that all States have in this question is manifested year after year in this general debate on the disarmament items and it would certainly be greater still if

all States had adequate information. We are convinced that much could be gained through the contribution of all States to the study of these items, and certainly nothing would be lost by their participation.

49. Moreover, the progress achieved through bilateral negotiations or negotiations limited to a small number of countries is notoriously small and the time that the General Assembly devotes to the consideration of the report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and the rest of the documentation on these items is insufficient.

50. All these reasons lead us to think that instead of the word "might" cautiously employed by the sponsors of the draft programme, we would have to assert firmly the need to reactivate the Disarmament Commission with its original mandate.

51. In the light of what I have just said, perhaps it is unnecessary to express our support of the idea contained in paragraph 6 of section V of the draft programme, which states: "The feasibility of convening in due time and after appropriate preparatory work a world disarmament conference of all States should be thoroughly studied."

52. One last reference to the draft programme of Mexico, Sweden and Yugoslavia. We are very pleased with section III, which is entitled "Elements and phases of the programme". The plan of that section is in accordance with strict logic: special attention to be paid to compliance with obligations derived from existing treaties, to the conferences of review stipulated in some of them and, where appropriate, to the adoption of measures designed to supplement them; the intensification of efforts to come to agreement at an initial stage of the Disarmament Decade on the treaties and conventions that have been the subject of study for some time by the General Assembly, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and other international bodies competent in that field, which are mentioned in paragraph 2 of that section, in order to be able subsequently to deal with other measures of disarmament, divided, according to the traditional classification, into measures of prevention and limitation of armaments, measures for the reduction of all armaments, armed forces and military expenses, and measures for the elimination of armaments. We venture to suggest in passing the inclusion of a new section concerning study and research on the social and economic consequences of disarmament. It would also be well to take carefully into account the very interesting observations made by the representative of Malta, Ambassador Pardo, on 12 November [1758th meeting], concerning the impact of accelerated scientific and technological progress on disarmament negotiations.

53. We should not wish to conclude these comments on the very important initiative taken by Mexico, Sweden and Yugoslavia without congratulating the delegations of those countries most sincerely for the plan that they have submitted to us, since, as is clear from what I have already said, we are generally in agreement with what they propose.

54. We shall turn now to explain our position on the question of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons.

55. When we take into account the hair-raising information about those weapons, which appears in the report which the Secretary-General submitted to us last year⁵ and in the report of the experts of the World Health Organization⁶ on the dangers of their use, the data brought to our attention by the representative of Ecuador, Ambassador Benites, in his erudite statement in the general debate on 9 November last [1753rd meeting], and the interesting references in that connexion contained in the report prepared this year by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, we of necessity conclude that priority attention should be given to the prohibition of those two categories of weapons.

56. We therefore welcome as a very positive step the decision of the United States Government unilaterally to renounce bacteriological (biological) weapons. That step, as was pointed out by the representative of Sweden, in the statement made on Wednesday, 4 November [1750th meeting], is the only disarmament measure in the strict sense of the term that has been taken in recent years by any of the great Powers. We also welcome the decision taken in the same direction by the Government of Yugoslavia on 9 September this year, which was recalled to our minds by the representative of that country in the statement he made on 4 November last [*ibid.*].

57. In connexion with this question, we should like to remind the Committee that Venezuela is a party to the 1925 Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare.⁷ We are happy to state that Venezuela signed that Protocol on 17 June 1925 and deposited the instrument of ratification on 8 February 1928.

58. Although that Protocol has certain limitations, which have already been mentioned by other speakers in this general debate, we share the opinion that much would be gained if it were ratified by those States that still have not done so, particularly by the great Powers. We are pleased at the announcement of ratification by Brazil and other States and the decision of the President of the United States to submit the Protocol to the Senate of his country.

59. We see from the report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament that there are still divergencies concerning the procedure for the negotiation of the prohibition of such weapons.

60. In connexion with that point, we share the attitude of the twelve non-aligned countries, members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, expounded in their joint memorandum on the subject [A/8059-DC/233, annex C, sect. 39]. Like the group of twelve, we are convinced that it is essential "that both chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons should continue to be dealt with together in taking steps toward the prohibition

⁵ *Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons and the Effects of Their Possible Use* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.69.I.24).

⁶ *Health Aspects of Chemical and Biological Weapons* (World Health Organization, Geneva, 1970).

⁷ League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XCIV (1929), No. 2138.

of their development, production and stock-piling and their effective elimination from the arsenals of all States”.

61. We also share the views expressed in paragraph 7 of the memorandum, which reads as follows:

“The issue of verification is important in the field of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons, as indeed adequate verification is also essential in regard to the success of any measure in the field of disarmament. Reasonable guarantees and safeguards should, therefore, be devised to inspire confidence in the implementation of any agreement in the field of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons. Verification should be based on a combination of appropriate national and international measures which would complement and supplement each other, thereby providing an acceptable system which would ensure effective implementation of the prohibition.”

62. At the beginning of this meeting, my delegation learned of the twelve-Power draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.533, which has just been circulated. From a quick reading, I can say that my delegation is pleased with the draft resolution because it reflects a good many of our views on this question. We have a very favourable impression of it and I think it will certainly command our support.

63. We would now refer to other activities of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in its session this year.

64. First of all, we should like to make a brief comment on the draft treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof [*ibid.*, annex A], which in the final analysis is the only specific draft that the Conference has submitted to us this year.

65. We are pleased to see that in its new form account is taken of some of the objections and comments made by various members of the Committee on the original text at the previous session. The draft now submitted for our consideration, which, *inter alia*, takes into the account the well-founded observations of the delegations of Argentina and Mexico, is undoubtedly superior to the previous text. However, it does give rise to doubts and difficulties of interpretation that we should like to have clarified.

66. In this connexion, we have listened with the greatest interest to the questions raised by the representative of Mexico at the 1748th meeting of the First Committee, the very interesting observations made at the 1757th meeting by the representative of El Salvador, supported by the representative of Indonesia at the 1759th meeting, and we are studying with all due attention the proposed amendment submitted by the delegation of Peru [A/C.1/L.528].

67. Before giving our opinion on the draft treaty, we would like to hear the answers of the Co-Chairmen, and other members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, to those questions and observations.

68. We warmly support the proposal made by the representative of Sweden in her statement of 4 November to the effect that the United Nations should launch an appeal for the immediate cessation of the nuclear arms race.

69. A very important step in this direction would be the cessation of nuclear and thermonuclear tests. Like other delegations, we note with sorrow that on 14 October of this, the first day of the commemorative session of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, in this first year of the Disarmament Decade, three nuclear explosions were recorded, one of those in the atmosphere.

70. We still cherish the hope that common sense will prevail and that, sooner or later, the clamour of peoples for the total prohibition of these tests will be heeded. This cry is renewed again this year in the form of draft resolution A/C.1/L.530, sponsored by Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Sweden, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia, which commands our full support.

71. The international exchange of seismological data will undoubtedly facilitate the task of reaching an agreement on the prohibition of underground tests. We are encouraged by the number and kind of response received from various Governments [*see A/7967/Rev.1*] to the request made by the Secretary-General in compliance with resolution 2604 (XXIV). For its part, Venezuela gave a positive answer to the questionnaire annexed to that resolution.

72. We think that from every standpoint it is desirable to persevere in this course and we have accordingly offered to co-sponsor a draft resolution prepared on the initiative of the delegation of Canada [A/C.1/L.529] whereby, *inter alia*, Governments are urged to consider, and in so far as possible, to apply, methods designed to improve their capacity to provide high calibre seismological information and to ensure that this information is made available to all.

73. The entry into force, on 5 March of this year, of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] and the resumption at Helsinki of talks on the limitation of strategic weapons between the United States and the Soviet Union are positive elements which enable us to view the future with some optimism. We must not, however, overestimate the scope of that agreement, the limitations of which are known to all. Nor do we have the necessary information and elements of judgement which would entitle us to hope that the Helsinki negotiations will lead to spectacular results in a short time.

74. The clear, precise and complete statement made by the representative of Mexico on 12 November, at the 1759th meeting, when he introduced the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.522, sponsored by eighteen Latin American countries including Venezuela, on the status of the application of General Assembly resolution 2456 B (XXIII) concerning the signature and ratification of Additional Protocol II of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco)* enables us to limit our comments to an expression of praise of this draft resolution and of hope that it will receive the

* United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634 (1968), No. 9068.

approval of the Committee and of the General Assembly, and, what is more important, that it will produce the results that we seek to achieve through it.

75. To conclude this already lengthy statement, we should like to congratulate the representative of Romania for having asked that the important item concerning the economic and social consequences of the arms race and its seriously harmful effects on peace and security in the world, should be included in the agenda of this session.

76. The explanatory memorandum submitted by the delegation of Romania [see A/7994] and the statement made in this Committee by that delegation on 11 November by Ambassador Diaconescu [1756th meeting] presents this issue in very clear and constructive terms.

77. The figures given by the representatives of Brazil, Italy, Iran and others, which illustrate the absolute lunacy of the arms race, are equally eloquent.

78. For our part, we are prepared to support measures designed to ensure that this very important aspect of the problem of disarmament is duly considered and taken into account by the various Governments, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, and the General Assembly at its future sessions.

79. If the results of the Disarmament Decade depend primarily on the political will of the great Powers and their genuine desire to substitute for their policy of power and might a policy of coexistence and peaceful competition of ideologies and socio-economic systems, the other States, whose interests and views should be taken into account by the great Powers, have the right and the duty to work unceasingly to create conditions favourable for the attainment of speedy progress in this field.

80. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria): May I be permitted, before conveying the brief remarks of my delegation on the subject of disarmament, to say how much our people and Government are afflicted by the shocking news of the unspeakable disaster that has befallen our brothers in Pakistan. As the number of casualties and displaced persons increases, and the ravages widen, the whole world grows more anxious. This is a solemn hour of prayer, but also of hope that the international community will find the speediest ways of assisting our valiant brothers in their grief and distress.

81. Words are inadequate to speak of our sorrow and sympathy. Perhaps our concrete assistance would ameliorate the cruelty of nature and the immensity of the losses. We wish to request the delegation of Pakistan to convey to its Government and people the message of our deep sympathy and condolences, and the promise of our support and assistance. The Ambassador of Turkey eloquently spoke on behalf of all of us in the Asian Group, and we fully share his words and proposals. Only the depth of the shock has impelled us to restate our grief and sympathy.

82. It is fitting that the First Committee examine with care, at the outset of this Disarmament Decade of the 1970s, the progress so far achieved in subjecting armaments—especially nuclear armaments—to control, and assess

the length of the road still to be travelled before disarmament becomes a reality.

83. On the positive side of the inventory of efforts stands, first, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex]. Indeed, unless that Treaty is universally accepted, it will not fully ensure the removal of the danger that fissile material may be turned into nuclear arms. For it to be universally accepted, the legitimate misgivings of the other nuclear Powers should be allayed and the shortcomings attributed to it by non-aligned nations should be remedied. Both the prevention of proliferation—not in theory but by concrete measures—and genuine initiation of limitations on nuclear armament would go a long way towards increasing the value and efficacy of the Treaty, because it would then be shown that the Treaty is meaningful and deserves the unhesitating support of all.

84. Second, on the positive side, are the continued Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) between the two super-Powers; positive, I say not because they hold the key to general disarmament—this is far from being the case at this stage—but because they indicate that the arms race is under review at last, that its fatal upward course can still be halted before it spells the doom of humanity.

85. Third, there is the draft treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof [A/8059-DC/233, annex A]. Amended so as to meet the observations of representatives of the third world, this draft now constitutes a valid working basis, notwithstanding the fact that it is susceptible of further improvements that will enable it to command truly unanimous support.

86. Fourth, there are the constant efforts of the International Atomic Energy Agency to implement the safeguards system provided for in the non-proliferation Treaty through agreements now being negotiated within the Agency with visible indication of forthcoming success. Together with this development in the International Atomic Energy Agency, there is the progress achieved in the field of observation and control of peaceful explosions.

87. Fifth, there is the undeniable scientific progress in monitoring nuclear tests by seismological means, which goes a long way towards solving the complex problem of verification and inspection. A comprehensive ban on tests—extending the scope of the Moscow Treaty⁹—appears consequently to be within reach, particularly if the international exchange of seismological data materializes and continues.

88. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has done useful work in consolidating these achievements, in bringing greater clarification to the various issues of disarmament and in sharpening public awareness of the imperative need for inaugurating this Disarmament Decade with more solid, more extensive and more meaningful steps.

⁹ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480 (1963), No. 6964).

This is as far as the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament could go, because the dangerous symptoms affecting international society are beyond its scope. In fact, no far-reaching progress in disarmament, or even in the limitation of armaments, can be achieved if international relations are marked by strain and tension, if suspicion among States prevails, if the rights of peoples to self-determination are denied, if the international order acquiesces to *faits accomplis* or to occupation and the new expansionist theories of military superiority for purposes of conquest. Such acquiescence tempts those whose policy is based on imperialist expansion to arm more, not to disarm, and prompts others to care more, not less, about the needs of their self-defence and self-preservation.

89. Indeed, it is this mad race for military superiority which is obstructing even the ban on the use, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological weapons in spite of the quasi-unanimity of voices demanding a halt in the interest of mankind and the preservation of its badly needed material resources.

90. This prevailing situation of international insecurity is therefore the main factor responsible for the lack of progress in disarmament. The disparity between the achievements of the United Nations and the deteriorating situation in the armaments field has not been illustrated better than in the words of Mrs. Myrdal, the representative of Sweden, who is dedicated to the loftiest cause of mankind. Her Excellency Mrs. Myrdal had this to say in her address to this Committee on 4 November of this year: "There have been some advances through agreements in the direction of disarmament, but they have been depressingly slow and marginal. At the same time a military build-up of monstrous dimensions has taken place." [1750th meeting, para. 7.]

91. For the problems of disarmament are so interrelated with the problems of international security that the first cannot be considered in the absence of the others. Take, for instance, such positive developments as the signing of a treaty between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany on 12 August 1970, and the eventual conference on European security: they indeed have a direct bearing on the chances of more progress in the field of disarmament.

92. While, therefore, the top priority facing the United Nations is to reverse the trend of the deteriorating situation by emphasizing right and justice, by calling for the renunciation of force and stressing the inadmissibility of illegitimate acquisitions, the immediate priorities in the field of disarmament that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament can set for itself—and the General Assembly ought to help it in this respect—are those suggested by Mrs. Myrdal in her comprehensive speech.

93. First, elimination of chemical and biological weapons within the framework suggested in the joint memorandum of the twelve non-aligned countries in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament [A/8059-DC/233, annex C, sect. 39]; second, the completion of the non-proliferation Treaty; third the comprehensive test ban; and fourth, the demilitarization of the sea-bed.

94. We hope our final resolutions will prove of valuable help to the work of the Conference of the Committee on

Disarmament. Accordingly, my delegation, among others, will support any draft resolution susceptible of such a contribution.

95. Mr. DIACONESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The present debate devoted to questions of disarmament is, in the view of the Romanian delegation, of particular importance. Its scope stems from the complex of general factors relating to realities in the field of disarmament, in armaments, and in international life, and at the same time to the specific circumstances surrounding the debate.

96. We think first of all of the truth so strikingly brought out by this year's debates, the fact that even though we have been discussing disarmament for a long time and a Committee established for the purpose of negotiating has been functioning for almost ten years, none of the efforts undertaken in the field of disarmament during the post-war era have achieved more than minimal results.

97. Without disregarding or underestimating in the least the agreements arrived at, especially the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex]—in the negotiation of which my country participated directly and the implementation of which we support both in the spirit and in the letter—the Romanian delegation considers that what has been achieved in the field of disarmament is far from meeting the legitimate and ever more resolute demands of our peoples and of world public opinion which call for an end to the arms race and ask that effective disarmament measures be taken.

98. Another disconcerting reality we are in duty bound to take into account in our debates is the arms race, that absurd competition which gravely prejudices the interests of peace, security and progress for all peoples.

99. The importance and urgency of our work, which must lead to concrete premises for effective steps towards a halt in the arms race and towards disarmament are determined by the fact that, whereas here in the United Nations we discuss disarmament, in various parts of the world weapons are being used by imperialist circles against national liberation struggles and against the independence and sovereignty of some States, giving rise to serious conflicts that not only do grave damage to the sacred rights and legitimate interests of various peoples but at the same time endanger world peace and the security of all nations.

100. In view of their interrelationship, we consider that efforts connected with the arms race and disarmament should have the kind of priority, within the context of the work undertaken by the United Nations to ensure international security, which the problems of the arms race and disarmament assume in reality. The present debate and the resolutions adopted to serve as guidelines for future disarmament negotiations must, therefore, act as vigorous stimulants to the efforts of the United Nations.

101. In the opinion of the Romanian delegation, it is necessary that the propitious circumstances created by the important international documents adopted during the commemorative twenty-fifth session of the General Assem-

bly, reaffirming the adherence of States to the purposes and principles of the United Nations and their will to promote them in international life, be taken advantage of so that disarmament negotiations may be intensified, made more effective and directed towards the problems of the arms race and disarmament.

102. Those are the reasons for the firm conviction held by my delegation and others that it is of the utmost importance to approach with great seriousness and awareness of our responsibilities the existing situation in the field of armaments and disarmament negotiations and to pinpoint the concrete measures that must urgently be taken in that connexion.

103. It is in that spirit, and guided by its desire to reaffirm the full adherence of socialist Romania to the cause of disarmament, peace and security and its will to continue to co-operate with the other members of the international community in all efforts to that end, that the Romanian delegation is participating in this debate.

104. If we really wish to find a solution to the problems raised by the present-day arms race that would adequately satisfy the aspirations of mankind towards peace, security and progress, there is no doubt that this radical solution consists in general disarmament. And it is general disarmament that remains the fundamental task in this field. No effort can be too great when it is devoted to general disarmament. No obstacle could be considered insurmountable had we the political will to reach agreement.

105. As far as we are concerned, it is on the basis of the fundamental choice and the aspirations of the Romanian nation, and mindful of our responsibility for peace in the world, that Romania is resolutely in favour of general disarmament.

106. One cannot help being seriously concerned at noting that despite the fact that it is almost ten years since the Geneva Committee was entrusted with the task of reaching agreement on general disarmament, no progress has been made in this field.

107. The Romanian delegation wishes to stress the fact that general disarmament is not an abstract idea and must not be treated as such but as a concrete objective as timely as it is important.

108. We consider it high time to abandon statements of intent in favour of general disarmament and to move on to concrete facts and actions. And that is the meaning of the many resolutions that have been adopted by the General Assembly and of the undertaking of States under the terms of Article VI of the non-proliferation Treaty. Any positive initiative in that direction will be widely supported by world public opinion and by the States of the world, including Romania.

109. A requirement constantly repeated during disarmament debates, and heard again from many delegations during the present session, is the necessity of giving absolute priority to nuclear disarmament.

110. That priority stems first from the fact that nuclear weapons are a means of mass destruction, the most

dangerous weapons existing in the operational stage, and that their production, manufacture and development and the constant improvement of the means of delivering them, are the most dynamic elements of the arms race, responsible for an important part of the total military expenditure of the world.

111. That is why we consider it extremely important for us to be aware of our responsibilities and to act urgently, to adopt agreements that would result in the reduction and termination of the production of nuclear weapons and the achievement of nuclear disarmament.

112. It is, in our view, especially important and urgent to forbid the use of nuclear weapons, to create nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world with adequate security guarantees, to prohibit nuclear-weapons tests, to cease production of those weapons, including the production of fissile materials for military uses, to transfer existing stocks to peaceful uses, and gradually to reduce and finally to eliminate nuclear-weapon stocks and means of delivery.

113. As long as there will be nuclear weapons and as long as such weapons will continue to be manufactured and developed, there will be a permanent danger for all peoples and for civilization itself. This is why we consider that we must act energetically to outlaw these weapons, to cease stockpiling them and to proceed to their destruction.

114. In view of the need to outlaw and liquidate all weapons of mass destruction, Romania, at the same time, is in favour of the strengthening of and universal respect for the Geneva Protocol of 1925¹⁰ concerning the prohibition and destruction of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons.

115. It is in this context that nine socialist countries, including Romania, presented at this session a revised text of the draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons, and on the destruction of such weapons [A/8316].

116. The Romanian Government attaches great importance to the implementation of measures which would contribute to eliminating tension and conflict and which would promote the easing of tensions in international relations, as well as mutual confidence and co-operation among all States.

117. Among the measures which would effectively serve this objective, which is common to all peoples, we view as most important the liquidation of military blocs, the dismantling of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops within their national boundary.

118. Striving constantly to promote the principles of independence and national sovereignty, of equal rights and non-interference in internal affairs, the right of every people freely to decide its fate without any foreign

¹⁰ Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare (League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XCIV (1929), No. 2138).

interference, principles which are in fact the only solid foundation for a system of lasting international relations and of mutually advantageous co-operation, my country is against any demonstration of force or similar acts likely to give rise to tension and mistrust, to keep in being and intensify the arms race and prevent progress in the field of disarmament negotiations.

119. In view of the recognized positive effects of the creation of nuclear-free zones for countries within those areas and for the international situation in general, Romania has constantly come out in favour of the establishment of such zones in Europe, Latin America, Africa and other parts of the globe, and we actively supported many initiatives towards that end.

120. In the view of the Romanian delegation, the adoption of the Treaty on non-proliferation should serve as an incentive for the creation of nuclear-free zones and makes their implementation easier.

121. We have always been in favour of creating a sound climate of *détente*, understanding and co-operation among States of the geographic areas to which we belong, Romania has made known its proposals, which retain all their force, concerning the transformation of the Balkan area into a zone of relations of good neighbourliness, free of any nuclear weapons.

122. Romania is determined in the future also to pay full attention to any activities which would create nuclear-free zones and zones of peace and good neighbourly relations among States.

123. The Romanian delegation welcomes the fact that after laborious discussions and negotiations in the United Nations and in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, the Committee presented to the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly a draft treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof [A/8059-DC/233, annex A]. The Romanian delegation, which will certainly have an opportunity of speaking on this point when the draft resolution [A/C.1/L.523] of which it is a sponsor is discussed, would like to state at this stage that the adoption of the draft treaty at this session would be a useful and positive measure and an important step towards the complete demilitarization of the sea-bed and ocean floor.

124. The measures which we have mentioned are especially important and urgent. Their implementation would have beneficial effects upon peace and security, upon the relaxation of international tensions, as well as upon the economic and social progress of the peoples of the world.

125. Defining the measures which must be adopted in the disarmament field is especially important at present in the context of the establishment of a programme for the Disarmament Decade.

126. On 3 April 1969, Romania suggested, as members well know, "the proclamation of a United Nations disarmament decade, 1970-1980, which would be harmonized with the Second Development Decade, thus making it possible to

combine the efforts undertaken by the international community in these fields of vital significance for promoting progress throughout the world and for ensuring general peace."¹¹

127. Enjoying wide support and the active support of the United Nations Secretary-General, the Disarmament Decade was proclaimed by the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, which, at the same time, in resolution 2602 E (XXIV), asked the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament "to work out... a comprehensive programme, dealing with all aspects of the problem of the cessation of the arms race and general and complete disarmament under effective international control, which would provide the Conference with a guideline to chart the course of its further work and its negotiations, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session".

128. For reasons which are well known and which have been stressed many times during this debate, the Committee was not able to achieve that task.

129. In these conditions, the Romanian delegation considers that the elaboration and adoption of a programme for the Disarmament Decade is one of the important problems confronting this session of the General Assembly.

130. The elaboration of this programme is made necessary by the need to set up and implement a plan for practical action, a global disarmament strategy, including a coherent complex of measures consonant with the fundamental objectives of disarmament negotiations, the achievement of general disarmament and, above all, of nuclear disarmament.

131. The fundamental objectives of the disarmament programme must be made dependent upon the need, from the very beginning of the Decade, to see to it that through the efforts and the political will of States, effective steps are taken towards the reduction and cessation of the arms race and the achievement of disarmament.

132. The choice in favour of the Disarmament Decade, the great number of suggestions, proposals and documents presented in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and the debate in the United Nations relating to the scope and structure of the programme, in the view of the Romanian delegation, create favourable conditions for the elaboration and adoption of this document, at this General Assembly, so that the objectives thus defined can then be translated into reality.

133. So far as it is concerned, in the Geneva Committee on Disarmament and in the United Nations, Romania has set forth its viewpoint relating to the principles, scope and implementation of the programme. We consider that the programme for the Disarmament Decade should include measures relating to nuclear disarmament, as well as partial measures according to an order of priorities to be agreed upon. It will also have to serve as a foundation for negotiations in the coming years and provide for immediate action, as well as large-scale measures, in the field of

¹¹ See ENDC/PV.400, para. 80.

disarmament in order to strengthen international peace and security.

134. Like other delegations, we consider that the draft programme presented in Geneva by the delegations of Mexico, Sweden and Yugoslavia [*A/8059-DC/233, annex C, sect. 42*] reflects certain needs, suggestions and proposals made by many States, including my own, and that it offers an excellent basis for negotiations at the present session in order to make possible the adoption of a document on which a broad consensus can be reached.

135. Guided by the principle that each State, regardless of its size, economic or military weight, is responsible for the fate of peace and has the right and duty actively to contribute to the achievement of concrete disarmament measures and of any measure designed to strengthen peace, security and progress in the world, Romania considers it necessary to find an appropriate framework to make possible the participation in disarmament negotiations of all States desirous of doing so.

136. It is undeniable that disarmament is of vital interest to all peoples and that nothing could justify any measure depriving a specific country of the right to take part in international efforts towards disarmament.

137. In view of the responsibility of the nuclear Powers with regard to effective measures to put an end to the arms race and to lead to the elimination of military arsenals, special attention must be paid to the creation of the necessary conditions for the People's Republic of China and France to take part in the disarmament negotiations.

138. Measures which would make possible the direct contribution of all the States of the world to the task of disarmament would lead to the convening of a world disarmament conference. Romania considers that all States must be invited to such a conference and that the necessary conditions must be ensured to make possible their participation.

139. The convening in the near future of a world disarmament conference would seem to be most timely in the context of the Disarmament Decade, which must be the time for practical achievements in the field of disarmament and the time for the strengthening of international peace and security.

140. To conclude, the Romanian delegation would like to stress once again the need to make every effort in a spirit of understanding and co-operation and to take into account the interests of all at this twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, whose work is being closely followed by the peoples of the whole world, so that there might be a positive milestone on the road leading to the cessation of the arms race and to disarmament.

141. Mr. SAVAGE (Sierra Leone): My delegation takes this opportunity to convey through you, Mr. Chairman, its sincere sympathy to the delegation of Pakistan for the ravages and devastation that the people of that country have had to endure during the past few days. In this time of grief and intolerable suffering, I wish to convey the

condolences and support of the Government and the people of my country.

142. It is much to be regretted that on 14 October last, the day the United Nations opened its commemorative session to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of its existence, no less than three nuclear Powers made a point of exploding three nuclear bombs, two of which were in the megaton range. Such an act can be construed by many as a mark of utter disregard for the painstaking efforts the United Nations has made and continues to make in considerably reducing the several areas of conflict in the world.

143. It is true that the birth of this world body coincided roughly with the beginning of the nuclear age and, as a result, the question of partial or complete disarmament has occupied a high-priority position in its deliberations. Often serious attempts have been made to limit and contain the spread of production, as well as proliferation, of these weapons. These attempts have resulted so far in four important treaties that have been successfully negotiated and have now entered into force. We can look back, not without some satisfaction, at the Moscow partial test ban Treaty of 1963—the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water;¹² the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies [*resolution 2222 (XXI), annex*] of 1967, which banned nuclear and other mass destruction weapons from outer space and provided for the demilitarization of celestial bodies; the Treaty of Tlatelolco¹³ of 14 February 1967, by which a nuclear weapon-free zone was established in Latin America, and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] of 1968 which prohibited the further spread of nuclear weapons. These constitute some real progress in the field of disarmament and are indications that reason can usually be brought to prevail on nations, great and small alike, when their very existence on the earth's surface is seriously threatened. There is, however, a long way to go before general and complete disarmament under effective international control, our desirable and final goal, can be achieved. We are indeed aware of this fact; but we are also aware that time is running out.

144. We are happy to see that the United Nations Disarmament Decade has been heralded by no less an important event than the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which entered into force on 5 March. With one hundred signatures and some sixty ratifications, progress in halting the spread of nuclear weapons will now be made. But such a treaty can become truly efficacious only when all Powers capable of producing nuclear weapons have endorsed it. The position of my own Government on this matter will be made known in the near future.

145. My delegation notes that the promotion of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, including peaceful nuclear explosions, has been going on in Vienna, where the

¹² United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480 (1963), No. 6964.

¹³ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634 (1968), No. 9068).

International Atomic Energy Agency has been engaged in the very fruitful tasks of adjusting its safeguards systems to the provisions of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

146. We are also gratified indeed at the progress made in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) which started last year at Helsinki, then moved to Vienna, and have resumed at Helsinki this month. Although there is little we can do in this direction, since the talks are conducted on a bilateral basis and are held outside the scope of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, we look forward nevertheless to concrete achievements between the two super-Powers, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which are indisputably the main developers of this strategic weaponry. My delegation would like to see more progress achieved in these talks, so that the right type of atmosphere will prevail between the super-Powers and concerted efforts to prevent a holocaust will be maintained.

147. One of the achievements in the area of disarmament during the past year has been the continuing observance and implementation of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, which extends the prohibition of nuclear weapons to the Latin American continent. We trust that this example will spread to other areas of the globe, especially the other areas of the third world, where greater attention needs to be focused on the social and economic growth of the developing population than on considerations of the arms race. We would also like to see it extended to the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof. My delegation recognizes the efforts of the Latin Americans to forestall the spread of nuclear weapons in their part of the world and congratulates them on their practical wisdom and common sense.

148. On the question of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof, my delegation must express some satisfaction that the expanded Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has been able to include in the draft annexed to their report [A/8059-DC/233] this year most of the important questions raised in this Committee last year. Problems relating to the verification of the treaty, to the law of the sea and to the scope of application of prohibition have been reasonably clarified in the third revision of the draft, although there is still room for general improvement. On the whole the draft is a good and concrete step towards the reduction of international tension and, in our opinion, tends to create favourable conditions for the reduction of the arms race. We think, therefore, that it goes beyond the mere prohibition of nuclearization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor.

149. We are aware that significant advances were made last year in the study of the question of chemical and bacteriological (biological) warfare. Since the Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare¹⁴ was signed in 1925, some of the States capable of producing these weapons have either not yet signed it or not ratified it. Delay or outright refusal to ratify such a Treaty by States with a capacity to produce

such deadly weapons will not only deal a blow to the progress already made in this area, but it will in effect turn back the hands of the clock. My delegation would therefore support a call for all nations to agree to a joint prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical and bacteriological weapons and the exclusion of these means of warfare from the arsenals of States through their destruction or diversion to peaceful uses. It cannot be denied that international peace and security, as well as the achievement of the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, would be enhanced if the development, production and stockpiling of these weapons were prohibited.

150. The report brings out most importantly the areas in which it was not possible to reach an agreement in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. These areas involve, first of all, the problems of verification, and secondly, the question of whether chemical weapons should be dealt with separately from biological weapons. Arguments have been advanced for and against the certainty and cost of verification, particularly in the case of chemical weapons. My delegation, after a careful study of the problem, holds the view that verification should be based on a combination of appropriate national and international measures, which would complement and supplement each other, thereby providing an acceptable system that would ensure effective implementation of the prohibition.

151. On the question of whether negotiations should cover the two weapons simultaneously or otherwise, we think that the two ought to be taken together, since this was clearly brought out when the Protocol was formulated forty-five years ago.

152. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has also spent a considerable amount of time in attempting to formulate a treaty to ban underground nuclear tests, but it has so far failed to produce one that would be generally or completely acceptable. Here again the question of verification seems to have prevented the Conference from making any real gains, even though seven years have elapsed since the signing of the partial test ban treaty. We agree that seismological monitoring at its present stage of development is not always quite capable of distinguishing between an underground explosion and an earthquake. But we are also convinced that where States are willing and ready to exchange seismic data and to do so with honesty, this difficulty could be overcome and the gap in the machinery bridged.

153. In this connexion, my delegation would urge the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to continue its deliberations on the draft treaty to ban underground nuclear weapon tests and to take into consideration the proposals already made in the Conference as well as the views expressed at the current session of the General Assembly.

154. Notwithstanding the limited successes scored by the Conference, the "mad momentum" of the arms race continues both in the nuclear and conventional fields. We understand that while \$200,000 million are spent annually on armaments, less than \$15,000 million are offered by the developed countries towards the alleviation of the problems

¹⁴ League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XCIV (1929), No. 2138.

confronting the developing nations. Hunger, ignorance and disease plague two thirds of the human race while the well-to-do third dissipates its resources in the pursuit of scientific explorations capable of liquidating mankind.

155. If the 1970s are to become in reality the Disarmament Decade, then a comprehensive programme of general and complete disarmament under effective international control—as called for in General Assembly resolution 2602 (XXIV)—should be worked out. As a first step, a moratorium on the development and deployment of new offensive and defensive strategic nuclear weapons is to be voluntarily entered into.

156. In the words of our distinguished Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization last year:

“The world now stands at a most critical crossroads. It can pursue the arms race at a terrible price to the security and progress of the peoples of the world, or it can move ahead towards the goal of general and complete disarmament, a goal that was set in 1959 by a unanimous decision of the General Assembly on the eve of the decade of the 1960s. If it should choose the latter road, the security, the economic well-being and the progress not only of the developing countries but also of the developed countries and of the entire world, would be tremendously enhanced.”¹⁵

157. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): Before beginning my statement, may I express my delegation's deep regret on the announcement of the disaster that befell Pakistan, and I wish to convey to my colleague from Pakistan the sincere condolences of the country and people of Cyprus, which I should like him to convey in turn to the country and people of Pakistan.

158. Of all subjects before the United Nations over the years, the one that has shown the least progress is that of disarmament. This fact emerged more impressively during the commemorative session. The Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, of 24 October 1970 [resolution 2627 (XXV)] bears witness to what I have just said. Disarmament is by far the weakest of all points in that document. This is a problem in which human ability to adjust intelligently to a suddenly transformed world has been put to its severest test by advancing technology.

159. A decade has already passed since the General Assembly in 1959 unanimously resolved on general and complete disarmament. Subsequently in 1961 it adopted the joint statement of agreed principles for disarmament negotiations.¹⁶ Great hopes were then entertained that we were moving towards an effective approach to that problem. Yet, in the relevant negotiations that followed, while exacting requirements for a theoretical balance of power at every step in the process of disarmament were being unproductively discussed over the years in a climate of

mistrust, at the same time a counter activity in the arms race was being assiduously and feverishly pursued, virtually burying that disarmament effort under an avalanche of nuclear weapons. Thus, the number of land-based inter-continental ballistic missiles increased from 30 in 1961 to 1,954 in 1967, and to 2,400 in 1970; or, if submarine missiles are included, to 3,300 from the original 30 in 1961. World military expenditure rose from \$97,000 million in 1960 to nearly \$200,000 million in 1969.

160. The stock-piling of megatons has gone up from 6,000 in 1960 to 320,000 in 1968, and is still continuing that upward trend. Are such nuclear stocks intended as a deterrent? According to expert estimates 10,000 megatons, in terms of radioactivity alone, apart from its other effects, would be enough to destroy life in the whole of America.

161. This wasteful competition for more and more over-kill capacity seems completely senseless from every point of view, and so is the continuous testing for new and more sophisticated nuclear weapons rising to ever higher plateaux of sophisticated means of destruction. Therefore, it is not so much a question of slow progress, or no progress, in disarmament, nor of a static situation, but of a constant and rapid deterioration through an accelerating arms race.

162. We do not in any sense underrate the importance of the collateral disarmament measures that have been achieved in the last decade. In particular, the partial test-ban Treaty¹⁷ has been of immeasurable value in curbing nuclear tests in the atmosphere and in protecting the human environment from further radio-active contamination. Also, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] is a most important precautionary measure. But those collateral measures do not constitute a step towards the limitation or reduction of armaments and do not have an impact upon an accelerating arms race. Indeed, by far the greatest number of nuclear test explosions took place after the partial test-ban Treaty came into force. According to the SIPRI Yearbook of World Armaments and Disarmament, 1969-70,¹⁸ in the eighteen-month period ending June 1970, there were sixty-eight underground tests and six in the atmosphere. It may be recalled that a paragraph in the preamble of the partial test-ban Treaty contains what might be called an undertaking to proceed in a sense of urgency to the completion of that Treaty by banning underground tests as well.

163. Seven years after that Treaty came into force, the present deplorable situation, made manifest by the simultaneous test explosions by three nuclear Powers on the opening day of the commemorative session, underscores the compelling necessity of concluding a comprehensive test-ban treaty. That urgent need has been repeatedly emphasized and included as a matter of first priority in a number of relevant resolutions of the General Assembly since 1963. Meanwhile, scientific progress in seismic detection and verification has reached a point at which the technical aspect would be no obstacle to the conclusion of a treaty prohibiting underground tests.

¹⁵ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 1A, para. 41.

¹⁶ Ibid., Sixteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 19, document A/4879.

¹⁷ Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water (United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 480 (1963), No. 6964).

¹⁸ Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell, 1970.

164. This year the twentieth Pugwash Conference on Peace and International Co-operation¹⁹ decided by consensus that the “technical problems of verification are not any real stumbling-block and that the problem is essentially political in nature”. That international group of scientists, with full United States and Soviet participation, unanimously recommended the adoption of a complete ban on tests, which in their view “would not present any risk to the national security of either of the super-Powers”.

165. Having regard to the significance that the suspension of tests bears to the whole problem of disarmament and the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), we express the hope and the expectation that more urgent steps will be taken in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament towards the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty. Such hopes and expectations, however, have been repeatedly expressed in this Committee in previous sessions. Noting from the General Assembly records the similarity of discussions on this item over the last seven years—since 1963—one becomes sadly aware of the complete lack of progress on this vital problem. Every year we hear almost the same arguments, warnings, suggestions, proposals, appeals, expressions of hope, sense of urgency, priorities, repeated resolutions—all without effect while nuclear armaments continue their spiralling race. It reminds me of the saying: “The dogs sensing danger bark, but the caravan goes on.” But where is that caravan headed for? The abyss?

166. Among the critical problems facing mankind today, unquestionably the most threatening and urgent is that unrelenting arms race, which the nuclear Powers seem unable to arrest or contain. The dangers to the world are obvious, and the psychological impact on the international community is no less apparent in the present-day conditions of international anarchy and wars.

167. The Secretary-General, in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization,²⁰ proposed that a comprehensive study by international experts be prepared regarding the economic and social consequences of the arms race and the massive military expenditure. My delegation fully supports that proposal and appreciates its inclusion as an item on the initiative of the delegation of Romania [A/7994]. Such a study will be of great value in bringing into focus the terrifying prospects of the continuance of the arms race and the immeasurable benefits for all mankind from its cessation.

168. All Member States have been outspoken in their condemnation of the use of force as an instrument of policy. All without exception are in agreement on the unprecedented dangers from the accelerating arms race. There is nothing to add of significance to what is already recognized by all and more authoritatively asserted by some. Yet the glaring contrast between reasoned statements in this Committee and in the United Nations on the one hand, and contradictory action outside them on the other, presents a gap that is hard to explain. These, however, are but the symptoms of our time in an age of transition from the rule of force and war to the rule of reason and peace.

169. Under the Charter we are solemnly committed to effect that transition, but in practice we have hardly made any meaningful move in that direction. It is this failure that is the root cause of all our present-day problems. We have thus the phenomenon of man still labouring under traditional but outworn concepts of force, suddenly caught in a dimensional scientific-military advance that threatens his survival, but transcends his capacity for intelligent reactions, while whetting a scientific appetite for further technological discoveries and an irresistible drive for more and more military power. However, the great hazard to mankind involved in this situation is our gravest problem.

170. Five Nobel Peace Prize laureates in a recent declaration presented to the United Nations remark that:

“[The world] has lulled itself into a belief that it can live with nuclear weapons, that . . . armaments bring security. All they bring in fact is the threat of disaster. The world could never survive a nuclear holocaust” [A/C.1/1001].

One of them, the distinguished former Prime Minister of Canada, Lester B. Pearson, has emphasized that what is more frightening is that “We take a false comfort in the hope that because we have avoided the ultimate catastrophe for so many years we can live forever on the brink.”

171. An assessment of realities at a given time, however unpleasant, is not pessimism. It is, on the contrary, the beginning of realistic optimism, stemming from the urge for a new approach to our problem and for appropriate action. In this sense the Secretary-General warned that:

“The nations of the world have what may be a last opportunity to mobilize their energies and resources, supported by the public opinion of all the peoples of the world, and to tackle anew the complicated but not insuperable problems of disarmament.”²¹

172. The United Nations will have to give more vigorous attention to the question of peace and security and to the interconnected problems of which it is composed, namely, the arms race and disarmament, the maintenance of peace and the peaceful settlement of international disputes, and also, linked with them, economic development.

173. We are nearing the end of the first year of the Disarmament Decade. This decade, running concurrently with the Second United Nations Development Decade, opens up an opportunity and a challenge. The two decades, wisely planned to coincide, are intended to emphasize on the one hand the tremendous dangers now facing mankind from the arms race, and on the other to illustrate the tragic drain of resources wasted on armaments, while they are direly needed for purposes of development.

174. The question which at present arises for discussion is the extent to which we can meet the challenge and make use of the opportunity. The decade ahead, as a disarmament decade, will have to be totally different in planning, resolve and implementation to the previous decade of the 1960s.

¹⁹ Held at Fontana, Wisconsin, in September 1970.

²⁰ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 1A.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 1A, para. 46.

175. We place hopes, of course, in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks taking place in Helsinki. They are an encouraging sign. Yet how high can those hopes be, if at the same time testing in the qualitative development of nuclear weapons continues unabated, changing the elements of negotiation and seriously impairing, if not destroying, the chances of success in those talks. It may be recalled that the talks were initiated precisely for the purpose of avoiding the next major escalation of the arms race. How then can we explain the fact that such escalation is pursued concurrently with the Conference. The appeal of the Secretary-General and the resolution of the General Assembly of last year [*resolution 2602 A (XXIV)*] for a moratorium on testing and deployment of new nuclear weapon systems should be implemented. The present Assembly has to renew that appeal even more urgently.

176. Time and time again during the past decade nations have failed to utilize the opportunities that existed to achieve a halt in the arms competition before it entered a more involved, more complex and more difficult stage. With each opportunity missed, the possibilities of success are diminished and further complicated. The present opportunity of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks must not be lost. The Disarmament Decade should be a constant reminder of our opportunity, our peril and our responsibility.

177. It is a source of satisfaction to my delegation that at this session we shall have the occasion of endorsing the draft treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean-floor and in the subsoil thereof [*A/8059-DC/233, annex A*]. There can be little doubt that it is a more adequate instrument than the draft we had before us last year and is a product of sincere efforts at accommodation. Yet this draft treaty remains a partial one, and does not place the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the threat of a conventional arms race. It falls, therefore, into the same category as the partial test-ban Treaty which we have, even after all these years, yet to complete.

178. With reference to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, my delegation wishes to place on record its appreciation of the unique value of that important negotiating body and the high level of expertise and effort committed to it.

179. We are pleased to note in its report of this year [*A/8059-DC/233*] the response by members of the Conference to the General Assembly's request in resolution 2602 E (XXIV) that it work out a comprehensive programme dealing with all aspects of the problem of the arms race and disarmament.

180. We are grateful to the delegations of Mexico, Sweden and Yugoslavia for the draft comprehensive programme of disarmament submitted by them [*ibid., annex C, sect. 42*]. We find that that document responds fully to the request of the General Assembly. It provides an important framework of principles, elements and priorities, without, however, imposing limitations which might adversely affect the process of negotiations. We also wish sincerely to commend the delegation of Italy for its constructive contribution in the working paper on the subject it has submitted to the Conference [*ibid., sect. 38*].

181. The draft comprehensive programme takes specific note of a subject to which my delegation has referred in this Committee over the years, namely "the close inter-relationship among disarmament, international security, peaceful settlement of disputes and a climate of confidence". The programme stresses the need for parallel negotiations in appropriate forums for the development of the United Nations peace-making and peace-keeping machinery and procedures.

182. At the twenty-third session, referring to these inter-related problems, as well as economic development, my delegation remarked that none of them could be tackled or solved in isolation from the rest, and proposed a study of them in depth with a view to finding an integrated solution. The relevant draft resolution²² was postponed for further consideration. We are, therefore, gratified that this question is now being studiously taken up in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. My delegation fully supports and endorses the proposed comprehensive programme and urges that it be adopted during the present session. Such action would give significant impetus to the Disarmament Decade from its inception and provide tangible direction and priorities towards which we can bend our efforts.

183. The responsibility, however, of the General Assembly for the Disarmament Decade cannot be said to end with the adoption of a comprehensive programme for disarmament, or with the usual annual review of the negotiations at Geneva. Nor, we believe, has the integral relationship between the Disarmament Decade and the Second United Nations Development Decade been made sufficiently explicit or functional. In our view, the Assembly must explore every avenue open to it to ensure the maximum utilization and impact of the Disarmament Decade, so that the goals defined in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, and adopted by the General Assembly at its commemorative session [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] may be achieved.

184. While detailed negotiations must, of course, proceed within the framework of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, it seems to us that there is a need for a more general and wide-ranging discussion of the imperatives of disarmament with a view to illuminating the issues and educating world public opinion during the Disarmament Decade. A forum would have to be established in order to provide the mechanism needed for liaison and co-ordination between disarmament and development efforts. Such a forum could provide for studies to keep under review the developing situation and to evaluate the effects of the arms race on international tensions and could also make recommendations respecting the utilization of savings from arms limitation and reduction in social and economic development objectives.

185. It was particularly emphasized in the Declaration on Non-Alignment and Economic Progress²³ that "massive investments in the economic and social progress of mankind

²² *Ibid.*, Twenty-third Session, Annexes, agenda items 27, 28, 29, 94 and 96, document A/7441, para. 5(f).

²³ Adopted at the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka in September 1970.

can be made if agreements are reached to reduce expenditure on armaments". It would seem necessary that the General Assembly direct itself in a functional manner to this interrelationship as being one of the main responsibilities of any committee or other body set up in connexion with the Disarmament Decade.

186. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, being occupied to a major degree as the main negotiating forum for arms agreement, could hardly be required to turn its attention to planning activities or other matters connected with the Disarmament Decade. Such plans and activities would rather be designed to support, make known, and enhance the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

187. While the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) remain the focus of the current effort to halt the nuclear arms race, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament will undoubtedly proceed with its work for achieving a long-delayed ban on underground nuclear tests with a greater sense of urgency, considering the "advisability", as expressed by the delegation of Sweden in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, of underpinning, through such a ban, arms limitation measures that might be achieved through SALT [see CCD/PV.487].

188. Another item also calling for urgent action is that concerning chemical and biological weapons. As pointed out in our intervention on this subject last year [1701st meeting], it is inconceivable that while devoting such efforts in the United Nations, through the World Health Organization, to helping mankind against disease and suffering, we are at the same time accumulating enormous quantities of the most virulent microbes and deadly or injurious chemicals for the purpose of using them against the people of other nations, with incalculable and uncontrollable effects on the whole human environment.

189. My delegation supports the adoption by the General Assembly of a resolution calling on the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to conclude its work on this item with a sense of urgency and on the basis of the

approach outlined in its joint memorandum [A/8059-DC/233, annex C, sect. 39] by the group of twelve non-aligned members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, and to submit a draft treaty to the General Assembly at its next session. With this work we believe that the potentialities of verification by challenge should not be overlooked.

190. Finally, while we are fully aware that as we enter the second year of the Disarmament Decade the prospects continue to cause the gravest concern, the situation is nevertheless not without hope. A degree of mutual confidence and co-operation appears to have emerged in disarmament negotiations between the major Powers, and some results have been achieved, although at a very slow pace. As we pass from the easier challenges of collateral measures in peripheral areas, to the harder realities of limitation and reduction of existing arms, the real task begins, to which the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks are but a prelude. For the sake of all nations and all peoples, we hope that those talks will not fail.

191. I reserve my delegation's position on the draft resolutions before the Committee.

192. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before adjourning this meeting, I call on the representative of Pakistan, who has asked to make a brief statement.

193. Mr. MEHDI (Pakistan): Mr. Chairman, my delegation wishes to express its gratitude to you for voicing, on behalf of this Committee, its deep-felt sorrow of the tragedy that has obliterated the lives of hundreds of thousands and ravaged the homes of millions of my compatriots. My delegation has been particularly touched by the eloquent and comforting words of the representatives of Turkey, Venezuela, Syria, Sierra Leone and Cyprus. I shall not fail to convey these moving sentiments and condolences to the Government and people of Pakistan, who, in this dark hour will find much solace in this expression of sympathy and support.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.