Fifteenth special session

COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 9 June 1988, at 10 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. AHMAD (Pakistan)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

STATEMENTS BY REPRESENTATIVES OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND PEACE AND DISARMAMENT RESEARCH INSTITUTES (continued)

The CHAIRMAN: The first speaker this morning is Mr. Tokutaro Hirone of the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs.

Mr. HIRONE (spoke in Japanese; English text furnished by the organization): I am Tokutaro Hirone, a representative director of the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. I have also been actively engaged in the anti-nuclear peace movement as a Vice-Chairman of the World Federation of Scientific Workers and a member of the Board of Chairpersons of the Organizing Committee of the annual World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs.

The most urgent and vital task now facing the people of the world is to save themselves from the threat of nuclear war, by achieving the abolition of nuclear weapons without delay. Nuclear weapons numbered only three when the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, but they now number some 50,000 - enough to annihilate the whole human race many times over. Humanity cannot coexist with nuclear weapons.

After we experienced Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a demand by public opinion for a ban on nuclear weapons arose in the early post-war days in Japan. Through the World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, held annually for some 30 years, with the goals of preventing nuclear war, eliminating nuclear weapons and providing relief for the "Hibakusha", the atomic bomb survivors, the movement has developed internationally.

Towards the end of last year the Treaty on the abolition of intermediate-range and shorter-ranger nuclear missiles was signed, reflecting the desires of the time-honoured movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs, and especially the recent development of world opinion and movements against nuclear weapons and for peace. Although the number to be abolished under the Treaty represents only a small
percentage of the total nuclear arsenals, covering only one category, the Treaty is historically significant. Despite the often heard claim that abolition of nuclear weapons is a mere dream, the INF Treaty shows that it is not an empty theory, but an attainable objective.

In spite of that, some of those involved in international politics are emphasizing the theory of nuclear deterrence even more than before the INF Treaty was signed, with a clear determination to hold on to nuclear weapons. Soon after the end of the Second World War, when the General Assembly passed its very first resolution, in January 1946, it declared that its purpose was the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction. Unfortunately, the spirit of that resolution is not now commonly understood, even in the United Nations. I want firmly to suggest that SSOD III reaffirm that goal laid down by the United Nations first resolution and raise and examine the total abolition of nuclear weapons as a top-priority issue and seek an agreement for the conclusion of an international treaty totally banning and eliminating nuclear weapons.

To attain that goal, anti-nuclear peace opinion and movements of the people of the world - the essential power that brought about the INF Treaty - must be swiftly developed. The World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs held last August set the goal of collecting around the world 1 billion signatures in support of the Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which calls for the abolition of all nuclear weapons as most urgent and crucial for the very survival of humanity. The campaign has already spread to 150 countries. I call on everyone present to bring even wider support from world anti-nuclear peace opinion to the signature campaign and build up tremendous solidarity to prevent nuclear war and eliminate all nuclear weapons.
While SSOD III is in session the world will soon see the second "Peace Wave", an international creative grass-roots action, with the elimination of nuclear weapons as the common goal and the signature campaign for the Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki as the common form of action, to be launched worldwide on 9 June and to last until 12 June.
The Non-Governmental Organization Forum held in Geneva in April this year made a recommendation to the Non-Governmental Organizations of the world to join both the second "Peace Wave" action and the signature campaign for the "Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki". Let all of those forces that have the will to co-operate towards reaching the common goal of preventing nuclear war and eliminating nuclear weapons develop these joint actions, irrespective of differences of race, nationality, ideology, belief and social systems. Through these actions, let us build an international united front that will constantly work against nuclear weapons and for peace and thus surround the pro-nuclear forces. The human race can be saved from a nuclear catastrophe only by the united strength of the people of the world, thereby opening a new page in history.

I conclude my speech by quoting a passage from the "Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki" and by pledging, with you, our commitment to the earliest elimination of nuclear weapons:

"Along with the survivors and on behalf of those who died and cannot now speak for themselves, we appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki: There must never be another Hiroshima anywhere on earth; there must never be another Nagasaki anywhere on earth."

The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is Mrs. Cao Xiaobing, Deputy Secretary-General of the Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament.

Mrs. CAO Xiaobing (interpretation from Chinese): It is a great honour for me to be here representing the Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament, which, as the largest non-governmental peace organization in China, set up in 1985, is taking its first opportunity to attend a special United Nations session devoted to disarmament. Please allow me, on behalf of the Association, to express our active support for the convening of the third special United Nations session devoted to disarmament and our sincere hope that this session will uphold
and further the basic principles elaborated in the Final Document of the first special United Nations session devoted to disarmament and will be a complete success.

This special session is being held within the context of trends towards relaxation that have arisen in the international situation, whereas the disturbing factors continue to exist. Peace and development are the two themes of the world today. What should we do, then, to safeguard peace and seek development? I think we may concert our efforts in the following four areas:

First, we must advance the disarmament process. This special session is the third time that people have gathered here to discuss specifically the crucial matter of disarmament. The INF Treaty, signed by the United States and the Soviet Union at the end of last year, marked the beginning of nuclear disarmament and, as such, should be positively assessed. The negotiation between the two countries on reducing their strategic nuclear weapons by 50 per cent is under way but agreement has not yet been reached.

Despite all this, the arms race still exists, as does the nuclear threat. We have constantly opposed the arms race and advocated the complete prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, chemical weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and the drastic reduction of conventional weapons. The fact of armament in today's world is that the weapons possessed by the United States and the Soviet Union far exceed those of all other countries. Especially, they possess between them over 95 per cent of the world's nuclear arsenal. Both countries thus have a special responsibility for disarmament, and there is reason for the people of the world to demand that they take the lead in drastically reducing their armaments, especially nuclear armaments. That is the right way to disarmament, and it is coming to be the consensus of world opinion.
I should like to stress here that when we say that we want to stop the arms race, we do not mean that we want to see the arms reduced in numbers but improved in quality, nor do we want to see the outdated weapons withdrawn only to be replaced by new ones, nor a unitary offensive system develop into a combined offensive and defensive system. Even less do we want the arms race to be expanded into outer space. In short, we hope that the United States and the Soviet Union can reach an agreement on cutting back their strategic nuclear arms by 50 per cent as soon as possible. And they should also take new substantial steps towards the thorough prohibition of chemical weapons, the reduction of conventional weapons and the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

The second area is the resolution of regional conflicts. Disarmament is important to world peace and security. But it is not enough to have disarmament alone, nor is it possible to achieve genuine disarmament in a world situation marked by disturbances. It is known to all that in the world there are a number of "hot spots" that not only make the local people suffer but also upset regional tranquillity. The Geneva agreement on Afghanistan signed recently is a victory for upholding the principles of international justice. By the same token, it is high time for the Kampuchean issue to be resolved. All foreign troops must be pulled out of Kampuchea. In a word, political settlements to all these regional conflicts would ultimately require that power politics be opposed, aggression and expansion stopped, and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence strictly observed by all countries in their international relations.

Thirdly, world economic prosperity must be promoted. Disarmament is conducive to development. Development is a North-South problem. The current world economic situation is grim, with the North-South gap further widening. At the same time, the world military expenditure amounts to $US 1 trillion a year. A large amount of
mankind's wealth is thus gobbled up by the arms race. Among the 5 billion inhabitants of this planet, three quarters live in underdevelopment. It is thus very difficult to imagine a solid and durable peace. And so, in accordance with the principle of mutual benefit, we hold that the North and the South must combine their efforts in order to overcome present difficulties, to find a way out for both and to promote the stability and prosperity of the world economy. Meanwhile, we demand that the arms race be stopped and that the funds, resources and manpower be used to develop the economy and to improve the people's standard of living. My Association has supported the measures taken by the Chinese Government in recent years to reduce the size of the armed forces by 1 million, to cut military expenditures and to convert the defense industry to civilian production.

The fourth area is this: to bring into play the role of the people. It is the common aspiration of the people of the world today - an aspiration powerfully voiced - to advance disarmament and to demand peace. Different social forces have converged under the banner of safeguarding world peace and have taken on the momentum of an irresistible historical trend. In advancing disarmament, the voices of mass organizations, the scholarly works by research institutes and the contributions by public figures all have an immeasurable impact morally and in terms of public opinion and popular will. There is much for the masses of the people to accomplish.

During the International Year of Peace, my Association co-ordinated the carrying out by its member organizations of more than 40 large- and medium-sized activity projects. Last year we attended the United Nations Regional Conference for the World Disarmament Campaign in Beijing and explored ways to disarmament and security, together with other participants. My Association has also established friendly ties extensively with peace organizations and groupings in other countries, and wishes to make practical efforts and contributions towards safeguarding peace and advancing disarmament.
The CHAIRMAN: I now invite Professor Marietta Stepaniants, of the Soviet Women's Committee, to address us.

Ms. STEPA NIANTS (interpretation from Russian): About 30 years ago two outstanding scientists of the twentieth century - Russell and Einstein - addressing us, the people of the planet Earth, in a Manifesto gave us the following warning and prediction:

"All, equally, are in peril and if that peril is understood there is hope that collectively it can be averted."

Today we can say that people are becoming aware of the danger of a nuclear war and that real hope for preventing such a war has emerged. The unheard-of scale of the anti-nuclear movement and the unprecedented representation in the work of the current special session of the General Assembly of the Non-Governmental Organizations that stand for a world free of the nuclear threat give rise to that hope.

The Soviet Women's Committee, on behalf of which I have the honour to speak from this lofty rostrum and which is a non-governmental public organization that emerged at the beginning of the Second World War in the face of the threat posed by fascism to the whole civilized world, is dedicated to the ideals of peace and justice and has been actively participating in the peace movement for nearly half a century, giving constant support to the constructive peace-making activities of international organizations - above all, the United Nations.

Reflecting the interests of Soviet women, who cherish the memory of the 20 million fathers, husbands and sons who perished during the Second World War, the Soviet Women's Committee expresses its vital interest in staving off the threat of a third world war and calls upon the States Members of the United Nations to be loyal to the spirit of the resolutions of the first General Assembly special
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(Ms. Stepaniants)

session devoted to disarmament, which advanced the task of the rapid and substantial reduction of armaments and armed forces through international agreement and mutual example.

The first decisive step in that direction has been taken: the INF Treaty has been ratified. This first appreciable success of the efforts by all peace-loving forces should be consolidated and reinforced by new joint measures to create a non-violent and nuclear-weapon-free world. Interruptions and pauses in the nuclear-disarmament process are inadmissible.
Hence, let us take the following steps: first, achieve a 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive armaments in the context of strict compliance with the anti-ballistic missile Treaty, completely halt nuclear tests, and prevent the qualitative development and proliferation of nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons should be eliminated on land, on the high seas and especially in outer space.

Secondly, become fully aware of the lethal power of chemical weapons. There is a pressing need to conclude a convention on the complete and unconditional prohibition of all types of chemical weapons.

Thirdly, rid mankind of local wars, hunger, poverty and disease and work for the earliest settlement of regional conflicts by political means in the context of the observance of the legitimate interests of all States and peoples, and use the funds released by the process of disarmament for the purposes of development.

Salvation from nuclear destruction is the job of every reasonable individual. It is time to realize that an irreversible curbing of the arms race requires a change in political thinking. Wars, hatred and violence do not resolve problems: they only aggravate them. Fear and suspicion should be replaced by mutual understanding and confidence through dialogue, achieving compromise and strengthening the machinery of international law for the peaceful, civilized resolution of issues. Offensive aggressive notions should be replaced by a "defensive strategy", by "reasonable military sufficiency".

Humanity does not need merely to survive but needs a world in which justice can triumph. In expressing the sentiments of millions of people on this earth the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, said at the recent Soviet-American summit meeting in Moscow:

"We insist on justice ... and are convinced that a way out is possible through the radical restructuring of the entire system of world economic relations, without any discrimination for political considerations."
Our children, the coming generation, can and must enter the third millennium without nuclear weapons. We believe that they will continue our efforts to attain the ultimate goal - general and complete disarmament.

The Soviet Women's Committee expects that the third special session will give an impetus to the translation into reality of our common dream of a nuclear-weapon-free world and the establishment of a comprehensive system of security.

The Soviet Women's Committee gives the assurance that, together with other public organizations, it will spare no effort to help the United Nations in its activities aimed at general and complete disarmament.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Mr. Hisami Yamasaki, Vice-President of Soka Gakkai International.

Mr. YAMAZAKI (spoke in Japanese; English text furnished by the organization): I am the Vice-President of Soka Gakkai International (SGI) and on its behalf I should like to express our deep appreciation for the opportunity to speak at this special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

Soka Gakkai International is an organization of lay Buddhist believers. Its members, scattered throughout 115 nations around the globe, are dedicated to bringing lasting peace to the world through the promotion of the movement of peace, culture and education.

Many may recall the SGI-sponsored exhibition, "Nuclear Arms: The Threat to Our World", which was held on the occasion of the second special session in 1982. Ever since then, as part of the World Disarmament Campaign, that same exhibit has been shown in 24 other cities in 16 countries, carrying its potent message to more than 1.2 million visitors.
We urge that this third special session on disarmament be dedicated to the further expansion and development of the World Disarmament Campaign. The times now call urgently for a change in our perspective from concern in interests of just one's own nation to that of the interests of the entire human race. We, the Soka Gakkai, are determined to contribute to furthering the World Disarmament Campaign. We give high recognition to the efforts made by the heads of State of the United States and the Soviet Union towards nuclear disarmament but at the same time, we strongly feel the need to expand this flow from a bilateral to a multilateral current, a sure and definite current, towards complete disarmament.

Our Soka Gakkai International President, Daisaku Ikeda, has for this occasion prepared a series of proposals entitled "Complete Disarmament as a Global Movement". These are being presented to this special session. On his behalf, let me briefly outline some of the main points.

First, we propose that the ultimate goals, principles and priorities of disarmament mentioned in the Final Document of the first special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament be revised and updated to create a new and great charter of disarmament, which the United Nations should present to the world as a basic guideline for total disarmament. We hope that a resolution to create such guidelines will be adopted at the special session. As the mainstay of that charter we propose that preparatory steps be taken towards the establishment of an international disarmament organization. That international disarmament organization should be an organization capable of expanding the functions of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament. It should not only have the negotiating functions of the Geneva Conference, but should also be empowered to engage in verification, including inspection by satellite. With these functions combined, the international disarmament organization could supervise and verify arms reductions.
The main role of the international disarmament organization would be to promote the elimination not only of nuclear arsenals and biological and chemical weapons but of conventional weapons as well. It is urgent that the spread of increasingly destructive conventional weapons, which are now proliferating even to the third world, be brought under some kind of control.

The second proposal is that the United Nations should designate the 1990s as a decade of peace and disarmament, as it did for the 1970s and 1980s successively. We hope that the United Nations will continue to assume the central role in drawing up specific plans for drastic global reductions of all kinds of arms by the year 2000. To promote this at the level of the individual, we find it necessary to designate a United Nations decade for education for citizens of the world. In conjunction with that we also wish to propose the establishment of a ministry of peace in each country, which would then be devoted to the problems of maintaining peace.

Finally, we propose that the special sessions of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament should continue to be held regularly, once every four or five years, as they have been held, in order to provide encouragement and leadership for the world-wide disarmament movement. After the third special session we suggest that a United Nations-sponsored disarmament conference be held in Hiroshima for the benefit of disarmament research institutes, non-governmental organizations, and other bodies involved in the movement. This then could lead to the formation of a non-governmental organization high-level advisory group, which would make it possible for the compilation of concrete proposals to be presented to the United Nations on behalf of all non-governmental organizations around the world. The Soka Gakkai International would do all it could to help to make that proposal a reality.
A great philosopher of the Orient long ago described one aspect of the essential human nature as being that of a "talented animal". In other words, human beings have been able to use their "talent" for many things, including giving birth to weapons which can annihilate the entire human race. We human beings are now standing at a crossroads, one at which it will be determined whether or not we can restore humanism to humanity and make the twenty-first century a century of peace, with neither nuclear weapons nor war ravaging us. In this sense, all non-governmental organizations have a vital role to play.

Towards this ultimate goal, Soka Gakkai International pledges its support for the activities of the United Nations, and also its unceasing efforts towards the goal of peace for all people throughout the world.
The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Senator Silvia Hernandez of the World Women Parliamentarians for Peace.

Ms. HERNANDEZ (translation from Spanish): The World Women Parliamentarians for Peace founded this organization three years ago in order to increase our influence on the processes that involve disarmament and world peace.

Today, some 500 women parliamentarians in nearly 50 countries have joined us. For many years we have been virtually shut out of the process of devising policy at the international level; shut out also of decisions made on war, peace, military budgets and structures and disarmament negotiations.

We, the women that give life and that have the capacity to protect and preserve our offspring, are not responsible for the mistakes made in the past.

Today, we must be right there at every meeting, every forum, every United Nations delegation and at every negotiation table where life-and-death issues are discussed. We claim the right to be heard. We have had to fight every step of the way before winning social and political recognition for ourselves. We now assume our responsibility for taking part in fundamental decision-making involving war and peace.

These days, no matter the country, the religion, the culture or the race, the arms race - nuclear and conventional - threatens all our sons and daughters alike; it jeopardizes their very existence and severely compromises the quality of their lives.

In a world where hunger, housing shortages, disease and poverty consume human beings, where food, air and water are growing ever more polluted, where a third of our forests are dying and arable land is turning into deserts and getting progressively more eroded, the concept of security, conceived of in strictly and exclusively military terms has become absurd, obsolete. Security today presupposes a much broader ranging concept.
So far as we are concerned, peace, disarmament, security and development are indivisible and must be seen as tasks to be taken care of immediately.

We are living in times of particular importance for the world, times when we will be able to launch efforts to eliminate nuclear weapons once and for all. We must take advantage of this third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament to make decisive progress in specific areas such as the prohibition of nuclear testing. In this connection multilateral negotiations must be aimed at a comprehensive treaty banning all nuclear explosions, at supporting a multilateral verification system wherein the United Nations would play a special role, at avoiding the spread of the arms race into realms such as outer space, at calling on the super-Powers to pursue the nuclear disarmament process through agreements encompassing all classes and types of nuclear weapons and, finally, at bringing about the complete prohibition of chemical weapons and at promoting settlement of regional conflicts.

We must strive to ensure that all countries committed to international peace and security redouble their efforts to implement the action programme already embodied in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, held 10 years ago.

We must evaluate the achievements made and take the measure of the obstacles encountered with regard to implementation of that Final Document.

We must define our priorities as we bend every effort to bring about general and complete disarmament.

We, the World Women Parliamentarians for Peace, make these demands because we refuse to share responsibility for destruction of the planet and because we believe that we have a role to play in achieving our ultimate objective of general and complete disarmament.
The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Mr. Ulrich Herz of the Swedish People's Parliament for Disarmament.

Mr. HERZ: I have the honour of addressing you on behalf of more than 300 Swedish non-governmental organizations which, for one year, have together dealt with the agenda of this special session and which, in a three-day parliamentary session, in strict democratic order adopted 87 concrete demands and proposals. Those proposals have been submitted to our own government and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for distribution to any Member State. That final statement is included in the working material of this special session.

My statement here focuses on four of these 87 proposals: two of them in order to make it understood that we strongly support the intentions that prevail among a majority of the members of this Committee and two others which, in our opinion, have so far not been considered seriously enough.

Item 1: a comprehensive nuclear test ban. The very idea of nuclear deterrence is not only foolish; it is immoral. As long as nuclear weapons exist, we not only live in permanent fear but human life itself is deprived of its dignity. Frightening one another is a shameful way of human interaction. Nuclear weapons must be completely eliminated.

A comprehensive test ban, strictly and efficiently monitored by a permanent United Nations verification agency, would be a decisive step towards a nuclear-free world. This step must be taken now.

Item 2: a convention banning chemical weapons. For a few years we have been told that a final draft of such a convention is about to emanate from the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva. We are unwilling to wait any longer.

There is a specific reason why such a document should appear now.
The year 1987 has brought a remarkable breakthrough towards bilateral negotiations. I refer, as you know, to the INF Treaty. Let the year 1988 be the limit for a corresponding breakthrough in the field of multilateral negotiations.

The close coincidence of two such historic events would have an enormous impact on the climate of international disarmament deliberations and negotiations. The peoples of the world would feel that their governments had passed a threshold and that bilateral and multilateral endeavours can reinforce one another: that the dynamic process of disarmament is actually on the way. The conclusion is that all chemical weapons must be destroyed now.

Item 3: multilateral control over and restriction of international arms transfer. The fact that the General Assembly, the Disarmament Commission and the Conference on Disarmament have so far more or less neglected this issue has its root mainly in a misinterpretation of Article 51 of the Charter about national sovereignty. It should be understood, however, that both national security and in fact, national sovereignty are jeopardized by the uncontrolled and non-transparent flow of weapons from north to south, from south to south, from north to north and, who knows, perhaps from west to east and from east to west.

What is the result of this flow? In brief, whatever the conflict nowadays, it is, from the very beginning, loaded with weaponry and is thus a conflict on the brink of violence. The term "conventional weapons" has an unexpected and frightening connotation: conflicts are conventionally, or habitually, conducted the use of armed force.

That makes Article 2 of the Charter regarding the obligation not to use force illusory. The arms transfer must thus be excluded from the principle of freedom of international trade.
Item 4: conversion from production for military purposes to production for civil development and transfer of savings effected through disarmament to those parts of the world where hunger, illness and misery still determine the fate of ordinary people. I need not further explain this issue, since we did so in a memorandum delivered last autumn to the International Conference on the Relationship Between Disarmament and Development. I want only to repeat our appeal to each Member State: carry out concrete national plans now for such a conversion and such a transfer.

We Swedish peace workers note with satisfaction that our own Government has done so, stimulated and supported by the will of the Swedish people. I urge the other 158 to do the same.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on Mr. Malcolm Harper of the UNSSD Campaign Committee of London.

Mr. HARPER: It is with a sense of great honour that I stand here today and speak on behalf of 18 non-governmental organizations in the United Kingdom which have been and still are working together to campaign for an effective special session of the General Assembly on disarmament. For in our view it is in the United Nations that the greatest hope of humanity finally to triumph over injustice, insecurity and the scourge of militarization and warfare still resides.

I should like to comment briefly on the role of the United Nations in the strengthening of common security as a prelude to major disarmament initiatives. I shall not dwell on disarmament per se, since other speakers will be doing so.

Disarmament is possible only where participating States perceive that it results in increased security. In the nuclear age, independent military defence cannot guarantee national or international security. We believe that a wider consideration of security and its relationship to disarmament necessarily involves
all Member States, and not only the nuclear-weapon States. If sovereign Member
States of the United Nations are to resolve peacefully the conflicts which
inevitably arise between them there must be a credible and effective institution
which provides the means both to resolve conflicts and to guarantee security. The
United Nations is the only institution which has the potential to perform those
functions.

It is therefore essential that at this special session the General Assembly
consider disarmament within the wider context of global security. In practical
terms, it must consider in detail how the security functions of the United Nations
with respect to conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace-keeping can most
effectively be strengthened and performed.

We strongly urge that Member States renew their commitment to the principles
of the United Nations Charter which deal with regional and international disputes
and to support of the United Nations and its machinery to resolve such disputes.
In particular we would stress the importance of the following: agreement to accept
and adhere to the established processes for the prevention and resolution of
conflict, including commissions of inquiry, reference of disputes to the
International Court of Justice, fact-finding missions and the use of the good
offices of the Secretary-General; support for the strengthening of the role of the
Secretary-General under Article 99 of the Charter; adoption by the Security Council
of effective sanctions against Member States which fail to comply with mandatory
resolutions, under Articles 41 and 42 of the Charter; and reappraisal of the role
and constitution of the Military Staff Committee, including its responsibility for
United Nations peace-keeping operations.
(Mr. Harper)

Next, I turn to confidence-building measures. In order to increase the sense of security and the actual security of Member States, we urge that the following specific confidence-building measures be agreed upon at this special session: as a priority, the publication of statistical information on military forces and budgets of Member States, including research and development allocations, at regular intervals and according to criteria agreed through the United Nations; military strategies based on the concept of non-provocative defence; a declaration to refrain from military intervention in the affairs of sovereign States; the notification of military manoeuvres to neighbouring countries and invitations to send observers; bilateral, regional and multilateral agreements to demilitarize national border zones; declarations by all States that they will not initiate the use of military force; and measures to increase international trade and diplomatic and cultural links.

Finally, a word about non-military threats to security: In order that further significant levels of disarmament may be achieved, we strongly urge Member States to act upon clearly-identified non-military threats to security and the positive potential offered by the relationship between disarmament and development.

We believe that the strengthening of international security will depend also on a greater willingness by all Member States to co-operate with one another, and especially with the world's poorest countries, in the struggle to eradicate hunger, disease, poverty and social injustice. All these constitute actual and potential causes of conflict. To achieve this goal Member States should pursue sustainable development in a context of collective responsibility for the environment, as was powerfully argued by the World Commission on Environment and Development in its report entitled "Our Common Future", which was presented to the General Assembly last year.
In conclusion, let me appeal to all Member States of the United Nations to evaluate very fully and frankly how honestly they are living by the United Nations Charter. For until we all allow it fundamentally to influence our national, regional and global policy-making the United Nations will never be empowered to live out the historic role devised for it in 1945. The world simply cannot take the risk of seeing the United Nations fail. It deserves better of us than that.


Mr. BIOT (interpretation from French): The Peace Movement would first like to state its appreciation for the opportunity to voice before the United Nations the French public's desire for peace and disarmament.

We are greatly pleased by the first disarmament agreement, signed on 8 December 1987 by Messrs. Reagan and Gorbachev. The road to disarmament is now open. That agreement shows that the security of nations is not to be found in a putative balance of terror or in the breeding of mutual fear. The security of my country, France, and the security of all countries requires the elimination of all nuclear weapons. Today, the only true security is mutual, joint security involving ever-increasing contacts and the co-operation of all in peaceful endeavours. It is unacceptable that the fate of millions should lie in the hands of a few political leaders or be at the mercy of a few States. Today, at the end of the twentieth century, the might of arsenals cannot be a criterion of civilization.

The major challenges before mankind - such as survival, the development of all peoples and the protection of the environment - demand that we peacefully tap the extraordinary potential found in advances in knowledge, science and technology, for if development is now another word for peace, we know there will be no development without disarmament.
How can we make progress along the path laid down by the Washington agreement? There are some priorities that are no longer merely Utopian. These are, first, a 50 per cent reduction in strategic weapons; secondly, the prohibition of the militarization of outer space; thirdly, a halt of nuclear testing throughout the world, including in the Pacific - and in this connection we have in recent months collected more than 500,000 signatures in France - and, lastly, the prohibition of chemical weapons.

You will understand that we are particularly sensitive to the situation in Europe. There, we must move quickly towards the so-called triple zero option, that is, towards the elimination of the short-range nuclear weapons that still remain; we must also move towards substantial cut-backs in conventional weapons. The kind of Europe we want is a peaceful Europe, a fraternal Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals. In this vein we are striving to replace plans for military co-operation in Europe, particularly between France and the Federal Republic of Germany, with peaceful co-operative efforts in the economic, social and cultural fields. All those measures would make possible a real reduction in expenditures on armaments for the benefit of civilian jobs, social progress and development.

At the same time, however, we have examined the obstacles that remain or those that are arising. It is clear that public opinion everywhere will not support measures that seek to establish new programmes to compensate for the cut-backs set forth in the Treaty on intermediate-range nuclear forces, or that would gut it of its contents.

Today, we are directly addressing you, the representatives of Governments, and to tell you the following: your responsibility is immense. We expect that the third special session will help us make new strides. We also expect it to bolster public opinion in its commitment to disarmament. So far as we are concerned, we will work hard to disseminate its conclusions, as we did after the first and second
special sessions. Indeed, we are already planning a United Nations Disarmament Week for the end of October.

The path ahead is arduous. It calls for a great deal of effort. But experience has proved the irreplaceable role of public opinion and peace movements. Everyone recalls the impact of the Stockholm Appeal in the early 1950s. Today, it is no accident that the first disarmament agreement should involve systems against which millions of people have been demonstrating since the late the 1970s. Those governing now are under the watchful eyes of ordinary people. That is why thousands from all over the world have come to New York. Millions of them are demonstrating throughout the world. At Paris, as in a number of other French cities, 10 June will be a day of demonstration of support for the third special session.

We now know that no Government, powerful as it may be, can remain deaf to the pressure of public opinion. That is what our commitment is all about. That is also what gives us confidence.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call upon Dr. William Schulz of the Unitarian Universalist Association.

Mr. SCHULZ: "There can be no peace among nations," wrote the theologian Hans Kung, "until there is peace among religions." I represent two religious non-governmental organizations, the Unitarian Universalist Association, of which I am President, and the International Association for Religious Freedom, the oldest interfaith organization in the world, upon whose Council I sit.

The Unitarian Universalist Association is composed of more than 1,000 congregations located primarily in North America. More than 30 times over the past decade and a half our Association has called for an end to the arms race. We have endorsed a comprehensive test-ban treaty, we have urged an agreement to prevent the spread of arms to outer space and we have called for a ban on chemical weapons.
The symbol of our faith is a flaming chalice, which represents the eternal fire of hope. We are convinced that the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament is one of hope's most promising heralds.

But we believe that it is not enough for religious bodies simply to have a symbol, whether it be a flaming chalice or a cross or a statue of the Buddha. "What is necessary," said Rabbi Abraham Heschel, "is not just to have a symbol but to be a symbol." And that is one reason that 141 of our congregations have declared their properties nuclear-free zones, the largest number of congregations of any denomination in North America to take such action. By that declaration we have joined in solidarity with people throughout the world who have proclaimed their unwillingness to co-operate with any Government that fails to take seriously the plea for disarmament. Whether that symbolic action of ours is finally a futile gesture will depend upon whether it touches the hearts of those who touch the buttons.

If it is true that there will be no peace among nations until there is peace among religions, then religious bodies all over the world must be not only willing to talk with one another but to be fundamentally changed, open, made different, by such conversation. That is the purpose of the International Association for Religious Freedom, which regularly brings together Buddhists, Hindus, Shintoists, Christians, representatives of African tribal religions and many other faiths to seek that which is common among us and to understand that which is different.

Those of you who live your lives in the political and diplomatic world sometimes underestimate, I think, the extent to which religion bears on international affairs. Often, I fear, it does so by exacerbating tensions. But it is also true that all the world's great religious traditions call upon us to identify our own self-interest with the interests of our neighbours. Justice is a sham if it is not universal. Plenty is a joke if even one child still starves.
Peace is an illusion if it be not peace for all. Those who would use religious differences as an excuse for violence dishonour the highest calling of their own faith traditions, and those who fail to see the connection between armaments and poverty forget the most elemental of religious lessons.

There is one last thing that a clear religious vision can provide. It is something that I suspect those of you who toil in these halls, often frustrated, sometimes hopeless, might well appreciate. Let me put it in the form of a story.

There hangs in a museum somewhere in Europe a painting that depicts Faust sitting at a chess-table with a desperate look on his face while his opponent, the Devil, smiles ravenously. The game is almost over, for Faust retains on the board but a knight and a king, and the king is in check. One day a famous chess-master happened into the museum and stopped to stare at the painting. The minutes slowly turned to hours, but still the master stared, until, finally: "It's a lie," he shouted. "The knight and the king have another move! They have still one more move!"

That is the final thing the world's religions at their best supply us: the conviction that, though the odds be long to disarm this planet, we cannot give up, for, until the missiles leave their silos and the cities turn to dust, we have another move. We still have another move.
The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is Mr. Oerd Leipold, of Greenpeace.

Mr. LEIPOLD: I am speaking here for Greenpeace, the international environmental organization; I am international co-ordinator of the Greenpeace campaign for nuclear free seas.

Over 16,000 nuclear weapons, a third of the world's total nuclear arsenal, are dedicated to the navies of the United States, the Soviet Union, France, Britain and China. The ocean, the common heritage of all humankind, has become a major arena for the nuclear arms build-up and super-Power confrontation.

The decision by the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea to reserve the oceans exclusively for peaceful purposes has been ignored by the nuclear Powers, which use the oceans as their goal arena. Every day they wage an invisible war on the high seas, signalling aggressive intentions to the other side, searching for weaknesses and demonstrating a readiness to fight.

It is increasingly likely that nuclear war will start at sea. The provocative operations of the navies lead to numerous incidents and misunderstandings. Nuclear weapons for destroying ships and submarines are present wherever navies operate. There is a widespread belief among naval planners that a nuclear war at sea could be confined and might not escalate. Nuclear war at sea is thinkable for them.

Today 544 nuclear reactors propel naval vessels - more reactors than exist on land. The catastrophe of Chernobyl has demonstrated very clearly the huge dangers of nuclear reactors, which, if operated in a hostile environment like the oceans, are even more prone to catastrophic failure.

The vast areas of the oceans hide the deadly weapons from public view. Nevertheless the navies bring nuclear weapons directly into the hearts of our cities. The ports of more than 120 countries are visited each year by the nuclear navies.
For 17 years the international environmental and peace organization Greenpeace, which has offices in 20 countries and more than 3 million supporters, has campaigned against nuclear testing. We will continue that campaign, and we call upon the nuclear-weapon States immediately to stop testing and negotiate a complete test-ban treaty. We are strictly opposed to, and we actively campaign against, the step-by-step reduction of the testing threshold.

The extent of the naval nuclear arms race has now persuaded us to start a new international campaign. On 10 June 1987, the second anniversary of the sinking of our flagship Rainbow Warrior by the French secret service, we launched the nuclear free seas campaign. With this new campaign, Greenpeace not only addresses and important and often overlooked aspect of the nuclear arms race, but it reinforces its uncompromising call for complete global nuclear disarmament.

The goals of our nuclear free seas campaign are to generate awareness of, and opposition to, dangerous naval nuclear weapons, strategies and practices; to spread the "nuclear allergy" by encouraging nations to adopt non-nuclear policies, to enforce the ones they have, and to refuse to participate in the global infrastructure supporting naval nuclear war-fighting; to facilitate movement towards nuclear disarmament by having nuclear weapons placed on the disarmament agenda; and to maintain the freedom of the seas for non-military vessels and all humankind.

At this special session we call upon representatives to adopt two urgent initiatives.

First, we urge the special session to call for a ban on all tactical naval nuclear weapons. This class of nuclear weapons is uniquely destabilizing, yet it is the only category of weapons not covered by any current or foreseen super-Power arms control talks.
(Mr. Leipold)

Secondly, we urge all coastal nations to ban port calls by vessels that carry nuclear weapons or that refuse to confirm or deny they are carrying nuclear weapons. By denying those ships entry into ports, countries can take concrete actions that will tell the nuclear nations that their weapons are not wanted or needed on the oceans or elsewhere.

Over the past 12 months Greenpeace activists all over the world have confronted nuclear ships with peaceful direct actions. We will continue our campaign until our goal— the complete removal of all naval nuclear weapons— has been reached. We will continue to engage in peaceful direct actions against nuclear navies.

As a matter of fact, today we have conducted a direct action against a nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed aircraft carrier, USS Eisenhower, when it entered the port of Palma de Mallorca, Spain. We will continue direct actions in order to make the oceans a place that really is reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Mr. Zia H. Rizvi, General Secretary of the United Nations Association of Pakistan.

Mr. RIZVI: I am grateful for the privilege given to the United Nations Association of Pakistan, Punjab branch, to address this third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

Since time immemorial it has been the constant desire of mankind to have peace in the world. In today's world the need for the maintenance of peace has become a political and moral imperative. The reason is simple: the devastation likely to be caused by a modern war is not difficult to visualize. The potential for destruction available to man today threatens the very survival of mankind.

It is unfortunate that in spite of the gross economic inequalities prevailing in the world, with billions of people suffering from hunger, poverty and disease,
one trillion dollars is being spent annually on the arms race.

Global arms rivalry between the super-Powers apart, the regional conflicts are also responsible for continuous tensions at the regional level, leading to unnecessary military build-ups and huge expenditures on the purchase of lethal weapons. Over 25 million people have died as a result of over 150 conflicts in the developing world. Unlike major Powers, smaller countries acquire armaments in response to threats emanating from neighbouring countries within their regions. The impulse for high military spending in a given region derives in large part from local factors such as unresolved traditional disputes, denial of the right of self-determination, ambitions for regional hegemony, or foreign occupation or military intervention. Thus in the area of conventional armaments, perhaps even more than in the case of nuclear disarmament, it is the regional approach which offers the most realistic prospects for success.

In his report on the work of the Organization last year, the United Nations Secretary-General pointed out that the regional dimension of disarmament merited much attention since it is in regional conflicts that weapons are actually being used for purposes of war. We share the Secretary-General's concern at the build-up of armaments in various regions of the world, resulting in arms imbalance and insecurity. These concerns are accentuated by the growing tendency on the part of certain Powers to use their conventional-weapon acquisitions not only to dominate or overawe neighbours but also as instruments of aggressive policies against smaller States.

We are happy to note that a process of disarmament has started at the super-Power level. We would expect - rather, strongly demand - that a similar process may be initiated at the regional level as well, which would guarantee the smaller nations security against the unbridled ambitions of their bigger and stronger neighbours.
Human genius needs peace to flower and come to fruition. The sum total of the world heritage is the result of the collective human endeavour of the past. In the past men have lived, worked and died in order to build a better world. Today we are standing at the crossroads of history. We still have time to pull back from the brink of the abyss. The alternative is global suicide.

In this connection the role of the non-governmental organizations has been very important in the mobilization of international public opinion in favour of disarmament. The United Nations Association of Pakistan has since 1982 tried at the school, college and university levels to bring about awareness of this acute problem by arranging public meetings and seminars.

The silent, nameless masses of the world owe this august body a debt of gratitude for calling a halt to the arms race. The world at large has already realized that there is no alternative. Let us rededicate our efforts to ensuring that our future generations are bequeathed the glorious achievements of civilization and not the honour of Armageddon.

The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is Mr. Antoly Gromyko, of the United Nations Association of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
Mr. GROMYKO (interpretation from Russian): The future of the world is indivisible, and it depends on each of us. It is only faith that each voice will be heard and that each word will hit home that makes possible public activities in international politics and calls upon us all to participate in meetings such as this.

The spectre of universal annihilation has made us look at politics in the context of human moral values, based on the fact that in our relations with other people we should treat them as we should like them to treat us.

New political thinking and public diplomacy are now challenging the traditions of chaos in international relations, considerably developing and supplementing the art of diplomacy with a broad vision of the world and a strict scientific approach in evaluating what is desirable and possible. What yesterday seemed to be no more than political illusion is now becoming reality.

Aware of the grave dangers confronting the world, people are beginning to realize that they are a single whole. Without denying the diversity of forms of social development, mankind is increasingly opposing the selfish pursuit of national interests and seeking to harmonize the legitimate interests of individuals countries and nations and the job of preserving our common home of human civilization. Each of us, of course, sees that home and our future differently. While respecting all those different visions of the future of human civilization, we must understand that a better future for mankind will either comes as a better future for all countries and peoples or it will never come for anybody.

The United Nations offers us a unique opportunity not only to speak about what divides us, but also to seek ways to bring us closer together. It symbolizes the idea of our common home. Here representatives of virtually all countries and peoples work together side by side. There is no international problem today that United Nations experts have not tried to solve.
Can we, non-governmental organizations, be fully satisfied with the role played by the United Nations today? To answer "Yes" would mean that all the problems within the competence of the United Nations had been solved. Unfortunately, as is well known, that is not so. However, changes for the better are occurring in international politics. Evidence of that is the encouraging results of the Washington and Moscow meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan.

However, as the East-West confrontation is gradually relaxing, we are beginning to see more clearly that mankind confronts other dangers besides nuclear annihilation. While the nuclear Powers were looking at each other through the electronic sitting devices on their nuclear weapons, being primarily concerned about how constantly to improve those weapons, mankind was getting into a vicious circle; the grip of economic backwardness, hunger and ecological disaster was growing tighter.

The time has come to face the bitter truth. The arms race squanders national resources, exhausts the creative potential of mankind and creates enormous obstacles to the solution of global problems. Brinkmanship and attempts to exhaust one's ideological opponent and undermine his economy amount to sawing off the branch on which we are all sitting. No matter who tries to dig a pit and no matter for whom, we all run the risk of falling into it together.

Meanwhile, nuclear and other weapons have begun to kill people. Their victims are those dying of hunger, choking on poisonous industrial fumes and suffering the agony of incurable diseases.

Every three days as many people die of hunger as were killed by the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima. Hiroshima every three days - that is the true face of hunger, the true face of the arms race.
Mankind's survival is inseparable from preserving humaneness and humanizing relations between individuals and between all nations. That is the appeal of the voice of reason and conscience.

Disarmament for survival and development is the priority task of the end of the twentieth century. Its implementation will ensure genuine progress for all.

In its noble disarmament mission the United Nations can always rely on the support of the United Nations Association in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is Mr. Paul Alpert, of the United Towns Organization.

Mr. ALPERT (interpretation from French): The third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament marks a historic turning-point. For the first time the world is engaged in the disarmament process. The first step was the Treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles. A more wide-ranging accord on a 50-per-cent reduction in strategic missiles seems more probable since the Moscow summit.

It is true that the progress has been achieved in bilateral negotiations between the two super-Powers, but those negotiations do not amount to the whole peace process. It is important also to have the participation of the other nuclear Powers and even of all the countries of the world.

Moreover, States are not the only workers for peace. The peace process also involves the non-governmental organizations, which must sensitize and mobilize world public opinion. The Executive Committee of the United Towns Organization has stated in a resolution that it is not enough for peace to descend from on high; we have to go out and look for it.
The peoples often show themselves to be more open to disarmament than their leaders. Excessive arms build-ups frighten public opinion. On the other hand, disarmament - if it is universal simultaneous and verified and if it maintains an equal level of security - seems to be the guarantor of the maintenance of the peace. The era of overarmament, supposed to guarantee security by a balance of terror, is a thing of the past. No country can further increase its military expenditures. It is in the interests of all States today to seek security at the lowest level possible, through a reduction of existing armaments.

However, disarmament is not the only factor in achieving security. Maintaining the peace also demands that we tackle other major problems causing international tensions. Above all, there is the exacerbation of the difficulties facing the third world, resulting from the world crisis. Far from cementing solidarity, interdependence has widened the gaps. We cannot accept a situation in which half of the world's population consumes 90 per cent of the world's riches. President Mitterrand has asked how many Hiroshimas of hunger are needed to awaken the conscience of the rich countries.
Another problem is the human dimension of security, measures that would ensure confidence about the observance of human rights. Peace is not limited to a balance of forces or even to disarmament. Both must be strengthened by simultaneous progress towards mutual confidence.

Finally, there are the regional conflicts. The role of the United Nations in the achievement of the Geneva agreement on the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan is certainly encouraging. But the limits are also revealed: this is an agreement but it is not a settlement.

Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the future of peace during the coming years will depend on progress in disarmament. On what problems should the United Nations focus its efforts to make a contribution to such progress?

First, there is verification, especially on-site verification, a principle just accepted by the Soviet Union. Difficulties still exist, owing in particular to mistrust. The United Nations should act in such a way as to create the pre-conditions that would enable the verifiers to do their job in the necessary climate of confidence.

Next comes conventional disarmament - today a priority concern. So far, there has been little progress in the negotiations on conventional disarmament. The main difficulty is the inequality of the forces involved. In what conditions could the Soviets agree to an asymmetrical reduction in conventional armaments, making it possible to seek a balance at the lowest possible level?

At issue, finally, is the prohibition of chemical weapons. The Conference on Disarmament is making progress towards that end. There should indeed be very rapid progress towards the complete prohibition of chemical weapons, and compliance with the ban must then be monitored.
In conclusion, we must hail, as a chance for peace, the resumption of East-West negotiations. But we cannot disregard the problems stemming from uncertainties in the international environment. We must therefore work for the promotion of peace and the prevention of all sources of conflict and tension.

It is for us, as a non-governmental organization, to exert our influence, together with the international institutions, to ensure that there is no let-up in the efforts to achieve peace. Peace is a hope. Hope is a force. It must be mobilized.

The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is Ms. Ann Williams, representing the Canadian Voice of Women.

Ms. WILLIAMS: "When I saw my first wounded man, I fainted. Then it passed. When for the first time I crawled under shell-fire to help a wounded soldier, I cried and it seemed to me that my crying was louder than the roar of the battlefield. Then I got accustomed to it." So wrote Antonina Kondrashova, a stretcher-bearer during the Second World War. She continued: "Our Army Division seized a hill, and a battle began. The attack was stopped by our military, and when the tanks rolled back, there he was, a wounded soldier, lying in a no-man's land. The medical orderlies who tried to haul him back to our lines were killed. So were two of the sheep dogs of the medical corps. I felt it was my turn. I stood up and started singing a pre-war song, first softly, then louder and louder. Both sides stopped firing. I reached the wounded man and pulled him towards our lines. As I did so, I had one thought in mind: 'I hope they won't shoot me in the back'. But not a single shot was fired."

The Canadian Voice of Women/la Voix des Femmes has chosen to relate that story of one woman's experience, because it speaks to several of our concerns.

As a long-standing national organization working toward a world founded on peace and justice, we are concerned that the world remains divided into sides, into
them and us. We are concerned about wars that create no-man's lands, areas of our
globe made uninhabitable by military violence and its environmental catastrophes.
We are concerned that the sound of human suffering goes unheard by those who
believe that problems can be solved by armed conflict. We are also concerned about
military budgets that divert resources from development to destruction.

When all else failed, the woman in the story took it upon herself to rescue
the wounded soldier. As women, as more than half the world's population, we have
the responsibility and the duty to ensure that all else does not fail. We have the
responsibility to help ensure that the spirit of the Final Document of the first
special session devoted to disarmament is realized in fact. We have a duty to
share in the completion of a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty and in the
establishment of nuclear-free zones which will encompass the globe. We must help
prevent an arms race in space and on the seas. We must contribute to the
negotiations on a comprehensive programme for disarmament, and we must aid in
building a strong programme of action on the relationship between disarmament and
development. We have the responsibility to promote progress beyond the INF Treaty.

In meeting women's responsibility for peace and disarmament in all its
aspects, Canadian Voice of Women believes that the gravity of the moment demands
that this third special session devoted to disarmament build upon the principle of
and the work begun by the World Disarmament Campaign. This Campaign, which emerged
from the second special session, has played a vital role in informing the public.

Women constitute the majority of the peace movement. Our role in national and
international disarmament processes is codified in the 1982 Declaration on the
Participation of Women in Promoting International Peace and Co-operation (General
Assembly resolution 37/63). It is reaffirmed in the 1985 United Nations consensus
document, "Forward-looking strategies for the advancement of women" (General
Assembly resolution 40/108). Therefore, we urge that this special session direct
the Secretary-General to prepare a report on measures that could be taken by the United Nations and its system to increase the participation of women in its peace and disarmament processes. We urge that this report be transmitted to the Commission on the Status of Women for consideration at its 1990 extended meeting for the review and appraisal of the forward-looking strategies, with a view to making recommendations to the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly at its forty-fifth session, in 1990.

Just as the woman in the story took action in the middle of the battlefield, so women around the world are taking action in the midst of the arms race - and we shall continue to do so. The Canadian Voice of Women believes that the United Nations peace and disarmament processes, in all their aspects, would benefit from women's perspectives, abilities and experiences. In the name of our common future, we believe that the United Nations can, and must, tap this powerful resource.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Ms. Frieda Brown, President of the Women's International Democratic Federation.

Ms. BROWN: We are grateful for the opportunity to address this special session.

The eyes of the world have shifted from the Summit in Moscow to the United Nations here in New York. We women look to you for a further lead on the difficult but most urgent task of ridding the world of nuclear weapons.

I speak for an organization that was born out of the fire and the suffering of the Second World War. Women want an end to the threat of nuclear war. We want to see the human and material resources now wasted on war preparation used to solve the problems of underdevelopment, hunger, disease, illiteracy and the growing menace of pollution.
What madness that every minute $1.3 million is squandered on military preparation and in that same minute 30 children die of starvation or curable diseases.

We welcome the INF Treaty as the first real step towards ridding the world of nuclear weapons. Small though it is, it proves that disarmament is possible.
We look forward to this session setting such goals as: reducing the strategic weapons of the USSR and USA by 50 per cent while strictly adhering to the anti-ballistic missile Treaty (ABM); preventing the arms race in outer space; a moratorium on nuclear-weapon tests; a ban on chemical weapons; reducing conventional forces; establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones; and promoting confidence and co-operation in military, political, economic, ecological and humanitarian spheres.

The INF Treaty has opened the way to nuclear disarmament. However, it provides for the elimination of only 3 per cent of nuclear weapons, the remaining 97 per cent could destroy our planet many times over.

Current regional conflicts in Central America, the Middle East, southern Africa, Asia and the Pacific result in women, children and men dying daily of bullets and bomb blasts. The Geneva agreement on Afghanistan proves that political solutions to such conflicts can be found.

Women have played no small part in the improved climate that has seen the signing of the INF treaty. In the early 1980s Europe saw women's peace marches, some lasting six weeks. Women's peace camps at Greenham Common, Seneca Falls and Pine Gap focused world public opinion on the threat of nuclear weapons. Women held border meetings, seminars, symposia, deputations and demonstrations.

At the World Congress of Women held in Moscow in June 1987 under the slogan "Towards 2000 Without Nuclear Weapons!" more than 2,800 women from 154 countries proclaimed their intention to do everything in their power to preserve peace.

Millions of women the world over place great expectations on this session. We hope that its deliberations will help to promote a future that is safe, peaceful and fit for our children and our grandchildren and take us along that road to a world without nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

Thank you. We wish you success in your most important work.
The CHAIRMAN: I call on the next speaker, Mr. David McReynolds of War Resisters International.

Mr. McREYNOLDS: Much that is said during the third special session devoted to disarmament may seem unfashionably old, so often have we heard it. Yet we need to remind ourselves how frighteningly new these statements are. The practical possibility of ending human life on this planet by some action of our own did not exist when I was a child. Today that possibility is a waking nightmare. All that we are, all that we have built up over the millennia, could be erased within hours. By our own inventions we have put ourselves on the edge of time, where existence and non-existence are now matters to be resolved by human will.

Thus War Resisters International is convinced that it is too late for arms control, too late for partial measures of partial disarmament. Either the very institution of war must be abolished, or that institution will abolish the human race. The arms race cannot be simply slowed or halted, it must be ended. Let us offer no apology for affirming in 1988 the goal many felt the United Nations was set up to achieve – complete and comprehensive disarmament.

Secondly, even without the holocaust of a final war, the nuclear Powers must understand that in a world of profound human need, where people are ill and without medicine, hungry and without food, cold and without clothing or shelter, it is a crime against humanity to divert human resources to fuel even the most conventional of war machines. The arms race is an act of theft from the poor.

Thirdly, even as we meet here today there are cruel conflicts raging in Central America, in Africa, in Asia, in the Middle East. Therefore while we call for serious new steps by the nuclear Powers towards general and complete disarmament, we must strongly urge an unconditional end of the trade in military weapons – and this is an area where both nuclear and non-nuclear nations are involved and must take responsibility.
Fourthly, War Resisters International was organized after the First World War by men who had refused military service to either side, and by women who had worked with them. Our founders represented a rebellion of the human spirit against the bureaucratic machinery of war. Now as then we call upon individual men and women to withdraw support from the machinery of war. But, now as then, our objective is not to secure some special right of conscience which would exempt us from the system of war and the pain of conscription. It is the system of war itself we oppose, and in opposing it we have learned directly about human rights. We know that militarism leads to political and cultural repression, that it puts at grave risk the rights of free assembly, free speech, freedom to associate, to worship, to write. For nothing is as totalitarian or as coercive as a State embarked on a military solution.

But we also know that militarism and war drain the resources needed for those other, equally important human rights - the right to a job, to housing, to medical care, to education. And nuclear war threatens the most basic right of all - the right of the human race to exist, to live, and to struggle for the other rights which give value to life.

Finally, what is said here today will not be noted in the press nor, realistically, even by the representatives to this General Assembly. What is important is to use this occasion to speak beyond these halls, to our members and supporters throughout the world, to call on them to deepen the struggle against militarism in any form, against military intervention by any nation, and against the arms race at every level. For peace does not begin at the conference table; it can only be ratified there. Peace begins in the hearts and minds of people, and in the human institutions we have constructed. The call to be peacemakers needs to be heard and acted upon by each of us, as a personal response to a profound historic
crisis. But the hope of peace requires that such individual decisions result in a
genuine collective shift within history, in which attitudes and institutions in
every nation are examined and changed. For the danger of war comes not from one
side or the other, but from a long and shared history for which all must take
responsibility.

It is that act of taking responsibility for the fate of our world which gives
us stature as humans and hope that by shaping our future we can also make it
possible.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the next speaker,
Mrs. Carlotta Lopes da Silva, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Mrs. LOPES DA SILVA: Forty years ago the United Nations proclaimed the
Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 3 of the Declaration states that
everyone has the right to live in security. The existence of weapons of mass
destruction violates this basic human right. The Women's International League for
Peace and Freedom therefore demands the elimination of such weapons.
We ask the Member States at this special session to agree to abandon the doctrine of deterrence, nuclear or other, and to develop a non-offensive defence. By this we mean that military action should be limited to maintaining the territorial integrity of the country. The so-called defence of vital interests abroad should definitely be abandoned. We know that the defence of such interests all too often means the oppression of other nations and, especially, of the poor.

We call, once again, for a halt to the nuclear arms build-up and, as a first step, demand that concerned governments refrain from nuclear weapons testing and commit themselves to the negotiations of a comprehensive test ban treaty. We support proposals for the immediate establishment of a United Nations agency for the verification of disarmament agreements.

Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims that human beings "are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood". Those words are betrayed by the existence of hunger, debt, poverty, illness and oppression among so many people, while a vast amount of material and human resources is spent on military consumption. Women and children are the greatest victims of this complete misuse of resources. Not only would disarmament relieve them of the threat of armed conflict, but it would also release funds which they desperately seek for development.

The Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, adopted by consensus at the Nairobi Conference to mark the end of the United Nations Decade for Women, recognizes the importance of women's participation in the disarmament process as in all other aspects of the construction of our common and secure future. We call on Governments in future to include more women in disarmament debates and negotiations. We also propose that the World Disarmament Campaign pay special attention to the mobilization of women in favour of disarmament.
We suggest that the United Nations convene, at an early date, a world conference on the relationship between disarmament and security. Moreover, we want to underline the individual responsibility of all representatives at this session on disarmament. The Nuremberg Principles, adopted by the International Law Commission of the United Nations in 1950, are clear about the responsibility of the individual in opposing crimes against humanity. We refer in particular to principle VI of the Nuremberg Principles.

We therefore call on every participant in this special session to take the necessary urgent measures to implement the programme agreed to at the first special session and to stop misusing new technologies for military purposes.

The CHAIRMAN: Our next speaker is Ms. Kit Pineau, representing the World Association for World Federation.

Ms. PINAU: The World Association for World Federation places particular emphasis on a point made in the Final Document of the first special session on disarmament, which states:

"Progress in disarmament should be accompanied by measures to strengthen institutions for maintaining peace and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means." (A/5-10/4, para. 110)

It is our view that far more attention must be paid to the need for a stronger international legal order and the stronger global institutions required to ensure security. In fact, it is unrealistic to expect significant progress on disarmament without parallel progress on strengthening the institutional capacity for ensuring the peaceful resolution of conflict.

We must make the transition away from an international order in which security relies primarily on the use or threat of use of military force. In the nuclear age, there is no longer such a thing as national security in any ultimate sense. It
is therefore essential that nations invest more in the pursuit of a common security system which can provide the framework for general and complete disarmament under effective international control, which remains the stated goal of all our disarmament efforts.

Therefore, we would like to put forward two proposals for consideration under agenda item 13 of this special session.

First, we would propose that immediate attention be given to the creation of a United Nations monitoring and verification organization. We note that expanding the role of the United Nations in the area of verification is an idea which has already been suggested by the Secretary-General and promoted by many Member States at this session. Expanding the role and capability of the United Nations in verification would contribute one essential pillar of the common security infrastructure which is so necessary to ensure peace in the years to come.

Secondly, we would like to suggest that the transition to a common security system requires the creation of a forum for the negotiations for such a system. We propose a new United Nations continuing conference for a common security system, which could be modelled on the best features of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

The purpose of such a common security conference would be to include all nations in a multilateral treaty-making exercise with the objective of creating a comprehensive common security system. Such a treaty would include provisions for gradual disarmament, new agreements on non-intervention, as well as measures to develop the institutional and legal machinery for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. This would also include border security forces to come automatically to the aid of any country facing aggression.
(Ms. Pinau)

Such a conference would use the consensus negotiating procedures that were so critical to the success of the law of the sea negotiations. And just as the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea was animated by the vision of the world's oceans as the common heritage of all of humanity, a United Nations continuing conference on security would be built around the principles of common security.

The creation of such a continuing conference would, for the first time, allow all nations to be represented at negotiations on vital issues of international security. It would also broaden the frame of reference for discussion of issues relating to international peace and security. Rather than focusing primarily on stockpiles of weapons, a continuing conference on security would engage nations in considering other related issues which affect our common security.

Only when the legal and institutional structures of an alternative security system become the object of international attention will general and complete disarmament become possible.

The World Association for World Federation sees no insurmountable obstacle to beginning the work for such structures today. The creation of an international monitoring and verification organization and a United Nations sponsored continuing conference on security would contribute significantly towards this essential goal.

The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is Ms. Mary Futrell, representing the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession.
Ms. FUTRELL: I speak today on behalf of the World Confederation of the Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCTP). Our confederation brings together in common cause 11 million teachers from 110 countries. As members of the international community of educators, our mission is defined by the needs of children, and not by the greed of nations.

We believe that if the children of the world are to know the blessings of liberty they must first know the blessings of learning. We believe that the right to an education is sacred and the denial of education profane. And we believe that it is the responsibility of every nation to remember the wisdom contained in the adage that we do not inherit the world from our ancestors; we borrow the world from our children.

Today, the Governments of the world seem determined to repudiate these ideals. World-wide, a quarter of a billion children are denied access to education. Many of these children are, even as this Committee meets today, on battlefields rather than in classrooms. Many are more familiar with bombs than with books. This, I believe, is unconscionable, and it is made more unconscionable still by the fact that the remedy is so near.

If only 4.5 per cent of world military expenditures were diverted to the cause of education, we could deliver every child from the bondage of ignorance. The cost of one modern tank would pay for 1,000 classrooms, for 30,000 students. The cost of one nuclear submarine would fully fund the education of 16 million children. A small fraction of the world-wide budget for military research and development would clothe and feed and house and, yes, educate every child of every nation on earth.

But the proliferation of weapons continues to receive higher priority than the cultivation of human potential.

Can we reverse this tragic trend? Of course we can. Will we reverse this trend? That remains to be seen.
I fully expect this third special session on disarmament, like the previous two, to issue a call for the promotion of disarmament through education. WOOTP welcomes that call, and we stand ready to answer that call. We are at once internationally dispersed and cohesively organized. We have active and committed members in the world's most populous cities as well as in the world's most remote villages. As such we are ideally positioned to prepare young people for the challenge of international collaboration in the interest of universal disarmament.

I must, however, include a stern caveat. We will not be partners in any project that advances parochial interests or serves any nationalistic ideology. Our commitment is to the education of the human family. As educators we understand that if we are to turn away from war towards the ways of peace nations must rid themselves of attitudes to peace and to national security that were appropriate prior to the Second World War. Those attitudes are not appropriate today. Today we must understand that national security is inseparable from international security, that no nation can be free of fear so long as one nation is engulfed by fear, that no part of our planet will know peace until every part of our planet knows peace.

Those are the ideals, those are the convictions WOOTP brings to this forum. We do not come here with specific proposals for disarmament or for negotiation. Rather we come here to express the readiness of the organized teaching profession to act. In turn we appeal to the Assembly at this special session to offer a basis for action, to forge a consensus that will define the role that the international community of educators can play in preparing the world not for war but for peace, in preparing today's students, the guardians of all our tomorrows, not for conflict but for collaboration.
Our profession, the teaching profession, finds the most compelling case for disarmament in the message President John F. Kennedy so eloquently expressed. He said,

"In the final analysis, our most basic link is that we are all human; we all breathe the same air; we all cherish our children's future".

Our deepest hope is that in years hence this third special session on disarmament will be known as the session that remembered Kennedy's words, that remembered, to return to the adage I quoted earlier, that we do not inherit the world from our ancestors; we borrow the world from our children.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on Mr. Takeshi Araki of the World Conference of Mayors for Peace Through Inter-City Solidarity.

Mr. ARAKI (spoke in Japanese; English text furnished by the organization): I am Mayor of the city of Hiroshima and President of the World Conference of Mayors for Peace Through Inter-City Solidarity. At the outset I should like to introduce four Vice-Presidents of the World Conference of Mayors for Peace Through Inter-City Solidarity who are here with me today: the Mayor of Nagasaki, Japan; the Mayor of Como, Italy; the representative of the Mayor of Hannover, Federal Republic of Germany; and the Mayor of Vancouver, Canada.

In August 1945 mankind made a terrible mistake: the dropping of atomic bombs on the two cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But I have not come here to rail against the dropping of those atomic bombs. Rather I am here in the spirit of the epitaph carved on the memorial cenotaph in Hiroshima: "Let our souls here rest in peace, for we shall not repeat the evil". That epitaph is at once a prayer for the repose of the souls of the bomb victims and a powerful pledge on behalf of all mankind, past, present and future. It is, in short, the spirit of Hiroshima.
Hiroshima has undergone great tragedy, but it has also transcended the hatred and overcome the countless difficulties, to be reborn as a city of international peace and culture. With a population of over 1 million, Hiroshima has dedicated itself to working for the abolition of nuclear weapons and the establishment of true world peace.

Nuclear weapons were still in their infancy when those early prototypes were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but the devastation was total. A single toylike weapon snuffed out the lives of 140,000 people and laid waste our city. I myself was in Hiroshima on that fateful day, and I can never forget the gruesome scenes that awaited me everywhere I turned. Those victims who were not killed outright suffer the after-effects even today. Aside from the hibakusha themselves, there are about 360,000 people living lives of torture, their health destroyed by secondary radiation and other bomb-related causes. It is that message I should like to impress upon the world's politicians as vividly as I possibly can, for if they recognize this truth they may also come to realize what barbarity and unpardonable evil the development and possession of nuclear weapons is.

I have the highest regard for the Treaty to abolish intermediate-range nuclear forces signed by the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union last December, the documents of ratification of which were recently exchanged at Moscow, as the first agreement ever to reduce the number of nuclear weapons. I am hopeful that the agreement will prove to be the starting point for a comprehensive disarmament process. Yet, at the same time I find it most frustrating that those leaders were unable to agree on the much-desired 50 per cent reduction in strategic weapons.
It is essential that we continue pressing for ongoing and uninterrupted negotiations among all of the nuclear Powers for thinning their nuclear stockpiles and ultimately abolishing all nuclear weapons.

At the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament the United Nations proposed a global disarmament campaign. Agreeing most strongly with the spirit of that appeal, I have participated in a wide range of peace-advocacy activities, including welcoming United Nations Peace Fellows, acting as host to the Peace Summit of Nobel Peace Prize winners and the symposium of leading journalists from the nuclear Powers and sponsoring atomic-bomb exhibits in Japan and overseas. Many more activities are planned.

At the same time, seeking to encourage the formulation of a world-wide public-opinion constituency for nuclear disarmament, I felt the need for solidarity among the world's cities, and this led me to call for the formation of a World Conference of Mayors for Peace through Inter-City Solidarity. Happily, that call has been well received, and today the World Conference counts among its members the mayors of 219 cities in 39 countries, capitalist, communist and non-aligned alike, representing a total population of over 100 million. It is on behalf of those people that we issue our fervent appeal to you today. In the firm belief that peace is fundamental to municipal administration, we are determined to work all the more energetically to broaden the membership of the Conference.

In closing, I should like to emphasize three points. The first is that nuclear testing is inherently intended for the development of ever more deadly weapons in a satanic demonstration of man's depravity. Accordingly, I hereby appeal most strongly for the prompt conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty.

My second point is to invite all of the world's leaders, and especially the leaders of the future, to come to Hiroshima and to see for themselves what horrors
even primitive nuclear weapons wrought. More than 30 million people have visited
the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum since its founding. In Hiroshima, seeing can
open eyes to the nuclear nightmare and instil a determination to work for the
abolition of nuclear weapons.

My third point is my hope that an international research institute to study
the issues of peace and disarmament can be established in Hiroshima, where the
first atomic bomb fell.

Hiroshima is more than a witness to history. It is also a powerful warning
about the future of our world. It is that message that I bring to this third
special session devoted to disarmament, in the hope that it will achieve its
ambitious agenda and mark a major turning towards peace. My prayers are with you.

The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is Mr. Hitoshi Motoshima, Mayor of
Nagasaki, Japan. I invite him to make his statement.

Mr. MOTOSHIMA (spoke in Japanese; English translation furnished by the
organization): It is a great honour to have this opportunity to speak as
Vice-President of the World Conference of Mayors for Peace through Inter-City
Solidarity.

On 9 August 1945 a single atomic bomb exploded in the sky over Nagasaki,
generating heat rays, blast wind and radiation that killed or injured more than
150,000 people and transformed the city below into a raging sea of fire. Even
today, the survivors of the atomic bomb are living in constant apprehension, never
knowing when the scourge of after-effects may come.

The people of Nagasaki realize that the atomic bomb is capable of driving the
human race to extinction, and ever since, we have appealed relentlessly for the
abolition of nuclear weapons.

However, nuclear weapons have increased to such an extent that there are more
than 50,000 warheads existing today. Mankind is now standing at a crossroads,
with one sign pointing to death and the other to survival. It is 43 years since the atomic bombs exploded over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and it is also 43 years since many cities in Europe, Africa and Asia were reduced to ash and rubble by other weapons of mass destruction. In spite of that fact, we have still not succeeded in eradicating nuclear and conventional weapons.

Although military expansion has continued without stop since the end of the Second World War, the Treaty between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - the INF Treaty - signed recently by those two Powers and the negotiations now under way between them to reduce strategic nuclear weapons mark an epoch-making turning in the direction of concrete nuclear disarmament.

However, even if a reduction in intermediate-range nuclear forces and strategic nuclear weapons is realized, there will still be enough nuclear weapons to kill the entire human race several times over, and the looming threat to mankind will remain. In particular, we must not forget that nuclear missiles deployed on ships or submarines are travelling around the world's oceans and can be fired in the direction of an opponent country at any time.

As Mayor of a city that directly experienced the horror of nuclear weapons, I make the following appeals. First, I ask that the United Nations and all its Member countries sit down to serious discussions for the ultimate purpose of abolishing all nuclear weapons and that a historic resolution for nuclear disarmament be adopted at this third special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

Secondly, nuclear tests are hotbeds of the nuclear-arms race. It is imperative, therefore, that an international treaty for the suspension of nuclear tests be formed as quickly as possible, as the first phase of the abolition of nuclear weapons.
Thirdly, I ask that efforts by made to prohibit chemical weapons, which, like nuclear weapons, are extremely inhumane. Chemical weapons were prohibited by the Geneva Traffic in Arms Conference in 1925, but we have to realize that they have been used in warfare since then and that there is still a danger that they will be used in the future.

Fourthly, I propose the establishment of an international medical centre for the treatment of atomic-bomb survivors and the victims of exposure to radiation from nuclear tests or from accidents in nuclear-energy plants. The international community must unit to help those people who are victims of modern scientific technology that should be used for the benefit of mankind.

Fifthly, we must reflect upon past wars and think very seriously about peace education for young people, who will be the leaders of the next generation. I believe that the United Nations is in an ideal position to promote world-wide education for peace.

Lastly, I request positive support for the peace activities of cities all over the world and of the non-governmental organizations, which are strengthening solidarity beyond the barriers of nationality. The mayors of 219 cities from 39 countries, who share a common recognition of the fact that the safety of our citizens is our foremost responsibility, have established the World Conference of Mayors for Peace through Inter-City Solidarity, and, through mutual exchange, we are striving to awaken world opinion in favour of nuclear disarmament.

The abolition of nuclear weapons is the most urgent problem facing mankind, but even if nuclear weapons disappeared, it does not mean that the world would suddenly be at peace. Genuine global harmony cannot be achieved without conventional disarmament and a solution to other problems obstructing world peace, problems such as starvation, refugees, disease and unemployment.
The unchecked expansion of military expenditures is seriously obstructing the development of the global economy. It is imperative that we reduce military expenditures and use those resources to develop civilian industries. We must make serious efforts, including aid to the developing nations, to cultivate industries that can substitute for military-related industries.

Peace is the most precious of all inheritances. Let us take the vital responsibility of our generation and leave this beautiful planet and human love to our children and grandchildren.

The citizens of Nagasaki pray that the tragedy of a nuclear holocaust will never ever be repeated. Nagasaki must be the last place on Earth subjected to the horror of an atomic bombing.
The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is Mr. John B. Taylor, of the World
Conference on Religion and Peace.

Mr. TAYLOR: I shall speak to agenda item 14, concerning the mobilization
of world public opinion in favour of disarmament; a written statement concerning
agenda item 15, on the economic conversion in the context of the relationship
between disarmament and development, is available outside the conference room.

The World Conference on Religion and Peace has experienced and affirmed
through some 20 years of co-operation among all the religions of the world that
both nuclear and conventional disarmament are among the highest priorities of our
time. We have also learned that in order to create the necessary confidence to
allow disarmament, we must at the same time advocate and implement more just
economic development more scrupulous promotion of human rights and responsibilities,
and more effective education for peace. Conversely we reiterate Philip
Noel-Baker's observation that disarmament itself engenders trust, enables
development and promotes human rights.

The NGO Forum convened in Geneva in April to help non-governmental
organizations from many geographical, religious and ideological backgrounds to
prepare for SSOD III included a section entitled "Building trust", which addressed
the needs for personal, cultural and global security. The search for this
comprehensive security must go beyond confidence-building measures of the verifying
or notifying of military activities. We must promote for individuals and society
both rights and duties ranging from preserving and sharing economic resources to
removing all provocative armaments. We must initiate co-operative ventures,
educational and informational projects, cultural meetings and exchanges which can
help to create trust and dismantle enemy images.
The arms trade and arms build-up, recourse to defensive or pre-emptive strikes, the perpetration of acts of injustice and aggression - all stem from human unwillingness to trust and to share. We must disarm attitudes of hatred and greed and seek to remove the resentments, fears and misunderstandings they create. No one will admit to naked motives to exploit, enslave, expropriate or terrorize, but such violations happen daily and are even justified in the name of religions or ideologies; they can lead to ethnic holocaust or even to universal holocaust.

Not only have Governments failed to implement SSD I's programme of action towards the goal of general and complete disarmament, but non-governmental organizations could have done much more to influence Governments and public opinion to dismantle armaments, prejudices and injustices. A certain fatalistic acceptance of continuing North-South injustices and East-West tensions is sometimes being sustained by religious or ideological fanaticism, but also by a sense of disappointment or even apathy that preachers and ideologues have failed to inspire their own followers, let alone convince others.

This loss of confidence has extended even to attitudes towards the United Nations, which has, most often unjustly, become a butt of scepticism or a scapegoat to avoid self-criticism. For example, the very promising World Disarmament Campaign could be in jeopardy if it cannot be more adequately supported both financially and functionally. Ignorance underlies much prejudice, and so a much better exchange of information, emphasizing achievements in peace-making as well as dangers or complaints, is urgently needed. Both written and audio-visual media should be used, and every means from blackboard to satellite transmission should be further developed.

No single institution - political, religious or intellectual - can succeed alone in identifying problems or motivating solutions in a world riddled with conflicts and injustices. The principles of multilateral co-operation and
interdependence fundamental to the whole concept of the United Nations must be seen as priorities for action rather than reluctant last resorts. The World Conference on Religion and Peace, which last year adopted as the theme of its next world assembly in Melbourne, Australia, in January 1989, "Building peace through trust: the role of religion", is committed to enabling people of goodwill from different religious and ideological backgrounds to co-operate in the many things that can be better done together than separately.

We must take risks and find new methods of work to build such mutual trust and co-operation. These must be applied not only in such obvious cases as humanitarian aid or education for peace but especially in the most contentious and difficult areas such as the sharing of holy places, the creating of racially and culturally mixed societies, and the seeking of reconciliation between estranged neighbours. The credibility of each and every religion, as of each and every ideology, is at stake if separately and together they cannot motivate and activate peace with justice for all concerned.

We appeal for further partnership among NGOs and between NGOs and Governments in order to facilitate dialogue in place of competition, mutual dependence in place of chauvinism, constructive development in place of destructive exhaustion of human and material resources. We shall learn and build trust by practising dialogue and by working together. When we trust each other we shall have no more need to threaten or to condemn, to devour or to destroy, but can live together in a just and lasting peace.

The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is Mr. Vilmos Cserveny, of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

Mr. CSERVENY: I am most privileged to be permitted to address this special session on disarmament on behalf of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, an international non-governmental organization uniting 300 youth movements
and organizations with different political and philosophical backgrounds from all over the world.

Our Federation is participating in this special session, as we did in the two previous sessions, because we are convinced that, based on a consistently realistic approach, this session can and should deepen the understanding that disarmament requires a comprehensive approach combining confidence-building, the elaboration of an effective verification mechanism and realistic programmes based on the balance of interests, to reduce and eliminate the different types of weapons.

It is within that context that our Federation is urging and appealing to participating Governments at this session not to frustrate or reject the newly emerging optimism and to believe in the will of a broad stratum of public opinion in favour of the complete banning and elimination of nuclear and other types of weapons. That optimism is undoubtedly promoted by the recent Soviet-United States INF Treaty as well as the ongoing intensive talks aimed at reducing strategic weapons, or the latest efforts to resolve regional hotbeds of crisis in Central America, in South East Asia, around Afghanistan and, most recently, southern Africa and the Middle East. We do believe that all this indicates that there are also favourable trends operating in our world, not only in East-West relations and the field of disarmament but also in international relations as a whole.
In our view, all this places a historic responsibility on the United Nations and its Member States to make the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament not a mere ritual and contest of polemics, but, above all, a breakthrough from the diplomatic level of relations to the level of sober examination of arguments and positions, striving for consensus and common ground on even the most specific proposals.

What our Federation expects primarily from this special session is as follows. First, we expect it not to end up with the same contents as the Final and Concluding Documents of the two previous special sessions, but to start by basing its work on their content, and then on that foundation continue to formulate further specific proposals. It should also favour a binding agreement to eliminate all nuclear weapons and the conclusion of an international treaty to that effect. It should support the full implementation of disarmament agreements and the ongoing nuclear disarmament negotiations, whether bilateral - for example, on the issue of tactical nuclear missiles - or in multilateral forums, such as the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. Next, it should urge the conclusion of effective agreements on measures to preclude the arms race in outer space and to achieve an immediate test ban through balanced bilateral and multilateral efforts. We also expect it to favour the elimination of all remaining obstacles - including the production of binary chemical weapons and the use of chemical weapons - to concluding the convention on chemical weapons.

Next, we expect SSOD III to give appropriate weight to the urgent need for a substantial reduction of conventional weapons in Europe and other parts of the world and to make an appeal to the Governments or military alliances concerned to take unilateral steps in that regard. In that context, a dialogue on eliminating foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops should also become an issue for discussion.
Finally, we expect SSOD III to take full account of the results of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, held in 1987, while pointing to the adverse effects of the arms race on the economic progress of the developing countries — here it should favour the establishment of an international disarmament for development fund — and to the lowering of labour productivity, the reduction of employment and the slowing down of scientific and technological progress.

Those are some of the priorities our Federation is concerned with when taking part in this session. Guided by the very first resolution of the General Assembly, which called for the complete abolition of atomic weapons, our Federation, engaged in forming a world-wide anti-nuclear coalition of youth, has carried out a campaign entitled "Global Youth Action — Away with Nukes", including signature collection for the appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as a specific expression of our dedication to the ideas embodied by this special session.

Our Federation believes that in guaranteeing the security of the world international economic, political and humanitarian efforts are equally as valuable as military factors in our integral and interdependent world. It is that conviction that has brought us here and makes us ready to join the Assembly's efforts today to make our SSOD III a truly significant event in the march towards a nuclear-free and secure world, towards confidence-building and harmonizing our international positions and actions. May this session of the General Assembly strengthen our desire and readiness to continue to work in such a spirit.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite Mr. Jean-Marie Legay, President of the World Federation of Scientific Workers, to make a statement.
Mr. LEGAY (interpretation from French): The World Federation of Scientific Workers, with 850,000 members today, is greatly encouraged by the great changes that have taken place in international political life since the last special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. We are certain that the changed outlook accompanying and following the Washington agreements may mark the point of departure on a long march towards real peace.

We are convinced that growing public awareness of the need for progressive and balanced disarmament, the ceaseless pressure of the most responsible citizens of all the countries of the world and the interventions of trade unions, non-governmental organizations and great cultural institutions will sustain the will of politicians and statesmen to negotiate on all the problems and all the necessary phases on the way towards peace.

Near the entrance to this room is to be found a more detailed text submitted by our Federation containing recommendations of an international scientific conference, organized in New York two weeks ago, on security and disarmament.

The will to negotiate to which I have referred should find expression, in a negative sense, by the destruction of all weapons, and particularly nuclear weapons, but also in a positive sense, by setting ambitious peaceful goals and programmes. It is peace that will drive out war; it is our peace-oriented activities and demands for a better world that will put an end to the arms race.

Why should there not be, as many of us propose, a Ministry of Peace in the Government of every country in the world, as I proposed some months ago in Tokyo? It is time for peace to cease to be a philosophical concept and be turned into concrete machinery of everyday politics and policy-making. Therefore, we are convinced that the idea of a new international economic order must be
developed and take substance in the form of national structures and modalities of international relations which will deny economic or political imperialism all chance of success.

Today the most developed countries, the developing countries and the young nations have all, one after another, confirmed that economic security is the most important security. Our Federation, which has been fighting for disarmament and peace for 40 years, has no hesitation in repeating that the poverty and underdevelopment that afflict two thirds of mankind, as well as the chaos and injustice that ravage too many countries, must be overcome.

We are certain that it is possible. That is why we propose that a new international scientific and technological order should explicitly become one of the vital components of the new international economic order. We appeal to all scientific workers to contribute in their professional activity to building that new scientific and technological order.

Forty years ago it was lucid to foresee, as our Federation did, the impact of atomic weapons on international relations, and to demand from that moment that a hellish race for weapons of terror not be launched. Today, to be lucid means to propose to the world profound transformations of relations between States, hand in hand with disarmament, with all countries becoming direct partners in the process.
Science and technology have become too powerful for scientists to be indifferent to the political power-holders that use them. That is an absolute justification of our presence here in the United Nations, among the Non-Governmental Organizations, as we face the representatives of the Governments that exercise political power. Peace, security, development: those are our goals. They will be achieved only by a high-calibre policy, and we, the scientific workers, can contribute to that calibre of political life.

The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is Mr. Ibrahim Ahmed Abdalla, General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Mr. ABDALLA: The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) has circulated a written statement to the participants in this special session of the General Assembly. May I say a few words as an introduction to that statement.

The International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, held last year under the auspices of the United Nations, conclusively stated that overarmament has drawn resources away from development. The human cost of this terrible distortion of priorities must be at the centre of our attention at this special session of the United Nations General Assembly.

The trade unions of the world cannot accept a situation in which over $1,000 billion are now annually spent on an arms race. Some 6 per cent of the world's gross national product (GNP) is thus wasted on an insane arms race which has already resulted in an accumulation of mass-destruction weapons which can destroy this world 15 or 20 times over.

On the other hand, the very modest proposal that 1 per cent of the GNP of industrialized countries be used to promote international co-operation for development has been ignored by most countries. And we also find that, especially since the accelerated outflow of resources from developing countries following the debt crisis, the reverse flow from these countries is close to some $300 billion
annually. That is the price the developing countries have to pay for the failure of the international community to implement the United Nations Declaration on a New International Economic Order.

It is that imbalance both in the field of armament expenditures and in inter-State economic relations which needs to be corrected without any delay.

The trade unions of the world are of the opinion that on both counts it is possible to reach international agreements to offset the negative trends and proceed towards a reduction in military expenditures through disarmament measures as well as to end the unequal trade and economic relations, providing the developing countries, in particular, with the resources for economic growth.

That is why our organisation, the World Federation of Trade Unions, speaking on behalf of our 214 million members in all continents, reiterates the proposal made at the second special session devoted to disarmament for a 10 per cent cut in military expenditures. We also reiterate our demand made at the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development for the establishment under United Nations auspices of a disarmament-for-development fund. That is urgently needed especially to take emergency measures to achieve the modest targets of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade - a decade which would otherwise end in total failure.

We also consider that the disarmament-development link should be reflected in targeting for a progressive reduction in global arms expenditures from the present level of 6 per cent of the world GNP to around 1 per cent of GNP by the end of the next development decade - that is, by the beginning of the twenty-first century.

We are encouraged to make such demands since the present special session is being held in a more hopeful international climate, influenced by some concrete achievements in the sphere of nuclear disarmament, beginning with the INF Treaty.

It is necessary to ensure that the immense potential of the new technologies,
products and processes are effectively used for real economic development and social progress, and that steps are taken to eliminate the stranglehold exercised by the military-industrial complexes on research and development. It is urgent that the United Nations take steps to promote international agreements for the peaceful use of new technologies and to utilize them to create new structures of international co-operation for human progress. Special steps must be taken towards conversion of militarized sectors and military-related production units as well as research.

In conclusion, the World Federation of Trade Unions reiterates its readiness fully to support the World Disarmament Campaign launched by the United Nations and to carry forward the conclusions of the present special session.

The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is Mr. Marek Hagemajer, of the World Federation of United Nations Associations.

Mr. HAGMAJER: It is my privilege to address the third special session devoted to disarmament on behalf of the World Federation of United Nations Associations and its President, Mr. Maurice F. Strong.

This special session comes at a time when our hopes for real progress towards disarmament and peace have been renewed. The World Federation of United Nations Associations, on behalf of its members and constituents throughout the world, joins in extending its gratitude to the United States and the Soviet Union for the dramatic breakthrough in nuclear disarmament represented by the historic INF agreement and their vigorous pursuit of the START negotiations.

The opportunities which have opened up for a new era of progress towards peace must not be lost. The future of the entire world community depends on using these opportunities to embark on a new pathway to permanent peace and security. That means broadening the negotiations to include all of the nations of the world that
have a vital stake in their success by moving them into the United Nations. It requires, too, that we broaden our concept of security beyond traditional notions of military security and disarmament.

A number of Member States have proposed that the United Nations initiate a process designed to elaborate a comprehensive system of global security. In the debate on this subject during the forty-second session of the General Assembly, strong differences of view were expressed, and no consensus has yet emerged which would enable such a process to be undertaken by the United Nations. Yet there is a broad consensus as to the fundamental importance of these issues and the central role of the United Nations in addressing them.

While international co-operation is useful in many areas, it is imperative in respect of those areas which bear on the survival of the entire human community and the viability of the natural and man-made systems on which this depends. Indeed, defining the boundary conditions, or "outer limits", on which human survival and well-being depend, understanding the human activities which affect them, determining the extent to which these activities must be monitored and controlled, and the means of doing this, must surely prescribe the priority agenda for the international community and the multilateral organizations which serve it in the period ahead.
I am pleased to report that the World Federation of United Nations Associations is planning an initiative designed to contribute some new ideas, approaches and analyses to the dialogue on these issues. The purpose will be to facilitate development of a new consensus on a common approach to improving public awareness and supporting international co-operation in respect of global security and the strengthening of the multilateral instruments of such co-operation, notably the United Nations.

This initiative, to be undertaken under the auspices but independent of the World Federation of United Nations Associations, will: first, examine the principal risks to the security and survival of the world community, particularly those of a military, ecological and economic nature, and identify the boundary conditions which human activity must respect to avoid these risks; secondly, identify ways in which existing agreements and programmes can be improved and new measures initiated to strengthen international co-operation in defining and monitoring such boundary conditions and controlling the human activities which impinge on them; thirdly, consider ways in which multilateral organizations and, in particular, the United Nations can play a more important and effective role in facilitating this process for the development and realization of global security in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter; and, fourthly, make its findings and recommendations available to the United Nations and Governments and people of the world.

This process will draw upon the wisdom, experience and insights of eminent people from the fields of politics, economics, science, religion, defence and other relevant areas. It will enlist the co-operation of leading intellectual and policy research organizations and other non-governmental organizations with particular experience and interest in these questions. It will make full and extensive use
of the reports, studies and information available from all relevant sources, including the United Nations and other independent world commissions.

It is our hope that this initiative will stimulate new thinking, promote much broader public awareness and nourish the political will needed to ensure that the achievement of global security is given highest priority on the international political agenda. It will especially focus on the indispensable role of the United Nations in doing this so as to ensure that this role is fully recognized and supported. It will thus complement and supplement the World Disarmament Campaign launched by the second special session on disarmament, which has contributed significantly to sensitizing world public opinion about the work of the United Nations for disarmament.

Disarmament is the essential first step along the pathway towards world peace and security, and this special session can and must move us a quantum step forward along that pathway. The United Nations can achieve this very important goal only if all Member States take real steps towards general and complete disarmament. This special session provides a historic opportunity to do so.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite Dr. Vigar A. Hamdani, of the World Muslim Congress, to make a statement.

Mr. HAMDANI: The World Muslim Congress is honoured to be able to make its oral statement to this Committee of the Whole of the third special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament, as it did at the earlier special sessions on disarmament. We take seriously our role as a non-governmental organization, Category I, to the United Nations and especially the importance of disarmament.
Convinced that nuclear disarmament has the highest priority, we sponsored a seminar on the nuclear-arms race and nuclear disarmament, which concluded, inter alia, that all nuclear-weapon States had an obligation to renounce the development and use of nuclear weapons and progressively to dismantle the already accumulated stockpiles of nuclear weapons. The security of the Muslim world, which is part and parcel of the third world and is in itself a group of non-nuclear-weapon States, rests ultimately on the achievement of global disarmament through the permanent cessation of the nuclear-arms race, which is irrational, immoral, a tremendous waste of resources and a critical threat to the very existence of mankind.

It is, therefore, heartening to realize that the present special session comes at an auspicious moment, when the cold war is visibly lessening and great progress can be made in disarmament. We welcome the conclusion and ratification of the intermediate-range nuclear forces Treaty (INF) as a historic first step envisaging the comprehensive elimination of nuclear weapons. We also believe that strict adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) should be universal and that a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty needs to be completed.

The Moscow summit meeting made progress towards nuclear disarmament through confidence-building and dialogue at the highest level, a significant shift in perception and attitude clearing the global climate of suspicion and fear. May this political will guide efforts not only in areas of arms control but also in regional conflicts and in their peaceful settlement.

One of the main purposes of our world organization is to dispel myths about Islam. One is that Muslims are a warlike people. We are like people of all faiths; some are hotheads and others are cool-headed. To us the ideal is peace, not war; justice, not revenge; and love, not hatred. In this shrinking world we
must live with all our fellow human beings. The Koran says: "There shall be no coercion". Coercion of other societies is no less odious than coercion of one's own people by instilling in them an undue sense of superiority and hatred of others. In brief, this mutual hatred and fear, which leads to the arms race, must be replaced by a climate of mutual trust and confidence among States.

We in the Muslim world have been striving to lessen friction and promote co-operation in our region and friendly relations with neighbours, insisting that existing problems should be solved through dialogue. We wish for an early termination of the war between Iran and Iraq.

Conventional arms control should be achieved by concrete, balanced and verifiable measures without diminishing the individual and collective security of any country or group of countries. Disarmament will be beneficial to the extent that it does not reduce the security achieved temporarily through defence and deterrence.

We urge that an international convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons and on their destruction should be quickly concluded.

This special session has an obligation to affirm that the stars are at peace and not at war, and that the heavens are for surveillance perhaps, but not for bombs.

In this way the World Muslim Congress expresses solidarity with those States and those non-governmental organizations and institutions which want this special session to succeed.
The CHAIRMAN: I now invite Mr. Romesh Chandra of the World Peace Council to make a statement.

Mr. CHANDRA: I bring to this special session of the United Nations the greetings and good wishes of hundreds of millions of ordinary women and men participating in the work of national organizations represented in the World Peace Council from 145 countries of all continents.

Never have there been greater opportunities and possibilities than today to establish a world free of the menace of nuclear conflagration. The present new climate resulting from a new philosophy of peace has opened the door to fresh advances for the efforts of humankind for a world without nuclear weapons and without violence.

Never has world public opinion been as powerful and as effective as today, expressed through thousands of organizations and movements, political parties and cultural, educational and scientific organizations and through individuals holding the most diverse views.

The Soviet-American summit meeting in Moscow which has just ended has taken important steps forward towards the goal of all-embracing security, towards the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts and the solution of global problems such as those of hunger, famine and poverty, the pollution of the environment and the violation of human rights.

This is a period in which new hopes for a totally disarmed world have appeared, following major advances in fulfilling the deepest desires of the peoples. These desires are for the abolition of nuclear weapons, the elimination of chemical weapons, a comprehensive test-ban treaty, for preventing the introduction of nuclear and other weapons into outer space, and sharp reductions in military budgets and the diversion of resources from the making of weapons of death to the needs of the living of today and tomorrow. It is in this context that the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament is meeting.
Since its foundation in 1950, the World Peace Council has extended its full support to the United Nations in its global efforts for disarmament, peace and security, and to free all peoples of this planet from the scourge of hunger, poverty, domination and exploitation.

Together with national and international movements standing for peace from all continents, the World Peace Council calls today on the Governments of the world to act resolutely for the implementation of the clear-cut calls made in the Final Document of the first special session devoted to disarmament. That Final Document remains the universal charter for disarmament. Today it is more relevant than ever.

We can build on that charter only through concrete measures that must be agreed upon at this third special session, to ensure that the many proposals of the Final Document of the first special session are given flesh and blood through their implementation by all Member States and by all bodies and organizations of the United Nations working for disarmament.

The World Peace Council places before all peoples and Governments of the world, through this special session, its call for global, all-embracing security. This has become the urgent need of the hour. Security cannot be assured for any one country or group of countries without at the same time ensuring the security of other countries, belonging to other groups. The security of one can only be assured through the security of all. Again, security cannot be assured if it is conceived of only as military security. It is necessary to act on all issues with the clear understanding that military security is inextricably linked with economic security, ecological security and humanitarian security.

The struggle for disarmament and development and for human rights, is one and the same struggle. To separate the efforts for disarmament, development, liberation, human rights and the protection of the environment can only result in a weakening of the all-embracing efforts for a nuclear-weapons-free and non-violent world.
This new understanding and approach helped to bring about, in December 1987, the first intergovernmental agreement to abolish a whole class of nuclear weapons, the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles (INF). That Treaty, now ratified by the parliaments of the Soviet Union and the United States has proved conclusively that those who preached day in and day out that nuclear weapons could never be eliminated are totally wrong.

We reject the theory of nuclear deterrence, on the basis of which a mere handful of Governments insist on keeping nuclear weapons. This would mean hampering the entire process of the advance towards the elimination of nuclear weapons, which, together with chemical and all other weapons of mass destruction - conventional weapons - can and must be destroyed. New alternative measures for security can and must be elaborated.

The goal of a world without nuclear weapons and without violence, domination and exploitation is not a dream. At this special session, the non-governmental organizations with their different constituencies and varied outlooks seek to increase their co-operation and common action in support of the United Nations, and in particular to strengthen the United Nations through the mobilization of public opinion.

We pledge ourselves to increase to new heights the common struggle of the governments and the peoples - of the United Nations and the non-governmental organizations - for peace and justice, disarmament and development, liberation and human rights. We are confident that together we can win this struggle which is the struggle of all peoples of all countries. Together, forward to the new world.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.