Twenty-ninth Session

FIRST COMMITTEE

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND AND TENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 6 November 1974, at 3 p.m.

Chairman:
Mr. ORTIZ de ROZAS (Argentina)

- Reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the
  Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of part of the funds
  thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries /24/ (continued)
  
  (a) Report of the Special Committee on the Distribution of the Funds
        Released as a Result of the Reduction of Military Budgets;
  
  (b) Report of the Secretary-General

- Napalm and other incendiary weapons and all aspects of their possible use:
  report of the Secretary-General /27/ (continued)

- Chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons: report of the
  Conference of the Committee on Disarmament /28/ (continued)

- Urgent need for cessation of nuclear and thermonuclear tests and
  conclusion of a treaty designed to achieve a comprehensive test ban:
  report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament /29/ (continued)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and
interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be
distributed as soon as possible.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be
sent in quadruplicate within three working days to the Chief of the Official Records
Editing Section, Department of Conference Services, room LX-2332, and incorporated
in a copy of the record.

AS THIS RECORD WAS DISTRIBUTED ON 7 NOVEMBER 1974, THE TIME-LIMIT FOR
CORRECTIONS WILL BE 12 NOVEMBER 1974.

The co-operation of delegations in strictly observing this time-limit would
be greatly appreciated.
Implementation of General Assembly resolution 3079 (XXVIII) concerning the signature and ratification of Additional Protocol II of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco): report of the Secretary-General /30/ (continued)

Implementation of the Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace: report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean /31/ (continued)

World Disarmament Conference: report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference /34/ (continued)

General and complete disarmament: report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament /35/ (continued)

Implementation of General Assembly resolution 2286 (XXII) concerning the signature and ratification of Additional Protocol I of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco) /100/ (continued)

Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East /101/ (continued)

Prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being and health /103/ (continued)

Declaration and establishment of a nuclear-free zone in South Asia /107/ (continued)
AGENDA ITEMS 24, 27, 29, 30, 31, 34, 36, 100, 101, 103 and 107 (continued)

REDUCTION OF THE MILITARY BUDGETS OF STATES PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY
COUNCIL BY 10 PER CENT AND UTILIZATION OF PART OF THE FUNDS THERE SAVED TO PROVIDE
ASSISTANCE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES (A/9565, A/9713, A/9770, A/9800)

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FUNDS RELEASED
AS A RESULT OF THE REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS;

(b) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

NAPALM AND OTHER INCENDIARY WEAPONS AND ALL ASPECTS OF THEIR POSSIBLE USE:
REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/9726)

CHEMICAL AND BACTERIOLOGICAL (BIOLOGICAL) WEAPONS: REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF
THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT (A/9783)

URGENT NEED FOR CESSATION OF NUCLEAR AND THERMONUCLEAR TESTS AND CONCLUSION OF A
TREATY DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN: REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF
THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT (A/9595, A/9650, A/9698, A/9708)

IMPLEMENTATION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 3079 (XXVIII) CONCERNING THE
SIGNATURE AND RATIFICATION OF ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL II OF THE TREATY FOR THE
PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN LATIN AMERICA (TREATY OF Tlatelolco): REPORT
OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/9713, A/9797)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE INDIAN OCEAN AS A ZONE OF PEACE: REPORT
OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON THE INDIAN OCEAN (A/9585, A/9629)

WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE: REPORT OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON THE WORLD
DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE (A/9590, A/9628, A/9656)

GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT: REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
DISARMAMENT (A/9698, A/9708)

IMPLEMENTATION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 2286 (XXII) CONCERNING THE SIGNATURE
AND RATIFICATION OF ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL I OF THE TREATY FOR THE PROHIBITION OF
NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN LATIN AMERICA (TREATY OF Tlatelolco) (A/9632)

ESTABLISHMENT OF A NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE ZONE IN THE REGION OF THE MIDDLE EAST
(A/9693 and Add.1-3)

PROHIBITION OF ACTION TO INFLUENCE THE ENVIRONMENT AND CLIMATE FOR MILITARY AND
OTHER PURPOSES INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY,
HUMAN WELL-BEING AND HEALTH (A/9702 and Corr.1; A/C.1/L.675)

DECLARATION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE IN SOUTH ASIA (A/9706)
Mr. HUSSEIN (Somalia): Mr. Chairman, my delegation is very happy to see you presiding over this Committee. We know of your wide experience and solid achievements in furthering the goals of the United Nations, and we recall with warm appreciation your co-operation with the Somali delegation over the years.

In the search for world peace and security, the question of disarmament, in all its aspects, must obviously be of overriding concern to all nations. The highest priority must of course be given to nuclear disarmament, because neither the instigators nor the innocent victims would survive a nuclear holocaust.

From the perspective of the non-nuclear States it seems reprehensible enough that the nuclear Powers, representing one third of the world's population, should gamble with the safety and indeed the survival of their own peoples by their failure to end the arms race and to begin the significant reduction of their nuclear stockpiles. But it is particularly frustrating that the remaining two thirds of the world's people are also threatened and endangered by the existence of nuclear weapons capable of destroying mankind many times over. It is impossible to refrain from concluding that the misuse of the world's diminishing resources for purposes of death and destruction rather than their utilization for progress, accompanied by peace and justice, is both illogical and immoral. It is also a sad commentary on the degree of true maturity achieved by our technologically advanced civilization.

My delegation has often called attention in the past to the fact that, while billions are being spent each year on armaments of all kinds, nuclear and conventional, the modest goals of the United Nations Development Decades with regard to the transfer of real resources from the developed to the developing countries remain unfulfilled. In this regard the constructive action of the Soviet Union at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly in calling for the reduction of the military budgets of the permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and the utilization of part of the funds thus saved for assistance to developing countries was a welcome response both to the problem of disarmament and to that of the world economic situation. It
provides an opportunity for those States with the greatest responsibility for world peace and security to respond imaginatively to the most pressing problems of our times.

My delegation hopes that the useful report of the Group of Consultants on the Reduction of Military Budgets, which has delineated the issues involved in this question, will serve as a starting-point for the development of the Soviet proposal. We hope also that the trust and openness between States which the report postulates as a prerequisite for the implementation of the proposal will be forthcoming.

The new spirit of international détente provides a good framework for solid progress in both multilateral and bilateral efforts to promote disarmament, and my delegation notes with satisfaction that several specific developments are contributing to the world community's disarmament goals. For example, the timely warning of the Soviet Union that mankind could be subjected to new horrors through environmental warfare and its proposal to introduce a treaty to prohibit tampering with the environment for military purposes constitute a most significant development. My delegation will support this valuable initiative which has important and far-reaching implications for the preservation of world peace and security.

Progress is still agonizingly slow, however, in such crucial matters as the cessation of all nuclear tests, the reduction of nuclear stockpiles and strategic weapons systems, and the prohibition of chemical warfare.

Disarmament measures in the area of the reduction of nuclear weapons, for example, are mostly negative. They seek to prevent the quantitative and qualitative development of existing arsenals rather than to promote their positive reduction -- and even that approach is not markedly successful. As each big Power seeks to maintain a nuclear advantage, the dangerous escalation of strategic weapons continues and the world's security is correspondingly threatened. There is a strong need for continued momentum towards a comprehensive test ban. While the bilateral agreement between the two super-Powers on underground nuclear tests and their recent threshold test-ban Treaty represent substantial progress, the sense of urgency about the necessity for a multilateral agreement outlawing nuclear and thermonuclear tests in all environments cannot be overemphasized.
My delegation supports the view of the majority of Member States, expressed in General Assembly resolution 3078 A (XXVIII), that there is no valid reason for delaying the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban, since international means of verification have reached the stage where they can offer reasonable guarantees of compliance.

While all methods devised by men to kill each other in times of war are brutal, chemical and bacteriological warfare has always been particularly abhorrent in the light of the norms of civilized behavior. And yet many States have not ratified the Geneva Protocol on the Prohibition of the Use of Chemical and Bacteriological Weapons, which has been in force for nearly 50 years. My delegation finds it hard to understand how States which consider themselves to be leaders of international morality can sidestep the question of outlawing, without reservation, these inhuman practices. They are inhuman not only because of their effects on combatants, but also because of their potential for causing death and destruction among civilian populations and their long-lasting damaging effects on regional environments. Reports of the development of binary gases for addition to the stockpiles of chemical weapons are distressing evidence of a callous disregard for the humane and civilized values the United Nations is trying to promote.

The progress made by the opening for signature of the Convention on biological weapons two years ago has not been matched in the area of chemical warfare. In the absence of more comprehensive advances in this field, my delegation welcomes efforts to proceed in stages, such as the draft convention on chemical weapons, proposed by Japan, and the joint agreement of the Soviet Union and the United States to work on an international convention dealing with the most dangerous and lethal means of chemical warfare.

The horrors of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological warfare should not obscure the danger of the rapid escalation in quantity and in deadliness of so-called conventional weapons. The effects of napalm and other incendiary weapons and of anti-personnel fragmentation bombs are now widely known through their use in the Viet-Nam war. Time-decay munitions and mines and high-velocity ammunition are other weapons which may cause unnecessary suffering or have indiscriminate effects. My delegation hopes that the international community will take steps to restrict or prohibit the use of such weapons.
In spite of its limitations, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons remains an important step towards nuclear disarmament, and my delegation hopes that those States that have not yet acceded to that Treaty will do so.

The central issue of non-proliferation is really the failure of the nuclear Powers to match the renunciation of nuclear weapons by non-nuclear States with a significant reduction of their own nuclear arsenals. This discrepancy was thrown into clear relief in the statement of the United States representative, Senator Symington, who rightly emphasized the dangers of the spread of nuclear weapons to the less developed countries, but at the same time described the awesome capacity of the United States for world destruction. To be objective, it is not only the United States which possesses the awesome capacity for world destruction.

However, it has always seemed to my delegation that in the case of nuclear proliferation, half a loaf is better than none. If we can at least stop horizontal proliferation, we shall have made some progress. The need for the non-proliferation Treaty was never clearer than at the present time, when the spread of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes and the growing availability of fissionable materials open up new possibilities of nuclear aggression or nuclear accident. A timely opportunity to clarify and strengthen the guarantees and safeguards of the Treaty will be provided next year by the Non-Proliferation Treaty review conference. My delegation believes that the conference should pay special attention to the question of distinguishing between the technology of weapon tests and the technology of explosions for peaceful purposes, and to the question of international supervision and safeguards in this area.

Every initiative which supports disarmament and the reduction of military tensions is a valuable addition to the search for international peace and security. The establishment of zones free from nuclear weapons is an important concept, the application of which to various regions has long been discussed. The Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America is the first example of the realization of that concept, and the Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace is another positive contribution in this area.

My delegation believes that there are urgent reasons why the admirable example set by Latin America should be followed in other areas, and we would emphasize particularly our support for the proposal of Iran and Egypt for the
declaration of the Middle East as a nuclear-weapon-free zone, and the similar proposal of Pakistan with regard to South Asia. Ten years ago, the heads of State of the Organization of African Unity declared Africa a denuclearized zone, and my delegation believes that is of vital importance for the peaceful development of African States that steps be taken to give practical form to that declaration of principle.

My delegation believes, first of all, that the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones provides invaluable support for the non-proliferation Treaty, particularly if the responsibilities of the nuclear Powers with regard to guaranteeing the nuclear-weapon-free status of the area are carefully spelled out and accepted, and if generally acceptable regional safeguards and guarantees of compliance are agreed on.

My delegation is also convinced of the urgency of the need for establishing these zones, because in most of the areas under consideration the financial and technological prerequisites for the acquisition of nuclear weapons already exist and there are strong political or racial tensions that could well encourage the development of nuclear warfare.

The importance of the Middle East as a vital source of the world's energy requirements also needs no further elaboration. The security of this area must be guaranteed and it must be kept free of nuclear weapons of any kind and of any capacity for destruction. It is, therefore, my pleasure to announce here the strong support of my delegation for the initiatives of Iran and Egypt in this regard.
The African continent is another area where it is essential that preventive measures be taken to remove the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons. As we know, the prospect of social conflict becomes increasingly real with the success of the legitimate struggle for liberation on the part of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa.

It is not the freedom fighters of southern Africa who have been the beneficiaries of the most sophisticated weapons and weapons technology from the countries of the NATO alliance: it is the racist South African régime which has received open military support from some countries in the form of sophisticated conventional weapons of all kinds. The unprincipled and unashamed violation of the arms embargo against South Africa could in all probability be extended to the supply of nuclear-weapon technology and nuclear weapons, if this has not already taken place. The position of the countries of the Western alliance was made perfectly clear by the recent triple veto in the Security Council of the proposal to expel the South African régime from the United Nations for its repeated violations of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The collective will and authority of the international community must be exercised in support of the oppressed peoples of Africa. The moral bankruptcy of those who flagrantly violate the arms embargo must continue to be exposed and condemned.

It is obvious that the disarmament question has grown more -- and not less -- complex over the years and that the gains that have been achieved in some areas have been almost negated by the setbacks or lack of progress in other areas. The need for progress towards our disarmament goals is undisputed: it is a question of mankind's survival. The modalities have been the subject of long and detailed study by the experts of the Committee on Disarmament and by those of the super-Powers. And yet there is a crying need at this stage for a new impetus towards the acquisition of mature attitudes towards disarmament, including a sense of global responsibility.

My delegation believes that such an impetus could be provided by a world disarmament conference which would include all States and, more particularly, all the nuclear Powers. We support the view that the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference has progressed far
enough for it to be designated a Preparatory Committee for such a conference, and we shall support any efforts towards the speedy realization of a world conference on the most urgent question of our times.

This is all my delegation has to say for the time being on this important question of disarmament. However, since there are a number of important items in the agenda not covered by me today in my brief statement, I should like to reserve the right of my delegation to take the floor again at a later stage.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I thank Ambassador Hussein of Somalia for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. YANGO (Philippines): The Philippines has consistently maintained a positive attitude towards the subject of disarmament. This attitude derives from the fact that it has renounced war as an instrument of national policy. The voting record of my delegation in the First Committee on disarmament items proves a continuing endorsement of disarmament.

For instance, my delegation has always argued in favour of general and complete disarmament under effective international control; it has welcomed and adhered to the partial test-ban Treaty and the non-proliferation Treaty; it has supported the move to prohibit the development, production and stockpiling of biological and chemical weapons and their destruction or elimination from military arsenals; it has endorsed the idea of establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones, and has all along emphasized the benefits of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

We were pleased with the declaration of the Disarmament Decade for the 70s, hoping that with attention centrally focused on disarmament, real and positive measures towards nuclear disarmament and general and complete disarmament may soon be achieved under the auspices of the United Nations. My delegation fought hard to establish the link between disarmament and development, in the firm belief that savings from the reduction of expenditures for disarmament could be channelled towards development, thus contributing to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor countries.
We also supported the convening of a world disarmament conference which could be held to coincide with the period of the Disarmament Decade. Not being a member of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, we had proposed at one time the creation of an ad hoc or special committee of the General Assembly to complement the work of, and co-ordinate with, the CCD, believing that such a proposal would hasten the pace of achieving agreements on disarmament measures.

Because of the consistent stand that my delegation has taken on disarmament issues throughout the years, we deeply regret, together with like-minded delegations, to note that the record of the United Nations on this matter is indeed discouraging. We may agree that efforts in the United Nations applied towards a solution of the disarmament problems have not been lacking, but the results are far from commensurate with these efforts. To our mind, the item of highest priority towards achieving general and complete disarmament is nuclear disarmament, but we have yet to see a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing in all environments. We have achieved a Convention on the prohibition of biological weapons -- which, by the way, is the only agreement on real disarmament, while other treaties or conventions are non-disarmament measures -- but we have yet to agree on prohibiting the production of chemical weapons. We welcomed the Treaty of Tlatelolco several years ago and have urged the implementation of its Protocol II; yet such implementation is far from complete, as a major nuclear power has still not agreed to the Protocol.

Nevertheless, despite all these inadequacies and lack of progress, we must continue in our efforts -- in fact, exert greater efforts -- towards achieving the goal of general and complete disarmament. This goal has been termed a utopian dream; yet it behooves us to see the dream come true if we are to keep faith with the Charter of our Organization.

It is in this light that this year we turn our attention to a new item relating to disarmament; and here I refer to the initiative of the Soviet Union on the prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being and health. We see the merit of this proposal and commend the Soviet Union for its initiative. With this remark we should like to offer some comments on the proposal.
The advance of science and technology in the area relating to the climate and environment, as in other areas, usually has a dual nature in the sense that such advance can be harnessed both for peaceful and non-peaceful purposes. Such is the case with nuclear technology and the technology that sent man to the Moon.

In the field of climate and environment, my delegation follows with utmost interest the advance of science and technology which could modify or moderate the climate and result in mitigating the harmful effects of typhoons. My delegation had the opportunity to advert to this problem during the discussion in our Committee on the item of the peaceful uses of outer space. I should like to repeat, therefore, that my country is situated in the typhoon belt of the Pacific Ocean and suffers the havoc and harmful effects of typhoons that visit our area regularly each year during the monsoon season and, as I have said, our deliverance from the harmful effects of typhoons is rooted in the advance of science and technology.

We are gratified to note that the proposal of the Soviet Union foresees continuous scientific and technological progress that could influence the environment and climate, and that such progress, devoted to peaceful uses, shall not be impeded. The explanatory memorandum submitted by the Soviet Union, in requesting the inclusion of the item in the agenda of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, states, inter alia:

"Needless to say, such an agreement should on no account restrict scientific research and practical work on the alteration of natural conditions to meet the peaceful needs of States for the benefit of mankind." (A/9702, p. 2)

We interpret this as giving due and equal weight and importance to the need of harnessing the achievement in science and technology to influence the environment and climate for the benefit of mankind. In other words, in prohibiting action to influence the environment and climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being and health, it is also proposed that scientific and technical progress along these lines should be employed for peaceful purposes in order to alleviate the sufferings of mankind from severe climatic conditions and a harsh environment.
In venturing to make this suggestion of the intent of the Soviet Union proposal, we cannot but agree wholly with Mr. Bishara of Kuwait in referring to this matter than he spoke before our Committee last 23 October as follows:

"We naturally support the call for prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military purposes. At the same time, we should like to learn more about the active steps that can be taken to improve the weather and manipulate climate for the benefit of man. While discussing the previous item it was possible for us to speak of the impact of space technology on the life of man on earth. It should be possible also for us to speak now of the beneficial impact on the life of man of manipulating the weather and climate. The industrially advanced countries which possess the requisite weather and climate technology should present practical proposals for formulating a programme of action to apply environmental and climate technology for development. It is not enough that this question be dealt with in the First Committee. The development aspect of it should be inscribed on the agenda of a subsidiary body which should furnish us with periodic reports similar to those we receive on the application of space technology to development. At the same time the military aspects of using the environment and climate for military purposes, we are confident, will be adequately dealt with by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. Since the military aspects affect the vital interests of the big Powers we know that they will not rest until their interests are taken care of either through direct negotiation or within the appropriate disarmament organs. So we should like to appeal to them to take into account also the interests of the developing countries, which are equally concerned with reaping the full benefits of the technology of environment and climate applications to economic development."

(2002nd meeting, p. 63)

My delegation is also pleased to refer to the statement made on 5 November before the First Committee by the representative of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Bronnikov, who said, in particular:
"Fifthly, the prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military purposes would open up favourable possibilities for the broad development of international co-operation in the use of the achievements of science and technology in this field for the benefit of mankind." (2005th meeting, p. 3-10)

As a matter of fact, if my delegation could have its way we should prefer the title, "Prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being and health and the peaceful uses of science and technology in this field for the benefit of mankind", so as to cover the proposal of the Soviet Union. In this way, the theme of peaceful uses is given its due importance. In fact, to our way of thinking, this should be the predominant theme. If I may pursue this further, I wish to recall that in the non-proliferation Treaty there is also a separate emphasis on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and a commitment on the part of the nuclear-weapon Powers to extend co-operation in such uses.

In the course of our debate, some comments have been made as to the delineation of civilian and military uses of the technology affecting the climate and environment, while others have spoken of the possibilities of such technology for peaceful and military purposes. It may not be amiss to suggest at this point that a detailed study be made of this emerging technology in all its aspects. It has been customary in the past for the services of the Secretary-General have been availed of, and in this case the Secretary-General might be requested to submit a report on a study of the present status and progress of the technology we are dealing with. Such a study would be most helpful to get a better and fuller comprehension of all the implications of the Soviet proposal. In this connexion, we need only to recall the studies submitted by the Secretary-General, with the assistance of experts, on such subjects as nuclear weapons, biological and chemical weapons, napalm, the economic and social consequences of disarmament, and so forth.

With these considerations in mind and in line with the statement we have made today, my delegation will, at a later stage in our work, address itself to the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.675 and to other resolutions that may be submitted.
Mr. SHUKE (Albania): Mr. Chairman, as this is the first time that I am speaking in this Committee, I cannot fail to express our appreciation at the fact that we are working here under the guidance of a representative of the Republic of Argentina. The Albanian people cherish sincere feelings of friendship and sympathy towards the people of Argentina. The friendly relations which bind our two countries as well as our conviction of the successful implementation of the important tasks assigned to you make us happy to express to you our warm greetings on your election as Chairman of our Committee.

The question of disarmament is undoubtedly one of the most important problems because it is directly linked to the cause of peace and security as well as to other problems of our time.

The debates which have taken place during this session of the General Assembly have pointed out the ever-growing preoccupation of the peace-loving Member States with the intensification of the arms race, the increase in the number of hotbeds of tension, the outbreak of new conflicts and the deepening of the economic crises which aggravate still further first and foremost the situation of the peoples of the developing countries. This is a legitimate preoccupation and it reflects the realities that prevail in the world today.

The two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, in their efforts to establish world domination, vying with one another for world hegemony, have increased their arms arsenal, especially their arsenal of nuclear weapons, to unprecedented proportions. They are intensifying their policy of aggression and oppression by stepping up pressure, blackmail and threats against other countries. This policy and activity of the two super-Powers are the main source of the existence and constant growth of the danger of the outbreak of new, large conflicts which could lead to another world war.

Such developments in the international arena make it necessary by all means to undertake concrete measures, to strengthen vigilance and endeavours to contain and restrain those aggressive forces, which are holding their destructive weapons over the heads of the people and are spreading the psychosis of fear and war everywhere in order to demoralize and subdue the peoples. The danger of harbouring illusions about the so-called détente is becoming ever more evident at present, the so-called détente with which the United States and the Soviet Union seek to lull the world.
The present-day reality, particularly in the field of disarmament, and the aggravation of the nuclear danger, is bringing an increasing number of countries to question what is going on and no longer to believe the clamorous promises and proposals of the two super-Powers in the field of disarmament or their propaganda about the efforts that they allegedly make for peace and the progress of mankind.

Clear proof of this can also be seen in the present debate, in which many representatives have pointed out the prevailing lamentable state of affairs concerning the question of disarmament. The truth is that the discussions which have taken place on disarmament for many years in succession have come to a dead end and that in the field of disarmament the United Nations has experienced one of its greatest failures. The imperialist Powers have made use of these discussions with aims diametrically opposed to the desires and objectives of the peoples and of peace-loving countries.

The two super-Powers do not wish to achieve disarmament. The arms race and war preparations are second nature to them. It is clear that so long as imperialism and social imperialism exist there can be no disarmament. The two super-Powers have established their aggressive policy precisely on their armaments and their military potential. This is not merely an observation, but is something that can be proved by many facts and events. The ruling circles of each of the two super-Powers have themselves affirmed that they are going to increase their military potential in order to remain a first-class Power. Under the pretext of safeguarding "national defence" interests, they seek to be militarily present thousands of miles away from their own countries, and utilize their military capabilities as a means of intimidation and dissuasion. According to the concepts and doctrines of the two super-Powers, sovereign countries must either yield to their military pressure and blackmail, especially nuclear blackmail, or the world will face a catastrophe and anyone who would dare rise up against the dictate of these two Powers would meet with complete destruction.

The leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, in his speech delivered on 3 October 1974, stated:
"The two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are aggressive imperialist Powers. They are dividing the world into spheres of influence and proceeding to the division and occupation of world markets. Their ultimate aim is to dominate the whole world, to rule over all nations and States. Hence, their irreconcilable contradictions which may lead them to another war. Their hegemonism and their reckless arms race do not take place in a quiet atmosphere, but through great upheavals with which our world is seething."

The two super-Powers are making a great fuss about disarmament. They create one committee after another, call for different meetings and conferences, and so on and so forth. But all this in reality is aimed at camouflageing their arms expansion up to the teeth.

While the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament continued its proceedings in Geneva this year, the arms race assumed new proportions and on such a scale that it would be hard to bring it under control. The United States military budget for 1974-1975 now amounts to $90,000 million, while that of the Soviet Union, according to unofficial reports, has increased to $80,000 million. Therefore, how could anyone expect this Committee to be relieved of the endless and fruitless discussions on this item and achieve any progress when the two super-Powers, which try to give the tone to its proceedings, follow such a trend and make use of this Committee to accomplish their own aims which are irreconcilable with genuine disarmament.

Our delegation has long since expressed its point of view to this Committee. The prevailing situation and the lack of progress, also at this session, are not accidental. The two super-Powers are trying not only to make the important problems of our time a monopoly of secret talks with one another and treating them in accordance with their common strategy of world domination, but also to have a free hand with their arms expansion, always preserving a due distance from other countries.

Thus, the Soviet-American agreements on strategic weapons are by no means a concrete step in the field of disarmament. They do not reduce the danger of war, but only establish a balance between the two super-Powers in those types of weapons where they have achieved the agreed ceiling and are in equal positions, in order to concentrate their means on the further expansion and perfection of other types of those weapons.
It is a fact that during the past two years, after signing the agreement on the limitation of strategic arms, the United States and the Soviet Union have increased the number of these weapons and improved their quality. They have speedily developed the system of strategic weapons so that, as compared with a single nuclear warhead in the past, their missiles at present are equipped with 10 warheads each. We must mention also at the same time the fact that only a few days ago the United States Defence Department announced the first test launching of an intercontinental ballistic missile from an aircraft.

Events have proved that the two super-Powers are also causing the multilateral agreements to degenerate into dead letters. Many promises were made by the United States and the Soviet Union after they concluded the partial test ban Treaty in 1963. Events have shown that this treaty too was a deceitful one, aimed at legitimizing and strengthening the Soviet-American nuclear monopoly, the continuation of the expansion of their stockpiles and the perfecting of their nuclear weapons.

The new treaty signed by the United States and the Soviet Union in July this year on the limitation of underground tests does not produce anything new. In prohibiting, as from 31 March 1976, only the testing of nuclear weapons of a greater capacity than 150 kilotons, that treaty fully complies with the objectives set forth by the two parties concerned for the improvement of the required weapons up to a certain ceiling which cannot be reached by other countries. The United States Secretary of Defence, Mr. Schlesinger, openly revealed the role of this treaty after it was concluded, when he declared that:

"the United States will also make use of the remaining time to accelerate the development of submarine-launched missiles, weapons for the long-range bombers as well as ground-based intercontinental missiles. It is clear that the Soviet Union is going to conclude testing its warheads for four new types of missiles within the remaining 21 months".
After the conclusion of the non-proliferation Treaty, some people hoped that the two super-Powers would undertake specific steps in the field of disarmament. Now, six years after this agreement entered into force, it cannot be denied that so far all that has occurred is a real disillusionment. The People's Republic of Albania has always considered and still considers the Moscow Treaty and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons to be inequitable and discriminatory agreements which have nothing to do with true measures of disarmament but serve the aims of the two super-Powers to leave sovereign countries exposed to their nuclear blackmail and to perpetuate their nuclear monopoly. The Albanian delegation has emphasized and re-emphasizes that every country enjoys the undeniable right to take the necessary measures to strengthen its defence capabilities and its security in the face of the nuclear danger and the monopoly of the two super-Powers.

The people cannot rely on the United States and the Soviet Union for their security; they cannot live under the umbrella of one or the other of those two Powers. The European peoples cannot keep waiting for peace and stability in Europe by means of the Geneva and Vienna talks, which are organized and manipulated by the two super-Powers, at a time when the United States and the Soviet Union maintain in Europe hundreds of thousands of soldiers and a great many military bases and are seeking to establish themselves in the seaports of the European countries, in the Adriatic Sea or the Mediterranean Sea -- all this with the aim of securing free passage to other important regions. They have continued to carry out frequent military exercises. The European peoples are not in need of any symbolic reduction of the American and Soviet forces; they need their complete withdrawal.

The peoples cannot feel secured and peace can never be achieved by these two super-Powers, which have increased the number of their aggressive naval fleets and have spread them to all the corners of the world and are exerting every effort to impose in every sea and ocean their order which guarantees freedom of action to these fleets near the coasts of other countries. Wherever these fleets are to be found, in the Mediterranean, in the Indian
Ocean and in other zones, they do nothing but aggravate tension and carry out the policy of rivalry and collaboration of the two super-Powers, thus menacing the freedom and independence of sovereign countries. Suffice it to mention in this case only the latest developments in Cyprus.

The attitude of the two super-Powers on the question of disarmament is a cynical one. On the one hand, they speak of disarmament, while, on the other, they have turned their sale of arms into a real business. They not only keep modern weapons for themselves but, at the same time, through the sale of arms they seek to plunder the recipient countries, which they impede from making use of these armaments to defend themselves from imperialist aggression.

My delegation fully shares the legitimate preoccupations of the peace-loving Member States with regard to the prevailing situation in the field of nuclear disarmament. We wish to reconfirm that the main danger to peace and to peoples is at present the aggressive and hegemonic policies of the two super-Powers, which possess a mighty military potential, and that is the point of departure where disarmament should commence. It is not the small and medium-sized countries that threaten world security and peace; on the contrary, they can never be secure as long as there exist the nuclear weapons and other weapons of the two super-Powers. A relentless struggle should be waged against them. Only through such a resolute struggle, through joint endeavours and by consolidating national independence and sovereignty, can the freedom-loving peoples and countries successfully face the nuclear blackmail and threats of the two super-Powers and only thus will they be able to contain the danger of war which derives from these forces.

We greet the great successes achieved by the People's Republic of China in the field of nuclear weapons, which have broken the Soviet-American nuclear monopoly. The nuclear weapons of People's China are not only to safeguard the lofty interests of the Chinese people; they constitute, at the same time, a powerful factor in the fight against the nuclear blackmail and threats of the two super-Powers. The People's Republic of Albania fully supports the just and determined stand of the People's Republic of China in regard to nuclear weapons as well as its relevant proposals.
We cannot but point out the false character of some of the proposals which are allegedly made in the name of disarmament but at the same time really follow quite different goals. It has been and still remains the view of the Albanian delegation that an international disarmament conference in present-day conditions, without having first taken the necessary measures and preparations, would do nothing but foster illusions and further complicate the problems. Forums and resolutions on disarmament have not been lacking; there are plenty of them.

As regards the proposal for the so-called reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of funds thus saved to assist developing countries, its propagandistic and sham nature was made quite clear during the debates at our previous session. That is once more proved by the fact that to date the relevant special committee has not yet been created, although it has already been announced by the Secretary-General in document A/9800 of 16 October 1974.

To the great number of disarmament questions there was added recently the new Soviet proposal on the so-called "Prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being and health". No matter how this proposal may have been drafted and what arguments its authors may produce, they cannot conceal its demagogic character and its true intention, which is to intimidate peoples. Behind this proposal there are the camouflaged attempts to hamper the development of other countries in the scientific and technological fields and to reduce their defence capabilities. The ultimate preoccupation of the peoples is the true danger emanating from the two super-Powers and their nuclear weapons, which is a real and concrete danger. This is the correct course to which our attention should first of all be directed; let the appropriate selected bodies tackle the problems of the environment.
In conclusion, our delegation expresses its conviction that the peoples and the sovereign countries will stand vigilant against the hegemonistic plans of the two super-Powers and will continue with determination their just struggle. The People's Republic of Albania, just as always in the past, will continue to stand side by side with the other freedom-loving countries and will never fail to render its contribution in this respect.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Albania for the cordial words he used to describe the relations between his country and mine.

Miss DMBU (Ethiopia): Mr. Chairman, since I am speaking for the first time in this Committee during the present session, allow me to express my sincere congratulations to you on your unanimous election to the chairmanship of our Committee. In the last few weeks my delegation has witnessed your great contribution towards making our work more fruitful. There is no doubt that your experience and intimate knowledge of the important issues with which we are dealing in this Committee, coupled with your well-known diplomatic skills, have helped us and will continue to make our deliberations successful. Allow me also to take this opportunity to express the good wishes of my delegation to the other distinguished officers of the Committee.

There is no more urgent matter facing the world today than the need to put an end to the quantitative and qualitative arms race involving mainly the two super-Powers. A staggering amount of money is being spent on the arms race annually - $25,000 to $30,000 million dollars on research and development alone. The talent of some 500,000 first-rate scientists and engineers is wasted daily on perfecting the means of mutual mass suicide. The tragedy of it all is that the money thus spent is not buying the nations engaged in the race any added security. The nature of the nuclear arms race is such that it results in an action-reaction cycle demanding ever more financial and intellectual expenditure in the futile and illusory search for new and more destructive weapons that would ensure the permanent superiority of one super-Power over the other. Even as we sit in this chamber deliberating the issues of disarmament, the vicious cycle of armaments and more armaments continues with no end in sight. The very survival of life on this planet as we know it demands that the "mad momentum" of the nuclear arms race come to an end, and soon.
In his report at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, former Secretary-General U Thant, wrote:
"The world is standing at what may be regarded in the perspective of history as one of the decisive moments in the grim challenge of the nuclear arms race." (A/7601/Add.1, para. 26, p. 4)

The truth of this statement is as indisputable today as it was five years ago when the former Secretary-General made it.

The efforts of statesmen and diplomats ever since the days of the Hague Conference to bring about disarmament have met with failure, mainly because two essential and necessary conditions have not been jointly present. These essential and necessary conditions are a minimum amount of trust among the major Powers and a means whereby one State can collect and evaluate information relating to the military capability of its potential adversary. It is the view of my delegation that these two conditions are present today giving our era a unique opportunity to bring about real and complete disarmament.

The contemporary international environment is characterized on the political level by détente among the major Powers in general and between the two super-Powers in particular. This is a new and positive tendency in international relations since the Second World War. The absence of active hostility of a significant nature and the conscious striving of nations to promote and nurture trust among themselves through cultural, scientific and economic co-operation is what distinguishes the present international system from its predecessor. The positive change of attitude on the part of the major Powers which the word "détente" signifies encourages us to hope that the co-operative feature and minimum of trust which now characterize inter-State relations will endure and grow stronger.

On the technological level also we have witnessed in recent years the tremendous progress achieved by the genius of man in the fields of communication and data collection, evaluation, storage and retrieval. High-flying satellites, equipped with sensing and precision equipment, can and do gather information from any corner of the globe without hindrance. Nothing is really secret any more. Furthermore, the ability of States to analyse and evaluate the data thus gathered in a short time with the aid of high-speed computers is unprecedented.
In the opinion of my delegation, therefore, this is the most propitious moment for the major Powers to undertake serious and earnest negotiations with a view to reaching an agreement for general and complete disarmament. The twin conditions of minimum trust among them and the ability of any one of them to unilaterally take steps to verify whether or not there has been a breach in the terms of the disarmament agreement by one or more of the signatories are now at hand. Truly, this is a decisive and historic moment for disarmament.

In spite of the fact that we feel that present conditions are conducive for complete and general disarmament, we also realize that arduous, long and complex negotiations will have to be conducted before an agreement to this effect is concluded among the nuclear Powers. The Ethiopian delegation is of the opinion, therefore, that timely action is needed before an opportunity is lost and that the end to which we wish to pursue the search for agreement on an interim and partial disarmament measure should be the guiding consideration in all disarmament discussions, especially in direct negotiations involving the major Powers. It is with this in mind that Ethiopia welcomed and supported the recent series of agreements concluded between the Soviet Union and the United States. We are aware that these agreements are limited in their immediate impact. It is true, nonetheless, that they are the only hopeful signs in an otherwise grim and depressing story of the nuclear age.

Thus, it has always been the fervent hope of my delegation that in all the disarmament discussions -- be they here or in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament or elsewhere -- we will endeavour to focus our attention on specific problems with a view to seeking agreements, while remaining mindful of the time available before some of the trends become irreversible. My delegation, therefore, urges the nuclear States to do everything possible to conclude agreements with a view to complete and general disarmament before the technological arms race reaches a threshold beyond which irreversibility sets in.
My delegation is convinced that while the complex issues involved in complete and general disarmament may take some time to be resolved, there are some useful disarmament measures which all nations could take right away. We feel that the suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests and the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty is one such measure. It is regrettable that 11 years after the conclusion of the partial test-ban Treaty we still have not succeeded in halting both underground and atmospheric testing.

The process of disarmament will also be affected positively if the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty is observed in good faith and in the proper context. Ethiopia is a party to this Treaty and fully supports it. My delegation would like to reiterate its firm belief that the spirit of the Treaty is applicable not only to horizontal but also to vertical proliferation. The review conference scheduled for May 1975 will certainly consider whether all States have lived up to their commitments under the terms of the Treaty. We urge the nuclear States, therefore, to stop their technological proliferation, that is, the rapid qualitative changes that are taking place in their existing nuclear arsenals.

As regards the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons, my Government's position is well known. The Ethiopian people know too well the horrors of chemical warfare and strongly support the banning of the production and use of these weapons. My delegation believes that the Geneva Protocol of 1929 is an important international legal instrument established to achieve this goal. However, the non-adherence to the Treaty by a number of countries with ability to produce chemical weapons, and the fact that the adherents to the Protocol have only committed themselves not to use these weapons against each other limits the usefulness of the Protocol. We recommend that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament continue its efforts to come up with a draft treaty which will be comprehensive in its prohibition both on production and use.

It is gratifying to note that the Soviet Union and the United States, at their summit meeting in Moscow in July 1974, agreed to take joint steps in CCD to help produce an international convention dealing with chemical weapons.
Guided by the principle that any step toward disarmament creates better conditions for further disarmament, Ethiopia has consistently supported the idea of nuclear-free zones. Therefore my delegation is pleased to note the success so far achieved by the Latin American States regarding the prohibition of nuclear weapons in that area. We should like to take this opportunity to assure them of our continued support in their effort to realize their noble goal.

Ethiopia is among those countries that initiated efforts within the Organization of African Unity to make Africa a nuclear-free zone. We hope that those efforts will reach fruition soon. To this end, we are committed to work closely with African and other States. Similarly, and for the same reasons, Ethiopia supports the declaration of the Indian Ocean and South Asia as zones of peace. We also welcome and support the idea of establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East. We are forced to support these partial disarmament measures in the sincere hope that they will lead us to complete and general disarmament.

Finally, Ethiopia considers the proposal to reduce the military expenditures of States permanent members of the Security Council useful and a viable partial disarmament measure. However, we feel that the viability of such a scheme as a disarmament measure is dependent upon tying the cuts in the military expenditure of those nations to specific disarmament goals. Making a financial percentage cut in military expenditure without tying it to specific disarmament goals could be rendered meaningless. There is fear in several quarters that since national budgets are nothing more than plans and programmes of domestic economies, it is possible for some States to manipulate their national budgets in such a way that in reality there is no reduction in their military expenditure. This apprehension cannot be ignored.

My delegation has carefully studied the report of the Secretary-General on the reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries. document A/9770 dated 14 October 1974. We are of the opinion that the general theme of the report is worthy of support by the entire membership of our Organization and particularly by the permanent members of the Security Council.
We find the proposed link between disarmament and development extremely interesting. Disarmament can and will make a positive contribution to peace and tranquillity. In the long run, however, it is imperative that economic and social advancement must reach every corner of the globe so that every nation, hopeful of a better tomorrow, will feel it has a stake to protect and preserve the international system. The fewer the number of dissatisfied States in the world, the fewer the chances for war and malice among nations. The brighter world of tomorrow must rest upon the twin pillars of complete and general disarmament and of economic and social justice for all peoples.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the Minister of State of Ethiopia for her kind words addressed to me, as well as for her congratulations to the other officers of the Committee.

MR. AL-KINDI (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): Mr. Chairman, as I am speaking for the first time before this distinguished Committee, would you permit me to offer you my sincerest congratulations on your election as Chairman of this Committee. Many of us who have been fortunate enough to follow the work of this Committee have referred to your statesmanship, and your great ability to organize and guide the deliberations of the Committee.

Also, the good relations between my country and yours, Argentina, have been reaffirmed and reinforced by the establishment of a relationship at the ambassadorial level. All this has added to our pleasure and to the pleasure of my country's delegation at your election to the Chair of this Committee.

I would also congratulate the two Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur of the Committee.

The increasing number of items on disarmament, which has jumped from eight during the last session to 12 at this session, reflects the concern of the international community at the increasing proliferation of lethal weapons which are being developed by the super Powers. It seems that the scientific and technological advance achieved by those States has been focused on the development of weapons of mass destruction. The great Powers spend enormous
sums on this objective while their peoples are in dire need of relief from
the increasing impact of international inflation. At the same time, there are
so many peoples which suffer from underdevelopment and poverty caused by a
lack of natural resources, and they look imploringly to the wealthy great
Powers, hoping to take advantage of their technological and scientific advances,
while the great Powers are engrossed in spending their enormous resources on
the development of science and technology, with a view to producing and
stockpiling lethal and destructive weapons which, if they lead to anything,
will conduce to the destruction of humanity and of its civilization.
The problem of nuclear arms is growing graver every day. That is why top priority must be given to it in all talks in perspective on disarmament and the cessation of nuclear tests. And, whereas the modern scientific discoveries in the field of the atom have opened up new prospects and perspectives for man's well-being, they have also created a horrendous potential that might end in the disappearance of man and his civilization -- and that scares the international community.

We are called upon to seek ways and means of reversing the direction and taking advantage of technological and scientific progress with a view to serving the welfare of mankind. I sincerely hope that the resolutions of the General Assembly on disarmament will be heeded by the big Powers concerned and will guide the Committee on Disarmament in its work. We regret that the Disarmament Committee has not achieved tangible progress on the urgent questions with which it is dealing, but we have not lost hope. We hope that it will reach some satisfactory conclusions in the near future.

We also consider the convening of an international conference on disarmament essential, in view of the growing danger of the proliferation of nuclear arms and the arms race.

We attach great importance to the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, which calls on the nuclear Powers not to give nuclear arms to other States and to refrain from transferring technology that may help in the production of nuclear arms, because such activities represent a danger to the whole of humanity.

We also look forward to the review conference to be convened by the Parties to the non-proliferation Treaty and hope that they will keep before them the welfare of the peoples of the whole world and focus attention on serious negotiations and talks with a view to achieving an end of the arms race and reaching agreement to ensure general and complete nuclear disarmament in the nearest possible future.

Foremost among the problems that face the world today, the most complicated and difficult after nuclear weapons is the growing use of chemical, bacteriological and incendiary weapons. Bacteriological weapons have been
under discussion by the United Nations since 1952, and last year the General Assembly adopted a resolution in which it requested the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to continue negotiations, with a view to reaching early agreement on effective measures for the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons. And, despite the fact that the work of the Disarmament Committee has not been entirely satisfactory, it has still been able to discuss the question of chemical weapons and documents on that subject.

There are two major questions on which the Committee on Disarmament has not reached agreement -- despite discussions for lengthy periods during the past year-- namely, the cessation of all underground testing and the prohibition of chemical weapons. My country's delegation shares the view of other States which have expressed the hope that an agreement will be reached on the total and complete prohibition of bacteriological weapons, their production and development.

We have read with great interest the report of the Secretary-General on napalm and other incendiary weapons and all aspects of their possible use and the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts, which was held earlier this year in Geneva. My Government was keen to take part in that conference. The Conference discussed, among other problems, the question of the use of napalm, incendiary and other weapons that may cause unnecessary pain or may have indiscernible effects, with a view to reaching an agreement on the total prohibition or the curtailment of the use of such weapons. Although there were divergent views with regard to details, we have noticed from the deliberations that there were considerable grounds for agreement on the urgent need to make detailed studies of some modern conventional arms that may cause unnecessary pain or may have indiscernible effects.

We hope that at its next session the Diplomatic Conference for the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts will be able to reconcile the views of States and to draw up a draft agreement prohibiting the use of napalm and other incendiary weapons.
It is well known that Israel considers itself completely free to use napalm and
and other incendiary weapons in its absurd genocidal wars against a people which it
tries to expel from its fatherland. It never hesitates to use such
weapons whenever it pleases it, despite the condemnation of the whole world.
It is high time to put an end to such behaviour by the concerted efforts of
the international community, and to assuage the fears of humanity
by drawing up international instruments that would prohibit the development,
manufacture, stockpiling and use of napalm and other incendiary weapons and
other conventional weapons that may cause unnecessary pain or have
indiscernible effects.

The United Arab Emirates share the interests of the States of the
Indian Ocean area which are keen on making that zone one of peace. My
Government is concerned with the stability and security of that area, because
my country is part of that area, as well as with the sovereignty of the States
over their territorial waters and territory. And, since the stability and
security in that part of the world are being increasingly menaced as a result of the
race between the big Powers, which try to increase their zones of influence,
I do not think that one State among the States of that area would favour
or welcome the arrival of foreign forces there to impose their hegemony over
that area. In this connexion, we cannot but welcome the conclusions of the
Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean which, among other things, calls for the
continuation of its work and an increase of its efforts in accordance with
General Assembly resolution 2992 (XXVII).

Most of the delegations on that Committee have voiced their fears of the
results of the proliferation of nuclear arms, and I believe it is high time to make
an over-all study of all zones declared to be nuclear-weapon-free, because
we believe that the declaration of nuclear-weapon-free zones would contribute
to the curtailment of the proliferation of such lethal weapons. Consequently,
we consider the Iranian proposal to that effect to be worthy of support.

The Middle East area has suffered from the fears of lengthy wars and is in
great need, more than any time before, of any steps that can be devised
to remove the spectre of a nuclear war, which would leave nothing on
the planet. A first step to make that area a nuclear-free zone is for all States
in that area to sign an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. But it is well known that, so far, Israel has refused to sign such an agreement -- and that gives rise to suspicions and fears on our part of its intention. If Israel would hasten to sign such an agreement to prohibit the proliferation of nuclear arms, it would pave the way for declaring the Middle East area a nuclear-weapon-free zone. The signing of such an agreement is a pre-condition for declaring the Middle East area a nuclear-weapon-free zone.
The agreement reached between the United States and the Soviet Union at the Moscow summit conference last July for the purpose of avoiding the danger of possible use of the environment and the atmosphere for military purposes gives rise to hope, but we consider that it is high time that that agreement was translated into practical steps. In this connexion, we consider the Soviet proposal to ban all activities that are geared to military ends and may have bad effects on the environment and the atmosphere, as worthy of consideration. We regard that proposal as having been propounded at the most propitious moment and believe it should be given due attention.

We also support what was said by the representative of Kuwait in this Committee: that the developed States that possess space technology and other technologies must put forth practical proposals with a view to drawing up a programme of action for the application of environmental and atmosphere technology to the field of development, instead of for the use of such technology for military purposes and other destructive activities.

My country's delegation attaches great importance to the possibility of implementing United Nations General Assembly resolution 3093 (XXVIII), calling for the reduction by 10 per cent of military expenditure by the permanent members of the Security Council, and for part of the funds thus saved to be spent by them on assistance to developing countries. We consider that the implementation of that resolution would greatly mitigate the effects of the arms race, in so far as the enormous sums now being spent for military purposes would be devoted to the welfare of humanity. It is our hope that this session will produce some positive results in this regard.

After reviewing some of the disarmament items that are on the agenda of this session, the same that have been discussed by the General Assembly during the past two years, we consider that the disarmament question still remains the principal problem threatening humanity. The arms race confronting us at the present moment is a violation of the principles of co-operation and solidarity. The great Powers are spending gigantic sums on the manufacture and development and stockpiling of lethal weapons, such as nuclear, chemical,
and bacteriological weapons, and napalm and other deadly incendiary weapons. Would it not be better for those States to use part of their enormous resources for raising the standard of living of their peoples, who are groaning under the increasing burden of international inflation, and for helping other States, developing States, most of which are still suffering from the aftermath of colonization by the great Powers? If they do this, they will be making a great contribution to stability and world peace and they will be consolidating opportunities for co-operation on our planet.

Meanwhile, at this time when the great Powers are still engaged in spending thousands of millions of dollars every year on the development of these lethal and destructive armaments, the impact of inflation has reached such a point that it has become intolerable, with results in human suffering that are indeed hard to bear. Those States try to attribute inflation to the rising price of oil; but it is their own military machinery, certainly, which is responsible for their increasing consumption of oil, that causes the rise in prices. The many millions of dollars spent by the great Powers on the development of lethal weapons is the real cause, the major cause, of the international inflation. That, regrettably, is the fact.

All the international community is calling for is that this erroneous course be reversed and that they proceed along the right way to stop the arms race. In that way they can contribute to mitigating the impact of the international inflation from which all peoples, of the rich and the poor countries alike, are suffering.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of the United Arab Emirates for his friendly words regarding the relations between our two countries.

Mr. MANKOU (Congo) (interpretation from French): Mr. Chairman, it is always encouraging to my country to know that a Committee like ours is being presided over by a representative of the third world. And when that representative is, furthermore, endowed with the qualities that distinguish
you as an eminent diplomat whose brilliant career is well-known to all. I can only rejoice that you have been elected to preside over our debates. I wish to offer you the sincere and cordial congratulations of the Congolese delegation, congratulations which I also wish to extend to the officers of the Committee.

As regards disarmament, it is awkward for the representative of a small nation to address this Committee, aware as he is that his words may be in vain, and concerned as he is over the possibility that he may disturb or offend the super-Powers that are juggling with their nuclear, chemical, bacteriological and meteorological weapons.

It is my delegation's view that as long as the super-Powers are unwilling to disarm, we shall stand helpless before the arms race. And of course, in the furrows ploughed by the super-Powers, certain sorcerers' apprentices do some gleaning here and there, and then they too will manufacture some "thermonuclear firecrackers" under the "reproving eye" of the great Powers. And the arms race will go right on. The arms race will go right on to its brutal conclusion, whether voluntary or accidental, to the day when the permanent members of the Security Council will become not the four but the five horsemen of the Apocalypse.

It is in an attempt to prevent this outcome that the representatives of the small nations are appealing to the conscience of the super-Powers. Their hope of being heard by them is, it must be added, illusory. For proof of this I need only cite the rejection by three permanent members of the Security Council of the draft resolution that would have expelled South Africa from our Organization. Despite the appeals of the majority of United Nations Members, three members of the Security Council could not, would not, understand that South Africa must be expelled from our Organization in order to safeguard the future of the United Nations. My delegation believes that the future of humanity is dependent on the future of our Organization.

The African continent -- the cradle of my country, the People's Republic of the Congo -- has during its history been afflicted by various calamities. Among them I would mention only the tragedy of slavery and the colonization of the vast majority of its children.
Now, only 14 years after my country attained its independence and national sovereignty, and as we are busily engaged in the difficult tasks involved in our development, we find ourselves threatened with nuclear catastrophe, with being obliterated, purely and simply, from the surface of the earth.
The danger is a real one. It is the super-Powers, first and foremost, which are concerned about it -- and with good reason: there is no joy to be derived from their nuclear copyright. But it is not that danger which concerns my country. The immediate danger to the Congo and many other third world countries whose natural resources are coveted by foreign monopolies, is the persistence of the latter in placing at the head of those countries governments that will do their bidding.

In Latin America, in Africa, in Asia, to mention a few, blood and tears continue to flow. This is not a nuclear danger; the arms being used are conventional, and it is this danger which concerns my country.

The Congo is a peaceful country, not because it does not have terrifying weapons, but simply because the Congolese are by nature peaceful. It is in this light that my delegation makes its contribution to this debate.

Too many human beings have suffered from the super-Powers' talent for destruction. Thus my delegation could only rejoice if there were a 10 per cent reduction in the military budgets of the five permanent members of the Security Council and a part of the funds thus saved were made available to developing countries. My delegation would suggest that the first beneficiaries of such assistance should be countries such as Viet-Nam, Korea, Cambodia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, as well as countries of the Middle East, victims of wars brought about by imperialism.

In some of the countries I have just mentioned, imperialist aggressors have used such weapons as napalm and defoliants, and have even gone so far as to manipulate atmospheric conditions. Yesterday's dense forests have today been turned into wasteland through the use of defoliants and napalm; yesterday's farmlands are today revolting swamps or barren land.

In this room we have heard the representatives of the super-Powers refer to the destructive power of arms stockpiled today. My delegation hopes to hear them speak of the effective means that they will place at the disposal of martyred countries such as Viet-Nam to assist them in their development programmes.
The power of a nation is measured by its economic resources, by its industrial capital, by its human potential, but above all by the penetrating force and unifying power of the idea that inspires it.

The two super-Powers have only one idea: to dominate -- not jointly, but, rather, one over the other. Mr. Kissinger certainly did not appreciate the peace-pipe that was being circulated in Moscow: the Soviet 'intercontinental missile launched from an aircraft in flight.

We can indeed be surprised to have escaped catastrophe so far, but while the fear of nuclear war has somewhat changed the behaviour of those who possess these terrible nuclear weapons, basic human nature remains unchanged.

The super-Powers' acceptance of the principle of an underground nuclear test ban does not at all dispel the concern of my delegation, which knows that the United States and the Soviet Union limit only that which is of little interest to them. As we cannot halt progress, we can only expect other discoveries from them.

The super-Powers seem concerned about preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons, while the small nations are concerned about the increasing sophistication of nuclear weapons. Hence we should speak not only of non-proliferation but also of non-improvement of nuclear weapons. But unfortunately, as I have said, progress cannot be halted.

The African Heads of States members of the Organization of African Unity have declared Africa a nuclear-weapon-free zone; thus my delegation welcomed the Tlatelolco Treaty, aimed at prohibiting nuclear weapons in Latin America, as indeed we welcomed the declaration on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. The creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in the Middle East and in Southern Asia also is acceptable to my delegation.

As regards the utilization of the environment and the climate for military purposes, my delegation hopes that, as in the case of nuclear weapons, the super-Powers will one day realize the veritable magnitude of the danger they have created. When that day comes -- if it is not too late -- our planet will be declared a zone of peace.
The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I thank Ambassador Mankou of the Congo for his very kind words addressed to me and to the other officers of the Committee.

I now call on the representative of Israel, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

Mr. ERELL (Israel): In view of the previous statements and comments in our Committee, it is obvious that the reference made by the representative of the United Arab Emirates in his statement earlier this afternoon to alleged genocidal use of napalm against refugees was not designed to offer the Committee any new information. That reference was therefore provocative and was intended as a demonstration of assertiveness. In normal circumstances one could dismiss such games as being in juvenile taste, but they are most regrettable at a time when great efforts are being made to find a path towards peace in the Middle East through negotiations. The repetition of provocative lies in our Committee at such a time is not a contribution to peace.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): Before adjourning this meeting, I should like to refer to the draft resolutions on disarmament. As you know, several delegations are holding consultations with a view to drafting specific proposals to be submitted to the Committee. It is my earnest hope that those proposals will see the light of day as soon as possible so that delegations will have time not only to study the draft resolutions but also, if necessary, to request instructions from their respective Governments.

In this connexion, may I recall that on Monday the general debate comes to an end, and we shall at once begin consideration of the various draft resolutions on the disarmament items. Accordingly, in order to be able to finish on time, within the schedule we have set ourselves or even earlier if possible, it would be a help if those draft resolutions to which I have referred are distributed as soon as possible. I shall be grateful to all who can assist us in this connexion.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.