Twelfth special session

AD HOC COMMITTEE FOR THE TWELFTH SPECIAL SESSION

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 7TH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Friday, 25 June 1982, at 10 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. GRINBERG (Bulgaria)

later: Mr. HERDER (German Democratic Republic)

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STATEMENTS BY NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (continued)
The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

STATEMENTS BY REPRESENTATIVES OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (continued)

The CHAIRMAN: In accordance with the recommendation of the Preparatory Committee contained in paragraph 54 of its report, the Ad Hoc Committee has decided that statements should not exceed 10 minutes, in order to ensure that all the non-governmental organizations remaining on our list, as well as the 23 peace and disarmament research institutions, can be accommodated within the time available. As Chairman, I strongly recommend that all speakers comply with that decision.

I now call upon Mr. Jugder, representing the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace.

Mr. JUGDER (Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace) (spoke in Mongolian, English text furnished by the speaker): It is an honour and pleasure for me, on behalf of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace, representing hundreds of thousands of Buddhists from Asia, to convey to all the participants in this historic session of the United Nations General Assembly warmest greetings and best wishes for its success.

We, the Buddhists of Asia, while fully sharing the alarm and concern expressed throughout the world over the grave escalation of tension and the impending disaster of war, place great hope in the proceedings of the present special session. We are hopeful that this session will result in the adoption of specific measures that will help reduce substantially the danger of nuclear war, curtail the arms race and further the process of disarmament.

The late President of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace, the Most Venerable Khambo Lama S. Combojav, addressing the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, urged:

"It is high time for us to ponder over our present and future so as to allow mankind to survive on this planet. Wisdom is a remarkable attainment of man, an immeasurable treasure and an invincible weapon. I believe no weapon is stronger than the
power of man's wisdom. I believe in man's capacity to settle
the problems of this world saturated with dangerous weapons.
Immediate cessation of the arms race and bringing about
disarmament have become the most urgent task of today and a
challenge to the wisdom and dignity of the human species."

Regrettably, not all have cared to heed this appeal and other warnings by
the world's sages. Hence this special session takes place at a time when
tension in the world has reached a new peak and the peril of global nuclear
confrontation has become real as never before. The rate of military
build-up and stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction has acquired a
dangerous pace and still more deadly types of weapons are being produced.
Open attempts are being made to legitimize the use of nuclear weapons by
advancing irrational doctrines of so-called preventive or restricted
nuclear war. All this ominously pushes mankind closer to the verge of
self-extinction.

We live in an impetuous age of profound change. Ideas of freedom
and independence are winning the hearts and minds of millions. Those
who used humbly to endure injustice and oppression are feeling an
awakening desire for a new life and are striving for the recognition of
their basic rights. In this we, the Buddhists, see the inexorable omen
of the time, which is in keeping with the kernel of Lord Buddha's teaching -
the Dharma - that nothing in this world is perpetual and therefore all is
subject to change. We naturally support those who are determined to
defend their right to live and to enjoy the benefits of peace, freedom
and human dignity.

As is commonly known, we, the followers of Lord Buddha, deplore and
reject violence. We are appalled to see the resort to bare force and
violence, in which we see one of the root causes of tension and conflict.

According to the teachings of the Enlightened One, all the evil
of this world originates in satiety with, and misuse of, wealth and power,
and over-indulgence in anger, arrogance, greed, ignorance and envy. To
avoid evil ends one should practise wisdom, temperance, justice and
magnanimity.
The Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace, as an international non-governmental organization, has endeavoured to contribute to the greatest extent possible to the efforts of the international community to bring about a safer world, where peace and harmony will prevail.

During past years the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace and its 15 national centres in the countries of Asia has carried out a wide range of activities to popularize among broad sectors of society the Final Document of the first special session devoted to disarmament and to step up the involvement and contribution of Buddhists in action campaigns for peace, security and disarmament launched on a national, regional and world-wide scale.

As a follow-up to the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, three standing commissions were set up within the framework of our organization: the Commission on Disarmament, seated in Tokyo, Japan; the Commission on Panchasheela, in New Delhi, India; and the Commission on Peace Education for Women and Youth in Colombo, Sri Lanka. Those Commissions have accomplished a great deal by collecting information and preparing recommendations in their respective fields of the movement's activities, as well as participating actively in the organization of events of a national, regional and international character, both on their own and jointly with the headquarters and national centres of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace.
The Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace is notably expanding its working contacts and ties with other peace-oriented religious and secular organizations and movements, with the United Nations and its specialized agencies and with interested Governments and governmental bodies in the common quest for universal peace, harmony and prosperity. It participated in many international and regional undertakings sponsored by the international community of non-governmental organizations on the eve of the present special session of the United Nations General Assembly.

An important contribution to the general improvement of the international climate will be made by an early ratification of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II) agreement, the conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty, the convening of a world conference on disarmament and an agreement on partial measures that would help remove hotbeds of tension in various regions and improve the atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence among States. Particular consideration should be given to the establishment of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace, the conclusion of an agreement on non-aggression and non-use of force, the strengthening of the non-proliferation régime of nuclear weapons, and a complete ban on the research development and production of new types of weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons.

It is our sincere hope that these and other issues vital to all will be dealt with thoroughly and in detail at this session and new positive steps will be taken to ensure the timely implementation of the measures already agreed upon at the last special session on disarmament.

We humbly appeal to the representatives and to all the Governments that they represent to heed the voice of reason and the unanimous call of world public opinion to make every effort in an earnest search for a way out of the present impasse in which mankind finds itself.
With all our sincerity we urge them, for the sake of universal benevolence and the salvation of the sacred gift of life to join together to overcome mistrust and suspicion, to do away with enmity and hatred.

For our part we, the Asian Buddhists, will pray for universal peace and happiness and make every endeavour to ensure that the sacred teachings of Lord Buddha on eternal peace and tranquility and on a worthy life for all sentient beings on earth come true.

Once again we wish the second special session of the United Nations General Assembly every success and fruitful results in its work.

Let the world hear the behest of Buddhists: "May those who fight with arms in hands meet with flowers!"

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the representative of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession, Mr. Willard McGuire, to make his statement.

Mr. McGuire (World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession): I speak for the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession, a world confederation which is independent, and aligned with no power bloc or ideology. I speak for many millions of teachers in 124 national organizations in 81 countries.

Within our member organizations a great groundswell of opinion is emerging against the drift towards the destruction of the world. As teachers, we are aware that we are living in a time of mutual fear and distrust, a time of corrosive resignation to what appears to be the inevitable - a nuclear holocaust. Such resignation, such acceptance of the inevitable, is corrosive because it forces us to accept the fact that the only way to prevent, or at least postpone this man-made Armageddon, is to build larger and more destructive instruments of war.
The political and military leaders of the world have forced us into becoming nothing more than survivors in the "age of deterrence". We do not hear our leaders speak of peace; instead we hear of a lessening of international tension. We do not hear of disarmament; we are told instead of a new search for parity in deterrence.

And while our national economies are being drained to maintain our deterrent capabilities, millions upon millions of children around the world are being denied the opportunity of receiving even a minimal education.

The teachers of the world long for peace, the kind of peace that can lead to true disarmament. But can there be peace when the two major world Powers daily confront each other with the threat of total annihilation? Can there be peace when minor wars between client-States constantly erupt around the world, wars which could easily become international confrontations? Can there be a productive discussion of disarmament when the world is living on the fine edge of self-destruction?

So what do teachers tell their students about peace and about disarmament? Do we insist that the lack of open hostility between nations is really peace? That the expenditure of more than $1 trillion on armaments is really necessary to secure peace? That a state of deterrence is the same thing as a state of peace? We must tell them something, for, as all teachers will confirm, you must never underestimate the wisdom of children. They have a way of understanding more than they have been told. And as a teacher, I have a very strong feeling that my students will not accept the concept of the "age of deterrence" as a substitute for the "age of peace" that we have promised them and that we have promised ourselves.

So what do we tell the children?

We must tell them the truth.
International peace will be a reality only when there is mutual understanding and trust among the peoples of the world. This trust and understanding can happen only through the process of education. Our students must be taught to love, not to hate; to respect others different from themselves, not to condemn them for being different. And, the most difficult thing of all, we must teach our students that the positions their Governments take are not necessarily the right positions, and that they, like their teachers, have not only a right but an obligation to protest when their Governments' actions, as in the case of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, threaten our very existence. We must also teach the children that no one Government, or system of government, or particular political ideology, has the exclusive right to claim that it alone is seeking peace, while all other nation-States are clamouring for war. The militaristic mood which dominates our world unfortunately knows no national boundaries, no ideological heroes or villains. We are all in the same sinking boat and are equally doomed if we, as teachers, do not protest against the direction our Governments are taking.

The President of our Confederation, Motofumi Makieda, a leader of the disarmament movement in Japan, recently led a demonstration of 100,000 Japanese trade-unionists against the arms policies which threaten us all with a repetition of the tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

I speak today as an executive member of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession. I also speak as President of the National Education Association (NEA) of the United States which, like its fraternal teacher organizations around the world, is deeply committed to peace.
The National Education Association has historically been in the forefront of the international movement for world peace. The NEA was represented at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and was consultant to the United States delegation at the founding of the United Nations in 1945, and the NEA’s executive director served as secretary-general of the conference which established UNESCO.

In 1947 he stated:

"Are you not teachers? Are you not American citizens? Then wage the peace. Wage the peace in the classroom, in our organization, in your community.

"I promise no audible trumpets for those who will wage the peace. There will be no citations, no service ribbons, no flags, no snappy salutes, no brass bands, no glamorous uniforms, and often no thanks ... The doing of the job, the greatest job on earth, will be reward enough. The recruiting office is open. The term of enlistment is for life."

Thirty-five years later the call to wage the peace is still an urgent one. Little did my colleague know then that there could be no real peace following the end of the Second World War. Just a little war here, a little war there; newer and more destructive nuclear weapons here, more throw-power there; inch by inch, megaton by megaton; and the shadow of total destruction grows longer as the daylight of reason fades.

The children, our students and the students of teachers who march to different political drummers around the world, must be told the truth. The nuclear arms race is really not a race at all, for in a race there is always a victor and losers, but in a nuclear arms race there can only be losers.

While the major Powers spend billions on deterrence of war, millions of children in third-world countries are being denied an education. There is sufficient international aid for an army tank but not enough for text books; there is enough aid for a fighter plane but not enough for teacher salaries.
The teachers from our member organizations in the third-world countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America must look upon a United Nations nuclear disarmament conference with a certain sense of déjà vu. The big Powers talk of peace and spend on war — and in the meantime millions go to bed hungry. They too will be the victims of a holocaust, but no one is asking their opinions regarding world peace.

In the past teachers remained silent while national leaders systematically, and most effectively, misused the instrument of education to shape policies which have led tragically and inevitably to international ill will, aggression and war. These leaders saw with frightful clarity that by distorting the education process they could teach the youth to fear, to mistrust, to hate; they could, through education, militarize the spirit of their nation's youth, then lead them forth to war.

If wars in the past left almost unimaginable death and destruction in their wake, a future war between the major world Powers could well mean the end of civilization on this planet. So it becomes imperative that we teachers, through our member organizations, work to prevent the precious instrument of education from ever again becoming the tool of irrational leaders who would pervert the world's youth into believing that there is nobility in militarism, that there can be peace only through deterrence, or that there is safety only if we live frightened lives behind nuclear shields for protection.

We must educate the world's children to believe that real peace is possible, a peace free of nuclear threats and counter-threats, a peace where human life is something more than a list of numbers on some benighted general's chart. Such a peace can only be possible through world disarmament. The world's teachers must work toward this goal.
The CHAIRMAN: I call upon the representative of the World Federation of Scientific Workers, Mr. Jean-Marie Legay.

Mr. LEGAY (World Federation of Scientific Workers) (interpretation from French): The accelerated acquisition of knowledge in the past century and understanding of the world we are beginning to enter have led the major Powers to act to bring about profound transformations of the structures of production and consumption. It is clear at the same time that the results of science can be placed at the service of military forces. It has recently become clear not only that physical phenomena, in particular nuclear energy, can be mastered for the purposes of war, but that chemical weapons have been developed and multiplied and the veritable revolution which is going on in the biological field makes it possible to envisage new, most strange and effective types of weapons.

The qualitative arms race has become one of our major concerns but, in any case, there is no possibility of any scientific or technological sector becoming free from the military grip or any field remaining free from military ties. We are forced to have recourse to peace.

We scientists have contributed willingly or unwillingly to this situation, therefore we have some responsibilities in the matter. That is why for 35 years now we have addressed the scientific and technological community and called upon it to direct its activities towards satisfying the real needs of men and to participate actively in peace movements. We have also repeatedly since 1946 addressed public opinion, as well as political leaders, squarely to warn them that the world has taken the wrong turning and that the social and economic crisis, which is now acknowledged, is in general a reflection of these errors and these gaps between scientific and technical potential and the institutions. We have also told them that the arms race is one of the major causes of material and moral deviations in our societies.

Peace and war, wealth and poverty, privation and luxury, austerity and waste, freedoms and repressions, are unacceptably juxtaposed in far too many parts of our world. Inasmuch as we as scientists have a more accurate idea than other people of the tremendous efforts made by mankind to overcome deprivation and accumulate remarkable social and cultural treasures, inasmuch
as we admire the imagination, persistence and skill of our ancestors, we cannot resign ourselves to accepting the destruction of these achievements, to disregarding the labours of hundreds of generations and to abandoning liberties and virtues which have taken so long to establish.

We are aware of the difficulties involved in governing a country and we as scientists do not exempt ourselves from the problem of the arms race and lay the blame at the door of the political leaders. On the contrary, we declare that the most enlightened of us are ready to help political authorities to break out of the vicious circle. Antagonisms between countries and social systems should not serve as justifications for raising the arms levels. We do not think it is much more difficult to move towards peace than to move towards war, provided that a decision is taken to that effect.

We should not, therefore, only fight against war: we must fight for peace. We must think in terms of peace, educate people for peace, operate other equations of force than the purely military arms one. That is why we cannot confine ourselves to calling for the limitation - which is quite a questionable matter anyway - of the most dangerous weapons. What we are ultimately calling for is the total destruction of nuclear weapons. We should not confine ourselves either to an armistice. What we want is a genuine peace, that is to say, as soon as possible and with an appropriately negotiated plan: disarmament.
The 500,000 scientific workers of the Federation that I have the honour of representing here include people from all political régimes, all states of development and all climes, and today I wish to say to all Governments. I am not addressing any of them in particular but to all Governments... that negotiation is never ridiculous. It is the very essence of intelligence; it is the hope of youth. We must talk... no one should be despised.

Sometimes the burden of history is very heavy to bear. Let us single out from that history only the benefits which have accrued during the peaceful periods. We scientific workers, who have placed at the disposal of the world more new results in the last 20 years than in all the preceding centuries, say: let us turn towards the future, let us reflect on the building of more just and happier societies. In 100 years you can be assured that all ways of life and all political régimes which now exist will have been completely transformed. The extraordinary accomplishments of tomorrow's machines, the miniaturization of all equipment, particularly in electronics and data processing, the radical changes brought about by biotechnology and space techniques will make certain contemporary territorial conflicts ridiculous as well as the structures of work and leisure to which people devoid of imagination cling; and the fears, mistrust and meanness which exist on a small or large scale will also appear ridiculous.

It is always more difficult to evaluate one's own era and to move ahead of it rather than to return to the past, a past often more imaginary than true. It would appear, however, that the most important new political factor in recent months is that peace has become a deep desire of the peoples: that at a time when hotbeds of tension and war are being wrecklessly created peace has become an explicit demand in the most advanced countries. I should like, on behalf of the Federation, to declare solemnly that the scientific workers will do everything possible to make sure that this upsurge of public opinion is developed further. I should like to ask the Governments present here whether they have completely evaluated the meaning of that popular movement of right and reason and whether they should not seek its support rather than fear it, in order to promote the idea that peace is possible, that the day when peace comes will be a glorious day and that the only possible victory is that of peace.
That victory is within our grasp, but it is not going to happen without our efforts. We must learn to use the scientific and technical potential that exists for peaceful purposes and we must create conditions for progress. Virtue demands a minimum of comfort and, perhaps even more, justice and equity. We must begin by obtaining in our respective countries what we call for on the international scene.

On behalf of our Federation, I am not just emphasizing the need for developing scientific and technical co-operation, a recent example of which has been the Franco-Soviet co-operation in outer space, on a renewed basis and without losing sight of the needs of developing countries or those of the least favoured social classes of the developed countries. I am also proposing that specific initiatives be taken in a field where we can provide our assistance and make our expertise available. I am asking that the international debate, which we have scheduled on the qualitative arms race, should have the support of international institutions. I am asking that the idea of an international committee of scientists for peace should be discussed. It could be recognized by the institutions without coming under those institutions, and it should become a place where certain negotiations and technical evaluations could be made.

It is with emotion that I conclude this statement and call on the delegations to heed our appeal: effective decisions must be taken immediately before control over the arms build-up eludes us completely. The best available minds must be allowed to devote time to these problems. In the present circumstances, any failure would be catastrophic, but success would do honour to our century.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the next speaker, the representative of the World Federation of Teachers Unions, Mr. Daniel Retureau.
Mr. RETUREAU (World Federation of Teachers Unions) (interpretation from French): The World Federation of Teachers Unions is made up of 106 organizations of teachers and other workers in the field of education and research from 72 countries on all continents and of all political systems.

Since its formation in 1946, our Federation has had as one of its fundamental aims the struggle against war and its causes. The Federation endorses and supports the historical resolutions of the first special session on disarmament and will endeavour by all available means to make its own contribution at the professional and trade-union level to the implementation of the resolutions of the second special session on disarmament to the fullest extent that they confirm and develop the decisions of the first special session on disarmament.

The Federation also endeavours to contribute to the implementation of the resolutions of the World Congress on Education for Disarmament organized by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in June 1981.

Today mankind is running a mortal risk even without war. The economic and social consequences of the arms race are great. The Courrier published by UNESCO in March 1982 contains outstanding informative material, which gives figures and examples of the way in which the arms race incapacitates a great part of the productive forces, paralyses development, wastes natural resources and threatens the environment, uses for deadly purposes the qualifications and talents of tens of millions of workers and some of those doing scientific research, thus maintaining a climate of tension and violence.

The reality of our world is always such that hundreds of millions of people suffer from poverty, malnutrition, illiteracy and under-development, unemployment and under-employment. To face those challenges and to establish a New International Economic Order, it is imperative to put an end to the senseless waste of over-arming, which already kills 30 to 40 million human beings every year, half of whom are children.

Our Federation is indeed happy to have contributed, together with many organizations of differing ideas and philosophies, to the success of the movements for disarmament and peace throughout the world. Public opinion in churches, political parties, trade-unions, associations and groups of all kinds which are committed to disarmament have strengthened and broadened that movement and can play a decisive role in bringing about negotiations among Governments
for disarmament by having a positive influence on political and economic leaders by promoting international understanding and the practices of the peaceful settlement of disputes between peoples.
To have a balanced position regarding disarmament is above all, as far as we are concerned, to see clearly the present responsibilities in the area of the arms race. We denounce and condemn in particular racism and expansionism, which endanger peace in Africa and in the Near East. Today, the Lebanese and Palestinian people are being subjected to an invasion and criminal bombardment. Civilians, including children, are dying by the hundreds. We believe that only the recognition of the Palestinian people can solve the question of the Middle East and avoid the extension of the conflict which now exists in this region to the rest of the world.

We stress the responsibility of imperialism, which resorts to war and tries to familiarize public opinion with the idea - indeed, the necessity - of a nuclear war and to spread the illusion that such a war could be limited.

Non-Governmental organizations are capable of mobilizing public opinion and coming into contact with large sectors of the population. As a result of this, they bear a great responsibility in the field of information and education.

In particular, it is the role of the trade union movement at the national and international levels to demonstrate and explain that the reconversion of the arms industry is desirable and possible and that such a reconversion would make it possible to satisfy the real, fundamental needs of the population.

We believe that although education for peace, disarmament and international understanding is absolutely necessary, it cannot in itself lead to disarmament. It can only develop and achieve its highest level of efficiency if public opinion supports the concepts and objectives of peace and disarmament and there is action and wide-scale mobilization concerning them so that Governments commit themselves to the path of true disarmament and the essential economic and political reforms are undertaken in order to fight crisis and the causes of war and build a new international economic order.
If conditions are not favourable for an international education for trainee teachers, pupils and students in many countries, it is necessary to do everything possible to develop such education and to ensure that teachers who practise it are not reprimanded or harassed because of their teaching in favour of the ideals of the United Nations.

With this in mind, we propose that on the occasion of the international disarmament week teachers should have a course for their classes of information on the problems of peace and disarmament, in particular informing young people of the dangers and consequences of over-arming and of the use of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and trying to develop a spirit of international understanding. This should be done in a manner suited to the level of education and maturity of pupils and students.

We are willing to contribute to the preparation of a disarmament manual, which could be used to this end and which would contain both objective information and suggestions concerning the use of such information in teaching.

We also ask that all Governments of Member States regularly provide UNESCO with a report on the stage of development and the progress of education for disarmament in their countries and that organizations representing teachers be consulted about this.

We propose that education for disarmament and peace be the object of a special intergovernmental conference, or that the subject be included in an intergovernmental conference such as the international conference on education, so that Governments can make precise commitments through the recommendations adopted.

Our Federation has taken initiatives and is attempting to create the conditions for international meetings of teachers organizations to promote education for disarmament throughout the world so that teachers may participate in the disarmament movement.

I solemnly reaffirm before this Committee the full commitment of the World Federation of Teachers Unions and of the organizations of which it is composed to pursue and intensify their theoretical and practical action in schools and in society to contribute to the task of eliminating the risks of massive
destruction which today weigh on our species, on civilizations and on human culture and to participate in the construction, for ourselves and for future generations, of a fraternal world, free of war, poverty and ignorance - a world that has been humanized.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Mr. Ibrahim Abdallah.

Mr. ABDALLAH (World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)): The World Federation of Trade Unions, which I represent here, was established in the aftermath of the bitter and horrifying years of the Second World War to reflect the determination of the world working class and its trade union movement that such tragedies would never be repeated again. That determination was and is based on our conviction as workers that we are the first to be hit by the arms build-up and its consequences.

We are here at this second special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament to defend our rights: our right to live and enjoy life, because it is the workers who create life in the first place.

Workers and trade unions in all countries and peace-loving forces throughout the world looked forward with great hope to the convening of the first special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, in 1978, since it was already very evident that the arms race was having disastrous consequences, currently and for the future of mankind. It was therefore a great disappointment that the first special session on disarmament was prevented by those who profit from armaments production from reaching agreement to halt the arms race and to take positive steps towards genuine measures of disarmament. If at least a moratorium or a freeze had been agreed to four years ago, several billion dollars could have been used for meeting the urgent needs of social and economic development, especially for the most needy countries and peoples in large areas of the world.
During the past four years workers and trade unions have expressed in emphatic terms their protest at their declining wage and living standards, the high rate of unemployment, the mounting inflation and the deepening economic crisis - all of which are seen as closely linked with the social and economic consequences of the arms race pursued by the military-industrial complex of transnational corporations and the Governments at their service. Not only have they expressed grave concern over the lack of progress in disarmament negotiations but they have organized a number of initiatives to mobilize their members and world public opinion at large to exert themselves more forcefully in carrying forward the campaign for disarmament.

There is complete unanimity within the trade union movement, among workers and trade unions in all countries and all social systems, over the extreme seriousness of the war danger which accompanies the accelerated arms race. The Tenth World Trade Union Congress, which met in Havana in February this year, with representatives of 269 million workers from 138 countries, appealed for intensified action at all levels:

"to stop the arms race and to insist that the colossal resources spent on armaments be reallocated to finance the urgent needs of social and economic development and especially to create more jobs and to solve the problem of mass unemployment."

In December 1981, the International Trade Union Conference on the Social and Economic Aspects of Disarmament, organized in Paris by a number of trade union organizations, reflected the intense feeling of urgency concerning the need to work towards disarmament and reconversion.

This unanimity in the world trade union movement is a solid basis for action by the people to halt the arms race. The mass rallies, peace marches and massive protest actions against the arms race organized throughout the world in the recent period highlight the extreme concern of workers, farmers, professionals, intellectuals and their organizations at the ever-growing war danger.
Workers and trade unions see a clear link between policies which favour colossal sums being spent for the arms build-up and the policies which have resulted in a tremendous rise in mass unemployment, cuts in social services, a general decline in living standards and the development of crises. The trends at the beginning of the present decade show that there will be no growth at all in the economy of a great many capitalist countries if the present rate of escalation of arms budgets continues. In the industrialized capitalist countries, the living standards of working people are falling. This decline drives below the poverty line more millions in the developing countries. The World Food Council, meeting now in Acapulco, Mexico, has reported on increased hunger and severe malnutrition now affecting 400 million people.

Officially reported unemployment has reached 30 million and continues to rise in the highly industrialized group of countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). In these countries, up to one tenth of the labour force is now idle. In the developing countries up to 40 per cent of the labour force is unemployed or underemployed. Considering the giant strides in scientific and technical progress, such large-scale unemployment is an unprecedented waste of skilled human resources. We must ask ourselves how long we can allow this situation to continue. The workers and other popular forces give their unqualified answer to this question: stop the arms race; transfer the money spent on armaments to social needs.

In this spirit, we deeply appreciate the solemn pledge made here by the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. If this pledge is given by the other nuclear-Powers, there will be no need at all for these destructive weapons. Although we are greatly disappointed that similar pledges have not yet come from the other nuclear-Powers - in particular, the United States - we are not discouraged, and we will continue our fight with greater vigour until we impose our will and ensure our right to live.

For us, the failure to move ahead on disarmament not only gives an impetus to the arms race but also lovers the barriers to aggression in the world's hot-spots.
It is not by chance that those who are obstructing a meaningful programme for disarmament are the ones who are directly or indirectly responsible for atrocities in many areas of the world. With the full backing of the United States Administration, the Israeli armed forces are committing barbaric acts of aggression in Lebanon with the stated purpose of exterminating the Palestinian people and depriving them for ever of their right to live on their own land.

Whether it is in Lebanon, the Malvinas, South Africa, El Salvador or elsewhere that these acts of aggression are being committed, people know that arms are made not to be stockpiled but to be used. The world is still living through the horror of the United States announcement concerning a limited nuclear war in Europe.

From this second special session on disarmament must come a concrete and binding programme for disarmament. This is the will of millions upon millions of human beings who want to live in peace and security. The WFTU proposes as a minimum programme: an immediate ban on the further manufacture of nuclear weapons and a freeze on all plans for the introduction and installation of new nuclear missiles and other systems of weapons of mass destruction; a 10 per cent cut in arms budgets to be implemented immediately especially by countries which are permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, the amounts saved to be used for economic and social development; and the establishment of negotiating machinery, with appropriate supervision, to arrive at agreements on effective steps towards disarmament.

The WFTU pledges that the 206 million workers organized within its ranks will be mobilized to contribute actively and effectively to the realization of this programme.
The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the representative of the World Federation of United Nations Associations, Mr. Sidney Willner.

Mr. WILLNER (World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA))
The World Federation of United Nations Associations, on whose behalf I have the honour of addressing you, is a unique people's movement in two important aspects: it is the only international non-governmental organization devoted solely to the support of the goals of the United Nations Charter, and it is truly an international organization, since it is composed of member Associations on all continents, except Antarctica, in countries which are members of the Warsaw Pact, NATO and the non-aligned group. Therefore, when its member Associations speak with unanimity it can fairly be said to speak for the people of the world, and all that I am to say to you on behalf of the Federation today was unanimously approved by its plenary assembly last October, which looked with impatience, coupled with hope, to this special session of the Assembly.
Just as there can be no security without disarmament, so there can be no security without political and military confidence-building measures. No serious disarmament negotiations can be conducted parallel with escalating military build-ups, nuclear blackmail and general mistrust. We therefore call for an immediate resumption of dialogue between opposing forces and a demonstration of the will to achieve agreements. Contacts between the highest governmental officials are an indispensable part of international dialogue. In this context, we welcome initiatives leading to a summit meeting between President Leonid Brezhnev and President Ronald Reagan and look forward with hope to productive and successful results from this meeting. In our view, all manifestations of willingness seriously to negotiate contribute to the building of confidence among States. On the other hand, we wish to emphasize the need for and urgency of first steps to diminish the danger of armed conflicts resulting from misunderstandings or misinterpretations of military activities, as referred to in paragraph 93 of the Final Document of the first special session on disarmament. Specific confidence-building measures, arranged for on a bilateral, multilateral or regional basis, could include: announcement of military exercises going beyond those which were agreed upon at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe in 1975; invitation of observers to manoeuvres; announcement of large military movements; exchange of military delegations; publication of data on military expenditures on an internationally accepted basis; introduction of appropriate control systems; and embarkation on policies of not only multilateral but also unilateral commitments to confidence-building measures.

We are conscious, however, that confidence-building alone may not prevent the eruption of armed hostilities. The conflicts in the South Atlantic and in the Middle East demonstrate once again the need to strengthen United Nations institutions and procedures for maintaining peace and settling international disputes. WFUNA therefore suggests the desirability of establishing, within the terms of the United Nations Charter, conciliation machinery permanently available for use by the Security Council. We call upon the Security Council to convene a special meeting of the Council to consider ways in which its peace-making and peace-keeping roles could be made more effective, particularly in relation to the implementation of its resolutions. We also call upon the Security Council to hold periodic meetings,
as provided for by Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter, in order to give its members regular opportunities to review the United Nations peace-making and peace-keeping operations and to examine possibilities for further improvements in its methods of work, unimpeded by the crisis conditions under which the Council usually meets.

Ufuna notes with satisfaction and high expectations the negotiations between the United States and the USSR on theatre nuclear weapons in Europe, as well as the decision of both States to resume negotiations on strategic arms, and expresses its hope that this will provide a new impetus for other negotiations. In our opinion, priority attention should be given to seeking rapid progress in obtaining balanced, equitable and verifiable agreements in the following areas: first, strategic nuclear arms limitations, including substantial reductions in both delivery systems and warheads, further restrictions on flight testing of new systems, improved verification measures and the cessation of research, development and deployment of new weapons of mass destruction; secondly, strengthening restraints on the spread of nuclear weapons to additional countries through a broad system of incentives and disincentives to be observed by all nations exporting nuclear fuel and technology for peaceful purposes; thirdly, completion of a verifiable comprehensive test-ban treaty; fourthly, development of a series of measures in Europe, including confidence-building measures, conventional arms reductions and theatre nuclear force reductions; fifthly, initiation of measures to monitor, register and restrict international transfers of armaments; sixthly, arriving at international conventions banning the use or threat of use of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction as well as of military force in international relations; and seventhly, prohibition of all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, including such new additions to military arsenals as enhanced radiation warheads - for example, neutron bombs - extremely accurate missiles and other destabilizing weapons.

Ufuna wishes to extend its support to all other measures directed to disarmament and the elimination of the danger of armed confrontation, such as, for example, the creation of zones of peace and, where appropriate, of nuclear-free zones. In our view, recent proposals put forward by non-governmental organizations, research institutes, private individuals and groups like the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues
merit attentive consideration. United Nations Associations throughout the world will do everything possible to support and encourage steady progress in negotiations and to generate creative thinking on disarmament issues.

WFUHA welcomed the Final Document of the first special session on disarmament as a realistic and constructive document providing guidelines and machinery which could lead to substantial progress in the future. Today, we regret to observe that our expectations have not been fulfilled. We therefore urge that this session take specific and concrete steps to implement the Programme of Action set forth by the first special session, especially the elaboration of a comprehensive programme of disarmament. We are certainly aware of the difficulties encountered in the Committee on Disarmament and, although we are very disappointed at the number of brackets in the draft text, it is our sincere conviction that an important effort was made and that satisfactory solutions can be reached at this session.

We would also emphasize: the urgency of steps towards nuclear disarmament, including the disposal of nuclear stockpiles, while at the same time proceeding concurrently with conventional arms reductions since the two problems are interrelated and interdependent; the necessity of curbing both the expansion of existing arsenals and the further spread of advanced weapons; and the need to devise means of reducing substantially all military budgets to allow for the redirection of those resources to serve human needs.

It is of the highest importance to all countries of whatever form of economy that resources should be progressively transferred from military purposes to development, so that all nations and all peoples may enjoy their rightful opportunities for social and economic development. To underscore the importance of this relationship, WFUHA requests the General Assembly to redesignate the week following each United Nations Day the week for disarmament and development.

Disarmament education and other public information activities constitute an important part of the work being carried out by the United Nations, Governments and world public opinion in favour of the cause of peace and disarmament. Further promotion of disarmament education is indispensable to the achievement of the objectives of the Second Disarmament Decade. WFUHA highly appreciates the role played by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in this respect and urges the
implementation of the Final Document of the World Congress on Disarmament Education. We call upon Governments and educational bodies to allocate more funds for research into new pedagogical approaches to disarmament education and into new alternative models of conflict solution. UFUNA wishes therefore to submit for the consideration of the General Assembly a proposal for the establishment of a voluntary fund for education and information on disarmament.

UFUNA gives its full support to the World Disarmament Campaign, under the auspices of the United Nations, and welcomes United Nations recognition of the important of world-wide activities against the arms race. The Campaign should concentrate on concrete and not abstract problems of disarmament - concrete proposals such I have previously outlined. We expect an appropriate fund to finance the World Disarmament Campaign to be created and declare our readiness to participate in the planning of activities for the Campaign.

In conclusion, I should like to pledge, on behalf of the World Federation of United Nations Associations, our continued co-operation with the United Nations and its agencies and with other non-governmental organizations in the search for peace, well-being and security through disarmament.
The CHAIRMAN: I call now on the representative of the World Jewish Congress, Mr. Edgar Bronfman.

Mr. BRONFMAN (World Jewish Congress): I come before you today as President of the World Jewish Congress. The Government of the State of Israel speaks for the 3 million citizens of that sovereign country. Eleven million Jews live outside Israel, the World Jewish Congress represents most of those Jews internationally. They live in communities of 67 countries - from Romania to Egypt, from Uruguay to Morocco. They live in communities embodying the globe's broad diversity of political, economic, social and, yes, religious beliefs - East and West, North and South.

While I am a citizen of the United States, I speak to you today as the leader of a non-governmental organization of Jews which has long been accredited to and active in the United Nations. I speak to you as the leader of an organization whose purpose is as omninational as is the need for peace.

The World Jewish Congress has a unique reason for raising its voice at this United Nations session on disarmament. In the history of the world nations have been destroyed by war, religious groups have been persecuted, whole societies have been plundered and ravaged. But we Jews have been the first and main victims of a twentieth-century technology organized for the purpose of ethnodeicide, of group murder.

It is more than 40 years since the holocaust. The world's technology for killing has advanced a hundred, a thousand, a millionfold since then. Who would gainsay us, the victims of the world's first and biggest systematic killing machine, our need to speak here today?

I welcome speaking here as this special session comes to its end. I have thus had the opportunity of hearing from representatives of more than 100 Member countries who have already had their say, as have scores of others. At times this distinguished Assembly has sounded not like a meeting of sovereign nations determined to deal with the very real problem of war and mutual destruction; often it has sounded like a debating contest to determine who loves peace the most. For us, that is not the question.
Disarmament is largely a twentieth-century concept. The truth is that attempts at disarmament have more often left the world a riskier, rather than a safer, place. Consider our record of only a few convocations and their aftermath: the Hague conferences at the turn of the century; then the First World War — and the founding of the peace-seeking League of Nations; the 1922 Washington Naval Disarmament Conference; the Geneva Protocol of 1924; the Treaty of Locarno; the Kellogg-Briand Pact; the Naval Disarmament Agreement of 1930; the Geneva Disarmament Conference of 1932; the No-Force Declaration of 1933 — then the Second World War, followed by the creation of the peace-seeking United Nations; the limited test-ban Treaty of 1962; the United Nations Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968; the Biological Warfare Treaty of 1972; SALT I; the first of these sessions of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament four years ago; and, now, today.

During it all, we have experienced only occasional periods of peace between wars. There may be no world war raging today, but even as we talk of peace and disarmament in this hall there are wars in Lebanon, Afghanistan, the South Atlantic, Ireland, Cambodia, Iran, Iraq, South West Africa, Central America, and who knows where else. And never have people pleaded so passionately for peace.

In the streets of New York, Berlin, Copenhagen or Tokyo, the voice of the people in democratic societies has never been louder; but their cry has never been more frustrated. The peoples of the world know what they want. They want peace, but they do not know how to get it. We cannot hear that frightened cry as loudly or as clearly from the people in many other nations of the world. But we know that it exists there as well. The representatives of those nations have stood before us, responding not only to their own closed inner councils but also to the human longing that exists even where the cry is stifled.

The clamour is all to the good: the louder the voice of the people the more urgent become the priorities of their leaders. New force is thus given to negotiations already under way and those not yet started. It is true that some exhortations from this rostrum have been more realistic than they were
four years ago. But some delusions must still be dispelled: the charge that Zionism is racism is an abomination. World peace cannot tolerate the denial of legitimacy to any nation-State. Calls for unilateral disarmament have never created peace. Nations arm for two reasons: to protect their security or to fulfill aggressive ambitions. We all know examples of both. Partial disarmament - and possibly more peace - can come about only when the forces of mutual destruction are sufficiently appalling. That time is now.

And that is the agonized cry in the world today. The World Jewish Congress embraces the prophetic words of our sages: "Submerge your individual will for the will of all so that we may all survive." We are not naive. We do not believe that nations should strip themselves and become prey to others which would remain stronger. Weapons are not being stockpiled only to deter attack; they are still being accumulated to impose one nation's will upon another. Our goals in the forums of the world, in bilateral and multilateral relations, must be realistic and not irrelevant. We may never reach that millennium of total disarmament and peace. What we must strive for is a step-by-step reduction in the military power necessary to keep us at peace."

* Mr. Herder (German Democratic Republic), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.
Nor is it likely that in our lifetimes we will ever totally eliminate the threat of nuclear destruction. But we Jews, who experienced technological holocaust, insist that nuclear holocaust, whether it be launched by super-Powers or by smaller nations who have nuclear capacity, can, should and must be curtailed. Nuclear proliferation must be stopped and it must be policed. Civilization must prevent nuclear destruction. We support the concept of arms reduction talks and seek their realization. There are means and methods to work on that process. No one has ever said it better or more eloquently than in that simple phrase, "Enough is enough".

We Jews do not have the solution. Nor have we illusions about the ease of creating a successful process for lowering the level of the balances of power. I believe that in a divided world the Jewish people can best serve their tradition by promoting mutual understanding and harmonious relations among all peoples. To that end the World Jewish Congress has joined the world wide humanitarian effort to aid those who have suffered in the war in Lebanon. We are all victims of every war. Let us try to pick up some of the pieces.

There is an old Jewish saying from the second century: If I am not for myself, who will be for me? But if I am only for myself, what am I?" The nations of the world would do well to heed that wisdom.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite the representative of the World Muslim Congress, Mr. Viqar A. Hamdani, to make a statement.

**Mr. Hamdani (World Muslim Congress)** (WMC): Speaking on behalf of the World Muslim Congress (WMC), an international non-governmental organization representing the peoples of the Muslim world, I wish to express our thanks for this opportunity to make a statement on disarmament to this body; as well as to read a message in Arabic from the President of the WMC, Mr. Marouf al-Dawalibi, to the second United Nations special session on disarmament.
As Muslims, we have suffered grievously from colonialism, and even today some of our lands are being ravaged by invasions, two of which have the direct or indirect backing of the super-Powers. We watch in dismay the sad spectacle of a nation bombing and killing helpless women, men and children in their homes and even in United Nations refugee camps. For the Muslim world there can be no perceived benefits from disarmament without, first and foremost, a complete repudiation of the relationship between armament and aggression, without an immediate end to bloodshed, without the condemnation of all acts of hostility and hegemony by Member States and without the institution of a genuine process to rectify past injustices and to undo the cumulative territorial, political, economic and social usurpations of colonialism.

In the Islamic framework of a universal religion, all sovereignty and power belong to God. Human beings, the noblest among his creatures because of their power of discrimination between right and wrong, have been charged with His vice regency upon earth and endowed with rich natural resources to be discovered, developed and utilized by honest labour for their own comfort and betterment, as well as of others, in justice and fairness.

It is therefore of primary importance that the peace and security of all people on earth who form a fraternity, be ensured so that the world's natural resources are used and shared in equity and justice for all. As such, the concept of a defensive war in the cause of the highest ethical principles ordained by God plays an important role in the socio-political scheme of Islam. Only self defence in the widest sense of the term enjoins Muslims to resort to arms. I should like to read two brief quotations from the Holy Koran, the first from chapter 22, verse 39:

"Permission to fight is given to those against whom war is wrongfully waged",

and the second from chapter 2, verse 193:

"And fight them until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in God, and if they cease, let there be no hostility except to those who practice oppression."
Thus, if your enemies cease to persecute you, your hostility with them ends. Even if they offer peace only with a view to deceiving you, this offer of peace must be accepted, since all judgment of their intention must be based on outward evidence alone. In other words, mere suspicion cannot be made an excuse for rejecting an offer of peace.

Relations between nations are based on the fulfilment of contracts and respect for treaties. The fulfilment of contracts is an essential characteristic of Muslims. It is thus clear that Islam is a staunch supporter of peace and that mischief and violence in any form are repugnant to it. It seeks to establish universal peace and to guarantee security for all peace-loving people.

The Muslim world is vitally concerned about the success of this special session. It is a happy augury that among the first substantive issues to be deliberated by this special session devoted to disarmament is the launching of the World Disarmament Campaign.

We welcome the launching of the Campaign, for we are convinced that the first step towards any comprehensive programme for disarmament is the elimination of mutual distrust and hatred among societies of differing cultures, social systems and ideologies. The Koran says that "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 a 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.

The need for a Campaign under United Nations auspices is obvious. We sincerely hope that an independent international board, including some non-governmental organizations, might be appointed by the Secretary-General to establish policy for the campaign.

The security of the Muslim world, which is part and parcel of the third world and 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. The security of our region rests on the establishment of a durable structure of international peace and security that supports our development.

We welcome the work of the United Nations on the relationship between disarmament and development. We urge that it be fully integrated and elaborated within the economic and social programmes, and we hope that the findings will be widely disseminated through the Committee for Development Planning.

I now have the honour and privilege of reading a brief statement in Arabic from the President of the World Muslim Congress, Mr. Marouf al-Dawalibi:

( spoke in Arabic )

On the occasion of the convening of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the World Muslim Congress and all its Members extend thanks to all who are trying to put an end to the arms race, particularly between the super-Powers, an arms race that is taking place at the expense of hundreds of millions of children who die from starvation every year and at the cost of the peace and security of peace-loving peoples in various parts of the world, facts that are totally inconsistent with the noble objectives of the United Nations, which was founded to ensure world peace following the tragedy of the Second World War.
"The United Nations was set up to uphold human dignity and fundamental human rights, free of all exploitation, on the basis of the independence of all peoples and the right of every people to self-determination. It is most regrettable, however, that the arms race and the enormous expenditure on arms result for the most part not from patriotism or the interests of mankind but from personal motives, mainly those of imperialism and the desire for world hegemony.

The world faces the problems of continued injustice against peoples and the domination of racist régimes, which are flouting all human values and human rights, particularly the right of peoples to self-determination. Therefore, the World Muslim Congress calls upon the United Nations to try to establish a new order on the basis of the unity of the human race and the right of all to live a dignified life, based on the common interests of mankind, with no discrimination, upholding right over injustice. World social organizations should mobilize to carry out that mission.

The dangers to mankind due to the great technological advances in weapons of mass destruction in complete disregard of human rights make it necessary for us to call upon the United Nations to strengthen the call to put an end to the arms race, which flouts all human values, and to stop assistance to those who flout them.

We also call on the United Nations to uphold human rights and to triumph over injustice and all attempts to exploit man and deprive him of his right to self-determination.

We believe that imperialism and racism are responsible for all the dangers to world peace and prosperity."

The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is the representative of the World Peace Council, Mr. Romesh Chandra.
MR. CHANDRA (World Peace Council): I bring to this second special session of the United Nations devoted to disarmament the greetings and good wishes of ordinary men and women in 137 countries of all continents who are represented in the World Peace Council.

The danger of a nuclear war, of the nuclear annihilation of all mankind, is greater today than at any time before. The 50,000 or more nuclear weapons that already exist have a total explosive power equivalent to more than 1 million Hiroshima bombs. There are enough nuclear weapons to destroy the world many times over, to kill each citizen of the world 20 times and more. Surely once is enough.

The peoples of the world come to this special session to say clearly and categorically "We have had enough and are not prepared to stand this continued piling up of weapons of death and destruction, which has reached a point at which each of us is threatened with death. In the name of our children and our grandchildren, we call upon the United Nations to act decisively to stop this terrible danger."

During these very days, when the Governments of the world seek at this special session ways to prevent a nuclear war through concrete steps towards disarmament, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has held its summit in Bonn to make new plans for the stepping up of the armaments build-up and for going ahead with the perilous decision to deploy Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe and thus bring war closer than ever before.

In 1976, precisely at the time when the first special session devoted to disarmament met in New York, the NATO Powers also met at a summit in Washington and decided upon the steady and continuous increase of their armaments budgets for the next several years.

At this hour, as we meet and talk of disarmament, hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians - children, women, old people - are facing the hell and horror of the savage aggression carried out by the rulers of Israel against Lebanon. Ten thousand and more have been killed by the Israeli army. Six hundred thousand and more are homeless. The Israeli rulers openly seek to exterminate the Palestinian people and to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).
The aggressive acts by the Israeli rulers against Lebanon, Palestine and Syria, carried out with the full support of the United States Government, bring the peril of a world conflagration still closer.

During recent weeks, new dangers have arisen as a result of the war in the South Atlantic. The United Kingdom, a nuclear Power, with the full backing of the United States of America, another nuclear Power, brought massive naval, air and land forces into the South Atlantic, increasing the danger of a world nuclear conflagration.

As if this were not enough, the nuclearization of the South African apartheid régime, as a result of the collaboration of certain Western Powers with that régime, threatens the sovereignty and independence of the countries of Africa and world peace itself. Fresh aggressive attacks on the front-line States have taken place during this period.

The struggle for disarmament, for the ending of the danger of war, is inextricably linked with the world-wide struggles for national independence and liberation and against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid.

The World Peace Council condemns the major upsurge of the arms build-up that has characterized recent years and led to the rise of the spectre of nuclear annihilation. This upsurge can be seen vividly in the production of the neutron bomb; the doctrine of the first strike; the United States refusal to ratify SALT II; the further development of nuclear armaments; the projected development of medium-range nuclear arms in Europe; the deployment of new armaments systems and rapid deployment forces; the new doctrines on the use of nuclear arms; the use or threat of use of control of food supplies as a weapon; and the plans to manufacture new chemical weapons.

This month of June has seen a massive upsurge of the peoples: the biggest demonstrations, marches and rallies ever held for peace and life against nuclear war and for disarmament. The million who marched for disarmament in New York on 12 June and the tens of millions who took part in similar demonstrations in thousands of cities and villages right across all the continents called above all for a halt to all further production, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons. "Freeze nuclear weapons now and negotiate to reduce them steadily till they are totally eliminated." That is the united demand of the peoples and of hundreds of non-governmental organizations across the world.
The World Peace Council has, from the day of its foundation in 1949, urged the banning of nuclear weapons and urged general and complete disarmament. We have given our full support to the decisions of the first special session devoted to disarmament and to all the efforts made by the Committee on Disarmament for a comprehensive test-ban, for banning all types of weapons of mass destruction - nuclear, chemical and biological.
The peoples want to create a nuclear-weapon-free world as a step towards a world free from all weapons of war.

The peoples have understood that those who "profit from the armaments race, the transnational corporations and the giant monopolies and those who represent their interests are lying when they talk about waging a "limited" nuclear war and of "victory" in a nuclear war.

They lie when they say that it is possible to survive a nuclear war. Scientific, medical and military experts agree: "limited" or "winnable" or "survivable" nuclear war is impossible. There would be no winners and no survivors. In a nuclear war, the living would envy the dead.

The World Peace Council welcomes the many concrete proposals for effective action against the danger of nuclear war which have been made by several Governments during this second special session on disarmament.

Many of the statements made by different Governments at this session have been a positive response to the calls of the peoples of the whole world. The World Peace Council welcomes the concrete proposals for disarmament made by several Governments at this session.

I believe that this session will be remembered in history because of the great mass interest it evoked among the peoples of the world.

A wave of enthusiasm swept across the world when the peoples learned that the Soviet Union had at this session made a clear unilateral declaration that it had renounced the first use of nuclear weapons. Peace and disarmament movements have for many years urged that all nuclear Powers should make such a declaration.

We appeal to all other nuclear Powers to follow the lead given in this regard by the Soviet Union. One can only regret that certain Washington spokesmen should have thought fit to declare that the United States would never make such a declaration and that its entire strategy was based on the concept of a first strike.
We regret also that certain Heads of Government of nuclear Powers should have thought fit to come to this session to make bellicose, threatening, confrontationist declarations. The Non-Governmental Organizations appeal for negotiations, for sincere, effective, honest negotiations for real disarmament.

The World Peace Council cordially invites all Non-Governmental Organizations which work for peace and disarmament, for national independence and justice, for a New International Economic Order, to join hands in preparing for a world assembly for peace and life, against nuclear war, which will be held in Prague, Czechoslovakia, in June 1983.

The World Peace Council pledges itself to continue and intensify its activities in all continents in support of the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations which contribute towards lessening the danger of war, ending the arms race, and promoting peace.

The World Peace Council calls on all international and national organizations to act together to ensure that the work of the second special session on disarmament is carried forward. The World Disarmament Campaign already launched by this session will have the total support of our Organization.

The Governments which are pledged to disarmament cannot by themselves halt the arms build-up and bar the road to nuclear war.

But these Governments that stand for disarmament, together with the peoples of the world represented in all the Non-Governmental Organizations working for peace and disarmament, have the power to prevent war. We hope we can use that power.

As this session meets, the World Food Council has proclaimed that the food situation has worsened. Hunger and poverty stalk the majority of the countries of the world. Millions die of famine, disease and malnutrition, while hundreds of billions of dollars, a fraction of which could save the lives of these millions, are wasted on making weapons of death.

This crime must end. We can and shall build a new world, my friends, from which war and death, poverty and hunger are banished for all time.

Peace shall win. Life shall win.
The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the representative of the World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations, Mrs. Eleanor Aiken, to make her statement.

Mrs. AIKEN (World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations): The World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations deeply appreciates the opportunity of expressing to this second special session on disarmament the concerns of its members, who number some 30 million women in 114 organizations in 64 countries on all continents.

We have long been committed to the promotion of education for peace, to the changing of attitudes that underlie the acceptance of violence, to the formation of the climate of trust and political will needed to make progress in disarmament possible.

We are joined in this statement by the International Council of Women, which is similarly dedicated to education for peace and disarmament and whose member councils are in 72 countries in all parts of the world.

We welcome the proposal for a World Disarmament Campaign and we would urge Governments to give it genuine and serious support. We were glad to note the emphasis in various documents on the importance of informing and educating public opinion on disarmament matters and the recognition of the role that non-governmental organizations can and are expected to play in this effort. But recognition and repeated emphasis are not enough. If public opinion is to be effective, you must listen to it. Actually, a world-wide expression of public opinion, encompassing practically every sector of the public, has been appealing to this Assembly throughout this session. It is an appeal that arises from an acute and anxious sense of the rapidly increasing dangers of the escalating arms race, both nuclear and conventional, of the burgeoning military transfers that are fast militarizing our whole earth and the ruinous economic and social costs that these entail.

The first resolution adopted by the United Nations 36 years ago dealt with disarmament. Since then, there have been more than enough resolutions, studies and recommendations on every aspect of disarmament to permit progress towards the necessary concrete agreements. The 20 or so disarmament agreements achieved in the last 20 years and measures taken since the first special session on disarmament, however minimal they may seem, prove that progress is possible.
It is our hope that this session will see the increased ratification of existing agreements, especially the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and a push towards the completion of the comprehensive test-ban Treaty, as first steps toward the overriding imperative to control and reduce existing arsenals of nuclear weapons until our whole planet is a nuclear-free zone. We believe as well that the other weapons of mass destruction are morally intolerable. We earnestly hope that the work on a treaty to ban chemical weapons will proceed rapidly; that measures will be developed to put a brake on the self-accelerating technology that threatens us with newer and more horrifying weapons; and that specific steps will be taken to stop the militarization of outer space.

The tragic injustice that tolerates swollen military budgets while millions of lives are painfully burdened and even crippled by preventable malnourishment, disease and general physical and mental impoverishment has been deplored long enough. Those concrete steps, repeatedly called for, to freeze and reduce military budgets are long overdue. The need for both developed and developing countries, both sellers and buyers, to achieve agreed limits on the arms trade is also an urgent imperative. In a true disarmament campaign public opinion must also be informed on the impact of a nation's military spending on its own economic and social fabric, the purpose of the expenditures and their international repercussions. We believe the primary responsibility of Governments is to provide for the fundamental needs of their peoples, who are in no way to be considered expendable in the interests of foreign policy manoeuvres, balance of payments and plays for power or prestige.

The study on the relationship between disarmament and development before this session is in our view a document of basic importance. It confirms once again the conclusions of previous and present studies inside and outside the United Nations that in every country the economy is adversely affected by rising military expenditures and it underlines the threat posed by the arms race to that long-desired international economic co-operation. We urge serious consideration of and action on its recommendations. They provide a practical starting point for moving ahead with both disarmament and
development; for moving out of the entrapment of the arms race and
towards that economic and social progress in larger freedom which is one
of the primary aims of the United Nations.

We believe also that it is time to end the long neglect accorded to
the peace-making mechanisms in the United Nations Charter and to strengthen the
Organization's peace-keeping potential; that it is time to break out of the
mesmerizing technicism of much of the arms debate and to develop a strategy for
peace. You have an abundance of proposals before you from Governments, from
experts, from concerned diplomats, from scientists and from other professionals
from the public sector.

As you consider them we urge you, as we did at the first special
session on disarmament, to remember that disarmament is the responsibility
of all States, not just the powerful; to remember that you are dealing with
the future of unique, precious, living human beings, not abstractions;
that all children have a right to grow up in a healthy environment, free
from the worry of genetic damage and other radiation disasters and free
too from the unsettling influence of the persistent possibility of
annihilation, whether by accident or design.

In conclusion, we would recall the words of Pope John Paul II at
Hiroshima: "From now on, it is only through a conscious choice and
through a deliberate policy that humanity can survive."

The United Nations Charter was written in San Francisco, a city named
for a saint universally known as a saint of peace. This special session
has created in the public, to which you so often refer, a renewed hope
that the United Nations will make that conscious choice and adopt the
necessary policy, that it will in fact become an instrument for peace."

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite the representative of the World Veterans
Federation, Mr. van Lanschot, to make his statement.
Mr. van Lanschot (World Veterans Federation WVF): I have the honour of addressing you on behalf of tens of millions of veterans and war victims, of the West and of the East, of the South and of the North, who have known the sufferings and and tragedies of war, who have fought side by side or one against the other and who for many years have worked together over and above their differences to save humanity from another, still more terrible, more destructive tragedy.

It was after several months of thorough consideration by and a number of consultations with the various war veterans organizations at both the national and the international levels that the statement of which the full text has been distributed to you was elaborated and adopted.

We do not accept the idea that war is inevitable. We are convinced that it is possible to settle conflicts by peaceful means, halt the arms race, and make progress towards disarmament in conditions that will continuously ensure equal and undiminished security for each State or group of States. For some people, such a progress might seem to involve risks. In any case, they would be less serious than those already resulting from the arms race. Moreover, the arms race will be beyond control, according to United Nations experts, if limitation measures leading by stages to proportional simultaneous and controlled reductions of nuclear as well as conventional weapons are not implemented without delay.

It is in this spirit that we support the Final Document of the first special session on disarmament, which to us is the most accurate and complete to date. It was in accordance with it that the representatives of war veterans and war victims, coming from 54 countries of the five continents, adopted at Rome in October 1979 a message emphasizing their willingness to work together for peace and disarmament. But we are struck by the gulf that exists between the consensus behind the Final Document, the statements made by most Governments, the positions taken by the highest spiritual and scientific authorities, and the will expressed almost unanimously by non-governmental organizations, on the one hand, and the facts as they stand on the other hand.

Many international agreements have not been ratified or are not being applied. Instances of the use or threat of force and of direct or indirect interference in the life of individual nations are occurring more and more frequently. Military budgets are constantly growing. The development, production, and deployment of new weapons, ever more threatening for the future of mankind, is continuing.
In various countries there are attempts to justify the persistence in and the build up of the arms race not only for reasons of short-term gain but also often because of the idea that only military supremacy can guarantee peace and that security and survival require that it be attained, continued and developed. The idea is also advocated that the defence of security extends beyond the limits of national borders and includes protection, if necessary through armed intervention contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter, of outside areas considered strategic. Thus, there are reasons to believe that any changes in those zones, even if they arise from the right of peoples to self-determination, can be interpreted or presented by a State or a group of States as attempts to cause destabilization that call for retaliation. Such ideas must be denounced as dangerous.

While nuclear deterrence was originally presented as a concept that would prevent war by fear of the staggering losses that would be suffered by the aggressor as well as by the victim, the logic of those new concepts leads to acceptance of the idea that it is possible to wage localized nuclear conflicts through the use of the so-called "limited effect" weapons, limited as to range or type of objective, whether installations or personnel. To believe that a nuclear conflict in which the nuclear Powers would be involved could take place without their using every means at their disposal is a dangerous illusion.

The arms race is seriously detrimental to an effective third world economic development policy and the international co-operation from which those countries could benefit. It disturbs the economic balance and compromises social progress in industrialized countries. Tensions and dangers are thereby increased.

It is urgently necessary to confront all these problems squarely, through appropriate negotiations in order to restore a spirit of confidence. At a time when States or groups of States already have at their disposal means of destruction which, if they were put to use, would be capable of annihilating all life on earth, it would be absurd and dangerous not to undertake disarmament negotiations. Existing disparities, whether real or assumed, cannot be allowed to be an obstacle to that indispensable
dialogue. We recall that the Final Document of the first special session on disarmament says:

"Yet the accumulation of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, today constitutes much more a threat than a protection for the future of mankind". (resolution S-10/2, para. 1)

It is therefore important, as a condition of a credible beginning to disarmament, to undertake, under appropriate control, an assessment of national forces and armaments. Such information is absolutely essential in order that a balanced, progressive, general and controlled disarmament process may be set in motion in concrete terms.

Halting the arms race and limiting or, better still, reducing nuclear and conventional weapons now stockpiled or deployed could never, without prolonging or heightening mistrust and insecurity, perpetuate any particular existing military superiority. In that spirit, the second special session on disarmament should spell out concrete measures, if only as a first stage. In stressing the institutional role that should devolve on the United Nations, we suggest several such measures. They are listed in the printed text distributed to members.

At a time when the enormous advances in the space sciences make possible a better understanding of the relative fragility of life on earth, it is inconceivable that living beings themselves should destroy it. We support the decisions of the United Nations, in particular regarding the attempts to avoid a nuclear confrontation, and we ask that its work in that field be accelerated.

In memory of the tens of millions of combatants who have sacrificed their lives, and speaking on behalf of those who bear for ever on their bodies and in their minds the visible and invisible scars of the tragedies they have lived through, we therefore solemnly recall to the representatives of Governments at the second special session on disarmament that the immediate future of mankind is at stake.
The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is the representative of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples, Mr. Aleksandar Bakocevic.

Mr. BAKOCEVIC (Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples) (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and the Equality of Peoples I should like to express some observations and views before this important assembly.

There are many reasons nowadays for the concern that inspires our statements, which speak of the ever greater danger threatening mankind because of the spiralling arms race between the big Powers and blocs and the grave consequences which could arise from it.

Faced with the deterioration of international relations, we also see that the consciousness of very broad sectors of the peoples that oppose relations based on force and domination has been aroused. They expect the United Nations to adopt decisions in accordance with the interests of the peoples as a whole and to break the vicious circle of the arms race, thus paving the way to genuine disarmament.

Disarmament is frequently treated as the exclusive responsibility of the big Powers and blocs, and above all as a question of the curbing of the arms race and the mutual reduction of armaments in such a way as to preserve the balance of power and interests. This shows that the aim is not to establish peace in the world, but primarily to maintain positions of privilege.
The world today therefore needs more courageous initiatives, as the question of maintaining peace cannot be separated from that of the security of all countries, since disarmament and security are closely interdependent.

The answer must thus be sought in the establishment of qualitatively new relations in the world, whereby the use of force will be excluded. It is therefore essential that the struggle for disarmament should become a struggle for transforming the existing system of international relations. This is of great importance for the non-aligned countries, which are the main victims of the present situation. That is precisely why the non-aligned have always been staunch proponents of the struggle for general and complete disarmament advocated by the United Nations system. We expect that the Organization will seek new approaches and find the right solution to this problem.

The Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and the Equality of Peoples has always sought to affirm the principles of active and peaceful co-existence, of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Non-Aligned Movement. As far back as the International Conference for Peace, which our organization convened three decades ago in Zagreb, a resolution was adopted concerning the principles of the struggle for peace. Later, those principles were reaffirmed in the policy of non-alignment and were included in the Declaration of the Belgrade Conference of Non-Aligned Countries.

Proceeding from the basic principles and goals of the policy of non-alignment, the non-aligned countries have always centred their action on strengthening international peace, security and co-operation. The non-aligned countries have pointed out the untenability of the bloc concept of the maintenance of international security and of relations in the world based on domination and hegemony. The non-aligned countries have proposed a new concept of international relations, the essential points of which are active and peaceful coexistence,
co-operation on the basis of equal rights and equal security for all peoples and States. As is well known, the non-aligned countries initiated the convening of the first special session of the General Assembly on disarmament and offered proposals conducive to the launching of the process of genuine disarmament.

It will be possible to achieve disarmament provided we are guided by a global vision of the world and the progress of mankind, since international security is indivisible. We cannot consolidate national security through a policy of international uncertainty, since the security of a people cannot be based on the insecurity of other nations.

If this session proves to be a positive turning-point, it could mark the beginning of the fulfilment of the age-old dream of humanity to live in peace based on freedom, justice and security. Peace cannot be lasting or just if it not based on these values of the international community. The history of mankind confirms that there is no peace without freedom, nor freedom without peace.

It would be absurd to believe that international peace and security can be built on the force of arms. Security is unthinkable without global conditions for the development of mankind in the economic, social and cultural fields. There can be no stable and lasting peace without socio-economic development; moreover, peace is the precondition for economic progress and social justice.

Non-governmental peace organizations throughout the world and progressive public opinion demand that the second special session of the General Assembly formulate and adopt a comprehensive programme of disarmament with precisely defined objectives and a time-frame for the negotiations and implementation of decisions. The representatives of the non-governmental organizations who interpret the wishes of the broadest sectors of world opinion are critical of the initiatives for peace based on unilateral bloc
interests which do not take into consideration the interests of small and medium-sized countries. It is encouraging to note the presence of profound non-bloc and non-aligned attitudes in an ever-greater number of peace movements and sectors of public opinion. These attitudes favour the dissolution of military blocs and are opposed to the bloc policy, domination and the arms race. The prospects for the future lie in strengthening and promoting these attitudes among the peoples of the world.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the representative of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, Professor Bernard Feld.
I am speaking for the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs: First of all, I must apologize for the slight breakdown in technology which this morning made it impossible for me to arrive in time to take my regular place on your programme. I am afraid that, in spite of all the modern advances the airlines still suffer from certain deficiencies, which unfortunately are not confined to air travel. I think we should all remember the technological problems involved in all systems that are designed to operate on a certain clockwork schedule with a certain kind of automaticity, and I think that the current tendency to place our security, and indeed our lives, in the hands of such systems must be viewed with a certain amount of caution.

I say this despite the fact that I am, and have been for a major part of my life, a working scientist and a technologist, and believe profoundly in the efficacy of the scientific method and its application in the solution of all kinds of problems—mechanical as well as human. Nevertheless, we must always remember that there are limitations—limitations which spring from the fact, of course, that it is always human beings that are interacting with nature and with mechanistic things—which have to be taken into account.

I come to you today to present the views of the Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs. Pugwash is the name of a small village in Nova Scotia, Canada, where, in 1957, the first of what has since then developed into a regular series of meetings of scientists from the nations of East and West, of North and South, convened to discuss the problems of security and the dangers arising from the development of technologies, especially new technologies of mass destruction, and to try to apply our knowledge and our techniques as scientists to the problems of resolving these dangers and of avoiding and eventually eliminating them.
Of course, the dangers arising from modern technology come from a number of directions. Nuclear weapons are just one of these and, in a sense, symbolize, if you wish, the gravity of the problems now faced by mankind. The fact is, of course, that for the last 30-odd years, at least two nations have possessed nuclear weapons; we know that for the last 15 years or so at least six nations have been capable of producing — indeed, they have demonstrated publicly their capability of producing — nuclear weapons. There is good reason to believe that at least a dozen additional nations possess this capability, whether or not they have made the political decision actually to acquire such weapons, and that, once such a political decision were made, it would be simply a matter of months before, in fact, these technologically advanced nations would be in actual possession of nuclear weapons.

We know, furthermore, that, with the current advances in technology and, in particular, with the very useful application of nuclear technologies to the solution of some of mankind's pressing energy problems within the next few decades, by the end of this century, the possibility of producing nuclear weapons will have spread to many, many more nations. Therefore, what we are depending upon now, and what we must increasingly depend upon, for the avoidance of the kind of nuclear holocaust that is becoming more and more possible throughout the world is the political goodwill, political knowledge and political determination on the part of nations and their international organizations — in particular, the United Nations — to ensure that situations cannot arise where nuclear weapons will again be used.

This, in essence, is well known, but I think it is terribly important to continue to emphasize it. There are no simple mechanistic solutions to the problem of nuclear weapons proliferation. There is no way, short of the political will and political decision, to keep the nuclear genie in the bottle, to keep nuclear weapons proliferation under control. And increasingly, as we advance towards and into the twenty-first century, the fate of the human species will depend on its political wisdom and on its ability to organize that wisdom.
into an effective mechanism for controlling not only the production and the dissemination of nuclear weapons but, ultimately, war, at the end of the twentieth century and as we advance into the twenty-first century, is no longer a possible means of settling anything, and the sooner this is universally recognized and universally brought into our international system, the less danger their will be that, in fact, we will destroy ourselves.

I would like to take this opportunity to read to you a relatively brief statement that has been prepared by the International Council of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs on the occasion of our twenty-fifth anniversary. The first Pugwash Conference was held in 1957. This year we are holding our thirty-second Pugwash Conference, but it is only our twenty-fifth anniversary because in some years, especially in response to growing dangers, when such dangers have arisen, we have held more than one Pugwash Conference in a given year. The statement reads:

"Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein, together with nine other eminent scientists, issued in July 1955 a clarion call to the world scientific community. The devastating power of the hydrogen bomb and its evident ability to destroy civilization in the event of a nuclear war was the driving force behind their Manifesto, which began: 'In the tragic situation which confronts humanity, we feel that scientists should assemble in conference to appraise the perils that have arisen as a result of the development of weapons of mass destruction', and it continued: 'We are speaking on this occasion, not as members of this or that nation, continent, or creed, but as human beings, members of the species Man, whose continued existence is in doubt ...'."
"In response to this appeal, the first Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs was held two years later, in July 1957, in the Canadian village of Pugwash, Nova Scotia. It heralded the start of a series of meetings of scientists from all parts of the globe that is now reaching its XXVth anniversary.

"In the years following the Manifesto, the cold war abated and an important start was made in the process of détente. Thus, the achievement of the partial test-ban Treaty of 1963, the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1970, the biological weapons ban of 1972, the first strategic arms limitation talks (SALT I), including the ban on anti-ballistic missiles, also in 1972 and its recently negotiated successor, SALT II, of 1979, all stand as milestones to past progress. In these achievements, Pugwash and other scientists played a significant role.

"But these steps represent only a small beginning towards the vital goal of comprehensive nuclear disarmament under effective international control.

"Thus, in addition to this modest progress in the realm of nuclear arms control, some useful actions were undertaken by the relatively affluent nations towards narrowing the tragic and unacceptable economic gap between themselves and the less-developed nations, another major cause of the tensions and conflicts that could lead to the world holocaust we are so desperately trying to avert.

"In spite of these advances, the dangers to human survival posed by the increased arms race and by the dangerous confrontation between the major antagonists have in recent years grown more ominous. Disarmament seems further away than ever. Indeed, weapons of mass destruction proliferate and some national leaders seem to accept such dangerous and delusory concepts as 'limited' or even 'winnable' nuclear wars. The spill-over of the strategic confrontation between the major Powers into the third world and the endless chain of wars that have taken place among small nations since the World War II all add to these dangers. The world continues to head at an ever accelerating pace towards the ultimate crisis from which there would be no return."
"As long as nuclear weapons remain in the arsenals, with the number of
nations possessing them threatening to increase greatly in the absence of
a more effective world-wide non-proliferation arrangement, we shall continue
to live on the brink of global disaster. Pugwash has studied these problems
for many years and we remain convinced that disarmament is technically possible;
all that is lacking is political will. Comprehensive nuclear disarmament —
and, eventually, disarmament of chemical, conventional and other weapons as well —
must remain our major goal. In the meantime, however, pending the achievement
of this aim we must strive to build an effective barrier, universally accepted
and adhered to, against any actual use of nuclear weapons. As our medical
colleagues emphasize, casualties resulting from only one large nuclear
bomb on one major city could not be effectively dealt with by the medical
resources of an entire country. The nations of the world, and especially the
so-called nuclear Powers, must recognize and accept the fact that nuclear
weapons simply cannot be used to resolve any possible issue between them,
and that the use of any nuclear weapon in a conflict is suicidal folly that
may well spell the extermination of the antagonists, as well as a large portion
of the rest of the world.

"The current monstrously high levels of deployed nuclear arms must be
reduced as soon as possible. To reverse the present arms race we must first
stop racing. This calls for a "stand-still freeze" on current nuclear armaments
as an effective way of initiating the essential process of nuclear disarmament.
Such a freeze should also include the development of new weapon technologies,
a major factor in fuelling the runaway competition in modern weapons and
systems of mass destruction.

"In the circumstances in which mankind now finds itself, the warning
sounded so eloquently 27 years ago in the Russell-Einstein Manifesto takes on
a new urgency:

"There lies before us, if we choose, continual progress in happiness,
knowledge and wisdom. Shall we instead choose death, because we cannot
forget our quarrels? We appeal, as human beings to human beings; remember
your humanity and forget the rest."

"There is still time to choose, but this time is fast running out."
"We now appeal to our colleagues of the world's scientific community: accept responsibility and become directly involved in actions to avert nuclear war; to the Governments of the world: seek a comprehensive international agreement aimed at eliminating the risk of nuclear war, and the danger to civilization involved in any use of nuclear weapons; to all peoples: support measures to remove the nuclear menace that threatens the survival of mankind."

The meeting rose at 1:00 p.m.