

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 12th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. TAYLHARDAT (Venezuela)

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General debate on all disarmament items (continued)

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

AGENDA ITEMS 49 TO 69 AND 151 (continued)

GENERAL ~~DEBATE~~ ON ALL DISARMAMENT AGENDA ITEMS

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I call on Ambassador Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya of Zaire, former Chairman of the First Committee, to introduce the report of the Disarmament Commission in his capacity as Chairman of that Commission.

Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA (Zaire), Chairman of the Disarmament Commission (interpretation from French): Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election as Chairman of the First Committee, in which you have worked for many years and whose mysterious workings you know inside out. Your wealth of experience in this field is the best guarantee of the success of this session. The friendly relations that exist between our two countries, Venezuela and Zaire, and between ourselves cannot but strengthen the co-operation my delegation will give you throughout your term of office. I would like to take this opportunity also to extend my warmest congratulations to the other members of the Bureau, who will offer you their support and their **contributions**, indispensable for the proper conduct Of **ourwork**.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeye, Chairman,  
Disarmament Commission)

In my capacity as current Chairman of the United Nations Disarmament Commission, I have the honour to introduce the report of the Commission for its 1989 substantive session (A/44/42). As in previous sessions, the report consists of four chapters and four annexes, reflecting the results of its deliberations on various disarmament subjects on the agenda during the 1989 session. In particular, of the Commission's deliberations in May this year on disarmament issues.

As in previous years, organized in accordance with the mandate of the Disarmament Commission set out in paragraph 118 of the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, as well as the guidelines set by the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh and forty-third sessions in resolutions 37/78 H and 43/78 A, in which the Commission was requested to direct its attention at each substantive session to specific subjects and to make every effort to achieve concrete recommendations on such subjects to the General Assembly at its subsequent session.

After the Commission's arduous deliberations during its 1989 substantive session, its concrete recommendations to the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly were adopted by consensus, as noted in paragraph 40 of the report. Those recommendations were either adopted by each of the four working groups and a contact group or by the consultation groups, which took charge of the respective substantive items of the agenda. In this connection, it should be pointed out that during this session the Commission was again requested to deal with seven substantive items on its agenda. One - the declaration of the 1990s as the Third Disarmament Decade - was a new item which was introduced as one of the priority subjects in the field of disarmament.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Chairman,  
Disarmament Commission)

An **representatives** may recall, last **year** the **Commission** successfully concluded two important **items**: verification in all its **aspects** and guidelines for confidence-building **measures**. **But** this year **it** encountered **difficulties** in bringing **about** any substantive outcome **and** concluding **some items** on **its** agenda, which has indeed been an extensive heritage. In particular, it **was** unable to conclude the **most** promising item, **regarding** the **reduction of** military budgets, against the background of improved international relations. That **failure** has consequently brought proposals for considering **ways** and means to enhance the role of the **Commission**, particularly **by increasing its effectiveness** and rationalising its work.

However, on the other hand, I wish to **point** out that during **this** year the **Commission** **was** able to achieve some progress on the subject of conventional disarmament, an issue of universal concern, **as** well as the question of South Africa's nuclear capability. Considerable **progress** **was** also **made** on the **item** regarding **naval** armaments and disarmament.

In giving a general assessment of the work of the **Commission**, I still maintain that **success** could have been achieved had certain delegations approached them with less inflexibility and a greater **sense of reasonableness**. I hope that the **Commission** will be able to conclude its work on **some agenda items** at its next substantive session in 1990.

The item regarding the arms race and nuclear disarmament has been generally considered the most difficult one on the agenda) the **Commission** was practically required to formulate a **mini-comprehensive** programme of disarmament. At **this** juncture it might be advisable **if** delegations were to concentrate on certain **specific** issues in the nuclear **field**. The recently announced agreement in principle on the **negotiation of** a reduction of strategic nuclear weapons **between**

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Disarmament Commission )

the Soviet Union and ~~the~~ United States might inspire some thought in this regard ~~so~~ as to promote a multilateral negotiation **process on the issue of nuclear** disarmament. Fur thermore, it should also be pointed **out that** dur fng this session the Commission engaged in substantive **consideration** of the declaration of the 1990s as the Third **Disarmament** Decade, **to which** a great **numhec** of delegations had Attached importance.

During past years many memhera *of* the Commission have contended that it should limit **the number of i terns on its** agenda, in order to devote its **maximum** effort to a few items on **which chances** of success are better **than on others**. Conseauntly, the time **available to** each **subsidiary** body could be **maximized**. This year **some** delegations **made** specific proposals in this regard, It is **undoubtably true** that some of the subjects under consideration have been on **the** Commission's agenda **for** many years with **no** conclusion, **though** it is duly acknowledged that the lack of favourahle in **terna** tional conditions during the past has **contr ibu** tad to that situation. **To** achieve any progress on those subjects, **all** members of the Commission must make efforts with sincerity of purpose and a spirit of **co-operation** and **accommoda** tion. Indeed, the improvement of the relationship **between the two** super-Powers **and their all ies**, as **currently** demonstrated, could **expedi te** the process, given **the political** will.

With respect to the organization of the Commission's work in 1989, I am happy to **note that the** Commission was free of the procedural and organizational difficulties it had **encountered** before - namely, the question of **equitable** distrihution of the chairmanship **among** subsidiary **bodies** and the duration of the session. Tn this regard, I **believe that** some **pre-session consultations** were **extremely** useful and contributed **greatly** to the **smoo**th organization of the Commission's work this year. Careful arrangement of meetings also improved the

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utilisation of conference **resources at the 1989 substantive** session. I am convinced that appropriate consultations **among** delegations with the assistance of the Department for Disarmament Affairs could facilitate the **Commission's** work in the future.

**Speaking now as** Permanent Representative of Zaire, while still **wearing the hat** of **Chairman of the Disarmament Commission**, I should like **to make** a few personal remarks **about**, the Disarmament **Commission's** work.

First, **it must** be understood that **whatever** the competence, commitment and dedication of the Commission's Chairman, **the success** of its work **largely** depends on the political will of member States. Certain delegations often give the impression that failure **can be attributed** to the Chairman. During the substantive session of May this year I personally undertook **numerous**, intensive consultations with a view to concluding **consideration** of agenda item 5, entitled "Reduction of military budgets". That item had the advantage that there was disagreement only **about** one sentence at **the** end of paragraph 7 of the document on the item worked **out** at **previous sessions**. Despite efforts **to reconcile the views** of all delegations on **all** of the text and **thus** facilitate its adoption as a whole, some delegations changed their mind at the **last** moment, **although during the consultations** they had shown flexibility and a spirit of **conciliation**. **That means that the climate** in which we worked was largely dominated by the intransigence of certain delegations.

**It is** therefore easy to understand the desire **of member States** to introduce new **methods** of **organizing** our work and new **approaches**, without putting the **Commission's** mandate in question, with a view to strengthening its role and increasing its efficacy. That is why it was agreed **at the end of the Commission's work to set up an informal group composed of all the officers of the Committee and** open to all delegations<sup>3</sup> to **study in depth** all proposals for giving the Commission

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Disarmament Commission)

new life and dynamism capable of giving a new drive to its work. The first meeting of the Group was held last Wednesday, 18 October. Many suggestions were made and ~~these~~ will be studied methodically at the next meeting to be held on Thursday, 26 October. The proposals adopted by unanimity will be submitted ~~to~~ the Disarmament Commission at its next meeting.

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Disarmament Commission)

At this juncture, however, I can already reveal **some of the** views expressed by **many** delegations in this connection,

First, it was noted that the Disarmament Commission was enjoying the participation of a decreasing **number** of States **members** and that representation Was not at a sufficiently high level,

Secondly, the existence of so **many** working groups - seven at the **moment** - prevents delegations from concentrating on **some** of the important items on the agenda.

Thirdly, the length **of** the substantive session **has** also **been the subject of comment**, and some delegations feel that it could be shortened.

Fourthly, intensive informal consultations should **be** held prior to the opening of the session to enable delegations to have a voice in the choice of officers of the Commission and **on the important** items to be included on the agenda of the forthcoming session. In this connection a **number** of delegations feel that a **smaller number of** agenda items would **make** it possible to concentrate the Commission's activities on specific items so as to achieve concrete results. However, it **was** agreed **that** the possibility of initiating action to inscribe new **items** on the agenda should remain open so that the Commission can continue to play its role **as** a deliberative body in **the** disarmament field.

Fifthly, the question of the rotation of chairmen of working groups **was** also mentioned, although flexibility was recommended with regard to certain agenda items requiring continuity in **negotiations** - for example **items** relating to nuclear and conventional disarmament.

These few opinions reveal the concerns **of** delegations about the Commission's **future**. At the conclusion of ongoing consultations concerning these reforms I shall be able to present a **more** complete and comprehensive report. I hope that



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many delegations will **take part** in these informal consultations, which are crucial to **the** survival of the Disarmament Commission.

In **concl us ion**, I should l ike to echo the sentiment expressed **by members** of the Commission that efforts in **the** overall disarmament process in recent years to strengthen the Commission's role and improve its ability **to** deal effectively with **the questions** within its purview **must be** further pursued so that the **Commission may** serve as **an** effective apparatus for the **promotion** of the negotiating process **On** **urgent** and vital disarmament **issues**. As delegations **are aware**, consultations **on** **ways** and **means** of **enhancing** the **Commission's** role are now under way, and it is hoped **that** understanding and **agreement** will be reached **in** due course. **Progress** on some agenda items at the next substantive session, in 1990, may pave the way **to** **revitalizing** the functions of the Commission.

Finally, it would **be** remiss of me not to express my **gratitude** to all **delegations** for their understanding and business-like **manner** in **conducting** the Commission's work as it attempts to fulfil the task entrusted to it **by** the General Assembly. **A special** tribute should be paid to **the** officers of the Commission, in particular the **Rapporteur**, Mr. Querton of Belgium, and the Chairmen of the **var ious** working groups, contact groups and consultation groups - **namely**, Mr. Sergey Martinov of the **Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic**, Mr. Valer iu Fl orea n of Romania, Ambassador Edmond Jayasinghe of Sri Lanka, Ambassador Paul Engo of Cameroon, Ambassador Adeyemi of Niger ia, Ambassador Nana Su tr esna of Indonesia, Ambassador Skjold Mellbin of Denmark, Ambassador Roger Ravix of Haiti and Ambassador Douglas Roche of Canada - for their co-operation and assistance. On behalf of the Commission I should like **als o** to express thanks to the Department for Disarmament Affairs for the valuable assistance provided to the Commission, and particularly to the

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Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, Mr. yasushi Akashi, and the Secretary of the Disarmament Commission, Mr. **Lin Kuo-chung**, as well as to their colleagues serving as secretaries of the subsidiary bodies of the Commission. On behalf of the **Commission** I extend my great **appreciation to other members of the** Secretariat who assisted the Commission in carrying out its tasks.

I **now** have the honour to @resent the annual report of the United Nations Disarmament Commission (A/44/42). In view of the importance of the Commission's work I have limited my statement to matters relating to that work, my aim being to draw the attention of delegations of all Member States to the existence of this important deliberative body, which enables all Member States to submit concrete and constructive proposals in the disarmament field. The delegation of Zaire therefore reserves its right to express its views on the various items on the **Committee's** agenda at a later meeting.

**Mr. HERNANDEZ** (Dominican Republic) (interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of the Dominican Republic, a Latin American country in the centre of the Caribbean, is proud to see one of our fellow Latin Americans, particularly one from our own Caribbean region, presiding over the work of the First Committee- It gives us confidence that a diplomat with your wide experience has been entrusted with that delicate task. we congratulate you on your election as Chairman and on your **Government's** assignment to you of your future no less important functions, in the fulfilment of which I am convinced you will be able to contribute to the further **improvement** Of the excellent **relations that exist between our peoples and** Governments.

i **also** extend my congratulations to all the other officers of the Committee,

It might seem a joke for a country as small as Ours to presume to participate in international discussions on such subjects as the pcohihition of nuclear tests

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and chemical and biological weapons, or in deliberations on such even more sophisticated subjects as intercontinental ballistic missiles, antiballistic missiles and sea-based cruise missiles. However, the joke turns to high drama when we realize that this **small** nation of ours has been deeply embroiled in global conflicts **and** that its relatively small population has been exposed, if **not** to extermination, at least to the grave consequences of conflicts, without even knowing why such a fate should have befallen it.

That is why we are concerned; that is why we are participating here; because the problem of the arms **race concerns** us all; because all men and **women the** world over are open to its effects.

Although responsibility is universally shared, the industrialized countries, which are responsible for some 80 per cent of military expenditures, and in particular the two super-powers, bear the main task of controlling and progressively reducing **the** stockpiles of highly sophisticated nuclear and conventional weapons. We believe, however, that, as regards disarmament and international peace and security, all the countries of the world have a right to **participate** through the United Nations, the world symbol of multilateralism. Since **our** peoples are **affected** by the results of discussions and decisions here, we certainly cannot fail to be involved in them.

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While we are conducting our deliberations this year in a climate of greater confidence because of the obvious improvement in the international situation, characterised by a growing state of détente between the super-Powers and new democratic initiatives and advances in many countries, we are still very much concerned by the international situation.

While, as is recognized, disarmament is a problem that depends in great measure on East-West relations, for third-world countries the process of disarmament inevitably involves the process of development: if the latter is weakened then all hopes of peace and tranquillity crumble.

Within the context of an ever more interdependent world, it would be not only blind but irresponsible - or, in the worst of cases, wilfully deceitful - to claim disarmament and development are not interrelated. Suffice it to mention that the approximately \$1 billion spent on the military every year corresponds to 6 per cent of the world's total gross national product and continues to represent some 20 times more than the development aid given to the developing countries in all forms.

We cannot help thinking about the increased social productivity that would result if, instead of applying their powerful and fertile imaginations and sophisticated know-how to inventing or contributing to the invention of instruments of destruction and death, the hundreds of thousands of the most capable men and women of our species employed in the world of scientific research, engineering, and technical areas for military purposes were to consider ways of improving health and education, and enhancing well-being in our world.

Our region owes over \$400 billion and is simultaneously suffering the most serious and prolonged economic contraction of the past half-century, with resulting massive unemployment and a grave deterioration of the living conditions of a

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population which, for the most part, has long been impoverished. We can have no illusions about the debt being paid on the basis of internal efforts, austerity programmes, and a supposedly Spartan attitude. In the long run, that only leads to more hunger, more suffering and more pain for our peoples. It would also be illusory to think that, simply with the savings from unilateral disarmament in Our region, we would be able to break the barriers of underdevelopment. Not even total disarmament would in itself lead to world peace and security unless we succeeded in eliminating the economic asymmetries that exist between North and South, to the detriment of the latter.

It is essential, indispensable and urgent that a balanced effort at international co-operation - a burden of effort carried on a number of shoulders, not only those of the developing peoples - be made if we really wish to address the debt problem. The consequences of shared irresponsibility also need to be fairly distributed.

The enormous foreign debt accumulated by the third world vis-à-vis the industrialized world is another time bomb, with potential repercussions for both the industrialized and the poorer countries. The growth of that debt, a major obstacle on our path towards development, is closely related to the arms race. Arms purchases abroad by third-world countries increased during the 1970s and reached their apex at the beginning of the 1980s. During the 11 years prior to 1985, when their foreign debt amounted to approximately \$580 billion, the developing countries imported arms amounting to approximately \$250 billion. Their arms imports were the equivalent of approximately 40 per cent of the additional debt incurred during that period,

In the same period, the expansion of military expenditures in the developed world contributed to an increase in the debt as a result of growing interest rates.

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In an industrialized country, for example, military waste was a primary factor in the sudden sharp growth of the budgetary deficit. That helped in turn to raise interest rates, which reached unprecedented levels, with a subsequent effect on the debt.

Unfortunately, the industrialized world remains selfishly and erroneously concerned with its own well being and has been stockpiling devastating weapons of mass destruction and discovering new forms of destruction. 'It has maintained and even increased its arsenals, and has created a theory of balance of terror through which some intimidate others. That has kept the world mired in constant insecurity. The gap between the countries of the North and the countries of the South constitutes one of the sources of insecurity and therefore of world conflict and the arms race.

We recall this because it reflects a pact to which we must not return and a present which is for many still too uncertain for them to feel satisfaction, although we do wish to remain optimistic about the possibility of profound change in international relations. We want to believe that the idea of military supremacy as an instrument of international policy is doomed to failure.

The Dominican delegation welcomed the results of the Paris Conference, which could not have been clearer as regards the urgent need for the signing of a treaty on the complete elimination of chemical and biological weapons, with the purpose of achieving a total ban on their production, stockpiling, trade or use, and of mandating the destruction of existing stockpiles in whatever countries possess them.

That is why we have also followed with extreme interest the talks being held between the highest representatives of the super-Powers to arrive at concrete agreement not only on a 50 per cent reduction of the nuclear arsenals of both countries but also on negotiations on the eradication and prohibition of the

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production of chemical **and** biological weapons. We **have** **a** **lea** followed the **ques tion** of the exchange of verifiable information between the two **countries** concerning their existing stockpiles.

**As** regards the exchange of information among **countries**, we **listened** with **satisfaction** and great in **terest to the** statement made by Mr. Akashi, the Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament, when he told us that **au a** follow-up to General Assembly **resolution 43/75 I**, a group of governmental expert.. **has** been eetahliashed to **examine** the **transparency** of information **concerning transfers** of convent **ional** weapons.

Apart from **the** importance that **our** delegation **attaches to the aueation of** **transfers** of conventional **weapons**, we believe that transparent and honest information in all disarmament-related **areas**, together with the political will of **countries**, **constitutea a primary** foundation for positive results towardo **lasting** and **stable peace**. If we are witnessing new comnitmenta not to use nuclear **weapons**, **why** does **nuclear** tea **ting** continue? Our **delegation is** firmly oppoaed to such **tests**, and **supports** all **suggestions** aimed at their complete prohibition. They **serve** only to **maintain** global fear and concern, not to mention their neqa **tive ef fects** on the environment .

I could not conclude without congratulating Mr. **Akashi** and **al.1** the staff of the Department of Disarmament Affairs for their fruitful **work** within the programme for the world disarmament campaign, which has helped to keep us informed on all disarmament-related **matters**. In **concl us ion**, I should l ike to repeat what I have said on **many occasions**: that the theory of a balance of terror **as a source** of **security** is a **false one**. **Arms cause** fear, not security. And fear is not **security**. Security **is** synonymous with **peace**, and **thus** there will be no **peace** **without** disarmament and development.

Mr. TADESSE (Ethiopia) : Although you, Mr. Chairman, have made several appeals to US all to ha cognizant of the essence of rule 110 of the rules Of procedure of the General Assembly, we cannot allow this opportunity to pass by without congratulating you on your election as Chairman of this dynamic Committee, Aware as we are of your well-recognized qualities as a diplomat and your expertise in matters of war and peace in general and the sphere of disarmament in particular, we have no doubt that our deliberations will be most fruitful., Let me therefore assure you of the co-operation of the Ethiopian delegation in all your efforts to elevate the work of this Committee to even higher planes.

The post-Hiroshima period of our era has been marked by an unprecedented degree Of uncertainty, generated by the knowledge of the devastating capacities of the bomb. This uncertainty has been further exacerbated as a result of super-Power rivalry, which brought about the unwelcome winds of the cold war. Indeed, only a few years before the Reykjavik summit of the leaders of the two leading Powers, it appeared as though the world was heading into a dangerous quagmire. Since then, the international political climate has changed for the better. If the post-Reykjavik period has not ushered in a new era of peace and prosperity for the one world we inhabit, it does seem to have laid down the conditions for the attainment of this most desirable goal. We are gratified to note that the improved bilateral relations of the two leading Powers have been followed by a concomitant will for dialogue and détente among the military blocs, as well as a shared disposition to enable the United Nations to unleash its tremendous potential in the field of disarmament and peace-keeping.

We are also heartened by new tendencies to perceive the multifaceted aspects of the maintenance of international peace and security, The particular emphasis increasingly being placed on confidence-building measures is also an additional



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source of self-assurance for all States determined to contribute to the global endeavour to rid our world of the most lethal weapon of the century. In this respect, we are particularly happy to note the progress made in Europe in the field of conventional forces and confidence-building. We are appreciative of the unilateral measures taken by the Soviet Union to shut down one weapon-grade plutonium plant in 1987 and its decision to close an additional two in 1989 and 1990. In the same vein, we view favourably the statements by President Bush in his address to the Assembly at the current session pertaining to specific actions aimed at the destruction of the huge stockpiles of chemical weapons amassed by the two leading Powers.

Inasmuch as we heartily welcome these positive and trend-setting developments in international relations, we believe that the bilateral negotiations on strategic weapons between the leading Powers can be further expedited long before the prevailing momentum is lost. It is our considered view that any and all agreements reached in this most decisive phase will go a long way in the de-escalation of the global arms race. In this respect, we welcome the various agreements concluded between Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and Secretary Baker in the course of their fruitful meeting in Wyoming. We continue to view with positive anticipation the pronouncements of their commitment to bring the strategic arms negotiations to their logical conclusion.

Perhaps one important sphere of disarmament where global consensus seems to have emerged in the year which is about to elapse is the question of the comprehensive prohibition of chemical weapons. The effort of the Conference on Disarmament to conclude its work on the finalization of the long-awaited convention has been complemented by the Paris conference of the signatories to the Geneva Protocol of 1925 as well as the Government-Industry Conference against Chemical Weapons held at Canberra September last. As a country which has taken part in

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

these three forums, Ethiopia values the complementary nature of such efforts as they are bound to make a genuine contribution to the elaboration as well as to the observance of conventions against chemical weapons. We therefore appeal to the leading military Powers to pursue all possible avenues with a view to stemming any eventuality of vertical proliferation in this most deadly sphere of the arms race.

Although we are gratified by the commendable efforts made by the Conference on Disarmament to conclude the convention on chemical weapons, we are apprehensive at the slow pace of the negotiations on nuclear disarmament. The protracted debates on the articulation of mandates and the often philosophical approach adopted by some are matters from which we cannot derive any comfort. We are equally concerned about the reluctance on the part of some key members of the Conference on Disarmament to demonstrate the necessary political will. to enable the Ad Hoc Committee on Outer Space to register some progress in an area of human endeavour that has clear implications for the fate of our planet. That there has been no progress in the vital area of a comprehensive test-ban treaty in this, the only multilateral forum which ensures global participation, is an issue which continues to be of concern to this delegation. We therefore reiterate our call for a more concerted effort on the part of the Conference on Disarmament on this important item of its agenda.

On several occasions, the Ethiopian delegation has attempted to draw particular attention to the importance of the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, as well as peace zones, in the global effort to prevent the spread and deployment of weapons of mass destruction in areas likely to be affected by the virus of the bomb. We remain firm in our conviction that the conclusion of treaties such as the Treaties of Tlatelolco and Rarotonga will ensure the nuclear decontamination of many parts of the world.

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As a country whose geographical limits are intertwined with those of the Ethiopia attaches special importance to the global efforts aimed at converting the Indian In this regard, apart from the concerns we harbour pertaining to the increase in the military presence of Powers, some maritime Powers of the Indian Ocean to engage in the constructive deliberations being held within the context of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean. In spite of the commendable degree of flexibility demonstrated by the littoral and hinterland States of the region, and the generous offers made by the Government of Sri Lanka ad regards the convening of the Colombo conference in the course of the coming year, the political will on the part of some members has been found wanting. Indeed, recent pronouncements made at the 1989 meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee have been extremely disturbing. Since the host country has already given early indications of the specific dates for this long-awaited conference, we appeal to all extra-regional maritime Powers to accede to the wish of the littoral and hinterland States to convert their immediate region into a zone of peace.

Decades have elapsed since the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa was adopted. None the less, the acquisition of nuclear capability by South Africa continues to undermine its implementation. If the recent revelation concerning the illegal transfer of Blowpipe missiles, manufactured by Short Brothers of Belfast, into the hands of an agent of the South African Armaments Corporation is an indication, the illegal régime seems bent on enhancing the nuclear capabilities of that State. In drawing the attention of the international community to such occurrences, we appeal to all major nuclear Powers susceptible to infiltration by South African agents to ensure the scrupulous observance of the arms embargo against the apartheid régime.

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

As I indicated in opening , the Ethiopian delegation is **heartened by the** improvement in **the** international political climate. **None** the less, **it** helieves that the **basis** of international concord **must he much broader** than has been attained **thus far. Temporary arrangements which** fail systematically to neqate **the** premise **of mili tary** doctrines **based on** worst-case scenarios will not help rid Our Planet **of** the scourge of nuclear war. Temporary **schemes** which exclude the hulk of humanity may **not** last very long. Treaties moulded to reflect the reality of a few may not elicit **the co-operation** of **many**. Especially in matters of **war** and peace as well as of disarmament **and development**, the participation of all States **is quintessential** . After all, the fate of the planet **cannot he** left to **the** intentions **of** a few States, no matter how **wel l**-intentioned they may **he** perceived to be.

For this **very reason**, we have advocated **that the United Nations he** strengthened, with a view to enahling it to meet the **exigencies** and dictates of **the** time. The last few **years** have revealed **that the** United Nations can **realize** its potential in so far as its memhets allow it to do **so. It can attain** the objective<sup>4</sup> set **out** in the Charter, **inasmuch** as **we continue** to demonstrate the political will to contribute to the **efficacy** of its multilateral forums. It would **be** a travesty of justice to subject **the realization** of the lofty objectives of the Charter of **the** United Nations to the very often narrow interests of a few. As our Organ **iza** tion **has been** conceived to **serve the interests** of humanity, we should **collectively** strive to make it the truly **universal house of** peace and prosperity that it is meant to he.

On **our part**, we undertake to **contribute** our share **to** the strengthening of **the** United Nations **and to** its enhanced role in matters of disarmament and peace-keeping.

Mrs. **FLORE% PRIDA** (**Cuba**) (interpretation from Spanish) : I wish first, Sir, to extend to you and to the Vice-Chairmen and the Rapporteur the **congratulations** of **the** Cuhan delegation on **your** election to your important posts at

(Mrs. Florez Prida, Cuba)

the head of our Committee. We are convinced that you will be able to lead our work to a successful conclusion. We assure you of our delegation's readiness to co-operate with you to that end.

As we assess the unfolding events and changes in the international situation since the last session of the General Assembly, as they relate to the items before us, we cannot doubt that there has been a steady development of the process of dialogue between the two major nuclear Powers, reflecting the growing sense of responsibility that should be shown by the two States with the largest arsenals of nuclear weapons, the militarily most important States and those with the major role in the military alliances to which they belong.

Cuba is among those States that welcomed the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - INF Treaty. Although the numbers concerned were small, the agreement was significant as a pioneering effort. Its implementation has made it possible to begin to destroy such instruments of mass annihilation, which were threatening the European peoples, whose public opinion and progressive forces fought long and hard and undoubtedly contributed to the reaching of that agreement.

New possibilities have opened up on the continent with the largest concentration of weapons. Thus the process of security and co-operation in Europe is making progress, while negotiations on conventional weapons are beginning in the new forum in Vienna.

Like many other countries, we had hoped that the spirit of negotiations that led to the adoption of the INF Treaty would maintain its momentum and thus lead to a drastic reduction in the strategic missiles of the two countries concerned. We reiterate our hope that such an agreement will be reached as soon as possible and that it will be expanded in other negotiations and agreements in such a way

(Mrs. Florez Prida, Cuha)

as to eliminate all nuclear weapons. The Committee will certainly be **making** Such an appeal, and our delegation will support it.

Our delegation shares the view of others that bilateral. and multilateral **negotiations** complement each other. Therefore, as an active member of the **multilateral** negotiating body, the Conference On Disarmament, it should **express its** **total** disapproval of the behaviour of **one** of the parties to the bilateral exercise, which, with the support of **its** allies, has **prevented** the establishment of subsidiary bodies that **should** begin work to negotiate measures Or agreements on nuclear issues, **such as the** suspension **of** testing an end to the nuclear-arms **race** and the prevention of nuclear war, which the international community and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries **have been** demanding for many years, since **they** concern the destiny **of** all mankind.

What is there to fear if the destruction of **intermediate-range** and **short-range** nuclear missiles has **been** negotiated and implemented; if work is **being** done on a drastic reduction of strategic weapons; if there are step-by-step negotiations on the suspension of nuclear tests; if there is agreement on the establishment Of centres to reduce the risk of nuclear war; if it is contended that a nuclear war could never be won and therefore should never **be fought**; and if the Soviet **Union is** completely ready to negotiate the complete **elimination of nuclear weapons**? We have to **ask** what fear prevents anyone from wishing to share in the desire of the great majority and showing the necessary **political** will to negotiate concrete disarmament measures.

**We must reaffirm the pr inciple that we cannot disregard the fate of the** **millions and mill ions** of human beings **belonging** to our underdeveloped and third world countries, where we should negotiate away the **huge** arsenals of powerful, **unpleasant weaponsof** mass destruction that we possess in the form of hunger,

(Mrs. Florez Prida, **Cuba**)

poverty, disease, malnutrition, illiteracy, the foreign debt and the **many** other ills that afflict us. That **is** why we have been insisting that the resources released by disarmament **measures** should be directed to meet the economic and social **development** needs of the peoples, and particularly the people? of the developing countries.

We hope that the necessary political realism will be **shown in** multilateral forums, where it is **in** evidence on many other issues.

The Cuban people cherishes and wants peace, a universal peace of benefit to all peoples and extending to all regions. Like other countries, we need peace **so** that we may devote all our efforts and **resources to the** epic **battle** for development.

**Détente** is not merely a matter between the big Powers; it must be **universal**. We cannot see how our independent, sovereign, non-aligned countries can continue to be subject to acts of aggression, threats and interference in their internal affairs while agreements of global importance are **being** reached and the will is being expressed to contribute to the solution of so-called regional conflicts. We **assert** our right to benefit from this climate. **Détente** is and must be a single concept, without a double meaning.

If the United States really wants to work towards **détente** and for disarmament and peace, why does it maintain a naval base on Cuban territory, against the will of our people and Government? Why is it hardening the criminal economic **blockade** which it has kept up for almost three decades? Why does it send air force units to conduct exercises for **massive air strikes against our country, as it did on** 20 May? why has it set up a television station whose broadcasts are directed against Cuba, in flagrant violation not only of the principles of mutual **respect** and the sovereignty of peoples, but also of **international telecommunications** agreements and conventions?

(Mrs. Florez Borda Cuba)

One of the most promising areas - perhaps the only promising one in the field of multilateral disarmament efforts - is that of chemical weapons and the possibility of achieving a convention on that type of weapon. Our delegation regrets that, in spite of the efforts made by the Ad Hoc Committee of the Conference on Disarmament, under the leadership of Ambassador Morel of France, the influence of the political results of the meeting held in France early this year has not been felt, and that for that reason not much progress was made at Geneva.

The recent Canberra meeting and the exchanges carried on there, together with the ongoing bilateral negotiating process between the USSR and the United States and agreements already reached, should make it possible to see the adoption of a convention in 1990. It would be appropriate for the First Committee to urge the Conference on Disarmament to conclude its work, and to that end the negotiating body should issue a drafting mandate. Our delegation will continue to participate actively in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee, even if it should be decided to hold a special session or an ongoing session of the Committee next year.

As we have said, we support the adoption of a convention banning the development, production, stockpiling and use of all chemical weapons, including binary weapons, and providing for the destruction of installations where such weapons are produced. At the same time the convention should not contain any discriminatory measure and must not affect the development of the chemical industry for peaceful purposes. In that connection we reject the imposition of any partial measure, under the umbrella of the non-proliferation of chemical weapons, before agreement is reached on the convention.

There is another principle here that the international community must safeguard in the negotiations and in the final agreements, namely, that when considering disarmament as such, its link with development must not be overlooked; it must rather be promoted.



(Mrs. Florez Prida, Cuba)

The Committee should promote the idea that in considering the link between disarmament and development the parties to the negotiations on disarmament measures, whether multilateral, regional or bilateral, should bear that question in mind and adopt specific provisions so that the resources released from the military field are allocated to the economic and social development of the peoples whose countries are parties to the agreement and of the peoples of developing countries.

We do not want to conclude our statement without referring to an area that has become very important to our work, the area of conventional disarmament. The application of advances in science and technology to conventional weaponry means that the line between nuclear and conventional weapons is becoming increasingly blurred. We are against the qualitative and quantitative improvement in conventional weapons and the creation of new generations of weapons and weapons systems, such as the so-called smart bombs, which would give a new impetus to the arms race.

The nuclear Powers and the members of the military alliances bear primary responsibility for the attainment of conventional disarmament. In the view of our delegation conventional disarmament should be viewed as a set of international, disarmament efforts and therefore, without failing to take into account the priorities set in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament in 1978, we must consider conventional disarmament together with the progress made in nuclear disarmament. We believe that if we look at the situation on a global scale conventional disarmament will assume an enormous significance if all the resources used to commit acts of aggression and threats against are conventional disarmament considered without taking military bases on foreign territory that are actually vast arsenals of conventional weapons for offensive purposes.

(Mrs. Florez Prida, Cuba)

As was pointed out by the Heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries in the Final Declaration adopted at their meeting at Belgrade last September:

"The cessation of all acts of aggression against the non-aligned countries, strict observance of the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, the non-use of force in international relations, the peaceful settlement of disputes, self-determination, self-defence and the elimination of all economic and political pressure against the non-aligned countries will make it possible for all of them to contribute effectively to the process of disarmament."

With respect to international weapons transfers, it is clear that because of its magnitude the subject is global in nature, not local or regional. In the field of conventional weapons the producers, who are generally also those who possess the most weapons, bear a special responsibility.

On the basis of the concept that international arms transfers are not the cause of conflicts and that therefore controlling such transfers will not work to solve such conflicts, we must tackle the issue with strict respect for the sovereignty of States, avoidance of the threat or use of force, and the right of States to defend themselves against aggression.

Bearing in mind the inalienable right of peoples subject to colonial or foreign domination to self-determination and independence and the obligation of States to respect that right in accordance with the United Nations Charter, we cannot disregard the provisions of paragraph 12 of the Final Document, which speaks of the dangers of the transfer of nuclear and conventional weapons and collaboration with racist régimes.

Mr. KAMAL (Pakistan): In joining other delegations in extending felicitations to you, Sir, on your election as Chairman of the First Committee before your assumption of even more important functions, I should like to assure you, on behalf of my delegation, of our full co-operation in the discharge of your important duties.

We are meeting today against the backdrop of some significant developments on the international stage. The confrontational nature of the relationship of the past between the East and the West has been replaced by a spirit of dialogue and understanding. The conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles and the continuing disarmament negotiations between the two major nuclear Powers have improved the international climate and provided room for renewed optimism in the future. Those positive trends are also reflected in some progress towards the settlement of a number of regional conflicts.

The spectre of a nuclear holocaust nevertheless continues to hang over us. Mankind's survival continues to depend upon a fragile balance of terror. It is therefore imperative that the two super-Powers should continue their current negotiations for major reductions in their nuclear arsenals, leading ultimately to the total elimination of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems.

The nuclear-test ban, which continues to occupy the central position on the disarmament agenda, has been one of the most sought-after arms-control measures for over 30 years now. For many years the United Nations General Assembly has recommended the urgent need for a comprehensive test-ban treaty. Regrettably, those calls have not had the desired effect. We feel that the maximum benefit should be derived from the positive turn in the relationship between the

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super-Powers in order to evolve an agreement banning all forms of testing of nuclear weapons for all time. It is with that in mind that my Government has lent its support to the initiative to convert the partial test-ban Treaty into a comprehensive test-ban treaty. The response of the nuclear-weapon States would be a litmus test of their intentions.

(Mr. Kamal, Pakistan)

The Government of Pakistan has time and again reaffirmed, at the highest level, its commitment to nuclear non-proliferation. That commitment has been repeatedly demonstrated through initiatives that we have taken, at both the global and the regional levels, aimed at preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. Our strong support for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world is well known. The creation of such a zone in South Asia remains one of the corner-stones of our foreign policy. This year again, as in previous years, Pakistan will submit a draft resolution on the subject along the lines of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its forty-third session. We hope that the draft resolution will receive the same widespread support as it has received in the past.

In addition to our initiative for a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia, we have made other concrete proposals for strengthening the non-proliferation régime in the region. Our agreement with India not to attack each other's nuclear facilities is a small but significant confidence-building measure which, we hope, will lead to other steps of a similar nature in the future. It is our firm belief that the poor masses of South Asia, who represent one-fifth of the human race, cannot afford to waste their limited and precious resources in pursuing the luxury of a futile nuclear race. For that reason we will continue to persevere in initiatives to keep our region free from nuclear weapons, and will remain ready to convert the existing unilateral declarations into treaty obligations. We remain ready to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons simultaneously with India; to accept the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards on our nuclear programme simultaneously with India; to conclude a bilateral agreement with India for the mutual inspection of each other's nuclear facilities; to make a joint declaration with India renouncing nuclear weapons; and to enter into a bilateral nuclear-test-ban agreement with India.

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We are **ready** to accept **any** equitable and non-discriminatory agreement, with effective verification **arrangements**, **that** would **commit** the **countries** of the **region**, **in a legally binding manner**, not to **acquire or produce nuclear weapons**. Conscious of the important role that the United Nations has to play in the **disarmament** field, we have also **proposed that**, in **order to** explore the **possibilities** of such an agreement, a conference on nuclear non-proliferation in **South Asia** be convened under the **auspices** of the United Nations with the participation of the **regional** and other **interested States**.

The non-nuclear-weapon States have long sought **assurances against the use or threat** of use of nuclear weapons. Pakistan has **been in** the forefront of those **demanding such assurances**, as we believe that any State that **forfeits** the nuclear option has the right to receive **security assurances** from the nuclear-weapon States. Those **assurances** would also **serve the non-proliferation** objective by providing a sense of security to the non-nuclear-weapon States and obviating the need for them to seek nuclear weapons. However, progress on that issue has been stalled for some years, and we have not been able to move forward after reaching a consensus on the common-formula **approach**. We feel that the deadlock could be broken if the concerned nuclear-weapon States were to review their policies and formulate revised positions so as to respond positively to the legitimate concerns of the non-nuclear-weapon States.

My delegation has been submitting a draft resolution on that subject every year. Last year our resolution received the support of well-nigh the totality of the States Members of the United Nations. We intend to submit a draft resolution this year as well, and hope that it will receive unanimous support in the First Committee and in the General Assembly.

(Mr. Kamal, Pakistan)

In January this year, 149 States meeting in Paris forged an **unequivocal** commitment **to conclude, as soon as possible, a** convention on the prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and **use** of chemical weapons. The Paris Declaration, **the subsequent** redoubled momentum of work in the Conference on Disarmament, and the support for that commitment in **Canberra** recently, **are** manifestations of **the determination of the international community to eliminate an** entire category of **weapons** of **mass** destruction from its military arsenals.

We in Pakistan are committed to the achievement of that objective. For that **reason** we **attach great** importance to the negotiations under way in the Conference on Disarmament aimed at the conclusion of a universal convention banning chemical **weapons**. While we **favour** the **widest** consultations to plug **all** possible loopholes and to **make** the convention foolproof, we believe that the existing intergovernmental negotiating process is the only **viable** means of achieving our **objective**, and that no new negotiating partners need to be injected into that process. There **should** be no attempt to **delay** or postpone the adoption, **ratification** and coming into force of a **comprehensive chemical weapons** convention, nor **should** there be any effort, pending **the adoption** of the convention, to **create a** non-proliferation **regime**, embargoes on the transfer of technology or chemicals, or any other discriminatory or restrictive **regimes against the developing countries**. Such efforts, **far** from **achieving** a world free from chemical weapons, would detract from the objective and would tend to perpetuate the present **inequitable** and unacceptable situation.

The **convention must** provide for the free transfer of technology and must contain specific provisions for protection and **assistance** in the **case** of the **use or threat of use of chemical weapons**. Any attempt to **marginalize or ignore the**

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concerns of the **vast** majority of the developing countries would not **only** be unworthy of the democratic ideals to which we all subscribe, but could **also** jeopardise the chances **of** a convention, the success of which will depend largely on universal adherence,

The negotiations on a chemical weapons convention in Geneva are at a delicate **stage**. While it has been possible to reach agreement on a number of **issues, some** areas of disagreement remain. Those will obviously be the focus of further negotiations. We feel that what is needed for the early finalisation of the **convention** is some flexibility and **a** greater **political** and practical will on the part of certain States. What is not needed is any sidetracking towards **partial** Or interim or discriminatory measures, or any retrogressive definition **of** the scope of the convention. Those can only derail the negotiations and delay its conclusion. We are convinced that, with the concerted and sustained effort of **all** participants in the negotiations, the text of the convention can be finalised in the near future.

Simultaneously with the moves **towards** chemical and nuclear **disarmament**, there is a need to pursue conventional disarmament measures, **par ticularly** at the regional **level**. The removal of tensions and the elimination of conflicts from various regions of the world are vital elements in the search for international security, elements which require a clear commitment on the part of different parties, and **par ticularly** the **mil itar** ily more powerful **Sta tes**, that they would address the root causes of unresolved regional and territorial disputes without attempting to shove them under the carpet of oblivion.

'In many regions, the arms race is sparked off .hy the efforts of the militarily more powerful States to obtain a **position** of unchallenged superiority. That is



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usually coupled with a history of past tensions, which are largely responsible and trigger the impulse for **high** military spending in **a given region**. That only fuel tensions further, draws the States of the **region** into a vicious circle of ever-increasing levels of forces, **armaments** and **diminished security**, and **increases** the **chances** of conflict. States that are **in** a militarily preponderant **position** in a particular region therefore bear a special responsibility to promote and initiate arms limitations and reductions.

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It is our belief that the foundations of global Peace and **security** can be further strengthened if the countries in the various regions of the world undertake to formalize **their** commitment to end the arms race and to promote **their own security at the lowest possible** level of armaments through solemn regional pledges, commitments and arrangements. Measures to create a regional **balance could include** renunciation of **certain** types of advanced weapons, agreed ceilings on armed forces, elimination of the capability to launch surprise attacks and geographical restrictions on the deployment of armed forces. In addition, every effort should be made to ensure that people can decide their own future without the presence of foreign forces. **We are happy to note** that during the Past twelve months, significant progress has been made in this respect, and that foreign troops have either been withdrawn from some areas of conflict and tension or agreement has been reached for their eventual withdrawal. It is our view that the strict **pursuit** of the policies of non-interference and non-intervention at the regional level would play an important role in the creation of a **climate** of mutual trust and confidence, which **is** an important prerequisite for progress towards disarmament.

The problem of the arms race on Earth is compounded by the new threat of the **militarization** of outer **space**. The **danger** of deployment of weapons **based** in space or directed **against** objects in space or **on** Earth cannot be underestimated. The emerging Possibilities for **military** use of outer space as a result of scientific and technological advances lead to the inevitable conclusion that the present Legal **régime** will not suffice to meet the challenge of preventing an arms race in outer **space**. It is important to strengthen the existing legal norms and to supplement them with new rules, so that outer space is reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes. In this context, greater transparency in the activities of the space Powers would serve as **an** important confidence-building measure. **The use** of space-based **remote-sensing** and surveillance **techniques** today offers a **unique**

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opportunity for disarmament agreements. This capability has to date remained in the exclusive possession of a few technologically advanced States. We believe that these techniques should be made available to all States on an equal and non-discriminatory basis through an appropriate international institution.

The escalation in the naval arms and armaments of some States, in both quantity and quality, beyond the legitimate requirements of coastal defence has caused smaller States to feel extremely insecure and threatened. The expansion and modernisation of naval forces, combined with the increased sophistication of sea-based weapons systems, the deployment at sea of nuclear weapons, both strategic and tactical, and the introduction of nuclear-powered submarines in different regions of the world, have given an alarming capability to the navies of a few States. Consequently, the security of small- and medium-sized coastal States is now threatened from the sea on an unprecedented scale. The question of naval disarmament and the imposition of restrictions on the military uses of the high seas therefore deserves to be addressed urgently.

Adequate verification procedures are vital to the implementation of disarmament agreements: effective measures to verify compliance, deter violations and create a climate of confidence. We welcome the growing acceptance of on-site inspection and other methods of verification. Advances in science and technology have greatly improved the ability to monitor compliance. These techniques, which are at present possessed by a few countries only, should be made available to all States on the basis of equality and universality. Pakistan therefore supports the establishment of a universally applicable verification system under the auspices of the United Nations, in order to enable the international community to verify compliance with disarmament agreements. Verification is not an end in itself, of course. It is equally important for the international community to have at its

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disposal effective means to take concerted action to enforce compliance in case it is established through verification that a violation of an agreed disarmament measure has taken place.

The organic relationship between disarmament and development has **heen** clearly established and recognised by the United Nations. The recommendations adopted at the International Conference on the Relationship between **Disarmament and** Development have unfortunately not been implemented. It is indeed a sad commentary on the human race that more money is spent on arms and armaments in a single year **thar** the entire accumulated international debt of the developing world. The majority of the world's population lives below the subsistence level and is beset with hunger, disease and economic deprivation. We must strive, while we can, to better the lot of humankind. It is towards this problem that our energies and **available** resources should be channelled, and it is against this **objective** that our wars should be waged.

The meeting rose at 4.40 p.m.