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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 23rd MEETING

Chairman: Mr. MASHHADI (Islamic Republic of Iran) (Vice-Chairman)

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General debate (continued)

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In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Mashhadi (Islamic Republic of Iran), Vice-Cha irman, took the Chair .

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 49 TO 69 AND 151 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. INSANALLY (Guyana): If we have sought to speak in this dehate, i c is not because of any particular expertiae in disarmament matters but rather because of a determination to aeaert the interest of a small country such au mine in this vi tal quee tion. As hae been so aptly said, disarmament is too important a subject to he left to the nuclear Powers; it must he the concern of all States, irrespective of their size. We would therefore wiah to be heard on those issues affecting our welfare and to ensure that our security is not held hoataqe to the military aupeciority of others.

Let me say at the outset that notwithstanding our unfailing support of the disarmament process, global stability can heat be achieved hy the collective system envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations. Article 1, paragraph 4, of the Charter clearly s tipula tes that the wor ld Otganiza tion should he a centre for hacmonixing the actions of nations in the attainment of their common ends. That responsibility is only proper since the United Na tions, based as it is on the democratic principle of the equality of States, is ideally suited to the task. Its role in the field of disarmament must therefore be paramount if genuine and lasting progress is to he made towards a regime of peace and secur i ty.

This concept of collective securi ty, as delineated in the Charter, is not restricted to disarmament. It is premised rather on the establishment of a universal and comprehensive peace which encompasses every facet of mankind's existence. We should therefore he committing a qrave error were we to look at the issue of security through the narrow prism of disarmament. Global secur i ty cannot

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be judged from the level of possession of armaments of death and drrtruction but rather from the political, economic and social equilibrium whioh oan be achieved in in terna tional rela tions.

Thus, while the arms race may be both a cause and a consequence of prevailing insecurity , there are other non-military threats to world peace and security such as Poverty, disease, drugs and environmental degradation which, though perhaps not as alarming as nuclear war, are potentially just as explosive and destructive. Even the nuclear States are not immune to their ravages and can wither away and die as easily as the smalleet State. The time has therefore come to reassess Our approach to the question of diaarmament to see why it has thus far failed to produce significant results! to see whether, as the Frenoh would say, the game is in fact worth the candle. It will be quickly realized, we feel, that dirarmament cannot occur in a vacuum; its success requires an interns tional environment in which a sense of secur i ty prevails.

To appreciate the complex and complicated nature of the problem, one has only to read any recent study on the interrelation of issues an the global agenda. One such report, Our Common Future , published two years ago by the World Commission on Environmen t and Development, in concluding that the possibility of a nuclear war was one of the greatest dangers facing the environment, advocated a multilateral endeavour to minimize the risk of such a catastrophe.

It may he apposite to quote here the obaervation made in the report in this conne ct ion:

> The existence of nuclear weapons and the destructive potential inherent in the velocity and intensity of modern conventional warfare have given rise to a new understanding of the requirements for security amonq nations. In the nucl ear age, nations can no longer obtain secur i ty at each other 's expense. They must seek security through co-operation, agreements and mutual restraint;

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they must seek common security. Hence interdependence, which is so fundamental in the realm of environment and economics, is a fact also in the sphere of arms -competition and military security. Interdependence has become a compelling fact, forcing nations to reconcile their approach to 'security'." (A/ 42/ 427, p. 290)

Just as persuasive are the findings and conclusions of the Group of Consultant Experts on the climatic md other global effects of nuclear war, which were presented to the General Assembly last year. That report. should dispel once and for all whatever illusions we may have had on the value of nuclear weapons. The many consequence8 of nuclear testing could be truly devastating. In the event of an actual exchange, the recovery of the planet, even in the long term, would be highly uncertain, so that wnile today we struggle to preserve the environment for sustainable development, with the existence of nuclear weapons we run the risk sooner or later of destroying the planet.

It is most assuredly this latter realiza tion that has impelled the two super-Powers - the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics - to reach agreement on limiting their intermediate nuclear forces and now to search for other areas of weapons reduction. It is devoutly to he hoped that their continuing bilateral arms negotiations will soon lead to agreement on a 50 per cent reduction in their strategic nuclear arsenals. We must, however, urge the Uni ted States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to go even further and translate their entente into specific action which would allow disarmament to spread even further. Their co-operation could he epitomized by concluding, at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, work on the chemical weapons convention1 by pursuing, with a sense o f utqency, a comprehensive test-han treaty as the highest priority step towards nuclear disarmament and by breaking the impasse on those issues within the

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Conference on Disarmament upon which no negotiating mandates have been agreed in terms of the setting up of ad hoc bodies.

It is at the same time regrettable that while nuclear States may be prepared to abandon so-called obsolete weapons eye tems, many are still in active pureuit of the qualitative improvements of armaments and the development of new systems through the application of technological innovations to military purposes. The creation Of more sophisticated armaments can have a potentially destabilizing impact on the securi ty environment and thus represents a ma jor challenge to the cause of disarmament. General Assembly reeolution 43/77 A, which we supported lart year, alluded to such a danger. More and more, technological developments rapidly outstrip the pace of arms negotiationa, therehy render ing meaningless whatever proqreee might be made in arms limita tion. We therefore echo the call made by the Foreign Ministers of the members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at their meeting in Harare last May, for a curb on the development of a new generation of weapons and for global measures to ensure that scientific and technological achievements be applied exclusively to peaceful ends.

We are also concerned at the lack of progress on the comprehensive teat-ban treaty. It is now more than a quarter of a century since the three par ties to the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water (partial test-ban Treaty) stated their intention of:

> Seeking to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time . . . ".

Although this resolve was reaffirmed in the preamble to the Treaty on the Non-Prolifera tion of Nuclear Weapons, the pace of United Sta tes-Soviet bilateral negotiations on nuclear testing would seem to suggest that the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban remains a distant goal. At the mul tila ter al level, the Conference on Disarmament has not even established a working group or an ad hoc

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committee, much less conducted negotiation8 an this issue. Because we regard a comprehensive test-ban treaty as the highest priority, we whole-heartedly support the amendment Conference on the partial teat-ban Treaty to be held next year. It is our expectation that this Conference will serve as a catalyst for advancing discussions in the right direction.

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We are equally worried by the continuing trend of nuclear proliferation. With the accelerated race to join the nuclear consortium, the danger of further erosion of the nuclear non-proliferation régime is considerably heightened. In this context we seriously advocate the establishment, wherever feasible, of nuclear-weapon-free zones. Such zones, we believe, help to deter the spread of nuclear weapons and promote wider nuclear disarmament. With that in mind my delegation last year supported resolution 43/62 on the Treaty of Tlatelolco, despite the Treaty s exclusionary clause in article 25, paragraph 2. We would hope that that statutory impediment will shortly be removed to allow for full adherence to and participation in the Treaty. In the same vein we regret the spread of of the arms race to other arenas of competition. The dangers of the militarisation of outer space and of naval armament8 must be addressed with a sense of urgency.

While the international community cannot be satisfied with less than swift and total disarmament, there are some interim measures which, if implemented, could be reassuring for small States in terms of their own concern for security. steps could, for example, be taken to obviate threats of aggression against their sovereingty and territorial integrity. In our statement in this Committee last Year we adverted to the dangers of illicit arm trafficking. The risks are now compounded by the growing phenomenon of illict drug trafficking, which is so organized and powerful that the authority of many States - some not so small - is gravely undermined. Given the limitation of human and financial resources those Countries face, they can ill afford to provide for their defence against these new forma of aggress ion. In such circumstances the international community has an obligation to create machinery upon which threatened States can rely in times of need. There is much merit in the proposal of a multinational force to provide such assistance under United Nations auspices.

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We wish again to voice our support for the idea of compiling a United Nations register of arms transfers to monitor scrupulously such transactions. Such a step, along with agreement on the reduction of military budgets without prejudice to the right of all States to undiminished security, self-defence and sovereingty, could serve as an important confidence-building measure. They are the type of measures which, by providing greater openness and transparency in military matters, could pave the way to more substantial disarmament . We therefore await the study on promoting transparency in international transfers of conventional arms mandated by resolution 43/75 I.

We also trust that the Disarmament Commission will at its 1990 session he able to reach a consensus on the principles which should govern the freezing and reduction of military budgets. All States have an obligation to exercise restraint in their military expenditures but above all the nuclear-weapon States, which bear the major responsibility in this regard. As reflected in the statistics published in the Report on World Military and Social Expenditures, security concerns are impelling States more and more to spend inordinate sum of money in a desperate attempt to protect themselves from perceived threats of aqgreseion. More Often than not, however, those efforts cannot provide effective deterrence.

In the light of this we would like to believe that the link between disarmament and development will. be fully and finally accepted. Burdened as we are in the third world by the problems of underdevelopment, we would welcome the diversion of resources released as a result of disarmament to assist us in overcoming our current economic di f f icul ties. We would wish also to be spared the dilemma of deciding whether our own limited resources should go towards the betterment of our peoples on the one hand or to their protection and security on

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the other. Progress in disarmament, the lowering of tens ion and the peaceful resolution of disputes would release us from that cruel decision and allow us to concentrate entirely on our developmental efforts.

So far as the threat of nuclear weapons is concerned, small States remain at the mercy of the nuclear Powers; hence our call for the institution of effective measures to ensure our secur i ty against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. As a non-aligned country Guyana has maintained that, pending nuclear disarmament, nuclear-weapon States have an ohliqation to grant such assurances in a legally binding form. We therefore urge the Conference on Disarmament to continue its &bate on the scope, substance, form and nature of such security quaranteee at its next session.

We must emphasize, however, that such an assurance should be reqarded merely as one step towards nuclear disarmament and not as an end in itself. Along with other measures - such as a unilateral pledge of non-first-use of nuclear weapons, the institution of a nuclear freeze, the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various regions and the termination of the product ion of fissionable materials for weapons purposes - it could build some conf idence and serve to strengthen the non-proliferation régime.

That, in summery, is how we see our disarmament agenda. I wish, however, to reiterate the point I made at the beginning of my statement : that these speci fic areas Of disarmament cannot be treated and seen in isolation; they must be considered simultaneously with the idea and the thesis of a collective security system which renders national military structures unnecessary and obsolete. Otherwise we shall never be able to see the wood for the trees and we will be lost in a maze of endless discussions.

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It remains the responsibility of this Committee, which is primarily concerned with the political question of disarmament, to orient our activities in the right direction. We are confident that under our Chairman's able guidance it will not fail to do so. His expertise, which we have come to know and admire, will undoubtedly provide the impetus and coherence which are so essential to the success of our efforts.

We are but one year away from the close of the Second Disarmament Decade. The results we have to show for our work thus far are very meagre. Time is therefore not our best ally; while complacency is in fact our worst enemy. As was so well put by an eminent statesman in the United States:

> "Our minds have adjusted to it," - that is to the existence of nuclear weapons - "as after a time 'our eyes adjust to the dark. Yet the risk of a nuclear conflagration has not lessened. It has not happened yet, but that can give us little comfort, for it only has to happen once."

We must therefore open our minds and act to prevent such an unthinkable eventuality .

Mr. ZIPPORI (Israel) : Permit me on this occasion of my first statement in the debate to express my most sincere congratulations to Mr. Taylhardat on his election as Chairman of the First Committee. Our past experience of working with him in the Committee assures me that our work will proceed efficiently under his able direct ion. I should also like to take this opportunity to congratulate all the other officers of the Committee.

With regard to the items on *our* agenda I should like to refer first to the quest ion of chemical weapons.

I cannot help but express satisfaction that since we last met there has been no use of chemical weapons anywhere *in* the world, and especially not in the Middle

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East. This past year has seen two major international events, namely, the Paris and Canberra conferences, which mobilized world opinion to be more active in striving for international legal instruments which could be more effective in achieving a total ban on those nefarious weapons.

We understand that some progress has also been made in the deliberations Of the Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons in the negotiation of a convention on chemical weapons. Unfortunately, in spite of our request to participate in the work of the Conference on Disarmament and especially in the Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons, the necessary consensus required was not achieved - and that despite the fact that all the metiers of the Conference on Disarmament participated in the Paris Conference and accepted the Final Declaration of the Conference, adopted on 11 January 1989, which called on the Conference on Disarmament to open its deliberations to all interested States. Israel intends to renew its request to participate in the work of the Conference, as is its right as a Member of the United Nations.

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At the third special session devoted to disarmament, in June 1988, the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Yitahak Shamir, made the following statement:

"Der iving from Israel's deep concern for the peace and safety of our region and that of the world generally, we would make the following proposal. We believe it is essential for the nations of our region to establish a chemical-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, on the basis of arrangements to he arrived at freely among all the States of the region. In such a manner we might aafequard the mutual secur ity of our peoples as well as the secur ity of the entire region and thus make a major contribution to the cause of world peace." (A/S-15/PV. 11, p. 81)

later he ntated that the international community

"must rapidly and resolutely conclude the protracted negotiations on a convention that would remove chemical weapons from the arsenals of na tions, and must devise a mechanism of inspection that would assure universal compliance. (supra, p . 82)

In cur sta tement dur ing last year 's qeneral debate we sta ted:

With regard to the onqoinq negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament on the drafting of a comprehensive convention for the total elimination of chemical weapons , my delega tion , at the spec ial sess ion , suqges ted the possibility of exploring the use of a reqional approach, not instead of a comprehensive treaty but as a supplementary agreement which might be useful in solving some of the problems that might arise in ensuring universal adherence . (A/C.1/43/PV. 22, p. 28)

We fully support these positions.

We are pleased to note that some industr ial countries have tightened up their export controls over chemical precursor-g and know-how. Unfortunately , other

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countries have shown an astonishing disregard for the possible consequences of their export of dangerous substances.

Israel calls on all countries, industrial and developing, which have a chemical industry to co-operate in order to deny to countries which are engaged in building up a chemical warfare capacity the know-how, and raw materials they need.

It would be unfortunate to lose time until the convention comes into force, while the proliferation of these deadly weapons continues. Thus effective immediate steps must be taken to curtail and stop the trade in these materials.

Groups such as the Australian group should be strengthened and extended, sanctions against countries evading their responsibility should be explored.

In most other fields of disarmament these past months have seen a continuation of the progress made in recent years. First and foremost, and perhaps most important for world peace, the two super-Powers have continued their fruitful exchange and new bilateral agreements have been reached not only with regard to chemical weapons but also in their full-scale stage-by-stage negotiations on nuclear testing. The strategic arms reduction talks have also been renewed keeping alive prospects of substantial reductions in nuclear weapons in the coming decade.

The negotiations on conventional forces in Europe being held in Vienna between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Pact countries and the unilateral acts of force reduction carried out by various European countries offer great hope for the future. However, this hopeful situation can only contrast starkly with the situation in other areas, especially the Middle East.

The arms race in the Middle East continues unabated. According to the 1988 Stockholm International Peace Research Institute directory the four leading Arab countries, Iraq, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria, spent a total of $41,748 million between 1983 and 1987 on the purchase of arms. In 1988 alone these four countries bought weapons for a total of $5,882 million. All these countries,

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with the exception of Egypt, are still in a state of war with Israel. Other countries, such as Lihya, have defence budgets of over $1 hill ion per year.

The Arab Middle East is supplied with arms by all the permanent memhera of the Security Council. As long ago as 1967 the late United States President Lyndon Johnson, in a statement hefore the General Assembly, referring to the arms race as it was then, stated:

"Here the responsibility must rest not only on those in the area but upon the larger States outside the area. We believe that the scarce resources could he used much better for technical and economic development."

Prime Minister Yitahak Shamir said in his address at the third special sess ion, already quoted:

"The arms race is dangeroue and costly to us all. Acquisition of arms by one side will only precipitate efforts by the other to acquire more arms. Have we not realized that this cycle is endless; that its price is exhorbitantly high, that it will provide no answer to the malaise of our region, and that the security of all Staten in the region can be assured at much lower levels of armaments?" (A/S-15/PV.11, p. 79-80)

It was against this hackground of ever-rowing and menacing acmouriee and the growing threat of chemical weapons that the Prime Minister of Israel announced the Government of Israel's peace initiative. There are four points in this ini tia tive.

First, Israel views as important that the peace between Israel and Egypt, based on the Camp David Accords, will serve as a corner-atone for enlarging the circle of peace in the region, and calls for a common endeavour for the strengthening of the peace and its extension through continued coneulta tion.

Secondly, Israel calls for the establishment of peaceful relations between it and those Arab States which still maintain a state of war with it, for the purpose

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of promoting a comprehensive settlement for the Arab-Israeli conflict, including recognition, direct negotiations, ending the boycott, diplomatic relations, cessation of hostile activity in international institutions or forums and regional and bilateral co-operation,

Thirdly, Israel calls for an international endeavour to resolve the problem of the residents of the Arab refugee camps in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district in order to improve their living conditions and to rehabilitate them. Israel is prepared to be a partner in this endeavour.

Fourthly, in order to advance the political negotiation process leading to peace, Israel proposes free and democratic elections among the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district in an atmosphere devoid of violence, threats and terror. In these elections representation will be chosen to conduct negotiations for a transitional period of self-rule. This period will constitute a test for coexistence and co-operation. At a later stage, negotiations will be conducted for a permanent solution during which all the proposed options for an agreed settlement will be examined, and peace between Israel and Jordan will be achieved.

All the above-mentioned steps should be dealt with simultaneously.

While some movement is under way with regard to relations with Egypt, improving living conditions of residents of the refugee camps and arranging elections of representatives of the Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, nothing at all has happened with regard to establishing peaceful relations with our neighbours. In fact, the attitude of these States towards peace was demonstrated when all the Arab representatives, with one exception, walked out rather than listen to Israel's Foreign Minister invite them to peace talks; this position was in evidence again in what has become an annual ritual, namely, the

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Arab group's attempt to call into queetion the credentials of the Israeli delegation.

With regard to the queetion of the nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, Israel's posi tion ie unohanqed. This was stated mos t author ita tively by Prime Minister Shamir in his addreee at the third special ses-ion of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, when he stated:

"As early as 1980 we proposed in the General Assembly of the United Nations the establishment of a nuclear-weepon-free zone in the Middle East, haeed on free and direct negotiation8 between the Staten of the region. We did no in addition to our repeated declaration that Israel would not he the first aountry to introduce nuclear weapons into the Middle East. Such xonee have been eetahlirhed in Latin America by direct negotia tions among the countries of the region. And recently the States of the South Pacific reaahed a similar agreement in the same manner. The mode of negotia ting these agreements and the mutual assurances built into them, are vital component8 in establishing and maintaining such nuclear-weapon-free zones". (supra, p. 76)

Such a nuclear-weapon-free zone would hy its very nature provide full and satisfactory answers ta the queetion of full-mope safequards

In General Assembly resolution 43/65 the Secretary-General has been requested:

"to undertake a study on affective and verifiahlo measures which would facil itate the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, taking into account the circumstances and characteristics of the Middle East, as well as the views and the suggestions of the parties of the region, and to submit this study to the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session."

(A/RES/43/65, para. 8)

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The Government of Israel is co-operating fully with the Secretary-General And the consultants he has appointed to assist him in carrying Out this task.

In the hook of Ecclesiastes, it is written:

"To everything there is A season, And A time to every purpoee under the heaven;

...

"... A time Of war , and A time Of peace." (The Holy Bihle, Ecclesiastes 31 1,8)

It is the time for peace, And not for war, in the Middle East.

Mr. SUJKA (Poland) I On 26 And 27 October in the capital of my country , the meeting of the Foreign Ministers' Commi ttse of the States Par ties to the Warsaw Treaty was held. As A result of the deliberations a communiqué was issued which expresses the views of participants on crucial problems of co-operation, security, disarmament, as well as on overcoming the divis ions in Europe.

In this connection I should like to inform you And the member a of the First Committee that my deleqa tion will submit the text of the communiaud to the Secretariat for distribution as an official document of the General Assembly.

In my statement today I shall limit myself to expressing my delegation's views On four items related to the work of the Conference on Disarmament, namely: chemical weapons, nuclear issues, prevention of an arms race in outer space, and, finally, very briefly, the prohlem of the effective functioning of the Conference on Disarmament.

Ridding the Earth of chemical weapons has for many years been the centre of mul tilateral disarmament efforts. However, another year is passing and we shall have to repeat in our resolution our common reqret and concern that, notwithstanding the progress made in 1989, A conven t ion on the compl ete and

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effective prohihition of the development, production, stockpiling And use of all chemical weapons And on their destruction has not yet bean elaborated.

As this year draws to A close, Are we any closer to the convention? No doubt. It was the year Of many important events on the road to accomplishing this task. It started in A very optimis tic And hopeful climate qenerated hy the successful outcome of the Paris Conference. May I take this opportunity to join other delegations in rei tera tinq high Appreciation of its results And in thank inq the French Government for hostinq the Conference And for its considerahle contrihu tion to i ts cons tructive cour se. The determined poli tical will unanimously expressed in Paris by the 149 participating States to redouhle efforts And to conclude the convention At the ear liest date qave additional impulse to the Geneva negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament. Indeed, efforts have been redouhled, for which we owe A special trihute to the efficient leadership of the Chairman of the Ad hoc committee, Ambassador Pierre Morel, and his closest collaborators in this endeavour.

The new organizational framework, based an A so-called thematic approach, offered additional opportunities to concentrate efforts on resolvinq outstandinq issues, thus opening the door to the final stage of negotiations. The results of thin work are now presented in the report of the Conference on Disarmament. This demonstrates that, although not all of our expectations were fulfilled, further progress han been achieved, particularly on msny important technical aspects, and that the qround for final solution of some very sensitive issues such as challenge inspection or the Executive Council, has been prepared.

At the resumed Soviet-Amer ican consul tations on chemical weapons vital issues related to the convention were undertaken, including data exchange, procedures for challenge inspection, and the order of destruction of chemical weapons and of the

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fac i li ties producing them. It is to he hoped that the constructive outcome of those consultations, when presented to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, will have a very positive impact on the negotiations.

The joint Soviet-United Staten statement on chemical weapons issued after the recent meeting between Mr. Shevardnadzo and Mr. Baker in Wyominq is in fact an example of the strong commitment of both sides to the conclusion of the convention at the earliest possible date. In this context, Poland welcomes the practical evidence of this commitment in the important proposals on chemical weapons presented during this session of the General Aeaemhly by President Bush and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze.

The possibility of the beginning of the destruction of chemical weapons and of the discontinuance of their production even before the conclusion of the chemical weapons convention should open up new prospects for our negotiationa in Geneva and will, I hope, encourage other States to consider the conttihution they might make to strengthening confidence and increaainq openness in this reqard.

The Canberra Conference was another important event of a unique character in the history of disarmament negotiationa. For the first time it hrouqht together, on a large scale, representa tives of the Governments responsible for negotiating and implementing the chemical weapons convention and representatives of the world's chemical indus try, which will he directly affected by its implementa tion.

The extensive and fruitful dialogue between them as well as a number of propoaala put forward at the Conference will, I am sure, contribute to the elaboration of workable and realistic solutions to different outstanding problem, th us mak ing possible the early concl us ion of the conven tion .

The unprecedented joint statement hy the world's chemical industry including its commitment to assist Governments in bringing about A total han on chemical

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weapons through a comprehensive convention, is the mos t welcomed and valuable result of the Conference.

Thus, to the pol itical will expressed in Par is, a practical commitment of the chemical industry was added, which is of particular importance for the future implementation process. In this connection, I wish to congratulate the Qvernment of Australia for this valuable initiative and for its constructive efforts to bring the Canberra Conference to such a generally recognized successful conclusion.

One of the encourag ing developmen ta in the Geneva negotiations is the t a growing number of States, not members of the Conference on Disarmament, have become actively involved in those endeavours. This is a qood premise for the universality of the convention. Certainly, as stated in the Paris Declaration, any State wishing to contribute to the negotiations ahould he able to do so.

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The completion of the work of the group of qualified experts set up by the Secretary-General to prepare procedures for the investigation of alleged violations of the 1925 Geneva Protocol introduced another positive element into our work. Poland fully supports the role of the Secretary-General in carrying out such inves tiqations and it is ready to accept the proposed procedures to that end .

This short review of the vat ious effor ta to ban chemical weapons seems to confirm the view that the necessary momentum and the climate for a real hreakthrough on the road to the convention really exist. In fact, we have all the prerequisites: the strong political will of Sta tea once again expressed so eloquently in Brussels, in Belgrade and recently in Warsaw; the support of the world 's chemical industry ; the pressure of public opinion ; and, last but not least , the required negotiating experience and knowledge.

So, what remains to be done? This political will should he transformed into Practical solutions and an appropriate treaty language, It means that all delegations must he ready to take a posi tion on still unteuolved issues, in particular on the general pattern of verification. It implies also a common search for mutually acceptable compromises incorpora tinq a proper balance between legitimate security interests and the reauired level of effectiveness of verification on the one hand, and between the protection of confidentiality and the reliability of the verification mechanisms on the other. Such a mechanism for finding compromise solutions is also to he found in article X, on assistance and protection against chemical weapons, and article XI, on economic and technological development. Here the compromise acquires addi t ional signi f icance hy s ti mula ting positive interest in the convention and promoting universal adherence to it.

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Confidence-building steps could play an important role in our efforts. It seems evident and rather indisputahle that the pace of progress could be faster and easier, provided that the negotiations are based on broader, more comprehensive information on the size of the existing stocks of chemical weapons and the number of States possessing them, as well as other data relevant to the convention.

Openness and mutual confidence enhance trust in the convention, create a favourable political climate for the negotiations and contribute directly to progress in designing proper mechanisms for the effective implementation of the conven t ion. We call for broader participation in these measures as an important primary step towards achieving the universality of the future convention.

Our common efforts could increase chances of entering the new century without chemical weapons. To reach that end, we have to make 1990 a crucial year in bringing the conven tion to a concl us ion. We all agree that the momentum provided so far cannot be maintained indefinitely. To lose it now, might mean never seeing it again. That would have far-reaching consequences not only for the negotiations on chemical weapons but for disarmament in general. We used to say that we had crossed the point of no return in our negotiations. In my opinion, we are much further; in fact, we are approaching their final stage. The largely finished text of the convention and the present stage of negotiations reauire - and I share this point of view - the redefinition of the mandate of the Ad Hoc Committee properly reflecting this fact. Of course, the Conference on Disarmament should take an appropriate decision in this regard.

Last year, despite the quantity and complexity of issues relating to the ques tion of chemical weapons, we concluded our consideration of this item in this body by adopting all three resolutions by consensus. It was an unprecedented achievement which, in itself, established a solid basis for all further developments in this field.

(Mr. Su jka, Poland)

At this session, in conformity with a well-established tradition, Canada and Poland have jointly submitted again the draft resolution on chemical and bacter iological (biological) weapons, which is now before the Committee as document A/C. 1/44/L. 38.

In this connection I should like to express my sincere hope that the Committee will be once again able to adopt the draft resolution without a vote, thus giving the Conference on Disarmament another positive stimulus just before the beginning of the 1990 session and contributing to the maintenance of the Spirit of accommodation and co-operation prevailing so evidently during its last session. My delegation is ready to co-operate actively with all delegations to that end.

My country also attaches special importance to the nuclear issues on the agenda of the Conference on Disarmament. A nuclear war "cannot be won and must never be fought"? that sentence is probably the most often quoted in disarmament circles. However, practical conclusions have yet to be drawn fully from it . Nuclear weapons continue to be the ma in threat to the sur vival of mankind in spite of the positive trends in international relations. The cessation of the nuclear-arms race end nuclear disarmament are thus of vital importance for ensuring international stability and security. We are witnessing some positive steps in this direction. Under the INF Treaty, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have already destroyed over half of their intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. Prospects for halving their strategic weapons have been measurably improved by the recent Shevardnadze-Baker meeting.

The Soviet-American negotiations on the limitation and consequently, we hope, the cessation of nuclear testing are making progress in Geneva. Poland welcomes these developments. However, while recognising the special responsibility of the USSR and the United States of America in the field of disarmament, we should like

(Mr. Sujka, Poland)

to underline that each and every State ahould seek to initia te and promote disarmament, including by unilateral steps, and that multilateral efforts are indiepeneahle for a sustained and global disarmament process.

(Mr. Sujka, Poland)

The cessation of the nuclear-arms race and nuclear disarmament remain an issue of the highest priority. In the interest of all nations, both nuolear and non-nuol ear, this race should be stopped and nuolear arsenals reduced. An essential step in this direotion is putting an end to nuclear teeting by all States in all environments in order to prevent the qualitative improvement and development of nuclear weapons. Vertifical proliferation should be etopped if we want horizontal non-proliferation to succeed.

The Conferenoe on Disarmament is able to play an important role in this endeavour. We regret the fact that, in spite of being so oloee to beginning substantive efforts in the framework of an ad hoc committee on the nuclear-test ban, we were once again unable to do so. We are convinced that the difficulties are not insurmountable and that consultations will be resumed in Geneva in thie respect. In this context I should like to emphasize the valuable and important work done by the Ad Hoc Group of Scientific Experts to consider International Co-operative Measures to Detect and Identify Seismic Events. Poland is actively preparing itself for participation in the second phase of the technical experiment because we consider it an important step towards the elaboration of an appropr iate verification system, For this reason we support proposale aimed at setting up a special group of experts to prepare a comprehensive system of verification Of a nuclear-teet ban.

We note with satisfaction encouraging signs that appeared in the Conference 8 work on the prevention of an arms race in outer apace. Discussion on this item became more intense; varioua experts participated in the debate more frequently, and their contribu tions were more significant. New and intereating ideas were submi tted. Information on bilateral talks concerning outer space issues were presented by both the USSR and the United States. Unfortunately , derpi te these

(Mr. Su jka, Poland)

positive elements the Conference is still fat from any oonorete results in this field.

The prevention of an arms raoe in outer apace continues, however, to he one of the qreateet challenges facing current disarmament negotiations in qaneral and the Conference on Disarmament in particular, Further and urgent effottn by the Conference aimed at the prevention of an arms race in outer space are indispensable. Any action and any aolution in thin field ahould take into account not only the question of strategic stability, so important for the development of international relations, hut alro more general considerations which in fact remain at the heart of this problem.

Outer space has A special status under general international law. There is no absolute freedom of action of States. Apart *from* some specific prohibi tions, important general quidelines for activities in thin environment have been established. In particular, in 1967 the outer: space Treaty recoqniaed the common interest of all mankind in the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes and declared that this exploration and use ehall he the province *of* all mank ind. States Parties to that Treaty pledged that they would carry on all their activities in outer apace in the interest of maintaining international peace and security and promoting international co-operation and understanding. Thus the rights of all States ta express their views on the use of outer space must he acknowledged and their opinions should be taken into account.

The discuss ions and resolu tions of the General Assembly an well as the debate in the Conference on Disarmament clearly indicate that there is a general wish of the world community that on arms race in outer apace be prevented and that outer space, as a common her itaqe of all mankind, he preserved exclusively for peaceful uses.

(Mr. Sujka, Poland)

Finally, our experience shows that it is far more difficult to stop an arms race in a particular field than to prevent it. This commonsense logic lsd to the conclusion of a number of arms control agreements related, inter alia, to Antarctica, Latin America, the seabed and environment modification techniques. Their successful implementation is the best proof of the wisdom of this approach.

Having in mind theme considerations, we appreciate and welcome the etatement containad in the conclusions of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee that there was

> "general recognition . . . of the importance and urgency of preventing an arms race in outer space and readiness to contribute to that common objective". (A/44/27, p. 284)

It is also our sincere hope that this joint recognition will lead this Committee to early, and in fact overdue, concrete results.

Further endeavours of the Committee can be based on a wide range of submitted proposals. Poland has made its modest contribution to this expanding body of ideas by presenting a set of confidence-building measures aimed at strengthening international law appliaable to outer space and increasing the transparency Of States' activities in this sphere. We note with satisfaction that. the first steps intended to introduce greater openness in these activities are being considered in bilateral USSR-United States negotiations.

We believe that this new approach will find its expression not only in the work of the Conference, hut also in this forum, contributing to building greater oonfidence and understanding.

One Of the most characteristic features of the debate on outer apace problems in the Conference on Disarmament is a growing reoogni tion of the great potential Of space monitoring and verification for enhancing international security. It hae found its expression in an increasing number of proposals which, despite some

(Mr. Sujka, Poland)

differences between them, provide for the establishment of international systems of space monitoring and verification.

These new ideas emerging at the Conference on Disarmament seem to be an extremely valuable supplement to its, so to speak, traditional approach concentrated on the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

Step-by-step development of an international system of space verification and monitoring could become a parallel process to our efforts aimed at preventing an arms race in outer space. As a result, outer space would be preserved exclusively for peaceful uses and, at the same time, would be turned into a new area of co-operation for the security of all nations.

(Mr. Sujka, Poland)

The international system of space monitoring and verification could serve both the Members of the United Nations and the United Nations organs responsible foe the maintenance of international peace and security. It would contribute to the implementation of arms-control agreements and to arrangements for the settlement of regional conflicts. It would help in United Nations peace-keeping and peace-making operations and would introduce a valuable element of early warning as well as objective information about United Nations activitier. International co-operation in Apace monitoring and verification could, in fact, evolve into a crucial element of the United Nations collective security system.

One can hut hope that the future work of the Conference on Disarmament on outer space prohleme will follow this dual-track approach and that the agreement to refrain from the military application of new technologies in outer space will he accompanied by a decision to make them serve international security. Now especially the world needs both initiatives, based on thinking not only in terms of national butalso in terms of common security.

It is understandable that the complexity of the problems discussed and their direct hearing upon the security of States render the treaty-making work of the Conference on Disarmament laborious and time-consuming. Nevertheless, the inability of the Conference to come to any concrete results in recent years leads to growing concern in many Governments, including my own. Indeed, the question how to improve the work of the Conference and make its functioning mare effective hae become a subject of serious and continuous consideration both within the Conference and outside it.

We note and study the many ideas and suggestions related to this question. One of the issues is that of making the work of the Conference more flexible and its results more responsive to the different situations that arise during the negotiating process.

(Mr. Sujka, Poland)

Undoubtedly, the elaborations of new agreements imposing legal obligations upon States is, and should remain, the principal task of the Conference. This basic approach, in the opinion of my delegation, need not, however, prevent the Conference Prom considering other measures, which would register areas of common understanding, particularly in circumstances where the stage of negotiations or other considerations makes them advisable and the only ones feasible. In fact, different situations may require different appccnchee and responses.

We believe that this more flexible approach to the possible results of the work of the Conference cm make it more productive and increase its impact On international security. Different types of confidence- and security-building measures can play an independent role and can constitute a basis for the further treaty-making efforts of the Conference. Such efforts should remain its main responsibility.

Current changes in international and, in particular, in East-West relations, create new opportunities also in the field of disarmament and arms control. The Conference on Disarmament has an important role to play in this process. My delegation believes that no effort should he spared to make it an effective instrument for transforming the amerginq political. will into a wide spectrum of international rules and guidelines leading towards disarmament and contributing to peace and international security,

Mr. OKEYO (Kenya): Permit me at the outset to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate Ambassador Taylhardat of Venezuela on assuming the chairmanship of the First Committee at this session of the General Assembly. I am confident that his diplomatic skills and long experience in the field of disarmament are the beet assurance that this Committee will achieve the results it sets for itself. My deleqation pledges to Ambassador Taylhardat its full euppor t and co-operation in the discharge of his onerous responsibilities.

(Mr. Oknyo, Kenya)

Since the world entered the nuclear era 44 years ago the spectre of self-destruction and of the annihilation of mankind hae remained over present. The nuolear epoch has taken on the countenance of nuclear terror. In eearoh of a credible defence the most destructive weapons have been developed; others with overkill capacity are cm the drawing-boards in the name of deterrence. With this destructive oapaoity in the hands of man, the unarmed innocent is *worried* about what the future holds for mankind.

Thie meeting *of* the Firet Committee is being held at a time when there are some significant changes in international rela tions. These emerg ing ch ang es underscore the aaoeptanoe in principle by the super-Powers of the grave consequences that oould result from a cm tinued escala tion of the acme race , particularly the nuclear-arms race. The threat *of* self-destruction emanating from the ready dirporition of States to use force in purruit of their defence postures is a reality. The only practical solution is the application of cohesive and realistic international measures to redress thie state of affairs so as to reverse the trend from a crisis of confidence to a process of relaxation *of* tension. It is the view of my Government that the efforts to prevent a nualear war should be guided by a etrong political will to negotiate openly and constructively on reliable arrangements for security and by a genuine dialogue in search of peace leading to a truly comnon perception of a secure world.

We cannot, however, loee eight of the reaeeucing optimiem that has emanated from the eucceeeful bilateral negotiation8 between the United States and the Soviet Un ion. The Treaty on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, though modest in the number of weapons it sought to eliminate, is of great his tor ic eignificancr. For the first time in the history *of* arms control, an agreement was signed which totally eliminated a whole claee of operational nuclear-weapon eye tems.

(Mr. Okeyo, Kenya)

There are also good indicationa of an agreement on strategic-arms reduction talks to reduce the number of intercontinental strategic weapons and of negotiations for the eventual total destruction of chemical weapons. Kenya, like many others, calls upon the two super-Powers to spare no effort to implement all their agreed objectives in accordance with the security interests of the whole world and the universal desire for complete disarmament.

Of paramount importance to my country is the question of a nuclear-teat ban. No other issue in the field of arms control has been the subject of so much interna ticnal deliberation and negotiation as has the cessa tion of nuclear-weapon tests. A comprehensive test-hen, in our view, is the only means to put an end to the nuclear-arms race, for a total test-ban would render further nuclear-weapon development more or less impossible. A race for qualitative improvements in nuclear weapons would thereby be considerably slowed.

The 1963 partial-teat-ban Tree ty, even though initially believed to he an occurrence of historic significance, has not, unfortunately, slowed down the nuclear-arms race among the major nuclear Powers. It is therefore Kenya s sincere hope that the proposed international conference that would convert the partial-teat-ban Treaty into a comprehensive test-ban treaty will materialize. The time has come for those who oppose the amendment propoeal to declare their sincerity on the question of total disarmament for, whatever the difference8 of opinion on the issue of verification, there are no insurmountable obstacles necessitating a delay in the conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear test-ban.

Last year, in resolution 43/81 B, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to undertake, with the assistance of a group of qualified governmental experts, an in-depth study of the role of the United Nation8 in the field of disarmament. My Government believes very strongly that a more peaceful

(Mr. Okeyo, Kenya)

international system based on negotiated agreements cannot rest cn trust alone, but that it requires a verification process in which all States can have confidence, Verification is a channel through which the objectives and aims of the Charter can he achieved, thereby facilitating the peaceful settlement of disputes and a long process wherein all Sta tee can rely more on a eye tern of international co-opera tion than on their own military capabilities for national defence. The responsibilities for the verification of any agreement cannot therefore be left to two countries alone. Kenya will support the establishment of multilateral verification machinery within the framework of the United Nations.

As an African country Kenya is particularly cognizant of the fact that our continent is riddled today with a set ious social, poll tical and economic crisis that needs early attention. What we need, if the current crisis to be overcome, is a concrete condi tion of peace. However, genuine peace is impossible without arms-acquisition restraints and disarmament initiatives. Peace in the Aft ican regional context should emerge as a dynamic concept embracing more than just the absence of war. The quest for peace in Africa can he viewed as encompassing, among other issues, the total destruction of apartheid, the release of all poll tical detainees in South Africa,k and free and fair elections in Namibia.

For decades African States have demonstrated their commitment to the cause of the denuclearisation of their continent, as espoused by the 1964 Cairo Declaration of the Organisation of African Unity. Similarly , the Af r ican delega tions have sought the international community's condermation of South Africa s nuclear-arms programme and all forms of collaboration by any State, corporation or individual with the racist South African régime. The South African Government s declared possession of a nuclear-weapon capability constitutes a very grave danger not only to the continent but also to international peace and security as a whole. In view

(Mr. Okeyo, Kenya)

of that grave danger my delegation appeals to the countries concerned to terminate forthwith all forms of collaboration with the racist régime in the military nuclear fields and space technology. It is on that same premise that my delegation last year supported the resolution sponsored by the African Group on the dumping of radioactive wastes, which would have grave regional and international security impl ications. The dumping of any nuclear, industrial or radiological waste on the territory of any developing country for whatever purpose is unacceptable to my country and must be condemned.

Kenya continues to attach particular importance to the establishment of zones of peace in vat ious parts of the world. Such zones could strengthen the fabric of regional peace and stability and extend extraregional co-operation in the field of soc io-economic development. In the light of that fact the concept of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace reflects the hopes and aspirations of many countries that are littoral States to enhance and share in the prospects of peace and security. We therefore strongly Support the proposal to convene the United Nations Conference on the Indian Ocean at Colombo, Sri Lanka, in July 1990. It is believed that that Conference would harmonize the interests of the countries in the region, major naval Powers and maritime users alike. We commend the Ad Hoc Commit tee on the Indian Ocean for its work well done in preparation of the Conference, despite astounding obstacles.

My country does not possess and does not intend to acquire any chemical weapons, but the proliferation of those weapons and their use is of great concern to us. Kenya condemns any use and proliferation of such weapons of mass destruction and joins the international community in calling for the destruction of such inhumane weapons through the conclusion of a comprehensive convention on chemical weapons. The progress made in negotiations in the Conference on

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Disarmament in preparation for such a convention is encouraging. The success of both the Paris Conference and the recent Government-Industry Conference against Chemical Weapons at Canberra has brought new impetus and optimism. We hope that negotiators will take advantage of the opportunity and momentum to reach an early conclusion of a conventian that will have total universality, both in adherence and in applicability, and that will subsequently remove such mass-killer weapons from the face of the Earth.

Finally, we need to intensify our efforts in the disarmament field if we are to achieve tangible results. My country will continue to exert every effort to make valuable contributions to the cause of peace and disarmament. We shall continue vehemently to oppose the use of force in international relations, military intervention, aggression and the occupation of territories by force.

Mr. AFONSO (Mozambique): I should like at the outset to extend my warm congratulations to the Chairman on his unanimous election. His past experience qualifies him as an outstanding diplomat and is a guarantee of the successful outcome of our delibera tions. I wish to congratulate also the other members of the Bureau as well a8 last session's Chairman on a job well done. I assure the Chairman of my delegation's co-operation in the fulfilment of his duties.

Mankind has been striving over the years for international peace and atabili ty. In the process it has comb to realize the importance of the need to address the tools of war in its quest for peace. It has come to underatand that the dramatic developments in the field of armaments, hoth during the Second World War and afterwards, pose a potential threat to the survival of mankind and of contemporary civilization; hence, the elimination of them has hecome an ob jective of paramoun t impor tance. In there efforts, mankind has had to face challenging difficulties resulting from a sense of mistrust and from strategic considera tions.

It is generally accepted that the emergence of new trends in the international sphere has resulted from the ongoing process of the easing of tensions hetweon East and West. The fact that virtually all. delegations that have spoken before me have ha iled these new r ela tione supports th is conclusion. Indeed, the rapprcachement between the two major nuclear Powers is apparently having a positive effect on disarmament efforts, as can be seen in the efforts being made to achieve a han on chemical weapons. This relationship also establishes a new atmosphere for the settlement of regional conflicts. It has also helped to reinforce and res tore the confidence oi Member States in the role and authority of the United Nations in international rela tiona.

Attempt8 to address conflicts by exploring peaceful means have been and are being undertaken in virtually all regions. While the outcome seems to he l ess

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

successful in some areas than in others, the spirit of negotiations remains alive even in the face of a stalemate. Furthermore, we are pleased to note that recently the United Na tiona has been playing a pivotal role in ini tia tivea to bring about lasting peace in several regions. All there development8 are the expression and reflection of the positive thinking that has been emerging in international relations, the impact of whioh is apparently being felt also in the field of disarmament.

The Treaty between the United States of Amer ica and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - the INF Treaty - constitutes not only a tangible example but also a major landmark in the history of mankind. Its successf ul implements tion will encourage disarmament efforts and to a large extent determine the course of events in this field.

Two years ago it would have been unthinkable to consider developments in the field of disarmament such as the creation of momentum in responding to the urgent need to han chemical weapons, the declared commitments on that same question by the United States and the Soviet Union during the debate at the forty-fourth session Of the General Assembly, and the ongoing negotiations concerning a 50 per cent reduction of the nuclear arsenals of the major Powers. Such undertakings, if successfully pur sued, would eventually prepare mankind for entry into the next century with a sense of hope instead of despair and to greet the year 2000 with confidence and the promise of a better life in peace, without fear of a nuclear holoca ust .

While expressing optimism about the future of disarmament, my delegation also believe8 that much remains to be done. We are conf r onted by challenging si tua tions that require political will, courage and pragmatism.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

The aontinuatian of nuclear explos ions casts a shadow over mankind's expectations regarding the future of nuclear dinarmament, While we regard the INF Treaty as a step in the right direction, we view the continuation of vertical proliferation with deep concern. The continuation of nuclear testing hy nuclear-weapon Staten is at variance with the prevailing international climate that I have just described. The cessation of all nuclear teats and explosions is an absolute necessity if the full confidence of the international community as a whole with respect to ongoing bilateral disarmament efforts is to be e-on. In thia connection, we noted with great satisfaction the declaration of a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests some time ago. We wish to express our encouragement fot the continuation of that undertaking. We also wish to urge other nuclear: Powers ta emulate that salutory stop in support of dinarmament.

On the other hand, my delegation has also noted wlth regrut that not a sinclr ray of light was discernible at the Conference on Disarmament during its considera tion of A comprehensive test ban treaty. We call upon the nuclear Status members of the Conference on Disarmament to reconsider their position on this question. Their rigidity on this question is in contlict with their overwhelming support of the non-proliferation Treaty.

My delegation would like to register its support for the convening of a conference on the conversion of the 1963 partial teat-ban Treaty to a comprehensive treaty, as proposed hy the representative of Mexico. We are convinced that such a conference would add a new dimension to the field of nuclear disarmament. Nuol ear disarmament should remain a priority issue in all. disarmament efforts. Such a conference would, in the final analysis, make a major con tr ibution also to general and complete disarmament,

The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, signed in 1968, concerning which a Review Conference will be held next year for the fourth time, is

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

a historic Treaty. It has born ratified or adhered to by a large number of States, including three of the five permanent members of the Security Council. However, its failure effectively to prevent other Statee from acquiring nuolear weapons, including racist States, constitutes a major setback. The assurance by nuolwr-weapon States to Stattee wh ich do not possess nuclear weapons is another area of controversy in relation to the Treaty.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

My oountry is not yet a party to the non-proliferation Treaty. However, we highly appreoiate all international endeavours in favour of the non-proliferation of nuolear weapons. In this context, my Government is currently engaged in the process of preparing to adhere to the Treaty,

My delegation whole-heartedly eupporte the creation or establishment of zones of peace and nuclear-weapon-free aonee. We regard the creation of such zones as a major factor contributing to the non-proliferation of euoh weapons, to nuclear disarmament and, as a corollary, to general and oomplete disarmament. Nulear-weapon-free zones constitute a practical contribution to international peace and security. The Tlatelolco and Rarotonga Treaties are examples to be followed by States in other regions. We are of the view that these Treaties should be observed by the international community as a whole.

For the *record,* my delegation wishes to express its disappointment over the continuous postponement of the long-overdue Colombo Conference on the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. We call upon the States members of the Ad *Hoc* Committee entrusted with the preparation of the Conference to complete the last stage of their preparatory work expeditiously in order to permit the convening of the Conference as coon as possible, and not later than 1990, in accordance with relevant General Assembly resolutions. *We* are confident that the Committee will take the right decisions on the matter.

Attempts to spare Africa nuclear weapons have been made in the continent. It was in this context that the African Heads of State and Government adopted the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa. However, this decision was undermined when, on the verge of the last decade, the South African apartheid regime gave strong indications that it had already acquired sufficient. capability

(Mr. Atonso, Mozambique)

to produce a nuclear weapon. The declara tion of Africa as a nuclear-weapon-free zone was bogged down by the aame regime, whose pol ioy and behaviour betray, and run ooun ter to. At rica 's dignity .

South Africa's nuclear oapability waa made possible by the close co-operation of some nuclear Powers. we find it difficult to understand the posi tion taken by oertain States in the Disarmament Commission on this issue.

Mozambique la following with special interest the ongoing negotiations in Vienna on the reduction of conventional weapons. It holds the view that conventional disarmament and action with regard to in terna tianal arms transfers are important oompnenta of the overall disarmament process. However, we also believe that they should not be overemphaaired to the detriment of nuclear disarmament; nor ahould the emphasis be ahifted to the notion that developing countries are the major factor in the consideration of conventional armaments and arms transfers.

Naval disarmament la another area of great interest to my country. Mozambique has a shoreline that stretches for more than 2,500 kilometres. Our stand on this issue results from our atrong identification with the concept of establishing nuclear-weapon-f ree zones and zones of peace, particularly in the Indian Ocean region.

Any extension of the arms race into outer Apace should be completely barred. The sta tus of outer space as a common her i taqe of mank ind should be preserved. Outer space should be open only for activities compatible with its use for peaceful purposes. We believe that the transfer of the arms race to a new dimension, outer space, would serve no purpose, hut would narrow the qap between human survival and self-annihilation in the scale of possibilities.

My deleqation, like others, views with some optimism the prospect of a chemical-weapons convention. The general awareness of tne danqer of this category of weapons and the realization of the qlobalization of technology to produce them

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

on the one hand, and the attraotion of resorting to them in a war situation on the other, gave birth to the current wave of initiative8 in favour of a chemica l-weapons han. The international Conferences on chemical weapons held in Par is and in Canberra and Sydney, Australia, were the culmination of this new f eelinq .

We welcome the declarations made hy President Bueh of the United States of America and by Minioter of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze of the Soviet Union in the plenary Assembly during the current session. These and other statements have g iven momen turn to the urgent task of conclud inq a chemical-weapone convention banning the production, use and stockpiling of this devastating class of weapon.

We think that bilateral undertakings are important in diearmament efforts. We value the ongoing talks in various disarmament fields between the two major nuclear Powers. On the other hand, we consider that the maintenance of peace and stabilty in the wor ld is the task of all humanity. Therefore, we believe that multiiateralism is the key to a genuinely successful outcome of concerted efforts to hrinq about general and complete dirarmament. It follows that the Conference on Disarmament, alp the sole multilateral forum for disarmament neqotiationa, and the Disarmament Commission, as the deliberative hody in the field of disarmament, ahould he revitalized and atrenqthened. We also believe that effective ways to expedite the work of those two hodies should be explored,

My delegation thinks that the international community should not lose sight of the importance of the relationship between development and disarmament) they are two related issues competing for the same finite resources. The United Na t ions reaffirmed this relationship when it held the International Conference on the Rela tionship between Disarmament and Development. It is ironic that two years after the holdinq of that Conference military expenditures have continued to

(Mr. Afonso, Mozamh ique)

skyrocket in inver se propor tion to developmen tal expendi tures. The in terna tional community ahould avail itself of the new trends in international affairs to redress this euua tion.

It is our belief that there is now an appropriate international political climate for the nations to advance hand in hand in pursuit of their common goal, that of saving future generations from the scourge of war.

It is with satisfaction that we witness the adoption of more flexible and pragmatic approaches to disarmament issues. This bears testimony to the fact that a world free of weapons, in particular nuclear weapons, is possible. It also proves that we can make our planet a safer place to live an if we combine our efforts in favour of qeneral and complete disarmament.

Mr. M. B. SY (Senegal) (interpretation from French) : I take special pleasure in speaking in the First Committee not only because of the interes tinq nature of the subjects addressed here, hut also and par ticularly because its ob jectivee are in line with one of the principal concerns of my country - the promotion of wor ld peace and security. I take the opportunity offered hy our qeneral debate to make the modest contribution of the Senegalese deleqation to our common effort.

I should like first to join earlier speakers in conveying to the Chairman our sincere and cordial congratulations on his outstanding election to quide the work of the First Committee.

The judicious choice of Ambassador Taylhardat as Chairman of the First Committee is evidence of his many qualities as a skilled diplomat and a guarantee of the successful outcome of our work. I am therefore quite sure that, with the benefit of his command of disarmament issues, our debates will be fruitful and will fulfil the hopes vested in our noble Organisation by those millions of men, women and children who aspire so ardently to peace, security, justice and happiness. I assure him that I and the whole of the Seneqalese delegation will co-operate fully with him in the fulfilment of his task.

We are most grateful, also, to his predecessor for his effective work in tracing the path for us to follow, and, finally, we conqratula te the other memhera of the Bureau on their election.

With regard to the First Committee s agenda, I reaffirm Seneqal a dedication to the cause of improving the international climate so that all peoples may live in peace and harmony. Accordingly, my country looks forward eagerly to the elimination of anything that might jeopardize the global equilibrium so desired by all States.

(Mr. M. B. Sy, Senegal)

It is precisely because Senegal has to oope with a variety of challenges that it is convinced that its efforte to achieve economic and social development need to be complemented by co-operation baaed chiefly on international solidarity, dialogue and broad-based agreement among all nations.

In this connection, Senegal hae always supported the primacy of law as a eacroeanct principle and accepted negotiation, conciliation and arbitration as the beat means of aettling international conflicts. That is why we derive so much aatiefaction from the marked improvement in East-West relations in reeent years. Similarly, we warmly welcomed the decision of the United Sta tee of America and the Soviet Union to commit themselves firmly to genuine detente with the eigning in December 1987 of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. The common will of those two super-Powers to atep up their efforts regarding the reduction by 50 per cent of their strategic nuclear arsenals is also most reaeauting for small countries whose future is in many ways dependent on the international environment.

Lastly, my country welcomes and strongly encourages the setting up of such ini tiativee. We would like to see them extended to the prevention of an arms race in outer space, the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in Africa, South Aaia and the Middle East, and the reduction of military budgets to the benefit of increases in official development assistance.

In this connection, the Senegaleee delegation wishes to draw the First Committee s attention to the report of the Disarmament Commiseion on the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa, Paragraphs 3, 6 and 7 of annex II to the Commission's reprot (A/44/42) clearly show that South Africa is determined to build up its nuclear capacity and continues to refuse to submit its nuclear installations to inspection by the International Atomic Energy

(Mr. M. B. Sy, Senegal)

Agency. That is disturhing because it illustrates the arrogant contempt in which the racist Pretoria régime holds the rest of the international community. That defiant attitude is all the more deplorahle in that the General Assembly adopted, on 24 November 1961, resolution 1652 (XVI), calling for the African continent and surrounding areas to be considered a nuclear-weapon-free zone. Furthermore, for 38 years in some 15 resolutions, it has repeatedly recalled that decision.

My delegation feels that the Organization, to bolster its credibility, must compel South Africa and all States that support it in its pernicious attitude to abide by those resolutions and to apply strictly the Organization of African Unity's Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa.

The worst aspect of this whole matter is that if we are not careful the racist régime of Pretoria, which is notorious for its failure to respect basic human rights and dignity, could one day use its nuclear weapons as an instrument of State terrorism, aggression and blackmail.

We firmly believe that current disarmament efforts may fall short of the expected results if that grave situation is not resolved and if the production, use and stockpiling of bacteriological weapons are not subjected to closer scrutiny with a view to finding a definitive solution.

In this context, we welcome the fact that the Paris Conference of January 1989, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the League of Arah States, and the Islamic Conference Organisation have already reiterated their acute concern and reaffirmed the determination of their members to support any useful initiative in the important area of disarmament. It is thus imperative to continue meetings, consultations and negotiations so that all aspects of the suestion may he hetter considered, and our world may be rid of weapons, whether nuclear, chemical, or merely conventional.

(Mr. M. B. Sy, Senegal)

It is in this light that the Senegalese delegation welcomes the work done by the Conference on Disarmament, the Disarmament Commission, and the Advisory Group on Disarmament. We also appreciate the consistent efforts of the Secretary-General to promote peace and security throughout the world.

As I said at the beginning of my statement, general and complete disarmament is Of particular interest to my country because we are convinced that without peace and security all development efforts are doomed to failure. This is particularly true for the young nations which, because of their scant economic potential and small markets, are compelled to manage their meagre resources rationally and to focus on the establishment of regional and subregional groups.

Unfortunately, developing countries are not spared the grave consequences of the arms race and the growth of military spending. Suffice it to note that the amount of money spent by developing countries on importing arms accounts for more than 40 per cent of their external debt. To this can be added the fact that value of the arms exports.by the rich to the poor countries is practically equivalent to the official development assistance granted to the latter. Furthermore, it has recently been revealed in World Military and Social Expenditures that world military expenditure is equal to the total income of the 2.6 billion inhabitants of the 44 least developed countries. For its part, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has observed that an amount eaual to twice its annual budget - that is, $500 million - corresponds to the amount spent on armaments by the international community in four hours.

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Yet, according to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), $300 million a year would suffice for the vaccination of all the children in the wor ld against the six main childhood diseases.

These few examples show the truly noble character of our taek of establishing a world of peace, security and solidarity, a mission which deserves our unanimous support.

My delegation earnestly hopes that consensus will inaceasingly replace voting in decision-tak ing in the First Committee. Thie hope is not utopian, because the desire *for* general and complete disarmament is shared by all States, and the practice is certainly not untried.

The important thing is to persevere in seeking lasting agreement so that past difference8 may he overcome and qreater emphasis put on areas of agreement.

Only in this way can we build the world for which we all long, in which the creativity of man will he used exclusively for the benefit of all mankind.

Mr. NAOURY (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives me great pleasure, f irst, to conqtatula te the Chairman, on behalf of my delegation, on his election to his important poet. This shows how much the members of the Committee value his great skills. I also wish to congratulate the other members of the Bureau, and wish the Chairman and them success in guiding our deliberations.

As we follow the debates in the First Committee thia year, we cannot but express our full Ratiafaction at the positive climate that reigns and the hopeful signs of the possible attainment of the desired objectives. This is a result of the objective circumstances engendered hy the atmosphere of international detente which characterizes the relations hetween the two Super-Powers and is beginning to hear fruit in the curbing of the international arms race, whether in relation to nuclear, chemical or conven t ion al weapons. ftis also a resul t of the a ttempts to

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arrive at rppropr iate solutions to a number of regional ques tions that appeared intractable in the atmosphere of international polarization that prevailed in the pmt.

We in Jordan have welcomed the resul ta of international détente, as well as the atmosphere of ddtente itself. We hope that the results will extend to our region, the Middle East, to contribute to the attainment of a just, peaceful and comprehensive solution of our problems, at the core of which is the Pales tin ian problem.

We have received with joy, as has the whole world, the news of the agreements reached by the two super-Powers during the past two years, the latest of which was the outcome of the fourth meeting, wh ich took place recently in Wyoming, of the American Secretary of Stab and the Soviet Foreign Minis ter.

We followed closely and with great interest the initiative concerning chemical weapons announoed by the United States President, Mr. George Buah, in his statement before the General Assembly this year, a8 well as the positive response to that initiative by the Soviet Foreign Minister when he spoke in the Assembly.

These great ach ievemen ts, which were the result of the détente that now characterizes the relationship between the two super-Powers, reflect the reality Of the profound change in the pol itical will of the two countr ies and the change of course from rivalry and the consolidation of their arsenals of weapons of all kinds, especially weapons of mass destruction, towards co-operation in halting and reversing the arms race. We have seen for the first time since the beginning Of the cold war the destruction of a number of types of intermediate-range missiles and the transformation of significant numbers of conventional arms into equipment to he used for peaceful purposes.

While recognizing the importance of the bilateral talks between the two countries, which have imparted momentum to world disarmament endeavours, we feel

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that it is equally important, in order to achieve the desired goals, to strive to develop this proceee so as to secure the participation of the largest possible number of States. My country, Jordan, believes that the proceee of disarmament is a matter of the utmost seriousness and importance. It calls for wider par ticipr tion by the in terna tional community, for the cause of international peace and security cannot succeed through the prohibition of one type of weapon; agreement on a total ban on weapons of every type is necessary. Furthermore, the arms race consumes vast sums and resources which, if devoted to development, would lead to great prosperity for all mankind.

During the current debate, we have heard many speakers, including repreeen ta tives of the nuclear Powers, stressing the need to respect the non-proliferation Treaty and calling for universal acoeeeion to it, since it is considered the corner-stone of the prooese of negotiating further agreements to reduce arms. The representative of Canada said that the fact that not all countries have acceded to the Treaty will affect the negotiating process, beoaure no country can agree to the reduction of chemical or conventional weapons if it feels that other countries can acquire nuclear weapons.

My country, Jordan, which has adhered to the non-proliferation Treaty since it was opened for signature in the depositary Sta tee, assoc ia tee itself with all those that urge all countr ies which have not yet done so to accede to the Treaty as the sole instrument at present available that can inspire in all concerned the confidence needed to accept a comprehensive ban on the development, testing and stockpiling of these weapons of terror and ultimately a ban on arms of all types and form.

My country, Jordan expresses its anxiety concerning the proliferation of nucl ear weapone. It faces a direct threat, because these weapons exist in our

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region and in our neighbourhood, oontrary to *our* constant demand that the Middle Eaat be considered a nuclear-weapon-free zone. Our concern is shared by all the countries *of* the world, because such weapons can cause mass destruction the effects of which Would etretch *far* beyond the countries using such weapons.

It is now indisputably clear to the world in general that Israel possesses the capability to produce nuclear weapons, if it does not in fact possess auoh weapons as well as the neoeeaary delivery vehicles. In spite of this, Israel stubbornly refuses to accede to the non-proliferation Treaty and to place its nuclear facilities under the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) eafequarde system.

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This causes us and all the oountriee of the req ion profound alarm, in view of the threat it poses to the peace and secur i ty of the area.

In the light of this, and in aonjunotion with brother Arab countries, Jordan has submi tbd a draft resolution to the Committee expressing deep concern at the dangerr inherent in Israeli nuclear armaments and oalling cm the international community to urge Israel to adhere to the agreements and treaties adopted by the whole world for the purpose of controlling the proliferation of nuolear weapons. We hope that countries that advocate adherenoe to the non-proliferation Treaty will join us in urging Israel to accede to that Treaty. In so doing they would be translating their words into deede.

Jordan rupporte the eetabliehment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East; it alro supports the establishment of similar zones in other parts of the wor ld. Israel persists in its obdurate attitude with regard to accession to the non-proliferation Treaty, thus retaining the right to develop and test nuclear weapons and the ability to attack other countries' peaceful nuclear facilities, even when those facili ties have been placed under the IAEA safeguards system, such an attack actually took place againet Iraq's nuclear reactor, which was uaed for peacef ul purposes. We believe that this attitude on the part of Israel will remain the basic obstacle to any progress towards the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the reg ion .

The attention we devote to the question of nuclear weapons does not leeaen our interest in the imposition of a han on the production of chemical and bacter iological weapons, a subject which is now the focus of international at ten tion. Together with other countries, Jordan attended the Paris Conference, convened to reaffirm the 1925 Protocol banning chemical weapons. With other Arab oountriee, Jordan welcomed the Canberra Conference, whose purpoee was to discuss

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practical measures concerning a comprehensive convention on chemical weapons. We hops that those efforts will bear fruit in the form of an agreement on a comprehensive ban on such weapons.

Finally, I wish to refer to the consensus reflected in statements made by participating countries concerning reaffirmation of the role of the United Nations in international negotiations and increased efforts to expand its role. The international Orqanization should become the basic instrument in ensuring that mul tilateral negotiations achieve the necessary progress towards limi ting armaments. For the Organisation groups together all countries of the world and reflects their hopes for a hetter future, free from destructive weapons? it is the source of hope for a better life for mankind. In the light of its ateadfast belief in the primary role of the United Nations, my country hopes that the emphasis that we have heard put on this is an expression of genuine and constant faith in that role and not merely of a selective process by which countries resort to the United Nations when it is in their interest to do so and totally disregard it when it is not.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.