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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 27th MEETING

Chairman:

Mr. RANA

(Nepal)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.35 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 45 TO 66 AND 155 (continued)

CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION ON ALL DISARMAMENT AGENDA ITEMS

Mr. NEGROTTO CAMBIASO (Italy): On behalf of the twelve member States of the European Community, I wish to make some comments on agenda item 56 (d), regarding conventional disarmament, on which a specific draft resolution is under consideration.

Nuclear disarmament is one of the **most** important priorities for the countries on behalf of which I am speaking. At the same time, the Twelve have regularly **emphasized** that conventional arms control and disarmament are essential and must be pursued as a matter of urgency as an integral part of the process of general and complete disarmament, in which all States of the world, according to their security situation, must take an active part.

Since the end of the Second World War numerous conflicts fought with conventional weapons in all parts of the world have continued to cause death and injury to millions of people, bringing about unspeakable destruction and suffering. As conflicts and tensions arising in particular regional situations have been exacerbated by initiatives aimed at acquiring positions of political and economic supremacy, it has become all the more urgent for all States to consider measures of conventional arms control and disarmament as a matter of priority.

(Mr. Negrotto Cambiaso, Italy)

In this light it is incumbent **upon** all States to intensify their efforts and take appropriate steps in the field of conventional disarmament, particularly through regional agreements that take into account the particular characteristics of each region. Such agreements are likely to prove the most effective means of achieving progress in the foreseeable future towards the enhancement of peace and security.

The Twelve strongly believe that agreements on conventional arms control and disarmament should be considered a fundamental objective. Such agreements, while taking into account the concern to meet the need of all States for undiminished security, should include provisions on effective verification measures as an indispensable tool in ensuring compliance.

The Twelve stress the importance of according priority, in the search for a more stable and secure balance of conventional armed forces at lower levels, to the reduction of weapons systems which are particularly suited to large-scale offensive action and surprise attack, in order to remove destabilising threats and enhance security.

Europe has embarked on this path. The Twelve welcome the rapid progress in the Vienna negotiations taking place in the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). They look forward to early and successful agreement in both sets of negotiations. They strongly emphasise that they attach the highest priority to the conclusion, at the CSCE summit in Paris next month, of a treaty on conventional forces in £urope. Twenty-two countries are now engaged in a process aimed at reaching agreement on major reductions in their armed forces and on disarmament. The achievement of a first agreement in the negotiations of conventional armed forces in Europe will contribute to the subsequent pursuit of more far-reaching measures aimed at enhancing security and stability.

(Mr. Necrrotto Cambiaso, Italy)

The Twelve hope that discussions will be started among the 34 aimed at establishing by 1992, after the Helsinki meeting, a new process of disarmament and confidence-building measures open to all CSCE participants wishing to take part. This first huge reduction of conventional weapons to be agreed upon multilaterally in Europe will represent decisive progress towards greater stability and security and make a substantial contribution to disarmament in general.

Europe's experience indicates that successful disarmament negotiations are significantly facilitated by the creation of appropriately favourable political conditions. In this respect, I would like to stress the continued determination of the Twelve to work for substantive and innovative results in the negotiations on confidence— and security-building measures, in order, inter alia, further to expand contacts and exchanges of information on military matters and foster greater transparency and openness.

The continued exchange of data provided **for** by the United Nations system **of standardized reports** on military budgets constitutes an additional and important general confidence-building measure.

The Twelve reaffirm their resolve to promote wider and better dissemination of information on military capabilities and structures and other military matters as a means of alleviating international tension and preventing overestimation of military requirements deriving from a misperception of security needs at both the regional and the subregional level. They wish to confirm their support for resolution 43/75 G, on objective information on military matters, in the expectation that its recommendations will be followed by an increasing number of Stares.

At the same time, the Twelve share the opinion that greater attention should be paid by the international community to the issue of arms transfers, which can

(Mr. Negrotto Cambiaso, Italy)

have serious implications for disarmament. Restraint and openness are of the utmost importance for the creation of a climate conducive to realistic measures dealing with arms transfers. The **Twelve** have taken note of specific proposals to that effect made in the Committee and will not fail to give them careful consideration. The study on ways and means of promoting transparency that the Secretary-General is undertaking in accordance with resolution 43/75 I is expected to provide the basis for a better understanding of the matter and for devising viable solutions to this problem of such growing relevance.

The subject of conventional arms control and disarmament should be kept at the forefront of the multilateral debate on disarmament. The Twelve welcome the agreement reached by the Disarmament Commission, at its 1990 session, on the question of conventional disarmament, after years of efforts in that direction. This is a significant result which opens up new prospects for understanding on a subject whose importance is widely acknowledged. They also welcome the Disarmament Commission's recognition of the importance of efforts to bring about disarmament on a regional scale.

In this connection, the Twelve believe that the experience in this field gained, and yet to **be** acquired, in Europe can provide valuable references and useful indications for work in other regions.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who will introduce draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.50.

Mr.AGAYEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from
Russian): Today the Soviet delegation is submitting draft resolution

A/C.1/45/L.50, on the subject of defensive security concepts and policies, which is
sponsored also by Australia, Austria, Indonesia and Sweden.

The world community is now entering a new post-confrontation period. The cold war is a thing of the past. A new spirit of co-operation and co-ordinated action is beginning to prevail in international affairs. The first steps have been taken towards genuine disarmament. Power rivalry is giving way to a new model of security which relies exclusively on peaceful means for the settlement of disputes. A legitimate question arises on the role of military capabilities and armed forces in this changed situation.

It is our firmly held view that, as provided in Article 51 of the United

Nations Charter, States do in fact possess the inherent right to exercise

"individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a

Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures

necessary to maintain international peace and security."

Indeed, as recent events have demonstrated, defence against aggression remains a crucial factor that must be taken into account by States in defining their policies.

These policies should strictly conform to the requirements of the United Nations Charter and rely on the norms of international law. That is why draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.50 contains a proposal to initiate a discussion of approaches to defence policies and possible options for rendering the military capabilities of States purely defensive in nature. This is an ambitious task that involves taking into account a multitude of political factors, including various concepts of armed-force development and different perceptions of the nature of relations among States. This cannot, quite obviously, be accomplished overnight, let alone unilaterally. It requires broad dialogue to review and address in concrete terms the entire spectrum of eristing opinions on the subject.

We welcome the fact that such an exchange is already under way in Europe. It has received a major impetus from this year's seminar in Vienna on military doctrines, The forthcoming agreement on radical cuts in armed forces and armaments in Europe holds out the hope that in that region a material groundwork may soon be laid for the development of entirely new perceptions of the role and meaning of military capabilities. Europe, however, cannot remain an oasis of security. We expect these positive trends to emerge elsewhere as well, obviously in forms that Will reflect the unique features Of each particular region.

In our view all United Nations Members must strictly observe the provisions of the United Nations Charter and, to this end, should join the process of defining the parameters and criteria of defence policies as an important factor in strengthening security and stability and moving from confrontation to co-operation in every region of the world. We therefore welcome the agreement of the Security Commission concluded by representatives of five Central American nations as an important step towards lasting peace and an atmosphere of trust in Central America, In addition to all. other considerations it has been an interesting example of regional efforts in this area carried out with the support of the United Nations.

We are pleased to note that at this session a number of delegations have already called for making disarmament a global process in which all members of the world community should become involved. We believe that that feeling is fully consonant with our proposals on defence concepts. and that it indicates a willingness on the part of the international community to get down to practical work in this field. We believe that, in practical terms, that objective would be well served by a United Nations study supported by Government experts, which is in fact provided for in document A/C.1/45/L.50. Such a study could offer a comprehensive picture of existing views and map out the mafn avenues to be followed in the formulation of defence policies, thus providing a sense of direction to the discussions that will be held on the subject.

For its part the Soviet Union has outlined its views with regard to defence concepts and security policies in a letter addressed to the Secretary-General (A/45/556) in which it has set forth the basic principles of Soviet military doctrine and listed the practical measurer taken to implement ft. We hope that the proposed study will help us, inter alia, and facilitate further steps towards the achievement of our stated goal of adopting a purely defensive military posture.

In conclusion I should like to express our appreciation to the delegations of Australia, Austria, Indonesia and Swedenfor theft constructive co-operation as sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.50. We also earnestly hope that the draft resolution now before the Committee will obtain widespread support.

Mr. HERNANDEZ BASAVE (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): Given the absence of negotiations on the total elimination of nuclear weapons and the reluctance of the nuclear Powers to abandon their nuclear military plans, the overwhelming majority of countries in the international community have set more modest goals for themselves with a view to halting and reversing the arms race. Unfortunately, even those measures have not always enjoyed the support of all States and have not, therefore, achieved the desired success. For example, with regard to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons we still cannot say that the international community has an effective legal régime to prevent the proliferation of such weapons. Indeed, at the present time existing arsenals are not only numerically greater than they were 20 years ago but they also have such a destructive capacity that if it were decided to detonate only a few of such devices the entire planet could disappear in but a few seconds. Hence it cannot be said that initiatives to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons have thus far been successful.

Another measure that many countries have persistently advocated in their desire to rid themselves of the threat posed by nuclear weapons is the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in their regions of the world, but oven such initiatives have not yielded the desired results. Mexico takes great pride in having actively contributed to the preparation of the Tlatelolco Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons In Latin America, which crested the first nuclear-weapon-free some in a heavily populated area. The conclusion of the Treaty of Tlatelolco has been recognized by the General Assembly as an event of historic significance in the

(Mr. Hernandez Basave, Mexico)

efforts to prevent the proliferation **of** nuclear weapons and to promote international peace and security.

In order to ensure that the statute defined in the Treaty of Tlatelolco and its goals will be fully effective, the Treaty includes two additional protocols, which are open for signature by States that have international responsibility, de jure or de facto, for territories in the geographic zone set forth in the Treaty and by nuclear-weapon States.

Additional Protocol II has been signed and ratified by the nuclear-weapon States, while Additional Protocol I has been signed and ratified by three of the four States to which it is open. The first country to accede to Additional Protocol I was the United Kingdom, which did so more than 20 years ago; the second was the Netherlands, 19 years ago; and the third the United States of America, 9 years ago. France signed Additional Protocol I in 1979 but has not so far ratified it.

On behalf of the delegations of Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Bolivia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, Venezuela and Mexico — all States parties to the Tlatelolco Treaty — I have the honour to introduce, under agenda item 45 of the General Assembly's current session, draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.28, concerning the signature and ratification of Additional Protocol I of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America.

(Mr. Hernandez Basave, Mexico)

As in past years, the General Assembly would deplore the fact that France had not yet ratified Additional Protocol I of the Treaty and would urge it once more not to delay any further its ratification. The 18 States parties to the Treaty of Tlatelolco, which are sponsoring this draft resolution, firmly believe that France's accession to Additional Protocol I would make a significant contribution to the full effectiveness of the Treaty and would thus contribute to realizing the goals of the Treaty in support of nuclear disarmament and international peace and security.

On 3 July 1990, the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (OPANAL) decided, in its resolution 267 (E-V), to add to the legal title of the Treaty the terms "and the Caribbean": this has been duly reflected in operative paragraph 3 of the draft now before us.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the representative of Sierra Leone, who will introduce draft resolutions A/C.1/45/L.39 and A/C.1/45/L.40 on behalf of the Africa: Group of States.

Mr. BANGALI (Sierra Leone): I have the honour, on behalf of the Group of African States to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.39, dealing with agenda item 54 on the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearisation of Africa, and draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.40, on agenda item 56 (m), concerning the prohibition of the dumping of radioactive wastes.

As at previous Assembly sessions in recent years, the draft resolution on the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa has two parts. Part Adeals with the implementation of the Declaration and part B focuses on the related problem of South Africa's nuclear capability.

For 26 years, African States have consistently and strongly reaffirmed the objectives of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa, seeing it as an important measure designed to prevent

(Mr. Bangali, Sierra Leone)

the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to promote regional as well as international peace and security. Since 1965, when the General Assembly by its resolution 2033 (XX) of 3 December endorsed the OAU Declaration, the Assembly has consistently supported the goal of Africa's denuclearisation and called for the implementation of the Declaration. The Assembly has also consistently condemned any attempt by South Africa to introduce nuclear weapons into Africa, viewing South Africa's nuclear capability as a threat to international peace and security and, in particular, as an impediment to the realisation of the objective of the OAU Declaration on the Denuclearizatics of Africa.

South Africa's refusal to place all its nuclear facilities and programmes under the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and its unwillingness to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) cannot but raise serious questions about its nuclear intentions. We find it difficult to understand why any country that is serious about non-proliferation would collaborate with South Africa in the nuclear field since South Africa has done nothing to demonstrate its good intentions in this field. We therefore seize this opportunity once again to call upon all States, corporations and institutions to refrain from any collaboration with South Africa in the nuclear field until South Africa unconditionally accedes to the NPT and places all its nuclear facilities and programmes under IAEA safeguards. The proliferation of capabilities for the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction is a threat to all countries and to international peace and security as a whole.

Many studies have been done and many reports prepared on South Africa's nuclear capability and the conclusion has been uniform: that South Africa has attained the capability to manufacture, deploy and deliver nuclear weapons. This is an alarming and frightening fact which calls for urgent: and concrete action by international community, We therefore urge the adoption and practical

implementation of the consensus recommendations adopted by the **Disarmament**Commission this year on South Africa's nuclear capability] and in part **A** of draft resolution **A/C.1/45/L.39** we call for concrete United Nations support for African efforts to begin to advance the realization of the objectives of the 1984 OAU

Declaration on the Denuclearisation of Africa.

After all the studies that have been **done** on this subject, and in view of all the other relevant developments that have taken place since the Declaration was adopted, we feel that the question of a convention or treaty on denuclearisation in all its aspects should now be examined by us and by experts, focusing on the modalities, elements and other related issues. For that purpose, we envisage a meeting of experts during 1991 in Addis Ababa, the seat of the Organisation of African Unity. For the organization and convening of that important meeting, which should be open to all OAU member States, we request the Secretary-General to provide such necessary assistance as the OAU may require.

As representatives are aware, the 1964 OAU Declaration on the Denuclearisation of Africa envisaged the preparation of an **international treaty to be concluded under the auspices of the United Nations**. Thus, in its resolution 2033 (XX) of 3 December 1965, by which it endorsed the Declaration, the General Assembly, inter alia, requested the Secretary-General to extend to the OAU such assistance and facilities as might be requested in order to achieve the aims of the Declaration.

In subsequent resolutions on this subject, the General Assembly has made similar requests to the Secretary-General, including most recently the request contained in resolution 44/113 A of 15 December 1989. We are therefore confident that the Secretary-General will take the necessary measures, not only to ensure the implementation of the present resolution, but also to facilitate therealization of the objectives of the Declaration on the Denuclesrization of Africa.

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Member States are requested, in part B of the draft resolution, to submit to the Secretary-General their views and suggestions on the Secretary-General's report on South Africa's ballistic missile capability. The Secretary-General is requested to submit a report thereon to the Assembly at its forty-sixth session. We feel that it would be very helpful for the international community to have the views and suggestions of Member States on the important issues covered in the Secretary-General's study in order to facilitate the taking of appropriate decisions or actions on the matter. If the international community is truly serious about promoting non-proliferation, we are confident that it will support Africa's efforts to implement the Declaration on the Denuclearisation of Africa. Collaboration with, or any sort of support for, South Africa's nuclear programmes can only undermine efforts at non-proliferation. We totally and unequivocally reject any attempts by South Africa to introduce conditions on international demands that it accede to the NPT and place all its nuclear activities under international safeguards and inspection.

In commending draft **resclution A/C.1/45/L.39** to the First Committee, the **African Group hopes** that the draft resolution, in its two parts, will receive the unanimous support of all **member** States.

(Mr. Bangali, Sierra Leone)

I wish also to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.40, on prohibition of the dumping of radioactive wastes. The draft resolution speaks for itself and deals with a subject on which the international community is firmly united, namely, protection of the health and safety of human beings, all living organisms and the environment as a whole from the devastating effects of radioactive wastes.

Such wastes do not discriminate between people or nations in their destruction; they affect everyone exposed to them. However, some countries or regions are better prepared than others for dealing with such wastes. Some countries, including most of the member States of the Organisation of African Unity, do not produce any radioactive wastes at all: yet some countries which do, have illegally and callously used our territories for the dumping of such hazardous wastes. 'This is a blot on the conscience of mankind as a whole which I am confident the international community will readily erase by adopting effective international instruments to prohibit the dumping of radioactive wastes. We commend this draft resolution to the First Committee for adoption by consensus.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the Secretary of the Committee.

Mr. KHERADI (Secretary of the Committee): I have to inform the Committee that the following countries have become sponsors of the following draft resolutions: draft resolutions A/C.1/45/L.11, Jordan; L.13, Czechoslovakia and Mali; L.15, Kenya; L.16, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic; L.17, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Nigeria, Sudan, Swaziland and Zimbabwe; L.21, Bolivia, India and Suriname; L.22, L.23, L.24 and L.26, Bolivia8 L.28, Grenada; L.29 and L.30, Bolivia: L.31, Chile, India, Kenya, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Singapore and Suriname; L.32, Bolivia; L.33, Bolivia and Myanmar; L.34, Bolivia and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic; L.36, Bolivia and Nepal; L.37, Cyprus; 2.38, Australia and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) L.40 and L.41,

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Suriname; L.44, Nepal and Suriname; L.49, Indonesia and Suriname; L.51, Austria, Colombia and Mali; L.52, Czechoslovakia and Ireland; and L.53, Bolivia and the Philippines.

The meeting rose at 11.15 a.m.