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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE **32nd** MEETING

Chairman:

Mr. **RANA**

(Nepal)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 45 TO 66 AND 155 (continued)

CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION ON ALL DISARMAMENT AGENDA ITEMS

The CHAIRMAN: The first speaker this afternoon is the **representative** of France, who will **introduce** draft resolution **A/C.1/45/L.53**.

Mr. AMIGUES (France) (interpretation from French}: The **delegation** of France wishes to introduce draft resolution **A/C.1/45/L.53**, under sub-item (e), "United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research", of agenda item 60, entitled "Review of the implementation of the recommendations and decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth special session. The draft resolution is sponsored by Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Cameroon, China, Ecuador, Egypt, Greece, India, Indonesia, Italy, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, the Philippines, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia and France.

The main purpose of the draft resolution is to note with pleasure the tenth anniversary of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR). UNIDIR was established by General Assembly resolution **34/83 M**, of 11 December 1979, and began its operations on 1 October 1980, almost exactly 10 years ago. For the sponsors of draft resolution **L.53**, **UNIDIR's** tenth anniversary provides an opportunity to show our satisfaction with the Institute and recognise that it has carried out well the task entrusted to it.

Still a young body - for at 10 years of age one is barely even an adolescent - UNIDIR has already won very wide support. Indeed, its diverse activities cannot fail to arouse the interest of those working in the area of disarmament. The importance of its independent research, which complements that of the Department for **Disarmament** Affairs, is faithfully reflected in its report (A/45/392) on its activities.

(Mr. Amiques, France)

That broad **support**, which goes beyond the growing number of countries that make voluntary contributions to UNIDIR, is naturally reflected in draft resolution **L.53**.

The draft resolution has a second objective, which is related to the first. We take the opportunity offered by **UNIDIR's** tenth anniversary to request it to undertake, with the assistance of independent experts, research on the economic aspects of disarmament. It is time we had clear, well-founded and substantiated data to guide our thinking on this particularly important, topical subject. This is the import of operative paragraph 7 of the draft resolution.

The General Assembly entrusts research to UNIDIR in keeping with the latter's statute, in particular **article** 2, paragraph 3, and article 7, paragraph 3. There are precedents for this; I **am** thinking of, among others, resolutions **37/84**, of 1982, on the relationship between disarmament and **development**, and **38/181**, of 1983, on implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearisation of Africa. Thus, there is no impediment to our entrusting such research to UNIDIR. **It** should be understood, however, that such a request must remain an exception.

We gather that some, mindful of budgetary considerations, have questions about the cost of the research. The latest estimates indicate that it should represent a tiny sum in absolute terms but a large amount for UNIDIR, whose budget **for** 1991, as set forth on pages 17 to 20 of its report (A/45/392), amounts to **\$1,615,000**. Consequently, it appears to us to be essential that assistance in financing the research be provided from the regular budget of the United Nations.

The 26 sponsors of draft resolution **A/C.1/45/L.53**, which represent the diversity of our international community, hope that the draft resolution will be adopted by consensus.

Mr. AGAYRV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Today our delegation and the delegations of France and Sri Lanka are introducing a draft resolution (**A/C.1/45/L.53**) to mark the tenth anniversary of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR).

In the first decade of its existence the Institute has earned a solid reputation and growing international prestige as a major centre of research on disarmament and world security issues. This has been due to the extensive and serious work carried out by UNIDIR ever since the time of confrontation, when it was already seeking universally acceptable approaches to the central issues of international development.

UNIDIR's major analytical studies, on such subjects as the risk of accidental nuclear conflict, various verification issues, concepts of national security and many other disarmament problems, are well known. In the context of the Institute's activities, we cannot fail to mention its fellowships programme, which enables scholars from the developing countries to carry out research in the field of disarmament.

It is a particularly important fact that the work of UNIDIR, by virtue of its **organizational** principles and methods, which rely on broad contacts with research centres and experts in various parts of the world, offers valuable experience in reaching consensus and pooling creative efforts on disarmament and issues of international security.

In today's drastically changed international environment the Institute is enjoying even wider opportunities for carrying out its programme. However, the post-confrontation period is also posing new problems. One such problem has to do with the social and economic implications of disarmament. **As** an international research centre capable of addressing **major** new issues at a highly expert level, UNIDIR could enter into its second decade **of** existence with the preparation of a

(Mr. Agayev, USSR)

study on that subject, as is proposed in the draft resolution. We believe that the international community would do well to express to **UNIDIR** its support for its useful and very relevant efforts.

I conclude by expressing our gratitude to all the sponsors who contributed to the work on the draft resolution and, first and foremost, to the **delegations** of France and Sri Lanka for their productive co-operation in drafting **the** text.

Mr. RASAPUTRAM (Sri Lanka): The representatives of France and the Soviet Union, **in** introducing draft resolution **A/C.1/45/L.53**, have referred to the tenth anniversary of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) and congratulated UNIDIR on its work. Sri Lanka joins other sponsors in extending our congratulations to UNIDIR **on this occasion.**

It is generally acknowledged that an anniversary of an institution is a happy occasion. It is the more so when the Institute has made an impact and created an awareness among countries, institutions and individuals by its productive, timely and independent research work. In this context, we greatly appreciate the work **done** by **UNIDIR** in the last 10 years, particularly its in-depth studies of the emerging problems of disarmament. The approach to sensitive subjects, the volume of independent research so far undertaken, the high quality of its work and the opportunities it has always seized to carry out research in new areas have increased the trust and the confidence placed in it by all countries. Today UNIDIR has such a good track record that **it** is well known by its work.

The draft resolution on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of UNIDIR not only expresses our appreciation of the work done so far, but also calls on the Institute to continue its high-quality work in disarmament research. There is plenty of work to be done in this field, and we are happy to note that UNIDIR has, within its meagre resources, carried out work on some of the issues. We are aware that much more work has to be done and should be done.

As sponsors of the draft resolution, we should like to work towards the fulfilment of the aims and objectives of the Institute, set out in its Statute, which include

"Providing the international community with more diversified and complete data"

on all disarmament issues, to build security and peace and to

(Mr. Rasaputram, Sri Lanka)

"facilitate progress . . . towards the economic and social development of all peoples**". (resolution 39/148 H, annex. article II, para.2(a)).

In accordance with its Statute, URIDIR has been entrusted with certain studies by the General Assembly on at least three previous occasions. There are still further precedents relating to economic issues, in that the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session recommended that **UNIDIR** should undertake an investigation of the modalities of an international disarmament fund for development.

In the draft resolution **UNIDIR** is requested, in accordance with the aims and objectives set out in its Statute, to prepare a report on the economic aspects of disarmament. Such a report would no doubt be valuable in identifying the economics involved in the disarmament process. At a time when certain aspects of disarmament are within reach, a report of this nature would make a significant contribution to our knowledge. Furthermore, **UNIDIR** itself could stimulate new initiatives to allow continuing efforts to be **made** to **move** towards a **lower** level of armaments consistent with international security by strengthening social, economic and political stability. Therefore the Sri Lanka delegation supports, and has joined in sponsoring, this draft resolution.

Mr. ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): I should like to take this opportunity to express the views of my delegation on **some** of the draft resolutions that are being considered by the Committee.

Together with Austria, Bulgaria, the **Byelorussian** Soviet Socialist Republic, India, Indonesia, **Mexico**, Suriname, Sweden, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela and Yugoslavia, Brazil **sponsored** draft resolution **A/C.1/45/L.49**, introduced yesterday in an eloquent **statement by** Ambassador **Maj Britt** Theorin of Sweden. We fully support the ideas contained **in** that draft, particularly with regard to the need to chart potential uses for environmental

(Mr. Araujo Castro, Brazil)

endeavours of assets such as know-how, technology, infrastructure and production **currently** allocated to military activities, through a study to be elaborated by the Secretary-General, as requested in the draft resolution.

Brazil has long favoured consideration by **the** United Nations of **the** profound interrelationship of questions relating to **disarmament, social and economic development** and environmental protection, on which we have **already** had the opportunity to elaborate in our intervention in **the** general debate. The need to address this important **issue** was **recognized** in the draft Declaration of the 1990s as the Third Disarmament Decade, adopted by consensus at this year's session **of** the Disarmament Commission, which the Committee will endorse through draft resolution **A/C.1/45/L.2**, introduced by Nigeria.

The study to be prepared by the Secretary-General will be a first **step** in addressing some of the issues involved in considering the interrelationship between disarmament, development and environmental protection. We **are ready** to contribute to the study by sharing our own national experience in **the** utilisation of **military** resources for environmental **endeavours**. For instance, **the** armed forces **have** been contributing to the efforts of the **Brazilian** Institute for the Environment and Renewable Natural Resources (**IBAMA**) in implementing "**Operation Amazon**". The main goal of the operation is to supervise **the** protection of the environment of the Amazon region, monitoring activities such as illegal fishing, **deforestation** and hunting of **endangered** or protected species.

In addressing the issue of technologies and know-how, **the** study, **we** suggest, should also envisage effective **modalities** for favourable **access** to, and transfer of, environmentally sound technologies, in particular to the developing **countries**, in line with the objectives set forth in paragraph 15 **(m)** of part I of General **Assembly** resolution **44/228**. That resolution, which **sets the framework** for

(Mr. Araujo Castro, Brazil)

the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, **should** be taken into account in preparing the study, so as to ensure that a meaningful contribution can be made to the Preparatory Committee, as envisaged in paragraph 4 of draft resolution **A/C.1/45/L.49**.

Together with many other delegations, Brasil has also sponsored draft resolution **A/C.1/45/L.42**, introduced by Ambassador **Carl-Magnus Hyltenius** of Sweden, dealing with **the** study on the role of the United Nations in the field of verification. The Group of **Experts**, presided over by Ambassador Fred Bild of Canada, a Group in which a **Brazilian expert**, Mr. **Georges Lamazière**, participated, prepared a comprehensive report on the issue, which stresses the **central** role of **the** United Nations in the sphere of disarmament and opens up new perspectives for action by this **Organization** in the specific field of verification, particularly of multilateral agreements.

In sponsoring draft resolution **A/C.1/45/L.42**, Brasil recognises *not* only the relevance of **the** present study and the **recommendations** put forward by the Group of Experts, but the need to continue to consider issues related to verification of disarmament agreements. Brazil is ready, for its part, to give due consideration to the recommendations contained in the study and to co-operate with the Secretary-General in their implementation.

At **the** opening of the general debate during the present session of the General Assembly, President Collor announced:

"Brazil today discards the idea of any experiments that might involve nuclear explosions, even if only for peaceful purposes. We trust other nations will consider the possibility of following the same path." (**A/45/PV.4, p. 13**)

Our sponsorship of draft **resolution A/C.1/45/L.31**, entitled "Amendment of the Treaty **Banning** Nuclear Weapon Test& in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under

JP/ASW

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(Mr. Araujo Castro, Brazil)

Water", a recognition of the commendable efforts of the delegations which originally proposed the Amendment Conference, stresses the importance my Government attaches to the cessation of all nuclear explosions in all environments for **all** times. In the Amendment Conference and in other forums, Brasil will actively pursue the conclusion, at the earliest possible date, of a comprehensive nuclear-test ban.

(Mr. Araujo Castro, Brazil)

We listened with great interest to the statement by Ambassador Adolf **Ritter** von Wagner of Germany introducing draft resolution L.36, entitled "Implementation **of** the guidelines for appropriate types of confidence-building measures'*. We fully agree *with* his statement that

*'wherever disarmament and arms control are at issue in the world it must be borne in mind that confidence building paves the way to disarmament, and in turn disarmament generates confidence". (A/C.1/45/PV.25 p. 22)

It is therefore the view of my delegation that the text of draft resolution L.36 could have been enriched by the inclusion **of** appropriate references to the relationship between disarmament and confidence-building measures.

While my delegation is prepared to support the adoption of the draft resolution in its present form, we believe that it could have taken into account, as **recognized** in resolution **43/78 H:** that confidence-building measures, especially when applied in a comprehensive manner, have the potential to promote the attainment of disarmament measures; that confidence-building measures, while neither a substitute *nor* a pre-condition for arms limitation and disarmament measures, can be conducive to achieving progress in **disarmament;** and, finally, that *effective* **disarmament** and arms limitation **measures** which directly limit or reduce military **potential** have particularly high confidence-building value.

Let me conclude by making a comment on draft resolution **L.20**, entitled "Conventional disarmament" and introduced by Denmark, which endorses the recommendations of the Disarmament **Commission with** regard to the question of conventional disarmament. As all delegations are **aware**, the **document** agreed upon by the Disarmament Commission was the result **of** long and not always easy negotiations. It contains a comprehensive consideration of different aspects related to **conventional** disarmament and must be viewed as a whole.

(Mr. Araujo Castro, Brazil)

We therefore believe that in endorsing the text the draft resolution should not have highlighted only some **of** the aspects of the text agreed upon by the Commission but either should have limited itself to an endorsement or alternatively should have reproduced the entire agreed text as an annex to the draft resolution so as not to give the **erroneous** impression that **some** of the recommendations have a lesser value than others.

Mr. STANKOV (Bulgaria): Today, my delegation would like to share with other representatives in the First Committee **some** observations on certain basic aspects **of** the discussion which took place during the seminar on confidence-building measures in the maritime environment, held at **Varna**, Bulgaria, last September, as they were perceived by the Bulgarian participants. The discussion encompassed a broad range of issues and points of view. What I am about to say can hardly **cover** the whole picture; my aim is rather to illustrate the scope of the seminar.

In the course of the seminar it was acknowledged **that** confidence-building measures at sea are designed mainly to raise the crisis threshold. They should strengthen, as far as possible, security relations between States and should increase their immunity to sudden rises in tension and threats to peace.

It was noted that a number of naval activities **may** not be assumed to be threatening if they are not linked to any visible political tension in a given region. Certain large-scale naval operations conducted in peacetime **may**, however, be interpreted as threatening by smaller States and as a sign that the condition of peace could quickly **change**.

There was general **agreement** that proposed measures for confidence-building in **the** maritime environment must have a concrete aim that can be positively **demonstrated**. One example cited was that confidence could be strengthened **by**

(Mr. Stankov, Bulgaria)

limited logistical support during large-scale **manoeuvres** or the absence of powerful air cover.

It was noted that predictability, sought through prior notification, could also strengthen confidence, at least within the context of the set of **measures** concerning Europe. Measures reflecting common perceptions in that respect could be elaborated at the regional level. Participants **from** certain smaller countries emphasised that they regard early warning of innocent passage to be a desirable confidence-building measure.

The participants in the seminar discussed the idea of routine notification by **navy** vessels of their **movement** from one sector to another, as is the practice in civil aviation. At the same time, an opposing view was put forward, namely that the requirement of prior notification could prevent the deliberate use of ambiguity in naval activities that can serve the achievement of important tasks.

Some participants expressed the view that the exchange of data and information is unnecessary since considerable amounts of such data are obtained by various national technical means. According to a number of participants in the seminar, though, the collection and processing of data from such sources is beyond the **means** of smaller nations which do not possess adequate national technical means. The co-ordination of a **system** for **exchanging** navy-related information at given mutually acceptable levels could be both useful and fairly easy to achieve,

During the discussion it was pointed **out that** the question of levels of naval **forces**, such **as** numbers of units, is becoming increasingly irrelevant. The capabilities of vessels in **terms of** armaments and logistics are having **more** substantial implications for the security of States. The greater the capability of naval units directly to support land operations, the **more** destabilising they could be in the present search for asymmetrical reductions of land-based forces with the

(Mr. Stankov. Bulgaria)

aim **of** achieving stability and equilibrium. It was noted, however, that naval forces could not by themselves seize and defend land territory.

It was also noted that mutual unilateral **measures**, such as the withdrawal **of** certain tactical nuclear **armaments** from surface vessels, could serve as a more creative and quicker way to strengthen security, particularly in fields where verification is difficult. It was pointed out at the same time that, although unilateral withdrawals of larger forces are possible in **some** regions, such as Europe, there can be no substitute for agreements on certain confidence- and security-building measures. The reasoning is that the measures have to be discussed, the arguments **of** the parties understood and accepted, and the common benefit **recognized**. Agreements also help avoid sudden and rapid changes, and thus strengthen stability.

In that context, it was broadly agreed that regular seminars and security analyses - less official and ambitious than negotiations - between high-ranking navy command officers could be an important instrument for strengthening confidence and security.

A considerable number of participants pointed out that changes in Europe are taking place so quickly that there is reason to speak of the emergence of a new security system. It was noted that while some of the main naval Powers **may** find it difficult to accept the view that reductions achieved through negotiations can strengthen their security at sea it is more probable that **some** of the problems that until now have been the target of confidence-building **measures** would no longer be regarded as **such**, particularly in view of the new situation of co-operation in the field of security. The hope was expressed that self-restraint would become a natural **norm of** conduct based on a proper awareness of one's own interests.

(Mr. Stankov, Bulgaria)

So far as global confidence-building measures in **the maritime** environment are concerned, it was agreed that at this **stage** certain joint actions of States to avert or combat ecological disasters and threats, as well as to conduct joint operations, are permissible and acceptable. The unique role of the United Nations was highlighted in this respect. In reference to the question of United Nations naval forces, a view was expressed that any such forces could neither be large nor have **permanent** status and command. Rather, they should be created for concrete purposes, should have limited functions, and should act in a manner similar to that **of** the United Nations land-based peace-keeping forces.

As host and **co-organizer** of the seminar, Bulgaria is satisfied with the discussion, as it was practice-oriented, constructive and free of prejudice and propaganda.

Here I should like to mention that a meeting of experts, within the framework of the project on confidence-building measures at sea of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament **Research**, will be held in Bulgaria in the first half of next year.

We share the already widespread view that **in** the sphere of confidence-building at sea it **is** possible to identify fields of States' common interest for joint action to strengthen confidence. We shall continue to participate in and contribute to the multilateral efforts in that area. The Bulgarian delegation believes that in the international community there is sufficient interest and that there already exists enough material, in the **form** of ideas and proposals, to get the **multilateral-disarmament** mechanism **more** directly involved in the question of confidence-building **measures** in the maritime environment.

STATEMENT BY **THE** CHAIRMAN

The CHAIRMAN: In accordance with its decision **taken** at a previous meeting, the Committee will proceed to take decisions on the draft **resolutions**

(The Chairman)

concerning the disarmament agenda items on Friday, 9 November. It will thus begin the process of taking decisions on draft resolutions in clusters 1, 2 and 3, while maintaining the flexibility that may be necessary as we proceed.

I should like to add that it is my intention to take up the various clusters one after **another**. **As** we finish **taking** decisions on one group, we shall proceed to the next. Therefore I shall not always be in a position to announce far in advance which clusters are to be considered by the Committee. **However**, so far as possible I shall endeavour to let members know which clusters will be considered at the following meeting.

I now call on Mr. Kheradi, Secretary **of** the Committee.

Mr. KHERADI (Secretary of the Committee): I wish to inform the Committee that the following countries have become sponsors of the following draft resolutions: **A/C.1/45/L.2**, Costa Rica; L.12, Romania; **L.15**, L.23 and L.33, Sudan; **L.27**, **L.29** and **L.30**, Afghanistan; L.31, Zimbabwe, Guatemala and Sudan; L.36, Portugal; L.37, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic; and L.43 and L.47, Afghanistan.

The meeting rose at 4.15 p.m.