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Chairman:

Mr. **ALPMAN**
(Vice-Chairman)

(Turkey)

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In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Alpman (Turkey), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 47 TO 65 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS

Mr. HERNANDEZ (Dominican Republic) (interpretation from **Spanish**):

On behalf of my delegation allow me first of all to join other delegations in congratulating Mr. **Mrozewicz** on his election as Chairman of the **First Committee**. Our congratulations also go to the other members of the Bureau.

Moreover, we should like to congratulate and thank the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Yasuohi **Akashi**, for his very enlightening statement on the work of the Department for Disarmament **Affairs**. In particular, we should like to express our thanks and appreciation for the scholarship programme which, under the auspices of the Department that he directs, **has** made such valuable contributions to the dissemination of information on disarmament matters. The Dominican Republic is participating for the **second** time in this programme, and we can testify to the value of the work being carried out.

I could not begin without paying a tribute to a great Latin American: Alfonso Garcia Robles. **His** unrelenting struggle for a more peaceful and safer world is enshrined in the Treaty of Tlatelolco and **stands** as an example for **many** generations to come,

We **should** also like to **express** the pain of our delegation at the **loss** of another **colleague** in the **First Committee** - Jack **Gerardi Sfebert**. We shall **always** miss his collaboration and friendship.

(Mr. Hernandez, Dominican Republic)

The General Assembly and the First Committee began their work this year in an increasingly interdependent world. Ours is an era frequently beset by false values and subversive ideas. While it is a particularly dynamic period, the most sophisticated means of communication cannot keep pace with such rapid changes. Moreover, there is such uncertainty abroad that the boldest analysts would not dare try to say where we are headed and where it will all end.

In response to this constantly changing world, the United Nations has an opportunity to realize the just ideals that presided over its creation so as to ensure an Organization where all Members are truly equal, where none is "more equal" than others.

In an increasingly interdependent world, it is impossible to deny that war and peace, destruction and development and fear and insecurity are interrelated. For this reason, we consider that international security, disarmament and development are all closely related.

While the industrial and agricultural sectors continue to be productive, the terms of trade between the industrialized and the developing countries are unbalanced and unjust. While credit transactions are carried out in such great cities as New York, London and Tokyo, their effects are felt in every corner of the world.

The threat of a nuclear conflict, though it remains theoretical, continues to be a source of worldwide insecurity. The danger of an international economic depression continues to be a real possibility that might depend on the next decision taken by a Government or an international financial institution.

This state of affairs has kept the world order in a precariously delicate balance.

(Mr. Hernandez, Dominican Republic)

The third world countries have been the hardest hit by the present world order. The Latin American and Caribbean countries, in particular, are facing challenges simultaneously on different fronts: insecurity which poses the threat of a world war; the menacing trends in the international economic order; the growing gap between the wealthy and the poor countries; the vulnerability of the national economic systems; and the obstacles to the consolidation of democracy, racial justice and freedom. All this is a source of insecurity and hence of conflict in the world, which is one of the reasons why peoples feel such insecurity.

Few can feel safe and tranquil in a world where an increasingly wider line divides mankind into two clearly different groups: one that is satisfied - troubled perhaps by some of the problems to which wealth and high levels of consumption give rise; and the other, the vast majority, that cannot satisfy its most basic needs in terms of food, shelter and clothing, not to mention health, education and culture.

(Mr. Hernandez, Dominican Republic)

We all feel **increasingly insecure** in **this** fragmented world because it is **impossible** in **such** circumstances for natural **solidarity** between **members** of the **same** species to flourish. The **insecurity**, arising from **this** and other **sources** - **such** as racial, political, ideological or religious intolerance and the reluctance to coexist of **countries** and people holding different **creeds**, **philosophies** or **political** and **economic** systems - is one cause of the arms race.

As regard **security** and **confidence-** and **security-building** measures, **especially** in Latin America and the Caribbean, I should like to **emphasize** - without **disregarding** questions of war or **diminishing** their importance - that we cannot fail to identify as one of the main sources of **distrust** the **economic** and **social** circumstances in which the peoples of Latin America have been kept. There has been **reference** to a new international economic order brought about by **current** circumstances - and not by any decision of an international body - but we forget that when, in May 1974, the General **Assembly** at its **sixth** **special** session issued the Declaration and the **Programme** of Action on the **Establishment** of a **New** International Economic Order, all of us citizens of the third world, although **optimistic**, had a **presentiment** of **powerlessness** regarding the likelihood that **these** documents would be implemented by the **industrialized** world.

The **response** of the **industrialized** countries to our **legitimate** **aspirations** was too costly. Through a **tenuous** "economic assistance" that was **offered** to help us deal with our **external** indebtedness, **transnational** financial capital **imposed** the **heaviest** mortgage upon us, and the so-called new international **economic** order remains unfulfilled and even **sometimes** flouted by the **industrialized** countries. Hence, our **longstanding** **distrust** can only **increase**.

(Mr. Hernandez, Dominican Republic)

that **reason must** often **spend** money in the **defence** of their sovereignty rather than devote **themselves** exclusively to **investing** in their own **development**.

The delegation of the **Dominican** Republic welcomed with particular satisfaction the **results** of the unilateral **decisions and** bilateral **negotiations between** the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** and the **United States of America**. **These results** certainly contributed to a relaxation of world **tension**. We hope that this will continue, not **only** bilaterally but also multilaterally, particularly within the framework of the **United Nations**.

We **listened** attentively to the statement of the President of the Conference on Disarmament, Ambassador **Horacio Arteaga**, concerning the current **status of negotiations** in **Geneva** on **chemical** weapons. We noted with **satisfaction** the progress on the existing **consensus** on the scope of the ban - in particular on article I, in which the parties pledge, **regardless of circumstances**, not to develop, produce, acquire in **any** way, **stockpile** or keep **chemical weapons**, nor to use or transfer such weapons directly or indirectly. The agreement reached also covers the destruction of these **weapons**, whether they be the property or under the jurisdiction or control of States **parties**.

As regards the **convention itself**, let us hope that the optimism expressed by Ambassador Arteaga and other representatives will become a reality and that our doubts regarding its **dimension** and budget will be clarified satisfactorily in the **course** of those negotiations. We **see no reason** why **countries** like **mine**, with no intention of manufacturing these **weapons**, much **less** the **opportunity to** do so, and **having suffered** the **constant** fear of their use, must **contribute** economically to the abolition of **sins** that they had **no** thought of **committing**.

(Mr. Hernandez, Dominican Republic)

We are confident that the **progress** in the **negotiations on biological and radiological weapons** and other weapons of mass destruction will free us from that terror, **from which** only a handful of death merchants have profited to the **detriment** of the **entire world population**.

As regards bacteriological weapons, our Government **was pleased** to note the **success** of the **Third Review Conference** of the Convention on the subject, in particular the reiteration of its rejection of the existence of this type of weapon of mass destruction.

As to the nuclear **non-proliferation regime**, my country has **always been concerned about** the discriminatory nature of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of **Nuclear Weapons**, **despite** the fact that we ratified it. The Treaty **imposes the banning** of nuclear weapons on those who do not possess them and **allows** the five nuclear Powers **to possess and develop** such weapons. To put it differently, its **principal purpose, in practice, is to limit** the number of **nuclear-weapon States** to the current **five**. A **more just and non-discriminatory** treaty is **essential** in order to put a definitive halt *not* only to the vertical and horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons, but also to their **possession** by any State.

The **challenge** ahead is **for us to join** forces to reduce our weapons to a minimum through the implementation of true **democracy**, not just **democracy without unconstitutional and repressive Governments**, nor simply **democracy with a multiparty system and changes of Governments**, which are sometimes **sterile**. **Democracy** must be a political model whereby people **can** free themselves from all the **injustices** inflicted on them. It **must** be a **source** of true **confidence and security**, free from the awful **fear of weapons and wars**.

(Mr. Hernandez, Dominican Republic)

The changes that keep coming more **quickly** than we can grasp them are a challenge we cannot conceive in terms of nations or continents. Today we are all in **the very** midst of the conflict between peace and **destruction**, development and **poverty**. And to find stable, just solutions we must understand the causes **of** that conflict; we must face up to them with responsibility and courage+

Mr. AFONSO (Mozambique): It gives me great pleasure to convey my delegation's warm congratulations to Mr. Robert Mrosiewicz of Poland on his unanimous election as Chairman of **the** First Committee at the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly. We are confident that under the able guidance **of so** distinguished a diplomat our work will be crowned with success. My congratulations go also to the other members of the Bureau. Allow me to express, on behalf of my delegation, our deepest appreciation to the past Chairman, Mr. Jai Pratap **Rana** of Nepal, for the impeccable manner in which he presided over last **year's** deliberations.

My delegation would also like to express well-deserved words of congratulation and appreciation to Mr. **Akashi**, the Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, and his **staff** in the Department for Disarmament Affairs for the excellent manner **in** which that Department has been performing its complex duties. We **highly** value the seminars and workshops organised by the **Department** on various **issues** of disarmament and confidence-building, especially those held in our region. **Mozambique** has had the privilege of attending two such **seminars**, and they **were** enormously beneficial.

We are living in **an** age of unprecedented, historic events. **Among** the **most impressive** and dramatic occurrences is the graphic change in the **major**

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

Powers' perception of the importance of disarmament. Mankind has come to understand at last the imperative need to halt the arms race and eliminate its inherent risk of extinction.

The cold war, it appears, destructively fed itself on the rearmament and militarization of societies, through the arms race. Within the context of the new post-cold-war climate in international relations, however, policies favouring the continued development and stockpiling of weapons, especially nuclear weapons, have gradually lost their main justification.

Very recently, dramatic events have taken place in the field of nuclear-arms reduction. These events, which include bilateral and unilateral nuclear-disarmament measures, are indicative of the fact that the positive spirit and the enthusiasm which began with the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles (INF Treaty) are still very much alive.

Last July, the President of the United States and the President of the USSR signed the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty. The final journey to that event was the culmination of long and sometimes very tedious negotiations between the parties involved. We commend them for their perseverance and their achievement. We see the completion of that agreement as being in the interest of the entire international community.

In addition, we note that on 27 September President George Bush announced a proposal for the substantive reduction of United States nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union immediately reciprocated with its own proposals for reductions in nuclear weapons. My delegation would like to join others in expressing satisfaction at these bold undertakings by the two nuclear super-Powers.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

We are hopeful that the same spirit of flexibility and realism demonstrated at the bilateral level will be shown by the United Nations at the Conference on Disarmament.

The goal of a comprehensive ban on all nuclear tests continues to be elusive. We encourage Mr. Ali Alatas, Foreign Minister of Indonesia and President of the Amendment Conference of the Statute of the Treaty, to intensify his efforts and consultations with a view to finding common ground for the reconvening of the Conference on converting the 1963 partial test ban into a comprehensive test ban. We further urge all parties to display a sense of good will by working constructively towards the success of the efforts of Mr. Alatas.

The Conference on Disarmament is reputed to be the role multilateral disarmament negotiating forum. Yet its Ad Hoc Committee dealing with the nuclear-test ban lacks a negotiating mandate. The lack of a negotiating mandate degrades the importance of the test-ban issue and undermines credibility to the Conference on Disarmament as well.

Nuclear disarmament will come into its own when all nuclear Powers engage in concerted and decisive efforts to rid the world of those terrible weapons. A comprehensive ban on nuclear-weapon tests would be one of the most practical first steps towards collective nuclear-arms control and disarmament.

The success of a comprehensive nuclear-test ban will require the strengthening of the non-proliferation regime to make it more effective and more universal in character. The discriminatory character of the provisions of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons needs to be changed in order to make membership in the regime more attractive to all States.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

We note with satisfaction the announcements by France and by China to the effect that they intend to adhere to the non-proliferation Treaty. Their status as nuclear States and also as permanent members of the Security Council lend significant importance to their announced decisions. Similarly, my delegation would like to commend and welcome the decisions of the sister countries of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe to adhere to the non-proliferation Treaty. As I announced in this Committee last year, Mozambique has already acceded to that Treaty. Thus, we now have almost the entire region of southern Africa committed to the ideal of non-proliferation.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

South Africa's decision last July to accede to the non-proliferation Treaty is indeed a matter of some satisfaction to my delegation. In doing so, South Africa has taken a step which is likely to build confidence in the region and on the continent as a whole.

This year's resolution GC(XXXV)/1982 of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) requests

"the Director General to verify the completeness of the inventory of South Africa's nuclear installations and material, and to report to the Board of Governors and to the General Conference at its thirty-sixth regular session."

In this context, strict observance of the commitment undertaken by South Africa under the non-proliferation regime, including the submission of all its nuclear facilities to IAEA safeguards, will help dissipate the continuing sense of mistrust and suspicion over South Africa's nuclear-weapon programme. In doing so, South Africa will also help remove one of the most important obstacles to the implementation of the Declaration of the Denuclearisation of Africa. Recent events have established that participation in the non-proliferation Treaty does not by itself guarantee full compliance by the parties to it. We must therefore continue to be vigilant in the quest for a nuclear-weapon-free Africa.

The events in the gulf region have helped to bring the issue of the dangerous proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, particularly chemical weapons, to the forefront of international concern. My delegation wishes to express its satisfaction over the significant progress on the issue of the comprehensive prohibition of chemical weapons achieved at the Conference on Disarmament. We are gratified by the flexibility displayed by certain

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delegations ON the **contentious** matter of retaliation. We are equally pleased that **the issue** Of the retention Of 2 per cent Of **chemical weapon stocks** for **ten years** after the **convention** entered into force has **been resolved**.

The Ad Hoc Committee on **chemical** weapons expects to conclude its work by **next year**. Therefore we call upon all Member States to continue to work **constructively** to overcome the remaining **obstacles** - in particular, the **issue** of **verification**.

The Third Review Conference Of Parties to the Convention on biological and **toxic** weapons **concluded** its work last September with **significant progress** towards the **strengthening** of the treaty's regime. In this context, we welcome the **establishment** of the Ad Hoc Group of Experts to study practical and **acceptable proposals** on verification **measures** at present **lacking** in the **Convention**.

The issue Of **conventional** arms has lately gathered **momentum** because Of the growing **awareness** of - in the words of the Secretary-General -

"the mounting toll of death, **destruction** and **human suffering** inflicted by the **use** of **conventional** weapons around the world."

It is **recognized** that since the Second World War this category of weapons **has been used** in more than 150 conflicts and has **claimed** more than 20 million **lives**. It is **against** this background that the **issue** of international arms **transfers** and **regional approaches** to **disarmament** is increasingly becoming one of the most important **issues** ON our agenda.

My delegation **wishes to express** its support for the **proposal** to **establish** a United **Nations register** of **conventional arms transfers**. We believe it is important that the **concerns and proposals** of non-aligned countries on the **subject** should be taken into account. The **issue** of **transparency** of

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international arms transfers deserves meticulous study and consideration. This is a complex issue, and its ramifications are a challenge to developing countries, especially, within the context of indigenous defence production capabilities, security needs and regional imbalances.

We are of the view that confidence-building measures can be an effective way of reducing suspicions which encourage arms competition and conflict, especially at the regional level.

I would borrow the following statement from the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Peres de Cuellar. He said in his report on the work of the Organisation:

"Over the years, however, the cold war overshadowed the whole field of arms limitation and disarmament. The perspectives that have now been opened should enable us to weave collective approaches in this field more tightly into the fabric of peace-making and conflict control. The opportunities now presented to us are not likely to remain open indefinitely." (A/46/1, p. 11)

The Government of Mozambique has spared no efforts in its pursuit of peace within the country as well as in the region. My Government, as is well known, is engaged now in negotiations to bring about lasting peace within its territories. The peace efforts are taking place alongside the creation of an appropriate political climate, in which every Mozambican can freely exercise his political rights.

The relentless pursuit of peace by my Government has begun to bear some fruit. Last Friday the Government and the RENAMO rebels came to an agreement on a protocol on fundamental principles. Under this protocol, both parties

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have agreed to commit themselves to work ● spmditiourly towards the early conclusion of a cease-fire agreement - under international control, if need be.

Thus, with respect to regional peace and ● oaurity in southern Africa, the Foreign Minister of Mozambique, Mr. Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi, echoed my Government's views when he said:

"Measures of confidence-building and collective security mechanisms must be deployed in order to prevent resurgence of new conflicts in the region."

We are encouraged by recent successes in the regional efforts for disarmament. We remain convinced, however, that disarmament in some regions should not lead to arms transfers to other regions. This would be at variance with the current trend in arms control and disarmament.

The importance of the regional approach to disarmament lies not only in the field of conventional disarmament but, perhaps more importantly, in its potential ability to enhance international peace and security through agreements for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace.

In this context, my delegation commends the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean on the completion of the preparatory work for the convening of the United Nations Conference on the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, to be held in Colombo in 1992. Mozambique, as Vice-Chairman of that Committee, urges all its members to work constructively for the fulfilment of the objectives of the Declaration.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

We urge the First **Committee** to explore innovative initiatives to improve **its work** in order to guarantee a more **successful outcome** of **its deliberations**. The **Committee** should translate the favourable **climate** in the international arena into **meaningful discussions** and **agreements** on the **issues** on **its agenda**.

Let me conclude by noting that one of the major expectations from the easing of **tensions** and the **consequent progress** in disarmament is the reallocation of **resources** and **energies** to **address** other major challenges faced by humanity. **Underdevelopment** and the degradation of **the environment** are **some** of the **most pressing problems** whose practical solutions **ought** to defy our collective **wisdom**. In this context and pursuant to the **decisions** and understandings reached at the 1967 **International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development**, we call for the reallocation to development **purposes, especially** for the **benefit** of **developing countries**, of a portion of the **resources released** through **disarmament measures**. This is another **area, we believe, in which** the United Nations could play a major coordinating role.

Mr. NYARXI (United Republic of **Tanzania**):, at the **outset**, to add my voice and that of my delegation to the congratulations extended to **Mr. Mrosiewics**, as well as to **other members** of the Bureau, on his election to **preside over the deliberations** of our **Committee**. In **discharging his duties**, he can count on the full **support** and cooperation of the **Tanzania** delegation.

I should **also** like to join in the warm tributes paid to the **memory** of the late **Ambassador Alfonso Garcia Robles** who is best remembered for his **immense** contribution to **the cause of disarmament** and world **peace**. But for his passing away he **would** have **been** among us today contributing **vigorously** to our **discussion**. There is, therefore, **no** better occasion for friends to honour his

(Mr. Nyaki, United Republic
of Tanzania)

memory than the **present** debate on **disarmament**. I did not know him **as** well as many of his **friends** in this **Committee**, but I had the good fortune to be **associated** with him in the six-nation **initiative** throughout the five years of its **existence**. I **have met** few **people** so **deeply committed** to a good cause. Even when he **disagreed** with you he would **not** give **less than** full attention to your **views**, and his unfailing **courtesy** made a deep impression on all who met him. It **is** not just **Mexico** which will **miss** his **service and counsel**. We are all **the poorer** for his **passing** away.

We are once again **meeting against** the background of unprecedented developments in the international arena. In the past few weeks alone we have **witnessed** two initiatives which have marked a **significant** turning-point in the disarmament field. The proposals for deep nuclear arms cuts announced by President **Bush** on 27 September 1991 and **the reciprocal response** by President Gorbachev of **5 October** have spurred optimism for a possible major **breakthrough** in **nuclear disarmament**. As many have acknowledged, the proposals **and measures** outlined by both leaders for the elimination of tactical nuclear weapons, coupled with the two **previous agreements** - the Treaty on the **Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles (INF)** and the strategic arms limitation talks (START) - represent the **most** far-reaching nuclear **disarmament** agreements **since the** advent of the nuclear age. This is **indeed** a most welcome development.

But welcome as these **developments** may be, the world **community cannot** afford to slacken its call for **the** total **elimination** of all nuclear **weapons**; for while it **is true** that **the** two **super-Powers** now **appear to** be willing to **assume** their **responsibility** to rid the world of the menace created by the nuclear-arms race, it **is equally** true that **the agreements between** them and the

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nuclear eutr announced **subsequently** leave them **still** with a nuclear overkill capacity - enough to **destroy** the world many **times** over. **zamplo**, following the signing of the **START agreement**, **analysts pointed out that the levels of strategic weapons the United states of America and the Soviet Union finally agreed to retain in their arsenals are numerically at the same level as when they began negotiatily nine years ago and about five timer their number when the non-proliferation Treaty was signed in 1966. Above all, the process does not involve other nuclear-weapon States whose stocks equally threaten the existence of humanity.**

We point this out, **not to minimise the significance of the unilateral American and Soviet initiatives**, but to show how far we **still** have to go to eliminate the threat of a **nuclear war**. But **the initiatives** remain bold and unprecedented, and Presidents **Bush** and **Gorbachev** **deserve to be** congratulated on the foreright and courage **they have shown**.

These unilateral initiatives have once again demonstrated that, given the necessary political will, nothing is insurmountable. In this connection, we hope that the two leaders will follow up the indications they have now given that they are prepared to go further than their announcements. There are now good prospects for further reductions in strategic nuclear weapons, both land- and sea-based. At the very least we hope that the two super-Powers will now feel able to raise the reductions from the 30 per cent agreed in the START Agreement to the original target of 50 per cent. We hope too that the United States of America will now be able to reciprocate the Soviet Union's offer of a one-year moratorium on nuclear testing. In putting forward the initiative last month, President Bush predicted that, if the Soviet Union responded with

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of Tanzania)

equally bold measures, further cooperation was inevitable. President Gorbachev has met and exceeded the challenge in so far as regards nuclear testing. We urge the United States of America to respond positively.

It is again a matter of regret that the progress made unilaterally or at the bilateral level has not been matched by progress at the multilateral level where we are all involved. The statement by the President of the Conference on Disarmament and the Conference omnibus report (A/46/27) DOW before the Committee, leaves no doubt that the work done in that body leaves much to be desired. The widely acclaimed "positive international atmosphere" does not seem to have permeated the work of the only multilateral body entrusted with negotiating and concluding multilateral disarmament agreements. My delegation is, however, not unaware of the progress made in the negotiations on a chemical-weapons-ban convention. We are encouraged by the optimism shown by the major participants in the negotiations regarding the prospects for the conclusion of a draft convention by the spring of next year - to be specific, by May 1992. While this is indeed welcome, we cannot however fail to express our disappointment with the slow pace of negotiations concerning other issues listed as priority items on the agenda of the Conference on Disarmament. It is sad to note that, after nearly three decades now, serious negotiations covering three areas which constitute the cornerstone of nuclear disarmament - a nuclear-test ban, cessation of the nuclear-arms race and prevention of nuclear war - have yet to start. Year after year, discussions on these items have not advanced beyond the preliminary exchange of views. For the process of disarmament to be considered irreversible, it has to be reflected at all levels, all stages complementing one another in order to achieve the ultimate goal of total and complete disarmament.

(Mr. Nyaki, United Republic
of Tanzania)

It **is** therefore our fervent **hope** that the **expressed commitment** by all States to total **disarmament** will be demonstrated in all multilateral **forums**. This Committee provides the **universal** forum for charting the **best course** and path toward our **goals and objectives** as set forth in the **Final Document** of the **first special session** of the general **Assembly** devoted to **disarmament**. Let us therefore all work together to **advance** the goals to which we collectively **subscribe** in the search for international **peace, security and development**.

I should now like to say a **word** about the Treaty on the **Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons**, which has **recently received a tremendous boost** through the **accession** of a number of **States, including my own**. On **behalf** of my delegation, I should like to thank all **those** who have **commended Tanzania's** recent **accession** to the Treaty. As many will recall, **Tanzania's position** with regard to the non-proliferation Treaty has **been largely critical**. We **opposed** the Treaty **because we have any nuclear ambitions - we have neither the ability nor the wish to go nuclear - but because of its discriminatory nature and because of the failure of the nuclear-weapon Powers to live up to their obligations** under the Treaty.

Our **accession to the Treaty has not changed** our long-standing **position** with regard to the major flaw inherent in it. We **still regard** the **effect** of the Treaty - if not its **objective - as disarming the unarmed and arming the armed**. Nevertheless, as a **demonstration** of our **abiding commitment to nuclear disarmament, Tanzania decided to review its position** on the Treaty so as to deny its **critics** any further **excuse not to shoulder their responsibility** with regard to the **non-proliferation of nuclear weapons**. **Tanzania's refusal to sign the non-proliferation Treaty was essentially a protest position**. Although not wholly allaying our **fears**, the **progress made by the super-Powers**

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in nuclear disarmament has encouraged us to hope that this gesture on OUR part will **stimulate** movement in the **remaining areas**.

We should **like** to repeat what **we have always stated, namely**, that we **consider** the **most reliable means of checking the** ● **raalation** of the **nuclear-arms race, sustaining** Don-proliferation **and averting** the risk of a nuclear war to be the conolurion of a **comprehensive test-ban treaty** that would **halt** all **forms of nuclear testing**. The **conclusion** of such a **treaty** would go a long way **towards** proving the **commitment** of the **nuclear Powers** to the **non-proliferation** of **nuclear weapons** and **genuine disarmament negotiations**.

The **future** of the **non-proliferation Treaty** will largely **depend** OD the **willingness** of the nuclear-weapon State8 to stop all **nuclear torts** and **conclude** a **comprehensive test-ban treaty** that will **baa** such **tests** at all times and in **all environments**. Short of that, **no meaningful disarmament measures** could **stand** the **test** of **time** in **halting** and ● **vmtually reversing** the **nuclear-arms** raw. A8 **analysts** have rightly **observed**, if the **nuclear Powers** **continw** to **test, develop, produce** and **deploy** new or **modernized nuclear weapons**, and even if the **numbers** and the **most destabilizing weapons** are reduced, **there** will still be **no cessation** of the **nuclear-arms race** and not much **hope** for a final **elimination** Of **nuclear weapons**.

The **Amendment Conference** of the **States** parties to the **partial test-ban Treaty**, held **ea.ly** in **January** this year, was yet another **effort** to bring to the fore the urgent need to **conclude** a **comprehensive tort ban**. The **international community** had **expected** appropriate **cooperation** on the part of the **nuclear-weapon Powers** that **are parties** to the **Treaty**. **Regrettably**, thm attitude of two depositary **Powers** led many to **question** their **professed commitment** to **non-proliferation**.

(Mr. Nyaki, United Republic of Tanzania)

My delegation strongly commends the efforts of the President of the Conference, Ms. Ali Alatas, who, through his consultations, has fought, under rather difficult circumstances, to carry out the mandate entrusted to him. We hope his efforts will result in the reconvening of another stage of the Amendment Conference in 1992 in a bid to achieve a comprehensive test-ban treaty. My delegation will continue to lend him all its support and full cooperation in this endeavour.

The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace has acquired increasing significance in the overall context of regional disarmament initiatives. Tanzania's support for such zones has been guided by its conviction that such steps will strengthen regional peace and security and contribute towards comprehensive efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament.

In this regard we have consistently called for the denuclearisation of Africa through the implementation of the 1964 Declaration by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on the establishment of a nuclear-free-zone in Africa. At its last session the General Assembly took a further step in this direction by adopting resolution 45/56 A, which inter alia, requested the Secretary-General to provide all necessary assistance that the OAU might seek regarding the convening a meeting of experts to examine the modalities and elements for the preparation of a formal convention or treaty on the denuclearisation of Africa. Accordingly, the Group of Experts met at Addis Ababa, and Tanzania was fortunate to be able to send an expert to that meeting. The Group's report is before us in document A/C.1/46/9, and I should like to commend it to the Committee.

(Mr. Nyaki, United Republic
of Tanzania)

The commitment of African countries to the Declaration is unquestionable. In the past our efforts to achieve the objectives of the Declaration have been frustrated by the policies of the apartheid regime of South Africa and its nuclear-weapon ambitions.

An atmosphere of alarming credulity has greeted the recent signing of the non-proliferation Treaty by the South African regime. While that is indeed a welcome development, my delegation will need to see more than the regime's signature on the Treaty and on the safeguard agreements with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to accept the assurances of a sincere desire to contribute to ensuring the security of countries in the region and to a nuclear-free Africa. South Africa's nuclear-weapon capability is a reality that has not been diminished by its accession to the Non-proliferation Treaty. Despite recent positive developments in South Africa, the apartheid regime remains in power, and its policies and practices remain deeply entrenched in the country. In signing the Treaty, South Africa has neither renounced its aggressive policies, forgone its nuclear ambitions nor destroyed its nuclear weapons. We believe those countries that have power and influence on the regime should guarantee that South Africa lives up to the letter and spirit of the non-proliferation Treaty and of the agreements reached with the IAEA. We know ● enough of that regime to know that this is one area where blind trust would be dangerous. The methods and techniques developed recently will need to be applied to ensure compliance.

(Mr. Nyaki, United Republic
of Tanzania)

As a littoral State of the Indian Ocean, Tanzania has consistently expressed its strong desire and has worked tirelessly in all forums to see the realisation of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace become a reality. As members of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean, we have participated in all its sessions for almost two decades. It is a matter of deep regret that there are still obstacles to the convening in Colombo of the United Nations Conference on the Indian Ocean, which will pave the way for the implementation of the Declaration.

Regrettably, the prevailing positive international atmosphere has not facilitated the preparatory work undertaken by the Ad Hoc Committee for more than a decade. It is the hope of my delegation that the optimism generated by recent disarmament initiatives will have a positive effect on the continuing efforts, thus enabling us to achieve the objectives of the Declaration in the near future. My delegation will continue to lend its full support to the work of the Ad Hoc Committee. We have come a long way in the preparatory process and it would be a disservice to the objectives of the Declaration if we were to slacken our efforts to reach our final goal, that is, the realisation of peace and security in the Indian Ocean and its surrounding areas.

The issue of international arms transfers has attracted increased attention recently and following the issuance of the report of the Group of Experts (A/46/301) of 9 September 1991, the Committee has attempted to forge a consensus on how to promote transparency on a universal and non-discriminatory basis, taking into account the legitimate interests of all nations. Several initiatives have been, and continue to be, undertaken by several groups of States aimed at launching measures to regulate international arms transfers. The report of the Group of Experts established to study the

(Mr. Nyaki, United Republic
of Tanzania)

issue of such transfers and transparency is before the Committee. My delegation understands and supports the legitimate measures genuinely intended to regulate such transfers without prejudicing the legitimate transfers necessary for the security of nations. We understand and sympathise with the desire to put an end to the illicit arms trade and we trust that all nations will cooperate to deny the merchants of death the huge profits they reap from this sordid business.

The major industrial Powers maintain a monopoly over the world's armaments, especially over their development and production. Unfortunately, by focusing on the needs of the small nations, most of which maintain relatively low levels of armaments for their legitimate defence needs, some of the proposals before the Committee appear to have ignored this reality. The proposals now being advanced by the group of European countries should be examined with this in mind. My delegation will find it difficult to lend support to proposals which place the burden of sacrifice on small nations which are only importers of modest armaments for legitimate reasons. It cannot be right to pursue a policy that ensures undiminished security for the major Powers, while resulting in diminished security for smaller and weaker nations.

In conclusion, let me state that all the disarmament issues before our Committee have a direct bearing on our future existence on this planet. The future existence of mankind is a matter of common interest to all of us and we all have a role to play in ensuring it. The quest for global security underscores our commonly shared goals, which transcend the different geographical and political systems which we represent. Tanzania has always believed that by working for peace, disarmament and universal security, we

(Mr. Nyaki, United Republic
of Tanzania)

shall be working for a better future for **ourselves** **MA** **coming generations**. By **OUR** adherence to the Charter Of the United Nations, we **committed** ourselves to the duty of bringing **peace** to **the** world through the **prevention** of **war**, **particularly nuclear war**. **We reaffirm** our **continued commitment** to this goal.

Finally, I **wish**, on behalf of my delegation, to extend our **sincere** appreciation and gratitude to the Under-Secretary-General for **Disarmament** Affairs, **Wt. Yasushi Akashi**, and his **dedicated staff**, for the valuable support **and assistance they have given to** our work and **the various disarmament activities, particularly** in our region. **We commend** their **efforts** and pledge our **continued** support,

Mr. AL-SARKAL (United Arab **Emirates**) (interpretation from **Arabic**):

It **is** a source of pleasure for **me** to extend on behalf of the United Arab **Emirates my congratulations** to the Chairman **and** to all the **members** of the Bureau. I hope that our deliberation8 in **this Committee** will be in the **best** interest of **Member States** and **of mankind** at large.

Our Committee meets in **special circumstances** after the end of **the** cold war **and** the rapprochement between the **United States** **and** the Soviet Union on the question of **disarmament, particularly** following the initiative of **President** Bush on 27 **September 1991** to **eliminate** all **short-range nuclear** weapons as well as the initiative of **Wt. Gorbachev, President** of the soviet Union, on 5 **October 1991**. There are new **international developments** which **affect** the people8 of the world **and** reflect upon the **question** of **disarmament**.

The people8 of the world have begun to learn that **democracy** is the road to progress and freedom **and** that, **as much**, it **●** **trenghens** trade relations, communication between Peoples, enhances international **cooperation**, leads to

(Mr. Al-Sarkal, United Arab Emirates)

ending centralized domination and thereby makes it possible to achieve security and prosperity. However, we must not rejoice and declare that a new international order has emerged. For a new world order cannot emerge from any one particular country. We still face many difficult challenges. The most important challenges in this era are those we face in the areas of education, culture, the protection of children. These are the challenges which confront the new international order and which that order will have to face up to if it is to restore security, stability, prosperity and democracy to the world. The basic norms that govern international relations are mutual respect for sovereignty, commitment to non-aggression, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, coequality and peaceful coexistence. These are the fundamentals that should characterize a new type of international relations.

It is now grown that conflicts can be resolved through national conciliation, balance of interests, negotiation between all the parties concerned and the exercise of will. The main event that led to the proposal by the European Community for a register of weapons transfers was the Gulf crisis and the Iraqi invasion of the State of Kuwait. The limitation and reduction of military expenditures on a global scale would be a major contribution towards disarmament as it will result in the rechanneling of resources to economic and social development. The relationship between disarmament and development is a competitive one, as they compete not only for the resources of the world but also for the attitudes and concepts which govern people's decisions. The world has to make a choice between persisting in the arms race or proceeding boldly towards a more stable and more balanced economic and social development, in the context of a new economic and social order that is much more viable.

(Mr. Al-Sarkal, United Arab Emirates)

The **relationship** between **disarmament** and development should be viewed in the context of the ending **arms race** which **swallows up more than it should** of the world's **human, financial, natural and technological resources**, and thus **places** a heavy burden on the economies of all countries. Given **the** fact that **as far as the developed** and developing countries are concerned, the **world's resources**, which are finite, are under **heavy strains**, a reduction of **the world's military spending can result** in a **significant contribution** to the **process** of development. **Disarmament** could contribute **effectively** to that **process**. The reduction of **military budgets**, in and by itself, would **be** the **means** of reallocating additional **resources** to the economic and social development, **especially** of developing **countries**, over and above the fact *that* such reduction would lead eventually to **disarmament**.

Development should not **continue** to be **exposed** to the danger of **falling victim** to the **arms** race, while **disarmament** can make a **significant** contribution to **development**.

Disarmament and **development** have a **close** and **multidimensional relationship**. Each of them **OM** have an **impact** at the national, regional, and global level, **in such a way as to create** an **environment** of peace, **prosperity** and **economic and social development**. Without this **relationship**, **mankind** would **live** in an environment of **murder, hatred, envy** and **various forms of war**. We **must work together** so that we live in a world of **understanding** in which its **resources are** not directed to **militarisation** but to economic and social **development** - a world in which we do not **think** of war but of **peace**.

Hence, the entire world **looks** forward to the United Nations **Conference** on **Environment and Development (UNCED)** that will be held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 and to the efforts to be **exerted** to fight **desertification** and to protect

(Mr. Al-Sarkal, United Arab Emirates)

the resources of the great forests and the biological diversity of the world and its oceans and seas.

The map of the world is composed of all States. Militarily, there are those countries which produce conventional, biological, nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and then there are those countries which produce and export those weapons to the highest bidder.

If we look at the arms-importing countries, some of them do so in order to protect their stability, security and their people. These are countries that wish to live in peace and defend themselves from external aggression. On the other hand, there are other countries which stockpile arms of all types for aggressive purposes while their peoples are in desperate need of economic and social development. Unfortunately, their peoples are powerless. An example of this is what happened recently in Iraq, which is known to all.

There is another State, such as Israel, which is not one of the signatories to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and therefore, there is no mechanism that can inspect its nuclear or other weapons. It is in the interest of the world for Israel not to develop nuclear weapons. But who is going to compel Israel not to manufacture such weapons? It is not a signatory to NPJ and its facilities are not subject to inspection. We must not forget also the close military and nuclear cooperation between Israel and South Africa.

Security and stability are the objectives of all peoples. Security is fundamental for both disarmament and development. However, security consists of not only military, but also political, economic, social, humanitarian and human rights and ecological aspects. Enhancement of security can, on the one hand, create conditions conducive to disarmament, and at the other, provide

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the confidence required for the successful pursuit of development. The development process, by overcoming the non-military threats to security and contributing to a more stable and sustainable international system, can enhance security and thereby promote arms reduction and disarmament. Disarmament would enhance security directly and indirectly. A process of disarmament ensures undiminished security at increasingly diminished levels of armament would make possible the allocation of additional resources to the task of addressing non-military challenges to security and thus result in enhanced overall security.

The use or threat of use of force in international relations, external intervention, armed aggression, foreign occupation, colonial domination, and all forms of racial discrimination, violation of territorial integrity, of national sovereignty, of the right to self-determination, and the encroachment on the right of all nations to pursue their economic and social development free from outside interference constitute threats to international peace and security. International security will be guaranteed in turn to the extent that peaceful and negotiated solutions to regional conflicts are promoted.

The current level of global military spending in pursuit of security interests reflects approximately 6 per cent of the world's gross national product and has been estimated to be more than 20 times as large as all official development assistance to developing countries. During the 1980s global military expenditure has grown on an average at a faster rate than during the second half of the 1970s.

It has been estimated that global spending on military research and development represents approximately one quarter of the world's expenditure on all types of research and development.

(Mr. Al-Sarkal, United Arab Emirates)

The opportunity cost of military expenditures over the past 40 years has been and continues to be borne both by developed and developing countries, as there is a pressing need for additional resources for development in both groups of countries. In developing countries, it has been estimated that close to 1 billion people are below the poverty line, 780 million people are undernourished, 850 million are illiterate, 1.5 billion have no access to medical facilities, an equally large number are unemployed, and 1 billion people are inadequately housed. All this is due to the impact of military spending on the world economy.

The disarmament dividend may be obtained in a variety of forms. These could include trade expansion, technological transfers, more efficient utilisation of global resources, more effective and dynamic international division of labour, reduction of public debt and budgetary deficits, and increased flows of resources through development assistance, commercial and other private flows or transfers of resources to the developing countries.

We are encouraged by the recent initiatives of the two major nuclear Powers, both of which have a great responsibility. The two powers have publicly and officially announced that they are trying to reach the final stages of bilateral negotiations aimed at the total eradication of nuclear weapons. In addition, our hopes are raised by the public's growing awareness of the destructive capacity of weapons arsenals and the waste that growing military expenditures constitute. Moreover, this awareness leads to the general perception that national security cannot be achieved in isolation, since the dangers which threaten mankind threaten all nations, large and small, rich and poor, weak and strong.

**(Mr. Al-Sarkal, United
Arab Emirates)**

Our world **is** threatened as a result of **these** arm^s **arsenals** which **can** blow **it** up, and by **the** heavy **burden** of military **expenditures** in which we **could** drown, **and** as a **result** of **this**, **the** **basic** **needs** of two third^s of the world's population **are** not met, and they live at **the** poverty **line**, using **less** than one third of **the** world's **resources**.

We are of those who **believe** that this world **is** on loan to **us** from our **children**, just as **we** inherited it from our **forefathers**. **The** **resources** of the world **are** not **infinite**, and the **need** for national security **is** legitimate, but **we** should not **stand** by **68** **impotent** **witnesses** while the world veer^s toward^s a **situation** of **less-security-at-greater-cost**.

The meeting rose at 4.50 p.m.