

FORTY-SIXTH SESSION

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# VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 18th MEETING

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.

#### STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to inform members that the Chair has been approached by a number of delegations requesting that the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions under the disarmament items be extended. Taking into account such concerns, and in order to enable consultations that are now under way on a number of texts to be successfully concluded, the Bureau of the Committee is of the opinion that the most feasible extension of the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions would be Wednesday, 30 October 1991, at 6 p.m.

It is my **sincere** hope that this additional time being made available will be **instrumental** in allowing a wider base of agreement to emerge on those texts.

If the **Committee** agrees with such a proposal, I shall **nevertheless urge** delegation8 kindly to do their utmost to submit au **many** draft resolutions as **possible** before **the new deadline**, **so as** to facilitate the proceedings of the **Committee** when we reach the stage of consideration and action on draft resolutions.

As I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Committee agrees with the proposal that I have just made regarding the extension of the deadline until Wednesday, 30 Oatober 1991, at 6 p.m.

It was so decided.

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### AGENDA ITEMS 47 TO 65 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS

Nr. KOBFFLER (Austria) (interprætation from French): m today to make a few comments on chemical weapons and the negotiation8 on a convention banning such weapons,

Since on 13 May President Bush announced his initiative on chemical weapons, the Ad Boo Committee on this question has made significant progress. Nevertheless, several points remain unresolved, and they require not only technical solutions but also a political settlement. I am thinking particularly of the questions of verification and decision-making.

The main problem we have encountered with respect to **verification** identifying **objective pritoria which** would **enable us** to include **certain** installation8 in the **verification** regime. In **this** connection, we believe **that the concept of "capacity"** is a fundamental criterion, while agreeing with others that it would be **desirable** to **restrict this concept** to the **most** pertinent types of **installations**. **This** should take care of both the political and the technical problem relating to the scope of **verification**. In political **terms**, **this** would help to **overcome** the **misgivings** of **representatives** of the chemical industry **as** well **as** of **those** countries that **have a** number of chemical**installations**. Furthermore, the financial **implications** could **thus** be kept & own to an acceptable level.

With respect to the **decision-making** machinery to be adopted in light of the future convention, I should like to touch upon three **principles** I believe are **essential**, namely, the geographical distribution of **seats**, **transparency** and flexibility.

In light of the respective regional and world **interests** of all States, without exception, all regions of the world should be appropriately represented

# (Mr. Koeffler, Austria)

in the decision-making structure. If the functioning of the future Organisation is to inspire general confidence, it is essential that the decision-making processbe as transparent as possible. This should also be safegwarded in all other spheres of activity of the future organisation, while beating in mind, at the same time, restrictions on information required by commercial confidentiality and the security interests involved.

### (Mr. Koeffler, Austria)

Flexibility is **necessary** to allow a **prompt political** and **administrative** reaction. **Because** of the way the international **scene** is doveloping and because of the **considerable progress** in **science** and **technology**, the implementation and interpretation of the convention should be flexible. My country attaches the greatest **possible** importance to **achieving** a **complete** ban on chemical weapons. For that reason Austria has **become involved** in the **process** of negotiation and maintains **its** offer to host the future control organisation.

The organisation will have to perform a number of different functions to ensure the comprehensive application of the convention. One of these function8 is verification in the broadest sense of the word, including the periodic updating of ways and mean8 of verification.

As we see it, the organisation should provide the international community with a wide range of services and be easily accessible. Its location ahould afford it the alosest cooperation and coordination with the other international bodies concerned, the international community and the scientists engaged in matters of verification.

Now that the end of the negotiations on chemical weapons seems to be in sight, clearly the time is now ripe to deal with the question of reservations to the Geneva Protocol of 1925. Statesparties may declare that they are prepared to withdraw all their reservations to the Protocol as soon as possible or, at all events, before the convention comes into force.

The conclusion of a convention on **chemical** weapons will strengthen the **security of** any State becoming a party to that instrument. That **is** a praiseworthy **and** important goal which we should not **lose** sight **of**.

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Mr. KRISHNAN (Malaysia): Allow me first of all to congratulate Mr. Robert Mrosiewics of Poland on him appointment am Chairman of the Committee. I am confident #at under him wise and able guidance, the work of the Committee will bear fruitful results. Allow me also to congratulate the other members of the Bureau on their election am Vice-Chairmen and Rapporteur of the Committee.

The end of the cold war and other positive developments around the world have given hope of the emergence of a batter **international** environment. Although the exact nature of the much-talked-about new order is still not clear, moat countries **seem** to regard it am en opportunity to move towards a positive future for all of us. Malaysia shares this view. However, we still need to be cautious as there are many challenges ahead and many long-standing iaauea remain **unresolved**. Therefore, we must examine our priorities and atrategiea in terms of global peace and security and ask ovraelyea what sort of world we Want our children and our children's children to live in. There is a window of opportunity in front of us: we can turn the uncertainty of our past into a future of progress, stability and security for the next In this regard disarmament is one area which deserves priority generation. consideration by the international community.

Since its inception, the United Nations ham recognised that disarmament is the key to world peace and socurity. It ham made the ending of the arms race a primary task until what is popularly known am general and complete disarmament is achieved. Yet we are still far from achieving much a goal. The reason for our failure ham been the cold war which ensured that no region in this world felt secure enough to allow much a noble ideal to bloom. The ending of the cold war ham opened the way for a new beginning towards making substantive progress in arms control and disarmament. PKB/dr

#### (<u>Mr. Krishnan, Malaysia</u>)

In our view, the attainment of future global peace and security must start with the elimination of weapons of mass destruction. Since the end of the Second World War, we have been subjected to the constant fear of a nuclear Indeed, at least once we came very close to a nuclear holocaust. confrontation between the two super-Powers. We have been told repeatedly that in the tense atmosphere of the cold war, nuclear weapons were an essential deterrent that would preserve our freedom and our way of life. There have been many offorts - multilateral and bilateral - to reduce and to eliminate theme weapons of doom but progress ham been limited. The rime of a new leadership in the Soviet Union in the mid 1980s ham brought a new eraof Baat-West cooperation. It ham resulted in the first substantive progress in nuclear **disarmament** when the Treaty on the **Blimination** of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles (INF Treaty) was signed. The INF Treaty is the first in history to eliminate **an** entire **Category** of **nuclear** weapons, It was followed recently by the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), a *rignificant* end encouraging agreement. But much more needs to be done as the number of nuclear warheads left under the START Treaty is more than when the START proceaa began.

Malaysia therefore welcomes the recent initiative by President George Bush to eliminate all short-range nuclear warheads, to withdraw cruise miaailea from ahipa, submarinea and land-baaed naval aircraft, toterminate the intercontinental ballistic missils programme and to cancel the new short-range-attack missile programme. Malaysia was equally happy when President Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union responded positively to the proposals. In fact, the other nuclear-weapon States should become parties to

### (<u>Mr. Krishnan, Malaysia</u>)

this latest initiative which we consider to be a good beginning for the **gradual** elimination of all types of nuclear weapons, including strategic weapons.

Some people may frown when we talk about the total elimination of nuclear weapons. Over the years, controllers of these weapons have adamantly defended their position when stating why they cannot or must not be eliminated. It has always been argued that nuclear weapons are like a genie that CM never be put back in the bottle. Yct, strangely enough, we never hear the same argument about chemical weapons - Mother weapon of mama destruction that is relatively easy to make and conceal. The Conference on Disarmament is at present working on a convention that would effectively ban the production, stockpiling and transfer of chemical weapons. By the latest estimate the chemical weapons convention should be ready for signing in 1992. Why is it not possible to have the same type of convention on nuclear weapons? JSM/dl

## (<u>Mr. Krishnan, Malaysia</u>)

Nalaysia strongly believes that a convention on nuclear weapons is not only poaaible but a matter of necessity. In today's age of monumental electronic advances and diminishing international tension, the argument that much a convention would be difficult to verify no longer holds water. The fact is that it CM be verified, and experience gained by the United States and the USSR during the negotiations on the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) and the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe have proved the convention'sviability. The ability of the United States to detect clandestine nuclear-weapons programmes in the Middle East is Mother example of the feasibility of the convention. On the question of monitoring, the instrument for regulating and implementing it already exists, even though it needs to be transformed and strengthened. I am referring to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapon8 (NPT).

To ensure a nuclear-weapon-free era, the NPT should be transformed into a convention banning all nuclear weapons. At the present time, the NPT, despite its strong points, particularly in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, has always been perceived as  $\mathbf{a}$  flawed agreement, for two main reasons. The first is its **discriminatory** nature, Md the second is its failure to achieve universality. Malaysia welcomed the indications of France and China - the two remaining nuclear-weapon States not parties to the NPT - that they intend to become signatories to the NPT. However, the fact remains that the NPT in its present form is discriminatory. This weakness has prevented many of the so-called threshold countries from adhering to the NPT. Therefore we believe that the only way for the NPT to achieve universality is to eliminate totally all types of nuclear weapons and transform the NPT into a convention banning the production, stockpiling **and** transfer of nuclear weapons. Such an

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#### (<u>Mr. Krishnan, Malaysia</u>)

endeavour must take place under the United Nations umbrella, and it must begin now, in anticipation of the NPT extension conference to be convened in 1995.

Pending the complete **ban** on nuclear weapons, Malaysia also calls for a total **ban** on nuclear teats for the development of even **more** destructive weapons. We believe that these teats are conducted for the mole purpose of achieving more aophiaticated weapons and nothing else. Inareaaed sophistication will only mean more destruction for leas yield. Thus, the vertical proliferation of theme vergons will be perpetuated and will inevitably lead to a further nuclear-arms race. As echoed by Indonesia, we are also concerned that the advances made in nuclear-weapons technology will result in difficulty in verifying a future convention on them. This does uot augur well for our future and must come to an end.

Today, the world community is becoming more Md more aware and concerned about the destructive consequences of human activities on the face of the Earth and the need to preserve our environment. Against this background, nuclear-weapon teats are at odds with the policies of some countries which profeaa environmental concerns. We have been told that underground nuclear teats - the only type that is allowed now - do not adversely affect the environment. However, the fact is that radioactive contamination doom occur during there tests and there is no guarantee that this will not affect people living close to the teat sites. If it is so safe, why CM much teats not be conducted in Europs or in the Mediterranean Sea Md not in the Pacific7

In atop with the transformation of the NPT, a mechanism must also be established to ban the delivery ayatama for these wapona, such as certain categories of submarines, strategic bomber missile systems, and, above all, the intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) system. The elimination of these delivery ayatema is an essential foundation for confidence-building JSM/d1

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# (<u>Mr. Krishnan, Malaysia</u>)

The chemical-weapons convention is expected to be ready for • ignaturo in 1992. Malaysia welcomes this development and wishes to congratulate the Ad Roc Committee on Chemical Weapons of the Conference on Disarmament for its • remplary efforts, which have brought the negotiations to their present stage. Malaysia would also like to thank Australia for trying to involve other non-member States of the Conference by organising regional consultations on the matter to enable them to have their views made known to the Conference.

Malaysia believes that the present ctage of negotiation8 would not have been possible without the agreement of the two super-Powers to the gradual elimination of their nuclear-weapons arsenals. We wish to note that the announcement by President Bush of the United State8 decision to waive it8 earlier intention to maintain 10 per cent of its chemical weapons stock is the most important gesture in making the convention possible.

Nalaysia is ready to adhere to the convention, provided that it does not hamper the growth of legitimate chemical industries in developing countries. Emphasis rhould also be given to the process for the destruction of these weapons. Countries that are unable to dispose of their own weapon8 safely or dispose of those weapon8 left on their territory by other8 - must be given assistance in order to avoid adverse affect8 on the environment.

Malaysia managed to participate for the first time in the Third Review Conference of the biological weapon8 Convention held recently in Geneva. We are happy with the outcome of the Conference. It Lasstrengthened our belief that the international community is able to cooperate to • 8t8bli8h • ffoctive arms-control regimes. The signing of the Convention was too simplistic and we are happy to note that a8 an outcome of the Third Review Conference, the Convention will now be strengthened with verification procedures and other

#### (<u>Mr. Krishnan, Malaysia</u>)

steps that will curb violations, increase transparency and therefore promote confidence among States.

Global peace and stability cannot be achieved by the eradication of weapon8 of mass descruction alone. We must realise that conventional weapon8 have wreaked more havoc, killed more people and brought more misery to mankind - especially in the third world - than any other type of weapon. Since the end of the Second World War, it has been estimated that 40 million people have been killed in war8 around the world and all of them were the result of conventional weaponry. On this point, Malaysia is not advocating the elimination of conventional weapons in the true sense of the phrase "complete disarmament". It would be naive to think that a nation could do without appropriated efence in case of sudden or unexpected aggression. However, it must be Underlined that the excessive accumulation of arms would Only invite suspicion and instability. Therefore, Malaysia support8 any effort towards confidence-building through transparency in production, stockpiling, transfer of arm8 and military technology. In this regard, Malaysia and other non-aligned countries: are hoping to work with the Buropean Community and Japan on a United Nations armaments reporting system and arrive at a consensus draft resolution for adoption by the General Assembly at its current session.

To feelsecure, countries must be confident that there will not be any throat to their security. Our experience has been that, most often, threats came from our own neighbours. These threats could be real, but sometimes they could be inaccurate perceptions. Therefore, a mechanism should be established between neighbours on a regional basis to promote confidence-building and eliminate the possibility of tensions emanating from the purchase, production end stockpiling of avmaments. In this respect, Malaysis would like to

# (<u>Mr. Krishnan, Malaysia</u>)

congratulate the countries of Europe, the United State8 and Canada, for their success in negotiating the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Burope and to laud the viability of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) established to promote confidence-building and cooperation among European countries. Other region8 should be encouraged to develop their own mechanisms for confidence-building and arms control. As far a8 developing countries are concerned, disarmament is an important factor that will contribute toward8 development.

# (<u>Mr. Krishnan, Malavsia</u>)

I cannot stress too strongly the significance of the relationship between disarmament and development. The developed countries have been pontificating on the virtue8 of the developing countries' reducing arm8 spending, yet it is the former who are the major producers and sellers of weapon8 and it is they which sometimes • xtond foreign military assistance for the purchase of weapons. Now is the time for us to start implementing the action programme we agreed on in the final document of the 1967 International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development and to resort more to dialogue and negotiation to resolve our difference8 and ensure our security.

To • a8ure long-term regional security and confidence among neighbours, Malaysia, together with it8 neighbour8 in the Association of South-East Asian Nations(ASEAN), has since 1971 been promoting the regional concept of a sone of peace, freedom and neutrality (ZOPPAN). In addition, ASEAN member countries 8180 signed the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in South-East Asia in 1976, in which member countries agreed to resolve any dispute by peaceful means, prevent outside interference and promote regional cooperation. Indeed, ASEAN is widely recognised as an important factor for peace; and following the signing of the Paris Agreement on Cambodia last Wednesday, Malaysia, along with its friend8 in ASEAN, will continue to strive to strengthen peace in the region, starting with the accession of the Indochinese countries to the 1976 Treaty of Amity and Cooperation.

The journey toward8 achieving disarmament started long ago. We are now at acrossroadswhere we must commit ourselves to a clear and definite path toward8 general arms control and disarmament. Malaysia, for it8 part, will strive to play its role in building a more equitable peace and security for all nation8 and a brighter future for all of us.

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Mr. DEVANOV (Bulgaria): The Gulf War and recent progress in disarmament have highlighted the non-proliferation motivation of the arm-aontrol policies of many States. As a result, the non-proliferation issue now seems to DSOM • rtremely high in international affairs.

The growing interest in and support for initiatives to curb the global spread of weapon8 are a natural response to widely shared concerns about the dangers to peace pored by their unrestricted accumulation. The need for coordinated non-proliferation measures on a regional and global level is being widely recognized a8 an urgent task of the international community. We consider such individual and joint actions by State8 within the system of the United Nation8 an indispensable element of the quest for a new world order of peace, stability and security.

What the international community needs at present is a universally shared politiaal determination not only to denounce but also actively to oppose any further proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and missile delivery systems as well as the • ISOLAAKOL accumulation of conventional arms. Differing perceptions on how best to achieve the immediate non-proliforatiou goals should not prevent us from arriving at common understandings on long-term objectives and elaborating widely supported guidelines for a responsible arms-trade policy.

The gulf crisis has taught us to look at non-proliferation in a wider contort. Arms-control objectives in this field can no longer be restricted to nuclear weapons alone. They now cover not only nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, but also missile delivery systems and conventional arms transfers. This, of course, should not be Been as downgrading in any way the well-established place of nuclear non-proliferation on the disarmament agenda.

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( М t . ) We believe that the various ways of strengthening  $\mathfrak{S} \blacksquare \mathfrak{L} = \mathfrak{I}$  xpMding non-yzoliferation regime8 in the present circumstances should not necessarily beconsidered a8 mutually exclusive alternatives. Contractual global mechanisms, regional arrangements, a harmonization of suppliers' policies, stronger national export controls, inspection activities of international institutions and agencies, comprehensive bans and limitation8 - all these avenue8 of arm8 control could be viewed a8 indispensable component8 of a joint non-proliferation effort. When one approach does not seem to produae immediate results, another one may well achieve the non-proliferation objectives. We should opt to do what is feasible at any stage and resist being overwhelmed by a sense of frustration that might ensue from limited results on one or Mother individual track of current non-proliferation activities.

In the nuclear field, my delegation regards the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons(NPT) as the best available international instrument to prevent nuclear proliferation. The year 1991 is indeed a remarkable one for the NPT. We note with satisfaction a growing tendency to strengthen the Treaty's membership and it8 leg&l regime.. The decisions in principle announced by France and China to accede to the NPT bring us to the point of achieving the difficult goal of having all five nuclear-weapon State8 together in the mainstream of nuclear non-proliferation efforts. The accession of South Africa, Zambia, Tansania and Zimbabwe to the NPT is Mother major event which, we hope, may change old and deeply entrenched concern8 in Atrica. We also welcome the intention of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Ukraine to accede to the NPT as nou-nuclear-weapon States.

All these development8, which bring us closer to universal adherence to the NPT, should be consolidated by the full implementation of all its

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#### (Mr. Devanov, Bulgaria)

provisions. An impeccable record in this respect would greatly help the NPT member States to extend the viability of the treaty well beyond 1995. Bulgaria supports the indefinite extension of the Treaty and will work for the achievement of this important goal at the fifth NPT Review Conference.

A future-oriented balance of interests within the NPT should address both horisontal and vertical concerns and also coverdevelopment8 associated with peaceful uses of nualear energy. With this in mind we believe that afforts should be accelerated ta accomplish significant result8 in all NPT-related arms-controlareas. The latest unilateral steps by the two leading nuclear-weapon States in announcing immediate plans to withdraw their non-strategic nuclear weapons, in addition to the drastic reduction8 under the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) and the Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missile (INF) Treaty, are particularly encouraging for all who wish to strengthen the foundation8 of the NPT. An early decision to start the preparatory process for the 1995 Conference would streamline all effort8 and offer new hopes that the remaining difficult issues associated with the implementation of the NPT will be solved in time for a more positive Fifth Review Conference.

The successful record of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IABA) in safeguarding the peaceful nuclear activities of State8 and in • n8uring compliance with the NPT is a proven cornerstone of the internationa. nuclear non-proliferation regime. The Gulf crisis ha8 reinforced our understanding that the Agency'straditional inspection systemshould be improved and strengthened if it is to meet the new challenger of our time.

Bulgaria took part in and supports the important decisions to this effect by the IABA general Conference held last month in Vienna. We shall continue to do so a8 a newly elected member of the Agency's Board of Governors.

#### (Mr. Devanov, Bulgaria)

The result8 of the inspections by the United Nation8 Special Commission and YABA, detecting Iraq'snon-compliance with it8 safeguardobligationa, have been reported to the Security Council and will serve a8 a timely warning about the gravepolitical and other consequences that potential violator0 of non-proliferation commitments will have to face in the future. This is a central point not only with respect to nuclear-related matters but also with respect to the equally important chemical, biological and missiletechnology areas.

Pursuant to United Nation8 Security Council resolutions 687 (1991) and 700 (1991), the Government of Bulgaria has acopted a special decree and enforced national export control procedure8 to prevent deliveries of arms, military equipment, material8 and technologies that maybeused for purposes contrary to the provisions of paragraph8 24, 25 and 27 of the first of these two resolutions.

I wish to associate my country with the call to all non-nuclear-weapon State8 to submit all their nuclear activities to IAEA safeguards. We note with satisfaction the decision of Brazil and Argentina to conclude full-scope safeguard agreements with IAEA. My delegation also welcomes with appreciation the regional arrangement8 of those two States to comply with the Tlatelolco Treaty and to implement a recently signed bilateral agreement on the use of nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful purposes. We are happy to note further that a full-scope safeguard agreement with IAEA ha8 also been concluded recently by South Africa, *in*line with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

Against these **positive** development8, my delegation cannot but **express** its concern over the fact **that there** are parties to the non-proliferation Treaty,

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#### (<u>Mr. Devanov, dulgaria</u>)

particularly those in sensitive area8 of international tension or conflict, which have not yet signed similar safeguard agreement8 with IAEA as required by their respective obligation8 under that Treaty. We hope that the recently announced steps in the field of nuclear disarmament will help bring to an early and successful finalisation the process of the concluding of a safeguard agreement by IABA with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

It is my privilege to inform this Committee that the Government of Bulgaria ha8 adopted and strictly applies in it8 national export control policy the guidelines agreed upon by the Nuclear Supplier8 Group. My country is also taking part in the current international efforts to update the list of nuclear-related dual-ure equipment, material and technology, which will provide the basis for the envisaged legal and administrative procedure8 of strengthened export control in Bulgaria. This enhanced nation81 regime is meant to be of a comprehensive character and to cover commodity items associated with the manufacturing and proliferation of all typo8 of weapons of mass destruction and missile delivery systems.

It is our firm conviction that the most effective way to achieve the non-proliferation objectives in the chemical field is by a global and effectively verifiable ban on chemical weapons, which is expected to be finalised next year. Bulgaria has welcomed the recent advancement of the negotiations on chemical weapons in Geneva as a result of important and timely initiatives by the United StateS government and has reiterated its intention to become an original party to the Convention, In the Conference on Disarmament the Bulgarian delegation has expressed its belief that the inclusion in the convention on chemical weapons of a consensus provision on

forswearing trade in ahomioal-weapon-related **materials** with State8 not parties to the aonventioa would • uaourage more State8 to adhere to it and therefore contribute to it8 achieving universality.

We are convinced that in the **Meantime individual and** group actions to strengthentbo respective export controls could contribute to the non-proliferation of chemical weapons. Bulgaria is associated with the efforts of the countries of the Australian Club to apply such standards in their export policies with respect to chemical-weapon precursor8 and related equipment. It is our intention to keep the national export regime in Bulgaria constantly in line with the latest improvements in the ahemiaal-weapon-related export aontrol guideline8 and lists of commodities.

My country alro **velcomes** and will work to implement the **decisions** of the **Third Review** Conference of **Parties** to the Convention on Riological Weapons, which has adopted **measures** to build **confidence** and improve **the** efficiency of **implementation** of the Convention on biologiaal **weapons**, **thus reducing the risks** of proliferation of such weapons.

Directly related to the non-proliferation objectives at present are the efforts to preclude the further spread of missiles aapable of delivering weapon8 of ma88 destruction. The missile technology control regime seems for the time being to be the only internationally agreed regime dealing with this new dimension of weapon proliferation. The delegation of Bulgaria notes with satisfaction a growing acceptance by State8 of the missile technology control regime provisions. My country support8 the joint appeal made at the last meeting of the Missile Technology Control Regime Club in Japan to all countries to adopt the guideline8 of that regime in draiting their respective NR/bag

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#### (Mr. Devanov, Bulgaria)

export policies and domestic controls. We observe that a general understanding is evolving on the role that a missile control regime should play as an important prerequisite for improved scientific and trade exchanges and for ensuring equitable access by Statestomostadvancedtechnologies.

The United Nation8 and other international forums should have their own share in the ongoing process of elaborating and implementing the newly emerging systemofhigh-technology weapon-related global control mechanisms. Interesting proporals to this effect already submitted to the United Nations Disarmament Commission merit careful consideration by that body at it8 spring session next year. The objective should be to establish a new climate of global restraint compatible with the increased need of economic development in a world of dramatia changes and instability. Early progress in accomplishing this important objective would help avoid the emergence of North-South tension and promote coafideace and cooperation in technical exchanges on bilateral and multilateral bases. A principal direction for such efforts for many countries, including Bulgaria, will be to ensure themselves unimpeded access to the benefits of science and modern technology, under strict internationally agreed provision8 for non-proliferation of weapon8 of massdestruction and missile delivery systems.

The **dologation** of Bulgaria welcome8 the interest expressed by many delegation8 at the current session of the General Assembly in dealing in more specific term8 with the issue of proliferation of conventional *weapons*, In his 1991 report on United Nations activities the Secretary-General expressed hi8

"grave concern over the problem of excessive and destabilizing transfers of conventional armaments".  $(\frac{\lambda/46/1}{p}, 12)$ 

### (Mr. Devanov, Bulgaria)

The Gulf war ha8 highlighted the importance of this issue for security and stability as well as the need for decisive action8 by the international community. It has also added much to the feeling of urgency and the determination, voiced by manyStates, particularly those having a majorshare in the arms trade, to exercise self-restraint in their arms transfer policies and to act together in order to ensure that such transfer8 would not create greater instability in areas of tension or conflict anywhere in the world.

My delegation emphasizes this point, as it is relevant not only to the current process of laying new and stable foundations for peace in the Middle Bast. Concerto6 international actions to restrict indiscriminate arms transfers may be instrumental also in securing stability in other area8 of the world where countries experience serious ethnic tensions or are even involved in armed confliatr. The perceived danger of a possible expansion of such hostilities to neighbouring State8 gives rise to understandable apprehensions in the whole region. The prospect of aggravating subregional sources of tension, including those resulting from military imbalances, by additional armstransfers, particularly of modern weapons, could continue to breed distrust and cause justified concerns.

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In parallel with actions to prevent or settle regional disputes, harmonisation of effort8 by all supplying and recipient States to pursue a responsible arms transfers policy would be instrumental in reducing the harmful effects of the arm8 trade. Basic guideline8 for a relevant code of conduct should be elaborated within the United Nations.

In this context, we note that the five State8 permanent member8 of the Security Council, at their meeting in London earlier this month, agreed on common rule8 of restraint in considering, under their national control procedures, possible transfers of conventional arms to other Staten. The two complementary sets of criteria to be applied by the five States Members in such cases, as stipulated in their joint declaration of 18 October 1991, deserve careful study in view of the complex nature of the issues involved. That declaration speaks of arrangements to exchange information and of consultation, bearing in mind the shared concern of the five to ensure the proper application of the agreed guideline8 and to continue discussions on how best to develop these arrangement8 on a global and regional basis.

The delegation of Bulgaria welcome8 also the submission to this Committee of the United Nations study on ways and means of promoting transparency in international transfer8 of conventional arms. We find that the conclusions and recommendations in the report of the expert group proposed for consideration by this Committee provide a round basis for determining some of the moat urgent follow-up actions in this field.

Countriesconfronted with a situation where neighbouring State8 are building up disproportionately large arsenals of weapons CM only benefit from international arrangements to curbsuch excessive stockpiler a8 may create or further aggravate regional or subregional imbalances of forces. This may

prove particularly important to small Stateswhich neither produce  $\bullet$  aough weapons to meet their security needs nor are in a position to afford any

igaificantarms imports.

My delegation takes the point made in the United Nations study that ruah • xaowivo arms build-ups may be fuelled by misperceptions or miscalculations, resulting partly from lack of information about arms acquisitions. In this context, a widely shared belief • comm to be emerging that international • courity and stability would well be served by increased openness and transparency in the area of arms transfers and that such openness would • ncouragorestraint. Bilateral, regional and subregional measures promoting a higher degree of transparency, while not king in themselves limitation0 or restrictions and depending on the prevailing circumstances, have great potential in building confidence among States.

An indispensable first step in setting up a working international mechanism formonitoring the arms trade is the • rtablirhmont, under United Nations • uopieoa, of a universal and non-discriminatory register of transfers of conventional weapons. Proposals to this effect have already been put forward for consideration and appropriate action by this Committee.

The concept of a register doer indeed have considerable potential for promoting increased openness and transparency, thur contributing to confidence-building on a global and regional level. We believe that the gathering of information ohould be done on a regular basis with the • rpliait purpose of using it as a timely warning to the international community about cases of • awmulrtica of weapons arsenals that go beyond a reasonable level of • uffiaioaay determined strictly by the needs of self-defence recognised in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. Providing an acceptable balance of interests in • laboratiog the procedures and requirements for the

functioning of the United Nations register would encourage a wider range of States to participate in it.

The delegation of Bulgaria welcomes the forthcoming  $\bullet$  ubmicoion to the First Committee of a draft resolution on the establishment of such a register, as announced in the statements made on behalf of the European Community and its members and by Japan. We intend to join in sponsoring the draft, which we hope will meetwidely  $\bullet$   $\boxtimes$   $\square$   $\bigcirc \diamondsuit$   $\Leftrightarrow$  concerns related to international arms transfers. To this end, my delegation supports the ongoing consultations on the subject.

The Government of Bulgaria would be ready to consider the final result of the drafting exercise in this Committee and participate in the United Nations arms transfers register by providing the annual information agreed upon by as many Member States as possible. It is our hope that this will alro be the approach followed by other States,

We believe that the early establishment of the suggested armstransfers registershould not be an  $\bullet$  ad in itself. Other  $\bullet$  lomoata of the envisaged international transfers regime and itsmechanisms would probably be needed to provide for  $\bullet$  nhancod national export controls, ruler governing prudent arms-transferrestraints by both supplier and recipient States, procedures for reeking clarification on a bilateral ormultilateral basis, consultations on complaints and international consideration of such issues, and so forth. Io this lart respect, we feel that the idea put forward by the delegation of Canada to specify a forum wherein Member States could annually review the operation of tire United Nations register and consult one another about the information provided to it merits careful consideration.

We assume that the multilateral elaboration of common guidelines on arms transfers in a wider United Nations context would not be an easy task,

considering the delicate dividing line between "arms transfers for legitimate self-defence" and "transfers which may have destabilising effects". This line could hardly be drawn without due regard to the specific characteristics of the region concerned, the factors of regional instability or tension, the • 図光の◆の■□M of regional or subregional force imbalances, the indigenous capabilities of recipient State8 for manufacturing offensive weapons, and so on. For the register to fulfil its desired "early-warning" or "preventive" functions, the international community mayneed additional information besides that contained in an arms transfers data bank.

Dealing with such complementary arrangements in terms of concrete actions by the United Nations may be a difficult but important task for anext stage. The significance of the • lontmtr loft out at the first round of consideration of this complex issue should, however, beduly recognized and they should be further studied in order to determine the beat way of dealing with them in future, more comprehensive, arrangements. A growing feeling can be detected in this Committee that the orunial point now is to use the present momentum in arms control to help put the United Nations register immediately into effect, and try later to improve the efficiency of it8 functioning in the light of the consideration of the issue a8 awhole.

We trust that the register's mechanism for cooperation and further exchange of information on the acaumulation of coaveaticaal weapons will not be discriminatory to States relying on arms imports for the needs of their own defence. It should function in a manner that will not ourb arm8 transfers aimed at meeting legitimate security objectives, particularly in the care of smaller States. To that • ad, appropriate arrangements must be made in a regional ac well as in a global framework.

On a national level, Bulgaria ha8 already introduced a set of interim domestic regulations on maaufacturiag and exports activities in the field of conventional arms and related military equipment. A special governmental commission ha8 been actup to monitor and enforce this regime. Striot control la exercised to prevent unauthorised arm8 transfers. In full-compliance with respective Security Council resolutions, Bulgaria ha8 also taken the administrative stops necessary to enforce the international embargo on arms transfers to Iraq and Yugoslavia. There and other interim measures are envisaged a8 becoming part and parcel of the future comprehensive national export control legislation now underpreparation in Bulgaria.

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Mr. AL-BATTASHI (Oman) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow meat the outset to convey to you, Sir, mydelegation'8 warmest Ooagratulatioa8 on your election to the chairmanship of the First Committee. We are confident that your diplomatic skill and wide experience will be instrumental in the successful conclusion of the work of the Committee. We alro wish to congratulate the officer8 of the Committee on their election and we wish them

• ucoeam in their work.

Today, our world is undergoing many important developments a8 a result of international <u>détente</u> which ha8 been brought about by the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the receding confrontation between the two super-Powers. All this augur8 well for the emergence of a free, democratic and cocoperative world in the interest of all mankind. This is the model to which all peace-loving force8 aspire.

The challenges which face the world in the area of armaments are enormous and difficult due to the existence of arsenals of many type8 of weapon8 of mass dertructioa. Nuclear weapon8 have become a frightening nightmare becauar of their overkill capability. Hence the demand to eliminate them has become a matter of the utmost urgency. The same applier equally to chemical weapon8 due to their extremely destructive nature. Therefore, we agree with and support all effort8 aimed at the total, decisive and speedy elimination of • uahweapons.without hesitation.

The Sultanate of Oman welcomes President Bush's initiative Of 27 September 1991 to reduce the United States military arsenal. Similarly, President Gorbachev's positive response was a Cauae for gratification.

My country fully recognizes the technical difficulties and challenger that impede the speedy elimination Of those weapons. The factor Of ooafideoce-building as well as that oftransparency constitute the cornerstone

of understanding between the major Powers. More momentum and interest should be given to this issue so that those State8 may continue their disarmament programme in the desired manner.

The Sultanate of Oman maintains that the question of the elimination of weapon8 of mass destruction is not Oaly the responsibility of the two super-Powers. Rather, it is the common responsibility of all States which possess such weapons. Xa this respect, we call for the formulation of a binding legal and universal text that should 90 head in hand with the development8 that threaten today's world. We urge every country to cooperate in achieving that goal.

The queation of nuclear testing is an important one. It should figure prominently and should be dealt with objectively. It is useless to declare drastic and *major* reductions in the field of armament8 while at the same time continuing to conduct tests and to develop more advanced and lethal types of weapons.

We therefore call on all the State8 concerned to exert more effort in the field of confidence-building in the area of testing and to find practical solutions that eliminate all point8 of disagreement. The Soviet Union's proposed one-year moratorium on testing should be the first step and the example to be followed. This, in turn, should be followed by a time-frame a8 a sign of goodwill which in turn should be followed by a comprehensive and general instrument for a total test ban.

My country commends the accession by Mosambique, South Africa, Tansania, Zambia and Zimbabwe to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). We see in that a great triumph for the international will to turn our world into a world free

of the weapons of mass destruction. We also welcome the declaration by China and France - two Powers which carry such weight and importance in the field of armament8 - of their intention to accede to the NPT. We commend them for this initiative that has come at a time when we urgently need the concerted efforts of all the parties concerned in this respect.

The concept of collective security has become an international theory that interest all States, especially the waker, smaller ones that do not possess any effective defence systems at the national level. We see groat value in this doctrine since it involves cooperation and exchange of data in addition to the creation of a certain unshakeable stability. It also involves the lessons of deterrence. Moreover, it helps to preserve stability and peace at the universal level, in general, and at the regional level, in particular.

We recently witnessed an example of that reflected in the existence of two major alliances in Europe which during a certain period helped in the maintenace of security of the Buropean continent.

The initiative to create a register for arms transfer is a good one, in principle. However, we emphasize that it is important that this register should include all production, sale and stockpiling under bilateral agreements, as well as transfers on the same footing.

It should be universal, transparent and non-discriminatory, so that the disired balance may be achieved, and sensitive areas of the world freed from weapons stockpiles. On the other hand, if the idea of this register were confined to certain operations we could not agree to it, as it would lead to many disorders and upheavals, let alone the possibility Of threatening the security of certain countries. Moreover, it could compromise the system of regional security in aertaia sensitive area8 where the absence of parity between Power8 in nuclear-weapons stockpiles ha8 become a nightmare that portend8 future danger8 which are not all that too far-fetched due to the imbalance of power. We cite the Middle East a8 a region where such horrors are possible.

As a member of the Committee charged with preparation of the United Nations Conference on the Implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, the Sultanate of Oman commends this effort. Within it8 modest limits, the Sultanate has participated in the efforts to ensure the success Of the Ad 800 Committee 80 that the conference may be held at the scheduled time. We wish, however, to express our regret at aertaia attitudes that surfaced during the Committee's debater. Some State8 have failed to show the necessary flexibility in their positions, and this resulted in postponement of the Coafereace. We call upon all those Stater to show cooperation so that the preparatory work for the Conference may be given momentum.

As a coastal State overlooking the Indian Ocean, my country wishes to see that region become *a peaceful* and secure oasis, with increased fruitful and constructive cooperation between people8 - an area enjoying security, stability and welfare, instead of a hot-bed of tension and antagonism and a site for the testing of the most advanced military arsenals, capable of

putting an end to civilization. We hope that these States will respond to the voice of reason and realize that that region, as part and parcel of the security of the whole world, cannot tolerate the dangers with which it is faced.

Proceeding from the urgent desire to increase the happiness of mankind and to rid the world of destructive nuclear weapons, we believe it is important that we prepare for this state of affairs by taking effective measures, such as the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones. On that basis, my country has given its full support to the proposal that the Middle East be turned into a nuclear-weapon-free zone - indeed, a zone free of all weapons of mass destruction - without any conditions. We maintain that we cannot bargain, procrastinate or prevaricate with regard to this issue, as this is a region of the highest strategic importance, and owing to the stupendous stock-piles of nuclear weapons in it the Sultanate of Oman expresses its commendation of the efforts of the United States of America and all the other parties involved in the holding of the international peace conference on the Middle East, which is scheduled to take place in Madrid on 30 October. My country has high hopes that this Conference will result in practical solutions that would have positive historical implications - solutions that pay due regard to the rights of each party and help to build confidence between the various countries of the region with a view to enabling the peoples there to achieve the goal of ridding themselves of lethal weapons and to co-exist peacefully within the framework of non-interference in each other's affairs and of respect for their neighbours.

The final decade of the 1990s is witnessing more effective <u>rapproachement</u> at the world level. Confrontation and antagonism have given way to focusing λE/gt

#### (Mr. Al-Battashi, Oman)

on mutual interests. It is high time for the United Nations, more effectively than ever, to nurture security and cooperation in the world. Its various structures should be strengthened with a view to solving the problems- euah as those of the • nvironnmnt and of development - that have burdened the world for so long. In this regard, we call upon all States to abandon the ides that unreasonable levels of armaments are necessary and to see that funds released as a result of arms reductions - and the amounts are astronomical - are directed into development efforts so that peoples may be guaranteed respect under the umbrella of the new world order.

My country wishes to underline the importance of having the United Nations foour on itsrole in the creation of the new world order. The United Nation8 is neutral and har credibility, and peoples find there a refuge for the resolution of their disputes by peaceful means, through fruitful dialogue. As an international and universal Organisation the United Nations commands respect for it8 decisions and its resolve.

My country'sinterest in the  $\bullet$  nviroamnt and its understanding of the importance of  $\bullet$  nviroxunmatal protectionhar led to its supporting the creation of a global environment free oftoxins and industrial wastes. We have called for efforts to deal with the dangers of toxic wastes and, in partiaular, to aurb the practices of certain transmational aorgorationr that dump such wastes in the territories of developing countries,  $\bullet$  spoaially countries in Africa, the Middle Bastaná the South Pacific. Should ruch immoral practices continue, they will certainly result in imminent danger to the environment and to all life. In our view, the international community has a duty to grapple very resolutely with this problem. It murt take all necessary measures to

contain the dumping of toxic wastes at all levels. We wish to underline the importance of securing a binding and comprehensivelegalagreement that would act as a deterrent to all those who are inclined to dump pollutants that could lead to the extinction of the human race.

BHS/dr

# (Mr. Al-Battashi, Oman)

The Sultanate of Oman sincerely appeals to all States possessing technological capability an well as the scientific and economic capabilities not to turn outer space into an arena of conflict in the arms race and not to expose mankind to extinction and annihilation. Any scientific achievements reached by an advanced country should be used in the exploration of outer space in the interests of mankind. Therefore, we wish outer space to be a field of useful scientific experiments and discover' Js which would boost and enrich the scientific progress of all mankind.

Among the sensitive issues that disturb international public opinion and are on the agenda of our Committee is the question of nuclear naval We view very seriously the gravity of that type of armament. We armaments. realise that this is a question that is very thorny and fraught with difficulties. Consequently, it rhould be the focus of greater international attention. In this **context**, the Sultanate of Oman **considers** it **important** to take certain measurer to limit the dangers that may arise from various confrontations and naval accidents, especially with regard to ships that carry nuclear weapons. Such accidents would have • erioua consequences. My country maintains that international efforts in this respect should be complemented with bilateral **efforts**. Negotiations should **be** conducted within the framework of the **Conference on** Disarmament. **Cartain** security **measures** should be quaranteed for non-military activities at sea. In addition, certain guarantees should be given to the coastal States and neutral ships at • ea.

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#### (Mr. Al-Battashi, Oman)

Ny country also wishes to pay a tribute to the creative efforts exerted by different parties to guarantee effective • ecurity in Europe. We maintain that the security of Europe cannot be achieved without the concerted efforts of all the countries of the continent. We are fully aware that a cohesive and secure Buropean continent will be conducive to the security of the world, Suah a cohesiveness, in turn, will contribute to cooperation i. all walks of life.

We share the views which call for security guarantees to be given to all States that do not proceed nuclear weapons against attack8 upon ouch non-nuclear States bynuclear-weapon States in oituationo of military conflict. We understand very well the fear of those countries because ouch attacks could have grave consequences. That fear arises from the fact that counttier which possess weapons .f mass-destruction have not subjected their nuclear arsenals to the inspection of the International Atomic Energy Agency and have not acceded to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

My delegation welcomer the declaration iooued by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisaticn (NATO) on 17 October on the reduction of the nuclear arsonals of States members of that alliance to levels which we deem reasonable and acceptable. This move indicates an understanding reached by the State8 of NATO as a rooult of an attitude of realion and the need to act in concert with the spirit of international <u>détente</u> as well as the lessening of the mutual threat which, in the past, existed between the blocs of the East and the Weot. BHS/dr

### (Mr. Al-Battashi, Oman)

In aonaluoion, I wich to say that the Sultanato of Oman maintainO that international <u>détente</u> has become an established reality which no one and no party can atop, Conceguently, all of uo, all people8 and governments, are called upon to spare no effort and to display the necessary dedication to rid mankind of the scourge of weapons of moco dectruatioa. This is a historical opportunity to eliminate those weapons, that may not be repeated. Let uo not lose that opportunity because it will not be repeated. Let us close ranks and chart our way, because we live today in a world where cooperation and not antagonism prevails. Cur motto chould be: The achievement of disarmament for the rest of this decade and for the decades to come. Let us emancipate our peoples from the overwhelming fear of those weapons 80 that they may enjoy, for the first time, a secure, otable and peaceful world.

# The meeting rose at 5 p.m.