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Chairman: Mr. Roche (Canada)

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

AGENDA ITEMS 51 to 69, 139, 141 and 145 (continue<)

CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION ON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON DISARMAMENT ITEMS

Ms. URIBE de LOZANO (Colombia) (Interpretation from Spaniah) : I have the honour to introduce draft resolution A/C. 1/43/L. 22, entitled "I· ternational arms transfers, which is sponsored by Australia, Cameroon, Colombia, Costa Rica, Peru and Sweden. Additional aponsors are Pangladesh, Paraquay and the Ph ilippines.

This draft resolution recalls what has been said for many years now - in par ticular at the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament - about the need to tackle as soon as possible a problem that persists in the wor ld today, with all its dramatic and terrible consequences.

To illustrate the maqnitude of the problem of international arms transfers, and to demonstrate its urgency and the humanitarian and praqma tic approach that we must adopt in our efforts to find a solution, let me quote from several statements that Were made dur ing the qeneral debate at the third special session by the heads of State and foreign ministers of various countries.

The Prime Yin ister of Finland said:

(spoke in Engl ish)

"There are a number of areas - even a qrowinq number - in which a multilateral approach is necessary. Chemical weapons is one, conventional arms and arms transfers in another ." (A/S-15/PV. 4, p. 21)

(continued in Spanish)

The Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade of Australia said:

(spoke in English)

"We should also open up the question of how we miqht toqe ther requla ta international arms transfers in both their overt and covert forms. The

(Ma, Ur ibe de Lozano, Colombia)

spectacle of States attempting to solve political or foreign policy problems through arms transfers is seen too of ten, and is clearly revealed as providing no solution at all." (A/S-15/PV.3, p. 57)

(continued in Spanish)

The Minister for External Affairs of Nigeria said:

(spoke in English)

"We in the developinq part of the wor ld who have had to endure the consequences of the more than 150 wars since 1945, continue to be the victims of the aqqressive marketinq of conventional weapons by the arms producers.

...

"... my delegation hopes that this session will aqree on an unambiqious statement to the effect that an essential element of the disarmament process is an under tak inq by the major exporter s of convent tonal weapons to reduce proqressively arms exports to the third world." (A/S-15/PV.11, p. 41, 42)

(con t inued in Span ish)

The Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany said:

(spoke in English)

"... arms exports must be hrouqht under control, We need, at last, a United Nations reqister of the arms exports and imports of all countr ies."
(A/S-15/PV. 8, p. 36)

(continued in Spanish)

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana said:

(spoke in Engl ish)

"Since the and of the Second Wor ld War not only have most reg iona 1 conf l icts been fouqht or are hainq fouqht in third world countr ies but also some of those coun tr ies have become greedy cus tomer s for conv ent ional arms in order to

(Ms. Ur ibe de Lozano, Colombia)

prosecute protracted wars and have thua unwittingly turned themselves into laborator ies for testinq weapons produced by developed ooun tr ies.

...

It is the view of the Ghana deleqation that this special session of the General Assembly should sooord deserved attention to the problems of conventional weapons and their transfer." (A/S-15/PV.6, p. 61, 63)

(oontinued in Spanish)

Thus, that Prime Minister and those Foreign Ministers demonstrated need for legislation to prevent international arms transfers. Indonesia, New Zealand, Uganda, Guyana, as well as Italy, Luxembourg, Costa Rice, Peru, the Soviet Union, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Pakistan, Iraq, Somalia, the United States Of Amer ioa, Sweden, Denmar k, Senegr 1, the Leaque of Arab States, Gabon, Haiti and Beliae all referred to this matter. Beliae made the proposal:

(spoke in Englieh)

" thr t the human dimension aasume the hiqhea t pr ior i ty in disarmament. "

(A/S-15/PV. 21, p. 16)

(continued in Span ish)

We should like to make 4 similar proposal at this session. We are here to champion the cause of human beinqs. That is the meaninq of document *b/43/660,* in which the views of my Government on this issue are expressed. It is also our fundamental reason for submitting draft resolution A/C. 1/43/L. 22.

(Ms. Ur ibe de Lozano, Colomb ia)

In the preamble, we refer to the responsibility on the part of 411 States, 4 responsibility incumbent upon tnem under the Charter of the United Nations, to promote the ma in tenanoe of inberna tional peace and secur i ty , Implicit in that responsibility ace the r iqhts of all peoples to live in peace and to develop in dignity, without recourse to weapons to defend those rights.

We also bear in mind that the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, points out, in paragraph 22, the need to hold neqotiationa on international arms transfers and calls attention to the general principles that should qovern such transfers, including the need for States to protect their security.

We a lso bear in mind the knwledqe and exper ience acquired and conveyed by Member Sta tee and qroupe of experts on various topics deal inq with international arms transfers, experience which is made clear in studies and documents that are of great value in the consideration of the subject with which we are dealinq.

The operative part restates, almost ward for word, the concerns of many States regarding interna tional arms transfers and suqgests possible measures on which we could focus our attention and future deliberations.

In opera tive paragraph 2, the Assembly would teauest Member Sta tea to consider the possibility of taking action on the national, regional and international levels. These are not new concepts. These measure8 have beer 'he subject of careful study by various experts and result from the exper ience of certain Member Sta tea. Thev have already been identified as the most relevant measures for controlling international arms transfers and counter inq the harmful effects of those transfers on intern4 tionhl peace and security.

We shall now comment on those measures.

(Ms. Uribe de Lozano, Colombia)

In requesting Member States to reinforce their national systems of control and vigilance over the arms produced by them or transported through their territories, we are calling attention to the obligation on the part of all States to act in a constructive manner to achieve peace throughout the globe and also to the obligation of all States to respect international norms within their own frontiers. This fundamental principle makes States responsible vis-à-vis international law and is the corollary of the sovereign right of States.

National control measures must cover all types of arms, in particular those that are the object of clandestine traffic.

Ways and means which we could consider on a reqional basis to limit the acquisition of arms that go beyond legitimate national security requirements or which could generate uncertainties in the region, could have many positive effects, inter alia, that of developing confidence in the region and reducing the need for trade in those arms, thereby making it possible for greater resources to be allocated for development purposes. We should also envisage the possibility, in a regional context, of finding ways and means to avoid such clandestine trade.

The measures I have mentioned, to be credible, require greater openness and transparency. As is clear from subparagraph (c) of operative paragraph 2, Member States are requested to consider aqreement on the sstahlishment, within the United Nations, of a system of information on arms transfers on a universal and non-discriminatory basis. Such a system, in our view, could throw light on the dimensions of the problem and could also contribute to identifvinq the covert aspects of international arms transfers.

The efforts which have been made to achieve agreement on conventional disarmament on the international level are still tentative. Suffice it to note that up to now conventional disarmament has not been the subject of study in the

(Me. Uribe de Lozano, Colombia)

sole multilateral forum authorised to negotiate agreements on disarmament, that is, the Conference on Disarmament.

This is indeed a paradox, for it is precisely conventional weapons that have been used since the Second War ld War and that, dur inq that time, have resulted in the death of millions of persons. It is also extremely paradoxical to see that in 40 years we have not managed to achieve agreements on the avoidance of war or the build-up of conventional weapons, whiah constitute the major part of qlobal military expenditures, nor have we been able to prevent the traffic in arms, with its serious consequences for international peace and security. Therefore, in thia draft recolution Member States are requested to step up their work and to discuss these questions in the Disarmament Commission, the only United Nations forum for deliberations on disarmament to which all States have access.

Without denyinq the importance we atlach to nuclear disarmament, and without wishing to deny the inalienable riqht of all soverelqn States to protect their security, we must stress thst it is no lonqer possible to delay substantive study of this problem and the formulation of international aqreements reqardinq international arms transfers.

It has been stated that proqress in the field of disarmament requires systematic co-ordination and planninq in which all States take part. This shows that it is up to the Member States to point out the practical ways in which they can guide their efforts towards action. In the case of this draft resolution, the aet of studies and investiqstions on the question of arms transfers, in addition to what we ourselves have experienced and suffered, would be a valuable contribution to consideration of the means mentioned in operative paraqraph 2, and would support the views of States on this matter.

(Ms. Uribe de Lozano, Colombia)

In this task, we would also count on the co-operation of the Secretary-General who, with the assistance of governmental experts, could explore the nature of mechanisms which might assist in the implementation of the provisions of paragraph 2 of tnis draft resolution.

To give an impetus to disarmament efforts, it is necessary not only for State5 to take action on an equal footing, but also for the peoples of those States to take an active part in those efforts. In fact, in the World Disarmament Campaiqn, vat ious movements and orqaniza tions are play inq an important role. I am sure we shall be able to continue to count on the valuable co-operation of that Campaiqn in compiling information dealing with arms transfers and the consequences of those arms transfers for international peace and security.

In so far as a General Assembly resolution can give rise to a commitment On the part of Member States, this draft resolution, if it is adopted, would make A significant contribution to the solution of a problem which, like international arms transfers, involves commitments *on* the national, ragional and international level.

We cannot ensure peace so lonq as we limit the concept of disarmament. International stability can be affected by the frequent conflicts which arise between underdeveloped countries which are tempted to use arms and which sometimes find that more attractive than peaceful means of resolving disputes.

The best contr ibution we can make to world peace is to beqin serious and open neqotiations which would he in accordance with conditions as they really are and which would allow for genuine disarmament.

Mr. HYLTENIUS (Sweden): I have asked for the floor to introduce draft resolution A/C. 1/43/L.37, on "Naval armaments and disarmament". I do so on behalf Of the deleqationa of Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Chine, Finland, France, the German Democratic Republic, Iceland, Indoneaia, Mexico, Sri Lanka and Yugoalavia and of my own.

The General Assembly last year recalled its request in 1985 to the Disarmament Commission to consider the issues contained in the United Nations study on the naval arms race (A/40/535) with a view to facilitating the identification of possible measures in the field of naval arms reductions and disarmament, pursued within the framework of progress towards general and complete disarmament, as well as confidence-building measures in this field. In so doinq the Disarmament Commission was aaked to take into account also other relevant proposals.

During its 1988 session the Disarmament Commission continued its consideration of the issue. The meetinqa held resulted in a confirmation and elaboration of a number of substantial findinqs and recommendations on the subject. These are contained in a workinq paper of the Chairman (A/CN. 10/113), which met with the approval of all deleqations participatinq in the substantial consultations and which, in their view, could form the basis for further deliberations on the subject.

This document again underlined the axiomatic principles originally identified in the United Nations study on the naval arms race and the

> "widespread concurrence of view that, at this staqe, confidence-buildinq measures of various kinds, both in the global and reqional context, would he more amenable to further consideration and possible neqotiation in the appropriate forums" (A/CN. 10/113, pat-a. 8).

A number of possible measures were suqqested. Amonq them two concrete measures were specifically mentioned, that is:

> "a multilateral aqreement concerninq the prevention of incidents at sea bevond the territorial sea in addition to cxistinq aqreement" (ibid., para. 10)

(Mr. Hyltaniue, Sweden)

and

"updating the Haque Convention VIII of 1907 on Laying of Automatic Submarine Contact Mines" (ibid., para. 12) .

It was also recoqniaed

"that the harmful effect that conflict at sea could have on the freedom of naviqa tion and other uses of the sea, in accordance with currant internationa l law, for States neutral to or otherwise not involved in an onqoinq conflict, have been amply demonstrated in recent years" (ibid., para. 14) .

While three years of deliberations on the subject in the Disarmament Commission have thus deepened the understanding of this set of issues and defined some concrete measures on which negotiations could he pursued, several important issues would need further elaboration by the Disarmsme nt Commission.

Draft resolution A/C. 1/43/L. 37 is of a procedural character. It requests the Disarmament Commission to continue, at its forthcominq session in 1989, under the aqenda item entitled "Naval armaments and disarmament", the substantive work it has undertaken so far and tc report on its deliberations and recommendations to the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session.

On behalf of the sponsors. I wish to commend this draft resolution to the full support of the First Committee.

Mr. FREIER (Israel) : Draft resolution A/C. 1/43/L.6, on Israeli nuclear armament, once again summons the First Committee to come down hard on Israel. The sponsor s ars so numerous that I cannot but think of Psalm 69, Verse 4, which reads: "They that hate me without a cause are more than the ha ir s on mine head. "

We cannot hope to stem the tide of ill intent. It has been and continues to be unconditional. Past votinq stanccn in this Committee and others have condoned the deportment of the sponsoring Arab States and their associates. It is on the

(Mr. Freier , Israel)

significance of these votinq stances that I wish to speak, as we view them in Israel.

Any vote in favour of the draft resolution affirms, and any abstention condones: f irst, the intent of the biqqest arms importers in the third world - Syr ia, Iraq, Libya and Saudi Arabia - to turn on Israel at "a time of their chaos inq", as they say; and, secondly, the sinqlinq out of Israel from among all States which are purported to have nuclear competence. Who would undertake to question India or Pakistan, to mention only two?

A vote in favour affirms, and an abstention condones: thirdly, the refusal of the Arab States to sit down with Israel and neqotiate a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East along the lines laid down by the Palme Commission and sanctioned by the United Nations; fourthly, the option retained by the sponsoring Arab States to wage wars aqainst. Israel - this is the only conclusion we can draw from their refusal to negotiate a nuclear-weapon-free zone with us, which would be based on direct negotiation and mutual reassurances - and, fifthly, the disregard of authoritative Israeli statements on its nuclear policy, a disregard unparalleled in any other instance.

Lastly, any vote in favour of the draft resolution affirms, and any abstention condones: the damnatory, punitive and exceptional paraqraphs contained in' the draft resolution. Let me list them and comment on them.

Operative paragraph 1 refers to the refusal to renounce possession of nuclear weapons. NO State has ever made a blanket statement of this kind, not even signatories to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which can Opt Out Of the Treaty.

Operative paragraph 2 refers to nuclear co-operation between Israel and South Africa. There is no nuclear co-operation between Israel and South Africa. We have

(Mr. Freier, Israel)

provided United Nations references in thia matter earlier in this debate. They are documents A/36/431 and A/Con. 137/CRP. 2.

Operative paraqrapha 3 and 4 demand that Israel place all its facilities under full-scope safeguards. Israel has repeatedly stated and explained its non-proliferation policy. Member6 have heard it here, and the General Assembly has heard it from the Prime Minister, It is by way of a nuclear-weapon-free zone, baaed on precedente and the recommenda tions of the Palme Commission. Once we have such a zone, full-scope safequards will of course be part of it, made credible by a mutuality of reassurances. Israel means what is says and will not he told what Lo do in matters in whioh each nation is sovereign. The Committee would not dare tell India, Fakistan or other Statee what to do.

Operative paraqraphs 5 and 6 oall uron all States and the International Atomic Enerqy Agency (IAEA) to suspend co-operation with Israel. These requeata give the lie to the Charters of the United Nations and IAEA.

Operative paraqraphe 8 and 9 call on the Secretary-General to continue to repor t to the General Assembly and include the item on next year s's aqenda. Thia is only to make sure the First Committee does not forget to discuss Israel in perpetuity.

(Mr. Freier, Israel)

Also, in a preambular paraqraph, the Committee is invited to be deeply concerned about Israel's deolared policy of attackinq nuolear facilities. Thia imputation is false. In 1995 the General Conference of IAEA accepted Israel's declaration of policy as satisfactory and struck the item off its agenda.

Those are our comments. They are intended to brinq home to those who vote affirmatively what their message is and equally to those who abstain what it is the t they condone.

I hope we shall he able to protect ourselves aqainst our committed adversaries. We have no requeet of them in this Committee. We do have a request, however, of those States which contemplate abstention. Would they please meditate well on the serious implications of their votinq stance, which I set out earlier on? Their vote on the draft resolution as a whole is the only one which will be on record, and we would request them to vote aqainst the draft, resolution.

Let me recall to them the words of the prophet Elijah, as reported in I Kinqs 18, verse 21:

"And Elijah came unto all the people, and said, How lonq waver ye betwee.: two opinions?'

Mr. STEPHANOU (Greece): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 12 member States of the European Community, on item 64 (d) of our aqenda, "Conventional disarmament".

While the reduction of nuclear arsenals remains one of the highest Priorities for the countries on whose behalf I speak, the Twelve have consistently atressed that conventional disarmament is an inteqral and essanttal part of the overall disarmament process and should be pursued urqentlv on a qlobal as well as on a req ional level. The processes of arms control and disarmament must apply in the conventional as in the nuclear f ield. Roth processes could contribute to enhancinq

(Mr. Stephanou, Greece)

security. The Twelve continue to see as one of the central and pressing tasks for the international community progress towards balanced and verifiable reductions of conventional armaments. The Twelve firmly believe that the aim of the process of conventional disarmament should be to seek effectively verifiable arms-control agreements ensuring security at the lowest possible level of forces and armaments. This process should remove military threats and existing imbalances which challenge security and stability.

It is conventional weapons that have been the cause of many millions of lives lost in conflicts throughout the world. Increasingly powerful weapons continue to be deployed in all areas of the world. The expenditure on conventional armaments and forces absorbs an overwhelming proportion of all military budgets in the world, and thereby has increasingly become a serious economic strain on a large number of countries.

The growing recognition of the overall importance of conventional-arms control and disarmament should be welcome. Not only the major Powers, but all the States of the world have to become involved in the process of conventional disarmament. Regional agreements are of particular relevance. The approach on a regional level may well prove to be the most practical for achieving progress in the foreseeable future.

Conventional-arms control is an issue which we take very seriously in Europe, where the concentration of troops and armaments is high, and we are making serious efforts to deal with this question. To enhance security in Europe it is necessary to establish a stable and secure balance of conventional forces at lower levels and to introduce a further set of confidence-building and security-building measures. We look forward to the start, within the framework of the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), of negotiations on such confidence-building and security-building measures and on conventional stability,

(Mr. Stephanou, Greece)

where the aim will be to eliminate existing disparities prejudicial to stability and security, and to eliminate the capability of launching a surprise attaok and initiating large-scale offensive action. In view of the potential offered by naqotiations on conventional stability oovering the whole of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, particular importance is attached to the achievement of a mandate and to the early commencement of those neqotiations. Asuccessful conclusion of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meetinq would secure the openinq of those neqotiationa.

The Twelve are firmly committed to a balanced outcome of the Vienna follow-up meeting which would be of benefit to all people in the 35 participatinq States. The CSCE process remains the central element of an East-West policy aimed at peace and security based on co-operation and respect for human riqhta and fundamental freedome.

We support the draft resolution in documert A/C.1/43/L.61 on confidence- and security-buildinq measures and conventional disarmament, sponsored by a number of member States of the European Community. At the request of the General Assembly, this year the Disarmament Commission considered in a workinq qroup the item On conventional disarmament. The Twelve participated actively in the deliberations of that workinq group. while many proposals on this question were Put forward and while a comprehensive report was presented by the Chairman, who belonqed to one of the Twelve, with a view to reaching consensus on a set of recommendations on the subject, it did not prove possible to find oqreement on the auhstantive content of the draft report,

The 12 member State8 of the European Community reiterate that the subject of conventional disarmament should be kept at the forefront of the multilateral debate on disarmament, We hope that at its 1989 session the Disarmament Commission will be able to aqree on a aubatantive report on the subject. We support the draft

(Mr. Stephanou, Greece)

resolution in document A/C.1/43/L.10, introduced by Denmark, one of the 12 member States of the European Community, on this issue.

In conventional disarmament, as in other areas of disarmament, the 12 member States of the European Community remain convinced that a better flow of information would help to relieve international tension. In order to prevent misperceptions and mrscalculatrons of tne intentions and military capabilities of others, the Twelve have consistently advocated a more free and open flow of objective rnformatron on military matters and have implemented a wide variety of measures the aim of which is to contribute to the widest possible deqree of openneoa to that end. The need for transparency, openness and reliable data is reflected in the draft resolution in document A/C.1/43/L.19. We, of course, support that draft resolution. The Twelve also note with interest the draft resolutions of other States, including tho one put forward by China (A/C.1/43/L.15) and that introduced by Peru (A/C.1/43/L.70), which we welcome.

I wish now to comment on behalf of the 12 member States of the European Community on agenda item 64 (j), entitled "Review of the role of the United Nations in tne field of disarmament.

(Mt. Stephanou, Greece)

As I undereooted in my statement on behalf of the Twelve in the general debate, the Twelve are oonvinoed that the United Nations must play a central role in the queet for disarmament pursuant to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

In this context, the Twelve have continuously supported endoavoure aimed at atrenqtheninq the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament. The detailed views of the Member States of the European Community on this issue of our aqenda were submitted by the Federal Republic of Germany on behalf of the Twelve to the Disarmament Commission in dooument A/CN.10/112, as well AA to the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The subject has been under consideration for four years now in the Disarmament Commission and we hope that a report and recommends tions can be submitted to the next General Assembly .

The United Nations has played an important role in the field of disarmament and ehould continue to do so. Serious efforts ehould be made with the aim of organizing the work within the United Nations in the field of disarmament in a more efficient way.

Let me fir St come to the wor k of our Committee. I would like above all to stress that we welcome in particular your personal efforts, Mr. Chairman, which, with the Friends of the Chair, you are pursuing with the goal of improving the working methods of the First Committee.

In particular the First Committee, as the main subsidiary body of the General Assembly for dealing with disarmament and related international security questions, should continue to fulfil its deliberative functions. In the view of the Twelve, it is the extent of meaningful consensus that will enhance the credibility Of this Committee. Our work is already truly qlobal in character thanks to the contributions of a qreat number of States with different geographical, economic and

(Mr. Stephanou, Greece)

secur ity backgrounds. If we can combine and optimize theoe advantaqes, we will be able to perform our duty of helpinq the international community to make proqress in the field of disarmament. A serious and aucceesful effort to reach a meaningful consensus was undertaken with the support of the Twelve, dur inq the forty-eecond session. Let us hope that that encouraqinq precedent will be followed at this year' 8 session, thua increasinq the influence of the First Committee.

The Twelve fully aupport the contents and spirit of General Assembly resolution 41/42 N on the rationalixaticn of the work of the First Committee.

The Twelve wish to reaffirm their conviction that the Disarmament Commission serves as a place for in-depth deliberation and thus conetitutee an indispensable element in the multilateral diearmament process. It will have other important contributions to make in the future. The progress achieved outside the multilateral disarmament process should have a positive impact as well.

In this year's substantive session, the Diaarmament Commission achieved aqreement on verification as well as on confidence-buildinq measured. It is A positive step and an encouraqinq precedent for the work of the Commission. Member 8 of the Twelve will continue to participate actively in the work of the Disarmament Commission.

The *member* States of the European Community have always attached qreat importance to the work of the Conference on Disarmament a8 the single multilateral disarmament neqotiatinq forum for qlobal disarmament questions. They wish to reaffirm their commitment to the Conference. It remains an indispensable forum in the field of disarmament, The Twelve look forward to the results of the discussions undertaken within the Conference on Diaarmament which will strengthen the effectiveness of the Conference in it8 disarmament efforts,

(Mr. Stephanou, Greece)

The Twelve attach particular importance to the chemical weapons negotiation8 in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, Ye consider that the earliest possible conclusion of a global, comprehensive, effectively verif table ban on chemical weapons remains one of the moat urqent prior ities in the Conference on Disarmament and will enhance its authoritv.

The Twelve wish to see strengthened the pr imarv role of the Department for Disarmament Affairs in co-crdinatinq the resources of the United Nations in the field of disarmament in order to avoid unnecessary duplication of work. The role of the Department is equally important in reqard to aspects of the activities of the specialized aqencies which have a bearinq on disarmament questions. In this context the Twelve wish to praise the Department for orqanizinq an impressive number of events, both at United Nations Headquarter8 and elsewhere, with ef fect iveness and very limited resources.

The Twelve consider very useful the United Nations Fellowship Proqramme and lock forward to its continuation.

Furthermore, the Twelve firmly believe that United Nations studies can make a valuable contribution to the discussion and consideration of disarmament issues. In this context the Twelve have a lonq and consistent record of supporting the concept and objectives of the United Nation8 diaarmament studies proqramme.

In accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, the Twelve see the need for studies conducted under United Nations auspices to be related to specific practical objectives and to be the subject of proper consultations.

The Twelve further recall their interest in the effective functioning of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), to whose fundinq certain member States of the European Community voluntarily contribute, toqether

(Mr. Steehanou, Greece)

with other States. They would also like to see the co-ordinating role of the Advisory Board on Disarmament Studies strengthened in order to ensure that studies and research are carried out as effectively as possible and avoid overlapping with other studies.

Mr. TANASIE (Romania) (interpretation from French): I have the honour to present draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.58, entitled "Reduction of military budgets", of 31 October 1988, which the following countries have joined in sponsoring: Bangladesh, Indonesia, Ireland, Nigeria, Peru, Romania, Senegal, Sweden and the Union Of Soviet Socialist Republics.

One of the major conclusions of the Secretary-General's report on the economic and social consequences of the arms race and military expenditures is that

> "During the 1980s the arms race has continued, in particular in its qualitative aspect, unabated, in fact expanding in scale and accelerating in pace". (A/43/368, para. 171)

(Mr. Tanasie, Romania)

Concerned about the ever-spiralling arms race and growing military expenditures, Romania and Sweden jointly took the initiative several years ago within the United Nations in drawing up the principles governing activities of States in negotiations on the freezing and reduction of military budgets, in an attempt to harmonize the views of States and thereby to promote the launching of negotiations on specific measures for freezing and reducing military expenditures.

That process took place in the Disarmament Commission, which has now reached an advanced stage in working out those principles. As noted in the report of the Disarmament Commission to the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament (A/S-15/3), in 1986 consensus was reached on the text of a complete series of principles designed to govern the future actions of States with regard to the freezing and reduction of military budgets, with the exception of one principle concerning the transparency and comparability of data.

Last year the General Assembly, while noting that the Disarmament Commission at its 1986 session had agreed upon all the above-mentioned principles except one, requested the Commission to continue its consideration of the item entitled "Reduction of military budgets" and, in that context, to conclude, at its 1988 substantive session, its work on the last outstanding element of the principles.

At its session this year the Disarmament Commission came very close to achieving consensus on the outstanding principles concerning the transparency and comparability of data. Given the developments and encouraging prospects that have recently occurred in the area of transparency and comparability, the subject of that paragraph, our delegation has at the current session of the General Assembly held consultations with interested delegations to arrive at a compromise text on the outstanding principle.

(Mr. Tanasie, Romania)

For various reasons we have found that there in a preference for continuing tnat exercise in the Disarmament Commission next year in order to conclude work on the still-ot tstanding element.

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L. 58 is basically the same as earlier resolution8 on the same subject adopted by the General Assembly by consensus.

The General Assembly declares aqain its conviction that it is possible to achieve international aqreements on the reduction of military hudqets without prejudice to the right of all States to undiminished security, self-defence an I sovereiqnty.

The General Assembly also requests the Disarmament Commission to continue consieration of the item entitled "Reduction of military budqets" and, in that context, to conclude at its 1989 substantive session, takinq into account the content of paraqraph 7 as a whole, its work on the last sentence of that outstandinq paraqraph of the principles that should qovern further actions of States in the field of freezinq and reduction of military budqets, and to submit its report and recommendations to the General Assembly not later than at its forty-fourth session.

In the draft resolution the General Assembly aqain draws the attention of Member States to the fact that the identification and elaboration of the principles that should qovern further actions of States in freezinq and reducinq military budgets could contribute to harmonizinq the views of States and creating confidence amonq them conducive to achievinq international aqreementn on the reduction of military budgets.

At the same time, the General Assembly urqes all States, in particular the most heavily armed States, to reinforce their readiness to co-operate in a constructive manner with a view to reachinq aqreements to freeze, reduce or otherwise restrain military expenditures.

(Mt. Tanaaie, Romania)

In conclusion, my delegation would like, on behalf of the sponsors, to express the hope that the draft reeolution I have just introduced will receive full support and will be adopted by consansua. That would he fully in keeping with the constructive spirit that has prevailed throuqhout the wor k of the Fir at Committee.

Mr. VARGA (Hunqary) : On 4 November the representative of the United Kinqdom, Amhaasador Soleeby, introduced in the First Committee a draft resolution on the prohibition of the development, production, stockpilinq and use of radioloqical weapons, A/C. 1/43/L.9. Hunqary is a co-sponsor of that draft resolution.

My delegation fully aqrees with the line of argument put forward in favour of the draft resolution on the prohibition of radioloqical weapons, bearinq in mind the early conclusion of a convention on that question. At the same time, my deleqation would 1 ike to commend the work of the Ad Hoc Committee presided over by Ambassador Solesby in 1988.

At the Conference on Disarmament further and more concrete results could be achieved within A relatively short period of time if the participatinq deleqacions are determined to continue neqotiations with A view to a prompt conclusion of the work, although much remains to be done in this area.

Our Position is motivated by the very evident circumstance *and* the qrowinq awareness that, with the increasinq application of atomic energy and nuclear technoloqy, more end more States are becominq interested in the success of the naqot iations that have now been under way for almost a decade.

The fact that radiological weapons do not yet form part of the military arsenal of any State cannot be considered an obstacle to the conclusion of a treaty bann inq r ad ioloq ice 1 weapons. On the contrary, there seems to be a qrowinq international consensus that such weapons should be banned reqardless of whether or

(Mr. Varga, Hungary)

not they are already in exietenoe. The aolu tion of tha t issue seems readi lv available on the basin of the proposals under consideration in the Conferer e on Disarmament, That is the conclusion we have drawn from the debates that have taken place in the First Committee as well.

The other facet of the problam is the prohibition of attacks aqainst nuclear facilities. As a concrete contemporary need, that issue is closely related to the safety of peaceful nuclear activities, which should be aafaquarded by - amonq other pertinent fac tar 8 - a reliable international réqime prohibitinq attacks aqainst relevant nuclear facilities. The deliberate destruction of nuclear-power plants or other installations may have consequences similar to those resultinq from the use of weapons of mass destruction, includinq radiological weapons.

In conclusion, let me state that my delegation supports the adoption of draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.9 in the belief that the prohibition of radioloqicol weapons and the closely related efforts ta prohibit attacks aqainst nuclear facilities are indispensable for international security.

My delegation would also like to take this opportunity to express its support and full endorsement to you, Mr. Chairman, for the efforts and actions you have under taken, with your Friends and here in the Committee, ta rationalize and streamllne the Committee's work in order to enable it successfully to accomplish its task for the sake of disarmament and enhanc inq peace and security for the benefit of all the peoples of the world.

Mr. OBEIDAT (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): I should like to ray at the outset that I am speak inq on behalf of the member oountr ies of the Arab Group, of whioh my oountry holds the ohairmanehip for the month of November. I wish to indroduoe to the Committee draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.6, entitled "Israeli nuclear armament", aubmitted under item 69 of the aqenda of the General Assembly. The eponeors of the draft resolu tion are Alqer ia, Bahrain, Democra tic Yemem, Djibouti, Iraq, Lebanon, the Libyan Arab Jamahir iya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, the Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, the United Arab Emiratea, Yemen and my own country, the Harhrmita Kinqdom of Jordan.

In the preamble to the draft resolution the General Assembly would recall resolutions adopted by the Assembly, the Secur i ty Council and the General Conference of the International Atomic Enerqy Aqency (IAEA) relatinq to Israeli nuclear armament,

It would also recall that the Security Council by its rsaolution 487 (1981) of 19 June 1981 had ca lled upon Israel urqentlv to place all i ts nuclear facilities under IAEA safequards and that the Security Council had specifically requested Israel to heed that call, It would note that Israel had persistently refused to commit itself not to manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons, despite the repeated calls to do 50.

In operative pacaqraphs 1 and 2 of the draft resolution the Aesemblv would reiterate its condemnation of Israel's refusal to renounce anv possession of nuclear weapons and its condemnation of the co-operation between Israel and South Africa In this respect.

In operative paraqraph 3 the Assembly would request the Security Council to take urqsnt and effective measures to ensure that Israel complied with the Council's resolution 487 (1981).

In paraqraph 4 the Assembly would once more demand that Israel place all its nuclear facilities under IAEA safequards.

(Mr. Obeidn t, Jordan)

In paragraph 6 it would reiterate its request to IAEA to suspend any scientific co-operation with Israel that could contribute to its nuolear capabilities and in paraqraph 7 it would request the Aqenoy to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations Of any steps Israel might undertake to place its nuclear facilities under Agenoy safeguards.

In paragraph 5 all States and organizations that had not yet done so would be called upon to discontinue co-operating with, and giving assistance to, Israel in the nuolear field.

Paragraph 8 contains a request to the Secretary-General to follow closely Israeli nuclear activities and to report to the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session, which would have the issue on its agenda.

I wish to reaffirm that Israel is still oontinuinq to develop it5 nuclear capability, as it has been doinq since 1952. It ha5 made considerable strides in this respect. This ha5 been revealed by its dissident agents. It ha5 also become evident since the unveiling of its nuclear piracy and its dealing with its counterpart in racism, the racist réqime of South Africa.

In conclusion I would point out, in the climate of international détente prevailing in the world today, that our area - and I am sure the Committee is very familiar with thte fact - is the birthplace of all the revealed religions. It was the birthplace of Jesus Christ and it is also the cradle of the other two revealed religions, Judaism and Islam. This part of the world is a source of both cultural and spir ttual enliqhtenment for all the world. May I remind you that Israel's nuclear capability present8 a threat to this area. This area, which has been the centre of spiritual enlightenment in the world, is threatened with the use Of nuclear weapon5 by Israel Itself.

(Mr. Obeida t, Jordan)

The Arab Group hopes that. this draft resolution will receive a majority of votes in the Committee and subsequently the widest measure of support in the Genera 1 Assembly.

Mr. LAY (Italy) : It is my pleasure to introduoe draft resolution A/C. 1/43/L.28, on the international transfer of oonventional armaments. I shall limit myself to a few essential considerations, since the issue waa raised and discussed by Italy and by numerous other Member States, as well as by the Secretary-General, dur inq the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. Moreover, the head of my delega tion raised the problem onoe aga in during the qeneral debata in this Committee, on 19 October.

Italy, of course, fully endorses the statement made by the representative of Greece on the same subject on behalf of the twelve member States of the European Community on 4 November.

Italy is convinced that the time has come for concerted international action that would serve to curb tho arms race and to restrict the flow of arms to areas beset bv tensions, as well as to halt and prevent clandestine and illicit international arm5 trafficking. As we eta ted in the qeneral deba ta, we apprec ta te the initiative taken by Colombia in this field and, in fact, we have had extensive consulta tions with the representative of Colombia and other interested delegations. Althouqh we fully understand the wish of Colombia and the other sponsors of draft resolution A/C. 1/43/L. 22 to tackle as many dimensions of the problem as possible immediately, we have suqqes ted a more qr adual apor oach, to set the process in motion.

(Mr. Lay, Italy)

While we cer ta inly do not have the solu tion to the problem, nor do we ola im to be presenting firm conclusions on its various dimensions, as we pointed out in consul ta tions in recent weeks, we continue to bel ieve that any s teps should rest on a solid foundation. In tact, as we examine these issues, it is obvious to us that one ehould first of all olarify a situation that is too often olouded by unoertaintiee with regard to its dynamics, responsibilities and mechanisms, and even by a laok of reliable da ta. Th is clari ty and grea ter concerted ac tion for monitorinq the transfer of conventional weapons and its implications and for promoting restraint in euoh transfers ehould not and could not detraot in any way from the right of eaoh State to self-defenoe and the protection of its security. It seems to us that greater transparency in this matter is necessary in order to establish a solid premise for action) the United Nations could, we are convinced, provide the framework for euoh transparency. Of great concern to us also is the increase in the clandestine and illicit arms trade, which should be prevented.

Against that baokqround, we have taken the initiative of submitting draft resolution A/C. 1/43/L. 28 - a document which is per haps too modest, but which reflects our conviction that the search for greater transparency should be urqently started in order to allow us to set a eound process in motion.

The drat t resolution has nine preambular and aix operative paraqraphs.

The aim of the preamble is to stress the urqent need of *f* indinq a solution to the problem of the transfer of conventional weapons and its implications, which are in sharp contrast both with the principles and with the provisiona of the United Nations Charter and with increasinq efforts to build international relations on a more stable and secure foundation. *Reference* is made, inter alia, to Articles 26 and 51 of the Charter and to the pertinent paraqraph - paraqraph 22 - of the Final Document of the first special session devoted to disarmament, to the draftinq of

(Mr. Lsy, Italy)

which Italy contributed in 1978, as well as to the Final Document of the Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development.

Opecative paragraph 1 concerns the need to promote restraint and qreater transparency in the transfers of conver.tional arms with a view to keepinq these armaments at the loweet possible levels in all regions of the world.

Operative paraqraph 2 envisages inviting all Governments to abstain from supplyinq arms to areas of conflict.

Operative paraqraph 3 concerns consultationa between inain suppliera and buyers of armamsnta, with a view to curbinq the international illicit arms trade.

Operative paraqraph 4 envisages a study by the Secretary-General on these matters, to be completed by 1990, with the assistance of governmental experts - we are in favour of the smallest possible qroup of such experts - and takinq into account informs tion provided by Member States, which, in the next operative paraqraph, are therefore invited to submit views and proposals on these matters in 1989.

Operative paragraph 6 - the last operative paraqraph - ooncerna the inclusion in the provisional aqenda of the forty-fourth session at the General Assembly of an item entitled "Promotion of transparency in international arms transfers and prevention of the illicit arms trade".

Mr. Chairman, we are fully aware and appreciative of your personal efforts to meet the widespread wish to ra tionalize our wor k also from the perspect ive of comblninq and - we would hope - merginq the several draft resolutions which might exist, as in this case, on the same subject . We should like to assure you that the Italian delega t ion intends to continue to consult with all interested delegations with a view to reaching a general consensus on these important matters of qrowinq concern to Member States.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the Secretary of the Committee, who wishes to make an announcement.

Mr. KHERADI (Secretary of the Committee): I should like to inform members of the Committee that the following countries have become co-sponsors of the following draft resolutions:

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.4: Bulgaria;

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.8: Romania, German Democratic Republic;

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.12: Bangladesh, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Jordan, Malaysia, Morocco, Nigeria, Viet Nam;

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.13: Romania;

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.20: Cameroon;

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.22: Philippines;

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.23: Romania;

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.26: Romania;

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.33: German Democratic Republic, Romania;

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.37: Malaysia;

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.42: Malaysia;

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.43: Malaysia)

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.44: Ecuador;

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.45: Ecuador;

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.46: Indonesia;

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.51: Ecuador, Singapore;

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.52: Ecuador, Turkey, Uruguay;

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.53: Ecuador, Philippines, Thailand;

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.58: Nigeria;

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.62: Argentina, Romania, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka

(Mr. Kheradi)

Draft resolution A/C. 1/43/L. 63: German Democratic Republic;

Draft resolution A/C. 1/43/L. 65: German Democratic Republic, Malaysia;

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.67: Malaysia, Turkey;

Draft resolution A/C. 1/43/L. 69: Singapore;

Draft resolution A/C. 1/43/L. 70: Ecuador, Philippines1

Draft resolution A/C. 1/43/L. 71: Ecuador;

Draft reeolution A/C. 1/43/L. 72: Roman is.

Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): In this brief statement I shall be introducing three draft resolutions of which the delegation of Mexico is a eponaor alonq with the deleqatione that I shall indicate in each case.

The first draft resolution relates to the World Diearmament Campaiqn. It is eponeored by 10 delegations - those of Banqladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Pakistan, Peru, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Venezuela, Yuqoelavia and Mexico - and is contained in doaument A/C. 1/43/L. 33, dated 31 October.

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

The draft resolution begins by saying that in the Final Document of the first special session devoted to disarmament, the General Assembly declared that

"it was essential that not only Governments but also the peoples of the world recognize and understand the dangers in the present situation",

and stressed the importance of mobiliainq world public opinion on behalf of disarmament.

In the operative part of the draft resolution the Genera!. Assembly begins by commending the manner in which the Campaiqn has been geared by the Secretary-General in order to guarantee the widest possible dissemination of information and unimpeded access for all sectors of the public to a broad ranqe Of information and opinions on questions of arms limitations and disarmament and the dangers relating to all aspects of the arms race and war, in particular nuclear war.

It goes on to recall that, as was agreed by consensus at the second special session devoted to disarmament, it is an essential requirement for the universalitv of the Campaign that it receive "the co-operation and participation of all States".

It is for this reason that the General Assembly once again endorses the statement made by the Secretary-General that the criterion of universality also applies to pledges of contributions, since "a campa iqn w i thou t wor Id-w ide participation and fundinq will have difficulty in reflectinq this principle in its implements tion". The General Assembly "reiterates its reqret" that most of the States which have the largest military expenditures have not so Ear made any financial contribution to the World Disarmament Campaign.

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

As is customary in this kind of draft resolution, the Secretary-General is asked to submit to the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session a report covering both the implementation of the programme of activities of the World Disarmament Campaign by the United Nations system during 1989 and the programme of activities contemplated by the system for 1990. Finally, the Assembly decides to include in the provisional agenda of its forty-fourth session the item entitled "World Disarmament Campaign".

The second of the three draft resolutions that I wish to introduce appears in document A/C.1/43/L.26. It concerns the implementation of General Assembly resolution 42/39 H, on a nuclear-arms freeze. It is sponsored by the delegations of Indonesia, Pakistan, Peru, Sweden and Mexico.

The purpose of the preamble is to stress the danger of nuclear weapons. It recalls the deep concern frequently expressed by the General Assembly over the threat to the very survival of mankind" posed by "the existence of nuclear weapons and the continuing arms race". It also recalls that, as has already been mentioned, existing arsenals of nuclear weapons are more than sufficient "to destroy all life on Earth" and stresses that mankind is therefore confronted with a choice: "halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament, or face annihilation".

In the preamble to this draft resolution the General Assembly welcomes "the improvement of the relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America and the conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, as well as their agreement in principle to reduce by 50 per cent their strategic nuclear arsenals".

The preamble concludes by expressing the General Assembly's conviction of the urgent need to pursue negotiations for the substantial reduction and qualitative

(Mr. Garoia Robles, Mexico)

limitation of existing nuclear acme and on a nuclear-arm9 freeze, which, while not an end in itself

"would constitute an effective step to prevent the continued increase and qualitative improvement of existing nuclear weaponry dur inq the period when the negotiations take place . , . "

The operative part of the draft reeolution is made up of only three paragraphs. In the *first*, the Soviet Union and the Un i ted S ta tee are urged to proclaim, either through simultaneooe unilateral declaration9 or thrauqh a joint declaration, an immediate nuclear-arms freeze, whose structure and scope are defined. It would be subject to appropriate and effective verification measures and procedures and it would be for an initial period of five years,

"subject to prolongation when other nuclear-weapon Stated join in such a freeze, as the General Assembly urges them to do".

In operative paragraph 2 the above-mentioned two majo. nuclear-weapon States are asked to submit a joint report or twc separate reports to the General Assembly, pr ior to the opening of its forty-fourth session, on the implementa tton of the present resolu tion. And in the f inal pacaqcaph the Assembly decides to include in the provisional agenda of its forty-fourth sess ton an item on the implementation of the resolution.

The third and last of the three draft resolutions that I wish to introduce - draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.23 - as I said at the outset, calls for the cessation of all - I stress "all" - nuclear-test explos tons. The text of the draft. resolution is self-explanatory. Therefore, I suggest that members read the f irst three preambular paragraphs and I will refer only to what is mentioned in the last two.