



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 31st MEETING

Chairman: Mr. Roche (Canada)

later: Mr. Batiouk (Ukrainian SSR)
(Vice-Chairman)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 51 TO 69, 139, 141 AND 145 (continued)

CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION ON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON DISARMAMENT ITEMS

Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish) : My statement today is the fifth and last statement by the Mexican **delegation introducing** draft **resolutions** of which it is a co-sponsor. In each of the three of the **statements** I made I introduced a **single** draft resolution, as I shall do in my **statement today**. In the fourth statement, however, I introduced three draft **resolutions** at once.

The draft resolution I am **introducing** today, in document **A/C.1/43/L.60**, is entitled "**Comprehensive** programme of disarmament", and is sponsored by the **delegation of Mexico**.

The Conference on Disarmament has been dealing with this item since 1980 in an ad hoc committee over which, since 1981, I have been **honoured to preside**. The last report the Ad Hoc Committee submitted to the Conference on **Disarmament**, the full **text** of which can be found in the report of the Conference on Disarmament to the General **Assembly**, gives a detailed account of the work of the Ad Hoc Committee during the **year** under review. It begins with a brief **summary** of the Ad Hoc **Committee's** work and the documentation before it. Reference is then made to the **progress** made towards harmonizing **positions** and **narrowing** areas of **disagreement**. The report emphasizes, however, that in the **short** time available it **was** not **possible** to **reconcile** differences on a number of **issues**, and the Ad Hoc Committee accordingly agreed that it should resume work at the outset of the 1989 session with the firm intention of completing the elaboration of the Programme with a **view** to its submission to the General **Assembly**, at the latest, at its forty-fourth **session**.

That brief **introduction** is followed by an annex of 36 single-spaced pages setting forth the elements of the **draft** Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament, which are presented in six chapters entitled: "Introduction", "Objectives",

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

"Principles", "Priorities", "Measures and stages of implementation", and "Machinery and Procedures". With regard to the first four chapters and the sixth chapter, the Ad Hoc Committee has made considerable progress. Few issues remain outstanding where the introduction, objectives, principles, priorities are concerned, so that it is now safe to say that they are sufficiently in keeping with the Final Document Of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament to resolve any problem relating to those chapter 8.

The sixth and last chapter of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament, "Machinery and Procedures", with the exception of five words referring to the United Nations Charter, is entirely free from square brackets. It makes reference to three stages, a first stage, an intermediate stage and a last stage, for the Programme. Arrangements are made for periodic reviews, inter alia, at special sessions Of the General Assembly, of the implementation of the measures included in the various stages of the Comprehensive Programme. It provides that, in addition to periodic reviews at special sessions, there should also be annual reviews Of the Programme's implementation. For that purpose it is suggested that the Secretary-General should annually submit a report to the General Assembly On progress in the implementation of the Programme.

The draft Programme concludes with the following statement:

"At the earliest appropriate time, a world disarmament conference should be convened with universal participation and with adequate preparation."

(A/43/27, para. 90, annex, p. 300)

The obvious importance of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament, shown by the fact that consensus has been achieved in so many areas, as I have briefly illustrated in my statement, is evidence of the wisdom of the firm intention of the Ad Hoc Committee, from whose report I have quoted today. In the conclusion to its

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

report, the Ad Hoc Committee agreed "that it should resume work at the outset of the 1989 session" in order to complete the elaboration of the Programme for its submission to the General Assembly, at the latest, in the words of draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.60, "at its forty-fourth session."

Mr. AZIKIWE (Niger) : In my statement this morning I wish to introduce two draft resolutions A/C.1/43/L.63, "Consideration of the Declaration of the 1990s as the Third Disarmament Decade," and A/C.1/43/L.64, "United Nations disarmament fellowship, training and advisory services programme", respectively. Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.63 is being introduced on behalf of the delegation of Argentina, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Poland, Zaire and Niger.

It will be recalled that in the closing years of the first Disarmament Decade the General Assembly, encouraged by the limited achievements of the 1970s in the sphere of disarmament, decided to declare a Second Disarmament Decade and, accordingly, directed the Disarmament Commission, in resolution 34/75 of 11 December 1979, to prepare elements of a draft resolution to be entitled "Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade." The annex to resolution 35/46 of 3 December 1980, which embodies that Declaration, reflected the hopes and aspirations of the international community in the sphere of disarmament. I wish also to recall that both the recommendations of the Disarmament Commission and the Declaration itself were adopted by consensus. We are encouraged that the end of the Second Disarmament Decade gives some hope for optimism in the disarmament process.

As we are all aware, the late 1980s have witnessed genuine efforts in the area of nuclear disarmament and are likely to reach another milestone now that appreciable progress has been made towards the elaboration of the chemical-weapons convention. It is imperative that the current momentum in the disarmament process should be maintained. Hence the need for a third disarmament decade.

(Mr. Azikiwe, Nigeria)

In its preambular paragraphs the draft resolution reaffirms the **responsibility** of the United Nations in the **disarmament process**. It further notes the **progress** in the bilateral disarmament **negotiations** between the **two** super-Powers and **its positive** impact on the attainment of **global peace and security**.

(Mr. A2 ik iwe, 4iger ta)

In **its ope r a t i v e p a r a g r a p h s** it expresses the **decision** of the **General Assembly to declare** the **1990s** as the Third Disarmament **Decade, and accordingly directs the** Disarmament Commission to prepare at **its** 1999 substantive session elements for the **"Declaration"** **as** was done **for the** Second Disarmament Decade.

We hope that Member States **will** endorse the continuation of the current momentum in the disarmament process **by** adopting the draft resolution by **consensus**.

I also introduce the draft resolution in document **A/C.1/43/L.64**, on the **United Nations** disarmament, fellowship, **training** and advisory **services** programme, on behalf of Algeria, Argentina, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, **Hungary**, Indonesia, Kenya, Liberia, Morocco, New Zealand, Venezuela, Zaire and **my** own delegation. The fellowship programme **has** proved to be more successful and useful **to Member States** than was envisaged when it was **established** during the First Special **Session** of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The importance that **Member States attach to the** programme **is** demonstrated by the fact that there **has** been more demand for places **in** the programmes **than** the number available. May I **again** express our appreciation to all the Governments that have **offered assistance to ensure** the successful implementation of the programme, which has **been so well executed** by the Department for Disarmament Affairs.

The draft resolution **recognizes** the appreciable number of fellows that **have** been trained under the **programme**, and expresses the **belief** that **the** form of assistance **available** to Member States under the programme will **facilitate** better understanding of disarmament **issues**. It **is** our belief that the Secretary-General will continue the implementation of the programme **with** existing resources. **We** recommend that the draft resolution be adopted without a vote.

Mr. AL-NASSER (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic) : In my statement today I wish to address the question of Israeli nuclear armament under **agenda** item 69. My delegation previously broached this subject in its **statement** during the general debate in this Committee, highlighting the danger inherent in the fact that Israel is stepping up its nuclear programme in **support** of its policy of **occupation** and aggression in the region. In that statement the Permanent Representative of Qatar said that, while **the nuclear States** were concluding agreements aimed at reducing their **nuclear** arsenals, there was increasing evidence **that** Israel had **become the** sixth nuclear-weapon Power with **launching** and delivery capacity, and that Israel, having perfected nuclear missiles, had launched a satellite **for intelligence purposes**. Israel's nuclear capability has thus attained a new stage in this destructive technology, at a time when the international community is **calling** for accession **to** the Non-Proliferation Treaty - the Fourth Review Conference of which will **be** held in 1990 - and **more countries** of the region are acceding to it.

The alarming escalation of Israel's **nuclear programme** and the reinforcement of its capability to **use the** vast quantities **of** nuclear **weapons**, which it is **producing**, are developments that endanger **peace** and **security** not only in the Middle East, **but** in the whole world. Israel is violating and **contravening the** resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, **calling upon Israel to place all** its nuclear installations under IAEA safeguards until a nuclear-weapon-free zone **is** established, Israel is also violating the provisions of those resolutions **by** developing nuclear weapons and **delivery** vehicles, thus flouting the will of the international community and disregarding the dangers **posed** to international **peace** and security **by** its policy.

(Mr. Al-Nasser, Qatar)

On 19 September the world was informed that Israel had launched a Satellite into outer space, and the press reported that it was the first step in the development of **reconnaissance** satellites which would make Isarel less dependent On other States for surveillance and reconnaissance. The press further stated that Isarel was now one of the eight States capable of producing satellite launchers. This was a step towards acquiring the ability to launch its nuclear weapons and aim them at any part of the world. Despite the statements of Israeli officials about the technological and scientific purposes of the **launching** of the satellite, there is not doubt **that** its military dimensions are quite clear, not to mention **its** destabilizing effect in the area and the disruption of the delicate regional **balance**. These developments indicate Israel's disregard **of** United Nations resolutions and its intention **to** resort to all means in order to achieve its aim of preserving what it has gained as a result of aggression and maintaining superior itv **through** nuclear capability.

Israel has openly declared its policy of wiping out any peaceful nuclear Programme in the area that it perceives as a threat to its nuclear supetioritv. One of the obvious objectives of the new satellite is to survey - or, to use a more direct **term**, to spy on what goes on in the region, and to allow Isarel to **be** free from any outside commitments, if it **sees** fit, in perpetrating pre-emptive acts of aggression, such as striking **tarqets** in Syria or **Iraq or** the atomic reactor in Pakistan - a tacget to which it has had an eye for several **years**, as in the case of the Iraqi reactor several years ago. These acts show that striking at peaceful **nuclear** programmes is **part** of **Isarel's** general policy of **nuclear** armament.

We therefore call upon the general **Assembly to** reiterate its **request to** Israel to desist from developing, **producing** and stockpiling nuclear weapons, **to make its** nuclear installations **subject** to international safeguards and control and **to accede** to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, to which **most** of the States of the **region**

(Mt. Al-Naeer , Qatar)

have already acceded . We are indeed **about** to hold **the Fourth** Review Conference on **that** Treaty, scheduled for **1999**; **138 Member States** have **so far** acceded to **it**, yet **its objectives** and **significance** would **be** greatly **undermined** if we allow a State **such as Israel to** contravene the **principles** of non-proliferation, **particularly by** developing nuclear **weapons** and delivery vehicles for **such weapons**.

Israel could not have developed **its** present nuclear **capability** without help from **other States**. **Israel has** a long history **of** military and nuclear **co-operation** with the **racist régime** In South Africa.

(Mr. Al-Nasser, Qatar)

A **scientific** magazine has reported that Israel is helping to **design** missiles for that **régime**.

At **every** session the General **Assembly** notes with concern the danger **s** inherent in the collaboration **between these régimes**, whose nuclear capability poses a threat to the **security** and stability of the **neighbouring countries**.

The **Arab States** have submitted **draft** resolution **A/C.1/43/L.6, on Israeli nuclear armament**. It contains the considerations that I have **set** forth in this **statement**. My delegation **hopes that** it will **be supported by** the Committee **when it is put to the vote**.

Dame Ann HERCUS (New Zealand) : **As** a newcomer to the First Committee, I have observed the **expertise** and sense of purpose brought to deliberations **by** delegations represented here. **I judge with some pride that the** wider interests of the **international community** are in good hands.

But the search **for** peace and **security** is not the exclusive province or **responsibility** of the United **Nations**, or **individual Governments**. There is an **equally** valid role, and equal talent and skills, in non-governmental organizations and in individuals **that - like us -** accept that effort is **required** if **men and women** everywhere are to **be** aware that the search **for** security is a responsibility for all. In this regard, I am pleased to note the attendance **at Committee meetings of** New Zealand members of non-governmental **organizations**. I hope that, like me, they have found a **rewarding experience**.

The task of making the **world** a safer place **continues** year-round. But **once** a week, **Disarmament Week**, provides a focus of **opportunity** for **an exchange of** information and views on our disarmament aims and **objectives -** views that sometimes differ **widely**.

Draft resolution **A/C.1/43/L.48**, entitled "Disarmament Week", invites all States and international and national non-governmental organizations to **undertake**

(Dame Ann Hercus, New Zealand)

such activities and report **back** to the Secretary-General. New Zealand is pleased to **co-sponsor** ~~this~~ draft resolution, since we hold high the need **for** public participation in disarmament activities. Indeed, **our** Public Advisory **Committee** on Disarmament and **Arms** Control provides a means through which the New Zealand public can put its views **before our** Minister of **Foreign** Affairs. The **New Zealand Committee** also has a mandate to promote greater public understanding of disarmament and arms-control matters through making recommendations on funding of appropriate activities. Reports **on those** activities, in fulfilment **of** that mandate and as requested in draft resolution **A/C.1/43/L.48**, will **be** provided by New Zealand to the Secretary-General.

When I addressed the Committee some **three weeks** ago the business of **preparing** and negotiating draft resolutions lay **before us**. It is **not** yet over. **But** in **three weeks** a commendable effort has **been** made **by** a **number** of delegations to produce broadly acceptable texts in many **areas**. I **know** you will **be** pleased, Mr. Chairman, that **your** advice **to the Committee** in this **regard has been** heeded. For our **part, we** are grateful for the **extra** time you **have made available** for **those negotiations**, and for your **guidance** in helping **us** carry them **out**.

In **speaking** today, I am supporting my colleague Ambassador Bayart of Mongolia, who introduced draft resolution **A/C.1/43/L.48**. New Zealand was pleased **to be able** to work **with his** delegation to produce a draft text which brings together many **viewpoints**. Mongolia and New Zealand are **not** traditional collaborators in this area. **But the** spirit in which we have worked to reach common ground exemplifies the **spirit** which has **been evident** in this **year's** First Committee deliberations so far. It is in the **same spirit** of co-operation that I **commend** draft resolution **A/C.1/43/L.48 to the Committee**, and **express** the hope that It will **be** adopted without a vote.

Mr. SHARMA (India) : The delegation of India would like **to make a few observations on** the discussions pertaining to chemical and **bacteriological weapons.**

Efforts to introduce a **ban** on the use of chemical and **biological** weapons pre-date the birth of the United **Nations. At the turn** of the century there **already** existed a growing sentiment among nations that such weapons should **be regarded** as **abhorrent** and should **be** totally eliminated. **As a first** step, the **Geneva Protocol** was negotiated more than 60 years **ago. It came** into force in 1925 and prohibited the **use in war** of asphyxiating, poisonous or other **gases or bacteriological** methods of warfare. The next **step** came almost 50 years later when, in 1972, a Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, **Production** and Stockpiling of **Bacteriological (Biological)** and Toxin **Weapons** and on the destruction of existing **stockpiles was concluded. At that stage** India, along with a number of other **countries,** expressed **concern** that **chemical** weapons were not included in that Convention and that their development, production and stockpiling would continue.

It was almost a decade later **that** negotiations commenced in Geneva in the Committee on Disarmament to develop a convention **effectively to ban chemical weapons.** During recent years these **negotiations** have **gradually** progressed and today we can hope they will **gain momentum** towards a **successful** conclusion. On a number of politically complex **issues** there has **been** a gradual **convergence of** views.

At the same time, new ideas **have** emerged with the growing realization that security must be conceived in **global terms** and **has a** multidimensional character. An appreciation **of** these **factors** convinces us that **negotiations** should **bring about** a global, comprehensive and effectively verifiable convention. While it would prohibit the development, production and **stockpiling** of chemical **weapons and** provide for their destruction, positive provisions for actively promoting and enhancing international co-operation in peaceful **uses** of chemical technology would **contribute** in considerable measure to **improved security** , To ensure the universal

(Mr. Sharma, India)

character of the convention, we **must** create a forward-looking orqaniaational structure that. embodies democratio and **non-discr**iminatory pr **inciples**. The principle of equitable qeoqraphical and **political representation** in the **execut ive functions** is **necessary to ensure** the international character of such a convention.

The **widespread expression** of commitment that we have heard in this Room to ach iev **ing** the goals of **such** a convention is an encouraqinq development. We hope that the proposed conference in Paris in January next year will generate **the** political will required to carry us through the final **negotiations** in the Conference on Disarmament.

Mr. von **STÜLFNAGEL** (Federal Republic of Germany) : Today I should like to address an agenda item to which my Government attaches particular importance - chemical weapons.

Over the **past year** the international community has repeatedly been confronted with the gruesome reality of the use of chemical weapons in the **war** between Iran and Iraq. We **are** also alarmed about **reports** of the use of chemical weapons against the Kurdish civilian population.

Broader of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and other norms of international law **must be** understood as an urgent warning to act and to **meet our responsibility** of providing for the speediest possible elimination of all **chemical** weapons world-wide. The urgency of the matter **is** also underlined by recent reports about the proliferation of chemical weapons. The traumatic experience with the ghastliness and the indiscriminate effects of the **use of chemical weapons** should remind us that there is no time to **be lost**. We have to **act** expeditiously if we do not want to let this historic opportunity **slip**.

Clearly, the **best way** to free mankind once and **for** all from the scourge of chemical weapons is the conclusion of a comprehensive and effectively verifiable convention that ensures that all existing **chemical-weapons stocks** and chemical-weapons **production** facilities are eliminated and that any further manufacture, **acquisition**, storage, transfer and use of these weapons is prohibited, and that this **is subject to** effective verification. My Government **therefore attaches** the highest priority to the ongoing negotiations in Geneva on a comprehensive, **global** and effectively verifiable **convention banning** such weapons.

We have achieved considerable **progress** in the negotiations, **particularly** during the past one and a half **years**. **This** progress, which has **been** especially noticeable in the crucial field of verification, **makes us confident that an**

(Mr. van Stülpnagel, Federal
Republic of Germany)

effective convention is within our reach. The structure of a convention is now already in place, but it **needs to be** fleshed out. The rolling text **which** provides the **basis** for our work contains language which is for the most part agreed among the negotiators, but which needs refining.

It **is now** imperative that the momentum of the negotiations **be** maintained and that the **remaining issues**, which require a **great amount** of work on the **details**, **be** resolved as expeditiously as **possible**.

Until **such** a global **ban on** chemical **weapons** is in force, the international community **must** clearly and unambiguously demonstrate that **it** does not want to remain indifferent to blatant violations of the Geneva Protocol and, indeed, to the sufferings of victims of chemical **warfare**.

The **Security Council** **has** adopted resolutions 612 (1988) and 620 (1988), on the **basis** of reports **by** missions of experts dispatched **by** the Secretary-General, which affirmed the **use of** chemical **weapons** in the conflict between Iran and Iraq. The Federal Republic of **Germany**, **as** a co-sponsor of those **resolutions**, **was actively** involved in their drafting. We call for their full implementation.

Security Council resolution 620 (1988), which was adopted on 26 August this year, not only vigorously condemns the **use** of chemical weapons, but also contains a pledge to **intensify** efforts to end all **use** of chemical weapons in violation of international obligations. To this end the resolution **makes reference** to three very important elements: **prompt investigations** in response to allegations of the **use** of chemical **weapons**; establishment or strengthening of strict control over the export of chemical products serving for the production of chemical **weapons**; and effective measures in accordance with the United Nations Charter in the event of future **use** of chemical **weapons**.

(Mr. von Stülpnagel, Federal
Republic of Germany)

We are committed to these goals of **Security** Council resolution 620 (1988) and are doing everything possible to achieve them.

With regard to the effective instrument which should be available to the United Nations at all times for investigating alleged violations of the 1925 Geneva Protocol, we fully support the procedures provided for in General Assembly resolution 42/37 C. We also give our full support to the work of the group of qualified experts which was established by the same resolution with a view to developing guidelines and procedures for international investigations permitting swift clarification of any suspected use of chemical weapons. We regret that the work has not yet been brought to a successful conclusion. It is our intention to contribute actively to the successful completion of this task.

It was Federal Foreign Minister Genscher who was one of the first, in his statement at this year's session of the General Assembly, on 28 September, to welcome the initiative taken by President Reagan for a conference of the signatories of the 1925 Geneva Protocol. We consider this Conference, which is now to take place at the invitation of the French Government in Paris from 7 to 11 January next year, as a timely and welcome opportunity to reaffirm the necessity for strict compliance by all States with the 1925 Geneva Protocol and other relevant international instruments. We hope that the conference will give a strong impetus to the priority objective of bringing about a comprehensive, global and effectively verifiable ban on chemical weapons.

Indeed, we must do everything in our power to pursue that priority objective and also to strengthen all instruments which can be used to prevent the use and proliferation of chemical weapons before a global convention is in force.

(Mr. von Stülpnagel, Federal
Republic of Germany)

Having listened to the general debate at this year's session of the First Committee, I feel there is a common desire to prevent any further use of chemical weapons. Nearly all speakers have made statements to that effect. The international community will take us at our word.

Last year's General Assembly resolutions 42/37 A and 42/37 C, dealing with chemical weapons, were adopted by consensus. This year we have two specific follow-up resolutions on chemical weapons. In co-sponsoring those two resolutions we wish to underline our strong commitment to a comprehensive convention on chemical weapons and to the prevention of any further use of such weapons. This year we again hope that the resolutions will be adopted by consensus. Indeed, their attitude towards the resolutions is a touching tone of the sincerity of the commitment of Member States to a global ban on chemical weapons and the renunciation of any use of chemical weapons in violation of international law.

Mr. KALUDJEROVIC (Yugoslavia) : I am particularly pleased to introduce, on behalf of a group of sponsors consisting of Algeria, Bangladesh, Brazil, Burma, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Islamic Republic of Iran, Kenya, Madagascar, Mexico, Morocco, Niger, Pakistan, Peru, Romania, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Tunisia, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia and Zaïre, draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.66, entitled "Report of the Conference on Disarmament".

(Mr. Kaludjerovic, Yugoslavia)

If this year's general debate on disarmament has pin-pointed **any single** issue of **common concern**, it is certainly **the need** for strengthening the United Nations and multilateralism **as a whole in conditions when new prospects are opening up for** the solution of the **most** important questions in the field of disarmament. Of particular **significance in this connection is** the work of the Conference on **Disarmament, the only** multilateral negotiating **body in** this field and an irreplaceable instrument of **the international community** for negotiations on disarmament. The results of **the** work of the Conference, however, have so far not **been commensurate** with its **possibilities**.

The sponsors of **the** draft resolution consider that **the Conference** should **be** directly involved in **negotiations** on the **most** important issues on disarmament that concern the security **of** all countries. This year's report of the Conference on Disarmament has shown, once again, that **there has been no progress** in the consideration of those issues. One more year has elapsed, and **the** Conference continues to be denied the right and **authority to negotiate on the most important** issues **on** its agenda despite the efforts of **the vast majority** of its **members**. The selective and one-sided approach **is not a** method for **the solving of problems** of vital importance to the **international** community. Their **relations with the** Conference are **a litmus test of** the political readiness of countries to **contribute** and deepen the process of disarmament.

We must not allow the **Conference** to be side-tracked and made to wait for the completion of bilateral negotiations on certain issues. **Multilateral efforts and bilateral talks must be complementary**. The **sponsors** of the draft **resolution** therefore **believe** that, in **view of the current** processes in **some** important fields **of** disarmament, the Conference will be **in a** position to reach concrete agreements on disarmament issues to **which the United Nations has** assigned **the** greatest priority and **urgency**.

(Mr. Kalud jerovic, Yugoslavia)

The draft **resolution notes** with **satisfaction** that the Conference has **achieved progress in** the negotiations **on the** conclusion of **a comprehensive** convention on chemical weapons. By its **harmonization** and **adoption** the world would be **provided a** powerful legal **weapon** in the struggle against possession **and use** of one of the most lethal weapons of **mass destruction**.

The **sponsors** of the draft resolution are convinced **that an** additional impetus to negotiations on disarmament at all **levels is** needed today perhaps more **than** ever before. They are **therefore** motivated **by the** desire to render **the Conference** full support and to reaffirm its role and importance in the process of **negotiations on** disarmament. The draft resolution is intended to encourage the future work **of the** Conference towards negotiations **and the** adoption of concrete measures on the specific priority **issues** of **disarmament** in keeping with **the fundamental** role of **the** Conference on Disarmament as identified **in the Final Document of the tenth special session** of the General **Assembly**. The **sponsors** are therefore **convinced** that, as in the past, **the** draft resolution **will** receive the **widest** possible support.

Mr. SOULIOTIS (Greece) : **On behalf** of the **12 members** of the **European Community**, I **wish** to address agenda **item 63, concerning** chemical and **bacteriological** (biological) **weapons**.

The Twelve continue to see the complete elimination of **chemical weapons as one** of **the** central and priority **tasks of the international community**. **To that** end, the Twelve **attach** particular **importance to the** chemical **weapons** negotiations under way at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva.

They **strongly** advocate the early **establishment** of a global, comprehensive and effectively verifiable **treaty on** chemical weapons and reaffirm their dedication to the total elimination of those **weapons**. It **is** only by means of such a convention that mankind can once and for all be freed from the **scourge** of chemical weapons.

(Mr. Soulot la, Greece)

The negotiations for a global **ban** on chemical **weapons** have made encouraging **progress**. Joint **efforts** can bring **closer** the **resolution** of pending **problems**, including **the** complex but fundamental verification issues, in a way acceptable to all. Those **of** the Twelve who are participants in the Conference will continue vigorously **to** pursue that **goal** at **the** negotiations.

From the outset of the negotiations, it was clear that reliable verification would be a crucial **issue**. Substantial progress **has been made** towards **establishing** an effective verification system. A recent **positive** development is the initiation of trial inspections of chemical **facilities**. It is the hope of **the** Twelve that those inspections will help clarify **some** of the remaining **problems** in that area and contribute to their expeditious **resolution**.

In this **context** of **constructive parallelism** between the bilateral and multilateral **processes**, the Twelve **reiterate** that they welcome **the ongoing discussions** between the United States and the Soviet Union on **issues** related to the prohibition of chemical weapons. Those **discussions** have contributed **positively** to **the negotiating process** in the Conference on Disarmament.

The **use of** these terrible weapons in **the Iran-Iraq** conflict and the compelling indication of their **use** against the **Kurdish** civilian population underline the compelling need for a comprehensive, verifiable and global convention **on the** elimination of chemical weapons. The Twelve are gravely concerned **by the** reports of **the** Secretary-General and confirm their **position** condemning **such use** of chemical **weapons**. They call for respect for **the Geneva** Protocol of 1925 and other relevant **rules** of customary international law. They also call for full implementation of **Security Council** resolutions 632 (1988) and 620 (1988). The Twelve endorse the **Security Council's** call on States to continue to apply, to **establish** or to **strengthen** strict control of the export of chemical products **serving** for the

(Mr. Bouliotis, Greece)

production of chemical weapons. This is particularly so in respect of parties **to** a conflict when it is established or when there is substantial reason to believe that they have used chemical weapons in violation of international obligations. They commend its decision to consider immediately, taking into account the investigations of the Secretary-General, appropriate and effective measures, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, should there be any future use of chemical weapons in violation of international law. In that context, the Twelve welcome the consensus accorded to General Assembly resolution **42/37 C** which, inter alia, urged all States to be guided in their national policies by the need **to** curb the spread of chemical weapons, requested the Secretary-General to investigate the reports of chemical weapons use and requested him to develop further technical guidelines and procedures to assist in the timely and efficient investigation of such reports.

The Twelve warmly support the timely **initiative** of the Presidents of the United States and France, made before the General Assembly, in calling **for** a conference with the aim of reaffirming the authority of the Geneva Protocol of 1925. We expect the conference at the same time to give a new forceful impetus to the ongoing negotiations at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. We welcome the invitation by President Mitterrand to hold such a conference in Paris **from 7 to** 11 January 1989.

The Twelve are encouraged by the results of the second Review Conference of the States parties to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (**Biological**) Weapons and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction. They welcome the measures adopted for voluntary confidence-building and look forward to widespread response among States parties, on a continuing basis, as envisaged in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee of Scientific and Technical Experts (**BWC/Conf.II/EX.2**).

(Mr. Souliot is, Greece)

Several draft resolutions have been **submitted concerning the** agenda item **I** am addreeeing . The Twelve **very much hope that** it will prove **possible once again to reach consensus on these important issues.**

(Mr. Souliotis, Greece)

And now, **I wish to make some comments** on behalf **of** the Twelve Member **States** of the European Community **on** agenda item 67 (a), **entitled "Report of the Disarmament Commission"**, with **specific** reference to **consideration** of guideline **8** for **confidence-building measures**.

After several years of deliberation in the Disarmament **Commission**, in which many Member **States** **actively** participated, the **Disarmament** Commission, following the initiative of the Federal Republic of Germany, agreed this year on a set of guidelines for confidence-building measures. The **Twelve** would **like** to see the General Assembly endorse these **guidelines** and recommend their implementation **by States** in accordance with their own particular situation.

In the view **of** the **Twelve**, the concept of **confidence-building** is **particularly** important in **a** world where instances of the **use** and the threat of **use** of **force** **still cause** concern to the international **community**. **Confidence-building measures** have played and will continue to play **a** considerable role in multilateral **disarmament** affairs. They **are** not, of course, **a** substitute for **arms** control and disarmament. We welcome the fact that the **positive** role of **confidence-building** measures is now widely accepted.

The positive political climate that resulted **from** the Washington and Moscow **summit** meetings, **as** well **as** from other contacts at the highest levels between the United States of America and **the** USSR, **has created** new conditions conducive to the achievement of **significant** progress in the process of arms control **and** **disarmament** and of strengthening **peace**. In **such a** climate, **confidence-building** measures for their part **can** **only** promote the disarmament and **arms control** process, since their foundation lies in respect for the **principles** **enshrined** in the Charter of the United Nations. Thus, they contribute to preserving international peace **and** security.

(Mr. Sculiotia, Greece)

The Twelve **are** firmly convinced that the development of confidence-building **measures** and the promotion *of* more openness and transparency in **the** military field **are elements central to progress** in arms **control** and disarmament at **both the global and the regional levels**. **The** adoption of **measures** that contribute to greater openness **and transparency** helps to prevent **misperceptions** and **miscalculations** of intentions and military **capabilities** and to further the relaxation of international **tensions**.

As a concrete example, the results achieved at the Stockholm Conference and the **encouraging experience gained** so far from the implementation *of* the Stockholm document have **contributed significantly** to improving **confidence** and mutual **trust in Europe**. **As always, the Twelve made every effort to contribute to that result.**

We feel that the existing net of provisions **can still be improved by promoting** more openness **and transparency** in the military field. The Twelve, **like many other Europeans, are** firmly committed to the new round of confidence- and **security-building-measures negotiations**.

Equally, the Twelve support efforts in other regions - **in Latin America, in Africa and in Asia** - **that can contribute to an atmosphere favourable to regional disarmament measures**. We hope that **those efforts will succeed**.

On the **global scale, too, the Twelve are encouraged by the results of the** Second Review Conference of **the States Parties to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction**. **We welcome the measures** adopted for voluntary **confidence-building** and look forward to a widespread **response among States parties**.

Much work has gone into drafting and **finalizing the guidelines** accepted at this **year's** substantive **session** of the Disarmament Commission. The Twelve **hope** that, **against** the background of a generally improving **atmosphere in international**

(Mr. Souliotis, Greece)

relations - no small part of which is due to the tireless and successful work of the Secretary-General and his staff - Member States of the United Nations will draw upon those Guidelines and implement those recommendations contained therein which they see fit to apply to their specific circumstances.

We fully support the draft resolution in document A/C.1/43/L.49 submitted by the Federal Republic of Germany.

Mr. MARTYNOV (Byelorussian SSR) (interpretation from Russian): Today, the Byelorussian delegation has the honour of introducing draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.38 entitled "Prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons". We make the introduction on behalf of the delegations of Angola, Benin, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Mozambique, Poland, Romania, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam and also on behalf of our own delegation.

The Byelorussian SSR, for many years now, has taken a particular interest in this problem. We are convinced that its significance cannot be overestimated. The progress of science and technology, the emergence of new scientific principles and technologies and the possibility of their military application have all created the danger of the emergence of new forms of weapons of mass destruction that have characteristics comparable in destructive effect to those of the weapons of mass destruction identified in the definition of such weapons adopted by the United Nations Commission on Conventional Weapons in 1948.

Furthermore, the problem of preventing the development of new types of weapons of mass destruction will become ever more urgent as progress is made towards the elimination of existing types of such weapons. In light of that, the Byelorussian SSR and the other sponsors now believe it appropriate and necessary to work towards

**(Mr. Martynov,
Byelor USSR tan SSR)**

agreement on procedure that should **be immediately implemented** in order to co-ordinate **international** action as and when concrete **types of such** weapons are **identified**.

To **those ends**, operative paragraph 1 of the resolution reaffirms the need for **effective measures** to be taken **to avoid** the emergence of new types of weapons of mass destruction based on new **scientific principles** and **achievements**.

Paragraph 2 provides for appropriate procedure that should **be made available** to the international **community**. That **is** to say, **the Conference** on Disarmament, in the light of its existing priorities, should keep under continuing review, **with** appropriate **expert assistance**, the question of the prohibition of the development **and** manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new **systems of such** weapons with a view to making, when **necessary**, recommendations on undertaking **specific** negotiations on the identified types of **such weapons**.

In paragraph 3, the General **Assembly** calls upon all States, immediately following the identification of any new type of weapon of mass destruction, to **commence** negotiations on its prohibition and to refrain from any action **that** could adversely affect **the** negotiations.

(Mr. Martynov, Byelorussian SSR)

The Byelorussian SSR believes that these procedures would be more useful if they were based on agreement. Therefore, we are now actively engaged in consultations with a number of interested delegations with a view to achieving appropriate compromise.

If any changes are made to draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.38 the sponsors will notify the Committee accordingly.

Miss SOLESBY (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland) : I have the pleasure to introduce a draft resolution on objective information on military matters. I do so on behalf of the delegations of Australia, Belgium, Botswana, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, the Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Samoa, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America and my own delegation.

The Committee has the text before it in the form of document A/C.1/43/L.19. However, small changes have been made to that text, and I understand that the revised version will be available tomorrow as document A/C.1/43/L.19/Rev.1. It is the revised text that I am introducing today.

The list of sponsors whose names I have just read out is a long one, and I think it shows that the delegations sponsoring the draft resolution cover a wide spectrum of countries represented here. My delegation is particularly pleased that support for the ideas embodied in the draft resolution is becoming increasingly widespread.

The draft resolution builds upon its predecessors. It carries the subject forward in a way that reflects developments during the last year. It reflects the new standards of openness enshrined in recent agreements - agreements whose value is clear to all. It also reflects the growing acknowledgement of the ideas set out

(Miss Solesby, United Kingdom)

In the draft resolution - ideas of openness and transparency in military matters - and of the contribution those principles make to the enhancement of security.

An important aspect of the draft resolution is its recommendation that the international ☐☐☒☐☐ Co the standardised reporting of military ☐ expenditure be implemented. This is a crucial example of the way in which the principles of openness and transparency can take concrete form. And we attach especial importance to it. The draft resolution invites States to submit views on further consolidating the trend towards greater openness. We very much hope that responses will include practical suggestions as well as statements of principle.

Finally, the draft resolution asks that the Disarmament Commission take up this item at its session in 1990. We believe that the subject would benefit from more in-depth consideration in a forum that is open to all States. We hope that the deliberation that would take place in the Disarmament Commission would result in a useful study representing a wide consensus on the item and thus serve as a constructive guide for the future.

We believe that the subject this draft resolution addresses is one whose topicality is increasing and whose importance is becoming more widely recognized. For this reason we commend it with ☐ confidence to the attention of all delegations and hope it will enjoy the support of ☐ If countries represented here.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for her statement, which I found very encouraging.

Mr. NAZARKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.19/Rev.1, entitled "Objective information on military questions", which has just been introduced by the representative of the United Kingdom, is the result of consultations between my delegation and the delegation of the United Kingdom. I should like to voice my satisfaction with the successful outcome of those consultations. Since this revised draft resolution

(Mr. Nazar kin, USSR)

takes amount Of the **commen ts** we made **dur ing** those **consul ta tions** the Soviet **delegation is** empowered, **on** behalf of the other **sponsors, to** declare **that** draft resolution A/C. 1/43/L. 29 is withdrawn.

We consider that measures of **openness** and **transparency** in the military sphere are a substantial factor in the **consolidation of trust** and the enhancement of the predictability of the **actions** of States, which **constitute** one of the **components of** international security. We **are** convinced that the process **of the** development **of openness** in international **affairs as** a whole and in the **military sphere is** having a favourable impact **on** the international situation and has a direct impact **also** on the intensification of **negotiations on curbing the arms race.**

The **beginning** of real nuclear disarmament **as** the result of the implementation **Of** the **Treaty** between the United States of **Amer ica and the Union of Soviet Socialist** Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range **Missiles has set** new, **unprecedented standards of openness** and has, in practice, demonstrated the **indissoluble** link between openness **and** disarmament. Bearing **in** mind that one of the important **aspects of** disarmament **is** the reduction of **military** budgets, **and acknowledginq** the leading role **of** the United **Nations** in **promoting the solution of this question,** the Soviet Union, within the declared time-limit, when conditions, **come about for a realistic** comparison **of military** expenditures, will proceed to **use the existinq** United **Nations** system of **standardization** of accounts to present details of **its** military **expenditures.**

(Mr. Nazar kin, USSR)

I wish to state that the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gorbachev, stated the following on 17 September 1987:

"I think that, with proper efforts, in the next two or three years we shall already be able to compare figures of interest to us and our partners which will symmetrically reflect the expenditures of the sides."

The Soviet Union also considers that within the framework of the United Nations it is possible to proceed with the elaboration of objective criteria and parameters for guaranteeing openness in order to promote the advancement of the process of real disarmament. Together with the other co-sponsors, we have proposed the consideration of these questions in the Disarmament Commission at its 1990 session. We are convinced that the emerging trend of enhancement of the role of the United Nations in international affairs must make itself felt also in the improvement of openness and the exchange of objective information on military matters. This will enhance the capability of the United Nations to promote international peace and security and will make it a leading force in the development of international relations based on trust and co-operation. The Soviet delegation hopes that the General Assembly will give firm support to further expansion of openness in military matters.

In the desire to elaborate a single draft on the question of objective information on military matters, we also took into account your appeal, Mr. Chairman, to strive to ensure that draft resolutions should not duplicate each other. We hope that other delegations will follow our example and will intensify consultations with a view to the elaboration of single drafts on issues where two or more draft resolutions have in the past been presented.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representatives of the Soviet Union for his statement, which I very much appreciate. The last two statements that we have just

(The Chairman)

heard, from the representatives of the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, in my view, reflect a high point in the First Committee's work this year, for what both representatives told us was that, as a result of their consultations on the very important subject contained in the draft resolutions on objective information, it became possible to have a single draft resolution. Indeed, I may say that this vindicates, if such were necessary, the emphasis that we have placed in our programme this year on allotting more time for consultation in order to accomplish precisely what we have just accomplished. Thus, like Ambassador Nasarkin, I too hope that this will be an incentive in other ongoing consultations.

Further, it is my hope that the revised draft resolution that will emerge from these consultations will be adopted by consensus in the First Committee, for surely this will make it possible for the work that the United Nations Disarmament Commission will take up on the subject in 1990 to be approached successfully. So I reiterate my great sense of satisfaction that the accomplishment in this area has been as significant as it has been.

Mr. CAPPAGLI (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish) : The progress in disarmament made during the past year at the bilateral level has already been recognized on many occasions. The re-establishment of constructive dialogue between the super-Powers contains enormous creative potential, while at the same time generating a new atmosphere of detente and international co-operation. Nevertheless, as is pointed out in the Programme of Action of the Final Document Of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, nuclear weapons remain the major danger for mankind and the survival of civilization. Therefore the cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament, like the prevention of nuclear war, still constitute today matters which require priority attention.

On this occasion, as in previous years, the Argentine delegation wishes to

(Mr. Cappagli, Argentina)

introduce two draft resolutions on different aspects of a fundamental theme in disarmament negotiations.

The draft resolution on item 67 (k), referring to the cessation of the nuclear-arms race and nuclear disarmament and appearing in document A/C. 1/43/L.42, has been sponsored by my delegation, with the following co-sponsors: Bangladesh, Cameroon, Costa Rica, Ecuador, the German Democratic Republic, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Romania, Sweden, the United Republic of Tanzania and Venezuela. The draft resolution, which brings up to date the one adopted last year on the same subject, welcomes the progress achieved in this area and reaffirms the complementarity existing between bilateral and multilateral negotiations.*

The need to halt and reverse the nuclear-arms race in order to prevent the danger of a nuclear war is a question of the greatest importance and a matter of concern for the international community, which is threatened by this danger. This explains the vital interest of the international community in nuclear disarmament negotiations. Unfortunately, the Conference on Disarmament has not yet been able to reach agreement on the establishment of a subsidiary body with an appropriate negotiating mandate. Accordingly, in the draft resolution the General Assembly would again request the Conference on Disarmament at the beginning of its 1989 session to establish an ad hoc committee to elaborate on paragraph 50 of the Final Document of 1978, and submit recommendations to the Conference as to how it could best initiate multilateral negotiations of agreements, with adequate measures of verification, in appropriate stages, for cessation of the qualitative and quantitative improvements and development of nuclear-weapons systems and proceeding to the reduction and elimination of such weapons.

*Mr. Batiouk (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

(Mr. **Cappagli**, Argentina)

Draft resolution **A/C.1/43/L.43**, submitted under agenda item 67 **(1)**, relates to the prevention of nuclear war. It is sponsored by my delegation, together with Algeria, Bangladesh, Bulgaria, Brazil, Cameroon, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Ecuador, **Egypt**, German Democratic Republic, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Morocco, Niger **ia**, Pakistan, Peru, Romania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam and **Yugoslavia**.

In essence, the draft resolution is similar to the one **adopted** last year on the same subject. However, there are some changes in the preamble, which refers to the progress made in the bilateral field. As in previous years, it was not possible to establish at the Conference on Disarmament, an ad hoc Committee to examine procedures designed to secure the avoidance of nuclear war.

In the light of the urgency of the question and the inadequacy or insufficiency of existing measures, the draft resolution I am introducing once **again contains** a request to the Conference on Disarmament to **undertake**, as a matter of the highest priority, negotiations with a view to **achieving** agreement on appropriate and practical measures that could be negotiated and adopted individually for the prevention of nuclear war and to establish an ad hoc committee on the subject at the beginning of its 1989 session.

My delegation trusts that draft resolutions A/C.1/43/L.42 and **A/C.1/43/L.43** will be adopted with the broad support of the General Assembly.

Mr. BOKOV (Bulgaria): I have the honour to introduce on behalf of its **sponsors, draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.21, entitled** "Conclusion of effective international arrangements on the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear **weapons**". The draft resolution is submitted under agenda item 57.

Before proceeding with the introduction of the draft resolution, I should like to avail myself of the opportunity to inform the Committee that in the past few

(Mr. Bakov, Bulgaria)

weeks my delegation has undertaken consultations with interested delegations both in Geneva and here in New York in an attempt to agree upon and introduce a single draft resolution on the issue of negative security assurances. As is well known, the General Assembly has traditionally voted on two separate draft resolutions on this subject which have many common points. In the view of my delegation, the introduction of one draft resolution of primarily procedural character would create, particularly if adopted by consensus, a much more favourable atmosphere in the ad hoc committee on negative security assurances in 1989. The failure of this attempt is to be regretted since, for our part, the consultations were held with an open mind and in a spirit of goodwill and compromise.

Draft resolution A/C. 1/43/L. 21, which is sponsored by the delegations of Angola, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and by my own delegation, is based on the conviction that nuclear disarmament and the complete elimination of nuclear weapons are essential to the elimination of the threat of war. We believe that pending the achievement of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, various interim measures should be taken to strengthen the security of non-nuclear-weapon States.

Proposals, such as the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons by an appropriate international convention, the assumption of a policy of non-first use of such weapons by all nuclear-weapon States, and the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, have received widespread international support.

Draft resolution A/C. 1/43/L. 21 reflects also the position of the sponsors in regard to the conclusion of an international, legally binding instrument giving non-nuclear States reliable, uniform and unconditional assurances against the use or threat of use of such weapons on their territories.

(Mr. Rokov, Bulgaria)

While the draft resolution follows basically the language of last year's General Assembly resolution 42/31 it is worth noting that it contains new elements, such as the recognition that there is a need for a fresh look at the issue of negative security guarantees, in particular by the nuclear-weapon States, in order to overcome the difficulties encountered at the negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament in previous years.

In introducing draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.21, we believe that it will play a useful and positive role in stimulating the Conference on Disarmament to pursue intensive negotiations with a view to reaching agreement on a common approach on the need to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Russian) : Before adjourning the meeting, I call on Mr. Kheradi, Secretary of the Committee.

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

A/C.1/43/L.1: Thailand
 A/C.1/43/L.22: Honduras
 A/C.1/43/L.34: the Ukrainian SSR
 A/C.1/43/L.45: the Syrian Arab Republic
 A/C.1/43/L.48: Cuba
 A/C.1/43/L.19: Greece
 A/C.1/43/L.51: Thailand
 A/C.1/43/L.52: Thailand
 A/C.1/43/L.64: Viet Nam and Sierra Leone
 A/C.1/43/L.66: Burma and the Sudan
 A/C.1/43/L.67: Hungary and Bulgaria

The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.