

UNITED NATIONS
General Assembly
FORTY-FIFTH SESSION
Official Records

FIRST COMMITTEE
8th meeting
held on
Thursday, 18 October 1990
at 10 a.m.
New York

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 8th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. **RANA** (Nepal)

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Distr. GENERAL
A/C.1/45/PV.8
25 October 1990
ENGLISH

The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 45 TO 66 AND 155 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT AGENDA ITEMS

Mr, (Sri Lanka): I wish to extend to you, Sir, my delegation's congratulations on your election to your office at this time when your duties may be very demanding. You represent a country with which Sri Lanka has always had friendly relations. We wish to pledge our fullest support and co-operation to you and the other officers of the Committee in all your endeavours.

The depth of the analysis and comment made in statements in plenary meetings at this session of the General Assembly is indicative of the far-reaching nature of the changes that have taken place in the world in the recent past. We have experienced the freeing of international relations from the shackles of cold-war politics. We have seen tangible steps being taken to arrest the process of over-arming, both nuclear and conventional, in the most heavily armed continent, in which two devastating world wars originated. We have also witnessed the coming to the fore of non-military dimensions of security such as poverty, deprivation, environmental degradation and socio-economic instabilities that pervade the less affluent parts of the world. The United Nations has been enabled to play an increasing and positive role in discharging its responsibilities of peace-making and peace-keeping. At the same time, however, there have been negative developments affecting various parts of the globe where tensions, the use of force and the undermining of the rule of law in the conduct of inter-State relations continue to be sources of concern.

(Mr. Rasaputram, Sri Lanka)

In this situation of change, whether positive or negative, the United Nations and its multilateral mechanisms have provided a degree of stability and continuity to the international order. As the Secretary-General has pointed out in his report,

"The United Nations, therefore, enters the post-cold war era as a central point of constancy in the midst of flux". (A/45/1, p. 2)

Evidently the positive and negative developments of the recent past have emphasised the self-evident reality that States should return to the code of conduct espoused by the founders of the United Nations. We need a greater and deeper commitment to support for shared security with the least armaments, as distinct from the pursuit of narrow national interests through the accumulation and use of military hardware. Such a determination will enhance the role of the rule of law in international relations, which is so essential to the sustenance and development of our nation-State system.

Our deliberations in the First Committee this year, more than ever, should be cognizant of the Secretary-General's words of wisdom. They relate to the centrality of the competence of the United Nations in the international effort on a broad front to ensure the security of all its Member States at progressively lower levels of armament. As we move into an era of shared security through co-operation, and as the cold-war doctrines, we hope, recede into history, we must make better use of the multilateral potential of the United Nations to globalize positive developments and to respond effectively to negative developments.

Resorting to the United Nations selectively for the sole purpose of responding to events, particularly at a time of crisis, thus neglecting its preventive potential, will not be commensurate with the complexities of the global order we all hope for. The largely unfulfilled multilateral-disarmament agenda, which we

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debate annually, offers a **rich** storehouse for potential preventive action.

Regrettably, it remains a yet-unfulfilled agenda. Our deliberations this **year** should **therefore be responsive** to this lacuna.

A revitalised role for the United Nations in preventive measures in the field of multilateral disarmament would augment the Organisation's capacity to respond to all types of situations and would enhance its **efficacy** and prestige. We therefore **expect** the First Committee, at this session, to **come up** with forward-looking and action-oriented proposals commensurate with the disarmament potential that the new positive developments **have** brought about.

The recent announcements by the two **major** Powers concerning an agreement on conventional forces in Europe and a potential agreement on strategic nuclear weapons **are** welcome. We hope that these developments will provide further impetus to the process initiated with the conclusion of the agreement between **the** United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - the INF Treaty. We are equally hopeful that the positive climate thus created will be used to explore complementary multilateral action **on** nuclear issues within the United Nations framework.

Given the increasingly **effective** role the United Nations is playing in preserving and promoting the security of all countries, non-use of the **Organization's** potential in the domain of nuclear issues would be self-defeating. The **recently** concluded United Nations study on nuclear weapons has clearly brought out renewed **concerns** relating to the legal, political and environmental implications of the continued production and qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons, as **well** as of related non-proliferation issues. Clearly, multilateral **action within** the framework of the United Nations is **called** for if the

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international community is to address these concerns in their global and regional interrelationships. The need for such multilateral action has been a constant theme in the General Assembly and, more recently, in the Non-Proliferation Treaty (**NPT**) Fourth Review Conference, which was **concluded** in Geneva a few weeks ago.

There are a number of areas in which multilateral action can be envisaged. One question particularly ripe **for** such action is the cessation of the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons. Conditions seem to be particularly favourable for the initiation of negotiations on a multilateral instrument to this end, which would go a long way in addressing both nuclear-disarmament and non-proliferation concerns. We hope that the relevant resolutions **of** the First Committee will envisage appropriate action involving the existing nuclear-weapon States, as well as those other States that have significant capability in nuclear technology. Such multilateral action would represent a significant confidence-building measure **of** a non-discriminatory character. It would also be a positive response to increasing concern about the adverse environmental consequences of the continued production and processing of raw material for nuclear weapons.

The **NPT** Fourth Review Conference concluded its work in Geneva a few weeks ago. Given the close relevance of the Treaty's provisions to various security and disarmament issues addressed in the **First** Committee, it is pertinent to make some observations in that regard. The Review Conference was unable to adopt a final declaration. Sri Lanka **nevertheless** considers **the** Fourth Review to have been a good one. It provided a constructive evaluation of the operation **of the** Treaty. **It** was able to reach agreement on several important aspects **of** implementation **and** future actions, Consensus was possible on **key** questions relating to safeguards **and** peaceful uses of nuclear energy, as well **as**, to **some extent, on negative security**

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assurances. **Even** on most **of** the sensitive issues relating to article VI there was a wide measure **of** agreement, although **agreement** proved elusive on the question of a comprehensive nuclear-test ban.

We do not consider that the absence of an agreed final document affects the validity or the functioning of the Treaty in any way. What is clearly evident from what happened, or did not happen, at the Fourth Review Conference is that States parties have identified crucial areas for further action, such as the question of a comprehensive nuclear-test ban.

The achievement of a multilateral comprehensive test-ban Treaty is integrally related to the realization of the purposes and provisions of the NPT. The fact that some nuclear-weapon States were unable to agree to a painstakingly formulated compromise on this issue indicates that further efforts should be made to achieve **this** long-held priority objective. Those renewed efforts should be made at all levels and in all appropriate forums.

The forthcoming amendment Conference offers an opportunity to consider a course of action on a priority basis and in a constructive spirit. Admittedly for different reasons, all countries have attached importance to this question. In the circumstances, the opportunity offered by the amendment Conference should be exploited to find a way forward in realizing commitments undertaken in good faith in relevant Treaties. Sri Lanka looks forward to an honest appraisal of the possibilities afforded by **the** amendment **Conference** to achieve this objective. The resolutions that we adopt should be cognizant of this opportunity.

The legitimate concerns over nuclear arsenals and the traditional priority attached to that question should not deter the international community from giving adequate consideration to the issues of conventional disarmament. Sri Lanka and, indeed, many other countries have emphasized the timeliness of such action, both

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in **Geneva** and here in **New** York. We welcome the significant progress that has been **made** towards achieving a substantial reduction **of** conventional **forces** *in* Europe. We hope that this process will be continued and will be aimed at further **reductions**. While the European formula cannot readily be applied elsewhere, global and regional issues **of** conventional armaments should *receive* the attention **of** the United Nations. The fact that all wars **since** the Second World *War* have been fought with conventional weapons should be sufficient reason *for* the United Nations to **examine** ways and means **of** taking meaningful steps **in** the conventional-disarmament field.

Conflicts **of varying** intensity that continue *within* and between States **often** impose severe socio-economic burdens on smaller developing countries. Decidedly, these have brought into sharper **focus** the priority that should be accorded to this issue. In the conventional-arms trade, commercial *interests* seem to have gained the upper hand, resulting **in** the supply **of sophisticated** weapons to various irregular groups,

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The acquisition of modern weapons by these groups not only threatens the stability and security of the democratically elected Governments of small nations, but also destroys their potential for economic development by terrorist activity. Arms trade without adequate monitoring or assessment by the international community can take internal disturbances to regional and international levels. The greater involvement of the United Nations to halt the present arms transfers to **unrecognized** and irregular groups is a question that has so far eluded **assessment** and evaluation, let alone solution.

The Disarmament Commission deliberations on this question should be moulded into a realistic action-oriented framework so that the United Nations can find ways and **means** for arresting the **destabilizing** effects of unconstrained arms transfers to various irregular groups. Such a course of action would augment action by the United Nations in other areas such as drug trafficking and terrorism. Many developing countries have become the victims of the mutually supportive tripartite of drug trafficking, arms smuggling and terrorism. In a larger context, international action on assessing, regulating and eventually stopping illegal **arms** trade would contribute immensely to the security of smaller developing countries and the maintenance of international peace and security since it would act as a constraint against the **militarization** of democratic **systems** in many of those countries.

The root cause of the majority of regional conflicts and internal disturbances is the lack of economic security for the vast number of people in developing countries. Historical facts indicate that rapid economic growth and reduction of inequalities have resulted in a greater improvement of total security than disarmament measures alone. Internal peace therefore must rest on a firm commitment to achieve common security which embraces **economic** security, **We** have not given adequate attention to the vital relationship between disarmament and

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development. To look at global and conventional security only in **terms** of arms reduction would be to ignore the underlying causes and symptoms that surface from time to time due to economic and social. factors. It is imperative that we look at global security in terms of lowering military expenditures and arms limitations as well as establishing a relationship with economic development.

We are aware that poverty and environmental degradation are linked. But there is a growing concern about environmental pollution due to militarization. The growth of industries in the manufacture of increasingly destructive weapons and their use in internal **conflicts** have resulted in the displacement of populations, thus adding a third category of environmental refugees to the existing categories of political **and** economic refugees. The risk of using modern lethal weapons poses severe dangers to the environment which can have cumulative effects in destroying life on this planet and threaten to destroy future generations. We believe that the input the Disarmament Commission could provide would be invaluable *in* making preparations for the 1992 Conference on the Environment and Development, particularly in view of the existing links with disarmament.

In the field of conventional disarmament, my **delegation** is also hopeful that *this* session of the First Committee will provide decisive political input to negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva for the conclusion of a convention comprehensively banning chemical weapons, While the Geneva negotiations have achieved considerable technical progress this year, we share the disappointment that **more** could not have been achieved in **terms** of *narrowing* the differences on crucial political questions relating to the convention. We commend the skilful and dedicated chairmanship of Ambassador Hyltaneus **of** Sweden, who worked unceasingly to move negotiations forward. Sri Lanka has consistently supported the earliest conclusion of a non-discriminatory convention embodying a comprehensive ban on these abhorrent weapons without reservations. We also share

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the mainstream opinion that the convention and its functioning should be **truly**, multilateral in character and that only such a conceptual framework would ensure the universality of the convention. We continue to believe that universality can best be achieved by making the convention **attractive** to all countries+ and not by tactical **means**, as no country can be persuaded by force of arms to sign an internationally binding agreement.

As a developing **country** which **values** its **ecosystem** for its sustenance and development, we share the view that destruction of chemical weapons should be accomplished in an environmentally safe manner. Most importantly, we consider that renewed efforts should be made **to** conclude the convention within set time-limits, since some of the remaining political questions cannot perhaps be solved unless they are purposefully negotiated in the terminal phase of negotiations. We therefore hope that the draft resolution we adopt will provide the necessary **political** impetus to encourage the negotiators in Geneva to enter this decisive phase **of** negotiations.

As we move out of an era of cold war confrontation into an era of multilateral co-operation for the security and well-being of nations, outer space appears to be **an** area which could benefit immensely **from** this co-operative endeavour. Co-**peration** in outer space should not lead to the deployment of weapons, offensive **or** defensive, in that environment but should facilitate positive international co-operation **for** the benefit of mankind. Collective action for that purpose, particularly preventive measures against arms competition, has assumed greater **importance** as the use of outer space **has** become a truly multinational **affair**. Given the investments that continue **to** be made by an increasing number **of countries** in the use of outer space and **its** economic **and** security **implications for** all the **countries** of the world, the need to keep **this** last frontier **for** the benefit **of mankind remains** a matter of **urgency**. The evident mobility of space **capability**

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would indicate that it would not be prudent to wait until we hear the first cry of proliferation in order to take the first step in the direction of prevention. Preference of technological solutions to space-related security problems as distinct from diplomatic ones, could prove short-lived as was the case in many other areas of weapons technology.

The opportunity available now should therefore be utilized to take meaningful multilateral steps to prevent a **destabilizing** weapons endeavour *in* outer space. This year, we are encouraged by **the** qualitatively improved performance of the Ad Hoc Committee on Outer Space of the Conference on Disarmament. **It** has reiterated the urgency and importance of preventing an arms race in outer space, and has developed consensus language on indicative ways for **further** work towards that objective. **There** was an agreement on the complementary nature of bilateral and multilateral efforts and on the importance of bilateral negotiations. We therefore believe that opportunities exist to focus on elements **of common** interest **without** prejudice to the position of any delegation with regard to an eventual agreement or agreements that could be reached to achieve the objective of preventing an arms race in outer space.

There was also recognition of the contribution of experts and of the need for transparency in outer space activities relevant to the realization of the **main** goal of the Ad Hoc Committee. **We therefore** look forward to building upon **these** areas of **common** ground during consultations on a draft resolution. That would help the Ad Hoc Committee of the Conference on Disarmament to further develop the useful work it was **able** to carry out this year. The Sri Lanka delegation will initiate and actively participate in our collective work on the draft resolution on outer **space**, on which a wide measure of support has been a tradition in this Committee,

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Finally, the **responsibility** for the implementation *of the* Declaration of the Indian **Ocean** as a Zone of Peace should rest with all **nations**. The **Ad Hoc** Committee on the Indian Ocean, during the two sessions held in 1990, was able to **make significant progress** in its preparatory **work**. The Committee was able to adopt a draft agenda of the Colombo Conference, which was before it for several years. The Committee, **during** the first reading **of** the **draft** rules of procedure *of* the **Colombo Conference**, was able to, reach tentative agreement *on most* of the rules.

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As indicated in General Assembly resolution 441120, significant progress has also been made in the substantive aspect of the preparatory work of the Committee. As may be recalled, the Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries meeting in Belgrade in 1989 reminded the five permanent members of the Security Council of their responsibility to attend the Colombo Conference with a view to discussing the implementation of the Declaration on the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean region. It is our hope that the international community will collectively work towards this end. Sri Lanka as the initiator of the proposals is firmly committed to the holding of the **Conference** in Colombo in 1991.

The CHAIRMAN: Before I call on the next speaker, allow me to extend a warm welcome to the participants in the 1990 United Nations Disarmament Fellowship Programme. I understand that as part of their programme of studies in New York they will attend meetings of the First Committee. It is my hope that they will derive benefit from the Committee's proceedings.

Mr. PAWLAK (Poland): At the very outset I should like to express my sincere congratulations to you, Mr. Chairman, on your unanimous election to the chairmanship of the First Committee. I am convinced that your wisdom and outstanding diplomatic skills will efficiently and successfully guide the Committee through its work during this session. At the same time I wish to extend my congratulations to the other officers of this prestigious Committee.

I should like also to take this opportunity to welcome *among us* the representatives of the United Nations Secretariat: the Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, Mr. Yasushi Akashi, and the Personal Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General and Secretary-General of the Conference on Disarmament, Mr. **Miljan** Komatina.

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

Since we gathered here one year ago the whole world has witnessed developments unprecedented in its post-war history. The international community hailed the demise of the cold war and the decline of totalitarian **régimes** in a good part of Europe. The process of change in Central and Eastern Europe, which in fact was inspired by my country, has led to overcoming the decades-old and clear dichotomous division of the continent, laying foundations for the establishment of new, more adequate and more **reliable** structures and mechanisms of security and co-operation. This, in our opinion, will facilitate the process of unification of Europe. The impact of those changes has not been limited to the old continent alone. It has its own bearing on the international situation as a whole. The traditional dichotomy of East-West relations has lost its validity. Confrontation and rivalry between the super-Powers have given way to dialogue and co-operation. There is a **growing** recognition of the need to strengthen the rule of law in international relations. Openness and transparency in military matters are being acknowledged as significant elements enhancing security. Recent successes of the United Nations, especially those in the area of solving regional conflicts, have consolidated its role and authority, opening up at the same time new possibilities for the **Organization** and its organs to discharge their responsibilities as set out in the Charter.

Pot **most** of the year the natural longing of peoples for peace, enduring security and a relaxation of tension in all spheres of international relations has seemed to stand better chances of **materialization** than ever. However, on the morning of 2 August this year we once again realized how fragile peace was. We learned that the end of the cold **war** and the rapprochement between the East and the West did not eliminate automatically all threats to international peace and security in the world, We learned as well the dire urgency of eliminating weapons of **mass** destruction.

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

So far, their very existence has constituted a threat to mankind. This time the world has been confronted with the possibility of their use, especially the use of chemical weapons, on a large scale. To **remove** the threat of chemical-weapons proliferation and their use once and for all, it becomes imperative that we **move** quickly to a comprehensive and global ban. In this regard the recent Soviet-American agreement on ceasing production of chemical weapons and destroying stockpiles is a sign of hope. It should be regarded as a new expression of their political will to see those weapons of mass destruction reduced and subsequently eliminated. This important signal must be taken into account by the Conference *on* Disarmament when it **comes** to grips with a convention on the total and complete elimination **of chemical** weapons.

Regrettably, the outcome of this year's negotiations on the convention fell short of our expectations. In saying this we must admit that time is not our ally in that endeavour. The alarming spread **of** chemical weapons and the growing danger **of their** use in conflicts are a serious reminder of this fact. **On** the other hand, we are convinced that negotiations on the convention have already reached the final stage and can be successfully concluded, if only negotiating parties exert themselves. Moreover, that conviction was considerably enhanced recently during the general debate of the General Assembly when a vast majority **of Member** States stressed the urgency of concluding negotiations on a comprehensive, effectively verifiable and truly global ban on chemical weapons. The Polish delegation, in close co-operation with the delegation **of** Canada, will submit a draft resolution on this subject and will do its utmost to ensure that the Committee adopts it by consensus.

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

Cessation of the nuclear-arms race **and** nuclear disarmament remains an issue of **the** highest priority. While recognising **some** progress in this field we **are** nevertheless of the opinion that it **can be regarded as** only a first **step** in the **right direction** and that many **more** efforts are **needed** to produce satisfying results. Poland is encouraged by the significant progress made in the negotiations at the strategic **arms** reduction talks (START) which would bring about significant reductions in the strategic nuclear arsenals **of the** Soviet Union and **the** United States. Subsequently, we look forward to the conclusion of the START treaty by the **end of** the year. We **are** also encouraged by the renewed commitment of both the **United States and** the Soviet Union to continue the Geneva negotiations **on defensive and** space **weapons**.

However, **some** urgent problems related to nuclear disarmament remain unresolved. First is the **question of** a ban on nuclear tests. The recent conclusion by the United States **and** the Soviet Union of verification protocols to the threshold test-ban Treaty **and** the peaceful nuclear explosions Treaty is welcomed and appreciated. But the propitious political climate and the significant rapprochement between the great Powers has raised justified expectations **for much more** radical steps in this field.

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

It is therefore vital that the re-established Ad Hoc Committee on a nuclear test ban of the Conference on Disarmament begin substantial negotiations on this question at its next session. The intention of the United States to participate fully in its work augurs well for the outcome of those negotiations.

In assessing nuclear issues, we cannot disregard certain encouraging developments. I am referring, in particular, to new positive trends that are **becoming more and more** visible in this area. We are witnessing important changes in the perception of the role of nuclear weapons in military doctrines. Instead of relying on the concept of mutual assured destruction, **some** nuclear-weapon States are making attempts to determine the lowest level **of** deterrence required to **meet** their security concerns. Those trends offer new possibilities in our efforts towards nuclear disarmament. Thus, they have to be pursued and further developed.

Once we are able to eliminate the **most** deadly weapons, **we must** do our utmost to stop **them** from spreading. It is a pressing task, since for many years the world has been confronted with a growing number of **States** capable of manufacturing chemical weapons. Another cause **of** concern is that a number **of** States, **some of** **them with** considerable capability in the nuclear field, remain outside the non-proliferation Treaty. Needless to say, **some** of them are located in conflict-prone areas. The proliferation **of** weapons of **mass** destruction, as well as certain conventional ones, and the **means of** their delivery **has**, without doubt, a negative impact on international peace and security. It also adds to the complexity of any **arms** control and disarmament negotiations. Proliferation cannot, therefore, slip out of our **control**. For this particular reason, we **welcome the** joint statement by the United States and the Soviet Union **on** the non-proliferation **of** nuclear and chemical weapons, as well as missiles capable **of** carrying such weapons and certain other missiles and missile **technologies**, as a very **important** step, opening up possibilities of finding a solution to this **issue**.

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

Those remarks lead **me to** the recently concluded Fourth Review Conference of the Parties to the non-proliferation Treaty. Despite the broad consensus on a wide **number** of issues, and despite considerable concessions made in the last hours of the Conference, it has not been possible to adopt a final document. Should we then consider the Conference a failure? In our opinion, that is not the **case**. In fact, significant **progress** was made on some important issues, such as security assurances or full-scope safeguards. And, what is also extremely important, views expressed during the Conference have confirmed the commitment of its participants to the Treaty and their wish to strengthen the non-proliferation **régime**. The non-proliferation Treaty remains the main instrument in reducing the nuclear threat and promoting **the** peaceful use of nuclear energy. For this reason, Poland is vitally interested in maintaining its effectiveness and viability, and strongly advocates extending its operations indefinitely, beyond the year 1995.

At the same time, Poland is seriously concerned about a linkage being established between the non-proliferation Treaty and the comprehensive test-ban Treaty. If we allow this linkage to continue, every one **of us may** be a loser in the long run.

Europe is now engaged in removing the relics of its division and, at the same time, in searching **for** concepts for a new **system** for its security, based **on** different premises and adequate to the challenges we face today. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (**CSCE**) plays a vital role in this endeavour as a well-established mechanism of co-operation between European countries with the participation of both super-Powers. In our view, a **new** security **system** should embody the concept of a single Europe and the **values of** democracy, pluralism and humanism. It should also contain adequate **mechanisms of crisis management** and conflict prevention. **Disarmament** should be its key element.

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

The Vienna negotiations of 22 and 34 States are part and parcel **of** this process. Poland, which is participating actively in those negotiations, attaches particular importance to the conclusion of a treaty on conventional forces. We hope that the treaty will be signed in November this year, as scheduled. **Its** conclusion should not be an end in itself. To the **contrary**, it should be followed by a **new** round of negotiations on even deeper cuts and reductions **of** other types of weapons and equipment, as well as on a number of related measures. Those measures should, among other things, ensure the irreversibility of changes in the character of armed forces and industrial potential and in the use of resources. We also look forward to the commencement, shortly after the signing of the Agreement on conventional forces in Europe, of new negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on the reduction of short-range nuclear **forces**.

Political changes in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as the overall improvement **of** the international situation, have triggered off changes in the role of military alliances in Europe. The Warsaw Treaty Alliance, of which Poland is a member, has already lost its ideological character and will gradually lose its significance as the process of building up European unity proceeds. However, as long as the military alliances continue to exist, we advocate their transformation so that they acquire a non-confrontational and co-operative character. In this regard, we welcome the London Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Alliance as a very promising contribution to overcoming the legacy of decades **of** confrontation and to establishing the political structures of the **new** Europe. Poland is strongly endorsing **all** efforts aimed at eliminating bloc approaches in solving European problems.

Greater openness **in** military **matters** has **become** one **of** the **major aims** related to disarmament in the foreign policy **of** the Republic of Poland. **We take** an

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

active part in the Vienna negotiations on a new set of confidence- and security-building measures with the firm conviction that their results will increase the existing degree of openness and predictability in military activities, thus contributing further to the reduction **of** mistrust **and** to the strengthening of **security** in Europe.

Earlier this year, Poland, for the first **time**, **made** public its military doctrine. That **doctrine** is entirely defensive. It is not directed against any particular State or alliance. It is exclusively directed against any aggressor, whoever he **may** be. Also this year, Poland joined other States in reporting to the Secretary-General its military expenditures in a standardized form. We intend to continue **submitting** such reports on a regular basis.

In addition, the Polish Ministry **of** National Defence issued a publication, "Polish Army - Facts and Figures", containing detailed data on the size and structure **of** our armed forces. The publication was distributed, among others, at the Vienna seminar on military doctrines.

(Mr. Pawlak, Poland)

This year has been rich in developments of crucial importance to questions related to arms control and disarmament and to international security in general. So the task before us is extremely serious and truly demanding. We must carefully assess the situation and make an attempt to translate it into the language of implementable resolutions. This requires not only that progress be recorded on issues under our consideration, but also, what is more important, that **recommendations** be elaborated that will guide our efforts in the field of disarmament for the next year. My delegation is ready to make a meaningful contribution to this end in co-operation with all other interested delegations.

Mr. AZIKIWE (Nigeria): I am pleased to convey to you, Sir, the warm congratulations of the Nigerian delegation on your unanimous election as Chairman of the First Committee. Judging from your significant contributions in the Security Council and recently during the last session of the Disarmament Commission as Chairman of the working group that successfully concluded the agenda item on South Africa's nuclear capability, my delegation is confident that this year's session of the First Committee is under most competent leadership. Our congratulations go also to the other officers of the Committee. I take this opportunity also to welcome the United Nations Fellows who are with us this morning,

Since the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the international political climate has generally continued to improve. The events of the past 10 months, in particular in East-West relations, bear this out. Old ideological barriers and rivalries are giving way to momentous developments with profound impact on international relations. Between the two super-Powers there is a predisposition and political will to negotiate deep reductions in the stockpiles of conventional and nuclear weapons, as well as to seek the prohibition of other weapons of mass destruction.

(Mr. Asikiwe, Nigeria)

In Eastern Europe the dismantling of the Berlin Wall has crystallised into democratic **revolutions**, which recently culminated in the unification of **Germany**. In Africa, Namibia has at last **attained** sovereign independence, thanks to the determined efforts of the United Nations. In the Middle East, the two Yemens have voluntarily reunited into a single nation.

Equally important are **the statements** and conduct **of statesmen**, which help to fashion and create perceptions of global peace and security. In this regard, the Nigerian delegation congratulates President Gorbachev **of** the Soviet Union on the occasion of his being awarded the 1990 Nobel Peace Prize. It is our hope that that award will be an incentive to all statesmen and consequently help in the promotion of international peace and security.

In spite of these positive developments, lasting peace and security are still proving **to be a mirage**. Hotbeds of tension, while subsiding in **some** regions **of** the world, are emerging in others with potentially **more** disastrous consequences for international peace and security. They **are** rapidly undermining the very limited **gains** that have been achieved in the sphere of disarmament. In a period that holds so much promise for international co-operation, the contemporary crisis and conflict in the Persian Gulf is regrettable; so are the situations in the Middle East, the unresolved issue of the Korean peninsula, the lingering problems in Afghanistan, Western Sahara, Central America and Liberia, among others. In varying **degrees** they all have a direct bearing on questions of international peace and security, as well as on the tempo of our work in this Committee.

We are particularly saddened by events in Liberia, where thousands have died **since December 1989**. Ironically, as serious **as that** situation is, **the** world seems to have forgotten the Liberians or abandoned them **to their fate**. Unless we **are** to believe that Liberia is being forgotten because it **is not deemed to be of strategic** value to the great **Powers**, the international community **must interest itself** in the

(Mr. Azikiwe, Nigeria)

speedy termination of the civil war now raging there. We cannot and must not be selective in our emphasis on the resolution of conflicts and pursuit of peace and security.

Apart from these military threats, the questions of non-military threats to peace and security, at both the global and military levels, are increasingly acquiring greater recognition and urgency of action on virtually the same scale as military disarmament, for there can be no effective and genuine global disarmament unless it is founded on socio-economic and environmental development at national, regional and global levels. Indeed, disarmament, **relaxation** of international tension or super-Power entente cannot be meaningful to those dying of hunger and malnutrition or living in abject poverty.

In our interdependent world, disarmament cannot be restricted to the immediate preservation of life, but should also embrace the interrelationship between disarmament and development. Although recent developments in disarmament **negotiations** gave us ground for hope, that hope has not been justified and expectations from the "peace dividend" are rapidly receding. In *other* words, attention must not only be focused on military threats which constitute impediments to the **realization** of peace and security, but also on sustained global economic development, **the** promotion *of* social justice and the protection of the environment.

The failure of the Fourth Review Conference of the Treaty on the **Non-Proliferation** of Nuclear Weapons (**NPT**) in Geneva last month is an eloquent reminder of the need to temper our euphoria over international political developments with a realistic assessment **of** the need to **utilize** decisively the unique opportunity presented by those positive changes in favour **of** lasting peace and security,

The non-proliferation Treaty, which has **serve&** as the **most** important **multilateral** disarmament instrument limiting the spread **of** nuclear **weapons** in **our**

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age. has not been able to prevent vertical proliferation or halt the refinement of nuclear weapons. The Review Conference achieved agreement on many issues, but failed primarily because of its inability to reach consensus on the question of a comprehensive test ban.

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My delegation does not wish to perform a post-mortem of the Fourth Review Conference. However, we cannot fail to underline the need for us to reflect on its potentially damaging impact on the 1995 extension Conference. It is a situation that calls for a rededication to the purposes of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and its ultimate objective of nuclear disarmament. Above all, it demands a reassessment of the positions **of** those still opposed to an early test-ban treaty.

My delegation is delighted to note that by its outstanding achievement at its May 1990 session the United Nations Disarmament Commission has justified the renewed confidence in it, which was expressed by the initiative at rationalization the First Committee took in resolution **44/219** C. Since its establishment in 1978 the Disarmament Commission's landmark achievement has been its ability to arrive at a consensus on four of the items on its agenda, namely, South Africa's nuclear capability, the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament, conventional disarmament and the Declaration of the 1990s as the Third Disarmament Decade. We can only hope that there will be an increasingly effective **utilization** of the Disarmament Commission's vital functions as a major deliberative and recommendatory forum on key disarmament questions for the General Assembly.

Conversely, however, the Conference on Disarmament at Geneva has continued to atrophy and has been prevented from a true discharge of its mandate as the sole multilateral negotiating forum on disarmament, Apart from the **negotiations** on a chemical-weapons convention, now at an advanced stage, negotiations on other issues have been prevented by lack of consensus. Indeed, the lack of consensus has been virtually transformed into a **sort of** veto by **some** delegations, inhibiting negotiations on particular items. Although a non-negotiating Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear-Test Ban was re-established late in the **summer** session, after a 7-year hiatus, the Conference was unable to agree on its early re-establishment next year. Unlike the other Ad Hoc Committees, the fate **of** that Ad Hoc Committee is

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thus uncertain. Nevertheless, the nuclear-test ban remains the top-most priority item on the agenda **of** the Conference on Disarmament. Unless the Conference **is** made to overcome this problem it will continue to be bogged down in inaction and paralysis. The pursuits **of** the objective of a comprehensive test-ban treaty through the amendment Conference and of the issue of negative security assurances through the Fourth Review Conference of the Non-Proliferation Treaty illustrates the unhappy state of affairs in the Conference on Disarmament and the fact that the consequent pursuit of these initiatives is taking place in other forums outside the Conference on Disarmament. This unfortunate manifestation of loss of faith, should it persist, could only detract from the eventual effectiveness of the Conference on Disarmament as the sole multilateral negotiating body.

The international community has been awaiting the conclusion of a convention on the complete prohibition of chemical weapons. The negotiations, which have spanned more than two decades, have reached a critical stage in which political will, more than technical breakthroughs, will **now** be needed to bring them to a successful end. In this regard my delegation notes with regret that, despite the tremendous efforts exerted by the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons, the momentum that characterised the negotiations last year was not sustained at the 1990 session **of** the Conference on Disarmament. In particular some new, divisive elements were introduced into the negotiations, and these could have serious consequences not only for the future work of the Committee but **for** the Convention itself.

My delegation regards the situation as ominous, and we therefore appeal to all States involved in the negotiations to demonstrate the requisite spirit **of** co-operation and flexibility, which is absolutely essential for progress in the

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negotiations. The threat that such weapons pose to international peace and **security is very real and next** in magnitude to the threat posed by nuclear **weapons.** The **sooner** the convention is concluded, *the* better it will be for us all. The First Committee should **therefore express** itself very **clearly** on the need to conclude the negotiations at the earliest possible **date.**

In a nutshell, Nigeria **calls upon** the **First Committee**, as the **foremost** beacon **in the** disarmament field, to **take** bold steps at this session **to** come up with radical solutions to the questions **of** nuclear disarmament. We **have** emphasised on **numerous occasions** that **the** central issue **of** greatest significance to **any genuine curtailment of** nuclear proliferation **in its** vertical, horizontal and qualitative **dimensions is** the immediate conclusion **of** a comprehensive test-ban treaty. It is at the **core of** the entire nuclear-disarmament **agenda.** That is why Nigeria fully **supports the** aims and objectives **of** the amendment Conference scheduled for January 1991,

It is **our expectation** that Member States will translate **the failure** and **lessons** of the Fourth Review **Conference of** the Non-Proliferation Treaty into **success at the** amendment Conference. It is needless **to** warn **against** the grave world consequences for the nuclear-non-proliferation **régime** that would result from a failure to **achieve** a **comprehensive** prohibition of nuclear tests at an early date. We dare not imagine what would happen to the **Pandora's box** of trends towards proliferation in **various parts** of the world, all itching to **be** let loose, if nuclear proliferation **is not** immediately prohibited at the global level. We call **upon** the nuclear **Powers, and** particularly the United **States** and the Soviet Union, **to demonstrate** the necessary political will to achieve a comprehensive test-ban treaty in 1991.

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The question **of** the denuclearisation of **Africa** naturally fits **into** the equation **of** global efforts at nuclear disarmament through the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free **zones** in various parts **of** the world **as** bulwarks against proliferation. We in **Africa** are closely watching the turn of events in South **Africa**, which has consistently frustrated the realisation **of** the denuclearisation **of** Africa *since* the Declaration on the **Denuclearization** of Africa made by **the** Organisation of African Unity (OAU) at its 1964 summit meeting at Cairo, We commend the recommendations **of** the United Nations Disarmament Commission on the question **of** South **Africa's** nuclear capability and its impact on the peace and **security of African States**.

The call upon South Africa to adhere to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and to place all its nuclear facilities under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards constitutes a correct approach. We are also gratified by the request to the Secretary-General to assist the African States in any possible to way to advance the full realisation of the OAU Declaration and of General Assembly resolution 2033 (**XX**) of 3 December 1965, which endorsed it.

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Furthermore, the recommendation of the Disarmament Commission that the Secretary-General follow more closely South Africa's evolution in the nuclear field and report regularly to the General Assembly complements the efforts of the First Committee as manifested by General Assembly resolution 44/113 A and B, adopted on 15 December 1989. We believe that the Secretary-General's report to be prepared by a group of experts, expected to be issued shortly for the consideration of our Committee, on the military assistance that apartheid South Africa is receiving from Israel and other sources in advanced missile technology, will throw greater light on the present status of South Africa's nuclear weapons acquisition vis-à-vis the denuclearisation of Africa. At the appropriate time, Nigeria, in concert with other African States, will address this question and introduce relevant draft resolutions in light of these developments since 1969, as well as the recommendations of the Disarmament Commission and the secretary-General's report.

Conventional disarmament must also continue to be resolutely pursued within the context of overall global disarmament, as conventional weapons have been used in nearly 200 armed conflicts in the developing countries since 1945, with over 20 million people killed and materials worth billions of dollars destroyed. To facilitate conventional disarmament, especially at both regional and global levels, the roots of conflict and the resort to conventional armaments must be properly identified and eliminated. In this regard, Nigeria calls upon the international community to ensure that conventional arms reduction in Europe does not translate into the dumping of unwanted or freed stockpiles of conventional weapons into African and other developing countries, with the effect of securing peace and security in the North while exporting the seeds of tension and conflagration to the South.

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My delegation wishes to place on record our satisfaction with the activities of the Department for Disarmament Affairs, especially over the past year, under the able guidance of Mr. Akashi, the Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs. The regional seminar held in Arusha, Tanzania, in March 1990 on Crisis Prevention and Conflict Resolution in Africa was an important contribution to confidence-building measures and the enhancement of security in our region. We look forward to similar activities in 1991 in conjunction with those of the Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa. We also commend the Department's contributions as highlighted in Mr. Akashi's statement to this Committee last Monday. We note with satisfaction from his statement that this year's Disarmament Fellowship Programme "invited associate fellows from the two parts of Korea as a contribution to the relaxation of tension in North-East Asia".

(A/C.1/45/PV.3, p. 66)

In **conclusion**, I shall draw from some elements contained in this year's Disarmament Commission consensus draft Declaration of the 1990s as the Third Disarmament Decade - and my delegation had the honour to chair in May the Working Group on the Declaration - which will come before the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly for adoption. They are, first, that the international community must **stimulate** and deepen awareness of ~~the~~ common interests of our global society and of our universal desire to achieve disarmament and strengthen international peace and security. Secondly, the challenges facing the international community today are enormous and require the political will of States to solve these difficult and complex issues. Thirdly, bilateral and regional disarmament efforts can only be complementary and mutually supportive, but should not replace or substitute **multilateral** co-operation for disarmament under the United Nations umbrella. Lastly, the roles of an informed public and education in the promotion of international peace and security should be encouraged and promoted,

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It is the task of the First Committee at *this session* to erect those and other pillars of enduring peace and security if the new international order envisaged is to be realised in the 1990s and beyond.

The meeting rose at 11.35 a.m.