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Chairman: Mr. TAYLXARDAT (Venezuela)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 49 TO 69 AND 151 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS

Mr. MARTYNOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): The impact of scientific and technological achievements on international security is a *problem* that requires the international community's unflagging attention.

The possibilities inherent in today's scientific and technological progress arouse great hope that that progress will help mankind solve many of its problems, but they also arouse fear that new discoveries and achievements could increasingly threaten mankind's security and survival. In this respect, the most urgent issue is the military application of the scientific and technological revolution. The problem of qualitative changes in armaments, which bring them to an entirely new level, and of their implications for universal security takes on a new dimension.

The inner dynamic of the modern arms race has changed substantially over the last few years. In terms simply of numbers, competition is receding into history, owing, to a large extent, to the arms-control and disarmament efforts of the international community.

As experience shows, in the final analysis, qualitative improvements in weaponry fail to yield the most sought-after result - enhanced security. This is corroborated by authoritative, scholarly findings. For example, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, in its analysis of expenditure on military research and development - that analysis may be found in the Institute's Yearbook for 1987 - concludes that it is highly unlikely that these efforts strengthen security.

(Mr. Martynov, Byelorussian SSR)

Moreover, developments in the field of **military** technology increasingly **erode** strategic stability. The 38th Pugwash Conference in 1988 noted that

Much military research and development **is** counterproductive **because** it tends to **increase** the destructiveness **of weaponry**, **provoke countermeasures**, and undermine arms-control agreements, **as well as** divert **material** and **human resources** from meeting real human **needs.**"

A large number **of** other negative **consequences** could be included in the **list.** The **transfer of major decision-making** and command-and-control functions to **artificial-intelligence** systems entails the **risk** of crisis **situations** getting **out of** hand.

Emerging new warfare techniques, based **on** the development **of** the **capabili ty** to **make numerou accurate strikes** deep inside the enemy lines, tend to blur the distinction between offence and defence, **thus** undercutting the **basis** of **today's** broadly accepted idea **of** military doctrines and armed-force structures that are strictly defence-oriented. The **intensive improvement** of **weapons creates** an atmosphere of insecurity and a perception of **threat**, which, in turn, may help to **maintain**, or **even increase**, tensions **and, thus**, have an adverse effect **on** disarmament **efforts** and **on current** or future negotiations.

In this connection, there **is an increasingly urgent** need to limit the military application of **new discoveries** and of **advances** in the fields of science and technology. We reiterate our support for the well-known proposals on the prevention of **the** use of **scien tific and** technological achievements for the **purpose** of developing new types and generations **of** weapons of **mass destruction, both** nuclear and non-nuclear, **as well as of** new types and systems of conventional **armaments, particularly those** with enhanced destructive capability.

(Mr. Martynov, Byelorussian SSR)

Urgent **a steps must** be taken to prevent the **use of technology such as** genetic and **electromagnetic systems** in weaponry. **Of course, agreements** banning the **development of weapons of these types** will require appropriate and far-reaching **verification measures**. The time **has come for us** to reflect on **measures** that would prevent the proliferation **of missiles and missile technology**.

It is necessary also to examine **the question of prohibiting the use of** battlefield **laser weapons** whose function **is** to blind troops. Such a ban might be **worked out** either **as** an independent agreement or **as a** protocol to a convention on inhumane **weapons**.

Naturally, there are areas in which the military application of **science and** technology **is** capable of yielding **positive results: improved surveillance and** monitoring, verification, **the safe destruction of arms** that are being eliminated, and **so on**. This, however, **should not be regarded as obviating** the need to place **under control** the **use of** scientific and technological **progress** for the **purpose** of upgrading **weapons**.

In our opinion, **what is of key importance here** is a preventive approach that will enable **us to come** to an **agreement on ways of resolving** the problem **before** it can get out of hand. Greater **openness** too **has a positive** role to play **towards** limiting **the adverse** impact of the military applications **of** scientific and technical achievements on international security.

For **many years now** the Byelorussian SSR **has been working towards** having the **efforts of States** pooled **as regards** a particular **aspect** of this area. I refer to prevention **of** the emergence **of** new types and **systems of weapons of mass** **destruction**. In this connection, **resolutions sponsored by us** have been adopted **by** the General **Assembly**.

(Mr. Martynov, Byelorussian SSR)

Thanks to the **spirit of co-operation** and **mutual compromise** displayed by **many States** at the forty-third **session of the General Assembly last year**, resolution **43/72 - on the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons - met with near-consensus support**. We regard this as a new **approach** by States to complex disarmament problem. We wish to take **this opportunity to express our gratitude to all delegations involved in this process**. It is our intention to continue **to work towards consensus** on this important problem.

On the whole, after the third special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, States started to pay much closer attention to the impact that the military application of scientific and technical achievements may have on international security. That is particularly gratifying to the Byelorussian SSR as the **sponsor of General Assembly resolution 37/77 B - on renunciation of the use of new discoveries and scientific and technological achievements for military purposes - adopted in 1982.**

We believe that there **is now an urgent need for a systematic** international evaluation of **the impact of scientific and technological achievements on international security**, so that timely **recommendations** may be worked out to prevent the **use of new technology in the production of weapons** and to give the **United Nations adequate functions in this context.**

(Mr. Martynov, Byelorussian SSR)

That problem was the subject of General Assembly resolution 43/77 A, sponsored by India. The Byelorussian SSR was a co-sponsor of that resolution and responded to the Secretary-General's note on the issue (A/44/487/Add.1).

In our opinion, the divergence of views on the impact of science and technology on international security emphasizes rather than obviates the need for an expert and systematic consideration of the issue at the international level, as called for in resolution 43/77 A.

We also believe that systematic international evaluation will become increasingly topical as we advance along the path of disarmament, since the emergence of new or upgraded means of warfare is likely to play an increasingly destabilizing role against the background of dwindling military arsenals.

At the same time, we are convinced that measures precluding the use of new technologies for the development of arms would promote peaceful scientific and technological progress and clear the way for openness and peaceful international co-operation in advanced areas of science and technology for the development and economic and social progress of all nations.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish) : I would like to express my pleasure, as Chairman of the First Committee and also in my personal capacity, at seeing among us Mrs. Leticia Ramos-Shahani, the representative of the Philippines in the First Committee, who will be the next speaker.

Mrs. Ramos-Shahani is the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Philippines Senate, and between 1981 and 1986 was United Nations Assistant Secretary-General for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs. She was also Secretary-General of the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, held at Nairobi in 1985. I now call on Mrs. Ramos-Shahani.

Mrs. RAMOS-SHAHANI (Philippines) I Allow me **first of all**, Sir, to congratulate you **on your unanimous election as** Chairman of the **First** Committee. **These past weeks have indeed confirmed to all of us your abilities as a skilled diplomat and an authority on disarmament.** I should also like to **express my personal pleasure** at being associated with you again after the **years** we were together in Vienna and in your capacity **as the Permanent Representative of your country.** I should **also** like, on **this occasion**, to extend the best wishes of the **Philippines** to Venezuela, with whom it **shares ties of hispanidad.**

1989 **is a year of commemorations - especially** the bicentennial of the French Revolution, the **seventy-fifth year** since the inception of the **First World War**, and the fiftieth year since the outbreak of the Second World War. 1789, 1914 and 1939 were years that remain in mankind's collective **memory as anni mirabili - years of monumental events.** Though each different in nature, all three **events** were cataclysmic and led to new world orders.

Yet our times will **also perhaps** go down in history **as** an important watershed. Who would indeed have thought that **such crises** as the Iran-Iraq war, **Afghanistan** and **Namibia**, would be **seeing** the beginning of a revolution in our **times** after **decades of turmoil.** Today, we are **seeing** other **conflicts** winding down to possible **solutions**, as in Central America and Kampuchea. In **Eastern Europe**, we are **witnessing** the gradual **re-establishment** of pluralism, in accordance with the will of the peoples, in what was previously a monolithic bloc.

Yet other **events** temper our optimism concerning the world **situation.** In **Lebanon**, the **tremendous** suffering of the people **continues** unabated. In Palestine, people **have** been denied **free expression** and **self-determination**, a denial of which the intifadah **is** but a manifestation. The hostage **crisis** is merely a symptom of the **impasse** reached in the Middle East that **has** led to that dilemma.

(Mr. S. Ramos-Shahani, Philippines)

On a broader **scene**, we **see** the degradation of the **environment**, the **threat** of **AIDS**, and overpopulation. Some developing countries, including the Philippines, **are still** reeling under the impact of the debt **crisis**, which **to us is** a form of modern slavery.

When we turn to **disarmament**, we **witness** the double-edged trend present in the world today. On the one hand, we **see** the **positive effects** of an Improved **relationship** between the two **super-Powers**. With the advent of such ideas as perestroika and glasnost, as well as unilateral **disarmament initiatives**, it has become **possible** to explore **areas** of **co-operation** and agreement. **Thus** we have **seen** the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range **Missiles - INF Treaty** - and the possibility of a 50 per cent cut in strategic offensive weapons.

On the other hand, we see **continuing** research in the **Strategic Defense Initiative**, the threat of **non-observance** of the Treaty on the Limitation of **Anti-Ballistic Missile** Systems, and the pursuit of the naval **arms** race. Continued testing, as well as the development and refinement of all **kinds** of weapons, continue to **take** place. Chemical weapons are still employed and biological **weapons** still developed, while conventional weapons increase, become **more sophisticated**, and proliferate.

We are at a **stage** when **we** are setting the framework for the next century. In 1990, my delegation looks forward **to** the Fourth Review Conference of the **Parties** to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear **Weapons**, as well as to the proposal for a conference **to** amend the partial test-ban Treaty. The latter **move** would make a comprehensive test **ban** possible and would finally enable **us** to come **closer** to the goal of abolishing all nuclear weapons by the **year** 2000.

(Mrs. Ramos-Shahani, Philippines)

In the light of this, the Philippines delegation welcomes in principle the serious consideration and further study of the proposal to abolish all military bases outside territories of States by the year 2000 at the latest, a proposal made by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev on the understanding that all concerned will respect the principles of non-intervention and the sovereignty of States. It would thus be appropriate to make the 1990s the Third Disarmament Decade, as was proposed last year and discussed in the Disarmament Commission.

Significantly, 1998 will mark the hundredth year of Filipino emancipation from, and culmination of our struggle against, a former colonial power on our shores. The Philippine Government is thus seeking at present to review arrangements for its defence and security in the twenty-first century.

Let it be said that the Philippines, situated as it is, so strategically in the western Pacific and the South China Sea, sincerely wishes to contribute to the present positive environment brought about by the rapprochement between the two super-Powers and the progressive resolution of certain crucial regional conflicts.

Our region is now in search of new arrangements with which to approach the twenty-first century. With our neighbour Australia in the South, we are actively exploring the idea of a chemical-weapons-free zone in our region. We also advocate better control of the flow of conventional weapons, bearing in mind that most wars are carried on with those types of weapons.

(Mrs. Ramos-Shahani, Philippines)

The Philippines is at present carrying out the goal stated in **its**

Constitution:

"... consistent with the national interest, the Philippines determines to be free of nuclear weapons in its territory".

Together with our Association of South-East Asian Nations (**ASEAN**) neighbours, we continue to study the idea of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South-East Asia and the idea of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. At the tenth meeting of the Asian Inter-Parliamentarians Union (AIPO) in Manila, in August 1989, a resolution of its General **Assembly** noted:

"that the eventual and orderly dismantling of all foreign military facilities/bases and the removal of nuclear weapons will greatly facilitate the early realization of the establishment of a zone of **peace**, freedom and neutrality and the South-East Asia nuclear-weapon-free territory zone. The Asian Inter-Parliamentarians Union nevertheless acknowledged that a declaration of neutrality alone cannot assure peace without the co-operation of the Super-Powers".

In this connection, I should like to add that the Philippine Government will very soon start talks with the United States Government as regards the military **bases** Agreement, the status of which is defined in our Constitution as follows:

"After the expiration in 1991 of the Agreement between the **Republic** Of the Philippines and the United States of America concerning military Gases, foreign military bases, troops or facilities shall not he allowed in the Philippines except under a treaty duly concurred in by the Senate and, when the Congress so resuires, ratified **by** a majority of the votes cast by the people in a national referendum held for that purpose, and **recognized** as a treaty **by** the other contracting Party."

(Mrs. Ramos-Shahani, Philippines)

Our February 1986 revolution, which brought back democracy to our land, **came** barely in time to prevent the opening of a nuclear plant, which international experts have deemed unsafe, indeed dangerous, to operate,

Shortly after, the tragic effect of nuclear spillover throughout the world merely served to strengthen the anti-nuclear sentiment and the opposition in the Philippines towards the existence of nuclear weapons in the country.

Conscious of the dangers of nuclear warfare and of the need to maintain the territorial integrity of the **country**, the Senate of the Philippines has passed a bill which would

"ban the development, manufacture, acquisition, testing, use or storage of nuclear weapons, in any part of the Philippine territory and would also ban **calls** at Philippine ports or passage through Philippine waters by nuclear-powered ships or vessels capable of carrying nuclear weapons".

In a steadily growing public awareness, the Filipino people **continue** to manifest their will and articulate their attitude towards nuclear weapons. Various municipalities, cities and even, symbolically, schools have declared **that** purpose and have declared themselves nuclear-free zones. In the Philippines, during the traditional United Nations Disarmament Week in October each year, films on **disarmament** are televised, disarmament posters **shown** in schools and public buildings, and disarmament issues dramatised in schools and **organizations** with such activities as burying and burning toy weapons and toys which encourage war-like mentalities.

Indeed, a Legislative-Executive Bases Council has been formed by the Philippine **Government** of which I, as head of the Senate Foreign Relations **Committee**, am a member, to study the alternative uses of foreign military bases in the Philippines, There is thus a widespread public as well as **government** interest

(Mrs. Ramos-Shahan i, Phil ippiner)

in the problem of **conversion of them** military facilities **into** economic **enterprises** which **would** bring economic well-being, particularly employment, to our people, and **make** the Philippines **more competi** tive among **its** neighbour⁶ in the **Asia-Pacif ic** region. In addition, alternative **measure⁸** for regional and national **security** are being **studied**.

The Philippines **looks** with **favour** on development⁸ in **the** Pacific, **such as** the strengthening of the **régime** of the Treaty of Ratotonqa. It **lauds** the efforts Of the **countries** in thir region to live up to the letter and **spirit of this accord**. The Philippines **also wishes to encourage respect** for the integrity of the **Constitution** of the Republic of **Palau**. Like its Philippine counterpart, the Palau **Constitution contains provisions** which would **make the** country nuclear-free.

Turning **west** to the vital **region** of the Indian **Ocean**, we applaud **the** decision undertaken **by** Pakietan, **as** stated **by Prime** Minister **Benezir Bhutto**, **not to develop** nuclear weapons. We would hope that other countries in the region would **also see** fit **to make** similar declarations, **thue** bringing to reality **the possibility** Of a **zone** of peace in the Indian **Ocean**.

Thus far, the United Nation⁸ General **Assembly has not been** able to proceed with plans for **the international** Conference on **the** Indian Ocean in 1990. We would **hope** that the **obstacles** to this plan **could be** removed and that the Conference could be called at the earliest **possible** date.

We have seen that **positive** developments in the field of **disarmament**, and epecif ically nuclear **disarmament** , **have come** about as a result of the **improved** relations **between the two super-Powers**. After the Treaty on the Elimination of **Intermediate-Range** and Shorter-Range **Missiles**, the next positive **development** could be the **real ization** of the announced intention **by the** United **States** and the USSR to cut strategic nuclear weapon⁸ **by 50** per cent. The Philippine delegation hoper that

(Mrs. Ramos-Shahani, Philippines)

the **As ia and Pacific** region will benefit from such an across-the-board cut, especially in the **area of** naval armaments.

We may well recall that the proposal to achieve disarmament by halting all nuclear-weapon **tests** in all **environments for all time** was **also** viewed **as** heretical at one time. Yet today it **has** achieved widespread **currency**. For this reason, some 41 countries, **including** the Philippines, **have** proposed that in 1990, **before** the Fourth Review Conference of the non-proliferation Treaty, **a conference to amend** the partial **test-ban** Treaty **be** held which would **also** ban **nuclear weapons under ground** as well as in the atmosphere, in **outer space** and under water.

Certainly, **modern methods of** verification have advanced to a degree where it will be **possible to** monitor all kinds **of nuclear tests fully**. The **new era of openness**, as manifested by the so-called open skies policy **and** frank admission **Of violations** **Of** the anti-ballistic missile Treaty by one **of its parties**, the spirit **of co-operation of many** nations in nuclear **disarmament**, and the novel intrusive methods **Of verification** will all **make it possible for us eventually to achieve a comprehensive test-ban treaty**.

In this connection, **my** delegation recalls **the** proposal **made** by the Group **of six - supported by such** countries as **Japan and Australia - for an international system of** monitoring and verification, drawing up **the best** available scientific and technological **skills** in the world. We would **urge** consideration of this idea **by pertinent United Nations** bodies as well as by the **General Assembly**.

(Mrs. Ramos-Shahani, Philippines)

While my delegation has spoken at length on nuclear weapons, we must not forget that it is conventional and chemical weapons which have caused the most suffering in all the wars since the Second World War.

In January of this year the International Conference on Chemical Weapons, held in Paris, reaffirmed the need to put an effective ban on chemical weapons. It urged the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva to conclude its work on a treaty which would ban the use of chemical weapons. In September, the Government and Industry Conference Against Chemical Weapons, held in Canberra, Australia, in which nearly 70 countries including the Philippines participated, was able to mobilize support from the private industrial sector. Similarly, the Conference supported the view that work on the major substantive issues in the Conference on Disarmament should be completed by 1990. We certainly hope that the last decade of this century will witness the banishment of this terrible weapon from our arsenals.

Regrettably, even though there has been a biological-weapons Convention since 1972, countries continue to pursue biological-weapons programmes, on the grounds that these are merely defensive. Until biological weapons finally come under civilian and international control, the world cannot be considered safe from this modern scourge.

Similarly, control of the spread of conventional weapons needs our attention. Such phenomena as the drug wars, the fuelling of internal rebellions, surrogate wars and low-intensity conflicts cannot be separated from the proliferation of conventional weapons.

Though the task may be gargantuan, a system must be found to control the flow of conventional weapons. At the very least, it must be possible to show and publicize which countries profit most from the production and export of conventional weapons and thus be answerable to the international community for their actions.

(Mrs. Ramos-Shahani, Philippines)

Ultimately , we see that a local conflict, exacerbated by international interests, cannot be solved by one country alone but through the co-operation of all countries involved. We have seen that conflicts were abated in such places as Iran-Iraq and Namibia when it was decided to stop the flow of arms to those places. In Central America, the halting of the supply of arms to the contra and the holding of free elections promises a way out of the present conflict .

Today, disarmament must be approached from a different perspective. Disarmament cannot be separated from the other concerns which occupy us at this time. The international debt crisis, for instance, cannot be considered without also taking into account the enormous sums which have been devoted to the arms race.

The human rights issue cannot be considered without also thinking that freedom from nuclear weapons and from threats of annihilation by chemical, biological and conventional weapons - indeed the right to life itself - is a fundamental human right.

Concern for the environment cannot be separated from the fact that nuclear weapons constitute the greatest threat to it and that even now problems regarding locating nuclear weapons and disposing of their residues are also a major environmental concern.

Disarmament therefore can only be considered within the total context of security for the whole planet and for all generations to come. Hence we see that disarmament is but a thread in the web of issues that preoccupy nation-States in this age.

Let me conclude with two quotations: first, "Those who cannot think of a future are doomed to not having one"; second, We must think of the Earth not as something we have inherited from our forefathers but as something we have borrowed from our grandchildren."

Mr. HOU Zhitong (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The question of banning chemical weapons has aroused great interest at the current session of the General Assembly. The Chinese delegation also wishes to present its views on the question.

It is an important objective of China's foreign policy of peace and a consistent stand of the Chinese Government to strive for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of chemical weapons at an early date throughout the world so that mankind can be freed, once and for all, from the harm and threat of this barbarous weapon of mass-destruction.

China is a non-chemical-weapon State. It does not possess or produce chemical weapons, nor does it export chemical to be used for manufacturing chemical weapons. The Chinese people themselves were victims of such weapons in the past. Even now, chemical weapons left by foreign troops in times of war are still found from time to time on Chinese soil. Therefore, the Chinese people intensely detest chemical weapons and hope the same disaster will not befall the people of other countries. They are determined to make their own contributions in bringing about a world free of chemical weapons at an early date.

China has always attached great importance to, and taken an active part in, relevant multilateral international deliberations and the negotiations for a chemical weapons convention at the Conference on Disarmament, in Geneva. We are firmly opposed to both the use and the proliferation of chemical weapons, and have persisted in striving for the early conclusion of a convention on a global ban of chemical weapons, because this will be the most effective way completely to prohibit and thoroughly eradicate such weapons. Like the Chinese Government, the Chinese people from all walks of life, including the chemical industry, give unreserved support to the early realization of the objective of eliminating chemical weapons.

(Mr. Hou Zhitong, China)

With the positive developments and changes in the international situation, this year will go down as a year of highly animated international activity and auspicious momentum on the question of banning chemical weapons.

The 1925 Geneva Protocol banning the use of chemical weapons is an international legal document of major current significance. But its authority has been challenged by the frequent use of such weapons. Furthermore, the recent modernization, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons has aroused the grave concern of the international community. It was under these circumstances that a high-level international conference on the banning of the use of chemical weapons was held last January in Paris, at France's initiative. The Chinese delegation, led by the Foreign Minister, actively participated in the conference's work. The conference adopted a Final Declaration on reaffirming the effectiveness of the Geneva Protocol, promoting negotiations for a chemical weapons convention and banning the use of such weapons, which was enthusiastically received by the international community. This undoubtedly constitutes a powerful political push for the multilateral international efforts towards a chemical weapons ban.

The early conclusion of a chemical weapons convention and its implementation require close co-operation and co-ordination from the chemical industries of all countries. Not long ago, at the initiative of Australia, the Government-Industry Conference against Chemical Weapons was held in Canberra. At the Conference were the representatives of the Chinese Government and chemical industry. Government representatives and representatives from chemical industries met and consulted with each other on ways to ban chemical weapons. This was indeed very helpful for realizing the objective of prohibiting chemical weapons.

(Mr. Hou Zhitong, China)

We wish to express our appreciation to France and Australia for their initiatives and contributions.

The United Nations General Assembly, its First Committee and the Disarmament Commission have always regarded the question of banning chemical weapons as one of their priority items for consideration. Many countries have advanced positive proposals and propositions in this respect. The Security Council and the Secretary-General have also taken some positive steps on the banning of chemical weapons. At the same time, progress has been made in some regional and bilateral efforts. Particularly in recent years, the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva has clearly quickened and deepened its negotiating process for a convention on the comprehensive ban of chemical weapons. Under the chairmanship of Ambassador Morel, the Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons has done a lot of work and makes steady progress. Their efforts deserve our commendation.

All this eloquently testifies to the urgency of a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons and to the firm determination of the international community thoroughly to eliminate those weapons. Actively supportive, the Chinese delegation has participated in these activities with a constructive approach, and has made its own efforts. We are pleased with the encouraging momentum that has emerged, and wish to express our appreciation to all the countries which have participated in those activities for their positive contributions.

We must not ignore the fact that there still remain some negative factors in international relations, and the causes of tension and conflict are yet to be removed. World peace and security continue to face a number of threats. Mankind still lives in the shadow of chemical warfare. The menace comes mainly from the huge modern chemical arsenals in the possession of a few big Powers. What is more ominous, they are stepping up the development and mass production of a new generation of chemical weapons. This has undoubtedly made it more difficult to ban

(Mr. Hou Zhitong, China)

chemical weapons. It is obvious that the countries possessing the largest chemical arsenals should bear a special responsibility for banning chemical weapons. It has been noted lately that they have again made some statements of intent and put forward some proposals and propositions. However, what people would rather see is genuine and concrete actions from them, expecting those countries to destroy their existing chemical weapons and stop the production and development of those weapons soon so as to facilitate the conclusion of an international convention on a total ban of chemical weapons. In this respect, as the international community will agree, one practical action is better than a dozen fine statements.

The ancient Roman jurists once declared, Armis bella non venenia geri, that is, "War is to be waged with weapons, not with poison". Both history and reality have demonstrated that mankind needs neither poison nor the use of poison as a weapon, still less a war fought with chemical weapons. The complete elimination of chemical weapons and the establishment of a world free of such weapons has become an imperative of our times. Any formula that is designed to solve only a part of this problem can hardly free mankind from its harm and threat. Only the early conclusion of a convention on the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of chemical weapons can ensure the most fundamental way for the eradication of this threat, and only in this way can the problems of proliferation and the use of chemical weapons be resolved. It is China's sincere hope that a global, comprehensive, verifiable, just and reasonable international convention will be concluded at the earliest possible date.

Pending the conclusion of such a convention, we maintain that all chemical-weapon States should undertake not to use such weapons. All countries that have the ability to produce chemical weapons should pledge not to engage in the development, production and transfer of chemical weapons. This will help move

(Mr. Hou Zhitong, China)

forward the process of negotiation for an international convention on chemical weapons at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva.

The convention on chemical weapons, in our view, should aim primarily at the complete prohibition and destruction of existing chemical weapons and their production facilities and at ways to ensure against the manufacture of new chemical weapons. To ensure the authority and effectiveness of that convention, we have consistently advocated the stipulation of strict, effective, reasonable and practicable measures of verification, including challenge inspection. At the same time, as explicitly stated in the principle of verification adopted by consensus at the Disarmament Commission: "care should be taken to avoid abuses", and it is necessary to "avoid unduly interfering with the internal affairs of States parties or other States, or jeopardizing their economic, technological and social development", and verification should be without discrimination and All States have equal rights to participate in the process of international verification of agreements to which they are parties (A/S-15/3, p. 45). It is therefore understandable that the developing countries, while undertaking obligations to accept verification, seek that they enjoy equal rights to participate in verification, as well as access to the capacity and means for exercising such rights.

As verification touches directly on the sovereignty, internal affairs, security and economic rights and interests of all countries, a serious and earnest attitude is needed in order to handle this question properly. All parties are urged to seek a fair, reasonable and balanced solution through extensive consultations.

The task of a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons, which we have set out to fulfil, is a formidable one. We have already made some headway, but are still

(Mr. Hou Zhitong , China)

faced with **some** complicated **problems**. However, we **are** convinced that, in the present favourable international situation, so **long as** all countries have the political will and demonstrate **good** faith and a strong sense **of responsibility**, we **shall be able** to **realize** this objective. The Chinese delegation will, **as** always, join all the other delegations in **a** continued and persistent endeavour **for the** early attainment of this noble **objective**.

Mr. TAIANA (Argentina) (interpretation **from** Spanish) : We **are** very pleased to see that the international **community** is continuing in its resolve to **follow** the promising path of **détente and** of the search for understanding, **a fact which** heralds the **dawn of a new** era in international relations.

The political rapprochement initiated **by the** major Powers has increased **the** possibilities **for** co-operation between the two military alliances and has opened **the way** for encouraging steps **to be taken** towards the solution of old conflicts in different regions of the world.

The special dynamics of **those** developments **have** created **such a** rapid pace of historic events **that** it is becoming particularly difficult **to** forecast **forthcoming** events reliably, even in **the** short **term**. Nevertheless, countries **are** fully aware that, as the changes become deeper, this **new** reality will continue **to solidify** and become irreversible.

In a world facing an increasingly evident political, economic, social, cultural **and** ecological interdependence, **no** nation can afford to remain indifferent. **On the contrary**, it **must** act and speak its mind responsibly and in a constructive spirit.

(Mr. Taiana, Argentina)

Deeply convinced of the validity of these ideas, Latin America is striving to formulate concrete steps that would reflect the far-reaching trends that are becoming **noticeable** in the international arena. Within the framework of the important sacrifices being made **by** our countries to improve their economies and to achieve better and more edifying standards of *living* for their peoples, they **are**, in **most** cases, consolidating a healthy process of democratic renovation of their governments, while endeavouring to protect the human rights and individual freedoms of their citizens. Not only is the Republic of Argentina an active participant in these processes of renewal, **but** it has **also** tried to contribute to the general **climate** of international detente. The steps that we have taken recently to bring about a gradual solution to our differences with the United Kingdom are an **eloquent** and concrete expression of the constructive spirit that inspires the actions of **my** Government .

In order to make further progress it will be absolutely necessary for every **country** to **make** contributions in which imagination and flexibility will be appropriately blended with the necessary political will to produce concrete results. The efforts being made, for example, at both the bilateral and the multilateral level **on** matters of disarmament and international security **must** complement and influence each other in **such** a way as to reinforce the process leading **to global** understandings.

In this **context**, negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on reduction of strategic weapons (START) have continued throughout the past year, **but** apparently not at the **same** pace as when they first began. As we see it, none of the difficulties advanced to justify that situation is insurmountable, **especially** in view of the open and positive response **given by both** sides to the

(Mr. Tania, Argentina)

question of verification, **proof** of which is the successful implementation of the Treaty **on the** Elimination of Intermediate-Range and **Shorter-Range** Missiles.

We therefore welcome the **mutual** conviction which resulted from the recent meeting in Wyoming at the Foreign Ministers level that the START process must be given new **momentum**. However, we cannot fail to note **that, were that to happen,** even then the super-Powers would still possess **truly impressive stockpiles**. At the same time, three other States which possess these weapons of **mass** destruction have **not** yet joined the negotiating process towards **achieving** nuclear disarmament.

On the other hand, the lack of progress in respect of the reduction and cessation of nuclear-weapon tests - a question that bears a direct relation to nuclear disarmament - conspires against the new climate of **détente**. The international community is fully aware of the fact that if such tests continue, nuclear stockpiles will keep on expanding and new types of weapons and **weapon** systems will continue to **be** developed. Given these **circumstances**, we urge all States **members** of the Conference on **Disarmament to** put forth their **best** efforts to establish an appropriate framework for negotiations which will allow progress towards a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty.

The prevention of an arms race in outer space is another priority area both at the bilateral and at the multilateral negotiating level. Argentina has repeatedly stated that outer space should **be** an arena for international **co-operation** dedicated to the economic, **social** and cultural development of mankind. We do not in any way deny the importance of outer space for global stability and security. We recognise that communications, command and control, and early warning **systems** contribute **to** minimizing **the** risks resulting from the existence of massive stockpiles on **Earth**. Nevertheless, we firmly oppose the idea of military competition in **outer space, the** developments and results of which are totally unforeseeable.

(Mr. Taiana, Argentina)

On the bilateral level, while the United States and the Soviet Union have decided, in an attempt to give momentum to the strategic arms process, to put aside their differences on space and defence, which we find positive, we are, at the same time, deeply concerned at the lack of progress towards stopping the continuing militarization of outer space. For this reason, our country believes that the work of the Conference on Disarmament, through its Ad Hoc Committee on the prevention of an arms race in outer space, is of fundamental importance not only in bringing positions closer together on controversial issues, but also in making progress in concrete negotiations.

Furthermore, the central role and the primary responsibility of the United Nations in the field of disarmament is nowhere more evident than in the matter of the complete prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons. Multilateral efforts, which have been carried out for over two decades, permit us to affirm today that it will be possible in the short term to conclude a universal, non-discriminatory and effectively verifiable convention on the prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons and on their destruction. However, in order to make that possible, it will be necessary for States to translate into fact the political will that was expressed at the Paris Conference of January this year and their practical will announced at the recent Canberra Conference, namely, to conclude as soon as possible the negotiations on the Conference on Disarmament.

The Ninth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries recently held at Belgrade adopted a Declaration which once again shows the will of the Movement to contribute to the process of détente. The Declaration highlights the promising events of the present time without

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disregarding the fact that situations persist which should be changed, Indeed, in spite of the gradual reduction of tensions on our planet, it is not yet a safe place. However, there is the widespread belief and will that we should build a world based on greater democratization in decision-making, which should entail changes in the political structures that were formed after the Second World War.

(Mr. Taiana, Argentina)

Solutions for the numerous problems of mankind can only be found by tackling its real causes and acting in a concerted way. Multilateralism offers the means to produce permanent and effective answers. The United Nations role in the peaceful settlement of disputes around the world is a clear demonstration of the Organization's enormous potential in this and other fields. In an interdependent world the security of some countries cannot be achieved through the insecurity of others. The United Nations is therefore the appropriate forum in which to settle differences and to strengthen areas of agreement in order to build a peaceful world,

Mr. NYAKYI (United Republic of Tanzania) : May I begin by expressing my delegation's appreciation in seeing you, Mr. Chairman, preside over the work of our Committee. Your election is a well-deserved recognition of your vast experience and diplomatic skills demonstrated in the course of many years of participation in disarmament negotiations and deliberations. I wish also to extend my congratulations to the other members of the Bureau.

It is gratifying to note that the Committee is meeting once again at a time of sustained momentum towards achieving the noble goals of disarmament, peace and security. The commitment demonstrated by the two major Powers - the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics - in the last two years in defusing international tensions, and particularly their joint resolve to rid our planet of nuclear weapons, needs to be commended. The follow-up implementation of the INF Treaty is indeed a welcome development. We are equally gratified that the leaders of the two Powers have announced before this body their plans and mutual obligations for the immediate destruction of their stocks of chemical weapons prior to the conclusion of a multilateral treaty banning those weapons. At the same time we welcome their readiness to cut their strategic weapons by 50 per cent. The progress made in the Vienna talks on conventional forces in Europe is another welcome development.

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Tanzania)

While we welcome, these bilateral measures we should not succumb to euphoria and in the process lose sight of our ultimate objective - namely, the achievement of general and complete disarmament. It is no secret to anyone who has closely followed the current negotiations that the more the nuclear Powers, particularly the super-Powers, talk about arms reduction and disarmament, the more they increase and perfect their respective military capabilities, including nuclear power.

Nuclear tests, whose main objective is to modernize and make their nuclear weapons more lethal, have to date continued unabated. The reports of the Secretary-General before us on the notifications of nuclear tests received from some members bear testimony to this. The INF Treaty has been tightly hailed by all peace-loving nations and people around the world as a landmark for curbing the arms race. But no sooner had the ink used to sign it dried than some forces were already planning the modernization and updating of existing nuclear weapons not covered by the Treaty to compensate for what the Treaty seeks to eliminate. Above all, the Treaty does not require the United States or the Soviet Union to destroy the nuclear warheads that are carried by the missiles covered by the INF Treaty.

In the absence of a comprehensive agreement that requires the complete elimination of all nuclear weapons, including nuclear warheads, mankind will continue to live under the shadow of a nuclear holocaust. The establishment of secure peace requires the display of a new political thinking, a new approach and a new sense of realism regarding the issues of war and peace. Albert Einstein rightly observed that the "unleashed power of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking, and we thus drift towards unparalleled catastrophes".

The clinging to doctrines such as nuclear deterrence of the nuclear Powers certainly diminishes the faith and hope which the international community may have derived from the current wave of negotiations. The argument that nuclear

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deterrence has maintained world peace since the Second World War is a fallacy which has to be rejected as dangerous. It has been said, and indeed it has not been disputed by any parties, that the outbreak of a nuclear war - either by accident or by miscalculation - in the present state of armament would be disastrous for the entire human race - in that there would be no survivors. This underlines the significance of the 1985 Super-Power declaration that "a nuclear war cannot be won and therefore should never be fought."

Those who place conventional disarmament on the same plane as nuclear disarmament have more often argued that since 1945 all wars fought, including regional and internal conflicts, have been fought with conventional weapons. This argument, though valid in terms of events, does not make nuclear weapons any safer. The 1980 United Nations Comprehensive Study on Nuclear Weapons clearly revealed that technological advances have made it possible for one nuclear weapon to release in one micro-second more energy than the total amount released from all conventional weapons in all wars in history.

Jonathan Schell, a well-known writer and campaigner for nuclear disarmament, in his book The Fate of the Earth has described nuclear weapons in these words: "These bombs were built as 'weapons' for war, but their significance greatly transcends war and all its causes and outcomes. They grew out of history, yet they threaten to end history. They were made by men, yet they threaten to annihilate man."

This statement if anything underscores the urgent need for the total elimination of nuclear weapons. Nuclear disarmament therefore remains a high priority and should not in any way be held hostage to conventional-weapons reduction or balance.

A major step towards ridding the world of nuclear weapons and the catastrophic consequences of their use is the halting of all nuclear tests. To seek to achieve

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the cessation of all nuclear tests for many of us is the only logical and feasible way of putting an end to the development and stockpiling of new types of nuclear arsenals. Logic tells us that without testing and modernization these weapons will ● eventually become obsolete and useless.

The conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty is the only popularly accepted mechanism which will ultimately lead to the dismantling of stockpiled nuclear systems. It was on the basis of this strong conviction that more than 40 nations, parties to the 1963 partial test-ban Treaty, including Tanzania, have jointly called for an amendment conference seeking to convert that Treaty into a comprehensive test-ban treaty. The recently concluded Belgrade Summit Of the Non-Aligned Countries has given further credence to this initiative by ● endorsing the holding of such a conference as early as possible in 1990.

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of Tanzania)

It is regrettable that some Powers see the initiative as a misguided effort. We ask those Powers pursuing a path towards self-extinction the logical step towards preserving the human race.

The progress of progress in the United Nations multilateral bodies entrusted with the task of deliberating and negotiating disarmament issues needs special mention here. As much as the major Powers expect the rest of the world to accept and endorse their bilateral arrangements, they have a corresponding obligation to listen to and respect the views of the world community. The United Nations provides us with a forum in which to foster such co-operation in the pursuit of international peace and security where all States can be heard on an equal basis. Tanzania, like many others, has more often than not stated that progress in bilateral negotiations should not in any way hinder progress in multilateral bodies which represent the interests of all mankind.

My delegation has read the report of the United Nations Conference on Disarmament - the only single multilateral negotiating body - and that of the United Nations Disarmament Commission, and we were disappointed by both. Regrettably, negotiations on all nuclear disarmament items listed on the agenda of the Conference on Disarmament as priority items have to date not taken off the ground in view of the obstinate positions of some of the nuclear Powers and their allies. The only area where some progress is said to have been registered is the negotiations for a chemical weapons convention. But here again, the draft text of the convention annexed to the report of the Conference on Disarmament in document A/44/27 leaves much to be desired. The momentum generated at the Paris Conference held in January this year did not apparently permeate through to the negotiations in Geneva as anticipated. It is obvious that behind the technical reasons advanced is the lack of trust and the necessary political will. In the wake of

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technological advances, the question of verification certainly no longer constitutes a major obstacle to achieving a total ban of chemical weapons or a nuclear-tart ban for that matter.

The state of affairs in the United Nations Disarmament Commission is equally disappointing. When introducing the Commission's report, the Chairman candidly stated that lack of progress in that body was again a matter of political will on the part of some member States. We have indeed witnessed the obstructive efforts by some influential members of this body to frustrate progress on certain agenda items which touch on their interests. One of these is the issue of South African nuclear-weapon capability. Owing to the position of the Powers which have assisted South Africa to acquire its present nuclear capability, the Disarmament Commission has been prevented for the last 10 years from alerting the Security Council, through the General Assembly, of the threat that will be posed to international Peace and security in the event the racist, oppressive and aggressive régime in its desperation resorts to the use of nuclear weapons. Despite several United Nations reports and public statements by leaders of the Pretoria régime that South Africa has the capability to produce nuclear weapons if it so desires, these countries have continued to shield the régime.

The Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean is another subsidiary body of the General Assembly which has suffered several setbacks. In the history of the work of the Committee, the same Powers that have blocked progress in other multilateral bodies have frustrated all efforts to convene an international conference that would enable implementation of the 1971 Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. The Indian Ocean continues to hold potential for big-Power conflict. We hope that in the new climate reason will prevail so that the Conference can take place in 1990, as scheduled by the General Assembly.

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of Tanzania)

My delegation **would** therefore **not** support any move **aimed** at deleting any **items** from **the** agenda of United Nations bodies **for lack of** progress or under the **guise** of **rationalizing the work of those bodies**. What we should all aim at **is** the strengthening of **thoae** bodiea and not erosion of their effectiveness. **If** there is political determination **to aae that** these bodiee work, then nothing can **stop us** from making **progrera**.

The non-proliferation Treaty has **been** hailed **by many as the most important** multilateral legal **instrument ever** concluded in disarmament efforts. Some **have even gone** further to **suggest that the** Treaty **has** greatly **contributed to** international **peace** md **stability**.

The non-proliferation Treaty, as we all **know, has** cotta inly **not** stopped the **continual** and **massive** growth in the number, size and variety of nuclear **weapons in the hands** of the nuclear-weapon States. The Treaty certainly **does** not guarantee the safety of tbe non-nuclear-weapon States nor does it guarantee **that the nuclear States** will **not use nuclear weapons** aqainet each **other**, It **has not** prevented the nuclear Powers from assisting countries **outside** the Treaty in **the** acquisition Of military **nuclear** capability. The **acquisition by** South Africa of nuclear capability is a **case in point**.

The Treaty, in short, as **many** have rightly described it, disarms the unarmed and does **not** disarm **the** armed. It is unrealistic to ask other **na tions** to exercise restraint **if** there is **no** restraint among **the** nuclear Powers. In order **to ensure** universal acceptance and consequently the survival of **the** non-proll fera tion Treaty, **the** nuclear Powers should **demonstrate** a **serious** commitment to the total elimination at nuclear **weapons**. How **are** we **to** react to **the** appeals to accede to **the** non-proliferation Treaty if **the same** Powers, while tying **the** hands of the unarmed

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perpetuate their nuclear power monopoly, leaving the rest of the world at their mercy? These are the considerations which Tanzania feels should be taken into account when the Treaty comes up for a fourth review at the Geneva Conference next year.

The prevention of the **militarization** of outer space **calls** for our collective responsibility, for outer space as a common heritage of mankind belongs to **all** of us. **We** cannot therefore sit back as mere spectators when the survival of mankind is increasingly put **into** jeopardy. **Tanzania** therefore joins others in calling for multilateral negotiations in this area and the conclusion of a more binding legal **régime** that would reduce **and** ultimately eliminate the risk of military confrontation. **Outer** space should therefore be used for the benefit of all and not for the destruction of humanity.

Today, in spite of arms reduction and disarmament talks, the world has continued to witness **unprecedented** massive expenditures on deadly weapons while the majority of the world's population continues to live under conditions of **abject** poverty, starvation and endemic diseases. The urgent need to alleviate the plight of these people and **to** achieve sustainable development through disarmament **measures** led to the convening of the historic Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and **Development** two years ago. The Conference, among other things, unanimously adopted a **programme** of action that was to serve as a blueprint in the implementation of its objectives.

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Regrettably, that Action Programme has yet to get off the ground. The report of the Secretary-General (A/44/449) of 14 September 1989, on the specific activities undertaken to implement the Action **Programme** leaves no doubt that **much** remains to be done. In their Declaration issued on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the launching of the Six-Nation Initiative, the members of the Initiative, in which Tanzania participated, drew the attention of the international community to the fact that:

"... disarmament is not just about ceilings and conventions, warheads and launchers, even treaties and **resolutions**. It is **about** people and **about** the waste of **human** and **material** resources now being devoted to weapons of **mass** destruction. Poverty and hunger, disease and unemployment **stalk vast sections** of humanity. These are issues too **urgent to neglect**." (A/44/318, p. 4)

This, indeed, is what should guide us in our endeavours to achieve general and complete disarmament.

In conclusion, let me state that the measures **taken** so far in the field of **disarmament**, though limited, have demonstrated that, given political determination, no problem is insurmountable. **We** have no doubt that general and complete **disarmament** is not only possible it is also the only rational choice. **As my** Foreign Minister, His Excellency Mr. Benjamin Mkapa, stated before the General **Assembly** on 4 October this **year**:

"All men everywhere yearn for peace and their fate cannot be left exclusively in the hands of a few countries, **even though they be the most powerful.**"

(A/44/PV. 20, p. 45)

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of Tanzania)

It is on this basis that we call for the strengthening of multilateral approaches to issues of peace and security for all mankind. I wish to assure you of my delegation's full co-operation in this endeavour.

The meeting rose at '1.50 a.m.