

General Assembly

FORTY-SIXTH SESSION

*Official Records***FIRST COMMITTEE**

20th meeting

held on

Monday, 28 October 1991

at 3 p.m.

New YorkVERBATIM RECORD OF **THE 20th MEETING****Chairman:****Mr. MROZIEWICZ****(Poland)****CONTENTS**General debate on all disarmament **items** (**continued**)

This record is subject to correction.

Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned within one week of the date of publication to the Chief of the Official Records Editing Section, Room DC2 750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session, in a separate corrigendum for each Committee.

Distr. GENERAL**A/C.1/46/PV.20****12 November 1991****ENGLISH**91-61589 **6888V** (B)**Best Copy Available**

32P

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

AGENDA ITEMS 47 TO 65 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of the United Kingdom, who, in **his capacity as** Chairman of the Group of **Experts** on the Study on Ways and **Means** of Promoting **Transparency** in International Transfers of Conventional **Arms**, will **introduce** the study.

Mr. McDONALD (United Kingdom): I feel very privileged to be here today **to** present to **the First** Committee **the report** of the Secretary-general **on** **ways** and **means** of improving **transparency** in **arms** transfers (A/46/301). Before I do **so**, however, I hope I will be allowed to **make** two tributes.

First, I must draw attention to **the fact that the** first two meetings of the Group of **Experts** were chaired by **Ambassador** Plaja from Italy. He is, **sadly**, no longer with **us**, but it was he who laid the foundations for this report. **Without his wise**, patient and courteous guidance, we would, I am **sure**, not have been able to arrive at this agreed report.

The **second** tribute I must make, **with** your indulgence, Sir, is to the **members** of the Study Group themselves. They **came from many countries with** many different **backgrounds and skills**. They **had** two **things in** common. The first **was** an **overpowering** belief that the **subject** of arms transfers **was** one of vital importance and **one** which the world community should now **seize** the opportunity to **tackle**. The other **feature which we all shared** in the Group - **and** one which I know **it shares** with the **First Committee** - **was** an ability to get along **together, to work** together, to **understand each other's** viewpoint, to find **compromises and finally** - not **always** easily but **finally** - to arrive at a **unanimously agreed report** with agreed **recommendations**.

(Mr. McDonald, United Kingdom)

In preparing' the report, and particularly at its last **session** earlier this year, the group of experts was very aware **that** the outbreak of **war** in the **Gulf** not only ha& demonstrated the tragic **consequences** which can flow **from** irresponsible **arms** build-ups but had also **sensitized** the world **to** the issue. We believed - we still believe - **that** if **ever** there **was** a time for action in this field, that time **is** now. Our **report** **therefore** was written to be a **positive document** calling for urgent action.

As the report **makes** clear, we did **not** see transparency in arms transfers as a complete panacea. **Nor** we did see it in one form only. **Transparency** and **openness** in arms transfers **was**, we believed, an initial and important **step** towards building confidence between **nations** and lowering suspicion and **tension**. There **is** an important place for openness in this field **within** **countries**. And the **report** exhorts **countries** to practice, if I may borrow a phrase, **glasnost** in this area. There are also important initiatives to be taken regionally,

We were very aware of and of **course** welcomed the very important agreements in arms control which have recently been achieved. The group of **experts** **saw** these **as** pointing the way to other regional agreements covering **transparency** or control in **arms matters**. In saying this, however, the group **was** not **suggesting** one **common** formula or recipe. Every region, **every** time will have its own **mix**, its own formula, its own **circumstances**.

Finally, **the** group of experts believed that the time had **come** for **some** action to be **taken** globally to promote transparency in **arms** transfers. The **report** **therefore** **recommends** the introduction of a United Nations arms-transfer register **without** delay, covering both **supplier** and recipients **a** universal and **non-discriminatory register** which would promote confidence among all **the**

(Mr. McDonald, United Kingdom)

countries of the world and which would indicate authoritatively My **sign** of an unwarranted or irresponsible arm8 build-up. The report doe8 not spell out exactly how this register **should be constructed**. It does, however, strongly **recommend** that it should be set up in a form which would allow it8 early **implementation** with the widest possible participation.

The report **is** explicit in its belief that **some** will **find** that the register **as** proposed doe8 **not go far** enough. We **understood** and appreciated that viewpoint. It **was** our belief, however, that we had to start somewhere Md that the **time** was propitious **to start now**. **Even** the longest *journey* must start with one short step. We wrote and agreed on our report in the hope that it might indeed be just such a step, and in the right direction.

Finally, our report deal8 with the subject of the illicit **arms** trade. This **subject** is different in kind **from the rest of** our remit. The illicit arms trade is by its nature covert Md not susceptible, therefore, to transparency. In its effect on human beings, however, and on society **it is** no **less** important **than** the more normal **arms** trade. The group of **experts** was only too aware of the devastation **and** human **misery**, the exploitation and the corrupt manipulation of power which are **often the results** of the illicit arm8 trade. In *our* report we have therefore in the **strongest language** drawn attention to these dangers. There **are** welcome signs that internationally there is a growing *cooperation* of effort to **cut back this** cancer. We noted the increasing cooperation between customs **and** enforcement **authorities** of many **nations**. This is surely **the right** way to **go**. Our report **recommends strong** national procedure6 to outlaw this illicit trade. We have also highlighted the *need* to promote the training and retraining of **customs** officers. **There is** much to be done. As **our** report indicates, we hope that the United **Nations**

(Mr. McDonald, United Kingdom)

itself may find ways of assisting this ongoing improvement in the effectiveness of controls so that the evil Of the arms trade can be squeezed out of existence.

Mr. BATIUK (Ukraine) (interpretation from Russian): The position of Ukraine on the main problems of disarmament was explained in the statement of Leonid Kravchuk, President of the Parliament of Ukraine, at the 14th plenary meeting, held on 30 September 1991, and further detailed on 14 October in the statement made in this Committee by Anatoly Blenko, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

However, in the light of recent events in Ukraine - which have been the topic of some sensationalist comment in the media and of hasty remarks by certain foreign officials - and in the light of additional questions raised by delegations, we need to provide fuller information about the position of Ukraine on conventional-arms reductions and nuclear disarmament in its territory.

Immediately following the August coup in the USSR, the Ukrainian Parliament adopted a decree on military units in Ukraine. Under that decree, all armed-force units stationed in Ukraine will be subject to the authority of the Ukrainian Parliament. The main purpose of the decree was to prevent the use of the armed forces against the people and the State sovereignty of Ukraine. During the coup, such attempts were indeed made.

(Mr. Ratiouk, Ukraine)

The next step to ensure sovereignty and independence was the decision of Parliament to create Ukraine's own armed forces. Draft laws on matters relating to defence arrangements were considered last week. Parliament decided that the Ukrainian armed forces to be created were designed to protect its independence and territorial integrity and that Ukraine's defensive capability would be maintained at the level of sufficiency for protection against aggression.

The law concerning defence establishes that Ukraine does not recognize war as a means of settling international problems; that it does not possess weapons of mass destruction; that it has no territorial claims against any other State and does not view any people as an enemy; that it will never be the first to start military operations against any country if it does not itself become the victim of aggression and that its armed forces will not be used to settle the internal affairs of other States.

With regard to the creation of the armed forces of Ukraine, it should be borne in mind that what is involved is not the creation of additional units but, on the contrary, the gradual reduction of the former Soviet Union's forces stationed in Ukraine's territory to a fraction of their number and their replacement with smaller national armed forces, totalling about 400,000 in all branches. As Ukraine's Defence Minister Morozov observed in this connection, the way to give Ukraine, a nation of 52 million, its own armed forces is to make a substantial reduction in the organs of military administration and in troop strength. That reduction, amounting to hundreds of thousands of persons, is linked to the solution of complex social, political and economic problems. For that reason, the whole intensive process of reduction to 400,000 will take several years, lasting until 1994-1995.

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukraine)

The fact that the decisions adopted by **Ukraine specifically** involve **demilitarisation** and **disarmament** is **eloquently demonstrated** by the fact that whereas previously at **least 15 per cent of the gross national product was** devoted to military **needs**, Parliament has decided **from now on** to devote **less than 3 per cent** of the national budget to the armed **forces** of Ukraine.

Another aspect of the problem **concerns** nuclear **forces**. The **ways** to settle the matter **of** the nuclear **forces** situated in the territory **of** Ukraine **were** determined in Parliament's statement on the denuclearisation status **of** Ukraine, adopted on 24 October of **this** year. Confirming Ukraine's intention to adhere to non-nuclear principles and **its** desire to help **strengthen** the international non-proliferation regime, Parliament declared **the** following:

"First, the presence of the nuclear weapons of the **former** Union of Soviet Socialist Republics **in** the territory **of** Ukraine is temporary.

"Secondly, **those** weapons are now under **the** control **of** the appropriate **structures** of the former Union **of** Soviet Socialist Republics. Ukraine **insists** on **its** right to monitor the **non-use** of the nuclear weapons deployed in its territory,

"Thirdly, Ukraine will **pursue** a policy aimed at the total elimination of nuclear weapons **and components** of their deployment **situated** in the territory **of the** Ukrainian State. It **intends** to do this in the **shortest** time possible, taking account of legal, **technical**, financial, **organizational** and other **possibilities and** the proper maintenance of ecological **safety**. A wide **programme** for the **conversion** of the **defence** industry, reorienting part of the military-industrial capability towards meeting the needs **of** economic **and** social development, **will** be launched **in** Ukraine.

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukraine)

"Fourthly, Ukraine, as one of the successors of the former Union Soviet Socialist Republics, will abide by the provisions of the 1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States in so far as the nuclear weapons situated in its territory are concerned. Ukraine is ready to start negotiations with the Republic of Belarus, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, with the participation of the appropriate structures of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the elimination of strategic nuclear weapons covered by that Treaty.

"Fifthly, Ukraine will take steps aimed at the elimination of all other nuclear weapons situated in its territory, and to that end it is ready, if need be, to participate in negotiations with all interested parties, using inter alia existing multilateral mechanisms in the field of disarmament.

"Sixthly, Ukraine will take appropriate steps to ensure the physical safety of all nuclear weapons situated in its territory until the complete elimination of those weapons is achieved.

"Seventhly, Ukraine intends to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as a non-nuclear State and to conclude with the International Atomic Energy Agency an appropriate agreement on guarantees."

That statement by Parliament was made after a comprehensive study of the question, and it has won understanding and support. For example, Zbigniew Brzezinski, a prominent United States public figure, speaking of nuclear-weapon problems during his recent press conference at the Foreign Ministry of Ukraine, said that the kind of approach which underlies the

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukraine)

statement of the Parliament of Ukraine **concerning** the non-nuclear status of Ukraine **can** satisfy the international **community**.

In conclusion, I should like to stress again **on** behalf of the delegation of Ukraine that **the maintenance of Ukraine's** military potential at a level **of** defensive sufficiency, the **reduction and** the **subsequent** total elimination **of nuclear** weapons and Ukraine's **entry** into the international process of the treaty-based reduction and limitation **of** armaments **in the region of the** Conference **on** Security and Cooperation in Europe, **as** a full-fledged **participant** and partner, have been and continue **to be** priority **goals** of the Parliament and Government of **Ukraine**, with a view to guaranteeing national security.

Mr. KIM Chang Guk (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) O f

all, **Sir, I** should like to express, on **behalf** of the delegation of **the Democratic** People's Republic of Korea, our warm congratulations to you **on** your election to the chairmanship of the First Committee. I **am** sure that **with** your rich experience and **outstanding** ability **the** First **Committee** will conclude its work **successfully**. I should also like to congratulate the other officers of the **Committee** **on** their elections.

Today, as all delegations **have** mentioned, the world is undergoing radical changes **and entering** upon a new phase of its development. **At** this remarkable time the urgent issue involved in the establishment of a new international order **and** the achievement of stable peace and security in conformity **with** the demands and aspirations of the peoples of the world is **that** of **realising** disarmament.

We think that **disarmament** should be realised on a general and complete basis **and** at the earliest possible date.

The priority issue in the field **of** disarmament is nuclear disarmament. **Nuclear** weapons are the most abhorrent threat to world peace **and** to the peace of every country **and** nation. **Since the appearance** of nuclear weapons **on** our globe the world has not known peace for a single day. It is outrageous that **on** the eve **of** the twenty-first century **the** world should still be hostage to nuclear **weapons**.

The United States and the Soviet Union must take the lead in nuclear disarmament. **In this regard** we welcome the announcement by **President** Bush on 27 September that tactical nuclear **weapons** will **be** removed from Asia and **Europe**. The Soviet *Union* has also put *forward* positive proposals in response to **the** United States initiative. Those steps represent a big step forward in **achieving** nuclear **disarmament** and a positive start **in** building a peaceful, new

(Mr. Kim, Democratic People's
Republic of Korea)

world. However, this is just a first and partial step **when viewed** in the context of the goal of general **and** complete **disarmament**.

At present, a **complete** nuclear-test ban is one of the urgent items on the nuclear-disarmament agenda. **Raising** our voices against nuclear **armament** and nuclear proliferation here while nuclear testing continues is anachronistic and contradictory. The **continuation** of nuclear testing **cannot** be construed otherwise than as opposition to nuclear **disarmament, intended** as **it is to** replace old nuclear weapons with qualitatively improved ones to achieve domination over other countries by **means** of a nuclear monopoly.

The continued pursuit of nuclear **testing** will create nothing but confusion and mistrust in the nuclear **disarmament** arena. **The** United Nations has been discussing this issue for over 30 years and **has** adopted some 70 resolutions on the cessation of nuclear-tout **explosions**, but those resolutions are still far from **implementation**. In the **context** of the new **international** order, nuclear weapons **can** no longer be accepted. We welcome the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing. We urge the **conclusion** of a complete and comprehensive nuclear-test ban.

Another **important** requirement for world nuclear disarmament is the creation of nuclear-weapon-free **zones** in all parts of the world and their continuous **expansion**. The international **community** should support **and** encourage **proposals to** create nuclear-weapon-free **zones** on the **national**, subregional and regional levels. In particular, nuclear-weapon States should guarantee such **zones** through legally binding **commitments**.

The **completion** and conclusion of **the** draft **convention on** the prohibition **and** elimination of chemical **weapons** will represent **an** important step towards eliminating weapons of mass **destruction**. The Democratic People's Republic of

(Mr. Kim, Democratic People's
Republic of Korea)

Korea, which once suffered from the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons, welcomes the progress made in negotiating the provisions of the draft convention and hopes that it will be completed and concluded at the earliest possible date.

The United Nations has long been discussing the question of arms transfer, and many delegations have expressed their views on an arms-transfer registry. We consider the arms-transfer registry to be a praiseworthy proposal in the context of disarmament and security. At the same time, however, there are doubts as to whether it would contribute substantially to disarmament and security. Who will determine the defence requirements of each nation - a question that lies entirely within the individual nation's sovereignty - and how can the level of defence capability and requirements be compared between or among States? Will such a registry not rather give rise to mistrust and explicit arms competition among States? Will it not be advantageous only to developed, arms-supplying countries and disastrous for the developing recipient countries? Arms transfer and the arms trade have so far been used in international relations as a means to derive economic benefits for the seller countries and, more important, as a way to impose political bargains and exert political pressure on other Nations. Will the registry therefore mean an end to such political bargainings and pressure? We are of the opinion that an arms register must include the development and production of new weapons and the locations, types and quantity of nuclear weapons deployed in other countries. We believe that when those questions are addressed fairly the proposed registry system will contribute to general disarmament and security and to the establishment of a new international order.

(Mr. Kim, Democratic People's
Republic of Korea)

The aftermath of the cold war has been keenly felt on the Korean peninsula. Although the international situation has experienced a trend towards détente and regional disputes are moving towards solution, the confrontation between the north and the south of Korea and the unstable environment of a cease-fire continue unabated. Armed forces a million strong stand opposed to each other along the Military Demarcation Line.

If we are to guarantee a durable peace and security in Asia and the rest of the world in keeping with the trend in the present international situation, it is imperative to remove the tension and confrontation on the Korean peninsula and establish peace there.

Only when disarmament has been achieved on the Korean peninsula will it be possible to create the conditions for peaceful reunification.

We believe that the adoption of a non-aggression declaration between the north and the south will serve as a starting-point for disarmament in Korea. A non-aggression declaration will initiate a decisive phase in replacing the unstable cease-fire system with a system of durable peace and contribute to easing confrontation. It will also be a starting-point for building confidence between the north and the south.

We propose that the north and the south should suspend all joint military exercises with foreign forces and other large-scale military exercises, turn the Demilitarised Zone along the Military Demarcation Line into a zone of peace to be used for peaceful purposes and take security measures to prevent any accidental conflict that could lead to escalation. We are demanding that the north and the south should phase down their armed forces to less than

**(Mr. Kim, Democratic People's
Republic of Korea)**

100,000 **each** within a **period of** three **or four years** and that the foreign **troops** stationed in south Korea **should** complete their withdrawal when the **armed forces of the** north **and** the **south are** reduced to less than 100,000 each.

(Mr. Kim, Democratic People's
Republic of Korea)

We are **also** proposing that the North **and** the South **should dissolve** all **civilian** military **organizations** and civilian **forces**, **etop** the **introduction** of **new** military **technology** and equipment and the development **of armaments**, and **carry on** the verification of **arms** reduction through on-site **inspection**. **However**, these **proposals** of **ours** remain unilateral **efforts** and have **not yet** received a positive **response**.

We hope that the North and the South will **make** and implement a joint **commitment soon** with regard **to** disarmament. **It** is also a matter of consideration that, **since** the north **and** the south gained **membership** of the United Nations, the United Nations **Command** in South Korea **should** be **dissolved**, United Nations **forces** withdrawn, and the Armistice Agreement replaced by a peace **agreement** that will, in our view, be a **significant contribution** to peace and **disarmament** in Korea.

The **most** important and urgent **move** towards achieving peace in Korea is to **turn it** into a nuclear-weapon-free **zone**. In the southern part of the **peninsula**, there **are** 1,000 nuclear **weapons** deployed, and "Team Spirit" - a United **States-South** Korea joint military exercise **simulating** nuclear **war** - is conducted every year. Since the Korean nation is **constantly exposed** to a nuclear threat, we have strongly demanded that nuclear weapons in South **Korea** be removed and that the Korean peninsula be converted into a nuclear-weapon-free **zone**.

Our government long ago put forward **proposals** for turning **the peninsula** into a nuclear-weapon-free **zone of peace**, and **as recently as** July **this** year made a new **proposal** that the **North** and the **South** agree **and** jointly declare the **establishment** of a nuclear-weapon-free **zone** on the Korean **peninsula**. The **United States**, the Soviet Union and China, the nuclear-weapon **States**

(Mr. A i m . People's
Republic of Korea)

neighbouring on the Korean peninsula, **should** legally guarantee the **nuclear-weapon-free status** of the peninsula if the **peninsula is declared** **such**. The non-nuclear-weapon **States** in **Asia** should support the conversion of the **Korean peninsula** into a nuclear-weapon-free **zone and respect its** nuclear-weapon-free **status**. We believe that this proposal will help remove the **nuclear** threat on the **peninsula** and **strengthen** the nuclear **non-proliferation system**.

The **purpose** of our **accession** to the non-proliferation Treaty was to remove **nuclear weapons** from South Korea and to **totally** eliminate the **nuclear threat** on the **peninsula**. This purpose and demand of ours have become clearer now **that** it has **been confirmed** that there are nuclear **weapons** in South Korea,

We do not **oppose nuclear** inspection. However, **since** the nuclear **issue** in Korea **is directly related** to the fate and sovereignty of the Korean nation, we **cannot accept** unilateral **inspection**. Even if we **should** allow unilateral **inspection** in the northern **part** of the peninsula, it would not help in **any** way the removal of **nuclear weapons** from the South or the **denuclearization** of the whole **peninsula**. That **is** why we are **requesting simultaneous inspections**, if any, in both the North and the South.

We have **neither the capability** to engage in a nuclear arms race with **other countries**, nor **any** intention of developing nuclear weapons to destroy our own nation. Today, **the** policy of holding nuclear weapons **is** totally **anachronistic**. The United States expressed its **willingness** to withdraw its nuclear **weapons** from South Korea. If all nuclear **weapons** are pulled out, the **safeguards agreement problem** will be **solved** smoothly and a decisive **phase** opened for the **denuclearization** of the **Korean peninsula**.

(Mr. Kim, Democratic People's
Republic of Korea)

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a peace-loving State and the Korean people greatly treasure peace. **Because** our nation **lives divided;** **because** its two **sides** continue to confront each other; **and because** the unstable **cease-fire** environment **persists in our** land, **the thirst** of our people for peace **is** greater than that of any **other** people. The **Democratic People's Republic of Korea** and its people will **spare no effort to** achieve a lasting peace in Korea and to contribute to **safeguarding** world **peace,** a **common** goal of **mankind.** I hope that all States Members of the United **Nations** will **make a** positive contribution to the attainment of **peace on** the Korean peninsula.

Mr. KABIR (Bangladesh): At the outset, please allow me to convey our warm **felicitations** to you, Sir, on your **election** to the **chairmanship** of the **First Committee.** Through you I **also express our** congratulationa to the member8 of the Bureau on their election. I am **confident** that with your rich **experience,** wide knowledge and diplomatic **skills,** you will guide the work of the **Committee to a successful conclusion.** I assure you Of the full cooperation of my delegation.

I would like to pay our sincere tribute to late **Ambassador and Nobel Laureate Alfonso Garcia Robles,** who **passed away recently.** His outstanding contribution to **disarmament and** to the work of the **First Committee** will be remembered by all of us.

We meet here **against** the backdrop of a **dramatic change** in the international **scenario.** The era of the cold **war has** receded into the past. **The rapprochement** of the super-Powers has given tire to cooperation **instead** of confrontation. Mutual **understanding** has **propelled them** into active interaction. **A start** has been made **towards** real **disarmament,** and a joint endeavour **to find solutions** to global **problems.**

(Mr. Kabir, Bangladesh)

The encouraging developments of détente and cooperation among the major Powers of the world, coinciding with positive breakthroughs in many of the regional conflicts and the ushering in of democracy in many parts of the world, are demonstrations of the emergence of a new era of collective action and cooperation. Despite an increased momentum of understanding, conflict, tension and instability in many regions continue to pose a threat to world peace and security.

Eastern Europe has further undergone radical changes during the last year. The reunification of Germany and the recent events in the Soviet Union will have far-reaching political and economic consequences for the world. The end of the cold war has signalled the collapse in international relations of two competing power blocs.

New centres of economic and political power with new variables and alignments can emerge with yet uncertain consequences. The evolving scenario is not unmixed with danger for third world countries. A major anxiety is that it should not compromise the political and economic security interests of the developing countries either through regional hegemony or marginalization. We face a situation of both promise and peril.

The super-Power détente has led to a significant reduction of nuclear and conventional arsenals alike. We welcome this progress in arms control and disarmament. The signing of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) by the United States and the Soviet Union last July marks a significant step by the two nations to reduce considerably their strategic nuclear arsenals. The signing of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe is yet another step towards ensuring peace and security in Europe. The Amendment Conference on the partial test-ban Treaty held in New York last January was important

(Mr. Kabir, Bangladesh)

because it was the first multilateral negotiating forum on a nuclear arms treaty where all countries participated to attain the objective of complete cessation of nuclear coating, In this regard, we support the initiative of the President of the Conference to reconvene it.

Bangladesh welcomes the recent historic initiative by President George Bush to undertake unilateral measures to eliminate tactical nuclear weapons as well as the reciprocal offer by President Gorbachev to seek an even deeper reduction of nuclear forces. They both deserve our sincere gratitude. These proposals, in our view, constitute a major breakthrough toward a nuclear-free and safer world for all of us.

(Mr. Kabir, Bangladesh)

Let me **recall** the **statement** of the **First Deputy Foreign Minister** of the USSR, who **said**,

"... the Soviet and United States initiatives are providing a **unique** opportunity to **modify** the actual pattern of the **arms race** in **fundamental ways** - indeed, to **turn it into its own opposite: a disarmament race.**"
(A/C.1/46/PV.12, p. 21)

Despite reduction **under** the Treaty, the **super-Powers** will continue to retain vast number of nuclear **arsenals** far in **excess** of any conceivable national-security requirements. The arms race continues **with its** terrifying **statistics** of **wasteful costs**. Over a **trillion** dollars are spent annually on the means of **destruction**. What could be **achieved** from reduced military expenditure can be illustrated by an example. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) estimates that to make **significant progress** in preventing child mortality and malnourishment for 50 million children only \$2.5 billion would be needed. Similarly, with the peace-making process under way, **expenditure** on peace-keeping operations **amount** to almost nothing *compared to* **expenditure** on **armaments**.

The **stupendous** expenditure on armaments is **unjustified** and unethical. Mere weapons cannot **ensure security**. Peace and **security** will continue to be **threatened as long as** poverty, hunger, **squalour** and **despair** continue to bedevil the **lives** of billions. In **this** regard, the **statement** of Mr. **Yasushi Akaishi**, the Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, is very pertinent. **He said**,

"The international **community** has to **espouse** a **multidimensional** approach to peace **and security** in which the military **aspect** will not

(Mr. Kabir, Bangladesh)

dominate but will be considered in relation to other **priorities** such as development, welfare, **environment** and the **protection of human rights.**"

(A/C.1/46/PV.4, p. 4)

Peace and security will not **be** achieved **unless** international cooperation **is** extended to **deal** with **the** threats that **derive** from failure in development, environmental **degradation and a lack of** meaningful **progress** in social and humanitarian issues. The wider **concept of security** must be **realized** by us all. The **Secretary-General**, in his report on the work of the Organisation has **therefore** rightly **said**:

"No system of collective security will remain viable unless workable solutions are sought to the problem of poverty and destitution, afflicting the greater part of the world." (A/46/1, p. 12)

Though the **risk of nuclear war has receded over the past** four decades, **vast arsenals of nuclear weapons and stockpiles of fissile** material by their very existence imperil the world. We **therefore** urge the nuclear-weapon States to take initiative **expeditiously** toward the total elimination of all nuclear weapons, and we pray that they will do so. **Bangladesh believes that there is a need** to agree on a universal and **non-discriminatory** convention on the prohibition of the production, development and **stockpiling** of nuclear weapons and **fissionable materials.**

We believe that a **comprehensive** test-ban treaty would be a **crucial step towards** preventing the emergence of a new generation of nuclear weapons. It **is our considered view** that **cessation** of all **nuclear-weapons** testing will lead to the achievement of our **ultimate** goal of the **complete elimination** of all nuclear weapons. We **therefore** attach the **highest** priority to the **early conclusion of a comprehensive** test-ban treaty. In that regard, we welcome the

(Mr. Kabir, Bangladesh)

announcement by President Gorbachev of a unilateral one-year moratorium on nuclear testing by the Soviet Union and we urge other nuclear-weapon States to follow suit with a view to achieving the complete cessation of nuclear testing at an early date.

Our constitutional commitment binds us to the concept of general and complete disarmament . For that reason, Bangladesh has rejected the nuclear alternative for itself. We have therefore acceded to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). We support all measures seeking to promote disarmament and to end the arms race, and the call for nuclear-free zones.

Universal adherence to the Treaty would consolidate the NPT régime. In that regard Bangladesh welcomes particularly the decision in principle by France and China to adhere to the non-proliferation Treaty. Thus, all five nuclear-weapon States will soon be parties to the Treaty. We have always stressed the need for the NPT to be strengthened through commitments to positive and negative security assurances, standardized and tighter nuclear export regulations and more effective safeguards under the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

Durable peace can be established only through the elimination and destruction of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. In that regard, we welcome the progress in negotiations towards a chemical-weapons convention, which appears to have entered a crucial final phase. We hope agreement on the convention will be reached by next year. Bangladesh will certainly make every effort to contribute to its early conclusion.

(Mr. Kabir, Bangladesh)

While we believe there should be adequate concentration on nuclear disarmament, which should have foremost priority, attention should also be focused on measures for the limitation and reduction of conventional arms. This must be pursued within the framework of progress towards general and completed disarmament. Today, conventional weapons are acquiring increasing sophistication through technological advances. As a result, they have attained devastating destructive power. We therefore feel and believe that maintenance of conventional capabilities in excess of the legitimate security needs of States can have destabilizing ramifications for regions and the world. There should be arms reduction in a balanced and equitable manner without affecting genuine security requirements. Thus, stability would be enhanced at lower military levels. Any acquisition of arms beyond perceived needs would heighten suspicion and encourage the arms race.

Bangladesh is deeply committed to the peaceful uses of the sea and its resources. We feel indiscriminate naval build-ups tend to spread apprehension. Therefore, my delegation would urge restraint in naval activities. That means that the criteria for legitimate naval-security needs should be carefully formulated.

Our abiding support for the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace derives from our commitments to peaceful maritime activities. We shall continue our search for a stable Indian Ocean régime; the region should be neutral, demilitarized and denuclearized. Bangladesh believes that such a régime must be guaranteed through a collective security system so that upon the withdrawal of the great Powers their domination is not supplanted by any other form of domination that could destabilize the security of littoral and hinterland States. We hope that the

(Mr. Kabir, Bangladesh)

United Nations Conference on the Indian Ocean will take place in Colombo at an early date.

The United Nations has a large and expanded role to play in meeting the challenge of the new era of international disarmament efforts. In that context, may I add that Bangladesh will be eager to play a role in the expanded Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. Such expansion, in our view, could be gradually achieved over a limited time-frame, while maintaining the balance of the Conference and thus enhancing its ability to function more effectively.

With the end of the cold war, the world is evaluating old security perceptions and doctrines. We are now in an era of understanding and cooperation. This is a historic opportunity that we must seize upon to make the world a safer place by reducing the arms race and thus reducing the colossal expenditures associated with it. The peace dividend to be derived from this should be devoted to the welfare of mankind, particularly to the growth of the economies of the developing world. Let us all give peace a chance. For its part, Bangladesh pledges its active support and cooperation to achieve that noble objective, which is the dream of us all.

Mr. ABDUL CHAFFAR (Bahrain) (in ~~wish~~ interpretation from Arabic):

extend the congratulations of the delegation of Bahrain to you, Sir, on your election as Chairman of this Committee. I also congratulate the other officers of the Committee on their election to their respective posts. I pledge the full cooperation of my delegation in the Committee's deliberations and wish you success in discharging the tasks entrusted to you.

International relations have witnessed important changes that followed upon one another over the past year and in the course of this year. One of the most prominent of those developments was the signing of the Charter of Paris for A New Europe by the leaders of 34 States of Europe and North America, within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. That officially rang down the curtain on the cold-war era with all its tensions, international and regional polarisations and arms race. There can be no doubt that these developments have had a positive effect in the field of disarmament.

In November 1990, the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe was signed, and on 31 July 1991, the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty was concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union, in addition to the two initiatives of the United States and the Soviet Union on nuclear weapons in September and October 1991. We welcome both initiatives and hope that they will be followed by an integrated programme for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons.

These positive developments in international relations make it imperative for the international community to redouble its efforts to maintain international peace and security. In the unanimous opinion of authorities on

(Mr. Abdul Ghaffar, Bahrain)

law and politics, there are three complementary approaches to achieve this. The first is the approach of settling disputes by peaceful means. The second is the setting up of a system of collective security in which all peace-loving States would participate in order to ensure its universality and viability. The third is disarmament. Both the processes of peace and security are organically linked to disarmament. Indeed, it is impossible to achieve peace or security at either the regional or international levels without genuine disarmament, and in particular nuclear, chemical and biological disarmament. Here the creation of a zone in the Middle East free of weapons of mass destruction inevitably will be beneficial to the States of the region. We believe that we must rid the region of all nuclear, biological and chemical weapons.

In his statement in the General Assembly, my country's Foreign Minister reaffirmed that conviction when he said:

"Today, we are even more resolved to achieve this goal [a zone free of weapons of mass destruction] because of our belief that international security is intrinsically linked to its regional constituents and our conviction that strengthening the security of the Middle East region by making it completely free of weapons of mass destruction will be a positive contribution to the maintenance of world peace."

(A/46/PV.18, p. 23)

Unquestionably, nuclear weapons continue to be an abiding concern in the Middle East, especially since there is every indication that Israel possesses approximately 300 nuclear bombs. We believe that the declaration of the nuclear-free zone in the Middle East should be based on renunciation by the

(Mr. Abdul Ghaffar, Bahrain)

States of the region of the **acquisition** of nuclear **weapons**, in addition to **strict rules and regulations** that would govern the **use of radioactive** materials by **the States of the region**.

Security is of paramount importance to **all countries**, whether great or small. The small **countries are** particularly concerned **because they** are especially vulnerable to **outside threats and aggression**. In **his** report on protection and **security** for small States, the **Secretary-General**, in **commenting** on **the views of** members of the **Security Council**, **said** in this connection:

"Because of their intrinsic characteristics, small **States** may need a special **measure of** attention and **support**. Member States clearly acknowledged that the international community had a **vested interest** in safeguarding the security **of** small States, **since** the international **order** could **be** undermined by their **instability** or lose of **security**."

(A/46/339, p. 9)

The United Nations **can** play a **major** role in **this respect**, through the Security Council, where the **security** needs **of** small States should be **studied**. **Of course**, the **best security guarantee** would be the mutual **respect** by all States **for** the principle⁶ of sovereignty, territorial integrity, the **United Nations** Charter **and international** law.

Bahrain, as a member of this international **forum**, looks forward to further achievements in the area of disarmament **so that the world may live** in safety and in peace. **At the same** time, we support the **consolidation of** collective security within the framework **of** the United **Nations through the** prohibition **of the use of** force or **the threat of the use of** force. **Part experience** has made it **abundantly** clear that without **an** adequate **system** of

(Mr. Abdul Ghaffar, Bahrain)

deterrence, without **proper** respect for the **sovereignty** of **States**, especially **small States**, the **system** of **world security** would be threatened. We hope that world **security** will be consolidated through the elimination of the **sources** of **tension** in the **world especially** at the regional level and the achievement of lasting **solutions** to intractable political, **economic** and social problems.

~~Mr. DADA~~ (Krishna Parissalam) **On the first time** in this Committee, I should like first to extend to **you, Sir**, my delegation's warm congratulation **on your election as** Chairman of the **First** Committee. I am confident that under your wise leadership the **Committee** will be able to accomplish **its task successfully**. **Felicitations** are also extended to the other **officers** of the **Committee**, whose dedication has contributed to the Committee's **work**.

We have recently witnessed **significant changes** affecting international **events, which** in many **ways** have transformed our thinking about *the achievement* of a **secure** and peaceful world. Against the backdrop of **the end** of **East-West** tension and the **changes** within the Soviet Union, we are achieving a much desired **world-wide consensus** regarding many important **issues**, notably those concerning **disarmament**.

The **start of the** so-called new world order **has** perhaps **helped** to remove some **of** the outward **signs** of long-term pessimism. **Elimination** of all weapons of **mass** destruction, along with key initiatives to bring **arms** under **control** and the reduction **of** nuclear armaments have begun to preoccupy the **Committee** in **its deliberations**.

(Mr. Jaya, Brunei Darussalam)

All **those initiatives** are very **convincing** but **none is more welcome or appreciated by** all of **us** than the **recent announcements** by President Bush and President **Gorbachev of** their intention **to cancel** and eliminate tactical **nuclear weapons and some** of their nuclear **programmes**. Brunei **Darussalam** **welcomes** there **historic** developments, **together with the good response from those countries** with **nuclear** weapons. My delegation believes that the **commitment shown** by **those** concerned will **set** a precedent **for more** efforts to **accelerate progress** on all **disarmament** agenda items.

With the growing concern over **arms** control and disarmament, Brunei **Darussalam is** anticipating that priority **will** be given to **those arms** which, in **our** belief, will have the most **disastrous** effect, not **only** on human **lives**, but also on the eventual destruction of our **planet**. In this connection my delegation **stresses** the point with regard to the proliferation of nuclear weapons: we believe that the international community, in particular **the** nuclear-weapon **States**, should be equally disposed towards a **comprehensive** test-ban **treaty**. **However**, our hope to **see** the cessation of nuclear-weapon **tests** will not have **positive** results **for as long as** the nuclear-Power States continue to conduct nuclear-weapon tests. We have **always** held the view **that** further testing and research will not only produce more sophisticated nuclear **weapons** but will also undermine all hopes **for arms control** and the elimination of weapons of **mass destruction**. It is also my country's wish not to **see more** nuclear **weapons** developed, and to achieve that wish it is only logical to ban nuclear **testing** on a **comprehensive**, universal and non-discriminatory **scale**. **Therefore**, my delegation welcomes the **re-establishment** of the Ad **Hoc** Committee in 1992 **to pursue** an appropriate mandate towards a comprehensive nuclear-test ban.

(Mr. Jaya, Brunei Darussalam)

As a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons Brunei Darussalam is encouraged by recent developments and pleased to see that the non-proliferation Treaty has, slowly but surely, gained more ground. The intention of France, China and South Africa to become signatories to the Treaty does signify a positive development on this issue and is greatly welcomed by my country. In view of this development we urge those States, with or without nuclear-weapons capabilities, which have not acceded to the Treaty, to do so. This move by other non-party States will surely enable the international community to achieve what it seeks to accomplish, particularly progress towards the reduction of the risk of an outbreak of nuclear war and, consequently, the strengthening of peace and international security.

Brunei Darussalam is equally concerned about other problems which demand serious consideration. The threat of weapons of mass destruction will always prevail as long as constructive efforts for their elimination remain at a standstill. Like speakers before me, I should also like to repeat my country's calls for a speedy conclusion to the negotiations on an international convention on the prohibition of the use, manufacture and stockpiling of chemical weapons. We are convinced that the expected conclusion of the convention will contribute to the total elimination of other categories of weapons of mass destruction, especially chemical weapons,

Like other Member States, Brunei Darussalam also attaches great importance to the issue of biological weapons and is of the view that the production of such weapons of mass destruction should be halted. Our firm commitment with regard to the issue was enhanced when my country earlier this

(Mr. Java, Brunei Darussalam)

year **acceded** to **the** Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, **Production** and **Stockpiling** of Bacteriological (**Biological**) and Toxin **Weapons** and on **Their Destruction**. This decision is also in **line** with Brunei **Darussalam's** own biological weapon⁸ Act, which **is** aimed at prohibiting the development, **production**, acquisition and **possession** of certain biological agent⁸ and **toxin⁸** and of biological **weapons**. At **this** juncture we would **also** **like** to applaud the **parties** concerned, **whose work** and contribution **have led** to **the successful conclusion** of the Third Review **Conference** of **th⁶ Parties** to the biological weapon⁸ Convention held in Geneva recently. We hop⁸ that **the decisions** adopted will **significantly** contribute to **the further** strengthening of **th⁶ Convention**.

The maintenance **of** global peace and **security is** indeed **of prime importance** and remain⁸ **essential** to our **survival**. The cold war may be **over** but **as** past event⁸ have **proved**, it **is** **th⁶ small, sovereign State⁸** that are most vulnerable to any **act** of aggression conducted by outside **elements**. It is undeniable **that** wide **possession of arms and weapon⁸** of **ma⁸⁸ destruction** through **the unabated transfer** of arm⁸ ha⁸ indeed **led** to **strong suspicion, hostilities** and arm⁸ conflict. In **this** connection the United Nation⁸ **study** on way⁸ and **means of promoting transparency** in international transfer of conventional **arms should be welcomed**. We also hold the **view** that the **discussion** on the **establishment** of an international **arms transfer register** under the **auspices** of the United Nation⁸, and **it⁸** implementation, should **be based** on the **basic principle** of **universality** and non-discrimination.

The end of ideological rivalry **between** **th⁶ super-Powers** and **the beginning** of international cooperation **should augur** well for **the new** thinking on

(Mr. Jaya, Brunei Daruss)

disarmament, we believe that, with the encouragement and total support of Member States, the United Nations could play an extensive role in key security and disarmament issues. In our effort to build a future that is peaceful to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, we therefore reiterate our stand that the United Nations is the principal body on which we rely for the maintenance of peace and security.

The meeting rose at 4.40 p.m.