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President: Mr. Peter FLORIN
(German Democratic Republic).

AGENDA ITEM 8

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. FALL (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): I should like at the outset, Sir, to join previous speakers in reiterating our congratulations to you upon your election to the presidency of the forty-second regular session of the General Assembly. Now that you have the additional and very delicate task of presiding over the work of this special session you may, as in the past, rely on the willingness and support of the delegation of Senegal, whose full and unreserved co-operation is yours for the asking. Allow me also to express my delegation's appreciation and respect to the Secretary-General, whose competence and dedication to the cause of peace and world security is well known to us all.

2. Last summer the international community met here in New York for the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, held from 24 August to 11 September. That today, a few months later, the General Assembly is meeting in a special session devoted to disarmament is indicative of the crucial importance this issue has for mankind as a whole. No question more directly affects the future of our planet and the fate of our species.

3. Senegal, whose dedication to everything that concerns world peace and security has been consistent, wishes, in taking part in this debate, to proclaim at the outset the right of mankind to live in peace, and it reaffirms its commitment to spare no effort to contribute to safeguarding that fundamental right. We shall make our contribution to these deliberations in the conviction that in the face of the danger of the arms race, today more than ever before disarmament is the responsibility of all nations and all peoples.

4. The climate of international relations has for some two years been marked by a high pitch of activity which on the whole has had positive effects. In the wake of several years of uncertainty, mutual accusations and suspicions of every kind, dialogue has finally been resumed by the great Powers, and the understanding reached between them on certain issues of importance opens up stimulating prospects for stability and security in the world. This is an opportunity for my country to rejoice once again in the positive results of the summit meetings between

the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union, especially the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles—the INF Treaty. There are reasons for hope, but at the same time we shall have to dedicate ourselves to identifying the areas that must receive attention in our efforts to achieve the goal that we have set for ourselves: general and complete, progressive and balanced disarmament.

5. First, in the sphere of nuclear weapons: everything or nearly everything has been said on the dangers that mankind faces as a result of the continued accumulation and refinement of this category of weapons, the stockpiles of which even today are capable of destroying all life upon our planet. Yet despite the repeated appeals of the international community, despite the proclamation of two Disarmament Decades and the holding of two special sessions of the General Assembly, despite the signature 20 years ago of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation—vertical and horizontal—of Nuclear Weapons, the nuclear arms race has continued and has indeed intensified.

6. Certainly some promising signs have emerged since the second special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, in 1982. For example, there has been the 1985 declaration by the two chief nuclear Powers according to which a nuclear war cannot be won and must not be fought. Likewise, and in an even more significant way, there has been the INF Treaty, which I have already hailed, the first true nuclear disarmament agreement. But despite these few partial results, overall the results remain unsatisfactory.

7. Senegal made its profession of faith when it signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], and it takes the view that the conclusion of an agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests would be an important step in this direction. Indeed, a treaty completely banning nuclear tests would bring an end to the quantitative and qualitative development of nuclear arsenals and would at the same time significantly strengthen the international non-proliferation régime.

8. Along this line of thinking, my country, which shares in the spirit that inspired the approach taken by the leaders of the "six nations of five continents", wishes to endorse their Mexico Declaration issued at Ixtapa in August 1986,¹ appealing for the cessation of nuclear tests as a matter of principle and of conviction. It is a matter of principle because it is not by increasing their capacity for destruction that States will be able to promote their security and the security of others—quite the contrary—and especially be-

cause that appeal is founded upon the principle of undiminished security for all States that possess nuclear weapons.

9. Since the existing stockpiles of weapons are more than enough to destroy the planet; since we have recognized that a nuclear war cannot be won and must not be fought, then the rationale for a complete cessation of nuclear tests becomes obvious, whether it is preceded or followed by a substantial reduction of existing arsenals. Indeed, it is only in this way that we can maintain the authority of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and its international régime at a time when those who seek to obtain nuclear weapons are proliferating around the world.

10. At the same time as the cessation of nuclear tests, the solution of the problem of negative security assurances—a problem to which we attach special importance—could clearly contribute to strengthening the non-proliferation régime. This is a problem of equity if ever there was one, because how can we explain, especially how can we accept, that States not possessing nuclear weapons, who by signing the Non-Proliferation Treaty have undertaken to refrain from seeking or possessing such weapons, still cannot obtain credible guarantees against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons.

11. Of course, in the Final Document adopted by the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament [*resolution S-10/2*] the international community as a whole recognized that this imperative was indispensable. Since that time it is also true that the General Assembly has consistently reaffirmed that so long as nuclear disarmament is not universal, non-nuclear-weapon States which do not have on their territory such weapons, have the absolute right to receive effective international legal guarantees, uniform and unconditional guarantees, against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. However, 10 years after that special session the only progress that has been achieved in this sphere resides in a few unilateral declarations by certain nuclear-weapon States, declarations that are hedged about with conditions, limitations and exceptions that restrict their essential thrust.

12. This situation is primarily the responsibility of the nuclear Powers, who must present to us at this special session new ideas in conformity with the ethic and logic of non-proliferation, in other words, ideas that are likely to provide us with the appropriate guarantees, in the form of binding commitments, that we seek.

13. This situation is of particular importance for African countries, since we are facing the nuclear threat which South Africa hangs over our entire continent.

14. There is no country in the world that does not consider the *apartheid* régime as criminal or that has not expressed its aversion to the totalitarian racist order built in South Africa. Everyone condemns the unleashing of aggressive violence through which the Pretoria régime maintains the countries in the region in a state of chronic instability. Everyone deplores the fact that in this way South Africa compels these countries to acquire the means to ensure their

security, to the detriment of development objectives and of economic progress. Yet, year after year, some of those same countries that ceaselessly condemn *apartheid* to soothe their consciences have established a network of carefully organized complicity that has enabled the South African racists to endow themselves with a sophisticated nuclear arsenal.

15. Year after year the reiterated appeal of African countries to bring an end to all nuclear co-operation with South Africa, at least until it submits its facilities to IAEA safeguards, has met a consistent response: we are told that we must distinguish between nuclear co-operation of a military character—and it has always been said that this does not exist—and peaceful co-operation, of which it has always been said that this must be allowed. As everyone knows, today, that policy of duplicity has enabled South Africa to equip itself with nuclear weapons.

16. Why should we be surprised when, in response to the appeals African countries have consistently addressed since 1964 to make Africa a nuclear-weapon-free zone, Pretoria has always turned a deaf ear the better to counteract the objectives of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa adopted in 1964 by the Organization of African Unity [OAU]?

17. If the security of Africa must thus be sacrificed on the altar of non-proliferation, if a régime such as that of Pretoria is to be allowed to possess nuclear weapons when that could have been avoided and can still be restricted, then those countries are quite right who consider that the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is a treaty for the disarmament of the disarmed that merely maintains the armaments and over-armament of some while maintaining the disarmament of others.

18. Calling for a stop to all nuclear co-operation with South Africa until it produces evidence and guarantees that its nuclear programme is not contrary to the purpose of the 1964 OAU Declaration is a minimal demand for Africa, one which the Security Council has indeed endorsed in adopting resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977. Responding to that requirement in the name of the commitments already undertaken is a responsibility that the nuclear Powers cannot shirk while they themselves continue to preach universal respect for non-proliferation.

19. If nuclear weapons merely represent a threat to the security of the world, there are, on the other hand, other weapons that give us evidence every day of their destructive capacity. Among them there are, first of all, chemical weapons. It has been clearly established that in recent years the use of chemical weapons in different conflict areas of the world has become more frequent than in other periods of the recent past. This is an alarming situation, in view of the facility with which it is possible today to possess such weapons, which have particularly harmful effects.

20. The extent of this trend has, most fortunately, led the international community to become aware of the gravity of the problem and the urgency of finding a solution. The work done in this connection by the

Conference on Disarmament in recent months in seeking to elaborate a convention on the prohibition of the development of chemical weapons and on their destruction deserves to be commended and encouraged. The General Assembly at the present session should, therefore, inscribe this issue among the priority items that the Conference on Disarmament should address as a matter of urgency, so that in the very near future a complete ban on the development, production, stockpiling, and use of all chemical weapons, and their destruction, should become a reality.

21. However, there are also the conventional weapons, as they are called, the very weapons which, while the international community was focusing its attention on the nuclear threat, have already caused more than 20 million deaths since 1945. Yet, despite the enormity of the ravages caused by these weapons since the Second World War, despite the fact that research in and development and transfer of weapons of this type swallow up more than 80 per cent of military expenditures in the world, the question of conventional disarmament is only an annex to the debate on the halting and the reversal of the arms race. The meagre results obtained at the multilateral level should, in our view, prompt us henceforth to focus the major part of our efforts on this issue at the regional level. In this respect, special emphasis should be given to the resolution of regional conflicts, which in Latin America, the Middle East and in southern Africa, especially, are creating enormous military expenditures.

22. Today, now that there is a climate of dialogue and agreement between the great Powers and now that this climate has made it possible to take some giant steps along the path of resolving one of these regional issues, the opportunity can and must be seized to progress towards the settlement of all regional conflicts and as a result to progress towards a reduction of the conventional arms race at the regional level. This could, in addition, open the way to the definition and the establishment of new measures likely to enhance confidence between States and the subsequent reduction of military budgets, which would be beneficial in dealing with the more urgent tasks of economic and social development.

23. The present weapons on Earth are already more than sufficient to destroy the planet, and extension of the arms race into outer space would make the survival of the human race even riskier. Besides adding to the insecurity of the world, such an extension of the arms race would destroy the vast prospects open to mankind as a result of man's conquest of space. My country wishes to reaffirm its conviction that it is in the general interest of the whole human race that space be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. For that reason we should like the Assembly at this session to give a clear mandate to the Conference on Disarmament for starting negotiations to define binding measures to prevent an arms race in outer space.

24. The gap that continues to widen between the rich and the poor countries represents a more urgent danger to mankind than the nuclear threat, because, while the nuclear threat can be controlled, the problem of that gap still escapes any approach to a

solution. The International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development reviewed all aspects of this question. It came to the conclusion that, in view of the limited resources available, mankind cannot continue the arms race at the present pace and at the same time resolve the development problems it faces. We shall have to choose. That this session should have inscribed on its agenda consideration of the relationship between disarmament and development in the light of the action programme adopted by the International Conference² is, from this point of view, a fact that gives us true cause for hope, because it should enable us to engage in more in-depth thinking about this issue, at least in one important direction, namely, the reduction of military budgets.

25. This issue is linked to the commitment taken by the International Conference to proceed to an assessment of the nature and volume of resources that could be released by the limitation of weapons and by disarmament measures. In this regard, we shall have to give thought to promotion of transparency in military budgets, a necessary prerequisite for their subsequent reduction.

26. Today in many countries of the world security is defined in terms of the minimum necessary for the survival of the individual. At the same time arms expenditures remain 30 times as great as the total of official development assistance. In the name of equity and in the name of the security of the world, which cannot be ensured without closing the gap separating the rich few from the destitute masses, it is time the political will were finally manifested to enable us to make progress in a field so vital for our collective future. By so doing, the Assembly at this session would set an important milestone in confronting the great challenges of our era—the challenges of peace, security and development.

27. I wish to conclude by commending the many non-governmental organizations present among us today. The complex and difficult undertaking of disarmament involves not only States; it involves all of us—individuals, mass organizations, political parties and private institutions. In this context, the non-governmental organizations deserve a special word of congratulation, since they have consistently shown their devoted militancy. The role they have played—and, we hope, will continue to play—in mobilizing public opinion in favour of disarmament, security and peace has been a determining factor throughout these years. The peace movements they promote have been healthy in more than one way, because they have greatly contributed to our Governments' increasing awareness of the stakes and the need to pursue dialogue and agreement.

28. I therefore invite them and all of us—States, individuals, private organizations and non-governmental organizations—to continue along these lines and to be in the vanguard of the fight for international peace and security. We can work together in terms of common objectives and through complementary actions to seek out ways to make further progress in our daily struggle to place the human genius exclusively in the service of peace and progress.

29. Mr. MLADENOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, may I cordially congratulate you and wish you success in the discharge of your responsible duties. Your election to your high post is further affirmation of the prestige of the German Democratic Republic and of its contribution to the cause of peace and disarmament. I should like also to congratulate the Secretary-General, whose indefatigable work in the field of security and mutual understanding we sincerely respect and wholeheartedly support.

30. For the third time in 10 years the States Members of the United Nations are gathered for a special session devoted to disarmament. The international community has always attached key importance to this problem. Today, however, disarmament has assumed decisively new dimensions in the face of the realities of our nuclear and space age.

31. We are all aware of what this is all about. Given the huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons, security can no longer be ensured by military means. A continued arms race leads logically to a nuclear catastrophe. The way out of this lies in a political solution, in the renunciation of these suicidal weapons, the demilitarization of international relations and the establishment of a peaceful and non-nuclear world.

32. The new political thinking responds to this urgent necessity. It is producing a real conceptual and psychological breakthrough and is awakening mankind's powers of self-preservation. The results achieved in this respect are indisputable. The present session is taking place in a changed atmosphere. The great truth about the world today lies in the growing understanding of peaceful coexistence not merely as a wish but as an objective necessity as well. As Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has said, we all realize better now our dependency upon one another and feel that we are living in an interdependent world and are all inseparable parts of one modern civilization.

33. Indisputably, the Soviet-American dialogue has given an extremely important impetus to those positive changes. The Bulgarian Government welcomes this as a major demonstration of political wisdom and responsibility.

34. An event of major historic significance is the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, which was ratified several days ago. The treaty eliminates two classes of the most up-to-date weapons, which truly reduces the intensity of military-strategic confrontation. From a political viewpoint, international tensions are visibly decreasing, suspicion is dissipating, and mutual confidence is being strengthened. The world is becoming convinced of the possibility of successfully resolving even the most complicated contradictions in the sphere of the military-political security of States.

35. The latest Moscow agreements have also played an important consolidating role. The Moscow summit made a most important contribution to elaborating a general and principled approach to the problem of disarmament. It revealed the enormous potential

of realism in international politics. As the President of the Council of State of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, indicated in his message to the current session:

"The results of the Moscow talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan have once again confirmed the truth that . . . even the greatest obstacles and prejudices can be overcome through common sense and good will. The new political thinking is further gaining ground in inter-State relations and concern for universal values is increasingly getting the upper hand over narrowly defined class and national interests." [See A/S-15/24, annex.]

36. The specific steps now being undertaken for real disarmament convincingly reaffirm the correctness of the concept of security through disarmament, the basis of which was laid down in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. Sober-minded forces in all countries and continents and the States belonging to the two major military-political alliances, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Six-Nation Initiative have been involved in reaching this turning-point and have united millions of people all over the world in the struggle against the nuclear threat.

37. We view the current session as the most representative forum of States dealing with the entire range of disarmament issues. We hope that it will generate even more constructive ideas for achieving progress in this area. There is an urgent necessity to identify practical ways and means of doing away with military-force structures and strengthening the foundations for world peace and security. That is why we hope that the Assembly at this session will adopt a meaningful document which adequately reflects the imperatives of our time.

38. We are confident that the proposal to establish a comprehensive system of international peace and security within the United Nations framework constitutes a broad and at the same time flexible platform for the restructuring of international relations on a peaceful, humane and democratic basis.

39. Naturally, we are aware of the existence of real sources of military threat. The negative strong-arm stereotypes have a great momentum of their own. It is necessary for all countries to refrain from any acts that would impede the process of disarmament.

40. In our view, it would be useful if the session were to try to formulate the principle of the inadmissibility of attempts to gain military advantages under the pretext of compensation and modernization. Security and stability cannot be achieved if disarmament proceeds in one geographic part of the world while the arms race escalates in another.

41. The Achilles' heel of détente and disarmament efforts in past years has been precisely the failure to make the peace process irreversible. We have to concert our efforts now in order to render it continuous and stable. This is a task for all States, great and small, nuclear and non-nuclear alike.

42. The past teaches many lessons. We all have something to learn from history, and no one is

immune from mistakes. Everyone has to travel his portion of the road leading to a mutually acceptable solution of those problems that still divide our small world. If we do not wish to repeat past mistakes, dialogue must be expanded and deepened. It should not be cemented in a bilateral or regional context alone. In this connection it would be of little use to indulge in any unwarranted procrastination, the "numbers game", pointless clamour about secondary issues or just the semblance of disarmament efforts. And it would be completely detrimental to calculate, if anyone still does so, that only certain countries have a stake in disarmament while the rest enjoy the "privilege" of imposing conditions or of being passive onlookers.

43. I believe that my colleague, Mr. Genscher, was absolutely right when he recently emphasized that we need a genuine peace offensive against prejudice, arrogance and frivolity.

44. As is known, the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty held a session at Sofia at the end of March 1988, where a number of ideas were developed setting forth in concrete terms our views concerning the basic aspects of security and disarmament in Europe and throughout the world. In their appeal concerning these issues addressed to all States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Foreign Ministers expressed confidence that, along with the entry into force of the INF Treaty, it would be particularly important to reach agreement on a 50 per cent reduction of the strategic offensive weapons of the Soviet Union and the United States while strictly complying with the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems—the ABM Treaty.³ If we complete what has already been started in this direction, this would create an overall atmosphere to help us resolve successfully the set of problems of disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament.

45. Establishing lasting peace through disarmament requires an approach genuinely based on principle on the part of all participants in international relations. If we are to achieve significant results, States will have to be guided by a completely new approach to the nuclear factor rather than by the outdated theory of "deterrence". This is dictated by the global concern of us all to eliminate not only the impending nuclear threat but also the very possibility of the destruction of mankind. Such an approach, which is the only salutary one, calls for concerted efforts on the part of all nuclear Powers aimed at the step-by-step and, in the final analysis, complete elimination of this most terrifying weapon of mass destruction.

46. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is of the view that, even before a complete consensus on military-strategic philosophy is reached, an important stabilizing role could be played by a conference of the five nuclear Powers to consider and adopt principles regarding their relations which would be aimed at virtually excluding the likelihood of an outbreak of a nuclear war.

47. An indispensable element in world peace and security must be the prevention of an arms race in outer space. This is a matter of priority for the entire

international community. It entails the conclusion of agreements to ban space strike weapons, prohibit anti-satellite systems and ensure the non-violability of space objects. It will also be necessary to establish an international control system in order to avoid the deployment of any weapons in outer space. As a country actively involved in the exploration of outer space and whose second cosmonaut has been orbiting the Earth for four days now, Bulgaria has every reason to be concerned about preserving outer space exclusively for peaceful activities and co-operation among States.

48. The issue of the cessation of nuclear-weapon tests is a kind of barometer measuring the climate of disarmament and the correlation among the various trends and interests which subsist in this matter. Our position in this area is well known; we have consistently advocated a general and complete nuclear-weapon-test ban. We welcome the position taken by the Soviet Union and the United States at their Moscow summit and view it as part of a stage-by-stage approach to the accomplishment of the final goal. The conclusion of an agreement between the two countries to reduce the number of tests to the barest minimum would be an encouraging manifestation of their readiness to move unswervingly along the road to disarmament.

49. The current session could make a particularly important contribution to the early conclusion of a convention on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons. At the end of 1987, my country called upon the other members of the Conference on Disarmament to display political will and to intensify work on the technical drafting of this document. In spite of continuing differences, we consider that these difficulties are surmountable. In so far as Bulgaria is concerned, my country recently stated that it does not possess chemical weapons in any form whatever and that it is ready to work for the finalization of a convention as soon as possible.

50. The situation in Europe is an important aspect of the global problem of removing the danger of war. The reduction of armed forces and armaments, whose concentration there is the world's largest, has been an urgent matter for many years. This concerns the opposing armies deploying millions of men, tens of thousands of modern tanks and warplanes, artillery and missile systems, naval armadas and thousands of nuclear warheads.

51. We call for the earliest consensus on the mandate for negotiations for cutting armed forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals. We want these negotiations to be businesslike and to achieve, without delay, substantial reductions. To this end the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty have proposed the exchange of data as soon as possible on the armed forces and on conventional weapons, on the basis of which we could begin real disarmament by eliminating as a first step existing asymmetries and imbalances. Time and again the lack of clarity about the intentions of the other side has been presented as an unfavourable factor. In order to strengthen existing confidence, we deem it advisable to compare the military doctrines of the two alliances and to impart a strictly defensive character to those doctrines.

52. The approach of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to European security contemplates the development and expansion of existing confidence-building measures, while also elaborating a new generation of measures in this field. It must be noted, in particular, that the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction affects in a most pernicious way the psychological and strategic situation in all regions and, indeed, throughout the world. Our initiatives with respect to the Balkans, including those for transforming the region into a nuclear-free zone, have met with a positive international response. The joint Bulgarian-Romanian proposal to establish in the Balkans a zone free from chemical weapons as a step towards the comprehensive elimination and destruction of such weapons is also well known.

53. At the meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Balkan States held at Belgrade in February, Bulgaria proposed a number of new steps towards military détente. In fact, nearly all the participants in the meeting put forward useful initiatives aimed at improving the political climate in that region, which in the past was known as the "powder keg of Europe".

54. Another important problem is the limitation of naval activities. That is why the socialist countries have proposed the opening of negotiations with the participation of the major naval Powers, especially those that possess nuclear weapons, as well as other interested countries. Should the Assembly at this session arrive at a more specific position on this matter, it would thus bring to the attention of the international community another dangerous sphere of the arms race which has a global destabilizing effect.

55. We reaffirm our conviction that military confrontation could be significantly reduced if military bases in foreign territories were dismantled and foreign forces withdrawn from the territory of the States where they are now deployed.

56. A stage-by-stage, complex and multifaceted approach to disarmament implies a new attitude with regard to verification. We consider that in order to reach agreements in the priority areas of disarmament, it would be of special significance to ensure openness and predictability in the military sphere. A unified verification system would be needed to that end. It must be comprehensive and it must contain reliable guarantees for an equal degree of security and for unity of words and actions. It must also strengthen the moral element in relations among the partners.

57. The current session should pay due attention to implementing the recommendations of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development. The decisions of the Conference undoubtedly provide a good basis for the elaboration of a general approach to this question. What is needed now is to reach agreement on concrete practical measures in this area. The consideration of this issue at the highest level in the Security Council would be a significant and timely step towards the solution of this exceedingly important problem of international security.

58. Everything is in the hands of people, in the hands of mankind. We attach particular importance to the mobilization of world public opinion on behalf of disarmament. The evolution of international relations towards a decisively new stage cannot be carried out solely "from above". It would be unthinkable without the support of the most broad-based social forces in all their variety and diversity and the encouragement of mankind's search for peaceful ways and solutions. The World Disarmament Campaign, one of the most noble initiatives of the United Nations, plays a substantial role in this respect. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has made a modest contribution to the Campaign since its inception and will continue to work for the realization of its goals.

59. The stage which has now been reached in the problem of disarmament places increased demands upon the existing machinery for the consideration and resolution of this problem. This is especially true with regard to the Conference on Disarmament. Guided by their wish to enhance the effectiveness of that Geneva forum, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty adopted a document⁴ in October 1987 which, in our opinion, contains realistic and timely recommendations. We stand ready to consider other views and proposals which pursue the same objective.

60. On all these and other topical and priority aspects of disarmament, the position of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is set forth in the memorandum of the Warsaw Treaty countries entitled "Security through Disarmament" [A/S-15/26, *annex*], which has been submitted to the current session. We hope that this document will contribute to the further elucidation and convergence of positions and to the identification of common ground on these most burning problems which affect the hearts and minds of contemporary mankind.

61. The most vivid impression that we will take back home with us has come from the common desire of States to make a breakthrough towards real disarmament. This desire is embodied in the numerous valuable proposals and ideas expressed by the representatives of countries with different social systems. They provide an ample basis for reflection and practical conclusions, because their common denominator is the supreme human interest in the maintenance of peace and the survival of mankind.

62. The current session now has an opportunity to enrich the intellectual climate in which we deal with the important issues of peace and disarmament. It is in a position to create global political conditions conducive to the dismantling of the huge military machine which has been building up for so many decades. The nations expect that this session will provide an even more reliable channel for conducting a disarmament dialogue and will indeed impart a new powerful impulse to it.

63. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like to congratulate you warmly, Mr. President, on your election to the presidency of the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. I sincerely wish you every success in your work.

64. The third special session of the General Assembly on disarmament is taking place at a remarkable and promising juncture. Its work coincides in time with a historic watershed which will be a starting point for the chronology of a real disarmament process. This event will be inscribed in history by a thankful mankind in letters of gold.

65. The Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles—the INF Treaty—has become the first tender shoot of nuclear disarmament, which has burst through the thick layers of prejudices and stereotypes of enmity. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR shares the view of the Secretary-General that

“that agreement, which has been hailed universally, is a major achievement in its own right. But it also possesses great potential beyond its specific terms. The INF Treaty shows that sensible arms limitation agreements are achievable through patient and careful negotiations.”

66. The elaboration of the treaty is instructive. It creates a sort of initial infrastructure for disarmament; it is related to the development of various instruments, forms, methods and machinery for verification, without which this process cannot evolve further.

67. I should like to stress yet another fact. Although it was concluded between the two States, the Soviet Union and the United States, the treaty, we firmly believe, can rightly be regarded as a joint creation of the intellect and collective will of the entire world community. The United Nations has made a contribution of its own to the INF agreement. The concept of security through disarmament, put forward at the first General Assembly special session on disarmament, has proved its viability and has evolved into an important political guideline which can help mankind ensure its survival and create a reliable system of peace and security for all.

68. These days the world community continues to focus attention on the results of the recent summit meeting between the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gorbachev, and the President of the United States, Mr. Reagan. A new major step has been taken along the difficult but the only correct road towards a nuclear-free and non-violent world, the removal of the threat of war, the consolidation of trust and the promotion of mutually beneficial co-operation of all States.

69. The outcome of the summit meeting reaffirms that it is realistic to proceed with nuclear disarmament as initiated by the INF agreement. There is a stronger realization of the fact that it is only further agreements on a substantial reduction in strategic offensive arms, prevention of the introduction of weapons into outer space, prohibition of chemical weapons, cessation of nuclear testing and reductions in armed forces and conventional arms that can make this incipient process irreversible.

70. A top-priority goal is to implement as soon as possible an agreement on a 50 per cent reduction in the strategic offensive arms of the Soviet Union and

the United States while complying with the Anti-Ballistics-Missile Treaty.³ A final effort is necessary to clear the last remaining obstacles to that agreement. Speaking at a press conference in Moscow, General Secretary Gorbachev stated that a treaty on strategic offensive armaments could be concluded even this year “if the present Administration, indeed both sides, work effectively”. We believe that such a view of the urgent tasks at the present stage of world development is fully in keeping with the intent of the third General Assembly special session on disarmament.

71. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR is pinning high hopes on the special session becoming an important landmark in internationalizing the disarmament process, consolidating the consensus which is taking shape on the crucial issues of international security in the political and military spheres and giving an additional impetus to multilateral disarmament mechanisms. It is important for each member of the international community to bear its own share of responsibility for the destiny of the world in order to ensure in practice a situation in which bilateral and multilateral disarmament processes would complement and reinforce each other.

72. Nuclear disarmament is undoubtedly the most crucial area of multilateral efforts. That idea was expressed in no uncertain terms in the Final Document of the first special session on disarmament. Today it has lost none of its urgency and, what is more, has acquired the character of a political imperative. Indeed, nuclear disarmament issues cannot be fully resolved only on the level of the Soviet Union and the United States. Universal issues which affect the interests of all States without exception call for the efforts of the entire world community.

73. The Ukrainian SSR regards the United Nations as the most democratic international forum for tackling the problems of disarmament and putting into effect the idea of a nuclear-weapons-free world. We are convinced that it is high time to ensure a more active involvement in the process by the Security Council, which under the Charter is charged with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. In this connection, the Ukrainian SSR supports the proposal to initiate a multilateral exchange of views among all the nuclear Powers within the framework of the Council with a view to finding points of contact in their approaches to possible ways and means of abolishing nuclear weapons. The Security Council can and must play an important part in working out specific measures conducive to ridding the world of nuclear weaponry.

74. A major role in nuclear disarmament matters belongs to the Conference on Disarmament. The stagnation in its work in this crucial area is becoming simply inexplicable. In our view, it is time that the Conference set about practical discussions on the substance of possible measures for multilateral negotiations in the field of nuclear disarmament.

75. If, all together, we are to come to grips with nuclear disarmament, it is essential to overcome the dangerous commitment to the “nuclear intimidation” tenet which is being cultivated today under the

guise of the "nuclear deterrence" philosophy. Those who are wedded to the positions which prevailed before the Reykjavik summit and the Washington and Moscow agreements are apparently more frightened by the thought of discarding the "nuclear umbrella" than by the probability of its conversion into the grave-digger of world civilization.

76. We are confident that nuclear intimidation, which advocates strength and exclusivity, is the very antipodes of democracy and humanism. The age-old desire of people for a future that is worthy of the human being and the right of every person to participate in the resolution of vital issues are incompatible with the cult of the nuclear sword of Damocles, with all mankind as its direct hostage. It is imperative to give up once and for all cold-war stereotypes, to set international relations on the track of confidence and openness and to restructure armed forces and military doctrines on the basis of the principles of defensive strategy and reasonable sufficiency.

77. In the efforts to eradicate the arms race in the nuclear field, it is essential to erect a reliable barrier, as has been demanded by the world community, in order to prevent that race from moving into outer space. The key to the resolution of this issue is strict compliance with the existing international agreements and, above all, the preservation of the ABM Treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States.

78. Those who advocate the strategic defence initiative [SDI] try to present things as if it would be possible to draft agreements in the area of nuclear disarmament, including strategic offensive weapons, without regard to its interrelationship with the ABM Treaty. Some of them figure that, once it becomes possible to put SDI in place, the ABM Treaty, which forms the cornerstone of strategic stability, can be discarded. Such designs are hampering the attainment of agreements on strategic offensive arms. Like many other States Members of the United Nations, the Ukrainian SSR is firmly against adding a qualitatively new spiral to the arms race under the pretext of launching a "space shield", now that the disarmament process has taken tangible shape.

79. In our view, the main thing now is to work out an agreement that would commit the Soviet Union and the United States, in the process of conducting research and development and, if necessary, testing permitted by the ABM Treaty, to abide by that treaty exactly as it was signed in 1972. There are no insurmountable obstacles to resolving this crucial issue. It is essential not to lose the momentum, to act consistently and constructively and to move forward step by step in the quest for mutually acceptable solutions on the basis of maintaining strategic parity at the lowest possible level.

80. In our view, the potential of multilateral forums, primarily the Conference on Disarmament, has not yet been fully exploited in the efforts to prevent an arms race in outer space. In practical terms, the Conference could proceed forthwith to working out an agreement on establishing an international verification system to prevent the deployment of weapons of any kind in outer space. It is well

known that specific proposals to that effect were submitted at the Conference. Pride of place in such a verification system belongs to an international space inspectorate that would have access to any objects to be launched and located in outer space.

81. It is incumbent upon the General Assembly to express itself in no uncertain terms in favour of reviving the Conference's efforts in this area. It is only by rendering its work more concrete that this major negotiating body will be able to make a substantial contribution towards fulfilling the behest of the international community to keep outer space peaceful.

82. The prohibition of nuclear tests holds a special place in the range of nuclear disarmament issues. It is well known that full-scale Soviet-United States negotiations on that subject were started late last year. An agreement in that regard states that as a first step the two sides will work out an effective verification mechanism that will make it possible to ratify the 1974 and 1976 "threshold" treaties and will proceed to negotiate further intermediate limitations on the yield and number of nuclear tests, pursuing the ultimate goal of a complete cessation of such tests. That is the intent of the Soviet-United States joint verification experiment agreement signed at the Moscow summit.

83. What I have just said is also of fundamental importance from the standpoint of galvanizing multilateral efforts made by the Conference on Disarmament in this area, for in the final analysis only a multilateral treaty on the complete and general prohibition of experiments with nuclear weapons can reliably seal the nuclear proving grounds. A joint document submitted last year by the socialist countries on basic provisions for a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests could form an excellent basis for such work. There are also constructive proposals by other countries.

84. In this connection it is to be regretted that the Conference on Disarmament has been all but marking time in this important area. We believe that multilateral efforts within the framework of the Conference and the Soviet-United States negotiations should run in parallel, mutually enriching each other and leading to a positive outcome.

85. Like many other countries, the Ukrainian SSR expects this session to take a firm stand in favour of completing the elaboration of a convention banning chemical weapons. It is time for the Conference on Disarmament to reassert its ability to conduct productive negotiations. The Ukrainian SSR intends to press firmly for a ban on all types of chemical weapons and for their total destruction within the framework of a future convention. We could not accept a situation in which several types of chemical weapons, for instance binary weapons, were exempt from the ban.

86. Finalizing agreement on verification provisions is one of the major tasks. We support the position of those countries which feel that the convention should provide for mandatory inspections on challenge without the right of refusal.

87. Of increasing relevance is the factor of openness and mutually shared information. Mindful of this, the Soviet Union submitted for consideration by the Conference on Disarmament in February 1988 a memorandum on a multilateral data exchange in connection with the elaboration of a convention on the complete and general prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons.⁵ Among other things, the memorandum called for the States participating in the negotiations to agree on a voluntary basis to designating one facility for each country where procedures for systematic international verification of commercial non-production of chemical weapons could be tested. It is the view of the Ukrainian SSR delegation that the implementation of such measures could mark a genuine step towards the early conclusion of the convention.

88. We reaffirm our support for the initiatives put forward by the German Democratic Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Romania to establish in Central Europe and the Balkans chemical-weapon-free zones, a move that would contribute to the attainment of the aforementioned objectives.

89. Bearing in mind that the negotiations on a chemical weapons ban have reached a decisive phase, we urge the General Assembly to reaffirm the principle of the complete and general prohibition of chemical weapons and also the elimination of all facilities for their production.

90. While seeking genuine security through disarmament, it is essential to carry out prompt negotiated reductions of conventional armaments and armed forces along with the elimination of weapons of mass destruction. This is of special relevance for Europe, where a military confrontation between the armed forces of the States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] and the Warsaw Treaty States would be most direct and hence particularly dangerous.

91. It is our firm conviction that instead of supplementary arming and "compensations", the security of Europe requires that we follow a directly opposite path, namely that we reduce military capacities to the lowest possible level to bring them in line with what would be sufficient for non-offensive defence and eliminate asymmetries through reductions on the part of the side that has an edge in a given type of arms.

92. The time is at hand to break the deadlock on the issue of conventional arms reductions in Europe. The Ukrainian SSR favours the early completion of work to agree on a mandate for negotiations on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals and the commencement of such negotiations before the end of the current year. This goal could be facilitated by an early exchange of data on the Warsaw Treaty and NATO armed forces and conventional armaments.

93. Basically, the socialist countries are quite clear on this issue. They call for an end to the division of Europe into opposing military blocs and, as a first step, the dismantling of their military organizations.

94. It is high time we addressed the issue of removing all military bases from foreign territories and bringing home the troops. We hope that the current session will pay due attention to this pressing issue.

95. The international community is legitimately concerned over the state of naval activity. Universal security will continue unattainable as long as the oceans remain over-saturated with the means of destruction and the arms race at sea continues unchecked.

96. The documents adopted by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty at their Sofia meeting indicate as a priority task the commencement of talks to curtail and ban naval activities in agreed areas, to limit and reduce naval weapons and to extend confidence-building measures to seas and oceans in order to ensure safety and freedom of navigation.

97. We view as highly promising the regional approach to limiting the race in naval arms. The international community is well aware of several specific Soviet proposals relating to the Mediterranean and to the Asian-Pacific region. A programme for strengthening security and co-operation in northern Europe and the Arctic put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Murmansk also contains a set of broad-based initiatives dealing with the same subject.

98. Also worthy of our attention are proposals made by Sweden, Indonesia and several other countries designed to place on the negotiating agenda the problem of reducing naval activity. The task of lowering the level of naval confrontation also calls for prompt action.

99. In today's interrelated and interdependent world, disarmament cannot be separated from development. There is a growing awareness in the international community that in addition to undermining universal security, the arms race increases the economic backwardness of entire regions and diverts huge material and intellectual resources from the effort to address pressing socio-economic problems. The Ukrainian SSR fully supports the recommendations of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, which demonstrated the determination of an overwhelming majority of States to channel scientific and technological progress exclusively towards creative purposes, including rendering assistance to developing countries as of the utmost importance.

100. It is our view that this session should actively promote the results of that Conference and the follow-up efforts to implement them. In this connection we are convinced that the proposal to set up an international disarmament for development fund within the United Nations must be implemented. The initiative calling for a review of the entire set of disarmament and development problems at a special meeting of the member States of the Security Council at the highest level of representation remains equally relevant.

101. The establishment, under the aegis of the United Nations, of a comprehensive mechanism for

international verification of compliance with agreements aimed at easing international tension and limiting arms and the monitoring of the military situation in conflict areas would contribute to an enhanced United Nations role in the area of disarmament and to stronger global security. That would make it possible to develop an objective perception of ongoing events and to take measures to prevent armed conflicts. Granting international inspectors access to military bases situated in foreign territories could also have major implications in terms of assuring absolute certainty that disarmament agreements were being strictly complied with.

102. It is our ardent hope that this session will result in a further development and expansion of the ongoing United Nations dialogue on ways of assuring comprehensive international peace and security. We must see to it that a joint search for ways and means of concretizing that concept is carried out on the basis of a balance of interests for all groups of Member States.

103. The Soviet position, set forth in the address of the Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze [12th meeting], serves to reflect in convincing terms the Soviet Union's constructive approach, its determination to take disarmament measures as sweeping and radical as its negotiating partners would be prepared to accept, without jeopardizing the security of any country or damaging the legitimate interests of other States. His statement contains a set of new, important and concrete proposals designed to make disarmament a continuous, steadily ascending and expanding process. The Ukrainian delegation urges the General Assembly to support those initiatives.

104. The sweeping tasks facing this third special session on disarmament call for more vigorous involvement of broad sectors of the public and political circles of different countries in the cause of disarmament and also for intensified efforts by parliamentarians and non-governmental organizations in order to ensure a nuclear-free future. In this connection we note the positive impact of the World Disarmament Campaign sponsored by the United Nations, and we intend to contribute in every way possible to the realization of its noble objectives.

105. The Ukrainian SSR shares the view of most countries that this special session should crown its work with the adoption of a substantive final document. Besides defining the basic guidelines for a nuclear-free and safe world, that document should outline specific avenues leading to such a world. The document should be based on the existing United Nations decision-by-consensus mechanism and also on the Final Document of the first special session on disarmament. For us, consensus is not just a technicality but is indeed a fundamental principle designed to ensure a platform for joint action both during the special session and in the course of subsequent negotiations on concrete steps to reduce and eliminate weapons, including the shaping of an appropriate political climate based on trust, understanding, *glasnost*, openness and predictability in international affairs.

106. The successful conclusion of this session will depend largely on how far the participating States

will be prepared to go in pursuing a non-confrontational, businesslike approach and in being receptive to new ideas and proposals, irrespective of their authorship. For its part, the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, expressing the will of the Ukrainian people, has every intention of working to that end. As emphasized by Vladimir Shcherbitsky, a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine: "We stand for an honest and open foreign policy, mutual respect, a balance of interests and equal security for all States."

107. Today, time has become an especially priceless asset. There can be no returning to the past in order to make some corrections or changes. It is only the present and the future, our common future, that can be changed. It is our hope that the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament will make its contribution to shaping that future, a future worthy of our civilization.

108. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like first to express to you, Sir, my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you presiding over this third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. Your abilities were amply demonstrated in the Assembly's forty-second session. We are confident that under your guidance this special session will culminate in results equal to the hopes and expectations of a mankind thirsting ever more for peace and development.

109. Less than a year ago, in this same Hall, at the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, we expressed the hope we share with the dispossessed of the world—the great majority of the community of nations—with regard to the need to achieve a just and stable peace based on respect for international law and the security of all nations on Earth on an equal footing and in no way based on policies of pressure and domination, the unprecedented accumulation of weapons of mass destruction and the exploitation of the weak by the powerful as a consequence of the prevailing unjust international order.

110. On that occasion we stated that security was a supreme priority for any Government and that there existed a close interrelationship between security, disarmament, development and peace, it being very difficult for peace to be definitive when there is no adequate blend of the other two elements. There can be no peace without the levels of confidence that guarantee security, and security is strengthened through the application of egalitarian development and general disarmament, security being in turn a fundamental prerequisite of these processes. A basic requirement for all of the foregoing is the elimination of policies of intimidation and force in international relations through unqualified respect for the international legal order and the right of self-determination, independence and national sovereignty.

111. Today our thinking of nearly a year ago remains merely a hope. We are facing an internation-

al situation characterized by negative signs, one in which the most important and urgent task continues to be the elimination of the possibility of a nuclear disaster, one in which we can never forget the unprecedented danger implicit in the use of other weapons of mass destruction and the growing accumulation of conventional weapons which increase the levels of poverty among our peoples.

112. A decade after the Assembly held its first special session on disarmament, the agreement on intermediate-range nuclear weapons ratified by the two super-Powers in Moscow is another hopeful sign.

113. The talks between the President of the United States and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at the recent Moscow summit meeting should continue at different levels in order to promote the negotiations on the agreement for a 50 per cent reduction in strategic nuclear weapons, to prevent the arms race in outer space and to bring about a definitive end to all nuclear tests.

114. The final objective continues to be general and complete disarmament in the framework of a comprehensive programme of disarmament such as that contained in the Final Document of the first special session. Similarly, the disarmament priorities laid down in that document continue to enjoy full validity. Accordingly, this third special session is really only a continuation of the process that began in 1978. We hope that it will serve to overcome the obstacles which have thus far prevented the implementation of the Programme of Action adopted at the first special session [*resolution S-10/2, sect. III*].

115. As regards the prevention of the arms race in outer space, we must firmly reiterate our opposition to the militarization of space, which would lead to the unleashing of a new escalation in the arms race, with unforeseeable consequences.

116. The Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems³ and the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies [*resolution 2222 (XXI), annex*], should be respected. At the same time, it is necessary for the Conference on Disarmament to begin serious negotiations on this issue with the aim of prohibiting the testing, development and deployment of all anti-ballistic missiles and of eliminating existing ones. As the common heritage of all mankind, outer space should remain free of militarization measures and should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

117. We must firmly support the efforts put forth in the Conference on Disarmament to conclude a treaty prohibiting the development, production, stockpiling, acquisition, possession, transfer and use of chemical weapons. It is our hope that in the near future it will be possible to conclude a treaty which, by including an effective system of verification, will make it possible to banish that category of weapons of mass destruction from our planet for ever.

118. Conventional disarmament must be reached concomitantly with nuclear disarmament. Isolated conventional disarmament would obviously perpetu-

ate the existing imbalances in the security of States and would favour those which possess the largest nuclear arsenals. Given the existing relationship between conventional disarmament and specific regional or subregional situations, it is of vital importance that that process, although it falls within the prospect of general and complete disarmament, should be based on "full respect for the principles of non-intervention, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the peaceful solution of disputes in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations", as stated at the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare in September 1986.⁶

119. In recent years policies of force have sought to relegate multilateral negotiating forums to a secondary position. The grave problems faced by mankind today require consensus and commitment on the part of all. Through financial blackmail these policies have led even this Organization to the brink of collapse. The stated objectives in the sphere of disarmament are impossible to achieve without a reactivation of the role of the United Nations, which has a primary and central responsibility in these matters. The Conference on Disarmament, the sole negotiating forum in the sphere of disarmament, has been thwarted through the abuse of its procedures by some of its members. The effort to achieve greater participation by all countries in the issues which affect the fate of all mankind, and which consequently cannot be left only in the hands of those who have a monopoly on nuclear weapons, must necessarily involve reforms in the negotiating forums that are felt to be necessary.

120. Accordingly, we consider that the special ministerial meeting devoted to disarmament of the Coordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 26 to 30 May, is a significant contribution by the countries of the third world, which, once again strengthening our unity in diversity, have jointly endeavoured to make a contribution to this Assembly in full awareness of the fact that problems of disarmament are not the exclusive preserve of the nuclear-weapon countries but affect us all equally. Accordingly, we the members of the Non-Aligned Movement reaffirm our decision to play an active role in the community of nations in order to safeguard the fate of humankind by pooling our efforts to prevent a nuclear holocaust.

121. There is an outcry in the international community for general and complete disarmament. It is joined by that of peoples like those of Nicaragua who advocate the cessation of policies of intervention and interference, of aggression and occupation, which oblige them to arm themselves in order to defend their dignity and their inalienable rights. We need peace if we are to develop and attain higher living standards, but peace cannot exist when there is no regard for the fundamental rights of nations, when sovereignty and territorial integrity are threatened and when interventionism thwarts the free self-determination of our peoples. That is why we call for a more secure and just world as well as for disarmament, a world in which the strictest respect for the international legal order will serve as the guarantee in international relations. That is why we call for a world marked by more just economic relations, one

in which the astronomical amounts that the powerful invest in their unrestrained search for a balance of terror can be reallocated to the reconstruction of our devastated economies and to the alleviation of the hunger and poverty our peoples are suffering.

122. Central America is a dramatic example of the interventionism of a super-Power bent on continuing to view that region as its own backyard, converting it into one of the principal focal points of conflict in the world.

123. In the face of the aggression that it is suffering, Nicaragua has been obliged to give priority to the defence of the sacred principles of independence, sovereignty and self-determination, while at the same time sparing no effort to achieve peace and to seek out mechanisms for a political solution to the Central American conflict. At present we are the only country where, despite United States pressures, the Esquipulas II agreements of 7 August 1987⁷ continue to be complied with. These efforts by Nicaragua have been accompanied by a new Latin American awareness forged in this crisis. Contadora and later the Support Group signified not only a defence of universal principles and a barrier against aggression, but also the beginnings of a process of concerted action around the fundamental interests of Latin American unity.

124. The Esquipulas agreements have provided yet another demonstration of peaceful intent and desire for dialogue, accompanied by a firm conviction in the principles of non-alignment, that characterize our revolution. This is not simply a rhetorical statement but is a dramatic reality, sealed with the blood of the Nicaraguan people.

125. In fulfilment of the Esquipulas agreements the Government of Nicaragua at present is immersed in the difficult process of achieving a definitive cease-fire with the irregular forces created and maintained by the United States Government. The peace process begun in Sapoá, which contemplates talks with the counter-revolution for the establishment of a definitive cease-fire, has continued to move forward despite the lack of will and the many obstacles raised by sectors bent on continuing the war of aggression against the people of Nicaragua. The marked internal divisions within the counter-revolution and the pressures of the United States Government challenge the capacity and will of those who, like ourselves, understand the uselessness of a war that has cost tens of thousands of victims and are seeking a peaceful way out that will lead us to lay down our weapons, disarm and resume peaceful life in Nicaragua with the irregular forces.

126. The Government of Nicaragua is firmly committed to that peace process, confident that its maturity, flexibility and capacity for negotiation will overcome the intransigence of those who have made war a lucrative business. Today, after five rounds of negotiations, and having reached agreement on 20 of the 32 points contained in our Government's proposal, we are facing serious problems that endanger the negotiating process and the achievement of peace. We cannot say that these are new problems or different situations that are arising virtually at the end of the process, after the many achievements

gained because of my Government's dedication to peace. On the contrary, they are rooted in the long-standing intransigence of the present United States Administration, which continues desperately to attempt to ensure that positions of force will prevail over the aspirations of Nicaraguans in particular for peace and development and the aspirations of Central Americans in general.

127. Accordingly, we cannot understand, in terms of political logic and of the new winds of détente that can be felt between the great Powers, why Mr. Reagan and his hawks continue to pressure their mercenaries not to sign any agreement and to persist with their terroristic practices, which are bathing our people in blood, bleeding our economies and endangering peace in Central America. Fortunately, the dreams of imperial grandeur, which have served only to worsen interregional relations, are fading away. Reagan will soon be a part of history, the underside of the history of this great nation. Contrary to the teachings that the founding fathers bequeathed to the American people, his years in the presidency will be remembered in Latin America and the Caribbean as years marked by the law of the jungle, the rule of brute force over reason and the growing deterioration of interregional relations.

128. I do not wish to conclude without making an appeal to the present Government of the United States and its mercenary forces to act in a spirit of responsibility and make it possible to continue the negotiating process that may in the near future make it possible to reintegrate those forces fully into our national life, making a reality of our democratic plans and national reconciliation, which are based on the full exercise of political pluralism, a mixed economy and non-alignment.

129. Similarly, we wish to remind brother Governments and peoples of Central America of the need to do away with mere rhetoric, paternalistic attitudes and positions of apparent superiority, bearing in mind that the Esquipulas agreements commit and bind all of us alike.

130. Mr. GYI (Burma): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to express the pleasure of the delegation of the Burma in seeing you preside over this special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. Your outstanding personal qualities and experience, which you have so amply displayed during the Assembly's forty-second session, provide the best assurances for the positive outcome of our deliberations.

Mr. Mahbubani (Singapore), Vice-President, took the Chair.

131. In the search for international peace and security, there is a compelling need for nations, particularly those with special responsibilities, to uphold the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The Charter was conceived in the pre-nuclear age. Yet the foremost issue that the Organization faced immediately after its inception was the threat posed by nuclear weapons. That fateful advent in the course of human history has changed the notion of security, and the avoidance of war has become synonymous with survival. As the twentieth

century draws to a close, the problems of global concern that nations collectively face have become enormously complex and numerous, and the search for solutions have also become urgent and compelling.

132. The search for security through disarmament has been at the forefront of the international agenda from the time the first decision of the United Nations was made. From that time onwards, the ultimate objectives have been general and complete disarmament under effective control and the elimination of nuclear weapons. Today these goals have become more urgent than ever, as efforts on disarmament have not been able to keep pace with the spiralling of the arms race, as new systems of weapons are deployed, made possible by the advancement of technology and the espousal of certain doctrines. At the same time, it is encouraging to note that there is a growing awareness among nations and peoples that durable peace and security cannot be realized in conditions of continued accumulation of weapons.

133. The endeavours of the United Nations on disarmament can be seen in relationship to its primary task, the maintenance of international peace and security. Effective disarmament measures are essential for furthering the objectives of the Charter. At the same time, strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations on the basis of strict adherence to the Charter would facilitate progress in the field of disarmament. The United Nations provides the basic framework for the multilateral process of disarmament. The universal nature of the Organization makes it possible for all nations to participate in the disarmament process. Such participation is in accordance with their right and duty to be involved in issues which affect their vital security interests. This is particularly relevant with regard to the prevention of a nuclear war, for the dynamics of nuclear weapons knows no sanctuary, and every effort to prevent such a war is the concern of all nations and peoples.

134. There are, of course, other compelling reasons to seek multilateral solutions on disarmament. Disarmament negotiations between those concerned do not take place in a vacuum. The United Nations provides a forum where international opinion can be heard, which in itself is an important contribution to the disarmament process. Moreover, developments in the past have shown that bilateral and multilateral efforts have been mutually supportive and interrelated processes that have resulted in several disarmament measures, which stand today as evidence of the need for continuing the process through the mutual interaction of bilateral and multilateral efforts. It is for these reasons that the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament should be strengthened and consolidated.

135. The present session, the highest forum on disarmament, provides the international community with a unique opportunity to strengthen the political and organizational capacity of the Organization so that it can more effectively play its role in furthering its objectives on disarmament. It is hardly more than 10 years since the first special session on disarmament, through universal consensus, elaborated principles, purposes, objectives and a Programme of

Action. The Final Document has provided much impetus to multilateral efforts for disarmament. If progress has fallen far short of the goals envisaged, this can be attributed to the unfavourable political climate that prevailed through a greater part of the period and to the erosion of multilateralism, which is all too prevalent in the international system. The objective of this session should be to maintain the consensus of the first special session and to further strengthen the foundations of an international strategy on disarmament as defined in the Final Document.

136. Such a strategy has been recognized as calling for the preparation through agreed procedures of a comprehensive programme of disarmament that would pass through all the necessary stages, ultimately leading to general and complete disarmament under effective control. It has also been recognized that the realization of this objective would require agreement on a series of specific measures on which there are prospects for early realization.

137. In our view, the prevention of nuclear war should be given the highest priority. This is a matter of universal concern, for a nuclear catastrophe would be global in its dimensions, and it is an inescapable threat that all countries face.

138. The recent agreement between the two most militarily significant States can be considered the first essential step in nuclear disarmament. The agreement has a significance which goes beyond the elimination of these weapons themselves, for equally important are the changes in attitudes and perceptions that have made such an agreement possible. This approach of achieving security through co-operative efforts should augur well for furthering the nuclear disarmament process in both its bilateral and its multilateral context. The role that the United Nations should play in the prevention of nuclear war and nuclear disarmament is the concern of all nations. Negotiations for agreements on reduction of weapons can be dealt with effectively in a bilateral context.

139. At the same time, it is important that the international community also play a role in the search for constructive solutions. Addressing the broader scope of achieving global security through nuclear disarmament in its multilateral context should make it possible to proceed effectively in the search to eliminate such weapons.

140. There is also the need to achieve a comprehensive ban of all nuclear tests through multilateral efforts. Qualitative constraints on nuclear arms through a test ban are indeed an essential part of the nuclear disarmament process. While bilateral efforts are being made to ban underground nuclear tests through threshold agreements, with the ultimate objective of a comprehensive ban, the Conference on Disarmament must initiate negotiations on a comprehensive test-ban treaty which is in accordance with its mandate.

141. Radical measures to eliminate the nuclear threat can be realized through a programme of nuclear disarmament. Concurrently, measures of a political and legal nature can also be undertaken. Of

particular importance in this regard are measures relating to the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. Such efforts can be seen as a further development of the principles of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations. In their joint statement of 21 November 1985,⁸ the United States and the Soviet Union said that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. We take a positive view of such a declaration in the light of the need to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons.

142. For more than two decades issues concerning outer space, in both its military and civilian aspects, have been the subject of international agreements which now constitute a body of international law on outer space. At the same time, we witness a situation in which an arms race in outer space is imminent and the technological momentum is a compelling factor. The inherent dangers of an arms race in outer space have been realized increasingly by the international community. A new dimension of a space arms race would have serious consequences for international security and would undermine existing legal régimes and prospects for disarmament. Outer space has been defined as the common heritage of mankind which should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. The benefits of the peaceful uses of outer space have been universal. It is therefore necessary to see that peaceful international co-operation is maintained and enhanced in the interests of all nations, at all stages of their development and, above all, to keep outer space free from weapons.

143. There is a need to prevent the use of force in outer space and not allow it to become an arena for arms competition. It is therefore necessary to consolidate and further the objectives of existing legal régimes, of which the most significant is the 1967 Outer Space Treaty [*resolution 2222(XXI), annex*].

144. The technological momentum of the arms race has a life of its own, and consideration should be given to the role that technology plays in fuelling the arms race. The pattern that is all too familiar in the technological syndrome is that research and development are means to the development of new weapons systems, as well as the qualitative improvement of existing ones. The technological momentum of the arms race, particularly in its nuclear dimension, has increased the risks of nuclear war which may arise from accident, miscalculation or failure of communication. At the same time it is hindering prospects for finding appropriate disarmament solutions.

145. The International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development has defined the need to deal with these two important issues in their interrelationship. The establishment of such a relationship has given further importance to disarmament in the creation of conditions favourable for economic and social well-being, in addition to the objective of strengthening international peace and security. The colossal sums spent on the arms race hinder prospects for development and equitable economic co-operation as well as the solution of economic and social problems in general. The developing countries are particularly affected by this state of affairs as their prospects for growth and development continue to recede in an unfavourable econom-

ic environment. It is necessary to draw up a concrete plan of action on the basis of the consensus reached at the International Conference so that the action programme defined in the Final Document² can become a reality.

146. An integrated multilateral verification system within the United Nations has now been proposed at this session. United Nations participation in international verification would contribute to confidence in disarmament agreements, enhance the assurance of compliance with them and further the objectives of disarmament. The United Nations should be able to play its role when agreements require an international verification system with its participation. With that in view, the present session should give due consideration to beginning the process for the establishment of a verification machinery, so that the Organization will be able effectively to perform such functions.

147. Negotiations on chemical weapons have reached the final stage of drafting a convention for their complete prohibition. The formulation of the convention should be susceptible to universal adherence, for those weapons of mass destruction are not only a threat but also a reality. A global treaty on chemical weapons would completely ban one very important category of weapons of mass destruction and create conditions of trust, confidence and security.

148. We now live in an age of change and uncertainty, and the future holds promises as well as perils. The problems that beset the world are many and complex, and the destinies of nations have become more intertwined than ever. Global problems require solutions in their global context. This Organization provides the framework and the necessary prerequisites for the search for solutions to the problems arising out of the complexities of our time that affect the international community at large. Disarmament has become the foremost issue of international concern, and international security is now being conceived in its broader sense. There is now a growing perception that international security is indivisible in its military, political, economic and social dimensions, as well as in its interrelationship in the national and international sense.

149. The convening of this high-level session has provided the international community with an opportunity of historic significance to find a common consensus through collective endeavours on the issues of disarmament which are so necessary for a more secure, just and viable international order.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.

NOTES

¹A/41/518-S/18227, annex I. For the printed text, see *Official Records of the Security Council, Forty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1986*, document S/18227, annex I.

²*Final Document of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.87.IX.8), para. 35.

³United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 944, No. 13446.

⁴A/42/708 and Corr.1, annex II.

⁵CD/808; CD/CW/WP.188.

⁶See A/41/697, annex, part I, para. 53.

⁷A/42/521-S/19085, annex. For the printed text, see *Official Records of the Security Council, Forty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1987*, document S/19085, annex.

⁸A/40/1070, annex.