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Chairman: Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic)

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#### GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS

Statements were made by:

Mr. Garcia Robles (Mexico)  
Mr. Fischer (Austria)  
Mr. Florin (German Democratic Republic)  
Mr. Siddiky (Bangladesh)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 46 TO 65

GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS

The CHAIRMAN: According to the programme of work and timetable adopted last week, we are embarking today upon our substantive work. This afternoon the Committee will begin its general debate on all disarmament agenda items, namely, agenda items 46 to 65. I should like first to make a few personal comments on some of the issues before us.

The problems related to arms limitation and disarmament are complex and long-standing ones. Hence, their solution requires patient and arduous labour. Our deliberations take place against the background of the International Year of Peace, when the Member States of the United Nations and, in fact, people all over the globe should mobilize and intensify every effort towards ensuring conditions of peace and a sure future for mankind in this nuclear and cosmic age. The Reykjavik meeting, as a step in a complicated dialogue, has shown that determined and dedicated efforts will be required so that peace may prevail and the future of mankind be secured. We have all been confirmed in our opinion that the world is confronted with extremely difficult problems, including, first of all, the problem of averting the danger of nuclear war, preventing an arms race in outer space and ending the arms race on Earth. These are exactly the problems with which our Committee has to deal in the next few weeks.

The many far-reaching and detailed proposals and initiatives put forward only recently by States serve as a solid basis for our Committee's work - that is, for an intensive discussion on all aspects of disarmament, including the nuclear, chemical and conventional fields, within both the global and the regional framework, while according the highest priority to nuclear disarmament. In this context I should like to refer to this year's report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, in which he explicitly emphasizes that:

(The Chairman)

"The goal of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, on which all Member States have agreed, must be upheld and energetically pursued. Pending its realization, the risk inherent in the existence of nuclear weapons must be progressively decreased through drastic reduction in the numbers and destructive content of nuclear arms; through limitations on their deployment and further development; and through the complete prohibition of nuclear testing. (A/41/1, p. 9)

The inclusion in the agenda of the forty-first session of the General Assembly of such new items as "Establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security" and "Zone of peace and co-operation of the South Atlantic", the first of which has been allocated to the First Committee, reflects the continuing concern of States and peoples over their security in the light of the unabated arms race, the unresolved conflicts, the dire economic situation confronting many developing countries and, not least, the violation of human rights, especially the fundamental right of all to live in peace, free not only from the scourge of war but also from the fear and threat of war.

Unfortunately, one cannot escape the rather bleak conclusion that all the expectations engendered in connection with the International Year of Peace concerning a turn for the better in international relations have so far not materialized. Now, as before, the arms race continues unabated, and indeed is accelerating at an unrelenting pace. Moreover, a new and far more dangerous dimension has been added as we face the threat of the arms race spilling over into outer space. The availability of increasingly sophisticated technology and the concomitant development of new weapons systems may preclude the chance of keeping under control the ever increasing arsenals of war.

(The Chairman)

In our modern world, which is marked by mutual dependence, East and West, North and South, are inseparably linked, whether they are always aware of it or not, especially with regard to questions of security and shifting perceptions of their own vulnerability and insecurity. Today, interdependence in almost every realm is an inescapable reality. Hence, the security of individual States can no longer be guaranteed if its pursuit poses a threat to the security interests of other States. Its realization requires co-operation and the balancing of interests among States for the sake of promoting and attaining their common security.

This quest for mutual security is increasingly becoming a political task. It cannot be consummated through military and technological means, but only, and however painstakingly, by searching for political solutions to the problems that divide nations and by safeguarding and enhancing the conditions of peace. Accordingly, the purpose of our endeavours should be directed towards reaching decisions based on the clear understanding that international security can above all be furthered through measures aimed at achieving arms limitation and disarmament.

It is therefore a source of satisfaction to note that the declarations that have emanated from Harare, Budapest, Tokyo and Ixtapa also appear to underline the significance of such an understanding and to reflect similar concerns.

At the summit meeting of countries members of the Non-Aligned Movement held at Harare, it was stressed

"that States abandon the dangerous goal of unilateral security through armament and embrace the objective of common security through disarmament."

Meeting at Budapest, the Warsaw Treaty member States expressed their conviction that

(The Chairman)

"the security and peaceful conditions for development and progress of all countries and peoples can be reliably guaranteed only by political means through the joint effort of all States." (A/41/411, p. 3)

In the Tokyo Declaration issued on 5 May 1986 the conviction was expressed that "peace cannot be safeguarded by military strength alone" and a commitment was made to address "East-West differences through high-level dialogue and negotiation" (A/41/354, p. 3).

The leading representatives of the six States who met in Mexico, directed their message to the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States with the appeal

"to continue and to reinvigorate the dialogue which they started last year ... and by an approach of mutual compromise and conciliation to ensure that such dialogue leads to practical results in the field of disarmament."

(A/41/518, p. 5)

The outcome of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe is also a vivid confirmation of the fact that it is both necessary and possible for States having different political and social systems to hammer out concrete agreements at the conference table that are of benefit to all concerned.

The same positive conclusions can be drawn from the results achieved at the Second Review Conference of the Convention on bacteriological (biological) weapons, as well as at the thirtieth General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the special session that preceded it.

As we discern certain converging links in the approaches I have just outlined, those should, in turn, encourage us in our own work to seek out the existing linkages in order to translate into concrete action the many statements, representing different political points of view, with regard to international

(The Chairman)

security, the cessation of the arms race and disarmament. And in so doing we should focus on the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament as providing an appropriate and valuable guideline. In the same manner that all Member States managed to forge a consensus on that fundamental Document, we should now determinedly and jointly endeavour to seek consensus on the various items on our agenda. Under this category I would include agenda items 47, 48 and 55, all dealing with the cessation of nuclear-weapon tests, and item 54, "Prevention of an arms race in outer space," as well as item 66, "Question of Antarctica". The political significance of a consensus on those questions is obvious. The first subject-matter deals with the key instrumentality that could lead to the cessation of the nuclear-arms race. The two other items deal with the exclusively peaceful use of the space surrounding our globe and to an entire continent, both items of momentous significance for the beneficial co-operation of States and for the economic and social progress of all mankind.

In particular, world public opinion expects that progress will be registered with regard to a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty. The moratorium on all nuclear explosions that has been unilaterally declared and subsequently extended should offer a real chance to achieve a bilateral moratorium and, thereafter, to press forward towards the goal of cessation of all nuclear-weapon tests by all nuclear-weapon States.

The forty-first session of the General Assembly can make a constructive contribution to the process of promoting the objectives of international security, arms limitation and disarmament. In a speech delivered in Mexico on 6 August 1986 by the Nobel Prize winner for literature, Gabriel Garcia Marquez, he graphically and in no uncertain terms referred to the situation threatening mankind. He pointed out that because of the present existence of some 50,000 nuclear warheads,

(The Chairman)

every human being is sitting on a keg of four tons of dynamite, whose total explosion would extinguish all life on earth twelve times over.

It is incumbent upon us to contribute, through genuine and meaningful efforts, towards eliminating this danger and to redouble our endeavours in the multilateral process with a view to achieving arms limitation and disarmament and the strengthening of international security through dialogue and co-operation.

(The Chairman)

I should like to draw the attention of members once again to rule 110 of the rules of procedure concerning congratulations to the officers of a Main Committee. As I stated at our organizational meeting on 8 October, I hope that that rule will be applied and respected, and I should be personally grateful to delegations if they would dispense with that customary passage at the beginning of their statements. I reinforce this by stating here and now that I hereby acknowledge all expressions of congratulations that might customarily be made by delegations and extend collective thanks for all such remarks. Accordingly, in the interests of economizing on time and resources, I shall refrain in the future from any further expression of gratitude in that respect. I hope that this gesture will not be misunderstood but that, on the contrary, it will be taken as an example and emulated.

Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): Before beginning my statement, I should like to convey to you, Sir, my delegation's satisfaction at your unanimous election as Chairman of the First Committee of the General Assembly, which is entrusted with dealing with disarmament items. We are convinced that your well-known competence in that subject will lead to the success of our work. We should also like to congratulate the other officers of the Committee.

A little over two months ago, on Wednesday and Thursday 6 and 7 August this year, at Ixtapa, Mexico, there was a meeting of six statesmen from Latin America, Asia, Africa and Europe who have given repeated and practical proof of their deep interest in contributing to disarmament and peace. They were: Raul Alfonsín, President of Argentina; Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, President of Mexico; Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of India; Andreas Papandreu, Prime Minister of Greece; Ingvar Carlsson, Prime Minister of Sweden; and Julius Nyerere, first President of the United Republic of Tanzania.



(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

The conference in which they participated has now become part of the process that began with the Declaration of 22 May 1984 and continued in the New Delhi Declaration of 28 January 1985 and in three joint communiqués dated 24 October 1985, 28 February 1986 and 8 April 1986, respectively.

At the conference, which I was privileged to attend, two basic documents were adopted, both dated 7 August 1986. Owing to the importance of their substance, I believe that they deserve analysis in this statement, which, in accordance with long-standing tradition, my delegation is making today at the outset of the Committee's general debate on all disarmament agenda items allocated to it. The titles of the two documents are, "Mexico Declaration" and "Document on verification measures issued at the Mexico summit". The first is largely devoted to the second item on our agenda, "Cessation of all nuclear-test explosions," and the second document is devoted entirely to it. That item comes first in the agenda of the Conference on Disarmament, where it bears the title "Nuclear Test Ban". I shall now summarize the basic elements of these two documents, which appear in their entirety in document A/41/518.

The Mexico Declaration begins by stressing that the purpose of the meeting is to proclaim humanity's right to peace and to reiterate the commitment to the task of protecting that right so that the human race may endure. In addition, after recalling that 41 years ago death and horror descended upon Hiroshima, the Declaration states:

"The most dreadful war in history came to an end, and the world's nuclear nightmare began. Since then we have lived on borrowed time. All that is precious and beautiful, all that human civilization has reached for and achieved, could, in a short time, be reduced to radioactive dust."

(A/41/518, p. 3)

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

The authors of the Declaration next emphasize that, faced with the danger of common annihilation, the distinction between the powerful and the weak has become meaningless, and they express their determination that their countries, which possess no nuclear arsenals, shall be actively involved in all aspects of disarmament, since, as they state:

"The protection of this planet is a matter for all the people who live on it; we cannot accept that a few countries should alone decide the fate of the whole world." (p. 3)

They then note that the recent tragic accidents at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant and at the launching of the Challenger space shuttle have shown once again the terrible consequences that would result from the use of even a small fraction of the nuclear armaments which now exist. After noting that a repetition of Hiroshima on a global scale must be prevented, the Declaration states that

"it is not merely more knowledge or new technologies which are needed, but more wisdom" (p. 3)

and repeats the call for a binding international agreement which outlaws every use of nuclear weapons.

The Declaration reaffirms the priority objectives set forth in the New Delhi Declaration in January 1985, namely, an immediate halt to nuclear testing preparatory to a comprehensive test-ban treaty, a cessation in the production and development of all nuclear weapons and delivery systems as well as a prohibition on the testing, production and deployment of space weapons. Satisfaction is expressed at the declaration of President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev in November 1985 that "a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought", and it is stated that now is the time to ensure that such a war does not occur. The

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authors state their conviction that security is not improved by increasing the capacity for destruction through the accumulation of weapons. Thus, in the words of the Declaration,

"Nuclear disarmament, and ultimately the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, is an absolute priority ...

"We remain convinced that no issue is more urgent and crucial today than bringing to an end all nuclear tests." (p. 4)

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

The authors of the Declaration also recall that in October 1985, and in February and April 1986 they urged the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union to "undertake a fully verifiable suspension of nuclear testing, at least until their next summit meeting", reiterating that "a unilateral moratorium by one of the two major nuclear Powers should ... become at least a bilateral moratorium"; further proposing to them that such a suspension for whose appropriate verification the Six offered their unconditional co-operation, should be "immediately followed by negotiations for the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty". The Declaration also refers to the main measures which would comprise the assistance offered - and I do not examine it here to avoid duplication, since I shall do so later when I speak about the second of the two documents that I mentioned at the outset.

The other objective which the six signatories of the Declaration emphasize is the same one contained in the New Delhi Declaration of January 1985 and with respect to which, inter alia, we read the following in the Mexico Declaration:

"We reiterate our demand that an arms race in outer space be prevented. Space belongs to humanity, and as participants in this common heritage of mankind, we object to the outer space of our earth being misused for destructive purposes. It is particularly urgent to halt the development of anti-satellite weapons, which would threaten the peaceful space activities of many nations. We urge the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union to agree on a halt to further tests of anti-satellite weapons, in order to facilitate the conclusion of an international treaty on their prohibition. Our New Delhi warning that the development of space weaponry would endanger a number of agreements on arms limitation and disarmament is already proving to be justified. We stress that the existing treaties safeguarding the peaceful

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uses of outer space, as well as the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-ballistic Missile Systems, be fully honoured, strengthened and extended as necessary in the light of more recent technological advances." (p. 5)

In addition to those two objectives which represent basic disarmament measures, the Declaration stresses that in order to make progress in this field, "the United Nations must be strengthened and its Charter as well as treaties relating to disarmament be observed in both letter and spirit".

Unfortunately, the document notes:

"Rights of weaker nations are being trampled upon with impunity. Treaties are being violated to suit the convenience of nations, especially the strongest among them." (p. 5)

Another matter mentioned in the Declaration in very favourable terms is the relationship that unquestionably exists between the arms race and development - a matter about which the following undoubtedly accurate view is expressed:

"The squandering of the world's limited resources on armaments stands in sombre and dramatic contrast to the permanent malnutrition leading to a life in misery and an early death - to say nothing of the ever-present threat of famine - which is the lot of millions of people on earth. Poverty and economic hopelessness also constitute a threat to international peace and security. This threat is aggravated in many developing countries in which the external debt problem reduces still further their ability to allocate sufficient resources for dealing with the urgent and fundamental needs among their people. The transfer of resources from military expenditure to economic and social development is therefore a fundamental necessity of our times." (p. 5)

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The second document to which I referred at the outset, that is the one on verification measures, begins with the following statement:

"It is the responsibility of the nuclear Powers to halt nuclear testing as a significant step to curb the nuclear arms race. The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, being the two major nuclear Powers, have a special responsibility to initiate the process of nuclear disarmament by immediately halting their nuclear testing. To facilitate such an immediate step the six nations of the Five Continent Initiative are prepared to assist in the monitoring of a mutual moratorium or a test ban." (p. 5)

The way in which the assistance offered by the Six would be made is explained in the document, with the main focus on verification of a moratorium in co-operation with the United States and the Soviet Union, which would be an important step towards the establishment of an appropriate verification system relative to a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. In that connection, the following two possibilities are envisaged.

First of all, monitoring which would cover existing test sites intended to ensure that such sites would not be used for clandestine testing. The three sites in question are Nevada in the United States, and Semipalatinsk and Novaya Zemlya in the Soviet Union, which cover a very small geographical area and could be observed by a limited number of seismological stations in those two countries at or close to each test area. If an agreement were reached on a nuclear test ban by both parties, the procedure provided for in the document is defined as follows:

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" ... our six nations are prepared to establish promptly and in co-operation with the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, temporary monitoring stations at existing test sites and to operate them for an initial period of one year. All data should be available to the six nations, the United States and the Soviet Union. Data analysis could be a joint undertaking and preliminary analysis would be done at the sites. Monitoring of test sites by instruments installed on-site would provide an extremely high sensitivity down to small fractions of kiloton and even tons of explosives." (p. 7)

The second possibility considered in the document is that of monitoring the territory of the United States and the Soviet Union outside the test sites - which, as indicated in the document, would be necessary in order to ensure that nuclear explosions did not occur and that natural seismic movements were not mistakenly interpreted as being clandestine nuclear test explosions.

In this regard, the authors of the Mexico document note that in addition to the test sites, regions exist in both countries where monitoring could be considered more important than elsewhere. The possibility of conducting unnoticed tests is increased, for example, by the existence of large cavities or unconsolidated rock which reduce the strength of seismic signals. Thus,

"it might be desirable to establish specific verification arrangements in some of these areas" (p. 8),

an objective towards which the six nations state they are prepared to co-operate with the United States and the Soviet Union.

That statement is completed by the suggestion of "internationalizing" a number of selected seismological stations in the United States and the Soviet Union, "tentatively 20 to 30, in each of the two countries, by placing observers" from the six countries at those sites. Their work would be:

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"to verify that the instruments are properly operated and that all information obtained is reported without omission. We are prepared to work out the necessary arrangements, which could be made with little delay and to contribute observers for an initial period of one year." (p. 8)

In order to replace these temporary measures with permanent arrangements, the experts from the six countries, according to the authors of the documents,

"are ready to co-operate with experts of the United States and the Soviet Union in the development of permanent verification facilities at test sites, and also in the development of an optimal network of internal stations in the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

(pp. 8-9)

The document I have been analysing also considers, in later sections, the possibility of inspecting large chemical explosions, of the six countries taking technical actions independently of the United States and the Soviet Union, of their supporting the establishment of an international verification system by actively participating in the ongoing work carried out by the Group of Scientific Experts at the Conference on Disarmament, and of experts from the six countries meeting with Soviet and American experts.

The two final paragraphs of the Mexico Declaration define - quite accurately, in my view - the spirit that moved the six statesmen who have just met in my country, as well as the noble and lofty purposes they pursued. That is why I consider it relevant to read those paragraphs in their entirety:

"Our message from Mexico is to urge the leaders of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to continue and to reinvigorate the dialogue which they started last year; to set a firm date for a new meeting between them; and by an approach of mutual compromise and conciliation to ensure that such dialogue leads to practical results in the



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field of disarmament. Each side has the capacity to destroy the world many times over. There can be no suggestion that either would be showing weakness by a willingness to be conciliatory. The spirit of Geneva must be revived and strengthened. And we stress again our determination to try to facilitate agreement between the nuclear-weapon States, and to work with them, as well as with all other nations, for the common security of humankind and for peace.

"Once again, we urge people, Parliaments and Governments the world over to give active support to our appeal. Every individual has a right to peace and a responsibility to strive for it. Neither together nor separately can the peoples of the world remove the horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki from human memory, but together we can and we must remove this looming horror from our future." (pp. 5-6)

In the light of what these paragraphs express, we consider it unnecessary to mention expressly the satisfaction with which we received the announcement that a preparatory meeting would be held in the capital of Iceland which, we hope, will contribute to achieving the ideas expressed in the final paragraph of the communiqué made public by the six countries on Friday, 3 October, in which they stated:

"We maintain our detailed offer of assistance for verification of a moratorium on nuclear testing which we submitted in Mexico. We hope the day is near when States with the largest nuclear arsenals will agree on a mutual suspension of testing. The forthcoming summit meeting between the United States and the Soviet Union will provide an excellent opportunity to reach such agreement."

Such were our expectations, strengthened by the fact that the position of the six leaders of the peace and disarmament initiative is shared by all peoples of the

(Mr. García Robles, Mexico)

world. Suffice it to mention, as a telling example of this, the following concepts contained in the recent political declaration of the eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare, Zimbabwe.

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

"A comprehensive test ban, which has been pursued for the past 25 years, is a matter of the highest priority for non-aligned countries. ... The Heads of State or Government emphasized the pressing need to negotiate and conclude a comprehensive ... nuclear test-ban treaty prohibiting all nuclear-weapon tests by all States in all environments for all time. ...

"While negotiations are under way for such a treaty, there should be a moratorium on all nuclear testing and the production and deployment of nuclear weapons. In this regard, the Heads of State or Government noted the appeal made by the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania to the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in October 1985, and reiterated in February, April and August 1986, to put an end to all nuclear testing, as well as their concrete offer of assistance to achieve adequate verification arrangements to monitor such a moratorium. They welcomed the unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing declared by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in August 1985 and extended by it a number of times since then, including the most recent extension until 1 January 1987. They called upon the United States of America as one of the two super-Powers which, together, are responsible for the bulk of nuclear-weapon tests, to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the moratorium and upon the Soviet Union to continue it."

Unfortunately, the news yesterday and today on the radio and television and in the press about the results of the Reykjavik talks has not lived up to our optimistic expectations. We should like, however, to believe that that meeting was not in vain and that the leaders of the two super-Powers will try again in the near future to achieve the agreement about to be reached yesterday and which both parties seem to have described as of historic significance. In our view, those

(Mr. García Robles, Mexico)

efforts will be facilitated if both parties remember that at stake in this matter, as stated repeatedly by the General Assembly, is not only their national interests, but also the vital interests of all the peoples of the world, and that all that is needed to achieve this purpose is for both negotiators to show their readiness to demonstrate in deeds the commitments they undertook in the joint communiqué issued in January 1985 by Messrs. Shultz and Gromyko and the commitments undertaken at the November 1985 summit.

I wish to conclude by citing a number of comments made in the address by President de la Madrid to the General Assembly on 24 September 1986. They are an apt summary of the principles underlying Mexico's foreign policy in the spheres of disarmament and peace, and of the basic goals of that policy:

"There is a vast movement throughout the world demanding that humanity be freed from the danger of a nuclear holocaust. The non-nuclear countries share that aspiration. We cannot remain indifferent to a threat that affects security, impedes development and jeopardizes the survival of all peoples.

"Mexico has associated itself with various proposals for nuclear disarmament, both on the regional and on the universal level. Along with other Latin American countries, we helped to bring about the Treaty of Tlatelolco. ...

"...

"In the New Delhi Declaration we called upon the super-Powers to suspend nuclear tests, as a first step toward a treaty banning them entirely. ... In Mexico, we presented specific proposals to verify the suspension of nuclear tests; we insisted upon the dangers inherent in an arms race in outer space ...

"...

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

"The great challenge confronting human intelligence as the twentieth century draws to a close is to achieve the convergence of peace, disarmament and development so that, joined at last, they may forge for human society a way of life and a destiny never to be renounced." (A/41/PV.8, pp. 15-17)

Mr. FISCHER (Austria): Allow me first of all, Sir, to express to you the congratulations of my delegation on your election to the high office of Chairman of the First Committee. I am sure that under your guidance our Committee will achieve substantial results. I should like also to congratulate the other officers of the Committee and to wish them full success in carrying out the responsible tasks entrusted to them.

At the last session, my delegation joined others in welcoming the then upcoming Geneva summit meeting of November 1985 and the prospects for a real start to serious negotiations on disarmament between the super-Powers. Austria has always held the view that mutual balance between the military potentials of the Soviet Union and the United States is a prerequisite for global balance. The creation of a universal order of peace can succeed only on the basis of such a global balance. In Austria's view, such a global balance should be realized at the lowest possible level of military forces.

For the last 10 days, the whole world has focused its attention on the meeting between President Reagan and General-Secretary Gorbachev in Reykjavik. Although we are not in possession of detailed information, we cannot but register our disappointment at the outcome. Only time will judge whether in Reykjavik a historic chance to reach radical disarmament measures was missed. We do not know yet whether the disarmament process was derailed, slowed down or halted, or whether it is still moving ahead on the right track. We have every reason to believe that both sides made a serious effort to arrive at an agreement. My delegation

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

expresses the hope that both sides, apparently never so close to agreement on a number of issues, will pick up in Geneva or at another summit where they left off in Reykjavik.

Regrettably, the International Year of Peace is thus coming to a close without the United States and the Soviet Union having been able to reach an arms reduction agreement which could have given meaning to the noble cause of the Year of Peace.

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

The need for a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty, which would constitute a corner-stone of disarmament efforts, is becoming more and more evident. Since 1945 the world has witnessed more than 1,500 nuclear explosions carried out for testing purposes. Although in our view a moratorium cannot replace a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty and constitutes only a first step in that direction, we note that the Soviet Union has responded to the general call for a comprehensive-nuclear-test ban treaty by extending for a third time the moratorium it announced last year, on the fortieth anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima, to continue until 1 January 1987.

One way to achieve a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty is to extend the unilateral moratorium into a bilateral Soviet-American moratorium to be followed at a later stage by a multilateral moratorium comprising all nuclear-weapon States. This would give those States sufficient time to agree on the provisions of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty. A comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty would be a significant step away from the road to ever increasing nuclear-weapon arsenals. We should make a U-turn on the nuclear road before we approach the "dead end" sign.

Tragic and far-reaching dreadful catastrophies, from the Challenger to Chernobyl, have in 1986 proved that nothing is perfect in a world that depends on man and man-made technology. As verification of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty will involve sophisticated technology, it will a priori be imperfect. There cannot be a 100-per-cent certainty that all the parties to a comprehensive test-ban treaty would abide by its provisions; such a goal is both out of reach and unrealistic. Therefore we shall have to settle for reasonable verification systems.

My delegation once more expresses its support for the initiative of the six Heads of State or Government and welcomes the Mexico Declaration adopted at Ixtapa on 7 August 1986 and the very interesting document on verification measures attached to it. Austria has always endorsed the five-continent initiative as an

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

important, timely and realistic approach to the solution of the most urgent problems mankind faces today. The Austrian Government is offering its co-operation to the six Heads of State or Government in their efforts to bring an end to the arms race.

My delegation believes that the proposals outlined in the document attached to the Mexico Declaration could greatly enhance confidence in the proposed bilateral test moratorium. The Austrian Government appreciates the offer of the six Heads of State or Government to establish temporary monitoring stations in the United States, the Soviet Union and their respective territories. Such monitoring could serve as a means of convincing nuclear-weapon States to abandon their doubts concerning effective verification.

My delegation will revert to this issue at a later stage of our debate.

The militarization of outer space is a matter of particular concern. Without going into the details of the two initiatives commonly referred to as "star wars" and "star peace", we foresee that in all likelihood billions of dollars will be invested by both sides to create an illusion of security.

The development of new types of such weapons must be discouraged. Therefore Austria considers the anti-ballistic-missile Treaty to be a pivotal element in the existing system of arms-control Treaties. Outer space shall remain an environment preserved exclusively for peaceful purposes. It is in this spirit that the questions regarding the dangers of new space technologies as well as their potentialities in the service of arms control ought to be examined. However, should the results of research on new technologies be implemented outside an agreed framework, counter-measures are bound to be taken. Thus the expansion of the arms race into other spheres would result in a new turn of the armaments spiral.

Austria believes that such a development would not only be wasteful but also dangerous. Hence it is of utmost importance that the two negotiators in Geneva reach an agreement that will for ever keep outer space free from military weapons.



(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

It is commonly recognized that a nuclear war cannot be won and therefore must never be fought. However, this appeal has so far not been translated into nuclear disarmament, and the danger of accidental nuclear war still keeps lingering over our heads.

Austria's Foreign Minister, Peter Jankowitsch, has before the General Assembly stated that disarmament and arms control must retain the highest priority on the world's agenda. Nuclear disarmament is of overriding importance. We cannot accept the threat of existing nuclear arsenals, nor the argument that lasting security can be assured only through the continuous build-up of nuclear and conventional weaponry.

In 1986 we witnessed an array of innovative proposals being put forward by both the Soviet Union and the United States and aiming at radical reductions and the ultimate elimination of all nuclear weapons. However, we have yet to see those proposals translated into action.

Austria fully supports all initiatives aiming at a reduction of nuclear weapons provided they contain provisions for verification acceptable to both sides and lead to a balance of forces at a lower level. Furthermore Austria has always endorsed all realistic efforts to establish nuclear-weapon-free zones in line with the provisions of the Final Document of the first special session on disarmament. Such zones could in our view make a significant contribution to international peace and security.

Since the end of the Second World War the world has witnessed more than 150 wars, all fought with conventional weapons and all taking place in developing countries. Those wars have brought with them untold deaths and human suffering. While concentrating our efforts on nuclear disarmament, we should not forget the destabilizing proportions that conventional weapons have reached. We have to keep in mind that 80 per cent of all arms expenditure is devoted to developing and

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

buying conventional weapons, weapons which in view of their ever increasing sophistication no longer seem to fit in this category. Austria is of the opinion that international peace and security are best served by a global equilibrium of forces at the lowest possible level of armament. All measures which are based on that concept have our full support.

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

In order to push things forward we should start at a regional level and not wait until this question is resolved on a world-wide level. In this connection we note last year's initiative by Peru with regard to conventional disarmament on a regional scale. My delegation also takes note of the Budapest Appeal by States members of the Warsaw Pact, and particularly its paragraphs devoted to verification, which call, inter alia, for

"reliable and effective verification through national technical means and international procedures including on-site inspection." (A/41/411, p. 12)

Since 1972 the Austrian capital, Vienna, serves as the venue for the negotiations on the Mutual Reduction of Forces and Associated Measures in Central Europe involving members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact. As they are negotiations between two alliances, Austria, as a permanently neutral country, is not participating in them. As a host country that tries to be more than merely a good host, however, Austria is also aware that its own geographical situation is in the very centre of the two alliances whose members' territories circle the globe. With respect to results achieved so far in those talks, it must be admitted, regretfully, that there are none. However, the amount of expertise created over those 14 years should not be allowed to be buried.

The total elimination of chemical weapons is of the utmost urgency, and the negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament should be intensified accordingly. In view of that, the Conference should negotiate energetically on the draft of the convention on a permanent basis in order to benefit from the momentum that has been gained in recent months.

Austria, which had the honour of presiding over last month's Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on

(M. Fischer, Austria)

their Destruction, appreciates that the Conference was able to adopt a Final Declaration by consensus. That Declaration contributes actively to the strengthening of the Convention by agreeing on concrete measures to prevent or reduce the occurrence of ambiguities, doubts and suspicions related to the compliance of States parties with the provisions of the Treaty. By broadening the procedures of consultation and co-operation, the Review Conference also took an important step forward in re-establishing confidence in the Treaty as a reliable instrument of disarmament. We welcome the fact that the Conference did not try to shy away from considering in great detail the difficulties of verifying compliance with the provisions of the Treaty.

Austria intends to participate actively in next year's meeting of experts in Geneva with a view to the strengthening of the Treaty régime through the creation of more transparency with regard, in particular, to biological and biogenetic research, thereby contributing to the confidence among the States parties. The President of the Review Conference, who is a member of my delegation, will elaborate on agenda item 59 at a later stage in our debate.

In the view of the Austrian Government the Conference on Disarmament plays and will increasingly play an important part in promoting disarmament and arms control and thereby help to build an international community based on security and justice. As the only global negotiating forum on disarmament, the Conference on Disarmament has its special place among several disarmament forums.

Austria, as an observer, is closely following the work of the Conference. We participated during 1986 in the plenary meetings and in the meetings of subsidiary bodies on chemical weapons and on the prevention of an arms race in outer space, to which we attach particular importance. The Austrian Government has submitted its candidature for membership of the Conference on Disarmament with a view to contributing more actively to disarmament negotiations in Geneva.

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

Looking at the report of the Conference, we find that during its two sessions in 1986 the Conference dealt with questions relating to a nuclear-test ban, the cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament, the prevention of nuclear war, chemical weapons and other related problems.

My delegation regrets that, for the third consecutive year, no consensus could be reached on the creation of an Ad Hoc Committee on the Nuclear Test Ban. As the negotiation of the comprehensive-test-ban treaty is a priority item, we would have preferred to see the Conference fulfil the mandate given it by the General Assembly.

We note that the Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons was re-established and continued its work on a convention on chemical weapons. Austria, which was among the first parties to sign the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and which renounced the possession of chemical weapons in the State Treaty of 1955, believes that major progress could be achieved towards abolishing chemical weapons. Furthermore, we note with appreciation that during the last sessions of the Conference on Disarmament the Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons moved forward in such important areas as the definition of chemical substances, permitted activities, destruction of existing stockpiles and key precursors.

Austria, which welcomed the understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union reached in January 1985 in Geneva to prevent, inter alia, an arms race in space, appreciates the re-establishment of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space. We believe the establishment of that Ad Hoc Committee is a necessary multilateral complement to the bilateral negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on that subject.

I should now like to turn briefly to this year's session of the United Nations Disarmament Commission, which achieved substantial progress under the efficient chairmanship of Mr. Wegener, in particular on the reduction of military budgets and the guidelines for confidence-building measures.

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

As a European country, we note with appreciation that the experience gathered in the 10 years' operation of the Helsinki Agreement has thus found its way into the United Nations. In view of the importance my Government attaches to security and co-operation in Europe in general - and to confidence-building measures in particular - my delegation will comment at a later stage in the debate on agenda item 61 (a). My Government also believes that the discussion of the item "Review of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament" was very timely. The fact that 20 working papers were submitted by interested delegations attests to the importance Member States attach to a reform of our machinery.

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

In Europe there is the highest concentration of conventional weaponry and forces in the world. In 1975, 33 European States, the United States and Canada adopted the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), a comprehensive code of conduct for a co-operative and peaceful Europe. In the course of the 11 years since the signing of that document in Helsinki there have been significant achievements in some areas of East-West relations, but also serious setbacks and disappointments have been registered. The Final Act, however, has lost none of its validity. Based on the interdependence of security issues, human rights and the development of co-operation, the CSCE process remains the only way gradually to overcome the painful consequences of the divisions in Europe and move closer to a European peace order.

We are greatly encouraged by the positive results achieved by the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. We are confident that the measures contained in the Stockholm document will contribute to the stabilization of the military situation in Europe. We hope, too, that this first multilateral agreement achieved in the area of military security will provide a strong positive impetus to the work in other arms-control forums. In our view, it should also prepare the ground for negotiations on the reduction of military forces and armaments in Europe. Austria has a vital interest in a European disarmament process leading to a stable balance of forces at the lowest possible level and the adoption of further confidence- and security-building measures that would diminish the danger of military conflict.

The future of the Stockholm Conference and the other elements of the CSCE process will be on the agenda of the third follow-up meeting to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, scheduled to begin on 4 November in Vienna.

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

That meeting will be held at a crucial time for East-West relations. After years of high tension and mistrust both sides appear ready once again for constructive dialogue on the issues dividing them. As the CSCE process is one of the most important multilateral forums for such a dialogue, the Vienna meeting offers a genuine opportunity for substantive, balanced results in all target areas - results that might strengthen the CSCE process and even be the beginning of a new era of détente and co-operation in Europe.

Last year my delegation expressed its satisfaction that general agreement was reached in the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development to convene the Conference in the summer of 1986 in Paris and announced its intention to participate actively in it. To our regret the Conference did not take place. However, in view of the fact that military expenditures in 1986 have continued to grow and will in the not too distant future reach the \$US 1-trillion mark, a discussion of this issue becomes more and more urgent.

Allow me to comment briefly on our Committee's method of work, which is certainly placing a particularly heavy burden on smaller delegations. Austria in no way contests delegations' right to submit as many draft resolutions as they see fit, in accordance with the rules of procedure. Although the number of draft resolutions is to some degree related to the number of problems that remain to be solved in the field of disarmament, we should however not overlook the fact that an excessive number of resolutions reduces the value of all of them.

The Committee should not be allowed to develop into a kind of mailbox where drafts are dropped, collected, given their stamp of approval, forwarded to Governments of Member States and, for the most part, filed and forgotten until the next session of the General Assembly is about to begin. My delegation fully



(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

supports the proposal of the Permanent Representative of Indonesia that we might set up a working group to consider ways and means of reforming the Committee's work. In that context, it might also be useful to quote the President of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. He said:

"We should give serious thought to the reduction of the number, and possibly the length, of resolutions adopted by the Assembly ... No one has decreed that we must adopt several hundred resolutions at every General Assembly session, just as no one has decreed that we must generate mountains of paper every year which no one can possibly read, let alone absorb or act upon. Can we not make our general debates purposeful? Must we perpetuate a tendency to act as if the passage of a resolution absolves us of further responsibility for the subject in question?" (A/41/PV.1, pp. 21, 22)

Would it therefore not be timely for delegations to monitor the results of their initiatives and to discontinue those which cannot reasonably be expected to find a consensus, let alone have the desired impact?

In conclusion, let me state that in our view disarmament is a matter far too serious to be left to a few actors only; it is an issue of concern to the whole of humanity. In this context, let me stress Austria's belief in the vital role of multilateral diplomacy in the field of disarmament. The United Nations, with its machinery, provides an appropriate framework for such multilateral disarmament efforts. After the necessary rationalization of our workload, the United Nations - this Committee in particular - could do even better.

Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (interpretation from Russian): I wish to congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, and the other officers of the Committee on your election and assure you that the delegation of the German Democratic Republic will co-operate fully in the hope of contributing to the success of our work.

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic  
Republic)

A number of questions which will be considered in the Committee were discussed at the meeting between the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, and the President of the United States of America, Mr. Ronald Reagan, in Iceland. An exchange of views at that level was undoubtedly extremely useful.

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

With respect to the meeting in Reykjavik, Erich Honecker, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and President of the Council of State, declared that the Soviet side had proposed comprehensive measures aimed at disarmament on earth and the prevention of an arms race in outer space, the implementation of which would avert nuclear catastrophe. Those bold proposals, which testify to the determination of the Soviet Union to rid the world of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000 did not, unfortunately, receive the approval of President Reagan - totally in contradiction to the interests of mankind.

Erich Honecker expressed the hope that, in view of the support for the Soviet proposals shown by world public opinion, as well as the interests of the United States itself, these exceptional measures would in the long term find favour with the American side as well, so that peoples might live in peace.

The desire of peoples that agreements be reached in the foreseeable future to prevent an arms race in outer space and to limit armaments on Earth remains constant. Such a development would find world-wide appreciation. We all know of the responsibility which the Soviet Union and the United States must bear, and we know what factors will determine a positive development in Soviet-American relations.

We, for our part, support all efforts directed at reaching an agreement to assure a peaceful future. To work towards that end is also our intention at this session of the General Assembly. All States, large or small, are called upon to act in a responsible manner, for what is at stake is the survival of peoples and of our entire civilization. What we require is peace and security for all.

It gives us satisfaction to note that the number of those responsible for the destiny and future of their States who realize that the nuclear and space age calls

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

for new patterns of thought and a new approach towards national and international security is growing. Such a realization is based on the fact that political aims can no longer be reached by military means, that nuclear weapons are instruments for the self-destruction of mankind and that, consequently, their further stockpiling leads to ever greater insecurity, destabilization and uncertainty.

The tragic events at Chernobyl and Cape Canaveral provided a serious reminder of how much remains to be learned before mankind is able to use the tremendous natural forces at its disposal in the nuclear and space age in the service of progress. Military use of those forces would have unforeseeable consequences.

On the occasion of the International Day of Peace on 1 September 1986, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, Erich Honecker, declared:

"In this nuclear and space age, the further existence of all mankind depends on the maintenance of peace. In a nuclear war, there will be neither victors nor vanquished. Only radioactive waste would remain. It is therefore imperative to renounce any striving for military and strategic superiority. This requires that we do everything to secure the future of mankind. Security is only possible through co-operation, not confrontation. A nuclear inferno, be it launched from space or Earth, must be prevented through action by all those who are concerned about the peaceful future of mankind."

A new approach to questions of security under today's conditions requires the rejection of policies of confrontation and arms build-up and the renunciation of the use of force in international relations and of doctrines of first use of nuclear weapons. Military doctrines must be designed exclusively for defence purposes and must not impede measures to reduce military confrontation.

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

At the Budapest meeting, the States members of the Warsaw Treaty, fully aware of their responsibility, declared that never, under any circumstances - unless they were the object of aggression - would they carry out acts of war against another State, be it in Europe or in other regions of the world.

The position of the German Democratic Republic is that reliable security for all peoples and States can only be achieved by political means - that is, by negotiation and agreement. In conformity with the decisions adopted by the eleventh congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in April of this year, the GDR will continue to stand for a policy of results-oriented and businesslike dialogue and co-operation, aimed at the restoration of a calm international situation and a return to détente.

This commitment is a consequence of the character of socialist society in the GDR and takes into account the historical fact that two world wars were launched from German soil. As a result of the high concentration of armed forces and armaments at the dividing line between the two great military alliances, the guaranteeing of peace, security and trust at the very heart of Europe is of enormous importance for world peace. Through its activities to establish a zone free of battlefield nuclear weapons as well as a zone free of chemical weapons, the German Democratic Republic is living up to its historical obligation to ensure that war will never again be launched from German soil - only peace.

Together with other socialist States, the GDR proposes as a main subject for political dialogue the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security, which is a basic requirement of our time and is of complex character, comprising the military and political as well as the economic and humanitarian fields.

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

That comprehensive system will guarantee for all States equal security in all spheres of international relations. The growing mutual dependence of States and peoples makes it impossible to guarantee security for one State at the expense of others.

Since the greatest danger to the security of States and peoples stems from the arms race, especially in the nuclear field, arms limitation and disarmament constitute the centre-piece of a comprehensive system of international peace and security. What is needed today more than ever before is decisive action and specific measures to end the arms race, to begin on real disarmament, and to eliminate the danger of war. To make headway in that respect, we must take account of the following requirements:

First, existing agreements on arms limitation and disarmament must be continued, strictly observed and strengthened. The United Nations should resist all attempts to undermine or even liquidate bilateral or multilateral agreements. The entire system of existing agreements forms the basis for further progress. Those who want to destroy that basis must be against any turn towards disarmament.

Secondly, all States must refrain from any activities that would jeopardize ongoing disarmament negotiations. The production of binary weapons, for instance, could seriously harm the negotiations on the prohibition of chemical weapons, negotiations which have recently proved to be very promising. To attain success in disarmament efforts requires that the principle of equality and equal security be taken into account; it requires a flexible approach and a willingness to compromise. It is detrimental to negotiations if one side insists on unilateral advantages.

Thirdly, every effort should be made in the ongoing negotiations to achieve results very soon. A historic chance for mankind is offered by the programme

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submitted by the USSR to rid the world of all weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000. That programme has been complemented by specific proposals on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, contained in the Budapest Appeal of the member States of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. Those proposals in their entirety form a complex disarmament programme which includes necessary measures of verification and which is aimed at the release of resources which could be used for the economic and social development of all States. Such a far-reaching programme certainly cannot be implemented overnight. In the opinion of the German Democratic Republic, however, it should be possible to reach agreement on a nuclear-test ban and on the prohibition of chemical weapons without any further delay.

These expectations have been aroused by the existing proposals and the preparatory work done so far to reach such agreements. As regards the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on nuclear and space weapons, the proposals submitted by the Soviet Union have shown the way to bring about an agreement on the liquidation of medium-range missiles in the region of Europe. Soviet proposals on the prohibition of space attack weapons and the reduction of strategic weapons also have our support.

The confidence and security building measures recently agreed upon at the Stockholm Conference and within the framework of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), and the conventions on information and assistance in the event of a failure at a nuclear installation clearly show that progress in solving complicated international problems can be made very quickly provided that all sides display political willingness.

The basis for all this is and will continue to be the Charter of the United Nations. Let us give a joint and comprehensive answer to the question of what has

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

to be done at the present time to implement that fundamental statute. By what measures do we intend to guarantee peace and security for all time on the planet which is our common home?

A first step towards a world free of nuclear weapons would be the cessation of all nuclear tests. The Soviet Union with its moratorium on all nuclear explosions, which has been in force for over a year now, has set an encouraging example which is welcomed by the great majority of Governments and by world public opinion as providing a unique chance for a breakthrough in the field of disarmament. The United States is called upon to follow suit. There is no doubt that such a bilateral moratorium would be an outstanding basis for a treaty banning all nuclear-weapon tests.

We welcome the statement of the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union at the forty-first session of the General Assembly, in which he declared that his country was ready to sign a treaty on the complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests at any time and at any place.

The German Democratic Republic fully shares the view, expressed in the Mexico Declaration and strongly reaffirmed during the general debate at the present session, that "no issue is more urgent and crucial today than bringing to an end all nuclear tests" (A/41/518, p. 4). The assistance offered by the six States that issued that Declaration to facilitate the achievement of adequate verification arrangements has also met with a very positive response.

We agree too with the statement contained in the Political Declaration of the Harare summit of non-aligned countries, that "The existing means of verification are adequate to ensure compliance with a nuclear-test ban".



(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

The moratorium of the Soviet Union, its proposals on the verification of a test ban and, not least, the activities of committed Soviet and American scientists have made the assertions of alleged insufficient verification possibilities, as expressed by test-ban opponents, collapse like a house of cards. The proponents of nuclear tests no longer make a secret of their intention to continue the tests to "maintain nuclear deterrence". In plain language that means that they want to continue their tests in order to develop new nuclear weapons. What they have in mind is a new generation of such weapons, which are also to be stationed in outer space. This position is based on the fact that they want to stick to their concept of nuclear weapons as an instrument of their power policy and their striving for military superiority.

This session the General Assembly must take into account the will of the peoples and come out clearly in favour of the speedy adoption of a comprehensive test ban and, as an important step towards that end, the United States joining the Soviet moratorium.

Together with many other delegations, we hold that this issue should be at the centre of the activities of the First Committee. The chance that exists today to reach a test ban must not be missed. That is true of the United Nations and a Soviet-American summit. If a test-ban agreement resulted from such a meeting, that would be the crowning achievement of the International Year of Peace.

The Geneva Disarmament Conference also has an important part to play. In 1987 it should proceed to multilateral negotiations on an agreement aimed at the prohibition of all nuclear-weapon tests in all spheres and for all time. The General Assembly should request the Conference immediately to take up negotiations on this significant subject.

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

A comprehensive system of international peace and security is designed to guarantee that life on earth will not be threatened from outer space. The determination of the international community to prevent, under any circumstances, an arms race in outer space was expressed unambiguously in resolution 40/87, adopted by the General Assembly at its fortieth session.

The true purpose of space attack weapons is becoming ever more apparent. They are intended to serve as a means of overcoming military and strategic parity. In the last analysis, the proponents of "star wars" plans are trying to obtain an instrument with which to blackmail the other side and to wage and supposedly win a nuclear war. Those States which participate in work on the so-called strategic defence initiative or develop a regional version of the project thereby assume a grave responsibility, and they should think it over very carefully.

Common sense and prudence, logic and ethics call for a programme of "star peace" as proposed by the Soviet Union.

In order to prevent an arms race in outer space once and for all, concrete activities are needed in the respective forums - the Soviet-American negotiations, the Geneva Disarmament Conference and the United Nations Committee on Outer Space. Without any doubt the most radical way would be a prohibition of space attack weapons. In view of the open refusal by one of the leading Powers in space science and technology to solve this problem comprehensively and immediately, it should at least be advanced by intermediate steps, which should be focused on the following: first, the continuation and strengthening of the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-ballistic Missile Systems; secondly, the United States joining the Soviet moratorium on anti-satellite weapons and a bilateral agreement on the complete prohibition of those weapons, including the liquidation of existing ones; thirdly, the renunciation by the Soviet Union and the United States of space attack weapons

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of the space-to-earth and space-to-space types; and, fourthly, the elaboration within the framework of the Geneva Disarmament Conference of a multilateral treaty ensuring the immunity of space objects.

The Space Committee of the Geneva Disarmament Conference has done useful work. Together with many other States the German Democratic Republic has submitted concepts on a number of aspects pertaining to the prevention of an arms race in outer space. We expect that the Committee will no longer be hindered in proceeding to concrete negotiations on a respective agreement.

Before I conclude I should like to express the hope of the German Democratic Republic that this session of the First Committee will give fresh impetus to the disarmament process. That will happen if it proves possible to bring closer together positions on the aspects of this process through a constructive dialogue and the adoption of resolutions that truly meet the wishes of the peoples of the world and amount to a step towards the reduction of the threat of nuclear war and the achievement of disarmament.

Common sense and the goodwill of all parties will lead to constructive progress.

Mr. SIDDIKY (Bangladesh): Mr. Chairman, it is most gratifying for my delegation and me that a person of your qualities should be presiding over the deliberations of this important Committee. I offer you our sincere congratulations. I have not the slightest doubt that with your skill and ability you will be able to guide our deliberations to a successful conclusion. Could I through you, Sir, also congratulate the members of the Bureau upon their election. I am positive that they will make a significant contribution to our work.

(Mr. Siddiky, Bangladesh)

My purpose in asking to be allowed to speak is to make some general comments on my delegation's behalf on agenda items 46 to 65, which are under consideration.

In this connection, we should perhaps at the outset assess the current global situation. The super-Power summit in Reykjavik has just concluded. In our view, the very fact that they have met is a positive factor. Some have expressed disappointment at the outcome, but to us the glass of hope is always half full. We urge the super-Power leadership not to abandon hope for despair. They must continue relentlessly in their praiseworthy efforts. The global community stands firmly and solidly behind them. We feel that all nations, big and small, powerful and weak, must pool their resources together in striving for the objective of global peace. Bangladesh pledges to make its contribution in every way it can towards the attainment of this noble goal.

We dwell in a complex world: on the one hand, man has used the power of science to harness nature to serve him; on the other hand, that very power contains the seeds of his own destruction. We must use the benefits of knowledge and wisdom to destroy the seeds of destruction. Undeniably, that is a high aim. We must bear in mind, however, that the vigour of our societies can be preserved only by the universal belief that such high aims are worth while.

We share the deep concern of others in this nuclear age - a concern that stems from the fear that this planet might suddenly, through accident or design, become an Armageddon of horror and destruction. We must - we have no other choice - abjure the arms race. We must make disarmament more than just an aspiration and convert the idea into a faith.

We believe that the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones on the basis of arrangements freely arrived at among the States of various regions constitutes a

(Mr. Siddiky, Bangladesh)

very important disarmament measure. To that end the States of Latin America, which have forged the Treaty of Tlatelolco, deserve our praise. It is our firm belief that the creation of circles of nuclear-weapon-free zones in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, the Indian Ocean, the Pacific and other places would enhance the prospects of global security.

My country is of the view that a comprehensive test-ban treaty is urgently required. In our opinion, it is of universal interest that nuclear-weapon testing by all States should cease. This would be a significant leap towards ending proliferation and would be a major disincentive towards the development and qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons.

It is heartening to note that the belief that acquisition of nuclear weapons does not necessarily redound to the enhancement of security is gradually becoming widespread. What we require is the proliferation of this idea, not of weapons. The proliferation of nuclear weapons expands the destructive potential of regional conflicts, of which there are many; it complicates defence planning and arms-control negotiations; and those who advocate it for the creation of regional deterrence, please be warned that the safety of human civilization must not be hostage to the infallibility of their doctrines.

If proliferation is to be discouraged and totally forsaken, then non-nuclear-weapon States must be given adequate sureties against the use or the threat of use of such weapons against them by those who possess them. A simple declaration of intent will not suffice in this case. The search should continue for a common approach acceptable to all States in adopting all international instruments of a legally binding nature. We should like to see the demonstration of the political will of nuclear-weapon States to reach agreement on a common approach and a common formula.

(Mr. Siddiky, Bangladesh)

May I remind the nuclear-weapon Powers at this stage that, in accordance with article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), they are committed to pursue arms reduction. It is a melancholy comment on the commitment of the powerful States that this article is heeded more in the breach than in the observance. Bangladesh itself is a signatory of the NPT. But how can recalcitrants be persuaded to accede and end horizontal proliferation if some are seen to be relentlessly pursuing vertical expansion?

It is not just nuclear weapons that can be used for mass destruction. Modern technology has, sadly, been used to develop non-nuclear arsenals which could result in horror of comparable magnitude. I refer to radiological weapons, electro-magnetic weapons, chemical and bacteriological weapons, and the like. All effective measures must be taken to prevent the danger of catastrophic results from the manufacture and acquisition of such weaponry.

The same holds good for conventional armaments. New manufactures are blurring the distinction between the most sophisticated types of these and nuclear weapons. Since the Second World War millions have died as a result of their use. An overwhelming portion of the budget of all States is devoted to that. This is an obvious area for universal restraint.

Astronomical sums of money are being wasted every year by senseless procurement of weaponry. While some might argue that this creates employment in the arms industry, that advantage is far outweighed by the threat to peace that it portends. What a boon it would be if this expenditure were curtailed and the savings devoted to providing a better quality of life for the teeming masses of the underprivileged worldwide. I wish to recall in this connection the praiseworthy work of the Panel of Eminent Personalities on the Relationship between

(Mr. Siddiky, Bangladesh)

Disarmament and Development. Those two phenomena are structurally linked. I should like to add my voice to others in urging the early convening of the postponed Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development.

Those are some points that I thought I should place before the Committee at the beginning of our discussions. My delegation hopes to participate positively and constructively in the Committee's work. From time to time we shall share our views with the Committee. Perhaps we would do well to organize our work so that quality displaces quantity. The Committee can and does have a significant role to play in the creation of a global environment of harmony and stability.

To sum up, then, my delegation wishes to submit the following: first, we must intellectually accept the fact that the acquisition of nuclear weapons enhances the risk of war; secondly, we must support and implement the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones; thirdly, we must work towards a comprehensive test-ban treaty; fourthly, we must guarantee the security of non-nuclear-weapon States; fifthly, we must cease to proliferate nuclear weaponry, both vertically and horizontally; sixthly, we must stop forthwith the production of all weapons of mass destruction, including chemical and bacteriological weapons; and, seventhly, budgets for the procurement of weaponry must be reduced and the savings diverted to development.

Some of those aims are not easy to attain; they militate against basic human instincts. But as man has done in many other spheres, in this one too reason must be made to win over instinct. Is not civilization the triumph of rationality over animality?

## ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to remind representatives that, in accordance with the Committee's decision, the list of speakers for the general debate on all disarmament agenda items will be closed on Tuesday, 14 October, at 6 p.m. I hope that delegations that have not yet inscribed their names on the list will do so as soon as possible in order to enable the Committee fully and effectively to utilize the time available to it.

I now call on the Secretary of the Committee.



Mr. KHERADI (Secretary of the Committee): At its fortieth session, the General Assembly decided, in paragraph 7 of resolution 40/240, on programme planning, that

"the relevant conclusions and recommendations of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination, as well as the related portions of its report, should be brought to the attention of its Main Committees for information." (resolution 40/240, para.7)

As a follow-up to this decision of the General Assembly, I should like to inform the Committee that the report of the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination (CPC) on its twenty-fifth session, which was held from 29 April to 1 June 1985, was distributed last year but that additional copies are available to delegations for information purposes during the current session.

Although the report of the Committee on Programme and Co-ordination on its twenty-sixth session, also held in New York, from 28 April to 23 May 1986, has been submitted to the General Assembly at its forty-first session under agenda item 111 - that is, programme planning - it has not yet been reviewed by the Fifth Committee and its conclusions and recommendations have not been endorsed by the General Assembly in the context of either agenda item 111 or 12.

The Economic and Social Council has endorsed the conclusions and recommendations of the CPC in its resolution 1986/51, adopted at its second regular session of 1986, but that endorsement cannot be implemented until the General Assembly gives its approval.

I have been asked to bring this matter to the attention of the Committee.

The CHAIRMAN: Following discussion on the subject by the officers of the Committee, I will, during the general debate on items, attempt whenever feasible to announce at the end of each meeting the names of delegations inscribed on the list of speakers for the Committee's next meeting. Accordingly, I wish to inform the

(The Chairman)

Committee that the following delegations have inscribed their names for the next meeting of the Committee, to be held tomorrow morning at 10.30 a.m.: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, on behalf of the 12 States members of the European Community, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Egypt.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.