



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 12th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic)

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The meeting was called to order at 11 a.m.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF HIS EXCELLENCY MR. SAMORA MOISES MACHEL, PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE.

The CHAIRMAN: We have learned with great sorrow of the tragic air crash in which the President of Mozambique, Samora Moises Machel and other leading personalities lost their lives.

On behalf of the delegations represented in the First Committee and on my own behalf, I wish to express through the delegation of Mozambique our heartfelt condolences to the Government and people of Mozambique and to the bereaved families. The untimely death of President Machel, whose life and work were dedicated to the struggle for the freedom and independence of his people and indeed the liberation of all peoples in southern Africa, is a great loss. His name will remain inseparably linked with peoples striving for independence, peace, friendship and understanding between nations.

President Machel made a great contribution to the activities of our Organization.

I ask representatives to stand and observe a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of the President of Mozambique and the other victims of the air disaster.

The members of the Committee observed a minute of silence.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of Benin,, who will speak on behalf of the Group of African States.

Mr. EDON (Benin) (interpretation from French): It was with surprise and deep shock that we learned this morning of the tragic death of Comrade Samora Machel, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique. I wish on behalf of the African Group in the First Committee to convey our heartfelt condolences to the People's Republic of Mozambique, its people and its Government. With President Machel's death, Africa has lost one of its best sons and the world

(Mr. Edon, Benin)

an exceptional statesman. There is no doubt that his work will be continued to a successful conclusion by the people of Mozambique, who will continue to fight against its enemies wherever they may come from and preserve its sovereignty and independence for ever.

May President Samora Machel rest in peace and may his children carry on with his work. He led his people to complete independence in a struggle against actions in which the People's Republic of Mozambique was the victim.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of Japan, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Asian States.

Mr. YAMADA (Japan): On behalf of the members of the Asian Group, I wish to express our sincere condolences to the people, the Government and the delegation of the People's Republic of Mozambique on the tragic death of their President, Mr. Samora Machel. It was a great shock to learn that that distinguished statesman had perished, along with 36 other people, when the aircraft in which they were flying crashed near the borders of Mozambique, Swaziland and South Africa.

President Machel governed his country with courage and determination since he led it to its independence in 1975. As the first President of his country, he devoted great energy to Mozambique's development. His death will consequently be a great loss, not only to the people of Mozambique, but also to the people of Africa as a whole and indeed to the whole world.

The Japanese Government and people are especially grieved because we received the late President Machel on a State visit to Japan only last summer. I wish to express our deep sympathy to the bereaved families of the President and the others who died, and to the people of Mozambique.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Eastern European States.

Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): On behalf of the Group of Eastern European States, I wish to express to the people, the Government and the delegation of the People's Republic of Mozambique our heartfelt condolences on the tragic death of the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Mr. Samora Machel, and other citizens of Mozambique.

A fighter for freedom and independence has died. Under the leadership of FRELIMO and its President, Samora Machel, the people of Mozambique achieved independence and built a new society based on principles of freedom and social progress. That work was carried out in the face of considerable resistance from external reactionary forces.

On the international scene, under the leadership of Samora Machel Mozambique carried out an anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-racist policy. President Machel spoke for the co-ordination of the forces of progress and peace throughout the world, an end to the arms race and an improvement in the international climate.

Mozambique has been active in the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement. Mozambique and the States on whose behalf I now speak support lasting, constantly growing and comprehensive links of co-operation between them and will continue to develop these.

We are convinced that the people of Mozambique, under the leadership of FRELIMO, will close their ranks at this tragic time, preserve their revolutionary gains and continue unswervingly along their chosen path.

I once again express our deep and heartfelt condolences to the people and Government of Mozambique and the families of all those who perished.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of Mexico, who will speak on behalf of the Latin American and Caribbean Group of States.

Mrs. GONZALEZ (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the Latin American and Caribbean Group, of which Mexico is the current Chairman, I wish to express the Group's shock at the news of the accident that caused the death of the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Samora Machel, and other members of his Government. We fully share the feelings expressed on behalf of other regional groups, in particular, those expressed on behalf of the representative of Benin, who spoke for the continent of which Mozambique is a part. We ask the delegation of Mozambique to convey our sentiments to the people and Government of Mozambique.

The CHAIRMAN: I call next on the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, who will speak on behalf of the group of Western European and other States.

Mr. STULPNAGEL (Federal Republic of Germany): It was with deep regret that the members of the group of Western European and other States learned this morning of the fateful accident that took the lives of the Head of State of the People's Republic of Mozambique and other members of the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

On behalf of the members of the group of Western European and other States, I should like to convey to the people and the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique and to our colleagues in the delegation of Mozambique our sincere sympathy. We had all come to feel a deep respect for that great statesman, whose loss will be felt not only by his own country, but by the whole world. We all know that President Samora Machel was a charismatic national leader of great stature.

The members of the group of Western European and other States share the grief of the people and Government of Mozambique and of the bereaved families at their sudden and painful loss.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of the host country.

Mr. BARTHELMY (United States of America): The United States delegation, as host country delegation, joins in the expressions of shock and sorrow in the Committee this morning at the sudden and untimely death of Samora Machel, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, and other senior officials of Mozambique. We request the delegation of Mozambique to convey our condolences and deepest sympathy to the Government and people of Mozambique and to the bereaved families at this difficult time.

(Mr. Barthelmy, United States)

President Machel understood the urgent need for co-operation in the interest of peace, human rights and political change in southern Africa. He worked intensively to improve relations between Mozambique and the United States. We recall his participation just a year ago in the fortieth anniversary session of the General Assembly.

I reiterate our sincere condolences to all who together mourn the passing of President Machel.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of Mozambique.

Mr. KATAWALA (Mozambique): My delegation is deeply moved by the expressions of sympathy and the condolences extended by delegations to the First Committee at this time of grief for the people and Government of Mozambique. The tragedy that has befallen the people and Government of Mozambique today is irreparable and we shall have to try to live with it in the years to come. The untimely death of His Excellency President Samora Machel and other high-ranking officials is unbearable for us.

On behalf of the people, the Government and the delegation of Mozambique, and on my own behalf, I sincerely thank all delegations that have shown their solidarity with us at this difficult hour. We thank the international community as a whole for the words of comfort addressed to us.

AGENDA ITEMS 46 TO 65 AND 144 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS

Mr. BORG (Malta): I wish on behalf of the Maltese delegation to join in the expressions of sorrow at the untimely and tragic death of President Samora Machel and other members of the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique. Our sincere condolences and sympathy go to the people and the Government of Mozambique and to the bereaved families.

(Mr. Borg, Malta)

On behalf of the Maltese delegation, I should like to extend to you, Sir, my congratulations on your election as Chairman of the First Committee. My congratulations go also to the other Committee officers.

In the 41 years since the carnage of the Second World War, the world has been marching towards a perilous abyss, towards conflicts whose consequences would go beyond any past experience and would defy the imagination. The bitter experience of the Second World War, during which virtually every nation was affected, with millions dead and hundreds of millions wounded or made homeless, has not caused mankind to embrace new means designed to prevent a recurrence of such catastrophes in the future. While major efforts have been made towards that end, the inescapable conclusion today, more than four decades after the Second World War, is that those efforts have not yet succeeded. Arms races between the great Powers and between rivals in particular regions have continued for decades and now seem to be accelerating. Global tension continues to mount at an alarming rate, as every succeeding year reveals new evidence that humanity could eventually confront the greatest danger of all: a world-wide nuclear war.

In his book Swords into Plowshares, Inis L. Claude, Jr., describes the theory of disarmament as follows:

"Taken with strict literalness, disarmament appears as an appealingly direct and simple means to peace. Whereas pacific settlement proposes to leave States with nothing to fight about and collective security proposes to confront aggressors with too much to fight against, disarmament proposes to deprive nations of anything to fight with. It purports to eliminate war in the most straightforward way conceivable - by eliminating the means by which it is possible to wage war." (New York, Random House, 1964, 3rd edition, 458 pp.)

(Mr. Borg, Malta)

Those are very important words, and they should be heeded by all of us. Rhetorical language has taken us nowhere. We must act, and act now. Indeed, the present scale of the global allocation of resources to both nuclear and conventional arms casts the grimmest shadow over humanity ever witnessed. It is our shared responsibility to dedicate all our efforts to laying the foundations of international co-operation so that we can remove the awesome threat that arms pose to peace and to human, social and economic development.

It has been eight years since the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was adopted by consensus. For the first time in the history of disarmament negotiations, the international community unanimously agreed on a comprehensive strategy for disarmament. The 1978 special session established a Programme of Action, an ambitious but realistic programme that would have created the foundation for general and complete disarmament. However, in the intervening period the Programme has remained unimplemented. The international situation has deteriorated. The nuclear-arms race has escalated to an alarming degree, and military expenditures have soared. The second Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT II) has remained a dead letter. Negotiations directed towards an agreement on a comprehensive test-ban treaty are still bogged down in difficulties and uncertainties.

A new perception of nuclear strategy has been with us for some time now. That new perception, dumbfounding us with the advance of new technologies, could very well undermine the doctrine of mutual deterrence within the next decade. The concept of fighting, surviving and winning a dreaded confrontational nuclear war is influencing negotiations on nuclear arms. It has been estimated that an arsenal of over 50,000 nuclear weapons is at the disposal of the super-Powers. Studies show

(Mr. Borg, Malta)

that that arsenal will double in size by the early 1990s. The prospect of a world holocaust is now more than real. It would be a holocaust with no winners or losers, and would mean the total self-annihilation of the human race. We all share an important responsibility. All nations, small and large, rich and poor, must work assiduously towards reversing this trend. For us all, it is a war of survival.

Yet, in the face of hopelessness it is most encouraging that even in the almost impenetrable gloom there are some revealing shafts of light. The notions of verification and compliance arrangements are no longer considered anathema, as when they were first raised. The talks held last autumn between the two super-Powers to find ways and means to improve verification of underground testing of nuclear weapons is a step in the right direction. A very important event, which will permeate future disarmament discussions and negotiations, was the successful conclusion reached on confidence-building measures at the Stockholm Conference. Countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact, as well as the neutral and non-aligned countries of Europe, have agreed to be more open about providing warning of military troop movements and allowing observation and detailed inspection by foreigners of certain military exercises in Europe. Another encouraging development occurred last September, with the super-Powers agreeing on measures for preventing accidental war. Those positive steps should encourage us to close ranks and work even harder towards achieving common security.

The global competition between the two super-Powers on war preparations, whether on the high seas, on land or in outer space, has for many years shaped the world we live in. That is very evident whenever a high-level meeting takes place between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States of America. The interest generated by such meetings knows no borders.

(Mr. Borg, Malta)

It is therefore no surprise that the breakdown in the talks held at the Reykjavik meeting a few days ago has brought dismay and disappointment to many who were expecting positive results. Yet, as the results of that meeting began to unfold, new hope for another meeting was expressed. Both leaders have left the door open to further negotiations. The Secretary-General has expressed his hope that,

"despite their differences, the efforts of the two leaders will continue, as these are most important, not only for their bilateral relations but for the international community as a whole".

We share that hope, which is also the hope of mankind.

We are well aware that the agenda before the Committee is a long one.

However, with goodwill and political understanding we can achieve important and long-lasting results. For Malta, the Committee's work is very crucial to peace and security in the world.

Malta has consistently supported resolutions on the question of a comprehensive test-ban treaty. We strongly believe that the conclusion of such a treaty should be among the highest priorities of the United Nations. It is widely accepted that a comprehensive test-ban would inhibit the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We all must work towards achieving that goal and look forward to the day when such a treaty would make it difficult for the nuclear-weapon States to develop new designs of such weapons and place constraints on the refinement of existing ones.

The non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is another aspect of particular importance to my delegation. As a non-nuclear small State, we are very much concerned at the dangerous consequences of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, which has been expressed since 1959 by the General Assembly, which has called for an agreement to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear States. Since its entry into force in 1970, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear

(Mr. Borg, Malta)

Weapons (NPT) has attracted 130 States - an impressive figure. Nevertheless, the results of the Treaty have not been as great as had been hoped. It is very unfortunate that a significant number of countries believed to be capable or soon capable of manufacturing nuclear weapons have not acceded to the Treaty. Non-nuclear-weapon States accepting the Treaty have expressed disillusionment over the non-implementation of article VI of the Treaty, which refers to the commitment of parties to pursue in good faith negotiations towards halting the nuclear-arms race and towards disarmament. Regrettably, what we are witnessing is an addition to the nuclear club, a club that only brings the threat of nuclear conflict and the arms race much nearer our doorstep.

We earnestly appeal to those States that are not parties to the Treaty to reverse their position. Universal accession to the Treaty would strengthen the prospects of international peace and instil a sense of security for non-nuclear-weapon States, in particular the small and vulnerable ones. We note and welcome the important progress being registered in the negotiations on chemical weapons in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. In this respect, it is encouraging to note the forthcoming attitude of the United States and the Soviet Union in contributing towards such a comprehensive treaty. That encouragement is further accentuated by the decision by one of the super-Powers to publish a list of the locations of all of its chemical-weapon storage sites and the specific chemical agents stored at each site. We hope that that commendable step will be followed by similar decisions.

It goes without saying that a comprehensive treaty, which would outlaw forever the production, development, stockpiling, storage and use of such terrible weapons of mass destruction would have everlasting benefits for all mankind. Such a treaty would remove from our lives horrible and indiscriminating weapons, and every effort must be made to achieve this end.

(Mr. Borg, Malta)

The elimination of all nuclear armaments is an absolute priority. The massive expenditure on the production of those armaments, estimated at over \$600 billion per year, could far better be utilized in the alleviation of the economic and social ills that beset the developing world. It is opportune to recall that in his address at the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly the Foreign Minister of Malta said:

"The reckless reliance upon increasing armaments, especially nuclear armaments, exacerbates tension, rather than increasing security. The accumulating and expanding grievances owing to poverty, malnutrition, disease and illiteracy are fast reaching explosion points at both national and international levels. The most outrageous fact of all is that so many resources continue to be poured into the armaments race instead of being devoted to redressing the needs and pressures of development." (A/39/PV.13, p. 71)

Developing countries have been the scene of most of the world's violence since 1945. It has been estimated that approximately 130 wars have been waged in 74 countries since 1945. There are many causes for those conflicts. For most of the post-war period turmoil in developing regions was the result of the struggle for independence. But even now, when there are virtually no colonies left, many sources of tension and potential conflict remain. In the absence of a natural basis for the borders of many developing nations, territorial claims and pressures for the fragmentation of national societies have been frequent, and sometimes intense. In many developing nations historical animosities, religious and racial hatreds and battles for political influence and privilege among disparate elements of society all lead to violent conflict.

Last, but far from least, pressures stemming from economic underdevelopment and the maldistribution of resources and wealth produce stress and strains, both

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within and between nations. Hunger, malnutrition, poverty and ill health on a massive scale are the unfortunate results.

For those reasons, the majority of countries have a deep and continuing interest in détente, in curbing the arms race and in improved relations between the great Powers.

The world community therefore has a vested interest in reversing the trend that has taken place since the end of the Second World War. In a world spending billions a year for military programmes, one adult in three cannot read and write and one person in four is hungry. It has been estimated that it costs \$590,000 a day to operate one aircraft carrier, and every day, in Africa alone, 14,000 children die of hunger and hunger-related causes. While national Governments compete fiercely for superiority in destructive power, there is no evidence of a competition for first place in social development. Economically, the gap between the developed and developing world continues to grow wider as disparities in income between the richest and poorest countries and between the rich and poor within countries continue to widen. In the face of such social injustice and mistaken priorities, disarmament and development are undoubtedly two of the major challenges facing the world community today.

Malta, as a small nation, is convinced that, in conjunction with our search for complete disarmament, we should concentrate on measures designed to eliminate tension and mistrust. Although we are a small nation, we have had a large voice in consistently attempting to promote this objective through all our policies and initiatives. We have been exerting major efforts towards this, particularly within the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), including the just-concluded session of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE).

(Mr. Borg, Malta)

With no arms of its own, but armed with a strong moral force, Malta once again confirmed its stated position at the Conference in Stockholm. The significant agreement reached by the 35 participants on measures for confidence and security building in Europe is seen by my delegation as a prologue to substantive discussions on wider disarmament issues. The agreement, which includes notification and observation of amphibious and naval activities supportive of ongoing land activities in the new confidence and security building régime, is a major breakthrough, in particular for the small neutral and non-aligned States of Europe, including the Mediterranean.

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The Stockholm document reaffirms that, in the broader context of world security, security in Europe is closely linked with security in the Mediterranean area. In this context, the CSCE participants confirm their intention to develop good-neighbourly relations with all States in the region, with due regard to reciprocity and in the spirit of the principles contained in the Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States, so as to promote confidence and security and make peace prevail in the region, in accordance with the provisions contained in the Mediterranean chapter of the Final Act. Malta looks forward to a fruitful continuation of this process in Vienna, thus consolidating measures for greater security in Europe.

Eight years ago we declared our intention and desire to establish a zone of peace and co-operation in the Mediterranean. We continue to have that desire. We are convinced that the establishment of a zone of peace is a practical means of preventing the horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons and of banning such weapons from the Mediterranean. Seven years ago we faced and overcame the awesome challenge of closing the last remaining foreign military base in Malta. Consistent with that declared policy, Malta has refrained and will refrain from joining any military alliance and maintaining any foreign military base. Our foreign policy is one of neutrality based on the principles of non-alignment; it is recognized as such by the entire Non-Aligned Movement and by scores of countries on both sides of the East-West divide. We strongly believe that such a zone would be an effective means for safeguarding the non-nuclear-weapon States bordering on the Mediterranean against the use of nuclear weapons, and thus enhancing their security.

Malta is dedicated to peace, disarmament and co-operation. Not only do we advocate it, but we also practise it very fervently. From the moment we joined

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this Organization we have pressed hard for our objectives. We intend to continue in this endeavour. The importance of joining together, to work within a communal effort towards the objective of world peace, is of prime importance. The time to move forward is now - before it is too late.

Mr. KOSTOV (Bulgaria): I should like at the outset to express my deepest and sincerest condolences to the people, Government and delegation of Mozambique on the occasion of the tragic loss of President Samora Machel and other personalities. We in Bulgaria will never forget the sacrifices that Samora Machel made on behalf of peace, freedom, independence and social progress. I should like once again to pay a last tribute to his heroic life.

In this statement my delegation will dwell on two important issues: the total prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests and the question of verification.

The question of the prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests has always been viewed by the international community as an integral part of the problem of the prevention of nuclear war, the cessation of the arms race, and the achievement of disarmament. Now, when mountains of weapons are stockpiled in the world, the total prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests has become one of the most urgent problems, and the litmus test of one's attitude towards disarmament issues. The continuation of nuclear-test explosions is linked with the further development and stockpiling of nuclear arms, the manufacture of new types of nuclear weapons and, lately, with the sinister plans for Star Wars. This has increased tension and distrust in relations among States. When disarmament negotiations lag behind the race in military technology, it soon becomes very difficult, if not altogether impossible, to check or halt the arms race, which could generate developments beyond human control. The tragic accidents of the Challenger space shuttle and the Chernobyl nuclear power

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station are sufficient cause for reflection in this respect. Let us recall that the detonation of even the smallest nuclear warhead would release three times as much radiation as that emitted during the Chernobyl accident.

The cessation of nuclear-weapon tests has now acquired economic dimensions, as well, in view of the exacerbation of the global problems concerning energy, resources, food supply, the ecology and other areas, the aggravation of the economic situation, and the financial burden of developing countries. According to Mr. John Pike of the Federation of American Scientists, a single nuclear-weapon test costs from \$US 10-30 million, while tests for the strategic defence initiative (SDI) will be even more costly. As shown by documents made public at the request of the United States Senate Armed Services Committee, appropriations for nuclear testing by the United States military are planned to increase by 60 per cent between 1987-1991. This year alone appropriations for preparing and carrying out nuclear-weapon tests will increase by \$US 500 million and in the 1991 financial year by \$US 850 million. It is hardly necessary for us to indicate the areas where those enormous resources could be put to better use.

The cessation of nuclear-weapon tests would be tantamount to putting an end to the arms race in its most dangerous aspect, that is, its qualitative aspect. The underground nuclear-weapon tests conducted after the 1963 Moscow Treaty was concluded have made it possible to develop more accurate missiles and multiple independently targeted warheads. That has considerably undermined strategic stability. Scientists of the Los Alamos research laboratory have confirmed that the increasing number of nuclear test explosions is necessary above all for the development of new types of weapons. This is especially true in relation to SDI and related third-generation arms - X-ray and optical lasers, microwave and

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particle beam weapons and others, for which, according to scientists, hundreds of tests will be needed. The nuclear-weapon test conducted on 28 December 1985 in Nevada under the code name "Goldstone", which was designed to generate a powerful laser beam, clearly shows that SDI is far from being the widely advertised non-nuclear shield which would render nuclear weapons "ineffective and obsolete". At the same time, it is becoming ever more obvious that the development of Star Wars technology is the main reason why the United States is opposed to a nuclear-weapon-test ban.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria shares the confidence of the vast majority of States and of the international community as a whole, as embodied in many General Assembly resolutions, that politically and technically the cessation of nuclear-weapon testing is in present circumstances the most easily applicable, fully verifiable and most radical first step towards curbing the nuclear arms race and proceeding to gradual reduction of nuclear arms until their total elimination.

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What is more, much positive experience has been gained in this respect. As is well known, after the Moscow Treaty of 1963 the bilateral Soviet-American Treaties of 1974 and 1976 limiting underground nuclear tests followed. At the tripartite negotiations held from 1977 to 1980 with the participation of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom, a comprehensive nuclear weapon test ban was in large part agreed upon. The United States, however, refused to ratify the 1974 and 1976 accords. The tripartite talks were suspended by the Western parties.

In order to facilitate a solution to the question of banning nuclear-weapon tests, on 6 August 1985 the Soviet Union announced a unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions, and thereafter extended the expiration date of that moratorium four times. Given the prevailing international tensions, the Soviet moratorium has once again demonstrated that the Soviet Union is fully conscious of its responsibility as a nuclear-weapon State, and its conviction that in our nuclear age new approaches to the issues of international security are needed. This wise political step has met with understanding and broad approbation throughout the world. It has had an enormous impact on world public opinion and contributed immensely to the creation of a new political atmosphere in the world. Only Washington's reaction has remained negative, in responding to the appeal of the Soviet Union by a series of nuclear-weapon tests.

The American rejection of the mutual suspension of nuclear testing has been clad in various arguments, the oldest of them being the alleged difficulty of verification. This assertion has, however, been rejected by the majority of States of the world and by experts in this field. More than 1,000 seismic stations capable of detecting underground nuclear explosions are already deployed around the world. The global seismic network of the United States alone is operating in more than 35 countries, many of them bordering on the Soviet Union. Norwegian

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seismologists have concluded that explosions of 1 kiloton or even less can be detected from a distance of several thousand miles.

The Soviet Union has endorsed the idea of using such international verification procedures as allowing, on a mutual basis and on request, observers from both countries to visit places where there is questionable activity. The proposal of the New Delhi Six to assist in the verification of the suspension of nuclear-weapon tests has been accepted, and the green light has been given to the stationing of United States monitoring equipment near Semipalatinsk. In other words, all forms of verification have been accepted, provided that it is the cessation, rather than the continuation, of nuclear testing that is to be verified.

As a result, the question of verification has ceased to exist as a technical problem. The devaluation of the traditional arguments against verification has once again placed the United States in a quandary, which has prompted a change in the official position of Washington. Now it is alleged that the cessation of nuclear tests would impair the security of the United States by impeding the development of new deterrent weapons and checks on the continued reliability of existing ones. True enough, 90 per cent of nuclear tests are used to develop new weapons, but it is for that very reason that a test ban is needed, to halt the production of destabilizing systems of weapons.

As far as testing the reliability of existing arsenals is concerned, as eight renowned American experts in the field of nuclear weapons wrote to the Congress in a letter dated 14 May 1985, no nuclear explosions are necessary as other means of testing are available for that purpose.

Moreover the moratorium would affect the Soviet strategic arsenal as much as it would the American one. Mutual suspension of nuclear testing could not impair in any way the security of either country. On the contrary, it would provide conditions for the building of confidence between them. Consequently a mutual

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moratorium followed by successful negotiations on a comprehensive nuclear weapon test ban could significantly strengthen security throughout the world.

The Soviet Union has declared that it stands ready to sign a treaty at any time and at any place on the total prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests and has proposed various options for reaching agreements, such as bilateral, tripartite or multilateral negotiations, on verification, among other things.

In the Conference on Disarmament the socialist countries agreed to dividing the work of the Special Committee between two working groups - one on the scope of the test ban and one on verification - and endorsed the drafts proposed by Australia, Mexico and the Group of 21 for the groups' mandates. They are ready to support the solution of the problem by extending the scope of the 1963 Treaty, for which the General Assembly, too, has called. So far, all those options have been rejected by the United States.

Today the cessation of nuclear-weapon tests is one of the most important and feasible goals. There are no insurmountable obstacles to it - political, technical or other. What is needed to pave the way for nuclear disarmament is for all States to exercise political will and exert active practical efforts to that end.

As is well known, all Member States have always attached particular importance to verification in the field of disarmament. Recently, however, much more attention has been devoted to this question. This is largely due to the fact that various disarmament negotiations have stalled and the elaboration of a number of concrete agreements has been delayed by ever more frequent manipulation of the problem of verification.

The explicit and unequivocal position taken by the socialist countries on this issue has been the target of various speculations and deliberate distortions. Attempts are being made to imply that the socialist countries have reservations in regard to verification and are trying to circumvent international measures for

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verification - that, in spite of their professed willingness to accept on-site inspections it is unlikely that they would ever agree to such a measure. The impression is being spread about that in contrast to the "openness" of the West, the so-called closed societies of the East are evading implementation of comprehensive verification and have thrown a thick veil of secrecy over their own activities. Doubts have continued to be voiced about the readiness of the socialist countries to comply strictly and in good faith with their obligations under international instruments. Arbitrary charges of deliberate and systematic activities in violation of one agreement or another and of undertaking special measures to camouflage such breaches are being levelled against them.

I must say right away that those allegations against the policies and positions of the socialist countries are totally unfounded and tendentious. They have been used as a smoke-screen to disguise the attempts of certain States to exploit the problem of verification in order to block the elaboration of specific disarmament agreements.

For this reason I should like to touch upon several of the basic premises underlying our position on the verification issue. It was for the same reason that the delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic decided to introduce under sub-item (n) of agenda item 62, a draft resolution on verification in all its aspects (A/C.1/41/L.1). We are ready to co-operate with all delegations interested in this issue.

Together with the other socialist countries, the People's Republic of Bulgaria attaches great importance to verification in all its aspect. We have no less at stake in reliable and effective verification than any other State. We share the view that agreements on arms limitation and disarmament bear upon sensitive and vital security interests of States, which makes ensuring their complete and strict observance by all States parties essential. Indeed we consider that a political

(Mr. Kostov, Bulgaria)

decision on the part of States to assume of their own free will certain obligations under specific agreements logically presupposes that those obligations will be strictly and faithfully observed. However, that does not obviate the need for effective verification measures. Those measures are multifunctional and are designed to build trust among States and mutual confidence in the strict and unswerving compliance of all parties with the agreements, to contribute to the strengthening and implementation of those agreements and to ensure accurate information about the real situation with respect to their implementation.

(Mr. Kostov, Bulgaria)

In a broader context, verification must contribute to strengthening confidence in long-term security policies and in the good faith of other countries, as well as to promoting international co-operation in the field of disarmament. The demand for effective verification measures envisages the attainment of those very objectives.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria views verification measures as a critically important integral part of any disarmament agreement. The socialist countries have no difficulties with regard to verification. They are open to verification and are ready to accept it in all its forms and methods on a mutual basis, should this be made necessary under specific disarmament measures. We thus feel that the whole point of verification is that it should apply to the implementation of real disarmament measures and to the observance of specific agreements in this area. Verification for verification's sake, with nothing to monitor, is meaningless, since verification would then only serve to measure the ongoing arms race, if it were not used for more unseemly aims.

Our position on verification is based on the relevant provisions of the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. Of considerable importance, in our view, is the provision contained in paragraph 31 of the Final Document, that:

"The form and modalities of the verification to be provided for in any specific agreement depend upon and should be determined by the purposes, scope and nature of the agreement." (A/S-10/4, para. 1)

We note with satisfaction that this is the position of the overwhelming majority of States as well. More specifically, it was reflected in the statements made when resolution 40/152 D was voted on at the last session of the General Assembly and the replies to the Secretary-General in pursuance of that resolution, contained in document A/41/422, from the Governments of a number of countries, including Mexico, China, India, Brazil, Yugoslavia and many others. The importance of the provision

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in paragraph 31 has in fact been recognized by all Member States. This is no mere coincidence - it constitutes a reaffirmation of its fundamental significance. On the basis of that provision, a number of substantive conclusions can be drawn.

The first conclusion is that verification cannot and must not be viewed abstractly or be artificially singled out from the context of concrete agreements. Any agreement to curb the arms race provides for and requires its own specific measures, methods and means of verification. The great importance of verification notwithstanding, measures to limit and reduce armaments form a basic element of any agreement. It is illogical first to set rules for verification and then to adjust the scope and nature of disarmament measures to those rules. It is also illogical to determine in advance that certain measures to curb the arms race are not liable to effective verification and should therefore not be adopted.

It is important that verification be adequate, which means that there must be proportionality between verification measures and arms limitation and disarmament measures. In brief, the essence of this relationship is that disarmament without verification is impossible, but verification without disarmament is meaningless. Fulfilment of the requirements for adequate verification would ensure the viability of disarmament agreements and the opportunity to agree upon generally acceptable yet effective verification measures which, without undue interference in the internal affairs of States and without jeopardizing their economic and social development, would ensure the requisite confidence that those agreements will be observed by all parties.

Nor should verification measures be discriminatory. They should be based on the principles of equality of parties in their rights and obligations under the agreements, as well as the equality and undiminished security of States, and should be elaborated in accordance with the basic principles of international law. More specifically, we consider that the implementation of verification procedures in all

(Mr. Kostov, Bulgaria)

fields and at all stages of arms limitation and disarmament would contribute to reassuring States of their unimpaired security. We attach great importance to the need for disarmament agreements to provide for the participation of the parties in the verification process either directly or through the United Nations system and other international machinery, all on an equitable and non-discriminatory basis.

We are convinced that given the political will to adopt and implement practical disarmament measures, an optimal verification system could be worked out for every such measure, in accordance with the aforementioned requirements. Such a system could include a wide range of verification methods and procedures, such as national technical means and international procedures, including on-site inspections, with additional verification methods to be formulated if necessary.

Another basic element of our position on verification is the understanding that the application of verification measures should be based on co-ordination and co-operation among States. The questions and ambiguities that have arisen concerning the observance of any concrete agreement should be clarified in a constructive and businesslike spirit without hasty, politically motivated and baseless accusations which can only increase suspicion and tension among States, or - even worse - serve as a pretext for the abrogation of agreements in force.

It is also our view that the deliberate complication of the verification issue and allegations regarding the impossibility of verification cannot be qualified other than as reluctance on the part of certain States to have their hands tied by any kind of constraint that would impede their programmes for increasing and modernizing weapons.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria shares the view that it is hardly possible or advisable to develop a general standard verification system. The general verification principle adopted during the tenth special session of the General

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Assembly can serve as a comprehensive basis for elaborating concrete verification measures in various agreements on disarmament.

The issues relating to verification are complex indeed, but not insurmountable. However, attempts to overstate their complexity and to exploit them to frustrate real progress in the field of disarmament should cease altogether. The difficulties of verification to be overcome are political rather than technical in nature. Experience in disarmament negotiations has indicated that when there is a genuine desire to reach agreement, verification does not prove to be an obstacle. Examples of this are the bilateral and multilateral agreements reached so far. Another telling example in this respect was the summit meeting in Reykjavik. As is well known, the two sides came very close to agreeing on comprehensive and far-reaching measures for nuclear disarmament, while the question of verification did not prove to be a particularly complex or difficult problem.

In conclusion, I should like to reiterate that it is now imperative that all countries exercise political will in conducting disarmament negotiations in a constructive spirit and with readiness to reach agreements while at the same time elaborating effective and adequate measures for verification.

For its part, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to make a contribution to the attainment of those objectives.

Mr. ESSY (Côte d'Ivoire) (interpretation from French): The tragic death of President Samora Machel is an incalculable loss not only for Africa, but also for the international community as a whole. Africa loses in him an illustrious fighter for freedom, especially at this crucial moment when, more than ever before, it must work to dismantle apartheid and thus achieve the total liberation of Africa. On behalf of my delegation, I therefore wish to join in the condolences that have been expressed here this morning by the delegation of Benin, Chairman of the African Group.

(Mr. Essy, Côte d'Ivoire)

One year after the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of our Organization the international political situation continues to give rise to concern. Terrorist acts are carried out everywhere, many conflicts remain unresolved and the world is experiencing a serious economic crisis the outcome of which nobody can predict.

However, the international political climate is less tense than it was three years ago, permitting the two super-Powers to resume their negotiations on the limitation and reduction of nuclear weapons. My delegation is particularly pleased about the resumption of negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on strategic nuclear weapons and medium-range missiles. They were interrupted in 1983, plunging the international community into a state of anxiety and fear. At the end of their sixth phase they had allowed both parties to bring together enough factors to lead to the conclusion of an agreement on the reduction of strategic and intermediate-range nuclear weapons as well as on limiting and reducing the number of nuclear tests. We very much regret that such an agreement was not concluded at the recent summit meeting in Reykjavik between the leaders of the two super-Powers.

However, despite the frustration that we feel, which is shared by the whole international community, we welcome the fact that the meeting in Reykjavik took place and that at the end both parties reaffirmed their great willingness to proceed with discussions on disarmament. We therefore strongly urge General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan to continue their efforts and to give new directives to their negotiating teams without delay so that they may quickly resume their talks in Geneva.

That is the price of the survival of all mankind, if we wish to preserve it from certain destruction. In that connection, we are pleased to note the efforts

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of the two super-Powers to identify and put into effect a series of measures designed to reduce the risks of an accidental conflict, such as the establishment of information centres on strategic exercises and on nuclear tests and installations. We strongly urge them to persevere.

Similarly, we welcome all the efforts made in Geneva to limit and reduce the development of chemical weapons. The persistent rumours about the use of those weapons in regional conflicts emphasizes the need to conclude at the earliest possible date a convention on their total prohibition. The Conference on Disarmament in Geneva should redouble its efforts and above all show imagination in order to submit to the international community as soon as possible a draft convention on chemical weapons that might secure international consensus.

The many conflicts that have broken out since the end of the Second World War, like those that unfortunately are taking place today, have been waged with increasingly sophisticated conventional weapons, large quantities of which are shipped around the world. When used, they take a heavy toll in human lives and cause considerable destruction. Moreover, their acquisition, especially by developing countries, diverts millions of dollars, which are completely wasted, that could be devoted to economic growth and social development and the resolution of the many problems of everyday life of all those - the elderly, women and infants - whom we regularly see on television living in distressing, subhuman conditions. The Secretary-General was moved by that when he said in his annual report of last year, with regard to conventional weapons:

"While the fear of nuclear weapons is pervasive because of their potentially global devastating effects, it is conventional weapons that every day claim countless lives. Those who engage in and fuel the arms trade bear a particularly heavy responsibility." (A/40/1, p. 3)

(Mr. Essy, Côte d'Ivoire)

In those circumstances, it is essential that the international community find ways and means to slow down the massive accumulation of conventional weapons, which encourage and fuel regional conflicts. To that end, it is becoming increasingly urgent to deepen and broaden the discussions now going on in Italy on measures to curb the export of arms to countries that benefit from official development aid.

We in Côte d'Ivoire believe that the establishment of a climate of peace and security at the regional level could contribute to a noticeable slowing down in the expansion of numbers of conventional weapons, which would undoubtedly be an important stage in the process leading to general and complete disarmament. That remains one of the prime objectives of the international community, one which it is trying to attain with the active participation of the United Nations.

Furthermore, in many regions of the world today more and more States are taking part in collective efforts to eliminate at the regional level the conventional arms race between States, to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes and, above all, to encourage a common approach to threats to peace and security in their respective regions.

In that connection, the Agreement on Non-aggression and Defence Assistance (ANAD), which is a collective security system, recently showed its usefulness in West Africa by succeeding in halting very quickly the conflict between two brother States in the region and creating through dialogue and agreement conditions which we hope will eliminate the mistrust between them in order to bring lasting peace to our region.

The agreement reached at Stockholm a few weeks ago by the 35 participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is another example of collective security measures and shows that agreement at the regional level to work

(Mr. Essy, Côte d'Ivoire)

for disarmament is possible, as long as there is some political will and at least a minimum of trust between partners.

Since the two super-Powers signed the SALT II treaty, whose implementation, however, has not yet begun, there has been no substantial agreement on the limitation and reduction of armaments in the past few years. However, it is comforting to note that negotiations have taken place between the two super-Powers on strategic weapons, medium-range missiles and conventional weapons. Those negotiations have often marked time, punctuated by proposals and counter-proposals from one or the other, as was the case at the recent Reykjavik summit meeting, or have been abruptly suspended at times. That situation, which we deeply regret, results from mutual mistrust between the partners in the negotiations. That is why the Head of State of Côte d'Ivoire, President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, declared last year at the Eighth Congress of the Democratic Party of Côte d'Ivoire:

"One could meet a thousand times in Geneva to talk about disarmament and achieve nothing, without first destroying the citadel of distrust which exists between the two military blocs that divide the world."

Such distrust, it is true, is not only at the root of the arms race but it also prevents any moves towards disarmament. Therefore, we must above all try to eliminate it and restore confidence if we wish to make significant progress on disarmament.

(Mr. Essy, Côte d'Ivoire)

That is why this Committee three years ago recommended the adoption of the draft resolution that became General Assembly resolution 38/73, which called for the elaboration of guidelines for appropriate types of confidence-building measures and for the implementation of such measures on a global or regional level. The Disarmament Commission was requested to consider that item. Despite serious efforts, the Commission has been unable thus far to formulate specific proposals leading to the elaboration of confidence-building measures on a global level.

On the regional level, however, we have reached a very important stage. I am of course referring to the agreement reached at Stockholm among the 35 participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. That agreement includes important measures to eliminate mistrust and to establish confidence among parties, measures such as observation of certain military activities and prior notification of the schedules of such activities. It also includes means for verification of compliance by the parties. We sincerely believe that agreements which could be reached at the ongoing United States-Soviet negotiations on arms limitation and reduction can make a real contribution to the process of general and complete disarmament only if mutually agreed and acceptable means of verification and control enable the two parties to ensure strict implementation.

We believe also that a range of verification and control measures agreed upon by the two super-Powers - with a view, for instance, to ensuring respect for and implementation of an agreement prohibiting nuclear testing - should be supplemented by an international system of verification and control.

I should like to recall the role that the United Nations could play. In this connection, we consider that the document on verification measures issued at Ixtapa, Mexico, on 7 August this year, at a summit meeting of the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and the United Republic of Tanzania, is a

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very important first step towards a supplementary international system of verification and control of compliance with any agreement on arms limitation and reduction that might be reached between the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

I wish to make a brief reference to the relationship between disarmament and development, a question to which my country attaches great importance. Because of the additional resources it could make available, disarmament would without any doubt contribute to stimulating economic growth, first of all that of the developed countries themselves; it is on this that the growth of developing countries depends. Economic growth and development would contribute in turn to eliminating the poverty that gives rise to serious social and political unrest, which cannot be resolved through the massive accumulation of weapons, as cases in the recent history of international relations have shown.

Thus, there is a link between disarmament and development, and this should be reflected in an international commitment, recognized and accepted by all, to promote development activities, especially those aimed at improving the standard of living in poor countries.

We are reaching the end of the International Year of Peace declared by the United Nations. Côte d'Ivoire, under the leadership of its President, has been infected with the virus of peace, and has once again demonstrated its total devotion and commitment to its second religion, the cause of peace, in the unprecedented mobilization of its population on the Peace Days organized at Abidjan from 16 to 19 October. As stated by President Houphouët-Boigny,

"Confidence led to the defeat of Hitlerism by force of arms. We must come to an agreement on the elimination of a threat greater than Hitlerism: confrontation between régimes with ideological differences."

(Mr. Essy, Côte d'Ivoire)

For its part, Côte d'Ivoire believes that it will be possible to reach that goal through dialogue. We advocate this today and shall always advocate it, for the survival of mankind as a whole depends on successful dialogue. The end of the International Year of Peace does not mark the end of the quest for peace. On the contrary, we hope it will mark the renewal of even greater awareness in the relentless quest for peace leading to brotherly coexistence and to unity in diversity, for the benefit of all mankind.

Mr. PENAZKA (Czechoslovakia) (interpretation from Russian): I wish first of all to convey the deep condolences of the Czechoslovak delegation to the people and the Government of Mozambique on the tragic death of the President of Mozambique, Mr. Samora Machel. His selfless struggle to gain freedom and a brighter future for his people and for all of Africa will always live in our memory.

There has recently been a marked increase in the impetus and energy of efforts to avert nuclear war and to achieve a breakthrough towards disarmament. There is no doubt that there has been a shift towards a comprehensive approach to the question of disarmament as a concrete basis for a global system of peace and security. Moreover, the majority of countries are focusing their efforts on expediting talks on the most important concrete steps, the adoption of which would constitute a genuine breakthrough towards peace without nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. There is heightened awareness of the need for new, powerful initiatives along those lines.

Thus we are seeing the emergence of a new trend in political thought, which has come about because of the realities of the nuclear space age, and which has won growing support. Discussion in the First Committee, in which States representing all political and social systems have participated, has borne this out. It is borne out also by the initiatives taken by the non-aligned countries in the Harare

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declaration, and by the proposals put forward by the group of States representing five continents.

Czechoslovakia supports the tangible possibility that we can now turn to the constructive and rational solution of fundamental problems of disarmament. That is why we look at the Reykjavik meeting first and foremost in the light of the foundation for potential progress that it has provided. At the same time, we regret - as I am sure everyone does - that no final solution was achieved, although we believe that a quantitatively new situation has resulted, and that the efforts for nuclear disarmament have reached a higher stage. Therefore, it is necessary now to step up efforts to formulate radical measures.

That was the conclusion also of the recent Bucharest meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty. The Ministers called upon the United States of America and the other countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to understand the full seriousness of the present world situation and to adopt a constructive and realistic approach to the proposals made by the Soviet Union, which remain the principal subject-matter of the Soviet-United States dialogue. That is by no means a routine appeal; it is made at an extremely important moment, when the time factor has become crucial and when any delay could have irremediable consequences. We hope that the appeal will be given an equally serious response, making it possible to use the foundation laid at Reykjavik as the basis for speedy agreement on broad-ranging issues.

(Mr. Penazka, Czechoslovakia)

At a time when important events are occurring within the context of the Soviet-American dialoguc, more importance attaches to multilateral efforts to achieve disarmament. As a member of the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, Czechoslovakia made every effort this year, as it has in the past, to enhance the effectiveness of the Conference. In particular, we strove to achieve the immediate initiation of significant, practical talks on the total prohibition of nuclear tests and explosions and expressed our readiness to participate in any efforts in that direction.

We also welcomed the responsible decision taken by the Soviet Union to continue its unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions, one result of which has been the creation of a more propitious atmosphere for constructive negotiations. We regret that the response to the innovative proposals advanced by the socialist and non-aligned States by the group of Western States at the Conference was not such as to make agreement possible on the mandate for a special committee. We hope that the appeal made in the First Committee by the delegations of Mexico and other countries for an immediate decision on this issue will lead to speedy progress.

We continue to believe that bilateral and, subsequently, multilateral moratoriums on nuclear explosions would pave the way to agreement. However, for that to happen there must be a thorough review of the whole underlying philosophy of nuclear testing, according to which no prohibition of such testing can occur in the foreseeable future, and then only in the context of a considerable reduction of existing arsenals of nuclear weapons. The inconsistency inherent in that approach and its political and military consequences are obvious. A number of delegations have already drawn attention to this.

We are profoundly convinced that with regard to the reduction of nuclear armaments we must adopt the concept that their further elaboration and development

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is impossible. An expression of the political will to sign immediately a treaty banning all nuclear-weapon tests, as proposed by the Soviet Union and other nuclear Powers at the present session, would be a major step towards solving that problem and all related issues.

From the practical viewpoint, the results of the Conference's work on the priority item of the cessation of the nuclear-arms race and nuclear disarmament have been unsatisfactory. We are in favour of systematic, purposeful consideration of the whole problem of nuclear disarmament which would also help to promote bilateral efforts and supplement them usefully by constructive multilateral incentives. It is essential that a special committee be established for such discussion. We emphasize the need for the Conference to make a substantial contribution to resolving the problems of nuclear disarmament and we stress the fundamental importance of a programme designed to rid the planet of nuclear weapons by the end of this century, as proposed by the Soviet Union on 15 January of this year. That programme would encompass all other means of mass destruction and ensure the peaceful status of outer space and a sizeable reduction in armed forces and conventional weapons, so that the military potential of States would be kept within reasonable bounds.

This proposal is a realistic basis for a comprehensive approach to resolving some of the most important disarmament issues. It broadens considerably our concept of the procedure, timing and methods for reaching agreement on the proposed specific measures and ensures equal security for all States at all stages of its implementation. Thus, this programme, which is unparalleled in its thoroughness and pragmatism, is quite properly viewed as the most reliable point of departure for negotiations on ending the nuclear-arms race and on nuclear disarmament, and should be borne in mind in our work here in the First Committee.

(Mr. Penazka, Czechoslovakia)

Of particular importance in the work of the Conference on Disarmament is the question of expediting practical discussions on ways and means of preventing nuclear war, and all the issues related to that subject. It is obvious that such ways and means should embrace a range of political, legal, ethical and psychological guarantees of the non-use of force in international relations, strengthening security and building confidence, all of which would in turn further strengthen the principle of peaceful coexistence as the highest norm guiding all inter-State relations.

This is the purpose of the proposal on the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security submitted by the socialist countries to the General Assembly at its present session. The position of the sponsors of this proposal is essentially that the outbreak of war and military confrontation must be avoided by political means, not by accelerating the arms race.

We believe that there is agreement in principle in the Conference on Disarmament on the need for a comprehensive approach to the question of the prevention of nuclear war and averting the threat of nuclear war. We also believe that, in keeping with United Nations resolutions, a special committee should be established for that purpose and concrete work begun on considering the necessary measures.

Agreement on confidence-building, security and removing the threat of war in Europe, such as that achieved at the Stockholm Conference, provides striking evidence that such issues can be solved given the political will on the part of the States involved. The agreement reached at Stockholm has also given a new impetus to steps to reduce the danger of military conflict on a world-wide basis.

One timely measure for the strengthening of peace and security would be the adoption of an agreement with binding legal force providing guarantees against the use or the threat of use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States.

(Mr. Penazka, Czechoslovakia)

That goal would also be more easily attained were nuclear-weapon States to provide unconditional guarantees not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, as the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic have already done.

Efforts to resolve the problem of nuclear disarmament and remove the threat of nuclear war are today being compromised by the absence of any progress in preventing a nuclear-arms race in outer space. This was tellingly demonstrated recently by the lessons we learned as a result of the Reykjavik summit meeting. We believe that the most important of those lessons was that peace and security through disarmament on Earth are inseparable from peace and the non-proliferation of weapons in outer space. The critical importance of the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems is obvious to all, including the proponents of the strategic defence initiative. By their reluctance to agree to observe the 1972 Treaty for a further 10-year period, they demonstrate their full appreciation of the fact that, even if broadly interpreted, that Treaty nevertheless prohibits any experiments in outer space in connection with the strategic defence initiative.

(Mr. Perazka, Czechoslovakia)

At the same time, this is in conflict with other international obligations, including the 1967 space Treaty.

What is urgently needed to resolve this issue is further energetic efforts on both a bilateral and multilateral basis. That would include, inter alia, the drawing up of, and agreement on, a "star peace" programme and a considerable revitalization of the activities of the Conference on Disarmament. It is true that this year the Conference did a great deal of work, as set out in its report to the General Assembly. Nevertheless, we believe that the absence of any negotiating mandate has a detrimental effect on the practical negotiation of problems involved in preventing the arms race in outer space in general and individual aspects thereof, such as the conclusion of an international agreement to ensure the immunity of artificial Earth satellites and the prohibition of anti-satellite systems. Therefore, we believe that the Conference should be instructed to reach agreement immediately on a proper mandate for the Ad Hoc Committee, to include the problem of prohibiting space strike weapons.

The Conference's work on those fundamental issues should no longer lag behind the requirements of the time. It is urgent that success be ensured for talks on the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons as a means of waging war and the industrial basis for their production. Considerable importance has been given to this item in the Conference's report.

We welcome the fact that the drafting of a convention in the Ad Hoc Committee has reached a practical stage and that considerable progress is evident. We agree with the demand that a convention should be speeded up and that we should refrain from any steps at odds with that purpose, particularly the manufacture of new forms of chemical weapons and their deployment on other countries' territories. We continue to believe that a useful step - provided there is the necessary political

(Mr. Penazka, Czechoslovakia)

will be feasible in a short time - would be to create chemical-weapon free areas in Central Europe and the Balkans. Such comparatively simple agreements could help to remove the remaining barriers on the way to the global prohibition of chemical weapons and their elimination.

We, together with the German Democratic Republic, have submitted new detailed proposals along those lines to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany to create a chemical-weapon-free zone in Central Europe that could also include other States adjacent to that region. That would be a major contribution to strengthening the pan-European security process and creating co-operation and confidence.

A matter of some urgency is the question of prohibiting new forms of weapons of mass destruction. We believe that the Conference's work in this area would be greatly assisted by appointing a group of qualified experts to identify such weapons and submit relevant recommendations.

We also favour the imposition of a ban on the manufacture of non-nuclear weapons which are based on new physical principles and which, owing to their strike capacity, are analogous to nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

The urgency of imposing a ban on radiological weapons and of respecting the principles of the non-admissibility of armed attacks on nuclear power stations has recently become increasingly obvious. This should be the subject of further talks at the Conference on Disarmament in order to draft elaborate mutually acceptable solutions.

Czechoslovakia is actively involved in the Conference negotiations to reach agreement on a comprehensive disarmament programme. We believe this to be an important political instrument for promoting a systematic approach to the problem of disarmament and a means of mobilizing the efforts of States to resolve this

(Mr. Penazka, Czechoslovakia)

problem. It is therefore a matter of regret that this year it was not possible to approve a draft programme, and we are prepared to support the resumption of that work at the Conference's next session in 1987.

We support the conclusion of specific binding agreements on all those issues and, at the same time, attach particular importance to strict verification measures. At the Conference on Disarmament in June of this year, the Czechoslovak Minister for Foreign Affairs said the following:

"As far as means of verification are concerned and the consistent monitoring of disarmament agreements, I should like to emphasize that we will reject nothing which genuinely pursues the exclusive aim of ensuring their implementation in accordance with the age-old legal principle of pacta sunt servanda - in other words, everything not expressly designed to create conflicts and bring about deliberate collision with State sovereignty. Anyone who carefully studies our proposals is fully aware that this is in fact so."

The constructive and frank nature of our position has been frequently demonstrated, including our readiness to undertake far-reaching measures to establish control and verification of the bacteriological Convention and the recent Conference to review its effects. We, together with the delegation of the Bulgarian People's Republic, have submitted to the First Committee at the present session of the General Assembly a draft solution on the question of verification, which was distributed this morning as document A/C.1/41/L.1. It has been drafted to accommodate the views of a large number of States. It is our hope that it will provide an excellent basis for a fruitful discussion of the questions of monitoring and verification and the adoption of positive resolutions.

It is our belief that in present circumstances it is extremely important that all results of disarmament talks achieved so far should remain valid. They are,

(Mr. Penazka, Czechoslovakia)

albeit in limited form, the sole basis for future progress. Any weakening of that foundation would inevitably lead to very regrettable consequences for the process of disarmament, security and confidence. Therefore, we are prepared to take the initiative of considering the whole question of the complete and consistent implementation of existing arms limitation agreements, in strict compliance with international law. At the same time, we are convinced that it would be in the interest of the entire international community to discuss another measure for strengthening the disarmament process, namely, a voluntary commitment by States parties to agreements not to exercise their right of waiver.

We have always defended the viewpoint that disarmament should serve as a means to resolve global problems pertaining to economic and social development, overcoming backwardness and rendering assistance to developing countries.

(Mr. Penazka, Czechoslovakia)

Therefore we should like once again to reiterate our support for the convening in 1987 of an international conference on the interrelationship between disarmament and development. We hope that this time the relevance of this question will not be ignored. We believe that the conference should provide a positive incentive for further efforts towards disarmament and the resolution of related problems of development and that it should also help promote the strengthening of the economic security of States.

We believe that purpose would further be served by the creation of an international fund for assistance to the developing countries. We commend the practical approach to this issue according to which the activities to be carried out through the fund would be financed from resources made available as the result of the implementation of specific disarmament measures. Such an agreement would undoubtedly serve to enhance the authority of the United Nations and its effectiveness, which is one of the main collective tasks of the States Members of our Organization.

Mr. PEJIC (Yugoslavia): I cannot begin without expressing deep sorrow at the tragic news on the death of Comrade Machel, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, one of the most prominent freedom fighters and leaders of Africa and a respected statesman of the world. With the untimely death of President Machel, the friendly people of Mozambique, Africa and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have lost a wise and respected leader and friend, a staunch champion who knew how to preserve and strengthen the international reputation of Mozambique in a difficult international situation and under continuous pressure and threats against his country by the apartheid régime. President Machel remains a symbol of the struggle for independence and national emancipation, a shining example to new generations not only in Mozambique and Africa but throughout the world. With the death of President Machel, Yugoslavia has lost a trusted and sincere friend,

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

a partner with whom we already maintained close links at a time when, as a leader of FRELIMO, he led the courageous people of Mozambique in their just struggle for liberation.

Almost without exception, the participants in the recent debate in the General Assembly expressed their grave concern over a mounting threat to peace and security in the world. They recalled with anxiety numerous negative tendencies that hampered development and co-operation in practically all areas of international life.

Indeed, today perhaps more than ever before the world is looking with uneasiness and fear at the spiralling arms race, both nuclear and conventional, at recurrent encroachments on the independence and sovereignty of many countries through the use of force, intervention and pressure, at the deteriorating economic and social situation, particularly in developing countries, and at ever more frequent attempts to solve global political and economic problems within the circles of the most powerful countries, thus narrowing the scope of the multilateral co-operation so needed in the present-day interdependent world.

It is widely acknowledged that, in the catalogue of problems that beset mankind today, the existence of nuclear arms and the continuation of the arms race are of particular concern. The development and perfection of weapons of mass destruction threaten the very survival of our civilization. It is only too logical therefore that there are increasing demands to put an end to the arms race and to commence the process of real disarmament. It is beyond any doubt that negotiation and agreement are the only means leading to a world free of this difficult and dangerous burden, a world in which resources will be used for man's benefit rather than for his annihilation. It is high time that rivalry and confrontation gave way to confidence, agreement and equitable co-operation among the peoples and countries.

(Mr. Pejić, Yugoslavia)

That also is the message of the eighth summit conference of non-aligned countries, held in Harare on the eve of the current session of the General Assembly. In Harare, just as they did in Belgrade 25 years ago, at their first summit conference, the non-aligned countries devoted most attention to the questions related to the cessation of the arms race and to disarmament. In the long history of the efforts of the international community in the field of disarmament, no results that would significantly influence the political and military reality of the world have yet been achieved. In fact, considering the gravity of the problem, agreements in this field have been few and far between. Moreover, even those that have been concluded are put in question and, in more ways than one, their implementation is made contingent on other factors.

Bearing in mind the grave situation in respect of disarmament, the eighth summit conference of non-aligned countries in Harare addressed a special appeal to the leaders of the two super-Powers in which, inter alia, it is said that mankind has never before been so close to self-annihilation and that the alternative is therefore not war or peace, but rather life or death, which makes the struggle for the prevention of nuclear war the imperative of our time. Proceeding from those positions, the participants in the summit conference in Harare called upon the nuclear Powers, primarily the United States of America and the Soviet Union, to take urgent steps to bring about genuine disarmament.

The international community has of late been following the contacts between the great Powers in the field of disarmament with understandable and exceptional attention. It received very favourably their agreement last year to start negotiations on questions related to space and nuclear weapons with a view to working out effective agreements aimed at preventing an arms race in space and terminating the arms race on earth, negotiations that should ultimately lead to the complete elimination of nuclear arms everywhere.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

It should be recalled that at its fortieth anniversary session the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution expressing the hope that the meeting of the leaders of the two leading Powers would give a decisive impetus to their bilateral negotiations so that those negotiations would produce early and effective agreements on the halting of the nuclear-arms race with its negative effects on international security as well on social and economic development, reduction of their nuclear arsenals, prevention of an arms race in outer space and the use of outer space for peaceful purposes.

Indeed, the American-Soviet summit meeting of last year brought encouragement and raised new hopes. Encouraging also were the new proposals on the elimination of nuclear weapons, the USSR moratorium, and prospective negotiations on a comprehensive nuclear-test ban, as well as the progress that the two super-Powers achieved in their bilateral negotiations in Geneva. This was understood as a sign of their resolve to commence negotiations as the best means of responding to their obligation as leading nuclear Powers to launch and carry out the process of nuclear disarmament. The decision of General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan to meet in Reykjavik was received in the same spirit. The failure to reach agreement at that meeting brought about world-wide disappointment, especially since after the meeting both sides asserted that no major historic agreement on arms limitation and reduction had ever been so close.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

Of course, the dividing line between failure and success is sometimes very thin indeed. The fact remains, however, that an opportunity to reach an agreement at that very meeting on a number of issues related to nuclear arms has been lost. What we must do here and now is even more resolutely to urge the two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, to continue and accelerate their efforts to halt the arms race and eliminate nuclear arms as soon as possible, since time is running out. Arms, particularly nuclear arms, cannot serve peace. If anything, they threaten all countries, big and small.

Once again, the report of the Conference on Disarmament fails to allay our concerns. The Conference ended its session this year without reaching concrete agreements. The results achieved in some areas still fall short of the possibilities provided by the Conference.

Of particular concern is the fact that, this year once again, despite the efforts of the great majority of the members of the Conference, it was not possible to start negotiations on priority issues - first and foremost, on a comprehensive nuclear test ban, nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war. The main reason remains the same: some members of the Conference persistently deny it the right and competence to negotiate on questions of nuclear disarmament. There is no doubt that such an attitude further undermines the role and importance of the Conference, although it is the sole multilateral organ in the field of disarmament.

Yugoslavia cannot agree to the selective approach espoused by some members of the Conference, either. It should not be allowed that groups of questions are singled out, in accordance with the interests of certain members, on which the Conference can or cannot negotiate. The Conference on Disarmament should be enabled to negotiate on all questions of disarmament that concern the security of all countries. Bilateral negotiations between the two leading nuclear Powers with the largest nuclear arsenals are of unquestionable importance. But those

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

negotiations should be accompanied by multilateral negotiations within the international community. It is, after all, the nuclear age which, more than any other period in human history, has brought to the fore the interdependence of the world and has highlighted our joint responsibility for its destiny. The cessation of the nuclear arms race and disarmament are of vital importance for the security of all, and not just for the super-Powers.

Similarly, the Conference on Disarmament should not be denied the right to conduct substantial negotiations on a comprehensive nuclear test ban. It has been said in this Committee time and again that an agreement on a comprehensive nuclear test ban would have a tremendous impact on the prevention of the qualitative development of nuclear arms and on the cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament in general. The attitude of the nuclear Powers towards a nuclear test ban has become a litmus test of their policy and their genuine intentions in the nuclear military field - that is, of their sincere desire to address themselves earnestly to the limitation and reduction of nuclear arms in the world.

The prevention of the arms race in outer space has for some time now been the focus of worldwide attention. The extension of the arms race to outer space has today gone beyond the realm of science fiction - it is a real possibility and a real danger. If this came to pass, it would certainly spark off a new cycle in the arms race, both qualitatively and quantitatively, with all the unforeseeable consequences that would hold for peace and security in the world.

It is therefore very important to eliminate nuclear-weapon rivalry from outer space and ensure that, as the common heritage of mankind, it is used exclusively for peaceful purposes. That is why it is necessary for the Conference on Disarmament to commence substantial negotiations on all questions relating to the prevention of the arms race in outer space.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

It is indeed very difficult to concur with assertions that the deployment of new weapons in outer space would lead to the prevention of an arms race. If anything, the effect would be counterproductive. This has been pointed out in the Final Document adopted by the Non-Aligned Countries at the summit in Harare, at the initiative of the Delhi Six, and by many other countries in the debate at the United Nations.

Unlike the situation in the areas of disarmament already mentioned, encouraging progress has been made in the negotiations on chemical weapons. An international agreement on that issue is taking shape, and individual annexes are being elaborated in further detail. There is a long way to go, however, before the job is completed. It is necessary to harmonize positions on a number of the important questions to be regulated by a convention, particularly those relating to the verification procedure. The results achieved so far make it incumbent upon the Conference to speed up negotiations and to work out in the foreseeable future a text for a convention on the complete prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons, as well as on the destruction of such weapons.

The termination of the nuclear arms race is undoubtedly our primary task. However, this does not mean that we should lose sight of all the dangers inherent in the conventional arms race and of the need to take measures to bring that race to an end.

That race is continuing at an accelerated pace, particularly between the countries with the largest military arsenals. More than 100 wars have been fought with conventional arms since the Second World War, and millions of human lives have been lost. Conventional arms continue to be used in various local conflicts and military interventions. The General Assembly should therefore devote full attention to the question of conventional arms.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

At its thirty-eighth session, the General Assembly decided to hold a third special session devoted to disarmament not later than 1988. The General Assembly should therefore adopt appropriate decisions that would enable us to begin preparations for that special session. With that in mind, we believe that this session should decide to set up a preparatory committee for the third special session devoted to disarmament, which would report to the forty-second session of the General Assembly on all relevant issues.

Yugoslavia regrets the postponement of the Conference on Disarmament and Development. In our opinion, there were no valid reasons for that. The Preparatory Committee had carried out extensive work and laid solid foundations on which it would have been possible to build joint positions. The importance of the questions involved make it incumbent upon us to decide at this session on a date for the Conference in 1987. It is our earnest hope that such a decision will be adopted this time without hesitation.

In conclusion, I should like to emphasize that, as a European non-aligned country, Yugoslavia has always attached the greatest importance to the development of relations in Europe. It has striven to make its own contribution to positive developments in Europe. The strategic orientation of Yugoslavia and its vital and security interests direct it to seek, together with the non-aligned and neutral countries in Europe, the relaxation of tension on our continent. It is equally committed to the reduction of the military and naval presence of the great Powers in the Mediterranean and its gradual transformation into a region of peace and co-operation. This is all the more so since, because of increased concentrations of military forces belonging to the super-Powers, and the pressure that some non-aligned countries of the region are exposed to, the Mediterranean is becoming one of the more dangerous hotbeds of crisis in the world today.

(Mr Pejic, Yugoslavia)

Yugoslavia assesses very positively the results recently achieved at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. The Stockholm agreement has borne out the fact that in order to solve European questions all European countries must take part and co-operate, and that, with goodwill and serious effort, is possible to conclude agreements even on such delicate political and military matters as have been negotiated in Stockholm.

Of course, the Stockholm agreement has brought no radical changes in the present military and political situation in Europe, which remains the continent with the greatest concentration of nuclear and conventional arms of the two blocs. But the agreement is an important contribution to the creation of more favourable political conditions for the forthcoming Vienna session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

I take this opportunity to assure the Committee that Yugoslavia will continue to make its full contribution within the United Nations, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Conference on Disarmament to the general efforts to end the arms race and begin the genuine process of disarmament.

The CHAIRMAN: The following delegations are on the list of speakers for this afternoon's meeting: the United States of America, Kuwait, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Guyana.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.