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Chairman: Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic)

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ORGANIZATION OF WORK

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

AGENDA ITEMS 46 TO 65 AND 144 (continued)

CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION UPON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON DISARMAMENT

Mr. van SCHAIK (Netherlands): I have the honour to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/41/L.69 on agenda item 62 (b), "Report of the Conference on Disarmament". It is submitted by Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Turkey and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as well as by my own country.

The sponsors of the draft resolution hold the opinion that the spirit of consensus that ultimately prevailed and the constructive atmosphere that this year in the end led to a balanced report of the Conference on Disarmament, agreed by consensus, should also be reflected in a resolution related to this report. In fact, we feel that a resolution on the report of the Conference on Disarmament should fully reflect the consensus arrived at in that Conference.

In addition, we note that encouraging progress has been made during the 1986 session, particularly in the negotiations on a convention prohibiting the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons. Also in other areas the Conference on Disarmament has played a useful and even essential role in the consideration of disarmament matters. We recognize that many amongst us would have wished that more progress had been made, but we feel that the ideas and ambitions inspiring those delegations have been sufficiently dealt with in other resolutions that focus on those issues.

We wish to assure all delegations that in our view the Geneva Conference on Disarmament remains the single multilateral negotiating body operating in the framework of the United Nations. I recall in this context the Secretary-General's

(Mr. van Schaik, Netherlands)

call for high-level attention to and expert participation in the Conference on the part of Member States. As was said in paragraph 120 of the Final Document of the Special session of the General Assembly on disarmament in 1978, we are:

"deeply aware of the continuing requirement for a single multilateral disarmament negotiating forum of limited size taking decisions on the basis of consensus" - which in fact means the Conference on Disarmament. (resolution S-10/2, para. 120)

We sincerely hope that it will be possible to agree here on matters on which delegations of 40 countries agreed about two months ago in Geneva. We sincerely desire that the present draft resolution be adopted by this Committee by consensus.

Mr. ALZAMORA (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): It is an honour for my delegation this afternoon to introduce two draft resolutions. The first is in document A/C.1/41/L.66, under agenda item 60 (b), "Conventional disarmament on a regional scale", and is so far sponsored by the following countries: Bangladesh, Bolivia, Cameroon, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guyana, Jamaica, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Romania, Thailand, Togo, Uruguay and Yugoslavia. The second is in document A/C.1/41/L.68, under agenda item 61 (c), and deals with the establishment in Lima of the "United Nations Regional Centre for Peace, Disarmament and Development in Latin America", within the framework of the World Disarmament Campaign; it is sponsored by the following countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Cameroon, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Jamaica, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Saint Lucia, Suriname and Venezuela.

As regards the draft resolution on conventional disarmament on a regional scale, my delegation wishes to point out that, in essence, this is a relatively brief text that seeks to update resolution 40/94 A, which was adopted by an overwhelming majority, without a negative vote, by the General Assembly last year. It does not modify the order of priorities enshrined in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, nor is it inspired in an isolationist or disruptive conception of the negotiations on disarmament, since we conceive these negotiations closely linked. As I pointed out in the Committee last year:

"By this proposal the sponsoring countries have no intention of replacing the final objective of general and complete disarmament with supposedly selective options, whether selective in geographical scope or contents. On the contrary, our aim is to give new momentum, through the regional approach, is

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

nothing new, to the negotiations designed to bring about that final objective while at the same time dealing with important priorities related to development and to the strengthening of the security of the countries involved, and to the reduction of the general pace of the arms race at the regional level." (A/C.1/40/PV.33, p. 12)

As may be seen from the text we have submitted, the first preambular paragraph is intended to recall paragraph 1 of resolution 40/94 A, in which a series of elements is summed up, defining this regional approach to conventional disarmament. Those elements are: favourable conditions at the regional level; strengthening of peace and security at a lower level of forces; appropriate measures permitting arms limitation in the countries directly involved; adoption of a mechanism of verification that is adequate and satisfactory for all the countries involved; and reaffirmation of the full effectiveness of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

As for paragraph 1 of the draft resolution, its intent is to reaffirm the above-mentioned resolution, which contains an additional four operative paragraphs referring to substantive matters spelling out its scope and placing it within the framework of the progress made towards general and complete disarmament in the light of the primary responsibility incumbent upon the nuclear Powers and other militarily important States.

Paragraph 2 expresses the firm support of the General Assembly:

"to all regional endeavours, as well as unilateral measures, directed to strengthening a climate of mutual confidence which will make possible regional agreements on arms limitation in the future".

Paragraph 3 is procedural. Its purpose is to update the availability of the Secretariat to provide its valuable assistance in the area of studies on reduction of military expenditure and to call upon interested States.

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

The same can be said of paragraph 4, which proposes to include the item on "Conventional disarmament on a regional scale" on the provisional agenda of the forty-second session of the General Assembly.

The second draft resolution, contained in document A/C.1/41/L.68, on the establishment in Lima of a "United Nations Regional Centre for Peace, Disarmament and Development in Latin America", falls, as I have just said, within the framework of the World Disarmament Campaign and, as such, seeks the widest possible dissemination of information and unhampered access by all sectors of public opinion to a broad range of information and opinion on issues relating to arms limitation and disarmament, and on the dangers involved in all aspects of the arms race and, in particular, nuclear war.

The Regional Centre is viewed by the sponsors as a relatively modest step, bearing in mind the serious financial difficulties now faced by the United Nation. Hence it is not our intention to promote the creation of a bureaucratic body with its own ad hoc infrastructure, but rather to take maximum advantage of the resources currently available to the United Nations, including its infrastructure in Lima. The Regional Centre for Latin America could become an example of a new dynamic for better use of existing resources, sectoral rationalization and cost-effectiveness optimization.

The draft resolution I am introducing today has four preambular paragraphs and five operative paragraphs.

The first preambular paragraph recalls resolution 39/63 J of 12 December 1984, which lays the foundations for the establishment of regional and institutional arrangements for the implementation of the World Disarmament Campaign.

The second preambular paragraph recalls the decision adopted by the Latin American Council of the Latin American Economic System at its twelfth regular

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

session held at Lima on 16 and 17 October 1986 in which the Foreign Ministers, Ministers and Heads of Delegation of the Latin American and Caribbean countries reaffirmed their support for the establishment in Lima of a United Nations Regional Centre for Peace, Disarmament and Development in Latin America and requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to take the necessary steps.

The third preambular paragraph underscores the effectiveness and validity of the regional approach to disarmament, which is based on concepts enshrined in the Final Document of 1978 that have been reiterated by the General Assembly in 1982, 1983 and 1984.

Finally, the last preambular paragraph refers to the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa, established by the General Assembly in resolution 40/151 G of 16 December 1985. On behalf of the sponsors, my delegation wishes to pay tribute to Africa for its pioneering initiative, which reaffirms the traditional dedication of its peoples to peace and justice. With the L. é Centre Africa is providing an opportunity - to which Latin America would associate itself - to teach peace and by way of academic thinking and regional dialogue to demonstrate the negative effects of the arms race upon development and the living conditions of its peoples.

As to paragraph 1, on the establishment of the Centre, it is important to note that, without prejudice to making the best possible use of existing resources, especially as regards the United Nations infrastructure in Lima, the sponsors understand that basic support for the financial resources of the Centre would be provided by voluntary contributions from Member States and from interested governmental or non-governmental organizations.

Paragraph 2 seeks to define the complementary work the Regional Centre may carry out with regard to initiatives and activities of the Member States of the

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

region for peace and disarmament and for the promotion of economic and social development through appropriate reutilization of available resources. It also provides for co-ordination of those activities falling within the World Disarmament Campaign.

In pursuance of the provisions of paragraph 1, paragraph 3 calls upon the Secretary-General

"to take the necessary administrative measures to ensure the establishment and functioning of the Centre, including, to that end, the possible utilization of the existing United Nations infrastructure in Lima with a view to the full employment of available resources".

In consonance with the above, paragraph 4 contains an invitation to:

"Member States and interested organizations to make voluntary contributions to the Centre".

(Mr. Aizamora, Peru)

Finally, paragraph 5 contains a procedural provision under which the Secretary-General is requested to report to the General Assembly at its forty-second session on the implementation of the resolution.

In view of the non-controversial character of draft resolutions A/C.1/41/L.66 and L.68, my delegation expresses the hope, on behalf of the sponsors, that the Committee will adopt them by consensus.

Mr. BUTLER (Australia): It is well known that the first resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations 40 years ago was on nuclear-arms control. When historians look back at this nuclear age, they will see a continuum, a continuing striving by the international community to deal with nuclear weapons.

That effort has brought into existence a good number of truly vital treaties and international arrangements, but the régime for nuclear-arms control is not complete, and the history of our efforts to complete it will show that the world community has called with virtually one voice during the last 30 years for an end to all nuclear testing, for a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty as the means of ensuring that ban.

I have the honour today to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/41/L.72, entitled "Urgent need for a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty". Such a treaty would provide for an end to all nuclear testing by all States in all environments for all time. The draft resolution is sponsored by the delegations of Australia, Austria, Cameroon, Canada, Denmark, Fiji, Finland, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Malaysia, New Zealand, Norway, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Samoa, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Sweden and Thailand.

This draft resolution represents a new approach. It was devised in the same way as previous draft resolutions, that is, on the basis of co-operation between Australia and New Zealand, and then between a wider group, a core group of

(Mr. Butler, Australia)

co-sponsors. The new approach it represents has two main aspects. First, we have sought to remove from our draft resolution statements or declarations which, while valid, are now part of the past history of this issue and need not necessarily be directly recalled. We have done this because we believe our draft resolution should be as simple, direct and clear as possible.

Secondly, we have sought to take account of important developments which have occurred during the past 12 months. Those have included bilateral discussions between the United States and the Soviet Union, the important work carried out through the six-country initiative, the increased attention that has been given to the need for the early implementation of interim measures leading to a comprehensive nuclear-test ban, such as the establishment of a global seismological network and the work of the Conference on Disarmament's Group of Scientific Experts.

Those are the new aspects of our draft resolution, but if it has one central point, one main characteristic, it is this: it is aimed at one single objective, namely, to advance practical work on a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty. So we have set aside the temptation to make mere declarations or to seek to apportion blame for past slowness in this field or to score political points.

We believe that the multilateral process of the United Nations and our work here on disarmament should be made effective. A key way to achieve that effectiveness and to maintain the value of our draft resolutions is to do what we co-sponsors have done in this case: to take account of relevant practical realities, but to strive for the required and attainable progress.

That is the distinguishing mark of our draft resolution, and it is for that reason that we ask all of those members of the Committee who truly support and, indeed, yearn for the earliest possible conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty, to support draft resolution L.72.

Mr. McDOWELL (New Zealand): The representative of Australia has just introduced draft resolution A/C.1/41/L.72, "Urgent need for a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty". I speak in support of that draft resolution.

Committee members will be well aware that New Zealand and Australia, together with a group of friends, have for many years taken the lead in the Committee in promoting a draft resolution calling for the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty. It is an initiative to which we attach the greatest importance.

Nuclear testing has long concerned the countries of the South Pacific. Our region has been used as a testing ground for many years by a succession of nuclear Powers. We recognize, moreover, that nuclear testing is an issue of universal concern. The conclusion of a test-ban treaty has been a major disarmament goal of the international community for well over 25 years. We are all aware of the resolutions and other documents in which that goal is given expression.

In spite of the clarity with which the goal has been expressed, progress towards its achievement has been dreadfully slow. For the past three years the Conference on Disarmament has been deadlocked over what kind of mandate should be given an ad hoc committee under the nuclear-test-ban item. This situation is very difficult to explain to a disbelieving public. We must do something about it.

In this year's draft resolution we have taken a fresh look at the issue. We want to get away from sterile arguments of the past over the implications of this expression -- that in such texts. We have focused directly on the objective and on the steps that might be taken to achieve it.

So, in the preamble, we have set the test ban firmly in the context of disarmament efforts. It is an integral and necessary part of the process of getting rid of all nuclear weapons. While taking account of recent developments, we have not -- as my colleague from Australia has just pointed out -- laden the text

(Mr. McDowell, New Zealand)

with references to every resolution or precedent of relevance. They can be taken as read.

The operative section is even more pared down and direct. We state the fundamental importance of a test-ban treaty. We then set out the key message of the draft resolution: the Conference on Disarmament is urged to commence practical work on a nuclear-test-ban treaty at the beginning of its 1987 session. Operative paragraph 2 (a) is the guts of this draft resolution.

In operative paragraph 2 (c) we suggest that the nuclear-weapon States agree to interim measures with a view to realizing a test-ban treaty. I would note that both the United States and the Soviet Union have reported that a series of such interim measures was part of a package of proposals almost agreed at the Reykjavik summit.

(Mr. McDowell, New Zealand)

In operative paragraph 3, we call on the Conference on Disarmament to take steps to establish an international seismic monitoring network. We believe that such a network could provide an answer to the ongoing arguments about the verifiability of a test-ban treaty by seismic means.

This draft resolution is a serious and, we hope, practical endeavour to get some action. It is the hope of New Zealand and the other sponsors that the approach set out in our draft will provide a way of getting around some of the doctrinal - or is it theological? - arguments that have held up work in recent years.

We ask for the support of every member of the Committee for our draft resolution. Some might argue that it is not strong enough on some points. Others may find it too rich for their taste. We believe, however, that the approach contained in it takes careful account of the positions of all members of the Assembly and prejudices none of those positions. We and our co-sponsors have worked hard to produce a text we believe offers the prospect of a real step forward on this most important disarmament issue. We commend it to the membership - indeed to the whole membership.

Mr. FAN Guoxiang (China) (interpretation from Chinese): I have asked to speak to introduce a draft resolution concerning outer space. The item entitled "Prevention of an arms race in outer space" has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for five years, but up to now the international community has failed to conduct multilateral negotiations on this important issue.

In the meantime, the trend towards expanding the arms race to outer space has been continuously growing. Such a situation is extremely disturbing.

The Chinese Government has always maintained that outer space, rather than becoming an environment where the arms race is conducted, should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. At present, the most space-capable countries

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are competing with each other in research, testing and developing varieties of space weapons. Once such weapons are deployed, it will be much more difficult to reach agreements on limiting or banning them.

Therefore, preventing an arms race in outer space has become a most pressing task. Outer space should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. In our view, "peaceful purposes" means that any use of outer space for military purposes should be prohibited. As a newly opened frontier for mankind's activities, outer space is very similar to the Antarctic and should be treated as such. The definition of "peaceful purposes" as contained in the preamble and article I of the 1959 Antarctic Treaty is clear-cut, and we believe that the statement that "outer space should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes" should carry no other meaning.

However, considering the complexities involved in satellites, the demilitarization of outer space could not but be a long-term and final goal. As a step towards this goal, our pressing task is to prevent and prohibit the weaponization of outer space - that is, there should be a comprehensive ban on space weapons.

Up to now, the discussion of the question of outer space in the Geneva Conference on Disarmament has been focusing on existing international legal documents relevant to outer space. Such deliberations are necessary if they are followed by negotiations on, and the drafting of, new international legal documents to prevent, in a comprehensive way, the extension of the arms race to, and the weaponization, of outer space. The reality is that the Soviet Union and the United States either already possess certain types of space weapons or are currently in the process of research and development of such weapons. The two countries have major differences in interpreting the agreement reached previously between them. This means that the existing international space regulations have big loopholes.

(Mr. Fan Guoxiang, China)

Efforts to close them or to call on other countries to participate in such a framework and abide by the regulations are not sufficient to prevent an arms race in outer space.

The immediate task for the international community is to negotiate an international agreement on the complete prevention and destruction of space weapons and request the countries concerned to adopt practical measures to stop the arms race, or at least to avoid the worsening of the situation.

Based on these fundamental positions, the Chinese delegation, following the practice of last year and the year before, has again this year submitted a draft resolution concerning the prevention of an arms race in outer space (A/C.1/41/L.4). Its thrust is as follows:

With a view to achieving the goal of prevention of an arms race in outer space, it is highly advisable to consider adopting measures and conducting negotiations on two fronts, simultaneously or separately: that is, on the complete prohibition of all types of outer space weapon systems and on the prohibition of the use or threat of force and any other hostile actions in outer space.

The Conference on Disarmament is again requested to establish an ad hoc committee to negotiate relevant international agreements and an appeal is addressed to all States possessing outer space capabilities to refrain from developing, testing and deploying outer space weapons, so as to create propitious conditions for negotiations. In our view, this last point is of particular importance under present circumstances.

We hope that this draft resolution by the Chinese delegation will receive serious consideration by all sides.

Sri Lanka, Egypt and 14 other countries have also submitted draft resolution A/C.1/41/L.24 on the prevention of an arms race in outer space. The Chinese

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delegation endorses its purpose and basic content. We shall be happy to consult and co-ordinate with the sponsors.

We hope that, as we did in previous years, the Committee will adopt a draft resolution with the widest support on such an extremely important issue as the prevention of an arms race in outer space. Let us make concerted efforts on behalf of the international community.

Mr. CAMPORA (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): The Argentine delegation wishes today to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/41/L.34 on "Prevention of nuclear war". The other sponsors are: Algeria, Bangladesh, Brazil, Cameroon, Colombia, Congo, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Romania, Sudan, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia.

Draft resolution L.34 is similar to those of previous years, although it contains some new elements which, we hope, will serve to bring this important item out of the inertia in which it has languished in the Conference on Disarmament.

Once again the General Assembly is requesting the Conference on Disarmament, through this draft resolution, to undertake, as a matter of the highest priority, negotiations with a view to achieving agreement on appropriate and practical measures for the prevention of nuclear war.

(Mr. Campora, Argentina)

Several appropriate, practical measures have been proposed by some delegations for the prevention of nuclear war. Among others we could mention a moratorium on nuclear-weapon tests, compliance with nuclear-arms limitation agreements, the unconditional renunciation of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States, forswearing the first use of nuclear weapons, horizontal non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and prevention of an extension of the arms race into outer space.

The following have also been mentioned as confidence-building measures that may contribute to the prevention of nuclear war: immediate negotiation for the peaceful solution of disputes between nuclear-weapon States in areas of tension between such States or between such States and others; extension of existing agreements so as to establish direct communication between nuclear-weapon States in times of emergency; and the creation of crisis-management centres in nuclear-weapon States and countries which do not possess nuclear weapons, bearing in mind that during times of crisis both kinds of countries may be of assistance in helping to reduce the severity of the tensions.

As is well known, to date the Conference on Disarmament has been unable to establish an ad hoc committee to conduct negotiations on the adoption of measures for the prevention of nuclear war. Possibly one of the reasons that have hampered work in the Conference on Disarmament towards starting negotiations on this item has been the global nature of their presentation. It might be thought that taking up the item on the prevention of nuclear war in general terms raised difficulties of precision about the specific aspects of the issue to be dealt with. If that has been the reason for the lack of progress on this item in the Conference on Disarmament, draft resolution A/C.1/41/L.34 provides an opportunity to create an

(Mr. Campora, Argentina)

ad hoc committee to negotiate and adopt individually measures to prevent nuclear war, such as those I have enumerated earlier.

Thus draft resolution A/C.1/41/L.34 includes a new criterion the flexible application of which would, we hope, facilitate the agreement and co-operation of the few delegations that in the past did not support the General Assembly resolution on the prevention of nuclear war.

Mr. FRANCESCHI (Italy): On behalf of the delegations of Belgium, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Iceland, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, the United Kingdom and of my own delegation, I have the honour of introducing draft resolution A/C.1/41/L.41 on the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

May I first of all underline the importance attached by the delegations sponsoring this draft resolution to the issue of the prevention of an arms race in outer space, which plays a crucial role in the debates now taking place in this Committee and in the Conference on Disarmament, as well as in the bilateral negotiations between the USSR and the United States. We believe it is rightly so because arms-control issues related to the military use of space have a very significant bearing on international stability and indeed are of great relevance for international peace and security.

Furthermore, we are deeply convinced that the exploration and use of outer space should be carried out for the benefit of all countries, irrespective of their degree of economic and scientific development.

The sponsors also believe that, to facilitate agreement that will really enhance strategic stability in view of an overall reduction of nuclear and conventional armaments, issues concerning nuclear and space arms should be considered in their interrelationship. They sincerely hope that recent

(Mr. Franceschi, Italy)

developments in the negotiations between the USSR and the United States of America will bring about progress, in spite of the complexities of the problems involved.

At the same time, the sponsors are convinced that the multilateral and bilateral processes are mutually complementary and that each can make a constructive contribution to the development of the other. They fully appreciate the fundamental role the General Assembly and the Conference on Disarmament can and must play in identifying effective ways to prevent an arms race in outer space.

May I also refer to the constructive debates that took place during the past session of the Conference on Disarmament on the examination and identification of issues relevant to the prevention of an arms race in outer space, as well as to existing agreements, proposals and future initiatives on this subject. We believe that a very important analysis has been initiated in this area and we are looking forward to the intensification of our substantive work on these issues.

That is the background against which the sponsors would like their draft resolution to be viewed by other interested delegations. The draft resolution, which is an expression of our thinking on issues related to the prevention of an arms race in outer space, is not necessarily intended to conflict with other draft resolutions on this subject; rather, it is an expression of a sincere willingness to co-operate with a view to achieving consensus formulations in a spirit of compromise and understanding. Our delegations have tried to identify the points on which controversy should not exist and are fully prepared to consider positive suggestions by other delegations in a common search for ways to achieve progress in the field of arms control and disarmament.

I wish to conclude by expressing the most fervent hope that the efforts made by the sponsors and their intention to avoid controversy and promote co-operation and understanding will be favourably received and that delegations will support

(Mr. Franceschi, Italy)

draft resolution A/C.1/41/L.41. At the same time, we are open to co-operative efforts by others aimed at a single consensus draft resolution on the subject of preventing an arms race in outer space.

Mr. ABDULSATAR (Iraq) (Interpretation from Arabic): I should like to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/41/L.46. This draft resolution deals with an important aspect related to the work of the Conference on Disarmament.

After a long period of continuous work in that body it has become clear that States attach great importance not only to the Conference's work but also to its result - achieving the noble objective of general and complete disarmament by means of effective measures and procedures. For those measures and procedures to be effective and global, taking into account all aspects of the disarmament problem, the Conference's rules of procedure provide for the right of all States that are not members to participate in its work and to present documents and studies to the Conference.

(Mr. Abdulsatar, Iraq)

This right has been laid down in accordance with the purposes of the Conference on Disarmament in order to provide all Members of the United Nations with an opportunity to contribute effectively to the success of negotiations to bring about complete disarmament.

The importance of the universality of the Conference is reaffirmed in paragraph 120 (g) of the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, in which all Members of the United Nations are urged to participate vigorously in the work of the Conference on Disarmament. We support the adoption of the resolutions of the Conference by consensus, but we regret that that is being interpreted in such a way that its members have been given the right of veto, since the provisions of paragraph 28 provide that all States have the right to participate in the Conference.

Indeed these provisions actually reaffirm the right of universal participation in the Conference in order to produce effective international resolutions. We believe that interpretations contrary to the rules of procedure are aimed at paralysing that multilateral negotiating body. These interpretations would have the effect of undermining its principal goals. What is the point of the procedures adopted by the Conference to conclude a convention prohibiting military aggression against nuclear facilities if an opportunity is not given to Iraq, the only State whose peaceful nuclear facilities have been the target of military aggression and if the Conference rejects this view and the comments and technical information it produced as a result of the aggression against Iraq's nuclear facilities? There would be very bad consequences for the Conference and its resolutions if these interpretations are favourably viewed. Such an important question requires the presence of the interested countries, and the participation of my country in negotiations in the Disarmament Conference in order to consolidate the procedures and the credibility of the Conference.

(Mr. Abdulsatar, Iraq)

As I have already said, the only way in which these actions can be interpreted is as an attempt to use the Conference for propaganda purposes having nothing whatsoever to do with its work and simply serving the policy of one particular State that misuses the rules of procedure in order to satisfy its own interests in disregard of the results and the possible consequences for that important body.

Thus this draft resolution underscores the need to prevent misuse of the rules of procedure against any country and the need also for States to reconsider their position so as to consolidate the work of the Conference and effectively apply its resolutions not undermine its work, which deals with the most important and serious question of our time - that is, disarmament.

The preambular part of the draft resolution recalls resolutions of the General Assembly on this matter and reaffirms universal participation in the work of the Conference in accordance with paragraphs 28 and 120 (g) and (h) of the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly.

Paragraph 1 reiterates the right of all States not members of the Conference on Disarmament to participate in the work of the plenary sessions of that body, in accordance with the goals of the Conference and the recommendations of the Final Document.

Paragraph 2 expresses regret that a non-member State has been deprived of its right of participation in the work of the Conference on Disarmament at its annual session of 1986.

Paragraph 3 urges States members of the Conference on Disarmament not to misuse the rules of procedure of the Conference so as to prevent States not members from their right to participate in the work of the Conference.

In introducing this draft resolution, which urges that non-members of the Conference on Disarmament not be deprived of their right to participate in the

(Mr. Abdulsatar, Iraq)

success of disarmament negotiations, we express the hope that it will be supported by the members so that efforts to bring about general and complete disarmament will be fruitful.

Mr. BUTLER (Australia): I have the honour to introduce two further draft resolutions in the First Committee.

The first is that contained in document A/C.1/41/L.30, on the report of the Disarmament Commission. It is sponsored by members of the Bureau of the Commission, and I have been asked, as Acting Chairman of the Commission, to introduce it in the name of Australia, Burma, Cameroon, Ecuador, the Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary, Peru, Poland and Uganda.

The fundamental purpose of the draft resolution is to enable the Assembly to take note of the report of the Disarmament Commission on its 1986 session. This action is proposed in paragraph 1. The succeeding operative paragraphs draw attention to some particular issues of note in the report of the Disarmament Commission, and the Assembly is asked to take equal note of those.

This draft resolution has been the subject of considerable and, one might say, intensive consultations, and it certainly is the hope of members of the Bureau of the Commission - that is, the sponsors of the draft resolution - that it will be able to be adopted by consensus when the Committee comes to the process of action on draft resolutions. In my capacity as Acting Chairman of the Commission, I certainly commend it to unanimous acceptance by this Committee.

(Mr. Butler, Australia)

I should now like to turn to the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/41/L.67 - and I want to make it very clear that in this case I am speaking now in no other capacity than that of representative of Australia. This draft resolution is on the subject of the notification of nuclear tests and it has been submitted to the Committee by the delegations of Australia, Cameroon, Fiji, Finland, Ireland, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Samoa and Sweden.

This is a simple draft resolution and it rests on two basic considerations. First, we who have submitted this draft resolution are committed to the objective of an early and complete end to all nuclear explosions. The second fundamental consideration that joins these sponsors together is our knowledge and recognition that nuclear testing is a dangerous activity and one which, when it is carried out, affects us all. Under these circumstances, it is our firmly held belief that all of us have a right to know when and where and in what manner nuclear tests are conducted.

This draft resolution makes absolutely clear our commitment to an early end to all nuclear explosions. It is based on the recognition that nuclear testing has been a fact for too many years - indeed for over 40 years - and remains a fact today, and in the face of this fact we make the specific proposal that it would make a significant contribution to alteration of that fact, to the aim of bringing about an end to nuclear testing, if we were able to require those States concerned - that is, those that conduct nuclear test explosions - to make clear, as is proposed in paragraph 1, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations within one week of each nuclear explosion the date and time of that explosion, the exact location of the explosion, the geological characteristics of the site of the explosion, and the estimated yield of the explosion. We believe it would be

(Mr. Butler, Australia)

important for the Secretary-General to make this information so communicated to him immediately available to all States.

A simple question can be asked about this: Why would we want to do this when our purpose is to bring about an end to all nuclear testing? Why should there be a system of registering events we in fact want to see ended and disappear? The answer to the question is simple: It is precisely because we want to see these events end and disappear that we must create the mechanisms that will make that a reality - the end to all nuclear testing. Those mechanisms obviously include a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty, but for which purpose there must be adequate means of verification. Now, we all know that amongst the means of verification that are of immense importance will be a global seismological network. One of the pieces of information that will be required for objective verification of an end to testing, and for the effective implementation of a global seismological network, will be precisely the information that this draft resolution calls for until such time as it will no longer be available because testing will have stopped.

I wanted to address that concern quite directly because it is one that has been raised. The question is: Why should we have register for the notification of nuclear tests when those tests are an activity we want to see halted? The answer is: Precisely because we want to see it halted, we must create the means to bring that about and one such means - until it is halted - is the most widely available and complete public information on such tests - where they are conducted and what their characteristics are - precisely so that we shall see the full nature of the problem we are seeking to solve and find the means permanently to eliminate it.

(Mr. Butler, Australia)

That is the purpose of this draft resolution. It remains for me now, on behalf of the sponsors, to commend it to the Committee and ask that those who are concerned, as we are, to eliminate all nuclear tests should join with us in supporting it, the purpose of which is to take yet another step towards a permanent end to all nuclear testing.

Mr. DJOKIC (Yugoslavia): Today I should like to introduce two draft resolutions. Let me introduce first, on behalf of a group of sponsors consisting of Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Madagascar, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Romania, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Zaire and Yugoslavia, the draft resolution on the report of the Conference on Disarmament, contained in document A/C.1/41/L.51.

The sponsors attach great importance to the work of the Conference on Disarmament, the single multilateral negotiating body in the field of disarmament. They consider that the Conference has a very important role in negotiations on priority issues of disarmament facing the international community today, such as cessation of the nuclear-arms race, nuclear disarmament, prevention of nuclear war, a comprehensive nuclear-test ban and the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

The sponsors would like to register their pleasure and satisfaction with the fact that during its session this year the Conference was involved in intensive negotiations on specific issues on its agenda and that certain progress was achieved on some of them.

At the same time, however, the report submitted by the Conference this year gives cause for serious concern. Yet another session of the Conference has elapsed without concrete agreements and another opportunity has been lost. The results

(Mr. Djokic, Yugoslavia)

achieved in some areas are still below what is needed and what can be done in the Conference on Disarmament. We cannot but express regret that, despite the efforts of the great majority of its members, the Conference has again failed to start substantive negotiations on the most important questions of disarmament. Such a state of affairs is unacceptable for the international community, which has over the years warned that the only way to ensure international peace and security and avert nuclear war is substantive negotiations in the field of disarmament.

(Mr. Djokic, Yugoslavia)

The Conference has a very important role to play in the negotiating process. Never has the demand of the overwhelming majority of countries to stop the arms race, particularly the nuclear-arms race, been so unanimous and determined as it is today.

The sponsors of the draft resolution note with pleasure the encouraging progress achieved at the negotiations on a multilateral convention on the complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction. We believe that all members of the Conference will do all they can to speed up the negotiations and work out a draft convention on this issue as soon as possible. The sponsors would like to emphasize that the Conference should not be further denied the right to discuss the substantive issues concerning the common destiny of mankind. Nothing is being done to detract from the great importance of the bilateral negotiations of the super-Powers, but they must be followed by multilateral negotiations, an important element of which, as is stated every so often, is the Conference on Disarmament.

The sponsors are confident that, as in the past, their draft resolution will receive wide support from the members of the Committee as well as from the General Assembly.

I should now like to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/41/L.54 on the convening of the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

The special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament are, as the sponsors of this draft resolution have pointed out on many occasions, an expression of a common desire and efforts of the Member State to enlarge and enrich the international consensus achieved at the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The two special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament held thus far are the best proof that the United

(Mr. Djokic, Yugoslavia)

Nations is the irreplaceable forum for the active participation of Member States in the elaboration of the strategy of the international community in the field of disarmament.

The initiative for the convening of the third special session on disarmament has been motivated by the desire and efforts to reassert and enlarge the consensus of Member States on disarmament achieved at the first and reconfirmed at the second special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

The non-aligned countries have initiated the convening of the special session devoted to disarmament. They are convinced that the United Nations should play the main role and have the primary responsibility in the field of disarmament and that only under the auspices of the United Nations can ways be defined that would lead to the opening of the process of general and complete disarmament under strict international control. With that in mind, as well as the need for all members of the international community to take part in the efforts to work out solutions to questions that concern peace, security and the survival of mankind, the Heads of State or Government of countries members of the Non-Aligned Movement pointed out at their recent eighth Summit Conference at Harare, Zimbabwe, that there is an urgent need to determine the date of, and to convene, the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

The aim of this draft resolution is for the General Assembly, in accordance with the resolution adopted at the thirty-eighth session, to establish the time for the holding of the third special session devoted to disarmament and to decide to start preparations for that session. In this context it is, inter alia, proposed that an open-ended preparatory committee be set up which would prepare a draft agenda, consider all relevant questions related to the third special session and submit appropriate recommendations to the General Assembly at its forty-second session. The draft resolution also invites Member States to inform the

(Mr. Djokic, Yugoslavia)

Secretary-General of their opinions on the issues related to the convening of the third special session devoted to disarmament.

The sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/41/L.54, on whose behalf I have the honour to speak - namely, Algeria, Argentina, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Madagascar, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Romania, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Tunisia, Venezuela, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia - would like to express their confidence that, this time again, the draft resolution they are submitting will be adopted by consensus, as has been the case with all prior resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations concerning special sessions devoted to disarmament.

Mr. TEJA (India): I should like to begin by making a brief reference to agenda item 59. The effort to ban the use of chemical and biological weapons dates back to far before the birth of the United Nations. This subject has been considered as a separate agenda item since the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, but while a Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction was put into effect more than a decade ago, a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons still eludes us, in spite of the fact that an Ad Hoc Working Group on this subject has been meeting for the past seven years in Geneva.

Chemical weapons continue to be maintained in battle readiness in the arsenals of the some countries and have been used on a large scale in warfare in the past two decades. We regret that both biological and chemical weapons were not banned at the same time. There have been promising developments in the recently concluded session of the Conference on Disarmament, where significant progress has been made in the Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons.

(Mr. Teja, India)

We do expect that work to be carried forward for achieving an early conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons and on their destruction. Special responsibility in this regard rests with the States which have amassed large quantities of such weapons.

My delegation would like to draw specific attention to some of the proposals before us that serve to detract from what we all regard as an immediate and pressing objective. Proposals that focus their main attention on such peripheral issues as controlling the transfer of chemical substances would result in a wasteful effort to set up a régime distinct and separate from the proposals that are already on the table in the Ad Hoc Committee in Geneva. Such an approach would draw our attention away from an immediate prohibition on chemical weapons and destruction of existing chemical-weapon arsenals and their production facilities. It will, instead, attempt to regulate trade in chemical substances.

We are also not in favour of proposals that seek to establish chemical-weapon-free zones in one or another part of the world, since we consider it much better to eliminate, in the shortest possible time and once and for all, chemical weapons everywhere.

We are gratified to note the positive results which have emerged from the Second Review Conference of parties to the bacteriological weapons Convention held at Geneva in September this year. It was a matter of particular satisfaction that the Conference adopted its recommendations by consensus, including, inter alia, the need for seeking institutional ways and means of assuring co-operation between the developed and developing countries in the field of peaceful uses of recent advances in biotechnology and genetic engineering, especially in such areas as medicine, public health and agriculture.

(Mr. Teja, India)

As regards agenda item 60, after a careful examination of the number and type of resolutions on some of the areas covered under the topic of "General and complete disarmament", we have come to the conclusion that the time has arrived to take stock of the unmistakable manifestation of a tendency to erode the prevailing consensus in the various disarmament forums on conceptual issues, such as the objective and principles of disarmament, best expressed by the General Assembly in the Final Document of its first special session devoted to disarmament. My reference here is in particular to the large number of draft resolutions submitted on conventional disarmament. Compared with two resolutions on this subject adopted during the fortieth session of our Assembly last year, we have now five texts before us. The objectives and principles outlined in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament are sought to be altered in some of these draft resolutions. According to our judgement, these new initiatives will deflect us from our basic and accepted priorities in the field of disarmament.

The goal of conventional and regional disarmament has so far been pursued in the context of general and complete disarmament. The priorities of nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war have been considered as well established. No amount of resolutions on conventional disarmament can or should be allowed to distort these well-established priorities.

Concern has been expressed over the fact that since the Second World War there have been numerous armed conflicts that have been fought with conventional weapons. To my mind, this represents a misreading of history. It does not adequately reflect the fact that many of these conflicts, which are now clustered together under the rubric of conventional wars, were either anti-colonial struggles or resulted from attempts to dominate and divide the world into contending

(Mr. Teja, India)

strategic military groupings, blocs or alliances, and the build-up of military bases, facilities and other special arrangements conceived in the context of great-Power rivalry in various parts of the world. All this serves to aggravate the prevailing international insecurity and should be equally addressed by us.

The Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament also stated:

"Enduring international peace and security cannot be built on the accumulation of weaponry by military alliances nor be sustained by a precarious balance of deterrence or doctrines of strategic superiority."

(resolution S-10/2, para. 13)

To take another example, one of the draft resolutions submitted under agenda item 60 (c) states that "an objective of great importance is the establishment of a stable balance of conventional forces". The fact is that neither military balance nor so-called strategic stability can be given any objective content. Notions of stability and balance are inherently subjective and depend upon the security perceptions of different States or groups of States. Perceptions of so-called imbalance or the need to restore an equilibrium, whether regionally or on a global basis, are often the justification for big Powers and their allies in seeking the continuation of the arms race and for interfering in different countries and regions of the world.

The promotion of peace and disarmament requires a network of co-operative relationships among States rather than competitive and adversarial relationships of the kind that are at the base of the theory of military balance or strategic stability.

Due to the paucity of time available to the First Committee, I cannot obviously go into all the aspects contained in the various draft resolutions on conventional and regional disarmament. Suffice it to say that, for the reasons just outlined, we shall not be able to support some of these draft resolutions.

(Mr. Teja, India)

Disarmament, to be effective, must be general and comprehensive, both in technical and in spatial terms. Disarmament measures should encompass all parts of the world. Regional arrangements to which only some countries are parties will divert the arms race into other areas. A regional disarmament agreement is by definition difficult to negotiate because each potential party will be conscious of the political and military relationships within and outside the agreement. Similarly, arms limitation or reduction efforts confined to a narrow category of weapons, such as, for instance, naval armaments, will have similar limitations: it would alter the direction of the arms race but not the pace at which it continues. Partial approaches to global political problems tend to compound the problem itself, prevent a real political solution and fail to reduce the risk of war. Genuine disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament, will alone create an atmosphere conducive to securing lasting peace in different parts of the world.

I should like to take this opportunity to say something on agenda item 62 (g), concerning the study on deterrence. On the recommendation of the Advisory Board on Disarmament Studies, the General Assembly adopted decision 39/423 of 17 December 1974, requesting the Secretary-General to prepare a study under the title: "Deterrence: its implications for disarmament and the arms race, negotiated arms reductions and international security and other related matters". The Board further recommended that the study be carried out by a group of government experts.

The study on deterrence was conducted and its results were presented to us in the report of the Secretary-General (A/41/432). Experts from Argentina, Egypt, the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America and India made individual contributions to this study. With the concurrence of the delegations of all these countries, and in keeping with the usual practice in respect of such studies, my delegation has proposed a draft resolution (A/C.1/41/L.74), requesting the

(Mr. Teja, India)

Secretary-General to make the necessary arrangements for the reproduction of this study as a United Nations publication and to give it the widest possible distribution. The Secretariat has assured us that this would have no financial implications. I hope, therefore, that draft resolution L.74 will be adopted by consensus.

Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): I have the honour to introduce draft decision A/C.1/41/L.62, sponsored by the delegations of Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bulgaria, China, Hungary, Indonesia, Mongolia, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Yugoslavia and Mexico.

The draft decision addresses agenda item 62 (d), entitled "Review of the implementation of the recommendations and decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth special session: Comprehensive programme of disarmament".

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

As is well known, in paragraph 109 of the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament the then Committee on Disarmament - today the Conference on Disarmament - was requested to undertake the elaboration of a comprehensive programme of disarmament encompassing all measures thought to be advisable in order to ensure the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control became a reality in a world in which the new international economic order might be strengthened and consolidated.

As may be noted in the report of the Conference on Disarmament in document A/41/27, the Ad Hoc Committee on the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament - of which I have had the privilege to be Chairman since it was called the Ad Hoc Working Group - despite intensive efforts, was not able in the time available during the 1986 session to resolve all outstanding issues. In view of that, and bearing in mind that under resolution 40/152 D the Conference on Disarmament had been requested to submit to the General Assembly a complete draft of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament at its forty-first session, at the suggestion of the Chairman, consideration was given to the desirability of continuing the work during the first part of the 1987 session with a view to completing the elaboration of a draft of the Programme then and submitting it to the General Assembly before the closure of the forty-first session. Taking into account the progress made during the 1986 session, the Committee agreed to recommend to the Conference that work on the elaboration of the Programme be resumed at the beginning of the 1987 session to complete the Committee's task during the first part of that session and submit the Programme to the General Assembly at that time.

In this connection, I believe it is also relevant to point out that the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Harare

(Mr. García Robles, Mexico)

in September 1986, referred to the General Assembly's decision at its first special session devoted to disarmament relating to the elaboration of a Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament and

"...called upon the Conference on Disarmament to resume its work in this regard at the beginning of its 1987 session and make all efforts to conclude it during the first part of this session, with a view to submitting a complete draft of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament to the General Assembly at that time." (A/41/697, annex, para. 42)

For that reason the delegations to which I referred at the beginning of my statement believe it desirable to submit to the First Committee for its consideration the draft decision I am now introducing, through which the Assembly would decide to keep open agenda item 62 (d) in order to allow the Conference on Disarmament to conclude the elaboration of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament during the first part of its 1987 session and to submit a complete draft of the Programme to the General Assembly at that time. In that case the General Assembly would resume its forty-first session on an appropriate date, as required, for the consideration of the complete draft of the Programme. The Conference on Disarmament would thus fulfil the request made of it by the General Assembly in its resolutions 38/183 K, 39/148 I and 40/152 D to present a complete draft of the Programme at its forty-first session.

In that connection, and in the light of what happened in previous years, I should point out that other items on the agenda of the forty-first session of the General Assembly also will no doubt also remain open and, consequently, the session will not be resumed exclusively for the consideration of agenda item 62 (d).

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

The fact that the report of the Conference on Disarmament to which I referred earlier was adopted by consensus and that the sponsors of the draft decision I have just introduced belong to all the groups making up the United Nations give us, I believe, good grounds to hope that the draft decision I have just introduced will also be adopted by consensus.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to inform the Committee that, following consideration of the subject-matter by the Bureau initially and subsequently as a result of consultations with individual delegations and groups of delegations, the Bureau will be in a position later today to finalize the list of clusters on all disarmament draft resolutions. It is my intention to circulate the list tomorrow morning as a Chairman's paper.

Before adjourning, I should like to mention that the following are inscribed on the list of speakers for tomorrow morning's meeting: Egypt, Israel, Poland, Ambassador Nissanka Wijewardane of Sri Lanka who will speak as Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, Canada, Australia, the Federal Republic of Germany, Cameroon and Romania.

The meeting rose at 4.50 p.m.