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**FIRST COMMITTEE**  
**31st meeting**  
**held on**  
**Wednesday, 9 November 1988**  
**at 10 a.m.**  
**New York**

**VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 31st MEETING**

**Chairman: Mr. Roche (Canada)**

**later: Mr. Batiouk (Ukrainian SSR)**  
**(Vice-Chairman)**

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The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 51 TO 69, 139, 141 AND 145 (continued)

CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION ON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON DISARMAMENT ITEMS

Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): My statement today is the fifth and last statement by the Mexican delegation introducing draft resolutions of which it is a co-sponsor. In each of the three of the statements I made I introduced a single draft resolution, as I shall do in my statement today. In the fourth statement, however, I introduced three draft resolutions at once.

The draft resolution I am introducing today, in document A/C.1/43/L.60, is entitled "Comprehensive programme of disarmament", and is sponsored by the delegation of Mexico.

The Conference on Disarmament has been dealing with this item since 1980 in an ad hoc committee over which, since 1981, I have been honoured to preside. The last report the Ad Hoc Committee submitted to the Conference on Disarmament, the full text of which can be found in the report of the Conference on Disarmament to the General Assembly, gives a detailed account of the work of the Ad Hoc Committee during the year under review. It begins with a brief summary of the Ad Hoc Committee's work and the documentation before it. Reference is then made to the progress made towards harmonizing positions and narrowing areas of disagreement. The report emphasizes, however, that in the short time available it was not possible to reconcile differences on a number of issues, and the Ad Hoc Committee accordingly agreed that it should resume work at the outset of the 1989 session with the firm intention of completing the elaboration of the Programme with a view to its submission to the General Assembly, at the latest, at its forty-fourth session.

That brief introduction is followed by an annex of 36 single-spaced pages setting forth the elements of the draft Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament, which are presented in six chapters entitled: "Introduction", "Objectives",

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

"Principles", "Priorities", "Measures and stages of implementation", and "Machinery and Procedures". With regard to the first four chapters and the sixth chapter, the Ad Hoc Committee has made considerable progress. Few issues remain outstanding where the introduction, objectives, principles, priorities are concerned, so that it is now safe to say that they are sufficiently in keeping with the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament to resolve any problem relating to those chapters.

The sixth and last chapter of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament, "Machinery and Procedures", with the exception of five words referring to the United Nations Charter, is entirely free from square brackets. It makes reference to three stages, a first stage, an intermediate stage and a last stage, for the Programme. Arrangements are made for periodic reviews, inter alia, at special sessions of the General Assembly, of the implementation of the measures included in the various stages of the Comprehensive Programme. It provides that, in addition to periodic reviews at special sessions, there should also be annual reviews of the Programme's implementation. For that purpose it is suggested that the Secretary-General should annually submit a report to the General Assembly on progress in the implementation of the Programme.

The draft Programme concludes with the following statement:

"At the earliest appropriate time, a world disarmament conference should be convened with universal participation and with adequate preparation."

(A/43/27, para. 90, annex, p. 300)

The obvious importance of the Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament, shown by the fact that consensus has been achieved in so many areas, as I have briefly illustrated in my statement, is evidence of the wisdom of the firm intention of the Ad Hoc Committee, from whose report I have quoted today. In the conclusion to its

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report, the Ad Hoc Committee agreed "that it should resume work at the outset of the 1989 session" in order to complete the elaboration of the Programme for its submission to the General Assembly, at the latest, in the words of draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.60, "at its forty-fourth session."

Mr. AZIKIWE (Nigeria): In my statement this morning I wish to introduce two draft resolutions: A/C.1/43/L.63, "Consideration of the Declaration of the 1990s as the Third Disarmament Decade," and A/C.1/43/L.64, "United Nations disarmament fellowship, training and advisory services programme", respectively. Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.63 is being introduced on behalf of the delegations of Argentina, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Poland, Zaire and Nigeria.

It will be recalled that in the closing years of the first Disarmament Decade the General Assembly, encouraged by the limited achievements of the 1970s in the sphere of disarmament, decided to declare a Second Disarmament Decade and, accordingly, directed the Disarmament Commission, in resolution 34/75 of 11 December 1979, to prepare elements of a draft resolution to be entitled "Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade." The annex to resolution 35/46 of 3 December 1980, which embodies that Declaration, reflected the hopes and aspirations of the international community in the sphere of disarmament. I wish also to recall that both the recommendations of the Disarmament Commission and the Declaration itself were adopted by consensus. We are encouraged that the end of the Second Disarmament Decade gives some hope for optimism in the disarmament process.

As we are all aware, the late 1980s have witnessed genuine efforts in the area of nuclear disarmament and are likely to reach another milestone now that appreciable progress has been made towards the elaboration of the chemical-weapons convention. It is imperative that the current momentum in the disarmament process should be maintained. Hence the need for a third disarmament decade.

(Mr. Azikiwe, Nigeria)

In its preambular paragraphs the draft resolution reaffirms the responsibility of the United Nations in the disarmament process. It further notes the progress in the bilateral disarmament negotiations between the two super-Powers and its positive impact on the attainment of global peace and security.

(Mr. Azikiwe, Nigeria)

In its operative paragraphs it expresses the decision of the General Assembly to declare the 1990s as the Third Disarmament Decade, and accordingly directs the Disarmament Commission to prepare at its 1989 substantive session elements for the "Declaration" as was done for the Second Disarmament Decade.

We hope that Member States will endorse the continuation of the current momentum in the disarmament process by adopting the draft resolution by consensus.

I also introduce the draft resolution in document A/C.1/43/L.64, on the United Nations disarmament, fellowship, training and advisory services programme, on behalf of Algeria, Argentina, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Indonesia, Kenya, Liberia, Morocco, New Zealand, Venezuela, Zaire and my own delegation. The fellowship programme has proved to be more successful and useful to Member States than was envisaged when it was established during the First Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The importance that Member States attach to the programme is demonstrated by the fact that there has been more demand for places in the programme than the number available. May I again express our appreciation to all the Governments that have offered assistance to ensure the successful implementation of the programme, which has been so well executed by the Department for Disarmament Affairs.

The draft resolution recognizes the appreciable number of fellows that have been trained under the programme, and expresses the belief that the forms of assistance available to Member States under the programme will facilitate better understanding of disarmament issues. It is our belief that the Secretary-General will continue the implementation of the programme within existing resources. We recommend that the draft resolution be adopted without a vote.

Mr. AL-NASSER (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): In my statement today I wish to address the question of Israeli nuclear armament under agenda item 69. My delegation previously broached this subject in its statement during the general debate in this Committee, highlighting the danger inherent in the fact that Israel is stepping up its nuclear programme in support of its policy of occupation and aggression in the region. In that statement the Permanent Representative of Qatar said that, while the nuclear States were concluding agreements aimed at reducing their nuclear arsenals, there was increasing evidence that Israel had become the sixth nuclear-weapon Power with launching and delivery capacity, and that Israel, having perfected nuclear missiles, had launched a satellite for intelligence purposes. Israel's nuclear capability has thus attained a new stage in this destructive technology, at a time when the international community is calling for accession to the Non-Proliferation Treaty - the Fourth Review Conference of which will be held in 1990 - and more countries of the region are acceding to it.

The alarming escalation of Israel's nuclear programme and the reinforcement of its capability to use the vast quantities of nuclear weapons, which it is producing, are developments that endanger peace and security not only in the Middle East, but in the whole world. Israel is violating and contravening the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, calling upon Israel to place all its nuclear installations under IAEA safeguards until a nuclear-weapon-free zone is established. Israel is also violating the provisions of those resolutions by developing nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles, thus flouting the will of the international community and disregarding the dangers posed to international peace and security by its policy.

(Mr. Al-Nasser, Qatar)

On 19 September the world was informed that Israel had launched a satellite into outer space, and the press reported that it was the first step in the development of reconnaissance satellites which would make Isarel less dependent on other States for surveillance and reconnaissance. The press further stated that Isarel was now one of the eight States capable of producing satellite launchers. This was a step towards acquiring the ability to launch its nuclear weapons and aim them at any part of the world. Despite the statements of Israeli officials about the technological and scientific purposes of the launching of the satellite, there is not doubt that its military dimensions are quite clear, not to mention its destabilizing effect in the area and the disruption of the delicate regional balance. These developments indicate Israel's disregard of United Nations resolutions and its intention to resort to all means in order to achieve its aim of preserving what it has gained as a result of aggression and maintaining superiority through nuclear capability.

Israel has openly declared its policy of wiping out any peaceful nuclear programme in the area that it perceives as a threat to its nuclear superiority. One of the obvious objectives of the new satellite is to survey - or, to use a more direct term, to spy on what goes on in the region, and to allow Isarel to be free from any outside commitments, if it sees fit, in perpetrating pre-emptive acts of aggression, such as striking targets in Syria or Iraq or the atomic reactor in Pakistan - a target to which it has had an eye for several years, as in the case of the Iraqi reactor several years ago. These acts show that striking at peaceful nuclear programmes is part of Isarel's general policy of nuclear armament.

We therefore call upon the General Assembly to reiterate its request to Israel to desist from developing, producing and stockpiling nuclear weapons, to make its nuclear installations subject to international safeguards and control and to accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, to which most of the States of the region



(Mr. Al-Nasser, Qatar)

have already acceded. We are indeed about to hold the Fourth Review Conference on that Treaty, scheduled for 1999; 138 Member States have so far acceded to it, yet its objectives and significance would be greatly undermined if we allow a State such as Israel to contravene the principles of non-proliferation, particularly by developing nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles for such weapons.

Israel could not have developed its present nuclear capability without help from other States. Israel has a long history of military and nuclear co-operation with the racist régime in South Africa.

(Mr. Al-Nasser, Qatar)

A scientific magazine has reported that Israel is helping to design missiles for that régime.

At every session the General Assembly notes with concern the dangers inherent in the collaboration between these régimes, whose nuclear capability poses a threat to the security and stability of the neighbouring countries.

The Arab States have submitted draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.6, on Israeli nuclear armament. It contains the considerations that I have set forth in this statement. My delegation hopes that it will be supported by the Committee when it is put the vote.

Dame Ann HERCUS (New Zealand): As a newcomer to the First Committee, I have observed the expertise and sense of purpose brought to deliberations by delegations represented here. I judge with some pride that the wider interests of the international community are in good hands.

But the search for peace and security is not the exclusive province or responsibility of the United Nations, or individual Governments. There is an equally valid role, and equal talent and skills, in non-governmental organizations and in individuals that - like us - accept that effort is required if men and women everywhere are to be aware that the search for security is a responsibility for all. In this regard, I am pleased to note the attendance at Committee meetings of New Zealand members of non-governmental organizations. I hope that, like me, they have found attendance a rewarding experience.

The task of making the world a safer place continues year-round. But one week, Disarmament Week, provides a focus of opportunity for an exchange of information and views on our disarmament aims and objectives - views that sometimes differ widely.

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.48, entitled "Disarmament Week", invites all States and international and national non-governmental organizations to undertake

(Dame Ann Hercus, New Zealand)

such activities and report back to the Secretary-General. New Zealand is pleased to co-sponsor this draft resolution, since we hold high the need for public participation in disarmament activities. Indeed, our Public Advisory Committee on Disarmament and Arms Control provides a means through which the New Zealand public can put its views before our Minister of Foreign Affairs. The New Zealand Committee also has a mandate to promote greater public understanding of disarmament and arms-control matters through making recommendations on funding of appropriate activities. Reports on those activities, in fulfilment of that mandate and as requested in draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.48, will be provided by New Zealand to the Secretary-General.

When I addressed the Committee some three weeks ago the business of preparing and negotiating draft resolutions lay before us. It is not yet over. But in three weeks a commendable effort has been made by a number of delegations to produce broadly acceptable texts in many areas. I know you will be pleased, Mr. Chairman, that your advice to the Committee in this regard has been heeded. For our part, we are grateful for the extra time you have made available for those negotiations, and for your guidance in helping us carry them out.

In speaking today, I am supporting my colleague Ambassador Bayart of Mongolia, who introduced draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.48. New Zealand was pleased to be able to work with his delegation to produce a draft text which brings together many viewpoints. Mongolia and New Zealand are not traditional collaborators in this area. But the spirit in which we have worked to reach common ground exemplifies the spirit which has been evident in this year's First Committee deliberations so far. It is in the same spirit of co-operation that I commend draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.48 to the Committee, and express the hope that it will be adopted without a vote.

Mr. SHARMA (India): The delegation of India would like to make a few observations on the discussions pertaining to chemical and bacteriological weapons.

Efforts to introduce a ban on the use of chemical and biological weapons pre-date the birth of the United Nations. At the turn of the century there already existed a growing sentiment among nations that such weapons should be regarded as abhorrent and should be totally eliminated. As a first step, the Geneva Protocol was negotiated more than 60 years ago. It came into force in 1925 and prohibited the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases or bacteriological methods of warfare. The next step came almost 50 years later when, in 1972, a Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on the destruction of existing stockpiles was concluded. At that stage India, along with a number of other countries, expressed concern that chemical weapons were not included in that Convention and that their development, production and stockpiling would continue.

It was almost a decade later that negotiations commenced in Geneva in the Committee on Disarmament to develop a convention effectively to ban chemical weapons. During recent years these negotiations have gradually progressed and today we can hope they will gain momentum towards a successful conclusion. On a number of politically complex issues there has been a gradual convergence of views.

At the same time, new ideas have emerged with the growing realization that security must be conceived in global terms and has a multidimensional character. An appreciation of these factors convinces us that negotiations should bring about a global, comprehensive and effectively verifiable convention. While it would prohibit the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and provide for their destruction, positive provisions for actively promoting and enhancing international co-operation in peaceful uses of chemical technology would contribute in considerable measure to improved security. To ensure the universal

(Mr. Sharma, India)

character of the convention, we must create a forward-looking organizational structure that embodies democratic and non-discriminatory principles. The principle of equitable geographical and political representation in the executive functions is necessary to ensure the international character of such a convention.

The widespread expression of commitment that we have heard in this Room to achieving the goals of such a convention is an encouraging development. We hope that the proposed conference in Paris in January next year will generate the political will required to carry us through the final negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament.

Mr. von STULPNAGEL (Federal Republic of Germany): Today I should like to address an agenda item to which my Government attaches particular importance - chemical weapons.

Over the past year the international community has repeatedly been confronted with the gruesome reality of the use of chemical weapons in the war between Iran and Iraq. We are also alarmed about reports of the use of chemical weapons against the Kurdish civilian population.

Breaches of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and other norms of international law must be understood as an urgent warning to act and to meet our responsibility of providing for the speediest possible elimination of all chemical weapons world-wide. The urgency of the matter is also underlined by recent reports about the proliferation of chemical weapons. The traumatic experience with the ghastliness and the indiscriminate effects of the use of chemical weapons should remind us that there is no time to be lost. We have to act expeditiously if we do not want to let this historic opportunity slip.

Clearly, the best way to free mankind once and for all from the scourge of chemical weapons is the conclusion of a comprehensive and effectively verifiable convention that ensures that all existing chemical-weapons stocks and chemical-weapons production facilities are eliminated and that any further manufacture, acquisition, storage, transfer and use of these weapons is prohibited, and that this is subject to effective verification. My Government therefore attaches the highest priority to the ongoing negotiations in Geneva on a comprehensive, global and effectively verifiable convention banning such weapons.

We have achieved considerable progress in the negotiations, particularly during the past one and a half years. This progress, which has been especially noticeable in the crucial field of verification, makes us confident that an

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Republic of Germany)

effective convention is within our reach. The structure of a convention is now already in place, but it needs to be fleshed out. The rolling text which provides the basis for our work contains language which is for the most part agreed among the negotiators, but which needs refining.

It is now imperative that the momentum of the negotiations be maintained and that the remaining issues, which require a great amount of work on the details, be resolved as expeditiously as possible.

Until such a global ban on chemical weapons is in force, the international community must clearly and unambiguously demonstrate that it does not want to remain indifferent to blatant violations of the Geneva Protocol and, indeed, to the sufferings of victims of chemical warfare.

The Security Council has adopted resolutions 612 (1988) and 620 (1988), on the basis of reports by missions of experts dispatched by the Secretary-General, which affirmed the use of chemical weapons in the conflict between Iran and Iraq. The Federal Republic of Germany, as a co-sponsor of those resolutions, was actively involved in their drafting. We call for their full implementation.

Security Council resolution 620 (1988), which was adopted on 26 August this year, not only vigorously condemns the use of chemical weapons, but also contains a pledge to intensify efforts to end all use of chemical weapons in violation of international obligations. To this end the resolution makes reference to three very important elements: prompt investigations in response to allegations of the use of chemical weapons; establishment or strengthening of strict control over the export of chemical products serving for the production of chemical weapons; and effective measures in accordance with the United Nations Charter in the event of future use of chemical weapons.

(Mr. von Stülpnagel, Federal  
Republic of Germany)

We are committed to these goals of Security Council resolution 620 (1988) and are doing everything possible to achieve them.

With regard to the effective instrument which should be available to the United Nations at all times for investigating alleged violations of the 1925 Geneva Protocol, we fully support the procedures provided for in General Assembly resolution 42/37 C. We also give our full support to the work of the group of qualified experts which was established by the same resolution with a view to developing guidelines and procedures for international investigations permitting swift clarification of any suspected use of chemical weapons. We regret that the work has not yet been brought to a successful conclusion. It is our intention to contribute actively to the successful completion of this task.

It was Federal Foreign Minister Genscher who was one of the first, in his statement at this year's session of the General Assembly, on 28 September, to welcome the initiative taken by President Reagan for a conference of the signatories of the 1925 Geneva Protocol. We consider this conference, which is now to take place at the invitation of the French Government in Paris from 7 to 11 January next year, as a timely and welcome opportunity to reaffirm the necessity for strict compliance by all States with the 1925 Geneva Protocol and other relevant international instruments. We hope that the conference will give a strong impetus to the priority objective of bringing about a comprehensive, global and effectively verifiable ban on chemical weapons.

Indeed, we must do everything in our power to pursue that priority objective and also to strengthen all instruments which can be used to prevent the use and proliferation of chemical weapons before a global convention is in force.



(Mr. von Stülpnagel, Federal  
Republic of Germany)

Having listened to the general debate at this year's session of the First Committee, I feel there is a common desire to prevent any further use of chemical weapons. Nearly all speakers have made statements to that effect. The international community will take us at our word.

Last year's General Assembly resolutions 42/37 A and 42/37 C, dealing with chemical weapons, were adopted by consensus. This year we have two specific follow-up resolutions on chemical weapons. In co-sponsoring those two resolutions we wish to underline our strong commitment to a comprehensive convention on chemical weapons and to the prevention of any further use of such weapons. This year we again hope that the resolutions will be adopted by consensus. Indeed, their attitude towards the resolutions is a touchstone of the sincerity of the commitment of Member States to a global ban on chemical weapons and the renunciation of any use of chemical weapons in violation of international law.

Mr. KALUDJEROVIC (Yugoslavia): I am particularly pleased to introduce, on behalf of a group of sponsors consisting of Algeria, Bangladesh, Brazil, Burma, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Islamic Republic of Iran, Kenya, Madagascar, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Romania, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Tunisia, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia and Zaire, draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.66, entitled "Report of the Conference on Disarmament".

(Mr. Kaludjerovic, Yugoslavia)

If this year's general debate on disarmament has pin-pointed any single issue of common concern, it is certainly the need for strengthening the United Nations and multilateralism as a whole in conditions when new prospects are opening up for the solution of the most important questions in the field of disarmament. Of particular significance in this connection is the work of the Conference on Disarmament, the only multilateral negotiating body in this field and an irreplaceable instrument of the international community for negotiations on disarmament. The results of the work of the Conference, however, have so far not been commensurate with its possibilities.

The sponsors of the draft resolution consider that the Conference should be directly involved in negotiations on the most important issues on disarmament that concern the security of all countries. This year's report of the Conference on Disarmament has shown, once again, that there has been no progress in the consideration of those issues. One more year has elapsed, and the Conference continues to be denied the right and authority to negotiate on the most important issues on its agenda despite the efforts of the vast majority of its members. The selective and one-sided approach is not a method for the solving of problems of vital importance to the international community. Their relations with the Conference are a litmus test of the political readiness of countries to contribute and deepen the process of disarmament.

We must not allow the Conference to be side-tracked and made to wait for the completion of bilateral negotiations on certain issues. Multilateral efforts and bilateral talks must be complementary. The sponsors of the draft resolution therefore believe that, in view of the current processes in some important fields of disarmament, the Conference will be in a position to reach concrete agreements on disarmament issues to which the United Nations has assigned the greatest priority and urgency.

(Mr. Kaludjerovic, Yugoslavia)

The draft resolution notes with satisfaction that the Conference has achieved progress in the negotiations on the conclusion of a comprehensive convention on chemical weapons. By its harmonization and adoption the world would be handed a powerful legal weapon in the struggle against possession and use of one of the most lethal weapons of mass destruction.

The sponsors of the draft resolution are convinced that an additional impetus to negotiations on disarmament at all levels is needed today perhaps more than ever before. They are therefore motivated by the desire to render the Conference full support and to reaffirm its role and importance in the process of negotiations on disarmament. The draft resolution is intended to encourage the future work of the Conference towards negotiations and the adoption of concrete measures on the specific priority issues of disarmament in keeping with the fundamental role of the Conference on Disarmament as identified in the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly. The sponsors are therefore convinced that, as in the past, the draft resolution will receive the widest possible support.

Mr. SOULIOTIS (Greece): On behalf of the 12 members of the European Community, I wish to address agenda item 63, concerning chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons.

The Twelve continue to see the complete elimination of chemical weapons as one of the central and priority tasks of the international community. To that end, the Twelve attach particular importance to the chemical weapons negotiations under way at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva.

They strongly advocate the early establishment of a global, comprehensive and effectively verifiable ban on chemical weapons and reaffirm their dedication to the total elimination of those weapons. It is only by means of such a convention that mankind can once and for all be freed from the scourge of chemical weapons.

(Mr. Souliotis, Greece)

The negotiations for a global ban on chemical weapons have made encouraging progress. Joint efforts can bring closer the resolution of pending problems, including the complex but fundamental verification issues, in a way acceptable to all. Those of the Twelve who are participants in the Conference will continue vigorously to pursue that goal at the negotiations.

From the outset of the negotiations, it was clear that reliable verification would be a crucial issue. Substantial progress has been made towards establishing an effective verification system. A recent positive development is the initiation of trial inspections of chemical facilities. It is the hope of the Twelve that those inspections will help clarify some of the remaining problems in that area and contribute to their expeditious resolution.

In this context of constructive parallelism between the bilateral and multilateral processes, the Twelve reiterate that they welcome the ongoing discussions between the United States and the Soviet Union on issues related to the prohibition of chemical weapons. Those discussions have contributed positively to the negotiating process in the Conference on Disarmament.

The use of these terrible weapons in the Iran-Iraq conflict and the compelling indications of their use against the Kurdish civilian population underline the compelling need for a comprehensive, verifiable and global convention on the elimination of chemical weapons. The Twelve are gravely concerned by the reports of the Secretary-General and confirm their position condemning such use of chemical weapons. They call for respect for the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and other relevant rules of customary international law. They also call for full implementation of Security Council resolutions 612 (1988) and 620 (1988). The Twelve endorse the Security Council's call on States to continue to apply, to establish or to strengthen strict control of the export of chemical products serving for the

(Mr. Souliotis, Greece)

production of chemical weapons. This is particularly so in respect of parties to a conflict when it is established or when there is substantial reason to believe that they have used chemical weapons in violation of international obligations. They commend its decision to consider immediately, taking into account the investigations of the Secretary-General, appropriate and effective measures, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, should there be any future use of chemical weapons in violation of international law. In that context, the Twelve welcome the consensus accorded to General Assembly resolution 42/37 C which, inter alia, urged all States to be guided in their national policies by the need to curb the spread of chemical weapons, requested the Secretary-General to investigate the reports of chemical weapons use and requested him to develop further technical guidelines and procedures to assist in the timely and efficient investigation of such reports.

The Twelve warmly support the timely initiative of the Presidents of the United States and France, made before the General Assembly, in calling for a conference with the aim of reaffirming the authority of the Geneva Protocol of 1925. We expect the conference at the same time to give a new forceful impetus to the ongoing negotiations at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. We welcome the invitation by President Mitterrand to hold such a conference in Paris from 7 to 11 January 1989.

The Twelve are encouraged by the results of the second Review Conference of the States parties to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction. They welcome the measures adopted for voluntary confidence-building and look forward to widespread response among States parties, on a continuing basis, as envisaged in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee of Scientific and Technical Experts (BWC/Conf.II/EX.2).

(Mr. Souliotis, Greece)

Several draft resolutions have been submitted concerning the agenda item I am addressing. The Twelve very much hope that it will prove possible once again to reach consensus on these important issues.

(Mr. Souliotis, Greece)

And now, I wish to make some comments on behalf of the Twelve Member States of the European Community on agenda item 67 (a), entitled "Report of the Disarmament Commission", with specific reference to consideration of guidelines for confidence-building measures.

After several years of deliberation in the Disarmament Commission, in which many Members actively participated, the Disarmament Commission, following the initiative of the Federal Republic of Germany, agreed this year on a set of guidelines for confidence-building measures. The Twelve would like to see the General Assembly endorse these guidelines and recommend their implementation by States in accordance with their own particular situation.

In the view of the Twelve, the concept of confidence-building is particularly important in a world where instances of the use and the threat of use of force still cause concern to the international community. Confidence-building measures have played and will continue to play a considerable role in multilateral disarmament affairs. They are not, of course, a substitute for arms control and disarmament. We welcome the fact that the supportive role of confidence-building measures is now widely accepted.

The positive political climate that resulted from the Washington and Moscow summit meetings, as well as from other contacts at the highest levels between the United States of America and the USSR, has created new conditions conducive to the achievement of significant progress in the process of arms control and disarmament and of strengthening peace. In such a climate, confidence-building measures for their part can certainly promote the disarmament and arms control process, since their foundation lies in respect for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Thus, they contribute to preserving international peace and security.

(Mr. Sculiotis, Greece)

The Twelve are firmly convinced that the development of confidence-building measures and the promotion of more openness and transparency in the military field are elements central to progress in arms control and disarmament at both the global and the regional levels. The adoption of measures that contribute to greater openness and transparency helps to prevent misperceptions and miscalculations of intentions and military capabilities and to further the relaxation of international tensions.

As a concrete example, the results achieved at the Stockholm Conference and the encouraging experience gained so far from the implementation of the Stockholm document have contributed significantly to improving confidence and mutual trust in Europe. As always, the Twelve made every effort to contribute to that result.

We feel that the existing net of provisions can still be improved by promoting more openness and transparency in the military field. The Twelve, like many other Europeans, are firmly committed to the new round of confidence- and security-building-measures negotiations.

Equally, the Twelve support efforts in other regions - in Latin America, in Africa and in Asia - that can contribute to an atmosphere favourable to regional disarmament measures. We hope that those efforts will succeed.

On the global scale, too, the Twelve are encouraged by the results of the Second Review Conference of the States Parties to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction. We welcome the measures adopted for voluntary confidence-building and look forward to a widespread response among States parties.

Much work has gone into drafting and finalizing the guidelines accepted at this year's substantive session of the Disarmament Commission. The Twelve hope that, against the background of a generally improving atmosphere in international



(Mr. Souliotis, Greece)

relations - no small part of which is due to the tireless and successful work of the Secretary-General and his staff - Member States of the United Nations will draw upon those Guidelines and implement those recommendations contained therein which they see fit to apply to their specific circumstances.

We fully support the draft resolution in document A/C.1/43/L.49 submitted by the Federal Republic of Germany.

Mr. MARTYNOV (Byelorussian SSR) (interpretation from Russian): Today, the Byelorussian delegation has the honour of introducing draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.38 entitled "Prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons". We make the introduction on behalf of the delegations of Angola, Benin, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Mozambique, Poland, Romania, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam and also on behalf of our own delegation.

The Byelorussian SSR, for many years now, has taken a particular interest in this problem. We are convinced that its significance cannot be overestimated. The progress of science and technology, the emergence of new scientific principles and technologies and the possibility of their military application have all created the danger of the emergence of new forms of weapons of mass destruction that have characteristics comparable in destructive effect to those of the weapons of mass destruction identified in the definition of such weapons adopted by the United Nations Commission on Conventional Weapons in 1948.

Furthermore, the problem of preventing the development of new types of weapons of mass destruction will become ever more urgent as progress is made towards the elimination of existing types of such weapons. In light of that, the Byelorussian SSR and the other sponsors now believe it appropriate and necessary to work towards

(Mr. Martynov,  
Byelorussian SSR)

agreement on procedures that could be immediately implemented in order to co-ordinate international action as and when concrete types of such weapons are identified.

To those ends, operative paragraph 1 of the resolution reaffirms the need for effective measures to be taken to avoid the emergence of new types of weapons of mass destruction based on new scientific principles and achievements.

Paragraph 2 provides for appropriate procedures that should be made available to the international community. That is to say, the Conference on Disarmament, in the light of its existing priorities, should keep under continuing review, with appropriate expert assistance, the questions of the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons with a view to making, when necessary, recommendations on undertaking specific negotiations on the identified types of such weapons.

In paragraph 3, the General Assembly calls upon all States, immediately following the identification of any new type of weapon of mass destruction, to commence negotiations on its prohibition and to refrain from any action that could adversely affect the negotiations.

(Mr. Martynov, Byelorussian SSR)

The Byelorussian SSR believes that these procedures would be more useful if they were based on agreement. Therefore, we are now actively engaged in consultations with a number of interested delegations with a view to achieving appropriate compromise.

If any changes are made to draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.38 the sponsors will notify the Committee accordingly.

Miss SOLESBY (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland): I have the pleasure to introduce a draft resolution on objective information on military matters. I do so on behalf of the delegations of Australia, Belgium, Botswana, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, the Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Samoa, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America and my own delegation.

The Committee has the text before it in the form of document A/C.1/43/L.19. However, small changes have been made to that text, and I understand that the revised version will be available tomorrow as document A/C.1/43/L.19/Rev.1. It is the revised text that I am introducing today.

The list of sponsors whose names I have just read out is a long one, and I think it shows that the delegations sponsoring the draft resolution cover a wide spectrum of countries represented here. My delegation is particularly pleased that support for the ideas embodied in the draft resolution is becoming increasingly widespread.

The draft resolution builds upon its predecessors. It carries the subject forward in a way that reflects developments during the last year. It reflects the new standards of openness enshrined in recent agreements - agreements whose value is clear to all. It also reflects the growing acknowledgement of the ideas set out

(Miss Solesby, United Kingdom)

in the draft resolution - ideas of openness and transparency in military matters - and of the contribution those principles make to the enhancement of security.

An important aspect of the draft resolution is its recommendation that the international system for the standardized reporting of military expenditures be implemented. This is a crucial example of the way in which the principles of openness and transparency can take concrete form, and we attach especial importance to it. The draft resolution invites States to submit views on further consolidating the trend towards greater openness. We very much hope that responses will include practical suggestions as well as statements of principle.

Finally, the draft resolution asks that the Disarmament Commission take up this item at its session in 1990. We believe that the subject would benefit from more in-depth consideration in a forum that is open to all States. We hope that the deliberation that would take place in the Disarmament Commission would result in a useful study representing a wide consensus on the item and thus serve as a constructive guide for the future.

We believe that the subject this draft resolution addresses is one whose topicality is increasing and whose importance is becoming more widely recognized. For this reason we commend it with some confidence to the attention of all delegations and hope it will enjoy the support of all countries represented here.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for her statement, which I found very encouraging.

Mr. NAZARKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.19/Rev.1, entitled "Objective information on military questions", which has just been introduced by the representative of the United Kingdom, is the result of consultations between my delegation and the delegation of the United Kingdom. I should like to voice my satisfaction with the successful outcome of those consultations. Since this revised draft resolution

(Mr. Nazarkin, USSR)

takes account of the comments we made during those consultations the Soviet delegation is empowered, on behalf of the other sponsors, to declare that draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.29 is withdrawn.

We consider that measures of openness and transparency in the military sphere are a substantial factor in the consolidation of trust and the enhancement of the predictability of the actions of States, which constitute one of the components of international security. We are convinced that the process of the development of openness in international affairs as a whole and in the military sphere is having a favourable impact on the international situation and has a direct impact also on the intensification of negotiations on curbing the arms race.

The beginning of real nuclear disarmament as the result of the implementation of the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles has set new, unprecedented standards of openness and has, in practice, demonstrated the indissoluble link between openness and disarmament. Bearing in mind that one of the important aspects of disarmament is the reduction of military budgets, and acknowledging the leading role of the United Nations in promoting the solution of this question, the Soviet Union, within the declared time-limit, when conditions, come about for a realistic comparison of military expenditures, will proceed to use the existing United Nations system of standardization of accounts to present details of its military expenditures.

(Mr. Nazarkin, USSR)

I wish to state that the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gorbachev, stated the following on 17 September 1987:

"I think that, with proper efforts, in the next two or three years we shall already be able to compare figures of interest to us and our partners which will symmetrically reflect the expenditures of the sides."

The Soviet Union also considers that within the framework of the United Nations it is possible to proceed with the elaboration of objective criteria and parameters for guaranteeing openness in order to promote the advancement of the process of real disarmament. Together with the other co-sponsors, we have proposed the consideration of these questions in the Disarmament Commission at its 1990 session. We are convinced that the emerging trend of enhancement of the role of the United Nations in international affairs must make itself felt also in the improvement of openness and the exchange of objective information on military matters. This will enhance the capability of the United Nations to promote international peace and security and will make it a leading force in the development of international relations based on trust and co-operation. The Soviet delegation hopes that the General Assembly will give firm support to further expansion of openness in military matters.

In the desire to elaborate a single draft on the question of objective information on military matters, we also took into account your appeal, Mr. Chairman, to strive to ensure that draft resolutions should not duplicate each other. We hope that other delegations will follow our example and will intensify consultations with a view to the elaboration of single drafts on issues where two or more draft resolutions have in the past been presented.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of the Soviet Union for his statement, which I very much appreciate. The last two statements that we have just

(The Chairman)

heard, from the representatives of the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, in my view, reflect a high point in the First Committee's work this year, for what both representatives told us was that, as a result of their consultations on the very important subject contained in the draft resolutions on objective information, it became possible to have a single draft resolution. Indeed, I may say that this vindicates, if such were necessary, the emphasis that we have placed in our programme this year on allotting more time for consultation in order to accomplish precisely what we have just accomplished. Thus, like Ambassador Nazarkin, I too hope that this will be an incentive in other ongoing consultations.

Further, it is my hope that the revised draft resolution that will emerge from these consultations will be adopted by consensus in the First Committee, for surely this will make it possible for the work that the United Nations Disarmament Commission will take up on the subject in 1990 to be approached successfully. So I reiterate my great sense of satisfaction that the accomplishment in this area has been as significant as it has been.

Mr. CAPPAGLI (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): The progress in disarmament made during the past year at the bilateral level has already been recognized on many occasions. The re-establishment of constructive dialogue between the super-Powers contains enormous creative potential, while at the same time generating a new atmosphere of détente and international co-operation. Nevertheless, as is pointed out in the Programme of Action of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, nuclear weapons remain the major danger for mankind and the survival of civilization. Therefore the cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament, like the prevention of nuclear war, still constitute today matters which require priority attention.

On this occasion, as in previous years, the Argentine delegation wishes to

(Mr. Cappagli, Argentina)

introduce two draft resolutions on different aspects of a fundamental theme in disarmament negotiations.

The draft resolution on item 67 (k), referring to the cessation of the nuclear-arms race and nuclear disarmament and appearing in document A/C.1/43/L.42, has been sponsored by my delegation, with the following co-sponsors: Bangladesh, Cameroon, Costa Rica, Ecuador, the German Democratic Republic, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Romania, Sweden, the United Republic of Tanzania and Venezuela. The draft resolution, which brings up to date the one adopted last year on the same subject, welcomes the progress achieved in this area and reaffirms the complementarity existing between bilateral and multilateral negotiations.\*

The need to halt and reverse the nuclear-arms race in order to prevent the danger of a nuclear war is a question of the greatest importance and a matter of concern for the international community, which is threatened by this danger. This explains the vital interest of the international community in nuclear disarmament negotiations. Unfortunately, the Conference on Disarmament has not yet been able to reach agreement on the establishment of a subsidiary body with an appropriate negotiating mandate. Accordingly, in the draft resolution the General Assembly would again request the Conference on Disarmament at the beginning of its 1989 session to establish an ad hoc committee to elaborate on paragraph 50 of the Final Document of 1978, and submit recommendations to the Conference as to how it could best initiate multilateral negotiations of agreements, with adequate measures of verification, in appropriate stages, for cessation of the qualitative and quantitative improvements and development of nuclear-weapons systems and proceeding to the reduction and elimination of such weapons.

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\*Mr. Batiouk (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.



(Mr. Cappagli, Argentina)

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.43, submitted under agenda item 67 (1), relates to the prevention of nuclear war. It is sponsored by my delegation, together with Algeria, Bangladesh, Bulgaria, Brazil, Cameroon, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Egypt, German Democratic Republic, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Romania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia.

In essence, the draft resolution is similar to the one adopted last year on the same subject. However, there are some changes in the preamble, which refers to the progress made in the bilateral field. As in previous years, it was not possible to establish at the Conference on Disarmament, an ad hoc committee to examine procedures designed to secure the avoidance of nuclear war.

In the light of the urgency of the question and the inadequacy or insufficiency of existing measures, the draft resolution I am introducing once again contains a request to the Conference on Disarmament to undertake, as a matter of the highest priority, negotiations with a view to achieving agreement on appropriate and practical measures that could be negotiated and adopted individually for the prevention of nuclear war and to establish an ad hoc committee on the subject at the beginning of its 1989 session.

My delegation trusts that draft resolutions A/C.1/43/L.42 and A/C.1/43/L.43 will be adopted with the broad support of the General Assembly.

Mr. BOKOV (Bulgaria): I have the honour to introduce on behalf of its sponsors, draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.21, entitled "Conclusion of effective international arrangements on the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons". The draft resolution is submitted under agenda item 57.

Before proceeding with the introduction of the draft resolution, I should like to avail myself of the opportunity to inform the Committee that in the past few

(Mr. Bokov, Bulgaria)

weeks my delegation has undertaken consultations with interested delegations both in Geneva and here in New York in an attempt to agree upon and introduce a single draft resolution on the issue of negative security assurances. As is well known, the General Assembly has traditionally voted on two separate draft resolutions on this subject which have many common points. In the view of my delegation, the introduction of one draft resolution of primarily procedural character would create, particularly if adopted by consensus, a much more favourable atmosphere in the ad hoc committee on negative security assurances in 1989. The failure of this attempt is to be regretted since, for our part, the consultations were held with an open mind and in a spirit of goodwill and compromise.

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.21, which is sponsored by the delegations of Angola, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and by my own delegation, is based on the conviction that nuclear disarmament and the complete elimination of nuclear weapons are essential to the elimination of the threat of war. We believe that pending the achievement of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, various interim measures should be taken to strengthen the security of non-nuclear-weapon States.

Proposals, such as the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons by an appropriate international convention, the assumption of a policy of non-first use of such weapons by all nuclear-weapon States, and the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, have received widespread international support.

Draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.21 reflects also the position of the sponsors in regard to the conclusion of an international, legally binding instrument giving non-nuclear States reliable, uniform and unconditional assurances against the use or threat of use of such weapons on their territories.

(Mr. Bokov, Bulgaria)

While the draft resolution follows basically the language of last year's General Assembly resolution 42/31 it is worth noting that it contains new elements, such as the recognition that there is a need for a fresh look at the issue of negative security guarantees, in particular by the nuclear-weapon States, in order to overcome the difficulties encountered at the negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament in previous years.

In introducing draft resolution A/C.1/43/L.21, we believe that it will play a useful and positive role in stimulating the Conference on Disarmament to pursue intensive negotiations with a view to reaching agreement on a common approach on the need to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Russian): Before adjourning the meeting, I call on Mr. Kheradi, Secretary of the Committee.

Mr. KHERADI (Secretary of the Committee): I should like to inform members of the Committee that the following countries have become sponsors of the following draft resolutions:

A/C.1/43/L.1: Thailand  
A/C.1/43/L.22: Honduras  
A/C.1/43/L.34: the Ukrainian SSR  
A/C.1/43/L.45: the Syrian Arab Republic  
A/C.1/43/L.48: Cuba  
A/C.1/43/L.49: Greece  
A/C.1/43/L.51: Thailand  
A/C.1/43/L.52: Thailand  
A/C.1/43/L.64: Viet Nam and Sierra Leone  
A/C.1/43/L.66: Burma and the Sudan  
A/C.1/43/L.67: Hungary and Bulgaria

The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.