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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 19th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. Roche (Canada)

CONTENTS

- GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS (continued)

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

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

GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS

Mr. PAVLOVSKY (Czechoslovakia) (interpretation from Russian): Today in its statement the Czechoslovak delegation would like to express its point of view regarding several aspects of our Committee's work, those dealing with regional approaches to disarmament, strengthening confidence and bringing the military potential of States within the bounds of reasonable sufficiency. The significance of such issues, in our view, is ever greater in view of the development of international relations at the present time, when there is a sharp rise in the need for the practical and concrete solution of those problems.

We believe that this subject is particularly relevant for States parties to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). Of course the all-European process could be a valuable source of experience for strengthening co-operation and reducing the danger of war and military confrontation in other regions of the world as well.

Moreover, what is characteristic of developments in Europe is a gradual shift from the initial confidence-building measures agreed on at Helsinki to a system of major and verifiable steps in this area. At the basis of this system are the agreements worked out by the Stockholm Conference. We are convinced that a logical continuation of this process would be the mutual elimination of imbalances and asymmetries in various types of conventional weapons and armed forces of both military and political alliances in Europe. As a result, stability would be achieved regarding the military potential of conventional weapons at a lower level of that potential.

(Mr. Pavlovsky, Czechoslovakia)

I should like to refer once again to the proposals in this area made by the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty in July this year. They provide, inter alia, for a process of reducing armed forces and conventional weapons at the final stage of which the armed forces and conventional weapons of both sides would become purely defensive in nature.

We believe that the constructive conclusion of the Vienna meeting and the adoption there of a mandate for negotiations on disarmament in the area of conventional weapons and for a further intensification of confidence-building measures in Europe in the very near future will become an important step in placing the relations between East and West on a new footing. We believe that in this way all the experience gained will be used, including the partial results of the Vienna negotiations on reductions in armed forces and arms in central Europe. Such a course of action is all the more necessary since up to now, after decades of suspicion and tension, confidence and security in Europe have still not been fully assured. It seems that even the present unprecedented openness in the military activities of States, including the exchange of plans for exercises and the participation of observers in manoeuvres, is still insufficient to eliminate mutual apprehensions.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty have therefore jointly proposed a comparison of the military doctrines of both military-political alliances so that they may assure themselves of their defensive nature.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has on numerous occasions reaffirmed its sincere determination to promote constructively the strengthening of the structure of security and co-operation in Europe.

We view as a concrete manifestation of that approach our proposal on the creation of zones of co-operation, confidence and good neighbourly relations along the lines of contact of States parties to the Warsaw Treaty and members of the

(Mr. Pavlovsky, Czechoslovakia)

North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), made in February of this year. That proposal is based on a combination of military and non-military measures. We are convinced that that approach would place questions of confidence on a broader and more solid foundation.

As regards the military sphere, our proposal is in keeping with the joint position of States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, according to which an integral component of the process of the reduction of levels of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe must be measures to reduce and eliminate the threat of a surprise attack. The point is, for example, that along the line of contact of the two alliances zones would be created with a lower level of weapons, from which the most dangerous and destabilizing forms of conventional weapons would be withdrawn or limited in quantity. In those zones a level of military potential would be maintained such as to ensure only defence and exclude the possibility of a surprise attack.

For purposes of the further strengthening of confidence within the framework of the zones, co-ordinating measures would be carried out to limit military activities. These could, inter alia, deal with the volume, numbers and length of military exercises and troop movements.

We believe that these proposals will become an integral part of an in-depth and constructive dialogue on the major problems of reducing military tension and of disarmament in Europe.

In the view of our countries, regional measures to limit arms and disarmament measures are fully justified as a means of strengthening stability and security in any region of the world. In addition they should be considered from the point of view of their political and practical contribution to a global solution to concrete problems of disarmament. Thus we continue to be convinced, for example, that the

(Mr. Pavlovsky, Czechoslovakia)

creation of what we, together with the German Democratic Republic, have proposed - namely, nuclear-free zones and a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe - would give useful impetus to efforts to reduce the nuclear threat as a whole and would not in any way damage the security of any side whatsoever.

In this connection we should like once again to note that the joint proposal of Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic on the creation in Central Europe of chemical-weapon-free zones, which was addressed to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, is still extremely relevant. As long as the chemical threat continues to exist we believe that each step, even a partial one, towards reducing it is extremely valuable. The idea of establishing a chemical-free-zone in central Europe is fully in keeping with the efforts aimed at stepping up the conclusion of a global convention on the banning and elimination of such weapons. We consider it primarily as a political measure and a manifestation of good will. Within the framework of the zone, for example, it would be possible immediately to test the proposed verification system of the convention. Moreover, after the conclusion of the global convention the proposed zone would not lose its significance as a concrete regional form of the implementation of the convention, a form which would simultaneously strengthen mutual security and the process of the elimination of chemical weapons.

(Mr. Pavlovsky, Czechoslovakia)

Based on our general support for regional approaches to disarmament as an integral element of international efforts to make progress in this field, our country welcomes the proposals and initiatives to that end made by other States. We attach great importance to nuclear-free zones and zones of peace in various regions of the earth. In this connection, we regard as highly relevant the problem of strengthening the nuclear-free status of Africa and the convening of an international conference on the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean.

Czechoslovakia welcomes the guidelines worked out by the United Nations Disarmament Commission at its session this year to strengthen confidence-building measures. We believe that in the context of the principles adopted by the Commission, stress should be placed on strict compliance with the Charter and implementation of the appropriate provisions of the Final Document of the first General Assembly special session on disarmament.

We share the conviction that a multilateral approach to the strengthening of confidence is required. Here a decisive role could be played by the Organization. We believe that the document agreed upon by the Commission is a contribution to the growth of understanding among States and the creation of an international climate propitious to the achievement of progress in disarmament. In our view, that document will promote concrete negotiations on confidence-building measures, on a regional or a broader scale.

We believe that one of the aims of our work this year is to use the United Nations machinery to co-ordinate effectively the efforts designed to resolve high-priority questions in the nuclear field and the questions related to the objective need to achieve progress on conventional weapons. We think that the question of conventional weapons, by its very nature, requires the use both of regional and of broader multilateral approaches. In our view, this lends increased

(Mr. Pavlovsky, Czechoslovakia)

significance to non-military guarantees of the security of States, and particularly to strict respect for the principle of the non-use or threat of the use of force and the strengthening of the international legal order as a whole.

In our opinion, it will be useful if the Organization continues to work out universal guidelines for disarmament in the field of conventional weapons. We believe that in formulating such guidelines we should take due account of such factors as the growing danger of conventional weapons, particularly in the light of the increasingly sophisticated technology and the enormous sums spent on such weapons. We believe that we shall be able to achieve the required consensus on this important question as well.

I would note that we regard as a step in the right direction the proposal for the establishment of a specific system of verification of the transfer of conventional weapons by means of a United Nations register.

In conclusion, I repeat that we are prepared to contribute constructively to a dialogue on the serious problems to which I have referred, and to do everything possible to achieve a consensus on the ways to solve them.

Mr. CHIRU (Panama) (interpretation from Spanish): We are so close to the nuclear abyss and to the total destruction of civilization that it appears we have finally come to realize the seriousness of our historic responsibility and the urgency of taking decisive steps to achieve disarmament and establish genuine international security and a just and lasting peace.

It has been three years since the Geneva Summit Conference where the super-Powers undertook to begin negotiations designed to achieve significant reductions in their land-based nuclear arsenals and to prevent an arms race in outer space. During those years we have witnessed a slow but sustained process of

(Mr. Chiru, Panama)

the relaxation of international tensions and an apparently solid shift away from the thinking that has prevailed in the military establishments of the super-Powers with respect to the requirements for their national security.

Thus, it seems that we are entering a new stage in international life in which the emergence of a less hostile and aggressive climate in East-West relations is setting the tone for the resurgence of multilateralism and the revitalization of the world Organization.

The international machinery set up 43 years ago in San Francisco seems to be working once again towards the achievement of its goals - goals that all of us, large and small, rich and poor, must strive to promote and encourage.

Even though the practical results of this renewed interest in the international capacity for dialogue and negotiation has not yet responded to the desires or anxieties of an international community threatened both by the spectre of nuclear destruction and by the shadow of critical poverty, it is to a certain extent comforting to observe that the doctrine of a balance of terror is tending to become a thing of the past and that a trend towards general and complete disarmament is starting to emerge on the horizon.

These positive trends have certainly served as encouragement to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, who has been working silently but effectively to achieve satisfactory solutions to the complex regional conflicts that have marked the present decade, earning it the questionable record of having witnessed more armed conflicts than any other decade of this century.

This process has made it clear, among other things, that when there is the political will to search for negotiated solutions, no barrier is insurmountable, no undertaking is beyond reach.



(Mr. Chiru, Panama)

But today's optimism would be less cautious and less fragile if we were not at the same time witnessing the constant manifestations of disdain and contempt for international law that continue to characterize the behaviour of a Power which bears particular responsibility in the sphere of disarmament and the maintenance of international peace and security. That behaviour only raises doubts as to whether there really is a change of attitude on the part of that super-Power and suspicions with respect to the intentions lying behind the present conciliatory façade. To quote the Secretary-General in his last report:

"It is obvious that international confidence would rest on quicksand if the domestic necessities felt by Governments were allowed to override the international obligations that they have solemnly undertaken. Without international law respected by all States there can be no stable framework for multilateral co-operation." (A/43/1, p. 12)

This is a matter of major importance both for the attainment of real progress in the field of arms limitation and disarmament and for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The United Nations has made enormous efforts in this direction, efforts that have resulted in the approval of a set of international instruments enshrining norms and principles for peaceful coexistence between States. Now if these are not scrupulously respected they would render the international order established in the Charter meaningless and would result in the establishment of the law of the jungle, a state in which the use of force or the threat of the use of force would become the standard for licit conduct, while dialogue and rational consultations would become departures from the norm.

(Mr. Chirú, Panama)

Many of those principles and norms of conduct among States are currently being violated in a flagrant and systematic fashion endangering my country's security and threatening the peace and security of a highly sensitive region, the isthmus of Central America. My country very much regrets that this climate of optimism, which has permeated the tone of the general debate in the Committee this year, is not one which my delegation can share. The acute economic crisis and the burden of external debt are now, despite all the principles of international law, being compounded by open disregard for the Charter and in flagrant violation of bilateral treaties, all this resulting in a ruthless chain of political and economic acts of aggression and a senseless escalation of threats of military force.

The thinking behind this irrational campaign of pressure and acts of aggression has been denounced by my Government in document A/43/216 of 20 April 1988, which has been circulated as an official document of the First Committee. It is a clear expression of hegemonistic designs on the part of the United States of America and is an unmistakable indication of its desire to perpetuate its military presence within my country's territory, in contravention of the sovereign agreements of 1977.

Although the overwhelming United States military presence - not authorized by my country - remains and is resulting in a whole series of violations of our sovereignty and political independence, I shall refrain from rehearsing this endless list of transgressions of international law and violations of logic and justice. I wish only to re-emphasize here, first of all, that the presence of United States troops in the territory of the Republic of Panama is authorized by the Panama Canal Treaties of 1977 exclusively for the purpose of protecting and defending the oceanic waterway, in co-ordination with and jointly with the Panamanian armed forces.

(Mr. Chiru, Panama)

Secondly, for these legitimate purposes, which will end on the last day of this century, the United States has stationed in Panama Brigade Number 193 of the recently created Southern Command of the United States armed forces. According to the provisions of the relevant Treaty, the United States shall maintain its armed forces in Panama at a level which shall not exceed those existing at the time when the Treaty came into force. At present, the number of United States troops stationed in Panama exceeds those authorized by several thousand. The United States offensive capacity has been stepped up to an excessive level and has come to represent a threat both to Panamanian security and to the security of neighbouring States.

Thirdly, the military structure known as the Southern Command of the United States army, arbitrarily deployed on Panamanian soil, is not contemplated or provided for in the Canal Treaties, neither are its activities governed by any accord. This structure is designed for intervention and control of the rest of the Latin American region. Its attributes run from the northern border of Mexico down to the southern tip of Latin America.

Modern society will be able to avert self-destruction only if we fully comply with the international commitments sovereignly entered into by all States, and if we recognize the urgent need to set up a world order based on strict fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

As was so rightly said in this Committee by the Peruvian Ambassador, Carlos Alzamora:

"... what is required is détente with international economic justice and respect for human rights and the rights of peoples and without intervention in internal affairs, without economic coercion, without spheres of influence and without measures of force." (A/C.1/43/PV.15, p. 21)

(Mr. Chiru, Panama)

The new atmosphere of détente will survive only if it does not result in tacit agreements to re-impose bloc power politics and spheres of influence, and provided that it prevents a reaffirmation of concepts such as that of the balance of terror. Such an understanding would only increase the suspicions and fears of an entente between the powerful and the rich to the detriment of the militarily weak and poor.

Mr. TADESSE (Ethiopia): Mr. Chairman, aware though I am of your determination to observe the spirit and letter of rule 110 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, I cannot resist the temptation to congratulate you most warmly upon your election as the Chairman of this highly revered Committee. Cognizant, as we are, of your eminent qualities as an accomplished diplomat and of your country's demonstrated commitment to the cause of disarmament, we have no doubt that our deliberations will lead to concrete results. You may therefore rest assured of the continued co-operation of the Ethiopian delegation in all your worthy efforts to infuse new dynamism into the work of our Committee.

The period following the historic Reykjavik summit has been characterized by diplomatic flurries which have left their mark on international relations, most particularly on the conduct of inter-State discourse and diplomacy. Adversaries who on many occasions did not see eye-to-eye on a variety of crucial issues have had to embark on the path of dialogue. Those who could not do so directly have resorted to what are known as indirect or proximity talks. In many cases the good offices of the Secretary-General have been used to advantage. In all these meetings no rigid formula of encounter was prescribed. There were the round-table discussions, the fireside chats, quadrilateral meetings and even diplomatic cocktail parties of the Jakarta variety. In most of these cases the outcome was encouraging, the most rewarding of them all being the signing and ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Nuclear Missiles by the two leading nuclear Powers.

The lessons to be drawn from the dialogues and negotiations which have taken place thus far are not difficult to discern. It is abundantly clear that peace initiatives and peace itself have increasingly become contagious and that their domino effect is becoming apparent. Moreover, it is quite obvious that peace

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

tended to be tenable whenever interested parties demonstrated a degree of political will in favour of it. Furthermore, it is quite clear that the resources of the United Nations in the field of peace-keeping and crisis management are yet to be tapped. Indeed, past events attest not only to the vitality of the United Nations but also to the relevance of the Charter. It can also be claimed that the rapprochement among the leading nuclear Powers and their engagement in meaningful negotiations in the field of disarmament and other related issues augur well for the relaxation of tension at the international level.

Although we shall continue to support bilateral or regional initiatives we would be remiss in our duty if we did not to emphasize the quintessentiality of multilateralism. Whereas we continue to recognize the complementary nature of bilateral, regional and multilateral negotiations on matters of paramount importance to mankind, on specific issues which are likely to affect the ultimate and overriding interest of the international community the collective wisdom of the majority should prevail over the focused interest of the few. As we often say in my national language:

"Grind the grain where you may as long as you bring home the flour."

Thus, diplomats and statesmen alike may grind their ideas anywhere as long as they bring them home to our United Nations and place them in the service of mankind. Although we tend to lend credence to the grinding mills in motion everywhere, we believe that the one provided by the United Nations is the largest, the most sustainable, and the most lasting of them all.

Our favourable assessment of the prevailing political climate is tempered by our realistic assessment of the outcome of the fifteenth special session of the General Assembly. Although we had hoped that the realism which had prevailed prior

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

to the convening of the special session, in particular the important strides made by the leading nuclear Powers, would augur well for the conduct and outcome of the session, our achievements fell far below our expectations. To the dismay of the preponderant majority of States, which had attached particular importance to the adoption by consensus of a final document, even the most noble of our ideas failed to be registered in any form of a valid declaration. That we could not benefit from a propitious political circumstance with which we were blessed is a matter for regret. None the less we are heartened to note that the United Nations role in the field of disarmament was underscored and ultimately gained currency in the course of the discussion held during the session.

An issue of utmost concern to mankind as a whole is the complicated question of the prevention of an arms race in outer space. It has become all the more crucial in view of the insistence of a nuclear Power on developing the so-called strategic defence initiative - better known as SDI. It is our considered view that such a course of action will ultimately contribute to the militarization of outer space. Consequently, it is our hope that the ongoing bilateral negotiations between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in regard to nuclear disarmament will lead to an early outcome. In this connection we are happy to note that the Conference on Disarmament has established an Ad Hoc Committee on outer space with a view to finding ways and means of strengthening the existing legal régime and ultimately preventing the spread of the arms race to outer space.

Another issue which has been at the hub of negotiations conducted within the framework of the Conference on Disarmament is the question of chemical weapons. In condemning all acts related to the use of chemical weapons we note with a renewed

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

sense of hope that, at long last, the Conference on Disarmament might adopt a convention on the prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and use of all chemical weapons and on their destruction.

Inasmuch as we are encouraged by the achievements registered thus far in the sphere of chemical weapons we cannot but express our regret that similar progress has not been attained in the negotiations with regard to the comprehensive test-ban treaty. If the dangerous course the arms race seems to be following is to be averted, it is imperative that concrete steps be undertaken with a view to ensuring a total ban on nuclear tests. This issue therefore remains paramount on the agenda of the Conference on Disarmament, irrespective of the unhelpful disposition some members of this multilateral forum tend to adopt in this regard.

Perhaps the most effective among the strategies aimed at preventing the spread of nuclear weapons is the establishment of the nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world. The determination of the peoples of Latin America and the South Pacific to establish such zones has led to the signing of two important treaties, namely the Treaty of Tlatelolco and the Treaty of Rarotonga. We remain firm in our conviction that such arrangements will go a long way towards liberating a vast majority of States from the immediate danger inherent in the physical existence and proximity of such weapons of mass destruction. In this regard we view with sympathy the proposal by the German Democratic Republic regarding the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free corridor in Europe. The creation of such a nuclear buffer zone in the heart of Europe can only enhance the prospect of the maintenance of peace and security in that historically beleaguered continent. It is our considered view that the establishment of such nuclear-weapon-free zones or zones of peace should be encouraged at the global level.



(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

A zone of especial interest to my delegation, indeed to all delegations from my immediate vicinity, has been and remains that of the Indian Ocean. In spite of the repeated appeals made by the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean area, some maritime Powers have tended to beef up their military presence in the region. A few amongst them entertain the medieval view that maintenance of foreign military bases in the area is an integral part of the exercise of freedom of navigation.

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

Therefore we attach special importance to the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean. In spite of the commendable degree of flexibility demonstrated by the States of the region and the repeated calls of the General Assembly for an early convening of the long-awaited Conference on the Indian Ocean, the aspiration of the peace-loving peoples of that area has yet to be realized. The lack of political will on the part of some has become so institutionalized that even a modest but helpful proposal for the convening of an ordinary meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee in Colombo by the Government of Sri Lanka could not see the light of day. Thus we appeal to all extraregional maritime Powers to respect the wish of the peoples of the region and shoulder their responsibilities regarding the maintenance of international peace and security.

An issue close to the heart of my delegation is the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa. Although more than two decades have elapsed since Africa expressed its wish to remain free from nuclear weapons, the peoples of the continent continue to be threatened by the danger that the acquisition of nuclear capability by South Africa portends. In drawing the attention of the international community to the ever-existing dangers inherent in the possession of such weapons of mass destruction by the Pretoria régime, we appeal to all extraregional Powers to desist from any form of nuclear collaboration with that unkind régime.

Just as we are concerned by the degree of collaboration between the apartheid régime and some Western countries, especially in the nuclear field, so we remain alarmed by the dangerous tendency to dump nuclear and toxic waste in Africa. The implications of such dumping for human life and the environment are quite obvious. The health hazards to the present inhabitants of the continent and to generations

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

yet to come are equally clear. What is not clear is the motive of those who have the audacity to impose such a burden on a continent which has had more than its share of misfortunes in the past few years. Why is it that multinationals of countries that we regard as our partners within the framework of the Lomé Convention have decided to export radioactive waste to our continent? Why is it that those who spoke vehemently on the impact of radioactivity following the Chernobyl incident are oblivious of the consequences of the dumping of radioactive waste on African soil? Why is the merciless exploitation of Africa's uranium compounded by the transfer of nuclear waste to Africa? Why is it that our request for transfer of technology is at times responded to by a transfer of industrial waste? Why is it that the powers-that-be take undue advantage of the economic difficulties of the African countries? Why is it that industrial and toxic waste deemed unfit for European wastelands is targeted for dumping in the gentle valleys of Africa?

As President John F. Kennedy once said:

"in the final analysis, our most basic link is that we are all human; we all breathe the same air, we all cherish our children's future."

So why this unkindness to fellow human beings? Why this callous attitude towards people who attempted to "live and let live" in spite of the fact that they had to heal the wounds they sustained on account of colonialism? It is not my intention to provide answers to the nagging questions I have raised. I shall leave that to the objective judgement of the fair-minded. All the same, let me point out that beneath all the unkindness I have alluded to lies a huge sediment of greed. While we condemn all such acts, we appeal to all the Governments concerned to use every means in their power to curb such a manifestation of inhumanity.

The most devastating calamity of the century has been the detonation of the bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Consequently, the paramount endeavour in the

(Mr. Tadesse, Ethiopia)

decades to come will be the struggle to save mankind from the scourge associated with nuclear explosions. The emphasis is not on repentance for mistakes committed in days gone by but rather on a sustained effort to avoid repeating the same evil. In this noble endeavour of protecting mankind against his worst half, the United Nations seems to offer the best alternative. For this very reason we believe that its role in the field of disarmament should be enhanced. After all, it is still that world Organization which embarked on its mission with a determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. There is nothing more secure than leaving the ultimate fate of mankind to the sacred trust of nations and in the good and secure hands of the United Nations.

For our part, we shall do everything within our capacity to enable our United Nations to meet the exigencies and dictates of the times. Our resolve to meet that fundamental obligation is strengthened by our knowledge of the immense potential of all Member States, the efficacy of the United Nations machinery and the continued relevance of the Charter. It is with this renewed sense of dedication that we hope to contribute our modest share to the deliberations of this important Committee.

Mr. IBÁÑEZ (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): Last week the Permanent Representative of Greece addressed the Committee on behalf of the twelve member countries of the European Community, and naturally my delegation whole-heartedly subscribes to what was stated at that time. On this occasion I should like to highlight a number of points to which my Government and my delegation attach priority importance.

In the world of today, international relations are becoming increasingly complex, and the concept of interdependence can no longer be ignored; on the contrary, we are faced with a clear need to seek in international solidarity and

(Mr. Ibañez, Spain)

co-operation the tools with which to attack the difficult global problems afflicting our planet.

Against this background, my delegation wishes to reaffirm the central role and primary responsibility of the United Nations in the field of disarmament and international security. Therefore we are firmly in favour of any action tending to enhance the effectiveness of the mechanisms available to the United Nations in dealing with these matters.

It is our conviction that the First Committee and the Disarmament Commission have an essential part to play as universal forums for the discussion of these matters. Similarly, we have held the view for some time now that the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva is the only effective forum for multilateral negotiations in this field. Consequently, having taken an active part in its activities as guest observers for many years, we now desire to take our place as a full member.

(Mr. Ibañez, Spain)

Our confidence in the multilateral disarmament process was not undermined by the failure to produce a final document at the third special session devoted to disarmament. The result was disappointing, but my delegation, instead of seeing it as a failure, considers the effort made by all the delegations last June to have been extremely encouraging, as was the progress achieved in many of the thorniest areas, inasmuch as widely divergent positions were brought considerably closer together.

Nor should we forget that the work centred throughout on an extremely well-constructed text and, of its 67 paragraphs, there was failure to reach agreement on little more than half a dozen. We believe that that document contains material of extremely high quality and can continue to serve as a valid basis for work, since it expresses and symbolizes the progress achieved in our search for a language acceptable to all sides. We are confident that the effort has not been in vain.

In our opinion, one of the most pressing problems at the moment concerns the use of chemical weapons, in flagrant violation of the 1925 Geneva Protocol. Sad to say, the investigation teams sent by the Secretary-General have confirmed that such weapons have indeed been used in the Iran-Iraq conflict.

This is one of the problem areas on which the international co-operation and multilateral effort manifest in the work of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament can produce most fruitful results. A convention on the universal eradication of chemical weapons must be concluded with urgency, and this objective now appears to be attainable. The progress which has been made in this area is encouraging, but my country, which neither possesses nor intends to possess such weapons, cannot fail to be concerned at the possibility that a delay in arriving at an agreement totally abolishing chemical weapons may result in their proliferation.

(Mr. Ibañez, Spain)

Efforts must continue at the Geneva Conference to reach realistic, objective solutions to the problems still outstanding. The future agreement must rest on a foundation of transparency, verification and undiminished security, and must also include a plan for the gradual and balanced destruction of the lethal potential of existing chemical weapons. We welcome as a true sign of progress the decision adopted by the Conference on Disarmament to include in the draft convention a provision for chemical-weapon production facilities to be destroyed, not converted to other uses.

The signing of the convention will provide the ultimate vindication of multilateral negotiations as an effective means of dealing with such matters, and will in all probability be the first international disarmament agreement abolishing an entire category of weapons negotiated in a multilateral forum.

In this context, my delegation supports the initiative by France and the United States for the convening of an ad hoc international conference, in Paris, to reaffirm the continuing validity of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and to provide a political boost for the efforts of the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, to ensure the conclusion as soon as possible of a comprehensive convention on the elimination of chemical weapons.

Another priority for my Government is the need to reduce conventional weapons. It can never be stressed sufficiently that conventional weapons have caused the loss of millions of lives and immeasurable damage and suffering since the end of the Second World War. Nor should we forget the other frightful consequences arising from the awesome scale of world spending on armaments of this type, while sorely needed resources which could be employed to further the well-being of nations are squandered.

(Mr. Ibañez, Spain)

Spain views with concern the saturation level reached by this type of weaponry in many regions of the world, in particular Europe, where the marked imbalance of forces is a source of anxiety for my Government. The existing concentration of forces, which is far beyond what is strictly necessary for defence, represents a serious hazard. The Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles has served to highlight the need to correct this imbalance. It is therefore essential to have heavily asymmetrical reductions in Europe if we are to obviate the possibility of territorial occupation, surprise attacks and large-scale offensives.

My country is active at the Vienna meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) in the quest for a balanced and satisfactory outcome. Our aim there is to achieve conventional stability at lower levels of forces, together with an atmosphere of greater trust and transparency, by means of a dual negotiating process within the framework of the CSCE, which will begin once the follow-up meeting of the Helsinki process is concluded.

Thus, our efforts to guarantee peace and security in Europe have two interrelated, complementary aspects: the quest for conventional stability, and the deepening and expansion of the confidence-building and security-building measures agreed upon in Stockholm.

If mistrust is to be dispelled, it is essential for all States to conduct their military activities in accordance with predictability and transparency. My delegation believes that the United Nations can play an important role in this respect, and that all States should furnish the United Nations with detailed and standardized data on military spending, as does my country, among others.



(Mr. Ibañez, Spain)

Another area in which there is need for greater openness and transparency is that of the international transfer of arms. We must begin by making a clear and careful distinction between legal transfer and legitimate trade in weapons, and illegal arms trafficking. Then the effects of both types of activity must be examined separately and in depth. Finally, in the light of such studies, measures must be agreed upon at the national, regional, or multilateral level to establish greater transparency in the arms trade and preventing illegal trafficking.

The principle of effective verification of compliance with arms-control and disarmament agreements is now generally accepted by the international community. While we agree that verification must be a specific requirement for each treaty or agreement, to be negotiated as such by the parties, there is also tremendous scope for multilateral action, which could greatly facilitate the application of this principle.

The United Nations, in particular, has before it an extensive area in which to exercise its potential in regard to human, technical and organizational resources. For example, there is the formulation of a set of general principles acceptable to all, the compilation of a catalogue of measures, procedures and techniques for use in providing verification, and the provision of professional and technical assistance in specific negotiations.

At its last session the Disarmament Commission reached a consensus on the adoption of a number of principles relating to verification which furnish an excellent starting point for the final definition of the United Nations role in this area. The principle having been established, we are confident that the Assembly, by adopting the necessary measures and with the aid of studies by Government or other experts, will be able to define its role.

(Mr. Ibañez, Spain)

This year we have a new item on our agenda, one which appears to be gaining in popularity. I refer to the dumping of nuclear and toxic industrial waste. Spain is a party to the 1972 London Convention on the Prevention of the Contamination of the Sea by the Dumping of Waste and other Materials. We are, therefore, bound by the current indefinite moratorium on the dumping in the sea of low- and medium-radioactivity nuclear waste, according to the resolution approved in London in 1985. We are keenly aware of the concern felt by some countries with regard to this problem. It is our belief, however, that this subject - in the form in which it has been mooted - ought not to form part of the agenda of the First Committee.

In fact, the problem of the dumping of nuclear waste was dealt with in a resolution adopted by consensus at the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) at its latest session, in September last. That resolution provides for the establishment of a group of experts to conduct a study and then report to the Director-General and the General Conference of IAEA. The Director-General, Mr. Blix, is also to compile a report on the subject for the coming round of sessions of the General Conference.

I also find it hard to see how the question of the dumping of toxic industrial waste falls within the purview of this Committee. Surely this question ought rather to be dealt with by the Second Committee.

The danger of a conflict triggered by accident, which might escalate into a conflict leading to Armageddon is always real in our present nuclear age. We must take all possible steps to prevent this from occurring. Hence, we have no alternative but to continue the search for formulas that will, first of all, curb the nuclear-arms race and will then go on to bring about a gradual reduction of such arsenals, with the ultimate aim of abolishing them completely whenever this becomes a real possibility.

The entry into force of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range

(Mr. Ibañez, Spain)

and Shorter-Range Missiles may well be a historic milestone in this process.

Another major step will undoubtedly be the 50 per cent reduction in the strategic nuclear arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union, towards which both Powers are working with the whole-hearted support of the international community.

We sincerely hope that the divergent interpretations of the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems will not prove to be a stumbling-block to mutual understanding between the super-Powers and therefore lead to failure in the current negotiations.

With the total prohibition of nuclear tests we could be a step closer to curbing the nuclear-arms race and reducing arsenals, and therefore to their eventual elimination. On the one hand, new and hopeful possibilities are being opened up by the significant progress announced lately in the field of seismology. On the other hand, the first cautious steps taken by the two super-Powers may indeed culminate in the ratification of threshold treaties limiting nuclear tests and peaceful nuclear explosions. If limits are placed first on kilotonnage, the next steps might be the limitation of the number of tests, and finally their total prohibition, as circumstances allow.

While we appreciate the efforts of the countries that have proposed the transformation of the 1963 Treaty partially banning nuclear weapons tests into a fully-fledged test-ban treaty, it is my delegation's conviction that the step-by-step approach taken by the super-Powers is more suited to the tremendous complexities involved in complete nuclear disarmament, of which the total prohibition of nuclear testing is an integral part.

We are similarly convinced that in parallel with these ongoing bilateral processes, the Geneva Disarmament Conference will in the long run have a vital part

(Mr. Ibañez, Spain)

to play in the negotiation of a treaty totally banning nuclear testing. It is therefore our hope and our desire that the Ad Hoc Committee of the Conference on Disarmament that deals with this subject will succeed in obtaining a mandate acceptable to all sides and will begin its work at the earliest possible moment.

Spain wishes to continue its work in politically strengthening both horizontal and vertical non-proliferation. That was the reason for our accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT).

We heartily welcome the recent signing of the NPT by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the forthcoming Review Conference on the NPT, in the hope that those two events will add fresh impetus to the process of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

It must surely be the duty of our Committee to bring to the realm of practical reality the conviction shared by one and all that the United Nations has a central role and a primary responsibility in the field of disarmament. Indeed, my delegation will spare no effort in pursuing the fulfilment of that aim.

Mr. VARGA (Hungary): As a contribution to the work of the First Committee the delegation of Hungary wishes to make some remarks concerning the items relating to nuclear disarmament and the work of the Conference on Disarmament.

In view of the interdependent nature of the relations among States, multilateral co-operation is imperative in finding solutions to the outstanding problems of our day.

There is a growing understanding, both inside and outside this Hall, that nuclear-arms reduction and nuclear disarmament continue to be the issues of highest priority and the main task of all forums dealing with the problems of disarmament. To this end, efforts are and should be pursued at the regional, bilateral and multilateral levels to lessen the danger of nuclear war, to reduce substantially, and ultimately eliminate, all nuclear weapons.

(Mr. Varga, Hungary)

We consider that if the momentum created by 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 is sustained, early results can be achieved in reducing by 50 per cent the strategic arsenals of the participants in these talks, while preserving the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems.

Since nuclear disarmament is of high priority, due attention must be paid to those ideas and proposals that might promote the fulfilment of the mandate of the Conference on Disarmament to address, through negotiations, the questions of nuclear disarmament. My delegation favours the reaffirmation of this commitment by the General Assembly at its forty-third session.

We are still convinced that the general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests would be an effective measure towards the halting of the nuclear-arms race. The continuing of testing is at variance with the efforts of the great majority of States to put an end to the improvement of existing types of nuclear weapons and the development of new ones. In order to prevent that, all nuclear-weapon tests in all environments should be prohibited once and for all.

(Mr. Varga, Hungary)

Taking into account the urgency of the task, we think that all possible avenues should be considered and tried to make early and tangible progress in achieving a comprehensive prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. The Conference on Disarmament continues to remain the forum to work out a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty.

Efforts for the early achievement of a comprehensive test ban are of importance in themselves. We fully support the full-scale, stage-by-stage negotiations on nuclear testing, leading to the complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, by the USSR and the United States of America in their bilateral talks on this matter.

We are aware of the difficulties encountered in starting substantive work on the comprehensive test-ban treaty in an appropriate organizational framework in the Conference on Disarmament. Yet we believe that differences of view should not inevitably impede the start of substantive work. Here we mean the possibility of preliminary discussion of, and preparatory work on, specific issues and measures that might lead us to the main avenue of an eventual agreement on a comprehensive test ban. Several proposals have been made to solve the issue outside the Conference on Disarmament. We are convinced that real progress in that field depends on the common determination of countries to succeed and on hard work at the negotiating table.

We also welcome every effort aimed at solving the persisting deadlock on that question in the Conference on Disarmament. That is why my delegation is encouraged by the initiative of Czechoslovakia put forward in working paper CD/863

"to initiate, as a first step towards achieving a nuclear-test-ban treaty, substantive work on specific and interrelated test-ban issues, including structure and scope, as well as verification and compliance".

(Mr. Varga, Hungary)

My delegation is of the view that this proposal, which has been on the table for quite some time on an informal basis and has been formally presented by now, suggests what could have been realistically achieved at this stage and in the Conference on Disarmament.

In the deliberations of our Committee, it would be of paramount importance if the divergent and contradictory views in this respect could be narrowed down to such an extent that they could find a place in a single draft resolution on the comprehensive test-ban issue.

The task of avoiding the further spread of nuclear weapons occupies an especially important place in the vast domain of nuclear disarmament. During its 20 years of operation the non-proliferation régime has continuously gained strength and become an international multilateral instrument with the widest adherence. The Hungarian People's Republic, which maintains an unequivocal commitment to the objectives, obligations and measures set forth in the Treaty, has at various international forums repeatedly called upon all States which for whatever reason have not yet signed that legal instrument to join it without delay. Like many other participants in our general debate, my delegation would like to point out that it is of utmost importance to make progress in the implementation of article VI of that Treaty.

That is why we consider that the most important measures for the strengthening of the Non-Proliferation Treaty are the steps leading to the comprehensive implementation of that Treaty and measures on nuclear disarmament.

At this session the First Committee has the important task of initiating the appropriate preparatory work for the Fourth Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. It is a widely shared view that the forthcoming Review Conference has a crucial role to play in further

(Mr. Varga, Hungary)

strengthening the Treaty and the non-proliferation régime in general. It is our view that the most feasible way to strengthen the non-proliferation régime is through the adoption of a series of concrete nuclear disarmament measures.

My delegation lays special emphasis on the peaceful application of nuclear energy, international co-operation in this field, and the provision of security for peaceful nuclear activities.

Other measures which in our view could indirectly have beneficial effects on the strengthening of the non-proliferation régime are the successful and early conclusion of the negotiations on the prohibition of radiological weapons and the conclusion of an agreement on the prohibition of attacks against nuclear power stations and other nuclear facilities.

The Conference on Disarmament has embarked on the task of responding to both subjects. It may be appropriate to recall that in 1986 the International Atomic Energy Agency needed only several months to work out a Convention on the Early Notification of a Nuclear Accident and a Convention on Assistance in the Case of a Nuclear Accident or Radiological Emergency. In turn the Conference on Disarmament could contribute to the safety of peaceful nuclear activities by the early elaboration of an agreement on the prohibition of attacks on nuclear facilities.

The activities of the Conference on Disarmament in recent years have yielded modest, but substantive, progress on both tracks under consideration. The work done so far provides an appropriate basis for bringing the ongoing negotiations to an early and successful conclusion.

For years the Conference on Disarmament has been considering with varying intensity the possible solution of the issue of strengthening the security of non-nuclear-weapon States. This year a structured discussion took place in the subsidiary body of the Conference on Disarmament dealing with this issue. Some new



(Mr. Varga, Hungary)

ideas were explored and a clearer understanding reached on the complicated questions involved. The discussions have also revealed that a fresh approach to the issue is required in order to arrive at an agreement on security guarantees that will take into account the security interests of all non-nuclear-weapon States.

It would be a valuable first step in this direction if a single draft resolution could be adopted that in turn could encourage the Conference on Disarmament to continue the search for a common approach to the substance of negative security assurances.

The question of elaborating a convention on the world-wide prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling, transfer and use of chemical weapons has again this year rightly commanded the attention of the States participating in the Conference on Disarmament.

During the spring session of the Conference we noted with interest that a large number of participating States deemed it necessary to express at very high governmental levels their resolute political commitment to the early conclusion of the chemical weapons convention.

Many delegations responded favourably to the initiative of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on multilateral data exchange and other confidence-building measures.

May I recall that the Foreign Minister of my country had already declared - on 4 February 1988, at the Conference on Disarmament - that Hungary had no stockpile of chemical weapons or industrial facilities manufacturing such weapons. He also reaffirmed that his country did not intend to possess such weapons in the future.

(Mr. Varga, Hungary)

He also reaffirmed that no other country stored any kind of chemical weapons or carried out any kind of related activity in the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic. Concurrently the Conference on Disarmament was also informed of key precursors which were being either produced or consumed in measured quantities for peaceful purposes as well as of the number of chemical plants involved in Hungary.

In doing so the Government of Hungary was guided by the conviction that openness regarding the possession or non-possession of chemical weapons serves to contribute to the strengthening of confidence among States. My Government continues to believe that it would be beneficial for the purposes of the future chemical weapons convention if all States, not only those which are members of the Conference on Disarmament, would contribute to clearing the picture as much as possible by making available appropriate data on the possession or non-possession of chemical weapons and the production of certain chemicals related to the future convention. The collection of such data within the framework of a global system seems to be necessary for the eventual normal functioning of the convention.

We note with satisfaction the growing interest shown by States involved in the negotiations on a chemical weapons convention in the initiative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for gaining national and international experience in the field of verification of non-production by the civilian chemical industry of chemicals related to the future chemical weapons convention. Hungary has declared its interest in such an exercise and is ready to co-operate with other States interested in carrying out trial inspections.

We welcome the positive change in the position of France, reflected in the statement by President Mitterrand during the present session of the General

(Mr. Varga, Hungary)

Assembly. This move would undoubtedly contribute to the solution of outstanding issues of the draft convention and help to accelerate the work which remains to be done.

It is our considered opinion that President Reagan's proposal calling for a conference of the signatories of the 1925 Geneva Protocol and the readiness of the French Government to organize such a conference early next year are a commendable initiative which deserves our thorough attention. May I add that my delegation was impressed by the way the representative of France, Ambassador Morel, introduced the subject of the international conference in this Committee on 20 October.

The prevention of an arms race in outer space continues to be one of the paramount issues of international security and disarmament.

As the report of the Conference on Disarmament testifies, much useful work has been done at the 1988 session of the Conference by the Ad Hoc Committee on the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space. During the work carried out in previous years the Ad Hoc Committee had in our view accumulated a sound set of ideas and suggestions which permitted it to devote its attention during this year to proposals and measures to prevent an arms race in outer space.

We cannot but regret that due to the subsisting lack of consensus the Ad Hoc Committee was not able to make substantive progress this year in the achievement of its goals.

We continue to believe it is high time for the Conference on Disarmament and its Ad Hoc Committee on the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space to elaborate concrete measures and international multilateral agreements in order to strengthen and further develop the existing legal régime. We would welcome it if the Ad Hoc Committee could start next year devising a system that would guarantee the safety of satellites in orbit around the Earth, that is, the immunity necessary for their

(Mr. Varga, Hungary)

smooth operation. On the other hand it would also be useful for the Ad Hoc Committee to consider establishing an international system of verification to guarantee the peaceful character of research and activities in outer space.

We are of the view that the Ad Hoc Committee on the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space of the Conference on Disarmament is the most appropriate forum for the elaboration of certain important technical or legal elements of such a future system, like definition or details of verification mechanisms.

We share the view that the Ad Hoc Committee should be helped by experts in this context and we welcome and support all proposals aimed at the establishment with specified mandates of such working bodies of experts within the framework of the Conference on Disarmament.

My delegation shares the view of the Secretary-General, expressed in his statement in the First Committee this morning on the occasion of the opening of Disarmament Week, when he said:

"The current momentum towards peace needs to be maintained and carried forward. Let not the improvement in international relations which we witness at present become another passing phase. More than anything else, it is credible progress in disarmament which will make it certain that we are moving towards a new phase of international affairs, promising a better and safer world for all." (A/C.1/43/PV.18, p. 16)

My delegation is hopeful that the political will displayed by delegations in the First Committee will be converted into concrete actions and deeds conducive to fruitful negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament.

Mr. DE ACHA (Bolivia) (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of my delegation I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your well-deserved election as Chairman of the First Committee and to wish you every success in the discharge of your duties.

(Mr. de Acha, Bolivia)

We feel that, as the majority of delegations taking part in the debate have stressed, the work of the First Committee is taking place at a time when a fresh wind is beginning to blow in international affairs. It seems that we are witnessing a major period of transition and that we are on the verge of an age of rationality unprecedented in recent times. Consultations and closer relationships between the major Powers have ushered in a new age of common sense which is encouraging and strengthening dialogue and the political will of the peoples to consolidate peace and genuine co-operation.

(Mr. de Acha, Bolivia)

During the discussions in the First Committee at the last session, we noted, and shared in, the optimism resulting from the climate created by the signature of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles.

Another cause for optimism was the holding of the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament - a session that it was hoped would result in a consolidation of the prevailing positive trends which would contribute to an expansion of the bases for negotiations and the consideration of new possibilities of joint action in the development of a global approach to disarmament. We regret that things did not turn out as we had hoped, because the bilateral disarmament negotiations - important, indeed crucial, as they may be - tend to be exclusive in nature, whereas the general problem of disarmament, which directly affects the security of all the members of the international community, calls for a focus within a multilateral framework.

The achievement of our objective must be a common endeavour, which my delegation shares with others, particularly those in the Non-Aligned Movement. The non-aligned countries have repeatedly expressed this objective, because of their principles of tolerance, international co-operation and the maintenance of peace.

We believe, however, that the special session was also a useful opportunity to demonstrate the importance of multilateral forums for dealing with the question of disarmament. Similarly, we thought it was a good opportunity for us to emphasize the need to halt the arms race.

We are convinced that multilateral disarmament must be pursued as an essential part of the general process of disarmament, and the United Nations, with its prestige restored, has an important role to play in initiating and supporting those negotiations. For it is necessary to find a link between global disarmament discussions and bilateral negotiations.

(Mr. de Acha, Bolivia)

My country has a tradition as a peace-loving nation coexisting with its neighbours - and at times in its history, this has resulted in unjust losses of territory. We wish to express some views with respect to a number of the most important items before us.

The current trend in the arms race is not merely continuing but is intensifying in almost all the qualitative aspects of the improvement of weaponry and the introduction of new weapons of mass destruction, thereby increasing the threat of the use of force in various strategic areas of the earth. In that connection, and desirous of ensuring a climate of confidence for the attainment of real disarmament, Bolivia concurs with the proposals that urge all countries to undertake to stress continuously the positive development of their relations, in order to inject vitality into détente and make it a comprehensive, authentic, integral process in all its scope.

On this the twentieth anniversary of the opening of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons for signature, we reaffirm the principle of the non-proliferation of such weapons and express the hope that this Treaty will continue to encourage new agreements for the prohibition of the use or the threat of the use of force. The international community must continue to strive to avoid nuclear proliferation, since such proliferation represents a threat to all mankind.

Similarly, this year we are commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the signature of the partial test-ban Treaty. In that connection, we regret that nuclear tests are still going on and that a complete test-ban treaty has not yet been achieved.

We believe that a comprehensive test-ban treaty must be agreed upon. That would help to consolidate the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and would put a stop to the development, improvement and production of more sophisticated lethal

(Mr. de Acha, Bolivia)

weapons. Furthermore, it would represent real evidence of the political will to make progress in nuclear disarmament.

Similarly, within the context of our commitment to all peace and disarmament initiatives, we reiterate our support for the declarations of zones of peace and nuclear-weapon-free zones throughout the world. We particularly support the initiative of the countries of Latin America designed to declare the South Atlantic a Zone of Peace and Co-operation. We also support similar initiatives in respect of the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and Antarctica. The establishment of such zones in various parts of the world will serve to strengthen international peace and security.

With respect to chemical weapons, it should be emphasized that the use of, and the constant temptation to use, such weapons in various regional conflicts has given rise to calls for speeding up the drafting of an international convention banning the production, development, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons. The convening of a conference on this subject is a commendable initiative; we hope that it can succeed in its work, thereby lending impetus to the Geneva negotiations.

My delegation believes also that it is urgent to prevent the spreading of the arms race to outer space. In that connection, we emphasize again that outer space must be free from the use or the threat of the use of nuclear weapons. We consider that technology and scientific progress should be directed to the development and progress of peoples and not to the development or use of space for warlike purposes. We note with satisfaction that the Conference on Disarmament is focusing its work on specific objectives for preventing the spreading of the arms race to outer space. Despite some trends that are impeding this task in the debates of the Conference, they must focus on the objective being pursued, so that the Conference can effectively accomplish the task entrusted to it.



(Mr. de Acha, Bolivia)

Furthermore, the question of conventional weapons is also becoming a matter of universal concern. The reduction of conventional weapons is in the interest of all the countries and regions of the world today. Funds allocated to military activities are being withdrawn from the set of resources that could otherwise be allocated to the social and economic development of the peoples. In that respect, my delegation maintains the conviction, shared by a large majority of Member States, that the limitation and reduction of the world's military expenditure can make a substantial contribution to the progress of the developing countries. The establishment of an international development fund, with contributions deriving from resources now going to the arms race, offers positive prospects for the concrete support of States that now rhetorically proclaim their support for peace and their repudiation of the arms race.

In that connection, owing to the excessive impact upon the economy of the developing countries, the developed countries bear a responsibility to start a process of genuine and effective reduction of their armed forces. It would be disappointing if the reduction of nuclear weapons were offset by the strengthening of conventional forces and weapons.

In conclusion, the success of this great work depends on the capacity of all the protagonists to harmonize their actions to achieve the objective for which we have been working here for 43 years - the preservation of the peace and security of future generations.

Mr. AYAFOR CHUNGONG (Cameroon): The Cameroon delegation is speaking again at this stage of our debate on issues related to disarmament to highlight its views on certain items on the agenda - specifically items 63, 64, 65, 66 and 67.

As is well known, the work of our Committee started this year in a more harmonious international climate characterized by a resumed dialogue between the

(Mr. Ayafor Chungong, Cameroon)

super-Powers, the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - INF Treaty, an active quest for solutions to local and/or regional conflicts and a rebirth of our Organization. Hopes have thus once again been aroused and expectations are high.

(Mr. Ayafor Chungong, Cameroon)

However, this renewed optimism in State-to-State relations will bear no positive and durable fruits if it is not translated into concrete actions, especially with regard to the acceleration of ongoing negotiations on peace and international security. Our hopes must not be turned into disillusion. Our expectations must find fulfilment.

It is thus imperative that States not only apply in good faith resolutions of the General Assembly in the field of disarmament, but, additionally, seek to reinforce the role of the Organization in this field, while at the same time facilitating the adoption of further measures to guarantee the security of States in all aspects.

It is in this respect that we wish to underline the need to apply the resolutions and other pertinent documents already adopted by our Organization, foremost among which are the 1978 Final Document of the first special session devoted to disarmament and the recent Final Document of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, both of which were adopted by consensus. These documents, and notably the latter, emphasize the direct link between disarmament and development, as well as the seriousness of the non-military threats which today compromise the security of States, in particular developing countries. That is why my delegation wishes once again to underline the fact that in developing countries there can be no disarmament without development, for - and this is no secret - not only are these already poor States obliged to reserve the greater part of their meagre resources for military ends, to the detriment of economic development, but misery, the deteriorating terms of trade, famine and the dumping of nuclear and industrial wastes are further threats to their national security.

We earnestly hope that our Committee, in its deliberations on disarmament issues, will take due note of the complexity of the problem and the specificity of

(Mr. Ayafor Chungong, Cameroon)

the question of peace, security and disarmament in each region. My delegation hopes that the consensus achieved at the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development pertaining to the importance of non-military threats to the security of States will be maintained and that we shall be able to find ways and means of implementing the Final Document adopted at that Conference.

It is obvious that our ultimate objective continues to be general and complete disarmament. It is unnecessary to add that the elimination of tension and the reduction of the mistrust and suspicion that generally surround the military activities of our neighbours remain prerequisites for this. It is for this reason that confidence building is a fundamental ingredient, not only in the prevention of conflicts but also in the attainment of our common objective: fewer arms and more development.

At this stage, permit me to highlight the fact that the adoption of resolution AHG/RES/XXIII on the Lomé Declaration and the programme of action on peace, security and co-operation in Africa at the twenty-third summit of the Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), is an eloquent demonstration of Africa's commitment to the principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes, the reduction of armaments and the promotion of socio-economic development. It is our firm conviction that such regional arrangements contribute greatly to the advancement of confidence, security among States and global development.

This explains why my country, Cameroon, sought the assistance of this Organization under the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly concerning the identification and application of measures aimed at promoting and reinforcing peace, confidence, security, disarmament and development in the Central African

(Mr. Ayafor Chungong, Cameroon)

subregion. In the view of my delegation, the final aim of this project is not only the prevention of conflicts but also the setting up of subregional machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes and the maintenance and strengthening of security and good-neighbourliness between the States of the subregion. In addition, the project would facilitate the attainment of the objectives of peace and progress assigned to the newly created Economic Community of Central African States, which includes 10 member States, namely: Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, the Central African Republic, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe and Zaire, with Angola as an observer.

We are greatly encouraged by the assistance and support thus far accorded by many Member States of our Organization and competent institutions of the United Nations to this subregional initiative, whose execution is entrusted to the Lomé Centre. It is our hope that the United Nations and friendly countries will continue to support these Central African States in their efforts toward the attainment of disarmament, security and development in their subregion.

(spoke in French)

I should like now to make our comments on the forthcoming Fourth Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, scheduled for 1990. My country, which is a party to the Treaty, appeals to all States which are not parties to consider the possibility of adhering to it without delay, so as to strengthen the non-proliferation régime. We hope that the work of the Preparatory Committee will be successful, so that the Fourth Review Conference may have available to it the necessary working documents to facilitate the debates and enable the Conference to achieve positive results. Only then will that Conference be of use to the disarmament cause.

(Mr. Ayafor Chungong, Cameroon)

Regarding the question of the strengthening of the existing international machinery dealing with disarmament, my country welcomes the more or less general agreement on this issue during the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. We shall be actively involved in the consultations on this subject in order not to lose sight of the points agreed on by all States within the framework of Working Group III of that special session devoted to disarmament, which represent the more step in the right direction.

Regarding the question of verification, my delegation was a co-sponsor of resolutions 40/152 O and 41/86 Q, entitled "Verification in all its aspects", which were introduced by Canada and adopted by consensus. We have also presented to the Disarmament Commission a working document (A/CN.10/97) on this question, which is clearly a major element in the implementation of agreements on arms limitation and disarmament. The important report in this connection adopted by the Disarmament Commission should form a basic document in the negotiations on this matter. We support the proposals presented jointly by Canada, France and the Netherlands, which are clearly in line with the resolutions adopted last year on this issue.

As for the question of dumping of nuclear and industrial wastes in Africa, my delegation has emphasized here that everything possible must be done to put an end to this illegal, immoral and dangerous practice. This dumping of nuclear and industrial waste has serious implications for the national security of African States, not to mention the health of their populations and the balance of the ecosystem.

(Mr. Ayafor Chungong, Cameroon)

My country condemns all dumping of nuclear and industrial waste in Africa or in other developing countries. It hopes that the international community will respect the unanimous position of Africa on this question as expressed in resolutions CM/Res.38 (III) and CM/Res.1153 (XLVIII) of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The competent bodies of the United Nations, and in particular the Secretary-General and the Disarmament Commission, should undertake a serious study of the question of the dumping of nuclear wastes in all of its aspects, including the adoption of a convention banning such dumping.

Finally, I should like to note, as earlier speakers have done, that the United Nations is irreplaceable as an instrument for diminishing both military and non-military threats to the security of States. It is important for each country to reaffirm its faith in the Organization, and for us all to facilitate the conduct of our work within the Committee so that we may achieve tangible results.

The CHAIRMAN: We have now concluded the second week of our work. We have had 102 statements in the general debate, which will be concluded on Wednesday. There will be 145 in all. I am told that this is the highest number of statements in the history of our Committee, and that, in my view, shows the growing interest and indeed concern of States all over the world.

In listening to the statements I have noticed that there is a common characteristic, or set of characteristics, in the debate. It has certainly been, and continues to be, a positive debate. There are many words of encouragement in it. It is true that there has also been some frankness in it, but this frankness has been given in a business-like way. It has been devoid of hostility. I think that provides a very strong basis for our future action. One representative said to me this week - I know that he was speaking facetiously - that the debate was perhaps not as interesting as in former times when States were attacking one

(The Chairman)

another and it was more interesting to sit and listen to it. We have however recognised that rather than attacking one another, we are now concentrating on the global problem of too many arms and trying to reach solutions that this Committee can deal with constructively. That, in my view, represents a clear advance on the part of this Committee.

Draft resolutions have been pouring in all day. As the Committee knows, the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions is Monday at 6 p.m. We shall be here until that hour. I have only had the opportunity to take a quick look at the draft resolutions that are coming in. I have already noted however that there is some improvement in the submission of draft resolutions. It is apparent that consultation has been taking place. I want to encourage that consultation so that we may have as productive a set of draft resolutions as possible.

This week was also marked by two events of concern to this Committee. The Pledging Conference for the World Disarmament Campaign took place here yesterday afternoon, and the Under-Secretary General for Disarmament Affairs told me that he was very pleased with the results of the Conference, which showed a distinct improvement in the support for the World Disarmament Campaign. And today, we had the tenth annual observance of Disarmament Week, at which the Secretary-General was present, for which I know we were all grateful.

I think it has been a good week. Next week we shall move into the next phase of our work, following the termination of the general debate. In the latter part of the week we shall begin consideration of and action on the draft resolutions submitted.

The toughest days for this Committee are clearly ahead.



(The Chairman)

I want again to thank the officers of the Committee for their consistent input into our work, as well as the members of the Secretariat, those with me at the Chair, all the Conference officers, interpreters, and all the others whose valuable help so expedites our work in this Committee.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.