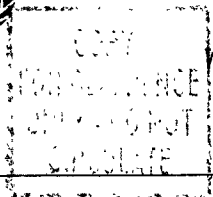


*United Nations*  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**  
THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION  
*Official Records\**



FIRST COMMITTEE  
39th meeting  
held on  
Wednesday, 23 November 1983  
at 3 p.m.  
New York

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 39th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway)

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DISARMAMENT ITEMS (continued)

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Distr. GENERAL  
A/C.1/38/PV.39  
21 December 1983  
ENGLISH

The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 43, 46 TO 50, 52 TO 56, 58, 59,  
61 TO 63, 139, 141 AND 143 (continued)

The CHAIRMAN: This afternoon we shall continue consideration of the draft resolutions listed under cluster 4. We are now in the process of explanations of vote before the voting.

Mr. DEPASSE (Belgium) (interpretation from French): The delegation of Belgium would like to explain why it will vote against draft resolutions A/C.1/38/L.1/Rev.1, L.10 and L.13, and will abstain in the vote on L.19.

In L.1/Rev.1, it is suggested that we condemn nuclear war alone. Consequently, this text would legitimize other forms of war, which is a concept we cannot accept. Similarly, in L.10, it is suggested that the nuclear-weapon States renounce the first use of nuclear weapons. However, in the opinion of my delegation, States should, as requested by the Charter, ban all uses of force.

Once again one of the sponsors of L.10, the German Democratic Republic, presents in another draft resolution with other sponsors - draft resolution L.13 - a one-sided view of the Charter principles which is just as controversial as in the past, when it refers to doctrines of the use of nuclear weapons which we find totally unrealistic. As far as the Belgian delegation is concerned, it is war we must prevent.

Deterrence in the last 40 years has played this role in that part of the world where my country is located and it has been ensured by both conventional and nuclear weapons. Neither form of weapons should be used. Singling out in a declaration one type of weapon and saying that it should not be the first to be used presupposes that it would be legitimate to have recourse to the other.

The approach to disarmament suggested to us in these repetitive resolutions is unproductive. We wish to ensure our common security by deterrence at lower and lower levels of both conventional and nuclear weapons.

More than one year ago, as the United Kingdom delegation just recalled, Heads of State or Government of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization solemnly reaffirmed that none of our weapons would ever be used except in response to an attack. They also reaffirmed their commitment to respect the sovereignty, equality, independence and territorial integrity of all States.

(Mr. Depasse, Belgium)

We are not introducing any resolutions on those statements since they but confirm the United Nations Charter; nor would we endorse any resolutions which would imply a violation of the Charter. We wish to encourage disarmament negotiations in competent bilateral and multilateral bodies. We attach great importance to the role of the Committee on Disarmament. It is in this context that we submitted proposals regarding confidence-building measures which might be agreed on in the nuclear field. The task of the Committee on Disarmament is still at this stage one of seeking approaches which should allow it to decide on which specific questions it could better fulfil its negotiating role. Draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.19 prejudices what form this work should take. Here too we had hoped for less confining language which might have made a consensus possible.

Mr. HALACHEV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from Russian): Allow me very briefly to explain the Bulgarian delegation's votes on the draft resolutions concerning the condemnation of nuclear war and the prevention of nuclear war.

First of all, my delegation fully supports draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.10 and we shall vote in favour of it. The People's Republic of Bulgaria, like the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations, believes that there is nothing more urgent and more timely than the need for mankind to prevent nuclear war, which would be catastrophic for all peoples of the world. The best way to prevent this threat is nuclear disarmament and the complete elimination of all nuclear weapons.

Regrettably, mankind is still very far from that goal. Recently, we have witnessed the nuclear arsenals of some countries being increased with more modern weapons which have been deployed in advanced positions and which could become a first-strike force. Some American medium-range missiles have been deployed in certain Western European countries. This will not maintain peace and security in Europe. On the contrary, it contributes to an aggravation of tension and only increases the threat of nuclear war and these weapons being used. In the circumstances, the first task is to take all possible action to remove that threat.

In this respect my delegation attaches the greatest importance to all countries accepting the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. We reject as completely unfounded any statement that this idea is propagandistic. For us, it is, on the contrary, further confirmation of the will of the sponsors of the draft resolution to adopt a modest measure, one which would prevent a first strike. We reject any attempt to place nuclear war and other wars on an equal footing.

(Mr. Halachev, Bulgaria)

A majority of countries have ignored the will of the masses of the world. We hope that these countries will recognize that a commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons is an urgent task.

Mr. FIELDS (United States of America): My delegation would like to make a few brief remarks on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.1/Rev.1, on the condemnation of nuclear war.

On 4 November, Ambassador Loeb outlined at length my Government's proposal for achieving substantial reduction in nuclear weapons. We did not advance - and will not advance - impractical proposals and rhetorical resolutions. What we did and will propose are concrete and verifiable measures which would effectively reduce the risk of any war, nuclear or otherwise.

One of the melancholy lessons of history is that peace and security are neither easily won nor easily kept. These noble goals were certainly not advanced by pious condemnations of war and professions of peace that preceded the Second World War, the most destructive war in world history. We have seen how those declarations failed to deter powerful and determined totalitarian régimes at that time. Similarly, today unenforceable condemnations cannot replace effective arms control measures in preventing nuclear war.

My delegation finds it particularly curious that this draft resolution, sponsored by the Soviet Union and its allies:

"Condemns the formulation, propounding, dissemination and propaganda of ... doctrines and concepts ... to substantiate the "'legitimacy' for the first use of nuclear weapons ..." and the "'admissibility' of unleashing nuclear war." (A/C.1/38/L.1/Rev.1, para. 2)

We are all too well aware of the sponsoring States' aversion to free and unfettered public discussion of questions surrounding nuclear and other military issues within their own borders. Clearly, they would now like to extend that control of free flow of information to other countries as well. Moreover, Soviet leaders have been seeking to convince world public opinion that the Soviet Union views nuclear war as unthinkable, but official Soviet documents cast serious doubts on the oft-repeated assertions. Official writings of high-level Soviet military planners make abundantly clear that the Soviet Union adheres to a policy which does not exclude the use of nuclear weapons. In fact, Soviet policy is oriented towards attaining a nuclear-winning capability, which would include resort to nuclear weapons.

(Mr. Fields, United States)

For example, Chief of Staff Marshall Ogarkov, the Soviet Union's top-ranking professional military officer, high-lighting the possibility of employment of nuclear weapons in a pre-emptive strike, stated:

"With the development of means of armed combat, the significance of surprise has steadily grown. Since the introduction of nuclear missile weapons, and other powerful means of destruction, its role has increased. Nuclear missile weapons and armed air forces, in combination with high mobility and manoeuvrability of troops, make possible the application of a wide array of methods of surprise actions."

In February 1982, on the occasion of the Soviet Army-Navy Day, Marshall Ogarkov, who had previously concluded that the Soviet Union and its allies possessed "objective possibilities to achieve victory in a nuclear war", published a booklet in which he maintained that the basic principle of training for a modern nuclear missile war was learning to gain victory. Marshall Ogarkov also deplored elements of pacificism among the Soviet citizenry.

These military considerations are not being pursued in isolation from considerations to provide for the safety of the Soviet civilian population in the event of nuclear war. A recent Soviet civil defence handbook again reflects that the attitude of the Soviet Union would be to be able to fight, win and survive a nuclear war.

The Soviet Union spends massive amounts of money on a civilian defence programme that is many times bigger than the combined programmes of all of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) allies. Given this, it is difficult to conclude that the Soviet leadership regards a nuclear exchange as unthinkable, or that it sees its goal in such an exchange as anything other than emerging victorious. The real issue is not "The Day After" but the day before.

Today, the most important task is to achieve results at the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) and the intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) negotiating table in Geneva. In this connection my Government is deeply disappointed that the current round of INF negotiations has been suspended at the initiative of the Soviet Union. We sincerely hope that this action marks only a temporary hiatus in these negotiations. We are pleased that members of the First Committee, both in their statements and their votes yesterday, have called for the continuation of

(Mr. Fields, United States)

these vital negotiations, and note in this regard the adoption of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.63. For our part, we remain firmly committed to reaching an agreement that would lead to greater stability at the lowest possible level of nuclear weapons.

As my colleague, Mr. Paul Nitzer, said in Geneva this morning:

"For its part, the United States remains prepared to continue the INF negotiations until agreement has been reached and our two countries have thus fulfilled their responsibilities to contribute to the cause of peace."

My Government has negotiated, and will continue to negotiate, seriously in order to achieve a world where nuclear war and, indeed, all wars are banished through concrete and verifiable measures. Advancing sterile and unenforceable condemnatory resolutions will not achieve those desired results. Such resolutions can also be dangerous, as they may lull peoples of the world into a false sense of security from potential aggression.

Therefore, my delegation will vote against draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.1/Rev.1 and other similar draft resolutions.

Mr. STRUCKA (Czechoslovakia) (interpretation from Russian):

Czechoslovakia is participating very actively in the efforts of the socialist States to prevent nuclear war. In this respect we support any proposal on the part of the Soviet Union and other fraternal States, as well as constructive proposals advanced by other countries. Therefore, we fully support the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/38/L.10.

We feel that the overwhelming majority of States - in fact, all States - are terrified by the threat to the existence of humanity created by the presence of nuclear weapons and the continuing arms race. This concern was expressed in the Final Document of the first special session of the United Nations devoted to disarmament and subsequently reaffirmed in the Concluding Document of the second special session of the United Nations devoted to disarmament last year.

We feel that all States should participate actively in efforts to create conditions in international relations among States which would lead to the conclusion of a code of peaceful relationships among States in international affairs, including a prohibition on the threat or use of nuclear weapons. The States possessing nuclear weapons bear particular responsibility in this regard for the adoption of measures aimed at preventing nuclear war. We feel it useful and

(Mr. Strucka, Czechoslovakia)

appropriate that the text of the draft resolution assumes that the solemn statement by States possessing nuclear weapons, made or confirmed at the second special session of the United Nations devoted to disarmament with respect to their responsibility not to be the first to use nuclear weapons would be an important step on the way to the prevention of nuclear war.

I wish to take this opportunity to call attention to the inappropriateness of the observations made by some States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) with respect to the Soviet Union in connection with the present situation in the Geneva negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear forces. It is not the position of the Soviet Union, but rather the deployment in western Europe of new United States missiles, which has made continuing the negotiations pointless. What is more, the States members of NATO have long been fully aware of what the reaction of the Soviet Union and its allies would be. In his statement to this Committee on 18 October this year, the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia said that in such circumstances

"the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, including Czechoslovakia, would be obliged to adopt counter-measures to guarantee their security.

(A/C.1/38/PV.5, p. 32)

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now take action on the draft resolutions grouped in cluster 4.

We shall first take a decision on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.1/Rev.1, which was introduced by the representative of the Soviet Union at the 33rd meeting of the First Committee, held on 17 November. It is sponsored by Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Viet Nam.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mozambique, Nepal, Nigeria, Oman,

Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Sao Tome and Principe, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Austria, Chad, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Fiji, Finland, Guatemala, Haiti, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Malawi, Morocco, Paraguay, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden

Draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.1/Rev.1 was adopted by 72 votes to 19, with 23 abstentions.\*

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now take action on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.10, introduced by the representative of the German Democratic Republic at the 29th meeting of the First Committee, held on 10 November. It is sponsored by Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, Mongolia and Romania.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist

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\* Subsequently the delegation of Mongolia advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour.



Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Austria, China, Guatemala, Malawi, Paraguay, Philippines, Singapore, Uruguay

Draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.10 was adopted by 87 votes to 19, with 8 abstentions.\*

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now take a decision on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.12. This draft resolution was introduced by the representative of the German Democratic Republic at the 31st meeting of the First Committee, held on 11 November, and it is sponsored by Afghanistan, Angola, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Mozambique, Poland, Romania, Sao Tome and Principe, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Viet Nam and Zimbabwe.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Bahrain, Benin, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Sierra Leone, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe

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\* Subsequently the delegation of Mongolia advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour.

Against: Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Portugal, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Brazil, Burma, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Iceland, Ireland, Liberia, Malawi, Maldives, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zaire

Draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.12 was adopted by 56 votes to 12, with 47 abstentions.\*

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now take action on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.13. It was introduced by the representative of the German Democratic Republic at the 31st meeting of the Committee on 11 November and is sponsored by the following countries: Afghanistan, Angola, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam and Zimbabwe.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone,

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\* Subsequently the delegation of Djibouti advised the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain.

Singapore, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Chad, Guatemala, Morocco, Paraguay, Philippines, Senegal, Swaziland, Uruguay

Draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.13 was adopted by 91 votes to 19, with 8 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now take action on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.19. It is sponsored by the following countries: Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Brazil, Colombia, the Congo, Ecuador, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Pakistan, Romania, the Sudan, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: None

Abstaining: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.19 was adopted by 107 votes to none, with 18 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now take action on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.30. The financial implications are contained in document A/C.1/38/L.72. It was introduced by the representative of Mexico at the 33rd meeting of the Committee on 17 November and is sponsored by the following countries: Colombia, Ecuador and Mexico.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.30 was adopted by 109 votes to 1, with 15 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now take action on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.38, which is sponsored by the following countries: Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Indonesia, Pakistan and Uruguay.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: Belgium, Canada, China, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.38 was adopted by 109 votes to 1, with 15 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now take up draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.50.

It was introduced by the representative of the United Kingdom at the 33rd meeting of the First Committee, on 17 November, and is sponsored by the following delegations: Algeria, Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bolivia, Bulgaria,

(The Chairman)

Canada, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Honduras, Hungary, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, the Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Samoa, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America and Uruguay.

I now call on the Secretary of the Committee to read out the financial statement.

Mr. RATHORE (Secretary of the Committee): By the draft resolution in document A/C.1/38/L.50, concerning the implementation of the conclusions of the Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the establishment of a preparatory committee for the third review conference, the General Assembly would note that, following appropriate consultations, an open-ended preparatory committee has been formed of parties to the Treaty serving on the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency or represented on the Committee on Disarmament, as well as any party to the Treaty which may express its interest in participating in the work of the Committee.

In addition, the Secretary-General will be requested to render the necessary assistance and to provide such services, including summary records, as may be required for the Review Conference and its preparations.

It should be noted that the Review Conference is a conference of States Parties to the Treaty. The first two Review Conferences, held in 1975 and 1980 respectively, like other review conferences of multilateral disarmament treaties - for example the sea-bed Treaty and the biological weapons Convention - included in the rules of procedure provisions concerning arrangements for meeting the costs of the Review Conference including the sessions of the preparatory committee. Under these arrangements no additional cost was borne by the regular budget of the Organization.

The wording of paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.50 is identical with the wording of General Assembly resolution 33/57, which preceded the convening of the Second Review Conference. Consequently, the Secretary-General considers that his mandate under the draft resolution to provide the necessary assistance and services for the preparation and holding of the review conference has no financial implications for the regular budget of the United Nations and that, as in previous

(Mr. Rathore, Secretary of the  
Committee)

cases of review conferences, the associated costs will be met in accordance with the financial arrangements to be made by the Review Conference.

The CHAIRMAN: We shall now take a decision on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.50.

The sponsors have expressed the wish that it be adopted by the Committee without a vote.

Mr. SOUZA e SILVA (Brazil): I wish to ask for a vote. I cannot concur with that procedure.

The CHAIRMAN: The representative of Brazil has asked for a vote and we shall now proceed to take a vote.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Angola, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire

Against: None

Abstaining: Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, India, Pakistan, Zambia

Draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.50 was adopted by 115 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now take a decision on draft resolution document A/C.1/38/L.55.

This draft resolution was introduced by the representative of India at the 33rd meeting of the First Committee, on 17 November, and it is sponsored by the following countries: Algeria, Argentina, the Bahamas, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Congo, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Madagascar, Nigeria, Romania, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia.

The Committee will now take action on the draft resolution.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining: Austria, Greece, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Philippines

Draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.55 was adopted by 104 votes to 17, with 6 abstentions.



The CHAIRMAN: That concludes the voting on the draft resolutions listed under cluster 4.

I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote after the voting.

Mr. SOUZA e SILVA (Brazil): I should like to make a brief explanation of vote on draft resolutions A/C.1/38/L.12 and L.13.

The Brazilian delegation abstained in the vote on draft resolution L.12. However, we took note of the changes introduced this year in the draft resolution on the nuclear neutron weapon. It is our considered opinion, however, that such changes do not entirely meet the concerns previously expressed by our delegation on the matter. As we have already stated, my Government does not believe it would serve a useful purpose to single out any particular aspect of the nuclear arms race, which Brazil condemns in all its manifestations. The specific item on the neutron weapon could render more difficult the urgent task of seriously negotiating the cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament, a task which of necessity encompasses all kinds of nuclear weapons.

The Brazilian delegation voted in favour of resolution L.13, and wishes to emphasize its understanding, first, that the "nuclear disarmament programme" referred to in operative paragraph 1 corresponds to the "comprehensive, phased programme" mentioned in paragraph 50 (c) of the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, and, secondly, that the elaboration of such a programme must not be considered as a substitute for, or condition of, the priority negotiations on the cessation of the nuclear arms race and on nuclear disarmament, which the Committee on Disarmament should act upon with the utmost urgency.

Mr. MICHAELSEN (Denmark): The Danish delegation abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.12. As stated in previous years, the Danish Government expresses opposition to the production of the neutron weapon. It has further been stated that Denmark, as part of an area which is free from nuclear weapons, will not accept this weapon on its territory. There is no change in that position, but, as the draft resolution just adopted seems to constitute an undisguised attempt to split the Western allies in an important area of defence policy, we again decided to abstain.

(Mr. Michaelsen, Denmark)

I shall refrain from commenting upon each of the many draft resolutions we have voted upon so far. However, the mere number of draft resolutions before us testifies to the urgency of the matters under consideration. I am thinking not least of those addressing the nuclear question. This question has been one of continuing concern to my country and to successive Danish Governments ever since the dawn of the nuclear age. In this connection I refer to some of the early post-war debates at the United Nations in which the dangers of unrestrained nuclear competition and an uncontrolled and uncontrollable arms race were invoked. Urgent appeals for a more open and co-operative world were made.

Those early debates have proved to be nearly prophetic. The world today indeed finds itself in the inexorable grip of a nuclear arms race seemingly without end - and obviously without conferring any greater security upon those involved.

The point is that we are all involved - great and small alike, nuclear as well as non-nuclear Powers. We are all citizens of this one world, and this is the only one we have. We must take the utmost care to preserve it.

My country's position as one of the members of the Western defence alliance, my Government's support for the so-called double-track decision of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization from December 1979, concerning nuclear intermediate-range missiles in Europe, my Government's support for all realistic and balanced efforts at arms control and reduction agreements in all international forums - all are well-known facts.

We have not found ourselves in complete agreement with the wording of all the resolutions we have chosen to support so far. Sometimes we have also had our doubts as to whether they stood a realistic chance of being carried into actual policy, and we have had to realize all too often - much to our regret - that there is an obvious gap between words and deeds on the part of those who bear special responsibility for making progress in the arms control and disarmament negotiations. Notwithstanding this, we have felt it our duty, as concerned world citizens, to go further in our support for these draft resolutions than we have done hitherto. We have felt we must, as best we can, support any and all efforts which might conceivably contribute to a safer and more open world.

That concludes my remarks on the draft resolutions adopted today and yesterday. May their adoption point to a better future for us all.

Mr. YANG Hushan (China) (interpretation from Chinese): I should like to explain my delegation's attitude to two of the draft resolutions the Committee has just adopted.

I begin with draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.1/Rev.1. China has always opposed nuclear war and advocated the complete prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons. We support and sympathize with the aspirations for peace of the people of the world and their desire to prevent nuclear war.

Everyone knows that the root-cause of the present danger of nuclear war is the rivalry and arms race between the two countries that possess the greatest nuclear arsenals. In order to prevent nuclear war it is imperative to curb the arms race between those two countries and to demand that they radically reduce their nuclear weapons. People expect these nuclear Powers to take practical action for nuclear disarmament, instead of condemning nuclear war in words only.

On the basis of that position, we abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.1/Rev.1.

Secondly, with regard to draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.30, China has always favoured the complete prohibition and destruction of all nuclear weapons. For this purpose we deem it necessary to explore all reasonable and feasible channels. Immediately upon acquiring nuclear weapons China announced that it would not be the first to use them, nor would it use them against non-nuclear-weapon States. That is a very significant measure, which China took unilaterally.

At present the two super-Powers, which possess the largest nuclear arsenals, are increasing the scope and pace of their arms race to unprecedented levels, refusing to adopt practical disarmament measures. In the face of this situation, many medium-sized and small countries demand that the two nuclear super-Powers be the first to take action, including unilateral action, to achieve nuclear disarmament. That demand is reasonable and just.

On the basis of that position, the Chinese delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.30.

Mr. ELFAKI (Sudan): I should like to explain my delegation's vote on draft resolutions A/C.1/38/L.1/Rev.1, L.10 and L.12.

(Mr. Elfaki, Sudan)

The Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which was adopted by consensus, stressed in various parts that the accumulation of weapons, and particularly nuclear weapons, posed a serious threat to the survival of mankind. It stated categorically that mankind is confronted with an unprecedented threat of self-extinction arising from the massive and competitive accumulation of the most destructive weapons ever produced; existing arsenals of nuclear weapons alone are more than sufficient to destroy all the life on earth many times over. It therefore concluded that effective measures of nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war have the highest priority.

My delegation has carefully examined the two draft resolutions before the Committee on the question of the prevention of nuclear war and the condemnation of such war - that is to say, draft resolutions A/C.1/38/L.1/Rev.1 and A/C.1/38/L.10. We have examined them in the conviction that the most effective measures against the dangers of nuclear war and the use of nuclear weapons are nuclear disarmament and the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. Against that background, we welcome any measure to curb the threat of nuclear war. We welcome any declaratory measure confirming non-recourse to the use of nuclear weapons or condemning their use. It was for that reason that we decided to vote in favour of these two draft resolutions.

Our affirmative vote, however, should not be construed as indicating a belief that declaratory measures are effective disarmament measures or that they can be viewed in isolation from the United Nations Charter principle of the inadmissibility of the use of force, regardless of the type of weapon utilized.

With regard to draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.12, the Final Document of the first special session on disarmament also sets priorities in disarmament for nuclear weapons; other weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons; and those conventional weapons which may be deemed to be excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate effects. We shall support any serious effort to translate into reality the priorities set by the Final Document. My delegation abstained in the voting on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.12 because it singles out one type of weapon without any reference to or mention of the others. It is our considered view that disarmament is indivisible and should be dealt with in a comprehensive manner, as stated in the Final Document. In our view, selectivity in disarmament measures is not an adequate approach towards attaining general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

Mr. FINDLAY (Australia): Australia has this year abstained in the voting on the draft resolution on the neutron weapon, contained in document A/C.1/38/L.12. We have done so not because we have any sympathy with the notion that the neutron weapon can be the subject of a separate disarmament treaty but, rather, because we interpret this year's draft resolution as lending credence to the view that the neutron weapon can be prohibited only in the context of negotiations on nuclear weapons as a whole - that is, as

"an organic element of negotiations, as envisaged in paragraph 50 of the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly".

(A/C.1/38/L.12, para. 1)

It follows from this that Australia would not support the establishment in the Conference on Disarmament of a working group on the neutron weapon. Australia does favour the elimination of all nuclear weapons through negotiations.

Australia has voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.38 because it is concerned about the dangers of nuclear war and because it strongly supports the cause of nuclear disarmament. Australia is concerned also about the dangers of horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons to those States which currently do not possess them. We interpret subparagraph (b) of the first preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.38, and in particular its reference to the nuclear arms race "in all its aspects", as a reference to the need to avoid both vertical and horizontal proliferation. We regret that the draft resolution has selectively quoted paragraph 20 of the Final Document in this regard.

We also read operative paragraph 3 as in no way inhibiting the right of States freely to negotiate arms control and disarmament agreements between them, should they so decide. Australia has attached particular importance in this regard to the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) and the intermediate force negotiations (INF).

Finally, we interpret operative paragraph 4 as being no more than a request to the nuclear-weapon States to keep the international community broadly informed of the progress of negotiations in which we all have such a vital interest.

Finally, Australia has voted "no" on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.55. In our view, a convention banning the use of nuclear weapons is an implausible way of seeking to prevent nuclear war. The position of the Australian Government is that in current circumstances there is a need for stable, mutual deterrence. A non-use convention would not necessarily add to the stability of deterrence and might, on

(Mr. Findlay, Australia)

the contrary, lull the international community into a false sense of security. We would prefer that efforts were made towards viable measures of preventing all war, including nuclear war, such as those measures involving greater communication and transparency as well as verifiable, balanced reductions of nuclear weapons, with a view to their eventual elimination.

Mr. EKEUS (Sweden): I wish to explain the Swedish delegation's vote on draft resolutions A/C.1/38/L.10, A/C.1/38/L.12 and A/C.1/38/L.55.

The Swedish delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.10, as we view the concept of non-first use of nuclear weapons as a very important one. However, having done so, the Swedish delegation would like to stress the importance of the establishment of a rough parity in both conventional and nuclear forces at the lower level of armaments, in order to facilitate undertakings by all nuclear-weapon States not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

As regards draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.12, on the prohibition of the nuclear neutron weapon, the Swedish Government strongly condemns all plans to develop and produce neutron weapons, and has done so ever since such plans became known. It has, inter alia, emphasized the grave risk of lowering the nuclear threshold which these weapons entail.

My Government therefore stresses the need to protest against the neutron weapon for the simple reason also that this weapon has not yet been and must not be deployed in Europe.

It is a traditional Swedish position that the development, testing and production of all nuclear weapons should be prohibited. We note that operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.12 includes a reference to the Final Document of the first special session on disarmament; we regard this as an improvement on last year's resolution on the same subject.

The basic idea still seems to be to initiate at some point separate negotiations on one particular nuclear weapon. As a matter of principle, however, the Swedish Government has reservations about the idea of prohibiting only one specific nuclear weapon, while leaving all other nuclear weapons in the same category out of the prohibition. Such a separation will unavoidably weaken our broader efforts to include all technical battlefield nuclear weapons in disarmament negotiations.

(Mr. Ekeus, Sweden)

As regards draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.55, Sweden attaches the greatest importance to measures aimed at preventing the use of nuclear weapons. To prevent the use of nuclear weapons, more resolute efforts to achieve nuclear disarmament are urgently needed. A process of gradual and balanced reductions of nuclear-weapon arsenals, aimed at their total elimination, would best promote the concept of non-use.

Sweden shares the objectives of draft resolution L.55. However, the sixth preambular paragraph contains language with regard to the interpretation of the Charter of the United Nations which can be contested from a legal standpoint.

With that explicit reservation with regard to the paragraph mentioned, the delegation of Sweden voted in favour of draft resolution L.55.

Mr. AHMAD (Pakistan): My delegation would like to explain its vote on two resolutions grouped under cluster 4, A/C.1/38/L.1 and L.12.

Pakistan is deeply committed to the principle of the prevention of nuclear war and considers it imperative for the nuclear threat to cease to haunt our collective consciousness. Pakistan is fully in agreement with the Declaration of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, which states that the immediate goal is that of the elimination of the danger of a nuclear war and the implementation of measures to halt and reverse the arms race and to clear the path towards lasting peace.

In our view, the draft resolution in L.1/Rev.1 will serve to promote this objective by drawing attention to the inhuman nature of a nuclear conflict; and its adoption is likely, in our view, to help in the vital pursuit of preventing an outbreak of nuclear war.

For that reason, my delegation voted in favour, as well as in favour of other draft resolutions dealing with the prevention of nuclear war.

I should also like to avail myself of this opportunity to offer a brief explanation of our position in respect of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.12 pertaining to the prohibition of the nuclear neutron weapon. As a matter of principle, Pakistan supports any draft resolution which seeks the prohibition of all nuclear weapons, including the neutron weapon. However, my delegation decided to abstain in the vote on this draft resolution due to the consideration that it should be our endeavour to impose and establish a prohibition on all nuclear weapons rather than to single out one particular weapon system.

In view of this consideration, my delegation was obliged to abstain in the vote on this draft resolution.

Mr. STEPHANOU (Greece) (interpretation from French): With regard to our positive vote on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.1/Rev.1, we want to emphasize that this stand is in keeping with that of Greece's position condemning the use of nuclear weapons. None the less, we want to reaffirm that conventional war must be viewed on an equal footing, since all the wars after the Second World War have been wars in which conventional weapons were the only ones used. Thus, we are firmly convinced that the international community should not limit itself to condemning nuclear war but should also condemn all wars.

Mr. KEISALO (Finland): Finland voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.13, just adopted by the Committee. We did so because we believe that the ever increasing nuclear arms race should be halted and reversed and that all efforts should be made to achieve that objective through negotiations on all aspects of nuclear disarmament. This issue is of particular importance in Europe at the present time.

Finland shares the main thrust of the considerations expressed in the preambular part of the draft resolution. For example, we do not believe in the concept of a limited nuclear war, nor do we accept some other concepts which were referred to in the text. However, we would have preferred to see somewhat different and broader formulations in the sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth preambular paragraphs of the draft resolution. We also regret that some new elements were introduced which only strengthened the reservations we have concerning the text as a whole.

Our vote in favour of the draft resolution, despite these misgivings, should thus first and foremost be seen as an expression of our concern regarding the consequences of such concepts that could increase the risk of an outbreak of nuclear war.

Mr. DUBEY (India): India voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.1/Rev.1 because our delegation is in favour of its main thrust, which is the condemnation of nuclear war.

With regard to the reference in operative paragraph 2 to the first use of nuclear weapons, it is our view that until the achievement of complete nuclear disarmament, the best course of action for preventing the outbreak of nuclear war is to forswear completely the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons under any circumstances. We appreciate the fact that this concept has been incorporated into the last preambular paragraph.



(Mr. Dubey, India)

India voted for draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.10 because our delegation is in favour of its main thrust, which is the prevention of nuclear war. We should like to reiterate, however, that pending the achievement of complete nuclear disarmament, the best course of action for preventing the outbreak of nuclear war is to forswear completely the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons under any circumstances whatsoever.

India also voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.12, entitled "Prohibition of the nuclear neutron weapon". This draft resolution is in line with our total opposition to all nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. The nuclear neutron weapon in this respect is the manifestation of one of the particularly dangerous consequences of the nuclear arms race, for the cessation and reversal of which the Committee on Disarmament should undertake multilateral negotiations without losing any time.

Finally, we voted for draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.38 because it places the onus for nuclear disarmament where it belongs, that is, on the nuclear-weapons States and it holds them accountable for this purpose.

In this connection my delegation would like to reiterate the Declaration in the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament:

"... all States have the duty to contribute to efforts in the field of disarmament. All States have the right to participate in disarmament negotiations." (S-10/2, para. 28)

Therefore, we should like particularly to underline operative paragraphs 2 and 3 of draft resolution L.38, which cover these points. We are firmly of the view that all negotiations on nuclear disarmament must take place within this framework.

Mr. K. A. RAHMAN (Bangladesh): The delegation of Bangladesh abstained in the voting on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.12, on "Prohibition of the nuclear neutron weapon". In so doing, we have not in any way taken a complacent view about the destructive potential of the neutron weapon. We abstained in the vote because, in our view, singling out only one type of these deadly weapons serves no useful purpose for promoting our much cherished and common objective of achieving nuclear disarmament. On the contrary, it may give a narrow perspective to the consideration of an issue which has a much wider spectrum and implication.

The delegation of Bangladesh wishes to reiterate its unequivocal position that nuclear weapons, irrespective of their type, pose the greatest danger to mankind

(Mr. Rahman, Bangladesh)

and to human civilization. We believe that it is essential to halt and reverse the nuclear arms race in all its aspects with the objective of achieving disarmament.

Miss ABOUL NAGA (Egypt): I want to make a brief explanation of Egypt's vote on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.12. Egypt abstained in the vote on the draft resolution on "Prohibition of the nuclear neutron weapon". Although we noted the change introduced in it, we believe that it does not really respond to our point of view.

It is our long-held view on this issue that all nuclear weapons, without exception, should be prohibited, and thus the prohibition of the nuclear neutron weapon is one aspect of a comprehensive prohibition of all nuclear weapons, and, therefore, that weapon should not be singled out.

It is also our view that the prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling, deployment and use of nuclear weapons should be carried out with the ultimate goal of the complete elimination of all nuclear weapons, in accordance with the disarmament priorities as set out in the Final Document of the first special session of the United Nations devoted to disarmament.

Mr. JAYAKODDY (Sri Lanka): I should like to explain my delegation's vote on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.1/Rev.1. We voted in favour of this draft resolution because the Government of Sri Lanka has always condemned nuclear war, since we share the universally held view that nuclear war poses the gravest threat to the survival of mankind. This perception of ours has been well-spelled out and agreed upon unanimously in the Final Document of 1978.

Condemnation of a phenomenon repugnant to the conscience of all mankind by the General Assembly is not a novel act, since we have repeatedly condemned the monstrosity of apartheid under which millions are condemned to live. We therefore feel that nuclear war should be strongly and repeatedly condemned by the General Assembly. But condemnation of nuclear war by itself is totally inadequate to ensure its prevention. Declarations and exhortations by themselves have limited usefulness. If we are serious in our condemnation of nuclear war, it is imperative that we undertake negotiating urgent and effective measures for the prevention of nuclear war. Condemnation alone will be a hollow response to the threat we all face.

In voting for draft resolution L.1/Rev.1 we support the main thrust of the draft resolution but do not necessarily subscribe to all of the language that has been used. We should like to stress particularly that some of the language in

(Mr. Jayakoddy, Sri Lanka)

operative paragraphs 1 and 2 does not help or facilitate the realization of an international convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons with the participation of all the nuclear-weapon States.

Mr. RAMAKER (Netherlands): My delegation will limit itself, under cluster 4, to explain its vote on the two following draft resolutions: A/C.1/38/L.12 on the prohibition of the nuclear neutron weapon and A/C.1/38/L.30 concerning unilateral nuclear disarmament measures.

The Netherlands wishes first to place on record the reasons which led to its abstaining in the vote on L.12 entitled "Prohibition of the nuclear neutron weapon". Our reasons for so doing are twofold: on the one hand, as has been explained in this hall on previous occasion, the draft resolution under consideration is merely politically inspired and, therefore, cannot genuinely serve the cause of disarmament. The Netherlands, furthermore, does not see any merit in concluding a convention prohibiting specifically this weapon system. On the other hand, the Netherlands has no intention of having the neutron weapon stationed on Netherlands territory.

The Netherlands delegation wishes further to place on record why it abstained in the vote on L.30, concerning unilateral nuclear disarmament measures. My delegation holds the view that the study proposed in this draft resolution, which would address the question of unilateral nuclear disarmament measures, may have in itself a certain merit, since it says, "... without prejudice to the security of States ..."

Recently the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries gathering in Montebello made a unilateral step announcing the withdrawal of 1,400 nuclear warheads from Europe over the next several years. The feasibility of steps like these and others could be the object of a study. The particular step of the NATO countries I just mentioned, as well as other possible measures which such a study could identify could inspire Governments to follow suit.

The Netherlands, however, doubts whether the study will, in practical terms, contribute much to the success of the current arms control negotiations, to which my Government attaches much value. Furthermore, my delegation has some difficulty with the mention of an impasse in these negotiations, which seems to be the thought underlying the draft resolution. This warning does not make clear that the negotiations should continue and, further, that the Western attitude has been a constructive one. It is against this background that my delegation was prompted to abstain in the vote.

Mr. DE MEIDERS (Togo) (interpretation from French): The delegation of Togo just voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.1/Rev.1. Togo, like all peace-loving countries, condemns war in general and nuclear war in particular. However, my delegation has reservations on paragraph 2 of this resolution.

Mr. HOUFANE (Djibouti) (interpretation from French): Had my delegation been present, it would have abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.12, as it did in past years, with regard to resolutions 36/92 K of 9 December 1981 and of 9 December 1982.

Mr. ERDEMBILEG (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): The Mongolian delegation apologizes for making a second statement on cluster 4, but we wish to make some comments on draft resolutions A/C.1/38/L.19, L.30, L.38 and L.55.

The result of the voting on those draft resolutions shows that the majority of the members of this Committee are committed to the consideration of the problem of preventing nuclear war and achieving nuclear disarmament and to drafting the necessary international legal instruments on those vital issues, and the Mongolian delegation too voted in favour of all those draft resolutions.

We hope that at the forthcoming session of the Committee on Disarmament the Western partners in the negotiations will display a spirit of co-operation and a willingness to engage in genuine negotiations on the prevention of nuclear war and on nuclear disarmament.

For reasons beyond its control, the Mongolian delegation was unable to be present for the voting on draft resolutions A/C.1/38/L.1/Rev.1 and L.10. As sponsors of both draft resolutions we would, of course, have voted in favour of them, and we request that this be reflected in the records of this Committee.

Mr. O'CONNOR (Ireland): I wish to explain why my delegation abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.1/Rev.1, entitled "Condemnation of nuclear war". We did so after careful consideration and despite the fact that there are a number of ideas contained in the draft resolution with which we are in agreement. These include the ideas expressed in operative paragraph 3 and in the first three preambular paragraphs.

As regards the question of the first use of nuclear weapons, which is referred to in paragraph 2, the Government of Ireland believes that the first use, or any use, of nuclear weapons would be disastrous for humanity and considers that all nuclear-weapon States should so act as to prevent such a catastrophe.

(Mr. O'Connor, Ireland)

None the less, Ireland abstained on the draft resolution as a whole, because we regard it as essentially rhetorical in nature. Ireland has consistently emphasized the need for practical and concrete measures designed to halt and reverse the arms race. We have also criticized the manner in which the super-Powers in particular, while continuing their build-up of nuclear armaments, have used our debates in the United Nations as part of a contest with each other to win the support of world public opinion, with the consequence that proposals are sometimes put forward here whose purpose is merely tactical and aimed at gaining a propaganda advantage.

Paragraph 1 of the draft resolution would have the General Assembly condemn nuclear war as "the most monstrous crime against peoples". A sweeping denunciation like this may be emotionally satisfying and is evidently designed to appeal to popular sentiment, but it will change nothing in practice. More than 20 years ago, in 1961, the General Assembly adopted a resolution which declared the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons a violation of the Charter and a crime against humanity. In the meantime, as we know, the nuclear Powers have gone on to develop more and more weapons which, if they were used, would lead to the destruction of humanity as a whole. Who would then be left to condemn, let alone punish, the perpetrators of such a deed?

International public opinion is both increasingly concerned and increasingly better informed about the dangers of the arms race. Moreover, public opinion is also increasingly skeptical about the genuineness of the commitment of the nuclear Powers to do something concrete and credible to halt and reverse it. What, then, is public opinion to make of the credibility of a resolution which condemns nuclear war as "the most monstrous crime" when some of its sponsors are prepared, if the need arises, to fight a nuclear war in order to defend themselves?

Paragraph 2 of the draft resolution is more narrowly focused. It is aimed specifically at condemning the military strategy of one alliance without mentioning the existence of another alliance with its own strategies and military doctrines which also entail the use of nuclear weapons. In the view of my delegation, it is evident that this paragraph, and the draft resolution as a whole, do not address the fundamental problems inherent in nuclear deterrence as a means of maintaining international security.

In our statement in the general debate in this Committee, my delegation questioned the logic of a deterrence doctrine which prompts nuclear Powers to

(Mr. O'Connor, Ireland)

behave as if they were prepared, or are preparing, to fight a nuclear war while knowing full well that the consequences of such a war would be disastrous.

While we accept that the authors of this draft resolution, like all of us, are appalled at the thought of nuclear war, we are mindful too that the super-Power which initiated this draft resolution has, like the other super-Power, built up a nuclear arsenal of a scale and structure far in excess of what might be justified in terms of any reasonable level of deterrence.

In explaining my delegation's dissatisfaction with what we see as the rhetorical aspects of this draft resolution, I should like at the same time to express the hope that the nuclear Powers will redouble their efforts aimed at reducing the threat of nuclear war, through halting the arms race and working, through reductions, for the elimination of nuclear weapons, as is called for in paragraph 3 of the draft resolution.

I now turn to draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.12. Ireland has consistently stated its position that the development, testing and production of all nuclear weapons should be prohibited. We consider the neutron weapon to be a particularly destabilizing form of nuclear device which would lead to the lowering of the nuclear threshold. However, we have difficulties in singling it out while ignoring other weapons in the same category. We therefore abstained in the voting on draft resolution L.12 because we do not consider that the approach proposed will lead to the objective which we share with the authors of the draft resolution.

Mr. LOEIS (Indonesia): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.1/Rev.1, which reminds us of the horrible consequences of nuclear war. We support the general thrust of the draft resolution. It is to be commended particularly for calling upon States to intensify their efforts to remove the threat of nuclear war.

It is, however, necessary for my delegation to point out in this connection that, as a non-nuclear and non-aligned State, Indonesia takes the view that any use of nuclear weapons should be condemned, and not only the first use of these weapons of mass destruction. Therefore, had paragraph 2 been voted upon separately, my delegation would have abstained.

The Indonesian position on paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.1/Rev.1, just mentioned, applies likewise to draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.10, on the prevention of nuclear war, which my delegation voted in favour of.

Mr. AL-MOHAMED (Oman): My delegation supports any efforts at preventing nuclear war. In so doing, we voted in favour of draft resolutions A/C.1/38/L.1/Rev.1, L.10, L.13, L.19, L.30, L.38, L.50 and L.55.

However, even though my delegation is aware of the inhuman effects of the neutron bomb, it abstained on the draft resolution on the question, contained in document A/C.1/38/L.12. We did so because of our belief that no aspect of nuclear weapons should be singled out and that all such aspects should be viewed within a single framework.

Mr. GLEISSNER (Austria): The Austrian delegation abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.1/Rev.1. I should like to emphasize, however, that we share the concern expressed in its preambular part about the threat of nuclear war. We also share the belief that it is impossible to limit the deadly consequences of nuclear war and that there cannot be any victors in such a conflict.

For that reason, we see an urgent need for early agreement by the Powers in question on significant limitations and reductions of their nuclear arsenals, rather than on declarations that, in the circumstances, are unlikely to contribute to the promotion of such agreement.

Furthermore, in our view, the scope of the expressed condemnation should be wider and include any doctrine allowing the unleashing of any kind of war, notwithstanding the importance of condemning nuclear war in particular.

I now come to Austria's vote on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.13. It should be understood as an expression of our profound concern about the escalating nuclear arms race. We support stronger involvement by the Conference on Disarmament in efforts to achieve progress towards nuclear disarmament and we would welcome the establishment of a working group on this subject.

In view of Austria's agreement with the basic thrust of the operative part of that draft resolution, we cast an affirmative vote, notwithstanding our reservations concerning some of its preambular paragraphs.

Mr. MULONGANDUSU (Zaire) (interpretation from French): In an earlier explanation of vote, the delegation of Zaire said it would support any measure aimed at reducing weapons until their total elimination in order to avoid all forms of war.

Yet we abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.12, not because we have any special position with regard to the neutron weapon, but because we are convinced that all weapons, in particular nuclear weapons, should be banned without any distinction whatsoever.

Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The First Committee has just taken decisions on a number of draft resolutions on the most acute problem today: preventing and condemning nuclear war and ending the nuclear arms race.

We note with satisfaction that the proposals of solemnly declaring not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, condemning nuclear war and preventing such a war continue to enjoy ever wider recognition in our Organization. The Soviet Union takes a responsible approach to the task of preventing nuclear war and curbing the arms race. Governed by this position of principle, the delegation of the Soviet Union supported all the draft resolutions in cluster 4.

During the explanations of vote, a number of delegations found it possible to launch into anti-Soviet rhetoric and deliberately distort the position of the Soviet Union on the prevention of nuclear war and on nuclear disarmament. We heard statements by the representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States, who, having recourse to a balancing act, tried to disguise their own unwillingness to take specific measures to prevent nuclear war, or exclude the possibility of such a war, in order to save civilization and also to ensure that "The Day After" never comes.

But, in spite of these verbal screens by those delegations, we can easily see actions and votes. And let us look at the results of the votes on nine draft resolutions submitted on one of the most acute questions of modern international policies. The United States voted against seven of these draft resolutions, while its partners in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) voted in approximately the same way.

What was the purpose of the statements of the delegations of these NATO countries? As I have said, many of them - particularly the United States and the United Kingdom - were of the purest type of anti-Soviet rhetoric. It was said that the Soviet Union was involved in propaganda, that the Soviet Union wanted to distract the attention of the United States and that it did not produce any specific measures of its own. Yes, we do engage in propaganda: we engage in propaganda for peace, propaganda against nuclear war and propaganda for nuclear disarmament - and we shall continue to engage in that same kind of propaganda.

With regard to assertions to the effect that the Soviet Union does not take any concrete steps, that is 100 per cent untrue. It is quite easy to demonstrate this: the Soviet Union is taking unilateral concrete actions, and I shall give



(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

some facts right now. There is our unilateral refusal to be the first to use nuclear weapons. That is a unilateral concrete step. There is our unilateral refusal to be the first to deploy an anti-satellite system in space. That is a unilateral concrete step. Another is the unilateral moratorium on the deployment of intermediate-range missiles in the European part of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has advanced a series of concrete proposals in multilateral negotiations, and those who maintain the opposite have very short memories.

At this very thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly the Soviet Union has submitted a draft agreement, a legal document, on the non-use of force in space or from space. Need I remind the Committee that on the negotiating table of the Geneva Committee on Disarmament, some of whose members are countries whose representatives have maintained the opposite here, there is a draft agreement on the prohibition of chemical warfare, submitted by the Soviet Union, which was given a very warm welcome by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom. On the negotiating table in Geneva there is also a draft agreement of fundamental principles on the complete and total prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests.

I could continue enumerating concrete measures. We have, together with the other socialist countries, submitted a concrete proposal on the prevention of nuclear war, on a freeze, on not being the first to use nuclear weapons and on a moratorium on the testing of nuclear weapons.

That is our concrete contribution to disarmament negotiations, and to maintain the contrary means to advance anti-Soviet rhetoric.

In connection with draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.10, which we have just voted for, mention has been made here, of the attitude of the Soviet Union -

The CHAIRMAN: I call upon the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany on a point of order.

Mr. WEGENER (Federal Republic of Germany): I am sorry, but I am under the impression that we are hearing a statement of policy and not an explanation of vote, and you, Sir, may wish to intervene.

The CHAIRMAN: I take it that the representative of the Soviet Union is not explaining his vote on the draft resolution which the Soviet Union itself presented but explaining his vote on the other draft resolutions which we have just voted on. Also he is rather more explaining his general position on questions before the Committee. However, I would ask him to limit his intervention to explaining his vote and to conclude his statement, please.

Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany for interrupting me, because I wanted to take a drink of water anyway and I have now had that opportunity.

As to assertions to the effect that we broke off the negotiations - and we are now shedding crocodile tears - on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe, yes, indeed, at present those negotiations have been broken off without a date being fixed for their resumption. That should be no surprise, since recently the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Yuri Andropov, stated that the appearance in Western Europe of new American missiles would make it impossible to continue the ongoing Geneva negotiations; but that, on the other hand, the Geneva negotiations could be continued if the United States did not undertake the actual deployment of missiles. The United States of America and some other countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, going against the will of their peoples, are now deploying American medium-range missiles in Europe. Their deployment in England has already actually started, and very shortly the Pershing 2 will be introduced into the Federal Republic of Germany and cruise missiles into Italy.

The CHAIRMAN: I would ask the representative of the Soviet Union to limit his remarks to the draft resolutions before us in cluster 4 and to conclude his statement. I ask for his co-operation. He may continue.

Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I am willing to continue and to display co-operation if you, Sir, will apply the same rule to everyone else. Several speakers before me today have permitted themselves to make attacks on my country, doing so in the context of speaking in explanation of vote, and this has compelled me to do the same. I said at the time that I should be allowed to speak in explanation of vote or I would speak after the vote. You, Sir, found it possible to allow me to speak in explanation of vote and that is what I am doing now. I have a little more to say and I hope I shall not be interrupted.

As regards the negotiations in general, I would remind all present, and in particular the United States delegation, that three or four years ago, the United States interrupted several bilateral negotiations - and not only bilateral negotiations on which significant results had been achieved. The blame for this lies at the door of the United States, even if some would try to exonerate it.

The CHAIRMAN: Since the representative of the Soviet Union has just concluded his statement, I take it that the point of order of the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany is no longer a point of order. Thank you very much for your co-operation.

That concludes the Committee's deliberations on cluster 4.

We shall now take up the draft resolutions in cluster 10. We shall defer taking up those in cluster 9 until Friday, since consultations are still in progress on the three draft resolutions listed in that cluster. I have been informed that progress has been made in attempting to merge the texts, and I think the Committee will certainly benefit from giving those working on that an additional 48 hours.

The draft resolutions listed under cluster 10 are A/C.1/38/L.11/Rev.1, L.25, L.41 and L.53, with financial implications in document A/C.1/38/L.75.

I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to speak on the draft resolutions listed under cluster 10 before explanations of vote before the vote.

Mr. VO ANH TUAN (Viet Nam) (interpretation from French): My delegation would like to comment briefly on cluster 10, covering the draft resolutions on chemical weapons. My country's position on chemical weapons is quite clear. We attach great importance to their complete prohibition. We have adhered to the 1925 Geneva Protocol and frequently affirmed our dedication to its principles and purposes, and we should like all other States to do likewise.

My delegation is convinced that the earliest possible conclusion of a convention on the banning of the development, manufacture and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and on their destruction is one of the most urgently needed disarmament measures, as stated in the Final Document of its tenth special session of the General Assembly, and reaffirmed at its twelfth special session. My country's position is rooted in its fervent wish to spare other peoples and present and future generations from the horrors of chemical weapons, of which Viet Nam was a victim during the American war of aggression against my country and whose extremely serious consequences for man and the environment continue to this day.

An International Symposium on Herbicides and Defoliants in War was held from 14 to 19 January this year in Ho Chi Minh City, Viet Nam. More than 160 scientists and researchers from 21 countries, including some from the United States, took part. Experts from the Food and Agriculture Organization, the United Nations Environment Programme, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization also attended. The symposium, whose purpose was humanitarian,

(Mr. Vo Anh Tuan, Viet Nam)

stressed the need for international co-operation between Vietnamese scientists and their foreign colleagues in research into chemical weapons which are used on a massive scale for prolonged periods, as well as in finding measures to counteract their effects, in the interests of the people of Viet Nam and other peoples, as well as that of the American and allied military forces who, having committed such crimes, were also victims of the American chemical weapons they used. Those wishing more information about this significant international symposium will find it in document A/38/161.

Draft resolutions A/C.1/38/L.11/Rev.1 and A/C.1/38/L.41 fully meet the objective of eliminating chemical weapons, and we are pleased to be a sponsor of both. On the other hand, draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.53 goes in a completely different direction. It is a continuation of the implementation of resolution 37/98 D. Last year a number of delegations, including mine, clearly stated in this Committee that that resolution did not meet the objective of eliminating chemical weapons and sparing mankind the horrors of those terrible weapons. On the contrary, its aim is to divert attention from our urgent task. It calls for verification procedure on respect for the 1925 Protocol that is not legally in keeping with the norms of international law and practice, in a questionable or unavowed purpose.

In addition, that resolution has significantly undermined the Secretary-General's neutral status, forcing him to become involved in highly sensitive, controversial political issues. The Secretary-General's report in document A/38/435 on the implementation of resolution 37/98 D justifies the position of those delegations which expressed concern about the aims of that resolution.

For all those reasons, my delegation will vote against draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.53.

Mr. WEEDY (Afghanistan): My delegation would like to speak briefly on the draft resolutions under cluster 10 dealing with chemical weapons.

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan attaches great importance to a complete ban on the production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons. These outlawed weapons should be completely eliminated from the arsenals of States. My Government supports the earliest conclusion of a convention on chemical weapons.

We are very concerned about the efforts of the United States to produce new binary chemical weapons. These efforts will not only create an obstacle to the

(Mr. Weedy, Afghanistan)

achievement of a convention on chemical weapons but also result in a new spiral in the arms race in this field.

The United States Government, in order to justify its objective of building up further stockpiles of chemical weapons, has launched a widespread campaign of malicious propaganda, with unprecedented lies and insinuations about the so-called use of chemical weapons in South-East Asia and Afghanistan.

In this Committee we have heard loud trumpeting of so-called conclusive evidence, which turned out to be another charade. These efforts were aimed at rationalizing its plans to produce new binary chemical weapons. Of course, we can clearly see how the United States Government is reaping the evil fruit of its lies by obtaining an appropriation of billions of dollars for the production of chemical weapons.

My delegation regrets that draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.53 follows the same line as that of resolution 37/98 D. Therefore, my delegation will vote against it.

The CHAIRMAN: We shall now begin explanations of vote before the voting on the draft resolutions in cluster 10.

Mr. TURBANSKI (Poland): Since as sponsors of draft resolutions A/C.1/38/L.11/Rev.1 and L.41 we do not have to, and indeed cannot, explain our vote on those two draft resolutions, I wish to explain my delegation's vote on the remaining draft resolution in the cluster relating to chemical and bacteriological weapons, namely, draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.53.

During the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly, Poland, together with a number of other delegations, voted against what ultimately became resolution 37/98 D, to which operative paragraph 3 of draft resolution L.53 refers. It will be recalled that that resolution aroused considerable dissent and generated a sharp controversy, most of which is reflected in the verbatim record of the 47th meeting of this Committee at that session. I refer my colleagues to that verbatim record, as it makes very enlightening reading.

It was rightly pointed out during the discussion at the 37th session that the request to the Secretary-General in operative paragraph 4 of resolution 37/98 D to investigate information that might be brought to his attention by any Member State concerning activities that might constitute a violation of the 1925 Geneva Protocol, or of the relevant rules of customary international law, itself constituted a violation of the Protocol, since it was apparently aimed at revising the Protocol - which as we know contains no procedures for verification - in a

(Mr. Turbanski, Poland)

manner blatantly contravening the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, and in particular its articles 39 to 41.

To make things even worse, paragraph 4 in fact enables all Member States, including those which are not parties to the Geneva Protocol, to set in motion the procedure for investigation of any alleged, even completely unsubstantiated, violation. Yet the sponsors of this legal oddity had the temerity to mention in the same breath violations of the rules of customary international law. This is strange logic indeed, and an even stranger notion of legality. And to top everything, the same paragraph made an impossible demand on the Secretary-General, an international civil servant, to pass political judgement on the behaviour and activities of States Members of the United Nations.

Poland is a party to both the Geneva Protocol and the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction, and we remain firmly and steadfastly attached to their aims. We are also resolutely in favour of strict and universal compliance with all their provisions. We have fully substantiated our position through, inter alia, our activity in the Committee on Disarmament, in particular in the field of chemical weapons.

However, since the aim of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.53 is nothing more than prolonging and furthering something which, as I have said earlier, is totally unacceptable to us, we shall vote against this draft resolution.

Mr. SKINNER (Canada): I wish briefly to explain why we shall vote in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.53.

My Polish colleague spoke just a few moments ago about the relationship of the Vienna Convention to the Geneva Protocol. I think that in this regard we might recall the fact that last year we had a rather extended debate on the meaning of the terms of the Vienna Convention in relation to the Protocol. I believe it was reasonably established that the two in fact were quite in harmony. On this score I should like to say that the reason why we support draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.53 is, above all, that it is a procedural draft resolution based on the concept that it is important for the United Nations to continue work already undertaken. The basis of this, of course, is resolution 37/98 D. It is for that reason that we wish to see the work completed. I believe that this is the view of the majority of those in this room.

Mr. MANSFIELD (New Zealand): I wish to explain New Zealand's vote on the three draft resolutions in this cluster.

(Mr. Mansfield, New Zealand)

For a long time now, the world has looked upon the use of chemical and biological weapons as an unacceptable means of waging war. The international community's abhorrence of the use of such weapons was given expression in the 1925 Geneva Protocol, which banned their use in war and which declared a basic rule of legal and moral authority.

The 1925 Protocol was one of the more significant steps that we have been able to achieve in ridding the world of brutal and inhuman forms of warfare. While the Protocol establishes a benchmark in the development of international agreement on disarmament measures, it has no formal system of control and makes no provision for ensuring compliance with its terms. And arsenals of chemical weapons still exist.

For that reason, New Zealand attaches primary importance to the early adoption and entry into force of a comprehensive and verifiable convention that would completely prohibit the development, production and stockpiling of such weapons and would provide for the destruction of all existing weapons. We therefore strongly support draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.41, which asks the Committee on Disarmament to intensify its work with a view to the adoption of a convention at the earliest possible date.

New Zealand is not able, however, to lend its support to draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.11. To our mind, that draft shows a lack of balance in its approach to the issues under discussion and threatens to hinder rather than to advance the work of the Committee on Disarmament. In addition, we can see no justification for singling out one kind of chemical weapon while ignoring the existing large arsenals of other kinds of chemical weapons. New Zealand will abstain on that draft resolution.

The other draft resolution in the cluster is the one contained in document A/C.1/38/L.53. New Zealand welcomed the adoption by the General Assembly last year of resolution 37/98 D, which provided for interim procedures to uphold the authority of the 1925 Protocol, pending the eventual adoption of permanent arrangements. We are pleased to see that a number of countries have submitted the names of experts and laboratories that can be called upon by the Secretary-General to conduct investigations into any activities that could constitute a violation of the Protocol and the rules of customary international law. The willingness of these countries to participate in the procedures established under the resolution confirms us in our view that this is a valid way of ensuring compliance with the terms of the Protocol. We do not accept the argument that these procedures in any

(Mr. Mansfield, New Zealand)

way extend the scope of an obligation that applies to all countries not to use chemical weapons.

New Zealand is also pleased with the work done by the expert group set up under paragraph 7 of resolution 37/98 D to assist the Secretary-General to devise procedures for use in investigations about activities that could constitute a breach of the Protocol and the rules of customary international law.

We shall vote in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.53, which requests the Secretary-General, with the assistance of the expert group to continue this work and to bring it to an end during 1984.

Mr. NOUANETHASING (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (interpretation from Russian): My delegation would like to express its views on the draft resolutions concerning chemical weapons.

My delegation has always supported the international community's efforts to ensure the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all types of chemical weapons and their destruction. My delegation also is in favour of the successful completion of the negotiations in this respect. Hence, we shall vote in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.41.

As concerns draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.53, our delegation was opposed to it as soon as it was submitted, and it will vote against it because the United States of America is using it in order to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, and my country in particular, on the pretext that chemical weapons are being used in South East Asia. The United States of America is carrying out a slanderous propaganda campaign against my country. It is blackening the peaceful policy of the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

Therefore, my delegation will vote against draft resolution L.53.

Mr. CARASALES (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): I should like briefly to explain the vote of my delegation on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.53.

Last year, the delegation of Argentina abstained in the vote on resolution 37/98 D for reasons of principle, above and beyond the goal being pursued by the sponsors of the draft resolution. My delegation had no particular difficulty with that goal, but we felt that to introduce, through a resolution of the General Assembly, a system of verification for a convention which did not provide for such a system was a highly unfortunate precedent. States not parties to this international instrument should not, we felt, be part of the verification system.

For that reason, we shall abstain in the vote on L.53, which is a continuation of the process begun last year.



Mr. FINDLAY (Australia): Australia will abstain in the vote on the draft resolution on chemical weapons sponsored by the German Democratic Republic in document A/C.1/38/L.11/Rev.1.

Australia is strongly in favour of, and has actively worked for, the prohibition of chemical weapons. Draft resolution L.11/Rev.1, however, does not meet our concerns with regard to the scope of a future chemical-weapons convention in that it fails to refer to the inclusion of a ban on use in such a treaty.

It became evident during the negotiations in the Committee on Disarmament in 1983 that a large number of States, including the Soviet Union, now accept the need for a provision concerning use. It is also, in our view, deficient in that it singles out one particular type of chemical weapon for non-production and non-deployment when, in fact, these weapons will be covered by the new convention. Indeed, the call in operative paragraph 4 for States to refrain from producing or deploying binary and other new types of chemical weapons is not a verifiable measure without the type of strict verification system which we are urging the sponsors of this draft resolution to accept in the negotiations in Geneva.

Similarly, we are not enamoured of references to chemical-weapon-free zones precisely because they would take as much time to negotiate and verify as the convention being negotiated in the Committee on Disarmament. They would, therefore, detract from rather than assist in the ongoing work in the Committee on Disarmament.

It is that forum and those negotiations which, in Australia's view, offer the best hope for dealing permanently with chemical weapons. The best interim measure, in our view, lies in the establishment of a provisional verification mechanism for the 1925 Geneva Protocol, the ongoing work of the United Nations expert group.

The CHAIRMAN: We shall now proceed to take a decision on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.11/Rev.1. This draft resolution was introduced by the representative of the German Democratic Republic at the 29th meeting of the First Committee on 10 November and is sponsored by the following countries: Afghanistan, Angola, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Viet Nam.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guyana, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay

Draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.11/rev.1 was adopted by 73 votes to 1, with 49 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN: We shall now take a decision on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.25. This draft resolution was introduced by the representative of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic at the 31st meeting of the First Committee on 11 November and is sponsored by the following countries: Afghanistan, Angola, Benin, Bulgaria, Burundi, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Hungary, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mongolia, Mozambique, Poland, Romania, Sao Tome and Principe, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Upper Volta, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam, Yemen and Zimbabwe.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.25 was adopted by 94 votes to 1, with 28 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now take action on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.41. This draft resolution was introduced by the representative of Canada at the 33rd meeting of the First Committee on 17 November and is sponsored by the following countries: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Indonesia, Ireland, Japan, Kenya, Mongolia, Norway, Poland, Spain, Sweden, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Viet Nam.

The sponsors have expressed the wish that it be adopted by the Committee without a vote. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Committee wishes to adopt draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.41 without a vote.

Draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.41 was adopted.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now take a decision on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.53, with financial implications in document A/C.1/38/L.75. This draft resolution was introduced by the representative of France at the 33rd meeting of the First Committee on 17 November and is sponsored by the following countries: Australia, Belgium, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Uruguay and Zaire.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bhutan, Burundi, Canada, Chad, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Fiji, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Kenya, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America, Uruguay, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, India, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mongolia, Mozambique, Poland, Syrian Arab Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam

Abstaining: Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Benin, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Chile, Cyprus, Finland, Ghana, Honduras, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Madagascar, Mexico, Nicaragua, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia

Draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.53 was adopted by 77 votes to 20, with 29 abstentions.\*

The CHAIRMAN: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes after the voting.

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\* Subsequently the delegation of Djibouti advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour.

Mr. SOUZA e SILVA (Brazil): The Brazilian delegation abstained in the voting on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.11/Rev.1, as it has done on similar texts in the past. The draft resolution this year improves upon its predecessors in reinforcing the call for speedy achievement of the convention currently under negotiation by the Committee on Disarmament. It maintains, however, mention of the concept of chemical-weapon-free zones. This concept is not in line with the position Brazil has taken on the matter. Furthermore, the convention on the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction should encompass all types of such weapons so as to preclude the possibility of any kind of chemical warfare.

Mr. DJOKIC (Yugoslavia): Last year my delegation abstained in the voting on the issue contained in draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.53, which is now before us. We did so because the resolution contained some elements which, in our view, were not in accordance with the goals that should be borne in mind when discussing the establishment of efficient verification and control of the prohibition of use of chemical weapons, as provided by the 1925 Geneva Protocol. Let me remind the Committee that Yugoslavia is a party to that Protocol, which prohibits the use for military purposes of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and bacteriological methods of warfare.

My country is also a party to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction. Consequently, our position regarding the use of such weapons is precisely defined and unequivocal. We resolutely urge the prohibition of the use of all chemical, bacteriological, biological and other toxin weapons, and their destruction. We condemn most emphatically the use of such weapons by any side whatsoever. We are in favour of an effective system of verification and control of the implementation of international disarmament agreements. We believe that such a system should, among other things, aim at strengthening confidence and promoting co-operation among States parties to disarmament agreements, so as to ensure the consistent implementation of the obligations assumed.

In its application, the system of verification and control must be universal, not selective. It must be based on authentic facts and sources. Otherwise there is a danger of its being misused and of its not being motivated by the objectives it purports to pursue.

Since the draft resolution before us advocates further continuation of the

(Mr. Djokic, Yugoslavia)

action begun earlier, which my delegation is unable to support for the reasons I have mentioned, we have, this year again, abstained in the vote.

Mr. SHARMA (India): While India fully favours the efforts of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.11/Rev.1 to achieve an early ban on all chemical weapons, it is our considered view that issues of disarmament must be dealt with in the framework of a global approach. We are therefore unable to endorse the idea of the setting up of chemical-weapons-free zones as an interim measure. We maintain that all efforts should be directed towards an early successful conclusion of the multilateral convention on chemical weapons currently being negotiated in the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva in order that the entire world may be made free of chemical weapons. For that reason of principle India abstained in the vote on that draft resolution.

As regards draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.53, we were obliged to vote against it because it provides for the continuation of the task entrusted to the Secretary-General under resolution 37/98 D, adopted by the General Assembly last year, and which we voted against. We fully set forth the reasons for our vote in our explanation of vote last year. Those reasons remain valid. In short, it is our belief that it would be a bad precedent to set up machinery for the investigation of incidents of violation of particular provisions of an international treaty outside the framework of that treaty.

Mr. AKKERMAN (Netherlands): My delegation wishes to explain its position on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.11/Rev.1. With respect to the need at the earliest possible date for the adoption of a comprehensive and effective ban on chemical weapons, general agreement exists among States, in particular all member States of the Committee on Disarmament, where such a ban has been under negotiation for a considerable time. Also, with respect to the form and content of a convention pertaining to such a ban, a large measure of agreement has been reached, as is witnessed by the 1983 report of the Committee on Disarmament.

Important problems, however, remain to be solved. These should not be underestimated. The highest priority should therefore be assigned to the solution of those problems. General agreement about that conclusion is reflected in the submission by delegations of the East, the West and the non-aligned world of draft resolution L.41, which was just adopted by consensus. Similar resolutions have traditionally been adopted by the General Assembly by consensus as well.

Since the Netherlands armed forces do not possess chemical weapons, the

(Mr. Akkerman, Netherlands)

Netherlands Government does not intend to introduce those weapons into its armed forces and it rejects the stockpiling of chemical weapons on Netherlands territory. For our part, we support wholeheartedly all efforts to reach consensus in the efforts that are being made in the framework of the Committee on Disarmament.

The Netherlands delegation particularly regrets that, through their submission of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.11/Rev.1, the German Democratic Republic and the other sponsors, as they did last year, are affecting the consensus on the preparation of a chemical weapons ban. Draft resolution L.11/Rev.1 is an unbalanced and one-sided document. It criticizes the possibility of the resumption of chemical weapons production, which has, incidentally, been deferred by the United States of America, a country which has respected a unilateral moratorium - a chemical weapons production freeze - for one and a half decades. This was a moratorium, moreover, that was not matched by the other super-Power.

At the same time, on the other hand, this draft resolution remains blatantly silent about continuing, and not effectively refuted, reports of use of chemical weapons in South-East Asia and Afghanistan, use with which the very sponsors of draft resolution L.11 would be associated. The fact that the sponsors of this draft resolution who were invited to the chemical weapons verification workshop held in Utah on 15 and 16 November chose to turn down that offer raises doubts about their willingness to participate constructively in the achievement of a chemical weapons ban at the earliest possible date.

For the reasons I have just spelled out, my delegation abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.11/Rev.1.

Mr. TMERBAEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The Soviet delegation would like to explain its vote on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.53. Having been a signatory of the 1925 Geneva Protocol for more than 50 years, and meticulously abiding by its provisions, the Soviet Union is in favour of ensuring the effective prohibition of the use of poisonous substances for military purposes. But draft resolution L.53 goes in an entirely different direction. The fact is that it provides for an illegal revision of the Geneva Protocol through the creation of a verification machinery. Our negative response to this undertaking is set forth in the letter of the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, contained in document A/38/131.

The Soviet delegation now reaffirms that position. In our view, the

(Mr. Timerbaev, USSR)

continuing efforts by a number of States to secure the establishment of a system of verification of compliance with the 1925 Geneva Protocol has nothing to do with strengthening that Protocol. As is known, the Protocol provides for no investigative process, and the creation of such a machinery would mean an extension of the body of obligations to which signatories commit themselves.

The attempt to resolve this issue by adopting a resolution at the United Nations General Assembly is entirely inappropriate and illegal, inasmuch as it is being undertaken against the wishes of a number of States parties to the Protocol and is based upon the votes of other States which, up to now, have not adhered to the Protocol. For these reasons the Soviet delegation voted against draft resolution L.53.

Mr. STEPHANOU (Greece): On behalf of the ten member States of the European Community, I should like to make the following comments on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.25, entitled "Prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons".

As in previous years, the Ten have abstained in the vote on such a draft resolution and we still hold the view that the approach presented here is not a realistic one. The Ten hold the opinion, on which there should be no disagreement within this Committee, that there is a need to prohibit all and any new weapons of mass destruction which can be identified as such. The point at issue is simply the choice of means in seeking most efficiently to pursue that objective. Like many other States represented in this Committee, the Ten believe that new weapons of mass destruction and their technology can be effectively and permanently prohibited only if they are subject to concrete and verifiable controls. The Ten recognize the difficulty in clearly distinguishing the precise delimitation of civilian and military research. In the view of the Ten, this fundamental consideration has not received adequate emphasis in the present draft resolution, where special importance is given to a single blanket prohibition on the development and manufacture of new weapons of mass destruction.

It is not clear how a blanket prohibition could be verified, in particular in view of the need which would arise for international supervision of civil research activities. Since it is generally agreed that a comprehensive prohibition would not be verifiable, it follows that it would not contribute to strengthening confidence and certitude in this area.

While not believing in the approach in draft resolution L.25, the Ten fully



(Mr. Stephanou, Greece)

recognize the continued need for international discussions with a view to identifying potentially dangerous developments in science and technology, so that early necessary control can be introduced.

Mr. EKEUS (Sweden): I wish to explain the vote of Sweden on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.25. Sweden is deeply convinced of the importance of preventing at an early stage the use of scientific and technological achievements for the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. My Government therefore supports steps to ensure that new major scientific discoveries are used for peaceful and not for destructive purposes.

With regard to paragraph 1 of draft resolution L.25, I wish to recall the doubts that Sweden has expressed on numerous occasions about the idea of a general prohibition in this field. Therefore, Sweden had to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution. However, my delegation notes with satisfaction that the draft resolution requests the Committee on Disarmament to prepare specific agreements on particular types of new weapons of mass destruction.

Sweden will continue to support all efforts to reach specific agreements on the prohibition of specific types of new weapons of mass destruction, in order to find practical solutions concerning the disarmament aspects of scientific and technological advances in the military field.

Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): Last year my delegation abstained in the vote on the draft resolution which became General Assembly resolution 37/98 D, entitled "Provisional procedures to uphold the authority of the 1925 Geneva Protocol". My delegation has just abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.53, for the same reasons that we abstained last year. In summary form, those reasons are that we believe that, in keeping with the law of treaties, one cannot amend a solemn instrument - a treaty, a convention or a protocol - except with the participation in the amendment of all the States parties. This was not the procedure contemplated last year in the resolution I have referred to and it is not the procedure now contained in draft resolution L.53. For those reasons my delegation has had to abstain.

Mr. WISNOEMOERTI (Indonesia): Indonesia is a party to the 1925 Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and Bacteriological Methods in Warfare and has always supported any effort aimed at the strengthening of the Protocol. Consistent with that position, my delegation has voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.53. At the same time

(Mr. Wisnoemoerti, Indonesia)

my delegation wishes to express the view that the objectives of draft resolution L.53 would be more appropriately met by a comprehensive convention on chemical weapons such as is now being elaborated by the Committee on Disarmament. It is heartening to note that the Committee on Disarmament has made certain progress in this respect. I should like to recall in this connection that, together with an increasing number of members of the Committee on Disarmament, Indonesia maintains that the draft convention must include the prohibition of the use of chemical weapons. The affirmative vote of my delegation on draft resolution L.53 should not be interpreted in any way contrary to the position I have just mentioned.

Mr. MOUSSAOUI (Algeria) (interpretation from French): My delegation would like briefly to explain its vote on draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.53. During the thirteenth session of the General Assembly the Algerian delegation abstained in the vote on the draft text which became resolution 37/98 D. We explained that our attitude to that draft resolution was determined by the irregular procedure with respect both to doctrine and to international practice in matters of treaty law. Despite its purely procedural aspect, draft resolution L.53 raises the same problems as that which was raised by resolution 37/98 D, upon which it is based and which it attempts to implement. Therefore, the Algerian delegation was obliged to abstain in the vote on draft resolution L.53.

Mr. MARTYNOW (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): My delegation would like to give its reasons for its vote on the draft resolutions on the prohibition of chemical weapons, in particular draft resolutions A/C.1/38/L.41 and L.53. The international community as a whole is interested in the most rapid elaboration and adoption of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all kinds of chemical weapons and on their destruction. Unfortunately, the Committee on Disarmament has made no progress in this direction. Some States, headed by the United States of America, do not take a sufficiently responsible approach to the negotiations. Furthermore, they are impeding progress where it is possible for progress to be made.

In these circumstances we believe it is important for States to refrain from any actions which might hamper these negotiations. What is more, it would be a good thing if they refrained from the production and deployment of binary weapons and from the stationing of chemical weapons on the territory of other States. The creation of chemical-weapon-free zones in Europe and a freeze on the production and

(Mr. Martynov, Byelorussian SSR)

deployment of chemical weapons until the conclusion of an appropriate convention would be very important steps to promote further movement in the direction of the prohibition of chemical weapons.

The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic is in favour of the start of negotiations in the Committee on Disarmament's Ad Hoc Working Group on Chemical Weapons, and on the basis of this position we supported draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.41.

We are sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.11/Rev.1, and we shall not discuss it now.

In contrast to the two draft resolutions I have already mentioned, the purpose of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.53 is not the elaboration of an international convention prohibiting these weapons, and my delegation voted against it because, on the basis of resolution 37/98 D, it is aimed at undermining an existing international legal document: the 1925 Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and Bacteriological Methods of Warfare. I cannot agree with the view of the representative of Canada that as a result of the discussion in the First Committee last year everyone came to the conclusion that the draft resolution was fully in accordance with the 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties. That was the opinion of only a very small group of States. We must recognize that resolution 37/98 D provides for a verification procedure which contradicts that Convention, and in particular article 39.

In these documents an attempt is made to change the obligations assumed by States under the 1925 Geneva Protocol, and that is decided not by agreement between the States Parties to the Protocol but, rather, by a vote in the General Assembly. What is more, about half the States Parties to the Protocol did not support this decision at the last session.

The Vienna Convention unambiguously states that such steps can be taken only as a result of agreement between the parties to a given treaty. Such attempts could compromise international efforts to elaborate treaties and create a dangerous precedent for introducing de facto changes in international legal instruments not only without the express agreement of the parties but even against the express will of a considerable number of parties to a given treaty.

Resolution 37/98 D and draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.53 are aimed directly at the illegal undermining of an important agreement which is in effect and whose value has been confirmed by decades of practice - the 1925 Geneva Protocol. The

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entry into force of this text would only complicate the efforts of others aimed at preventing chemical warfare. We have every reason to have doubts about this and about the attempt to impose on the General Assembly obligations which are beyond its functions as set out in the Charter - the verification of agreements on disarmament matters.

The document which appeared today on the financial implications of draft resolution A/C.1/38/L.53 - document A/C.1/38/L.75 - shows that the United Nations budget, which is already heavily burdened, would require \$415,000 to finance this rather ignoble effort, which is by no means supported by all States Members of the United Nations.

The CHAIRMAN: That concludes our deliberations and action under cluster 10.

Before adjourning the meeting, I wish to thank everyone here for the co-operation that has made it possible for us to get as far as we have today, and I wish everyone a happy Thanksgiving.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.