



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 9th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ZACHMANN (German Democratic Republic)

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GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS

Statements were made by:

Mr. Bierring (Denmark)
Mr. Olzvoy (Mongolia)
Mr. Dorjee (Bhutan)
Mr. Ki (Burkina Faso)

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

AGENDA ITEMS 46 TO 65 AND 144 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS

Mr. BIERRING (Denmark): Let me initially refer to the statement made two days ago by the Minister of State of the United Kingdom, speaking on behalf of the Member States of the European Community. We, of course, fully endorse the views expressed in that statement.

We are today gathered aware of the effects of the outcome of the Reykjavik preparatory summit meeting, in a situation in which it is more evident than ever that the parties are under a special obligation to continue their negotiating efforts in a constructive spirit.

It is now of the greatest importance that pessimism does not lead the parties to give up their efforts. Perhaps the expectations were too high. Reykjavik was, after all, never meant as a fully-fledged summit meeting, and should not be regarded as such.

The negotiation process has not collapsed. It is now of even greater importance that it be carried on in all East-West contexts with patience and readiness to compromise, so that the results that were about to be reached in Reykjavik will be attained.

In this difficult situation it is imperative that all parties shoulder their responsibilities and refrain from any steps that could undermine results already obtained and progress already made in arms control.

Last year the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations was an opportunity to reflect upon the need to strengthen the role and functioning of the United Nations in the efforts to further international security and disarmament - one of the primary objectives of the Organization.

(Mr. Bierring, Denmark)

The celebration this year of the International Year of Peace gives us a further chance to look at the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament. In our view, that role would be greatly enhanced if all members worked for the adoption of realistic resolutions, which had a chance of exerting real influence on disarmament efforts. The severe economic situation in which the United Nations finds itself has further highlighted the need to concentrate our debates and organize the Committee's work more efficiently, aspects which have received only modest attention so far.

I have noted the interesting suggestion of the Permanent Representative of Indonesia, Mr. Alatas, that the Committee's Chairmen of recent years meet with this year's officers of the Committee to study the matter. I believe we can all support that suggestion.

The number of resolutions presented last year was the highest ever. In our view, we have reached the absolute limit if we want the outcome of our labours to be taken seriously and to be given the attention we think it merits. The continuation of this development would undermine the credibility of our work.

For the United Nations to play its expected role in disarmament the messages from this Committee - and indeed from the General Assembly - must be clear and to the point. That is not the case when a variety of issues is dealt with within one and the same resolution, nor, for that matter, if the same issues are addressed in a proliferation of conflicting resolutions. More effort should be put into producing consensus texts - in particular, on the more contentious topics. It is also obvious that the actual effect of a given resolution depends on the degree of support it commands among Member States, and especially among the more centrally placed parties to the disarmament process.

(Mr. Bierring, Denmark)

Although progress in international disarmament discussions has been slow this past year - and, with the expectations created by the spirit of Geneva in mind, some would say too slow - it has none the less been evident in a number of areas.

One of the more promising developments is the negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament on a comprehensive convention which would ban the production, stockpiling and development of chemical weapons. Although no dramatic breakthrough has been made, the common ground for an agreement has been enlarged considerably. Given the widely recognized urgency of the subject matter, we are, however, concerned that the pace of the negotiations has not been faster. On one of the major unsolved questions, that of challenge inspection, a new constructive approach for the procedures to be followed has been advanced by the United Kingdom. We now hope for positive reactions to the ideas contained in that proposal. If there is a real willingness to reach agreement on the total banning of chemical weapons, it must also find expression in timely responses.

As an observer country at the Conference on Disarmament, Denmark follows the work in Geneva closely. It is our sincere hope that full agreement on a global convention on the banning of chemical weapons can be reached in 1987.

The nuclear-test-ban issue remains a vital question in international arms control. The Danish Government attaches great importance to the early conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty. We recognize that the Soviet moratorium has brought new life to the nuclear-test-ban discussion and is a step in the right direction. However, an unverifiable, unilaterally declared moratorium falls short of creating the necessary confidence as regards compliance.

In our view, a test ban must meet certain minimal conditions. First, it must be comprehensive; it must prohibit all nuclear tests, including the so-called

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peaceful tests. Secondly, a ban must be applicable to all States, in all environments and on a permanent basis. Thirdly, a test-ban treaty must deal satisfactorily with the question of scope, verification and compliance. Adequate verification now seems within reach. The methods arrived at still need to be tried out in practice. Problems of training, standardized up-to-date equipment, data processing and the like will also have to be sorted out.

The work of the Group of Scientific Experts on seismological questions in the Conference on Disarmament has an important role to play in that respect. It is encouraging to note that it was agreed to renew the Group's mandate and to include it in the consideration of level II data, thus making its work more realistic and helpful towards establishing the foundations for a comprehensive test-ban agreement.

Denmark has participated in the work of the seismic Group under the Conference on Disarmament since its establishment. Danish experts are at present looking into the possibility of establishing a seismic station in the north of Greenland, where conditions are especially propitious for seismic monitoring. Such a station could contribute to the establishment of a world-wide monitoring network.

In view of the urgent national and international calls for negotiations towards a comprehensive test-ban treaty, it is much to be regretted that it was again not possible this year to reach agreement in the Conference on Disarmament on the establishment of an ad hoc committee to consider the question.

(Mr. Bierring, Denmark)

We note, however, the promising progress made during the negotiations and appeal to the members of the Conference on Disarmament to continue their efforts to reach a consensus. We hope that the forthcoming session will be able to agree to set up such a committee.

We have welcomed the bilateral talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on issues relating to the test ban question. Agreements on conditions that could lead to the ratifications of the threshold test ban Treaty and peaceful nuclear explosions Treaty are indeed welcome, as are indications of willingness to limit testing. They would, however, be only first steps and can in no way compensate for the urgent conclusion of a global and comprehensive agreement.

An area of priority and concern to us all is that of achieving early and substantial cuts in nuclear and conventional armaments so as to reach a balance at a much lower level of armaments, with a view to the ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons.

Bilateral negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union offer the best opportunity for achieving progress regarding offensive and defensive nuclear systems, but we all bear a responsibility for creating an atmosphere conducive to results. The work of this Committee and of the Conference on Disarmament are important inputs in this process. In our view, while the negotiations proceed there must be continued adherence to and compliance with existing arms control and disarmament agreements, in the spirit as well as in the letter. My Government attaches particular importance to the preservation and continued observance of the anti-ballistic missiles Treaty.

On a number of occasions the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) have declared that none of their weapons, nuclear or conventional, would ever be used except in response to attack. Along with its

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allies in NATO Denmark has actively supported efforts to reduce dependence upon nuclear weapons. In this connection Denmark calls upon the parties to ongoing negotiations - that is, those in Vienna on the mutual and balanced reduction of armed forces and armaments and associated measures in Central Europe, in the Conference on Disarmament, and in the bilateral talks in Geneva - to reach early agreements in order to create the conditions necessary for a reduced dependence on nuclear weapons, which should pave the way for negotiations with a view to reaching an international agreement not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The Danish Government is deeply worried about the risk of having the arms race extended into outer space. Denmark is opposed to the deployment of weapons in outer space as well as to research and development relating to such weapons. The bilateral negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union include the question of outer space. In spite of recent setbacks we hope to see an enhanced international effort to ensure that space is used exclusively for peaceful activities.

As stated last year in this Committee, we are in favour of discussions aimed at realizing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Nordic area within a larger European context. Such a zone would have to be guaranteed by the United States and the Soviet Union. The creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world could contribute to non-proliferation and to the disarmament process in general.

It has often been pointed out - and rightly so - that the arms race at the same time produces and is the product of insecurity and lack of trust. Peace and security implies more than mere absence of war. Genuine peace must be based upon mutual trust and confidence, universal respect for human rights, respect for the sovereignty of other States and a renunciation of the use or threat of use of any force, be it nuclear or conventional: in other words adherence to and respect for

(Mr. Bierring, Denmark)

the principles laid down in the United Nations Charter. Negotiations directed to arms control and disarmament alone are not enough. One-sided focusing on the arms race misses an essential factor behind the armaments: the insecurity and lack of mutual trust and confidence.

Within the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, this autumn has seen an important step towards improving security and building confidence. I want to express our great satisfaction with the results achieved by the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. The new rules on notification, observation and inspection will create conditions for much greater openness about military activities in Europe. The document agreed in Stockholm contains a number of provisions, particularly on on-site inspection, which could form an important positive precedent in connexion with future arms control and disarmament negotiations.

Allow me to turn to a matter which has had Denmark's special attention over the years: conventional disarmament. In our view, considerations of ways and means of conventional disarmament should be a permanent issue on our agenda, as is the case with the different aspects of nuclear disarmament. We have noted with satisfaction that this view is gaining ground. The successful conclusion of the study on conventional disarmament, the many views expressed on that study and the many statements made this year - and last year - expressing concern over the conventional arms race and pointing to the urgency of different aspects of conventional disarmament have underlined the role of the United Nations in this respect. The study on conventional disarmament represented the first attempt to produce an overall presentation of this very complicated matter. In our view, a natural next step would be for the United Nations Disarmament Commission to proceed with its considerations on the basis of the recommendations and conclusions of the study. The Danish representative at the Disarmament Commission's session this year

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stated our intention of presenting a draft resolution to this Committee, suggesting that the Commission take up the issue at its session in 1987. My delegation will revert to this matter at the appropriate time when introducing our draft resolution, but I would only say at this stage that we, of course, hope for support from all parties, as was the case last year when our resolution was adopted by consensus.

Finally, I should like to say a few words on the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development. Denmark had been looking forward to participating in that Conference and we regret that it was not found possible to convene it in 1986, as agreed last year. We hope for an early convening of the Conference and pledge our support for its successful outcome.

(Mr. Bierring, Denmark)

At their first summit meeting in Geneva President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev committed themselves to preventing an arms race in space and terminating it on Earth. As to the latter aspect, staggering new proposals were put forward in Reykjavik. These proposals remain on the table. The international community expects the United States and the Soviet Union to carry on sustained negotiating efforts on that basis in the months to come with a view to obtaining concrete and early results.

Mr. OLZVOY (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): Comrade Chairman, permit me first to congratulate you on your unanimous election to the Chairmanship of the First Committee. The German Democratic Republic, with which the Mongolian People's Republic is bound by ties of fraternal friendship and very close co-operation, unswervingly pursues a course of peace and disarmament and, quite rightly, enjoys great respect and prestige internationally. We hope that under your skilful leadership the Committee will be successful in performing its important tasks.

In a few days time the Mongolian People's Republic will have been a Member of the United Nations for 25 years. This anniversary is being widely celebrated in my country and is a further manifestation of the profound commitment of Mongolia to the goals and principles of the Charter of the world Organization and its desire to do everything possible to promote the solution of the important problems facing it. To mark the International Day of Peace on 1 September, a campaign is under way in our country with the motto for lasting peace against the threat of nuclear war. A campaign for collecting signatures - in which more than half of the population of Mongolia has taken part. I think this well reflects the demand of the peoples of the world everywhere to make the Year of Peace proclaimed by the General Assembly pivotal in the cause of eliminating the danger of war looming over mankind. The

(Mr. Olzvoy, Mongolia)

peoples of the world are weary of living in a situation of growing international tension and under the threat of nuclear war. They earnestly desire to steer the course of events on the path of détente and peace.

Today, when the realities of the nuclear space age, more than ever before, are raising the question of the fate of the world and the future of mankind all States must take decisive action, particularly the leading Powers. They must show a profound sense of responsibility and sensible restraint in all their actions and the political will for peace. What we need are not just arguments in favour of the determination to act, but solid proof of that determination, which explains why the news of the holding of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Reykjavik was greeted with satisfaction everywhere, and why the whole world was following the meeting while it was in progress with expectation and in the hope that it would pave the way to new approaches and new avenues for the elimination of the nuclear threat, and lead to practical agreements in this area. However, we cannot but see that in spite of the tremendous efforts and goodwill and, it must be said, the major concessions of the Soviet Union, unfortunately, the Reykjavik dialogue did not lead to the results which are so necessary and which were so ardently hoped for. The General Secretary of the Mongolian Revolutionary Party, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, Comrade Batmunkh, and the Mongolian People's Republic very much appreciate the efforts of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Gorbachev, at the Soviet-American summit meeting held in Reykjavik.

It is quite clear that the stumbling block in all this was the reliance on force to solve fundamental questions of peace and security by military technology and the idea of achieving, what it has not so far been possible to achieve, by means of ever new spirals in the arms race, that is to say, military supremacy by the use of the latest space technology.

(Mr. Olzvoy, Mongolia)

Unfortunately, this demonstrates that the United States wants, at any cost, to force through its plans for creating new types of weapons: space strike weapons, which could dash the whole prospect of ending the arms race altogether. Therefore, we cannot permit a situation where the reluctance of the United States to give up its "star wars" plans, would doom to failure the efforts of the international community to halt the arms race in outer space and on Earth.

The facts make it abundantly clear that the strategic defence initiative programme is ultimately designed to revise Soviet-American relations in the area of strategic stability, which at the moment is, in effect, based on mutual restraint. The space shield, which would be created, is designed to give rise to conditions where a nuclear attack could be carried out with impunity and a first nuclear strike could be made. Therefore, reducing strategic defence weapons, without resolving the problem of protecting space from weapons, is impossible, since, if the United States does not give up its strategic defence initiative plan, naturally, the other side will be forced to take appropriate response measures. In particular, it will have to upgrade its strategic nuclear weapons.

Although we expected much more from the Reykjavik meeting, nevertheless, in our view, the very fact that the meeting was held on the basis of a joint decision, and the fact that there was extensive discussion on a broad range of extremely important questions related to the limitation and reduction of armaments, and the fact that agreements were practically reached on these questions, is something of tremendous importance. This demonstrates once again that practical measures to end the arms race and to bring about disarmament is a goal which is entirely attainable. In our view, the Reykjavik meeting laid down a genuine basis for arriving at major disarmament agreements in the future.

(Mr. Olzvoy, Mongolia)

The Soviet proposals - in regard to which, as it later became known, the USSR and the United States had, in essence, already agreed upon - remain. This is on the positive side and the experience accumulated must be preserved, multiplied, and ultimately put into effect. But this all depends on the extent to which the United States is ready to do its part and show the necessary constructive spirit and flexibility.

(Mr. Olzvoy, Mongolia)

The international community has the potential and the necessary machinery and negotiating system to resolve the urgent problems of disarmament, but these should be used more actively and intensively. This has been the theme of most of the statements by delegations in the general debates both at plenary meetings and in the First Committee.

The socialist countries, on the basis of their firm conviction that international peace and security can be consolidated only by political means, are continuing to conduct an active search for new avenues and carry out new initiatives in this area. The most comprehensive expression of the profoundly responsible approach of those countries to the task of ensuring universal peace and their new political thinking is the proposal to lay the basis for the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security, which is now an item on the First Committee's agenda. This represents a further development of the provisions of the United Nations Charter with regard to the system of collective security and is designed to find practical ways and means of putting those provisions into effect in the light of and as applicable to the new situation that has arisen in the world.

The means of creating the decisive component of such a system has been put forward in the new Soviet programme for the total elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world by the year 2000. The carefully considered and genuinely feasible nature of the programme proposed by the Soviet Union is illustrated by the fact that it is based upon the underlying principle of the equality and equal security of all and encompasses a constant reduction of levels of nuclear armaments in the light of the relative qualitative and quantitative importance of the existing arsenals of nuclear-weapon States.

That programme has been supplemented by the Budapest appeal by States parties to the Warsaw Treaty addressed to the members of the North Atlantic Treaty

(Mr. Olzvoy, Mongolia)

Organization and all other European countries, an appeal which contains a large-scale programme for the reduction of conventional arms and armed forces throughout Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. In this regard, the Mongolian People's Republic welcomes the important agreements reached at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. We believe that the most important of these and one that constitutes a fundamental breakthrough is the agreement on the non-use of force or the threat of force of any kind, including, of course, armed force. The significance of this is all the greater since in Europe, where the two world wars broke out, two of the most powerful military groupings are confronting each other.

Mongolia believes that the significance of this proposal and the Stockholm agreement goes far beyond the confines of those two military-political alliances and could serve as an example and an incentive to other parts of the world, particularly the Asian Pacific region. In our interdependent and unified world, security is indivisible and can only be universal and equal for all.

Today on the Asian continent potentially explosive hotbeds of tension persist. We should not forget that the two potentially most important wars since 1945 have taken place there - in Korea and Indo-China. The peoples of Asia and of other continents desperately need to be allowed to live in peace and tranquillity. For this reason, Mongolia attaches very great importance to the concerted will and efforts of all States of our region in undertaking a joint search for ways and means of improving the political climate in that part of the world. For this we must have a solid base and sufficient building materials. These include, first and foremost, the broad range of peaceful, constructive proposals put forward by a number of socialist countries and non-aligned States in the region. Among these, of particular importance in present circumstances is the proposal by the Soviet Union to erect a secure barrier to the spread and build-up of nuclear weapons in

(Mr. Olzvoy, Mongolia)

Asia and the Pacific, to begin negotiations on a reduction of the activities of naval forces in the Pacific, primarily ships equipped with nuclear weapons, to translate into deeds discussions on confidence-building measures and the non-use of force and to bring about the radical reduction to reasonable levels of armed forces and conventional armaments.

These difficult problems, of course, cannot all be resolved at one fell swoop. The important thing is to work together immediately to find common ground which would make it possible to enter into constructive dialogue and solve the problems step by step.

The unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions declared by the Soviet Union more than a year ago and recently extended to 1 January 1987 provides abundant proof of the Soviet Union's awareness of its responsibility and its earnest desire to supplement with specific material content the agreements reached in principle at the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva. In our view, that moratorium proves many things, but particularly the possibility of the verification of nuclear explosions. However, the best kind of verification would be to have no such explosions. If the nuclear Powers, primarily the United States, were to follow the example of the Soviet Union and end nuclear testing, mutual bilateral or multilateral moratoriums would create a qualitatively new situation with regard to settling the issue of the banning of nuclear tests.

The Mongolian People's Republic, like the vast majority of States in the world, believes that this problem can and must be solved immediately. We welcome and support the readiness expressed by the Soviet Union at this session of the General Assembly to sign here and now a treaty totally prohibiting nuclear-weapon testing. There is no justification for the refusal by the United States to end nuclear testing, despite such pretexts as the need to ensure the effectiveness of nuclear restraint, and so on.

(Mr. Olzboy, Mongolia)

For the same reason the Political Declaration of the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Harare, in Zimbabwe, quite rightly stressed that the idea that world peace can be maintained through nuclear deterrence, and the building up and perfection of nuclear arsenals, is the most dangerous delusion. The important statement made here in our Committee by the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Comrade Petrovsky, made it clear to us that in Reykjavik the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America were close to finding formulas on the question of prohibiting nuclear explosions. That encourages us to believe that the progress made there could be put to very good use in the cause of peace in the future. The problem of verification, a subject to which certain circles are fond of referring, would thus no longer arise. The USSR has once again confirmed its readiness to support any form of verification. In questions of ensuring peace and disarmament Mongolia greatly appreciates the efforts of the Delhi Six, which in the Mexico Declaration once again called for the prohibition of nuclear-weapon testing and the elimination of nuclear weapons, and made a specific proposal to assist in establishing machinery for the verification of compliance with a ban on nuclear explosions, and once again called for the prevention of an arms race in outer space. What is of outstanding importance, we believe, is the statement of the leaders of the six states of the four continents, contained in the Mexico Declaration, that "every individual has a right to peace and a responsibility to strive for it."

This has a particularly contemporary ring to it, and is fully in line with the spirit and letter of the United Nations Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace, adopted on the initiative of Mongolia at the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Cizboy, Mongolia)

It is the task of the First Committee to do everything in its power through its decisions to promote the total and unswerving implementation and the exercise of this sacred right of mankind to peace. These, Sir, are some of our general views: in its next statement my delegation will go into further detail about specific items on the Committee's agenda.

Mr. DORJEE (Bhutan): The Bhutanese delegation would also like to congratulate you, Sir, on your well-deserved election and express our confidence in your leadership in guiding the deliberations of this important committee to successful conclusion. Our felicitations also go to the other members of the Committee on the assumption of their respective offices. We pledge our full support and co-operation in the difficult tasks that lie ahead.

Our founding fathers rightly accorded the United Nations a central role and primary responsibility in the field of arms control and disarmament. Although, year after year, the United Nations has been grappling with these issues, the international community has yet to witness any serious and genuine arms control or disarmament process, in which all Member States participate on an equal footing in helping to achieve the objectives that will promote and strengthen global peace and security.

The international situation has not improved during the past year. Conflicts and tensions are spreading. There is an increasing use or threat of use of force, rather than peaceful negotiations, to resolve conflicts. In this, the small and weak countries are particularly vulnerable and at the mercy of the more powerful countries. The obligation to observe strictly the generally accepted principles of international law relating to the maintenance of peace and security is imperative in today's world, riddled with tension and conflict. My delegation, therefore, emphasizes the need to settle international disputes by peaceful means in

(Mr. Dorjee, Bhutan)

accordance with respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, as enshrined in the Charter.

Last year, we met amidst much fanfare welcoming the resumption of negotiations between the two super-Powers. However, the summit meeting, useful as it may otherwise have been, did not produce any specific agreement in the area of arms control. On the contrary, the state of bilateral relations between the two super-Powers today is far from satisfactory. The outcome of the summit meeting in Reykjavik once again belied the expectations of the international community. Bhutan, none the less, hopes that the leaders of the two super-Powers will, in the near future, demonstrate the necessary political will to achieve meaningful results. At the same time, we wish to stress the importance of multilateral negotiations, as arms control and disarmament have global implications. It is only just and proper that issues of international concern be ultimately addressed in the multilateral context. The Conference on Disarmament represents the sole multilateral negotiating body in the field of disarmament. My delegation would like to see this body play a stronger and more effective role, and thus live up to the expectations of the international community.

There is no denying the fact that the primary issue of worldwide concern today is the threat of nuclear annihilation. People all over the world have voiced their concern; this voice, lately, is ringing loud and clear, especially in the developed countries. Yet, despite the universal outcry against it, the nuclear arms race is escalating. What can be done to avert the impending catastrophe? In our opinion, nothing less than total disarmament. Nuclear disarmament, in particular, must be given the highest priority. A comprehensive test ban treaty would be the first step. We strongly urge an end to nuclear testing, and a freeze in the

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development, production, stockpiling and deployment of nuclear weapons, including radiological weapons.

Arms control is in a parlous state, and with today's technological advances, coupled with the unfavourable political climate, the problems of arms control are becoming increasingly complex. The lack of progress in arms control has led to frustration and cynicism. None the less, the delegation of Bhutan believes that arms control must be pursued, no matter what the cost, with determination and patience, if the world is to be saved from a catastrophe. The super-Powers and other militarily significant States have a crucial role to play. In this regard, Bhutan welcomes the recent Stockholm agreement as a step in the right direction. The agreement augurs well for further progress in arms control and disarmament negotiations.

The underlying cause of the continuing and unabated arms race is, in the opinion of my delegation, the sense of insecurity generated by fear, distrust and mounting international tensions. Many countries, in an attempt to seek security, continue to acquire increasingly sophisticated and destructive armaments. Yet, there is no security in that direction. In our opinion, peace and security can be achieved only by building trust and confidence in each other and by strengthening the rule of law in international relations. The principles of inter-State relations enshrined in the Charter must be observed by all States, but particularly by the great Powers.

The international community is challenged by a new concern today: the extension of the arms race to outer space. We believe that outer space should be explored and used only for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind. We have to work resolutely to prevent an arms race in outer space.

(Mr. Dorjee, Bhutan)

Another issue that deserves our careful and serious attention relates to the recent reports concerning the use of chemical weapons. We need to continue our efforts to prevent their use and further development. In this regard, my delegation would like to urge on the Conference on Disarmament the need for the early conclusion of a convention banning the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons and providing for their destruction.

We welcome the successful outcome of the Second Review Conference of the biological weapons Convention held recently in Geneva. The final declaration adopted by consensus reaffirmed the importance and the validity of the Convention.

(Mr. Dorjee, Bhutan)

As a hinterland State of the Indian Ocean region, Bhutan views the heightening of tension in the region with grave concern. We hope that the Ad Hoc Committee will be able to make significant progress in facilitating the convening of the Colombo Conference at an early date.

The level of annual global military spending - over \$800 billion - is quite unimaginable for a least developed country such as Bhutan. Our priority is economic development designed to provide better living standards for our people. We therefore regret to see the diversion of immense resources, both material and human, to unproductive and destructive purposes when millions all around the world could benefit greatly from these expenditures. Resources released as a result of disarmament measures can be utilized for social and economic development purposes by all nations. There is therefore a close relationship between disarmament and development. Like many others, my delegation had looked forward to the Paris International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, which regrettably had to be postponed. We hope the Conference will take place next year.

The United Nations offers the only and best hope for the orderly conduct of international relations and the future of mankind. The Kingdom of Bhutan will continue to respect and abide by the Charter of the United Nations and its goals and objectives in the pursuit and maintenance of international peace, security and development. Our delegation will support all real efforts and practical measures directed towards that end.

Mr. KI (Burkina Faso) (interpretation from French):

"The arms race is one of the greatest tragedies of this second half of the twentieth century. It not only drains energies and enormous resources that could have been used more fruitfully for the development of our nations, but constitutes today one of the most serious threats to mankind."

(A/41/PV.21, p. 92)

(Mr. Ki, Burkina Faso)

With these words the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Burkina Faso highlighted one of the most alarming and dangerous situations in the world today, a situation which, if we are not careful, could nullify, all at once, all the efforts undertaken by the civilized world to improve the living conditions of mankind.

Since the 1920s, the States should have learnt the bitter lessons of the arms race which, in the span of a generation, has given rise to two deadly wars, the root cause of which was the belief in military superiority. To say nothing of the time when the State was above restraint, today, when we are so proud of the wonderful development of international law, such an attitude becomes incomprehensible.

The world's chronic instability and the lack of trust among States could of course bring on such madness, but apart from the fact that over-armament is not the answer, the notion of superiority or of dissuasion through military means is impossible to understand. It seems to us that today, in this nuclear age, the stage of credible deterrence is a thing of the past. Nuclear competition has turned this into an eel, which becomes more slippery the harder you try to catch it. Nuclear competition has gained such momentum of its own that it has lost all connection with the requirements of security.

Since the explosion of the first nuclear bomb in 1945, man has been faced with the great problem of armament and the threat of a nuclear holocaust. The estimate of nuclear warheads deployed throughout the world is now more than 50,000. That represents, it seems, 15 billion tons of TNT or 5,000 times the power deployed during the Second World War. According to the World Health Organization, at the present stage of nuclear armaments, half of the world's population would be automatically involved in the event of a nuclear war, regardless of whether their nations were at war or not.

(Mr. Ki, Burkina Faso)

Now, in 1986, this human madness makes States spend \$1,000 billion for military purposes, which is more than 5 per cent of the world's production and 25 times the official aid for development. These data, well known to all, deserve to be recalled because our world seems to be suffering from amnesia with regard to its own problems.

The present situation, one which we strongly decry, arises, as we have always said, from the past conceptions of an old world. That old society, which has been pregnant for many years with a new society to which it does not want to give birth, is now beginning to feel the signs of life and the birth pangs of a deep inner agitation. The colonialist and imperialist will has been and continues to be the manure that nourishes the affronts and distrust among nations which are important elements at the roots of the arms race.

Our response, as so-called developing countries, to any who offer us only a choice between East and West, has been to determine our own future and to cast into the struggle for the survival of mankind our own force, as a moderating element, a living force, for progress and peace, capable of loosening the rope in the tug-of-war between the super-Powers. I am referring to the establishment of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

If the results of our efforts have been meagre, it is not so much because of the strength of the others as because of our own weaknesses. Nevertheless, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has, we believe, played an extremely positive role with regard to the problems of disarmament and international security, because it is our conviction that its members could, some day, be the innocent and powerless victims of a tragedy whose protagonists would be elsewhere.

The recent summit conference of the non-aligned countries at Harare once again put particular stress on the problem of disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. In the "Harare Appeal on Disarmament", the two super-Powers were called upon:

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"to use [their] best efforts to reduce the prevailing tension and to promote a climate of confidence in the world, in order to facilitate the settlement of major international issues by peaceful means. ...

and

"... to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war."

Despite the conviction on the part of some that we are a voice crying in the wilderness, we believe it is absolutely necessary for the Movement of the Non-Aligned Countries to continue to wage its battle for real disarmament. The climate of trust, which is essential to such an enterprise, however, is still missing.

But in this anxious quest for peace, everyone has something to say, because every single one is involved. The problems of disarmament and collective security cannot be the exclusive preserve of a group of individuals or countries. That is why we welcome all initiatives taken in different parts of the world in this connection.

In this regard, it is a pleasure for us to recall the Delhi Declaration by a group of eminent persons and the Mexico Declaration adopted at Ixtapa on 7 August 1986, whose constructive proposals deserve consideration.

It now remains for the Soviet Union and the United States to heed the appeals that have been issued from various quarters.

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In view of recent events in Reykjavik, the road ahead is still long. But we continue to hope that one day the hesitancy of certain Governments will give way to the demands of peoples throughout the world for speedy measures leading to disarmament.

Africa has always attached the highest importance to the problems of disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament. As early as 1964, the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, in the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa, expressed their readiness to see their continent freed from the threat of the nuclear-arms race. That position was predicated not only on the obvious need to devote our strength and resources to our own development but also on the deeply felt aspirations to make Africa a continent of moral strength and of peace.

But there are now two serious concerns that are casting a shadow of doubt on that option. First, the international climate has deteriorated owing to overt imperialist aggression, which aims at undermining the independence of peoples by declaring that "he who refuses to eat with the West will have to drink with the East". Next, there is the persistence of the abhorrent system of apartheid, whose practitioners have acquired a nuclear capability thanks to underhanded complicity, which is now well known and denounced by all.

To resolve this dilemma and preserve Africa's wish to be a denuclearized zone, two concomitant solutions must be sought. The first is political and implies the dismantling of apartheid, a fundamentally depraved system based on international and external exploitation and violence. The second is juridical and should be inspired by the Treaty of Tlatelolco and impose a legally binding instrument with regard to the denuclearization of Africa.

Of course, the consolidation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Africa should not be an obstacle to the development of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy by

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African countries or groups of countries wishing to do so. The non-proliferation Treaty expressly provides for such a possibility, and Africa should not miss the opportunity to benefit from that technology.

The world's climate today does not give rise to optimism in the field of disarmament. The most sacred principles of the United Nations Charter, which we have always considered as victories of civilization over obscurantism, or victories of a united world over narrow concepts of nationalism, are increasingly being called openly into question.

In such circumstances, how can we not consider the various meetings and conferences held every year on disarmament as a mere rite which to us amounts to ritual masses to exorcise the demons of fear?

The tenth special session led us all to hope for the world's becoming responsible and resolutely committed to embark on effective general and complete disarmament. However, there has thus far been no appreciable progress either during the second special session devoted to disarmament or at the numerous meetings of the Conference on Disarmament.

Nevertheless, it has not been for lack of trying. For several years now attempts to convene a third world conference on disarmament have foundered on a sea of contradictory opinions. Again this year the Ad Hoc Committee's report offers no prospects for optimism. The arguments put forward by those who think that the moment is not propitious for such a conference are not convincing to my delegation.

With regard to the important problem of the cessation of nuclear tests, the Conference has not been able to take a decision on setting up an ad hoc committee on banning nuclear tests, let alone on a study for a treaty on a total ban of such tests. Burkina Faso believes that it is urgent to negotiate and conclude a general multilateral treaty in the subject. In this connection, we welcome with satisfaction the unilateral moratorium of the Soviet Union, and we hope that the

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United States and the other nuclear Powers will follow that example, as a temporary measure leading to a complete and general nuclear-test ban.

My delegation cannot fail to express its deep concern over the fact that outer space could, in a matter of years, become an aspect of the arms race. The major Powers bear a major responsibility in this area. We strongly urge them to conform to the will of the overwhelming majority to make outer space the common heritage of mankind to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

The creation of nuclear-free zones is an important aspect of the policy of non-proliferation. On condition they are created as the result of freely-arrived at agreements, such zones can become a significant factor for peace and co-operation.

Burkina Faso supports and encourages efforts in that direction in the Middle East, Latin America, South-East Asia and the Indian Ocean.

Lastly, we regret that the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, which was to be held in Paris in July 1986, could not take place - not that we expected spectacular decisions but simply because it would have allowed us to focus on one of the most pernicious State practices: devoting enormous sums to armaments when human beings are dying of hunger.

Despite our disappointment at the lack of progress, we nevertheless continue to harbour hope for the future. We are firmly convinced that disarmament today is an irreversible imperative. Memories of things past have not yet blurred and the peoples do not wish to repeat the mistakes recorded in history. It is our duty, the duty of all peace-loving nations, to ensure that mankind will not again know the horrors of war.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to inform the Committee that the following delegations are inscribed on the list of speakers for tomorrow morning's meeting: Argentina, the Netherlands, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Pakistan, Cyprus and France.

The meeting rose at 4.20 p.m.