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Chairman: Mr. BAGBENI ADRITO NZENGEYA (Chairman) (Zaire)

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ORGANIZATION OF WORK

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

AGENDA ITEMS 48 TO 69 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS

Mr. AL-SHAALI (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): At the outset, Sir, I wish to congratulate you on your election to the chairmanship of this Committee. I am confident that you will be able to guide our important deliberations with your well-known skill and experience. I should also like to congratulate the other officers of the Committee.

Disarmament is closely and directly linked not only to the nature of the life that we lead as one international family but also to the very survival of the human race on the face of the earth. Therefore men of politics and men of intellect in the world have attached great importance to this subject for more than 90 years - or, in more precise terms, since the first conference at The Hague, in August 1898. To reaffirm the importance of that subject, President Franklin Roosevelt, in the introduction to his book on the development of United States foreign policy, spoke of the fourth freedom and defined it as:

"the reduction of arms on a scale that would encompass the entire world and in a manner that would not leave one nation in a position that allowed it to launch an act of aggression against any of its neighbours in any part of the world".

This theory is based on the assumption that military resources in the hands of one country make war not just a practical possibility but a political probability; that is, that military power provides the temptation to use that power, and using that power usually means aggression.

Despite the fact that the League of Nations, followed by the United Nations, included disarmament among its priorities as one of the pre-eminent requisites for the establishment of peace and security in the world, the international community

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United  
Arab Emirates)

has so far failed to achieve real progress in this field. On the contrary, military allocations have been increasing significantly and steadily since the end of the Second World War, so that last year the budget was over \$900 billion, not to mention the extraordinary qualitative development of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons and devastating electronic weapons, which are now invading outer space.

This frenzied arms race, in which the two super-Powers play the major part, gives us cause for concern, as it does all advocates of peace and the world public. A referendum held in eight Western States in May 1984 revealed that the most important concern of 36 per cent of the participants was the fear of war, especially nuclear war, as can be seen from the Year Book of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute for 1986.

If the arms race indicates anything it is first and foremost that the two super-Powers have fears and misgivings and that there is a grave difference in the perception of each of those two giants of strategic interests and the nature of the cosmos and society. It also reflects our failure as one international family, to find a solution to our regional disputes and so to order and arrange our priorities that the values of justice, freedom, equality and peace head the list.

In other words, and according to the statement of the philosopher Salvador de Madariaga, the problem is one not of disarmament but of reorganizing the international community. The primary prerequisite for that reorganization is that the two super-Powers find points of agreement. In other words, disarmament is not going to take place in a vacuum. Disarmament requires an international climate of stability, and stability cannot be achieved without the application of the principles of international law as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Among these is the principle of peace based on justice, not on power. This

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United  
Arab Emirates)

requires the expansion of the circle of understanding so that it includes, in addition to the East and the West, other areas of the world, especially those in which wars and regional conflicts keep erupting, notably the Middle East, South Africa and Central America. The expansion of this circle of understanding is contingent upon the settlement of those disputes on the basis of international resolutions, foremost among which are those of the General Assembly and the Security Council, because the international system is interlinked and what happens in one area definitely affects what happens in others, as well as the overall system. The United Nations Charter reaffirms this, defines the constitution enshrining the principles governing relations between States and provides for understanding and co-operation between peoples and nations.

In line with this, my country has supported the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East ever since the General Assembly first started discussing this item, at its twenty-ninth session. My country also supports the establishment of similar zones in Latin America, Africa and South-East Asia.

We attach great importance to the question of the provision of the necessary safeguards to deter nuclear States from using or threatening to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States. In this respect, we must reaffirm once again that Israel, in co-operation with the racist South African Government, has developed between 100 and 200 nuclear bombs of varying degrees of destructive power.

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United Arab Emirates)

So far Israel has refused to subject its nuclear installations to international control. It thus contravenes the resolutions of the General Assembly and the decisions of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Avoiding embarrassment and persisting in their stubbornness, Israeli representatives did not attend the thirty-first session of the International Atomic Energy Agency convened in Vienna on 24 and 25 September this year. We need not recall the dangers inherent in Israel's introduction of nuclear weapons into the Middle East. Israel is the aggressor country in the region, and it trades in death in an alliance with internationally ostracized States, in particular, the apartheid régime of South Africa. Israel has adopted the policy of expansionism as a philosophical doctrine and as a daily practice. We saw this danger in 1973, when Israel was ready to use its nuclear weapons. We cannot rule out such activity in the future, if an extremist military group having its roots in religious apartheid is willing to use such weapons at the expense of another people.

A number of developing States have been compelled to arm themselves for reasons of self-defence. We perceive a direct link between disarmament and development. It is evident that the process of arming and equipping a country militarily means that there are insufficient resources for economic development. Armament also hampers international trade and commerce and increases balance-of-payment deficits and the indebtedness of developing countries. This, in turn, greatly disturbs the international economic system and sets up additional obstacles in the field of co-operation between the developed and developing nations, particularly as regards financial and technological assistance. In recognition of the close link between disarmament and development, the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development met at Headquarters between 24 August and 11 September 1987. It affirmed that the questions of disarmament, development and security form a triad that is the basis

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United Arab Emirates)

of international peace. The Conference also affirmed the importance of the adoption of measures to reduce military expenditure as an effective way of allocating additional resources to economic and social development, especially in developing countries. Therefore, we can certainly say that disarmament and development are linked with peace.

In this respect, we must raise another important point: the militarization of developing countries, which is a direct consequence of the militarization of developed countries, which are anxious to find markets for their military products. Unless the major Powers, especially the two super-Powers, have the necessary political will and sincerely desire to solve regional disputes, peace will remain far off, and the spectre of war will remain with us. World security is collective by nature: it is foolish to assume that the security of one State can be safeguarded at the expense of another, or that one people can be protected at another's expense. We welcome the recent provisional agreement between the two super-Powers, and we believe that it must be followed by other steps - indeed, by other leaps - towards establishing the psychological and political climate that will at last permit us to achieve disarmament. That will not be possible until we are guided by the United Nations Charter and implement its principles. Realizing that the attainment of the goals of the Charter is the reason this Organization was established, we must find a political way to make our world suitable for human life on the basis of freedom, justice and peace.

Mr. MASHHADI (Islamic Republic of Iran): Sir, I should like to take this opportunity to associate myself with others in expressing our congratulations to you on your meritorious election as Chairman of the First Committee. My congratulations also go to the members of the Bureau, who have successfully been carrying out their weighty responsibility.

(Mr. Mashhadi, Islamic Republic  
of Iran)

The Islamic Republic of Iran attaches great significance to disarmament and follows its developments at the international level with great interest. Being a victim of the violation of international law and regulations, my country wishes to see strict adherence to existing international law pertaining to disarmament and weapons of mass destruction.

For the first time in the history of mankind, a populated city has been attacked with chemical weapons. The name of Sardasht will be recorded in encyclopaedia and history books alongside Hiroshima and Nagasaki as evidence of shame on human civilization. On 28 June 1987, the Iranian north-eastern city of Sardasht, having a population of 12,000, was poisoned by 20 chemical rockets fired at four different locations in the city. About 3,000 innocent civilians were affected, 96 of whom died instantly. The number of casualties grew gradually as the wounded died one by one in Iranian and European hospitals.

The first deployment of chemical weapons dates back to 13 January 1981, in which poisonous gases were used against Iranian troops. This was in fact a litmus test of how the international community and organizations would react to this flagrant violation of the 1925 Geneva Protocol. The reaction gave carte blanche to Iraq not only to repeat the use of chemical weapons but also to intensify and diversify its use. The attacks, therefore, started on Iranian troop concentrations and expanded to civilian and then to populated cities, and even now to quarters of the Iraqi people themselves in Kurdish populated regions.

It is unfortunate that the inaction on the part of the United Nations emboldened the Iraqi régime repeatedly to expand the use of chemical weapons in full disregard of internationally recognized norms of law. The United Nations report of 8 May 1987 called for concerted efforts at the political level to check the repetition of chemical attacks. Not only has no measure been taken so far to

(Mr. Mashhadi, Islamic Republic  
of Iran)

this end, but also we see that certain countries are bringing their own political considerations into the matter and linking the Geneva Protocol of 1925 to other issues, such as the war itself.



(Mr. Mashhadi, Islamic Republic  
of Iran)

The Geneva Protocol was written to prevent the use of chemical weapons during war. Otherwise, during times of peace, no country uses chemical weapons against another. We hereby appeal to the human conscience and the international community to treat this issue as it deserves and not politicize it. Chemical weapons are easy and cheap to produce and do not require sophisticated technology. Therefore, if a precedent is set today by indifference to use of such lethal weapons, tomorrow nobody will be able to check their deployment in other parts of the world. Human dignity is too valuable to be gambled with. I would like to remind the Committee that three days before the commencement of the general deliberations in the First Committee, the Iraqis again resorted to the use of chemical weapons on a large scale against the western Iranian town of Sumar. The report of this attack was accordingly sent to the Secretary-General.

Some encouraging signs are coming from the Conference on Disarmament. The Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons, led by Ambassador Ekeus of Sweden, has registered substantial progress, which deserves thanks and appreciation. As the Swedish representative in her early intervention said,

"There are no insurmountable political obstacles to a chemical weapons convention". (A/C.1/42/PV.3, p. 5)

Yet we believe that the United Nations should, by a resolution, call for the strict adherence of all Member States to the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and strong measures against its violation. These measures are particularly important and, until the new convention on chemical weapons comes into force, there should be an effective instrument discouraging the use of chemical weapons. We also believe that the 1925 Protocol can be effective if it receives the unequivocal support of the international community as well as individual States. This endorsement of the Protocol can come in various ways, such as co-operation by States with the Secretary-General in his efforts to investigate the reported violations of the

(Mr. Mashhadi, Islamic Republic  
of Iran)

Protocol and to adopt appropriate measures against the violator. To serve this purpose, the First Committee should need this vital issue by adopting an appropriate resolution. We also hope that other obstacles to a convention, such as challenged inspection, immediate inspection and other political, technical and legal problems will be removed soon. Also measures should be taken to obtain the broadest scope for the convention.

The Conference on Disarmament, unfortunately, did not register any noticeable progress in other areas except chemical weapons. The Conference failed to reach consensus on proposals for a draft mandate of an ad hoc committee to carry out multilateral negotiation of a treaty on the complete cessation of nuclear-test explosion, despite an appeal from the General Assembly that such a committee be established in 1987. Nuclear explosions contaminate the environment and cause the early death of hundreds of thousands of people. Continuation of nuclear testing is aimed at improving nuclear weapons qualitatively and therefore intensifying the arms race and endangering international peace and security. In endangering the human environment, nuclear explosions and their impact on the world's climatic equilibrium, manifested in earthquakes, typhoons and other atmospheric changes, should be underlined and questioned.

We are of the opinion that a complete and immediate cessation of nuclear test explosions is a first step towards complete disarmament and we call upon all nuclear-weapon States to arrive at a binding agreement as early as possible, since today there are enough means of verification through global seismic centres.

Outer space, which is the common heritage of mankind, is, unfortunately, turning into a strategic theatre for super-Power rivalry, against all the existing commitments. We believe that the increasing use of satellites, most of which are used for military purposes, needs special attention from the Committee. The use of spy satellites against countries which do not share the arms control agreements is

(Mr. Mashhadi, Islamic Republic  
of Iran)

unlawful and must be immediately stopped. Such unlawful use of outer space would affect the security interests and rights of the non-aligned and neutral nations. This is a violation of human rights if nobody is immune from unwelcome eyes, even in his home and in his privacy. The spy satellites are also used to intervene in the internal affairs of sovereign States and to trample upon the rights of nations. The United States, as admitted by American officials, trampled upon its neutrality in the war and tilted towards Iraq by providing satellite information concerning Iranian military moves and even economic and industrial targets. This is a clear warning to humanity that, when technology is in the hands of those having no respect for other nations, a new front is opened against the lofty values of humanity. The Islamic Republic of Iran believes that a comprehensive ban on space weapons and promotion of outer space activities exclusively for peaceful purposes and without violating the sovereignty of independent States should be given top priority in deliberations of United Nations bodies, especially in the Conference on Disarmament.

One of the ways of arresting the nuclear arms race is through regional arrangements. In this regard, establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world plays an important role. The Islamic Republic of Iran supports the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in Latin America, Africa, South Asia, the South Pacific and the Middle East. We sponsored the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East in 1972 and we are happy to see that it has gained much support among the nations of the region. We express our strong support for and commitment to this project and join others in this initiative, since its implementation is of paramount importance to a sensitive region such as the Middle East.

(Mr. Mashhadi, Islamic Republic  
of Iran)

Unfortunately, the Zionist régime has become an obstacle to the materialization of this plan. That régime has rejected acceptance of the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency and has not so far acceded to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The international community should mount pressure through the United Nations on that régime to make it abide by the overall wish of the peoples of the region.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): The representative of Israel wishes to speak on a point of order.

Mr. ZIPPORI (Israel): I requested the floor before the representative of Iran finished his comments. I merely wish to protest the use of the term "Zionist régime" for the State of Israel. Not that we are in any way ashamed of being called Zionist - in fact we are proud of it, as it is a sign of honour - but we believe that the practice in the United Nations, a practice we should all be very careful to follow, is to call countries by the names by which they are known - Israel, Iran and so on - and not to use other names, whether to convey opprobrium or praise. Mr. Chairman, I hope that in future you will call to order any representative who does not use the name of the country in referring to another country and request him to follow the normal procedure.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I should merely like to remind all delegations to use the official name recognized by the United Nations and as it appears in United Nations documents.

Mr. MASRI (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): I take this occasion to express the congratulations of my delegation and my personal congratulations to you, Sir, on your election to the chairmanship of this significant Committee. We are confident that your broad knowledge of our work will ensure its success.

Fortunately the deliberations on the matters relating to disarmament are taking place at a time when optimism prevails in the international community as a result of the agreement in principle concluded between the Soviet Union and the United States of America to eliminate intermediate-range nuclear missiles. Perhaps the significance of this agreement lies in the fact that it is the first of its kind in eliminating a certain class of nuclear weapons. Moreover, it represents a major step on the path towards general and complete disarmament and the creation of a world free of nuclear weapons.

The conclusion of such an agreement augurs well and is a conscious choice to the benefit of mankind in a very sensitive and dangerous field. The question of nuclear disarmament is closely linked with the question of international peace and comprehensive security. In other words, we can say that the achievement of peace necessarily means the creation of a world free of nuclear weapons.

Linkage between the two concepts should constitute a solid basis for contemporary peaceful thinking, the international aspiration towards peace and security which in fact expresses mankind's desire to live a natural life, free from all forms of nuclear threat. This desire has also become an expression of man's determination to survive and the need to provide for a better future for coming generations as long as nuclear armaments with all their attendant destructive dangers persist, contrary to peace.

(Mr. Maeri, Syrian  
Arab Republic)

Thus we cannot talk about real peace until we get rid, one and for all, of nuclear weapons. This necessarily proves the invalidity of the doctrine of nuclear deterrence, a doctrine which, per se, constitutes the reality of terror that faces man and threatens his existence and that of succeeding generations.

President Hafez Al-Asad of the Syrian Arab Republic, in his message before the conference held in September this year at Pyongyang, North Korea, under the slogan of "Nuclear disarmament, peace and solidarity in the face of imperialism in the regions of Asia and the Pacific", stated:

"Nuclear disarmament has attracted wider world attention. It is a question that is closely linked with the question of peace because nuclear disarmament is at the top of the priorities to achieve peace in the world."

The agreement on the elimination of medium-range nuclear missiles should pave the way for further radical change to get rid of strategic nuclear weapons and towards participating effectively in the protection of outer space from the arms race and its preservation exclusively for peaceful purposes to the benefit of all mankind.

The question of the prohibition of the militarization of outer space is a very important and crucial one. The international community has on more than one occasion expressed its strong opposition to the Star Wars programme and the transfer of the arms race to outer space. This programme, which presents a continued dire threat to peace and the interests of mankind, is aggravated by Israel's participation in it as a distinct strategic ally of the United States of America. This collaboration is increasingly active in the schemes of this programme, which of course provides Israel with the possibility of acquiring modern technology related to the use of nuclear weapons. This enhances Israel's nuclear military capability and its expansionist settler policies in the Palestinian

(Mr. Masri, Syrian  
Arab Republic)

territories as well as in all the other occupied Arab territories. It increases the nuclear capability of the settler régimes of Tel Aviv and Pretoria and promotes the close collaboration between them in the field of the exchange of military and nuclear experience and development, thereby threatening the peoples of the African continent and the Middle East, as well as international peace and security.

The path towards the creation of a world free of nuclear weapons necessarily requires parallel and effective action to achieve basic aims that must be realized in order to attain the ultimate goal, which is, first and foremost, strict commitment by the nuclear-weapon States to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Failure to observe this principle on the part of some Western nuclear-weapon States enabled the Pretoria and Tel Aviv régimes to acquire nuclear military capability and to develop it in a way that threatens international peace and security. The exacerbation of the phenomenon of the proliferation of nuclear weapons is a matter that merits the concern of the international community and makes it incumbent upon that community to take international effective measures as quickly as possible to enhance the security of the non-nuclear-weapon States, including taking international legal and political measures that provide safeguards to these countries and protect them against the use or threat of nuclear weapons.

(Mr. Masri, Syrian  
Arab Republic)

Those measures should be included in a legally binding international instrument, and the utmost priority should be given to that question. Undoubtedly, the achievement of those safeguards would greatly contribute to the maintenance of peace, enhance the security of countries and reduce the risk of the use of nuclear weapons.

The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and their extension to all parts of the world, as well as international safeguards, and now urgently needed in order to help reduce the danger of nuclear confrontation and the stockpiles of nuclear weapons in the world. Accordingly, the Syrian Arab Republic has fully supported the creation of such zones and called for the accelerated transformation of the Mediterranean, the Middle East, Africa and other regions into nuclear-weapon-free zones; it has also called for appropriate international steps, including a nuclear-weapon ban, and the application of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria and Tel Aviv régimes to compel them to subject their nuclear installations to the international safeguards system in implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the most recent of those resolutions being the one adopted by its General Conference in September 1987 at Vienna. That resolution calls upon Israel to subject its nuclear installations to the international safeguards régime.

The Syrian Arab Republic, in addition to welcoming the constructive initiatives taken by the Soviet Union in the field of disarmament, hails its proposal to create a nuclear-weapon-free zone in northern Europe and transform the north polar region into one of peace and co-operation.

The question of general and complete disarmament relating to all nuclear explosions is especially important for curbing the nuclear-arms race and protecting man and his environment. In this connection, the conclusion of a treaty by which



(Mr. Masri, Syrian  
Arab Republic)

all countries would scrupulously abide has become an urgent necessity. We should take serious action to accelerate the conclusion of such a treaty as soon as possible.

Another important question is the prohibition of the use, production and stockpiling of chemical and biological weapons. This is a very sensitive and dangerous matter requiring the acceleration of efforts to achieve a complete ban on those lethal weapons and the preparation and conclusion of appropriate international instruments.

The items on disarmament now constitute one of the most pressing questions, since the whole world has been turned into a huge arsenal of weapons of mass destruction. Today's world, which now has the capability of providing a better life for mankind through great technological progress, has at the same time acquired the means to end life on Earth.

Undoubtedly, the realization of significant accomplishments on the path towards disarmament provides a climate conducive to the development, progress and prosperity of all the peoples of the world.

Today disarmament and development are the major challenges facing the international community. The world will either persist in wasting its wealth on manufacturing and stockpiling means of destruction and death - while millions of persons are deprived of their fundamental rights to food and life - or use its resources to promote development and construction. Thus, the Syrian Arab Republic welcomed the convening of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development. We believe that the results achieved by that Conference are a very encouraging contribution to the work of attaining the goals to which all peoples of the world aspire, and of creating a better world in which peace, justice and prosperity prevail.

Mr. ST.-PHARD (Haiti) (interpretation from French): My delegation, speaking for the first time, would like to take the opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to this most responsible post in our Organization. This is also an honour paid to Zaire, a major country of the African continent, of which the Republic of Haiti is also in great part a product. Your human and diplomatic qualities will ensure the success of the First Committee's work.

My delegation also wishes to express its keen appreciation to your predecessor for a job well done. I trust that the other officers of the Committee elected with you will accept our congratulations extended to each of them on their respective elections, which also do honour to their countries.

My delegation welcomes with satisfaction and relief the continued efforts of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in their stepped-up quest for a treaty on intermediate nuclear forces. Their agreement in principle last month, subsequently reinforced in Moscow, represents a historic stage in the crusade being waged by the salutary forces of mankind for the triumph of peace and the more easily attainable goal of the expansion of nuclear-weapon-free zones. "The heart [of man] ... who can know it?" the Prophet Jeremiah asks, and my delegation is particularly sensitive to the proposals made by the sister delegations of Japan and Norway with regard to the problems of verification. Those proposals expand the prospects for the implementation of an effective verification system.

The Government of Haiti welcomes in particular the outstanding efforts being made by the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, and his immediate assistants, in particular the Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs and the outstanding group at the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research - all of whom work closely both on new initiatives and on the follow-up or strengthening of other activities which are less new but which the Secretariat is inspiring with new energy for general and complete disarmament.

(Mr. St.-Phard, Haiti)

The Government of Haiti fully supports steps to promote a substantive reduction of strategic nuclear weapons and a total ban on biological and chemical weapons and it also hopes to see a slowdown - if not a total cessation - of the conventional arms race.

In conclusion, allow me to renew our conviction that - as is attested to by the Final Document adopted by the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, which took place from 24 August to 11 September 1987 - the likely transfer of the human, scientific, technical and economic resources involved will not only have the positive virtue of giving an impetus to the crusade for development but will also satisfy the security needs of all States in the context of an international community which will finally have discovered, at a global level, the wholesome virtues of genuine co-operation, universal brotherhood and the inevitable common destiny of our planet.

"If everyone throughout the world could truly be pals", as the song and the film of the same title says, then what would be the purpose of this insane arms race which is so costly:

(spoke in English)

"Crash or not crash Monday of this week?"

(continued in French)

It runs so counter to the Descartes criteria of reason - we are still enjoying the fruits of the Cartesian heritage - and so contrary to the criteria of reason and genuine security whether the proponents of the doctrine of deterrence like it or not. To the latter we say with all the required fervour: si vis pacem, non para bellum, sed para pacem - if you want peace, do not prepare for war, but rather prepare for peace.

Mr. ABDUL LATIF (Brunei Darussalam): We have noted that at the last session of the General Assembly, the First Committee adopted a number of proposals dealing with various questions of arms limitation, disarmament and international security. Despite the complexity of several issues, the Committee made every effort to carry out the task in a constructive and flexible manner and in a spirit of compromise. As a result a number of resolutions on important subjects were adopted by consensus. With this in mind, I should like to pay a tribute to the previous Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Zachmann of the German Democratic Republic, for a job well done.

The issue of nuclear disarmament continues to be a source of great concern to the international community. All nations, large and small, developed and developing, would be affected by the consequences of a nuclear conflagration. We all know that nuclear weapons are capable of wiping out every human being in the world. Therefore, the fate of this planet Earth depends on the positive efforts of all nations, particularly the nuclear-weapon States, towards reducing and eventually eliminating nuclear weapons in order that our future and that of succeeding generations may be assured.

To save humanity from a nuclear holocaust there is no option but disarmament. Brunei Darussalam supports constructive, practical and effective proposals or initiatives aimed at disarmament, especially the cessation of both the nuclear and the conventional arms race and the realization of the ultimate goal of complete disarmament. My delegation shares with the majority of delegations present here concern over the absence of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty and the possible spread of nuclear weapons to outer space.

Like everyone here, my delegation is happy to note the encouraging development in the international situation in the field of disarmament. We welcome the recent significant agreement in principle between the two super-Powers to conclude a

(Mr. Abdul Latif, Brunei Darussalam)

treaty on the global elimination of intermediate-range nuclear forces. This new and encouraging development clearly shows that, given political will, disarmament measures can become a reality. We hope that it signals the beginning of progressive development conducive to the easing of international tension and will generate a wide-ranging agreement that could lead to meaningful nuclear disarmament.

Brunei Darussalam also shares with its fellow members in the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) similar views and positions on disarmament issues as expressed in the joint communiqué of the twentieth ASEAN ministerial meeting held in Singapore on 15 and 16 June 1987.

The foreign ministers appeal to all countries, particularly the major Powers, to demonstrate political will and to engage in genuine dialogue and negotiations towards the removal and destruction of nuclear and chemical weapons. To this end, the major Powers should take into account the security concerns of all States and not merely their own global strategic interests."

In this connection our delegation also believes that the establishment of a zone of peace in various parts of the globe would serve as an important step towards limiting the proliferation of nuclear arms and strengthening the fabric of regional co-operation. Brunei Darussalam joins its fellow members of ASEAN in striving for an early realization of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia. Therefore, it is our hope that aspiration of ASEAN to create a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia will be supported by the world community, particularly the major Powers and all our neighbours.

We have followed with great interest the statements made by delegations before us. We share the sentiment that rearmament can only be destructive. We therefore welcome statements that call for general disarmament by nations and we hope all nations will subscribe to the international effort to rid our world of nuclear weapons in order to save the Earth from the gravest perils of destruction.

(Mr. Abdul Latif, Brunei Darussalam)

My delegation hopes that the two super-Powers will continue to work towards the achievement of beneficial conclusions on all the disarmament topics under negotiation and to provide leadership by example to all other countries that have the capability to develop nuclear weapons.

Mr. NIYUNGEKO (Burundi) (interpretation from French): First, I wish to congratulate you, Sir, upon your election as Chairman of this important Committee. We were pleased at the choice made by the General Assembly in electing you because in so doing it has paid a tribute to your eminent qualities as a diplomat, to your experience in international affairs, and to your devotion to the ideals of peace and co-operation among peoples. Thanks to your dynamism and determination, the First Committee will we are sure carry out the role assigned to it with success. It is an honour done to Africa, to Zaire, your country, a neighbour of my country, with which we have ties of history and geography; we share the same aspirations to peace and security, and our two countries maintain excellent relations. You may rest assured, therefore, Sir, that you have the support of my delegation.

(Mr. Niyungeko, Burundi)

Similarly, we wish to extend our sincere congratulations to the other officers of the Committee. And we wish Mr. Yasushi Akashi, Under-Secretary-General at the Department of Disarmament Affairs, every success in his new functions.

One of the main duties of the Member States of the United Nations is to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The future of the world depends therefore on the political will of each State to contribute to international peace and security, without which we cannot grapple with such crucial problems as hunger, malnutrition, poverty, illiteracy, disease and other evils that are also threats to the peace and security of peoples.

Mankind should not have a short memory. The atrocities caused by the First and Second World Wars and the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki should serve as a lesson to us and encourage us to act wisely and embark on negotiations leading to the conclusion of treaties on the elimination of all weapons, whether nuclear or conventional.

Since we know that in a nuclear war there will be neither winners nor losers, why should we devote so many material and financial resources to the production, development and deployment of these weapons of mass destruction? Some have said that the nuclear weapon has created a certain balance in the world, but we beg to differ. What sort of balance is it that is based on threat, terror and fear? What sort of balance is it if this weapon can escape all control, even in peacetime? What would happen in the case of human error or technical breakdown? It would be a catastrophe, pure and simple, collective suicide, the end of human civilization. Can we assess our moral responsibility towards those who might by chance survive that nuclear catastrophe?

My country would like all States with nuclear technology to use it solely for peaceful purposes. It was in this sense that it welcomed the resolutions of the

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first special session devoted to disarmament, in 1978, which enshrined the principle of destroying all nuclear weapons, halting their production, and establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones. We understand that the process will be long, but it is necessary to persevere and show courage.

My delegation welcomes the agreement in principle concluded between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the elimination of intermediate- and short-range missiles. This is a historic decision and we hope that now that this step has been taken the two super-Powers, which have a special responsibility in the maintenance of international peace and security, will spare no effort to advance towards general and complete disarmament. We are not unaware that this agreement focuses on only a minimal amount of the nuclear arsenals, but victory should arise out of dialogue and concerted action. We have also noted that this agreement concerns Europe mainly, but other continents will also benefit from it.

We fervently hope that this agreement in principle will become a fact this year and that other initiatives will be undertaken so that nuclear disarmament may become a reality. A glimmer of hope has thus appeared and we realize that conflicts, no matter what their cause, whether ideological or political, can be resolved through negotiation, dialogue and concerted action. New relations based on peaceful coexistence and co-operation can be discerned on the horizon. We firmly hope that the meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev, which is planned to take place before the end of the year, will enable the agreement reached by the two Governments to be signed.

Nuclear-weapon tests should be halted because they fuel the arms race and lead to the development of this weapon of mass destruction. When in 1963 the partial test-ban Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water was concluded, the international community welcomed it. Unfortunately,



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underground nuclear testing continues. We propose that these tests be banned and that a treaty prohibiting nuclear tests for the purpose of mass destruction be concluded. This agreement would confirm that there was the genuine will to make progress towards total nuclear disarmament.

The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones contributes effectively to the maintenance of international peace and security. Developing countries, aware of their problems, reacted promptly in favour of the creation of these zones. Thus, in 1964, the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa was adopted by States members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and called on all States to regard the continent as free from nuclear weapons. We regret and deplore the fact that South Africa does not respect this Declaration and refuses to submit its nuclear facilities to the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

The nuclear capability of South Africa constitutes a serious threat to the continent. That country is waging a war within its own borders. It commits acts of aggression against neighbouring countries and obliges them to channel enormous resources to defence instead of using them for development. It illegally occupies an international Territory, Namibia, and it uses its nuclear capability as an instrument of blackmail and intimidation. It is the duty of the international community, the Security Council in particular, to demand that South Africa respect the provisions of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa and the United Nations resolutions in this connection.

Chemical weapons are still very dangerous weapons of mass destruction. My delegation was pleased to learn that a draft convention on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons, is in the process of being completed.

(Mr. Niyungeko, Burundi)

The progress accomplished in this sector by the Conference on Disarmament is significant and we are convinced that the difficulties that still remain will soon be overcome. The readiness to accept verification shown by the Soviet Union is most encouraging. My delegation indeed appreciates the invitation that the USSR addressed to members of the Conference on Disarmament to visit a chemical-weapons facility in Shikhany. We hope that this transparency will continue. Similarly, we welcome the initiative of the United States in inviting the Soviet Union to visit the chemical-weapons destruction facilities in Tooele, Utah.

Since 1945 the world has witnessed more than 150 armed conflicts. Besides the loss in human life and the suffering inflicted on peoples, the belligerents have destroyed economic infrastructure to the value of several billion dollars, thereby depriving the whole of mankind of the assets of its development. This means that conventional weapons that spread death, terror and desolation must also undergo the same reduction process, and the sooner the better.

My country, Burundi, loyal to the ideals of the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, does not and will not spare any effort to maintain a climate of peace and security in its region.

(Mr. Niyungeko, Burundi)

It is nevertheless aware that as long as there exists an unfair and unjust world economic system in which stronger States indulge in the pillaging of the resources of the weaker States, a climate of instability will persist and could engender crisis situations. Clearly, the democratization of international and inter-State relations would prevent frustration and irritation and thus contribute to peace and security.

The holding of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development from 24 August to 11 September 1987 highlighted the close relationship between disarmament and development and strengthened our conviction in this regard. My delegation hopes that, despite its meagre success and shortcomings, the Final Document that was adopted will generate positive effects.

We hope that the convening in 1988 of the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament will enable us to disarm in order that we may develop: we need development more than we need weapons.

We understand the complexity of the stakes involved, but given the danger posed by the arms race and its economic and social consequences, is it not better to be courageous and show the necessary political will to overcome difficulties and create a new society based on friendship, solidarity, co-operation, justice and peace?

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

I draw the Committee's attention to the following decision of the General Assembly:

(The Chairman)

"Delegations should exercise their right of reply at the end of the day whenever two meetings have been scheduled for that same day and whenever such meetings are devoted to the consideration of the same item.

"The number of interventions in the exercise of the right to reply for any delegation at a given meeting should be limited to two per item.

"The first intervention in the exercise of the right of reply for any delegation on any item at a given meeting should be limited to 10 minutes and the second intervention should be limited to 5 minutes." (decision 34/401, paras. 8-10)

Mr. ZIPPORI (Israel): In the course of this debate we have heard many eloquent appeals to refrain from raising divisive, controversial items and to concentrate on achieving consensus. The vast majority of participants have acted in accord with that wish. Unfortunately, a number of representatives have seen fit to use this Committee as a forum for demagogic charges against Israel with regard to Israel's nuclear development.

An example of this was the statement of the representative of the United Arab Emirates today that Israel's so-called non-attendance at the meeting of the thirty-first session of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in Vienna was due to some sinister reason. Israel did not attend two days of that session because it fell on Rosh Hashanah, our highest holiday, and we had informed the President of the IAEA that we would not be attending on those days and requested that the items with which we were concerned be discussed at a different time. Unfortunately the timetable could not be so adjusted, so we were not present. There was nothing sinister in this, and it is pure demagoguery to raise it at this session, here.

There have also been charges against Israel with regard to its nuclear development. My delegation will return to this issue at length later.

(Mr. Zippori, Israel)

They have also repeatedly raised the old and worn out accusation of collaboration in the nuclear field between Israel and South Africa. The Government of Israel has on many occasions proclaimed, and has officially informed the Secretary-General of, its total condemnation of apartheid and stated that it is not co-operating with South Africa in the nuclear field.

My colleague Ambassador Meir Joffe, in a statement in the General Assembly this year, dealt with this issue and said, inter alia:

"Israel is repeatedly singled out and condemned for alleged nuclear collaboration with South Africa. My Government has categorically rejected this allegation."

What does the United Nations have to say on this subject? In his report, in document A/36/431 of 1981 the Secretary-General declared:

"With regard to the question of a possible nuclear collaboration between Israel and South Africa ... until specific examples of actual nuclear exchanges or transactions could be cited as clear evidence of such co-operation, the whole question remained in a state of uncertainty."

(A/36/431, para. 13).

That was in 1981. What has happened since then? on 15 May 1986 the United Nations distributed a report by a team of experts from Nigeria, Sweden, the USSR, Venezuela and France, who investigated South Africa's nuclear-weapon capability. The 44-page document was presented at the United Nations Conference on Sanctions Against South Africa held in Paris in June 1986. It is the most comprehensive report ever issued by the United Nations on this subject. Certain countries are mentioned in the context of nuclear collaboration with South Africa. Israel is not among them. I repeat, Israel is not mentioned in this report. The false allegation of nuclear collaboration between Israel and South Africa, as well as

(Mr. Zippori, Israel)

repetitive Arab claims that significant economic and military links exist between Israel and South Africa, are nothing more than an empty political campaign to discredit Israel in the eyes of black Africa. The continual repetition of an untruth does not make it true.

Mr. MASHHADI (Islamic Republic of Iran): I am speaking simply to answer the allegations made this morning against my country on the use of chemical weapons. Since 1981, as I mentioned in my statement, my country has been subject to deployment of chemical weapons on an unprecedented scale, and that is an axiomatic fact needing no proof.

Against this background the Islamic Republic of Iran has never resorted to retaliatory measures, although reciprocity is not forbidden by the Geneva Protocol of 1925. But here, for certain reasons known to my delegation, the Israeli delegation has sought to exonerate those who use chemical weapons and to blame us as users of them. This is a new policy now being pursued by some others.

To substantiate my claim, I should like to draw the attention of representatives to excerpts from the report of the Mission dispatched by the Secretary-General to investigate allegations of the use of chemical weapons, dated 8 May 1987, as reflected in document S/18852. On page 16 it states:

"The wall thickness of the shell around the mid-section position was about 20 mm. Such shells are normally used for filling with high explosives. The shell had no internal chemical-resistant coating and we could not find any trace of mustard gas on it. Fragments of a similar 130-mm shell shown to us in the East of Basra Sector also had no chemical resistant coating on the interior surfaces." (S/18852, para. 59)

(Mr. Maeshhadi, Islamic  
Republic of Iran)

On the same page is the statement:

"It is relevant to note that craters of this depth and diameter are not normally associated with ordnance designed to disperse chemical agents over a surface area." (S/18852, para. 60)

And paragraph 61 reads:

"In addition to the Iraqi claims concerning the use against Iraqi forces of artillery shells filled with mustard gas and phosgene...No evidence was presented to substantiate this claim." (S/18852, para. 61)

These statements come from a document put out by the United Nations.

Mr. AL MASRI (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): I have asked to speak for two reasons. First, in the statement just made by the representative of the racist régime in occupied Palestine, he claimed that there was no collaboration between his régime and the racist régime of South Africa in the nuclear sphere, which is a lie devoid of all foundation. Collaboration is a proved fact. Denial of that fact by the representative of that régime cannot negate it.

In 1969, a nuclear explosion took place in the South Pacific. That explosion was an explosion shared by the two régimes of Tel Aviv and Pretoria. That collaboration still exists today on all levels and in all areas, both nuclear and military.

The second item contained in the statement of this morning was his allegation that my country is now trying to establish a chemical military capability. I should like to reaffirm in this Committee that Syria is not involved in building up such a capability. We also condemn the use of chemical warfare and demand of the international community that this type of weapon should be banned.

(Mr. Al Masri, Syrian Arab Republic)

I should also like to draw the attention of members of the Committee to the fact that chemical weapons and napalm are being used by Israel in its attacks against the Arabs - for example, in the wars of 1967 and 1973. The effects of those incendiary weapons on their Arab victims are still visible.

We do not use such weapons. We condemn them. We continue to demand that the international community should condemn their use and ban their production and stockpiling.

#### ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I should like to take this opportunity to remind the Committee that pursuant to the decision we took at the organizational meeting, the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions has been set for 27 October at 6 p.m. Those delegations with draft resolutions should therefore submit them before Tuesday, 27 October, at 6 p.m.

I also wish to inform the Committee that a meeting of the Bureau has been scheduled for Friday, 23 October, immediately following the afternoon meeting. At its meeting, the Bureau will consider a number of questions and problems pertaining to the programme of our Committee and the timetable that we have drawn up for our work.

It will also consider the various problems stemming from the activities, formalities and proceedings of the Committee. The Bureau meeting will therefore consider all the problems pertaining to the organization of work and improved efficiency.

Before adjourning, I should like to inform the Committee that Monday, 26 October 1987, at 10.30 a.m., the First Committee will hold a special meeting to mark the opening of Disarmament Week. On that occasion, the President of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the chairmen of the various regional groups will address the Committee.



(The Chairman)

I should like to draw the Committee's attention to the fact that the fifth United Nations Pledging Conference for the World Disarmament Campaign will hold a meeting on the same day at 3 p.m. in this room.

The meeting rose at 4.40 p.m.