



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 7th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. Roche (Canada)

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- General debate on all disarmament items

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

AGENDA ITEMS 52 TO 69, 139, 141 AND 145 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS

Mr. BASSANTE (Ecuador) (interpretation from Spanish): My delegation considers that the debate on disarmament items at each session of the General Assembly is an act of faith in the intelligence of the human race and in the capacity of our world Organization, disarmament being one of the main purposes for which the Organization was created. Ecuador cannot remain silent in the face of the horrifying expenditure on armaments, which already represents 6 per cent of total world production, at a time when developing countries are experiencing an acute structural economic crisis.

The planet is not the exclusive property of the super-Powers. The peoples of the developing countries, the majority of our race, also count, as does their full right to have human, scientific, technological and natural resources channelled towards the peaceful objective of development. My country considers that a strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the area of disarmament is now unavoidable, and despite the meagre results of the General Assembly's third special session devoted to disarmament, we should not allow discouragement to prevail. On the contrary, that experience should serve to make us reflect more calmly and deeply in order to correct mistakes of the past.

An important piece of progress in the area of nuclear weapons was the signing of the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Soviet Union on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Nuclear Missiles. This is a singular milestone in the history of bilateral negotiations between the super-Powers. Ecuador welcomes that Agreement, and we trust that it will be fully implemented and complied with. Although that agreement covers only a very small part of the nuclear arsenals of the super-Powers, it is a negotiating effort along

(Mr. Bassante, Ecuador)

the right lines which we hope will shortly lead to a substantial reduction of strategic nuclear weapons.

Such progress should complement multilateral negotiations on disarmament and not be a substitute for them. The United Nations can and should be fully used in the reduction of nuclear and conventional weapons. The situation of international détente that now prevails provides an appropriate climate.

My delegation attributes particular importance to the subject of general and complete disarmament. We hope that negotiations will continue on the adoption of the comprehensive programme of disarmament.

My country notes with horror the manner in which vast human and economic resources are wasted for military purposes throughout the world. The President of Ecuador, Mr. Rodrigo Borja, has highlighted this concern since the moment he took office last August. On that occasion he stated:

"... the arms race, in its two manifestations: conventional and the nuclear, has led to an enormous brain drain towards the military area. More than 500,000 scientists, engineers, and technicians world wide are involved in programmes of research and development for military purposes."

As at earlier sessions of the General Assembly, Ecuador wishes once again to appeal to the Powers that are carrying out nuclear-test explosions to desist from doing so. The serious damage that such tests cause and the radioactive fallout in other countries that are affected by such activities - countries of the southern Pacific for example - must cease, particularly in view of the serious effects that such tests have on the marine environment and its resources. To illustrate how distressingly true this is, I need only refer to the approximately 1,075 nuclear tests that took place in the 23 years between the signing of the partial test-ban Treaty and the end of 1986, not to mention the nuclear explosions that are still being carried out on Mururoa atoll.

(Mr. Bassante, Ecuador)

My country hopes that priority consideration will continue to be given to a treaty permanently banning all nuclear tests, and that in the shortest possible time the Conference on Disarmament will be able to create the conditions for a start to be made on substantive work on all aspects of a complete nuclear-test ban.

Another significant contribution to nuclear disarmament is the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones. This is confirmed by the Treaty of Tlatelolco, which reflects the rejection by the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean of the stationing and proliferation of nuclear weapons in their area. That is why Ecuador welcomes the activities that have been undertaken to ensure that other similar declarations of nuclear-weapon-free zones and of zones of peace may be made by other regions of the world. In this regard, Ecuador firmly supports the efforts that are being made to broaden the scope of the declaration of a zone of peace in the southern Atlantic and in other seas, just as we have supported the creation of other denuclearized zones that have been suggested in this forum.

Another issue that concerns my delegation is that of the arms race in outer space. We reiterate the need for outer space to be preserved as a zone of peace and for respect for the principle of the use of outer space for exclusively peaceful purposes and for the benefit of mankind. It is not acceptable that while we are analyzing the possibilities of eliminating or at least reducing armaments on Earth - a subject on which the international community has still not received a satisfactory response - they have already been taken into outer space.

In the same vein, we attach particular importance to the conclusion of a treaty that would ensure a total ban on chemical weapons and we hope that the Conference on Disarmament, at which this subject is being debated, will reach a satisfactory solution.

(Mr. Bassante, Ecuador)

My country's delegation feels that it has an inescapable obligation to refer to the item on the relationship between disarmament and development. By virtue of the great importance of this subject for a large number of countries, it should have priority treatment in our Committee. On this subject, Ecuador was fully able to support the Final Document of the Conference on the matter held at United Nations Headquarters last year, from which emerged the need to adopt machinery to regulate the management of the resources released as a result of disarmament, not as a moral or humanitarian act but as a real duty to ensure international co-operation in fulfilling the legitimate aspirations of a large majority of the world's population.

In sum, we call for a world in which more just economic relations will prevail and the astronomical sums being invested by the powerful in their unbridled quest for a balance of terror will be devoted to rebuilding the devastated economies of the developing countries and alleviating the poverty and hunger that afflict an enormous number of the world's population.

On this subject I wish to refer again to the statements made by the President of my country when he took office. He said:

"How many social problems could be resolved with just a fraction of the financial resources required by the arms race? For example, it is calculated that a programme of world-wide child immunization against six diseases would cost only \$300 million per year - a sum which the world at present spends in scarcely three hours on armaments. In barely four hours, for the same purposes, the equivalent of the two-year budget of the United Nations Children's Fund - \$500 million - is spent on weapons. With the cost of a nuclear submarine - about \$1,400 million - one could finance the annual educational budget of 23 developing countries, with 160 million school-aged children."

(Mr. Bassante, Ecuador)

Finally, I reiterate the appeal of the Government of Ecuador, a country with an unswerving tradition of peaceful conduct, that we strive for the creation of a new universal conscience that will allow us to achieve a society in which peaceful coexistence prevails and security is the order of the day. This must be achieved by the immediate and final elimination of the instruments of death, weapons.

Mr. ZAHID (Morocco) (interpretation from French): First, it is my very pleasant duty to extend to you, Sir, the most sincere congratulations of the Moroccan delegation on your election as Chairman of this Committee. Your experience, your competence, your human qualities and your well-known dedication to the cause of disarmament are the best guarantees of the success of our work. The Moroccan delegation assures you of its support and co-operation in carrying out your duties.

We also extend our congratulations to the other members of the Bureau and thank your predecessor, the Ambassador of Zaire, who guided the work of the Committee last year with competence and distinction.

The work of the present session of the General Assembly is taking place in a more favourable international climate because of the improvement in relations between the two super-Powers, the encouraging prospects for the peaceful settlement of a number of regional conflicts, and the better functioning of the United Nations, in particular those of its bodies that deal with the preservation of international peace and security, as has been pointed out in the report of the Secretary-General for 1988.

The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the United Nations peace-keeping forces is a real tribute not only to the United Nations peace-keeping forces but to the entire Organization and its leader, the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, to whom we extend our most sincere congratulations on all his achievements and all his efforts to promote international peace and security.

(Mr. Zahid, Morocco)

The role played by the United Nations in the progress made so far confirms the importance of this Organization as a multinational, world forum for the settlement of disputes, the advancement of international co-operation and the maintenance of international peace and security.

The rapprochement between the United States and the Soviet Union, which has made a notable contribution to improving international relations in general, has also made possible breakthroughs in the disarmament sphere.

(Mr. Zahid, Morocco)

The progress made in this field through bilateral negotiations gives us reason to hope for a cessation of the arms race and a reduction of nuclear weapons. The dangers of a nuclear war may be also be reduced.

In this context, the Washington Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles marks a historic step as the first treaty on the elimination of an entire range of nuclear weapons.

The delegation of the Kingdom of Morocco welcomes the agreement and encourages a stepping up of negotiations under way between the two super-Powers on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons and a ban on nuclear tests. It believes that the rapid conclusion of the negotiations as well as their extension to other categories of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, could bring us closer to the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, a goal unanimously agreed upon by the international community in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

The progress made in the bilateral disarmament negotiations, negotiations which the international community has welcomed with great satisfaction, has unfortunately not yet had the desired impact at the multilateral level. Thus the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, held at United Nations Headquarters from 31 May to 26 June last, failed to reach consensus on a final document, despite good preparation for that session and intensive negotiations and consultations during it. It was not possible to achieve consensus because of differences on crucial questions.

However, while it is regrettable that the third special session ended without the adoption of a final document, it allowed for extensive debate on various disarmament matters, during which a convergence of view on numerous questions was



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clear. The multilateral approach emerged strengthened, as is shown by the almost unanimous support for it; the majority of speakers in the debate were in favour.

For a long time security depended above all on force of arms. But in the nuclear age it no longer depends solely on the quantity of arms available. On the contrary, the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, is the greatest threat to mankind, and the ability of weapons to carry out their function of guarantor of security is more and more doubtful.

Moreover, it is increasingly recognized that military and political threats are no longer the only threats to security. The international community has become aware of the existence of other threats of an economic, social and even environmental nature.

Thus underdevelopment and over-armament are threats to international peace and security, whose preservation demands the promotion of economic and social development just as much as it requires disarmament. The pursuit of these two objectives will allow for the allocation of more resources for development and fewer resources for arms, in accordance with the provisions of Article 26 of the Charter.

Moreover, as resources are limited, the world cannot effectively continue to encourage the promotion of economic and social development at the same time as the pursuit of the arms race, since the two objectives are incompatible. Therefore, the international community, motivated by a desire to strengthen international peace and security, seems to be unanimous about the need to reduce military expenditures, to the benefit of economic and social development. That is one of the items covered in the Final Document of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development, held in August and September 1987 at United Nations Headquarters, paragraph 31 of which emphasizes that resources released as a result of disarmament measures should be devoted to the promotion of

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the well-being of all peoples, the improvement of the economic conditions of the developing countries and the bridging of the economic gap between developed and developing countries. We hope that the international community will take the specific steps needed to implement the action programme adopted by the Conference so that additional resources may be released for development.

To guarantee mankind's survival, the international community must prevent nuclear war. Aware of the vital importance of that objective, the General Assembly has given it extremely high priority since its first special session devoted to disarmament.

The achievement of that objective is certainly the collective responsibility of the whole international community, but the nuclear Powers bear a special responsibility, as was correctly pointed out in the Final Document of the first special session devoted to disarmament, paragraph 57 of which says:

"bearing in mind the devastating results which nuclear war would have on belligerents and non-belligerents alike, the nuclear-weapon States have special responsibilities to undertake measures aimed at preventing the outbreak of nuclear war". (resolution S-10/2, para. 57)

We consider that the declaration of the two super-Powers on 21 November 1985 that

"a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought" (A/40/1070, annex) is a clear expression of the desire of the two super-Powers to discharge their responsibilities to prevent a nuclear holocaust. We hope to see that desire will lead to a specific agreement in this area.

However, the best way to prevent nuclear war is to achieve nuclear disarmament, to which the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament rightly gave a high priority in disarmament negotiations. Here the progress made in the bilateral negotiations is encouraging

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and promising, but the lack of similar progress in multilateral negotiations is a cause of concern and alarm.

Indeed, it is regrettable to note that the Conference on Disarmament again this year failed to reach agreement on the establishment of subsidiary bodies on important agenda items, such as the cessation of the arms race, the prevention of nuclear war, and the question of nuclear tests.

That is why one of the most pressing tasks remains the search for appropriate measures to revitalize the Conference on Disarmament, the sole body for multilateral negotiations, to enable it fully to discharge the mandate given it for advancing the process of general and complete disarmament.

The Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament advocated other measures for the achievement of the objective of general and complete disarmament. They include in particular halting nuclear tests, respect for the nuclear non-proliferation system, the establishment of non-nuclear-weapon zones and the adoption of international guarantees for non-nuclear weapon countries against the use or the threat of the use of nuclear weapons.

The Kingdom of Morocco, which firmly believes that the Final Document of 1978 and its objectives are more valid than ever and should be pursued with ever greater determination and will, regrets the lack of significant progress in implementing the measures in its Programme of Action.

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In fact, despite numerous appeals launched by the General Assembly on the need to conclude a treaty on halting nuclear tests no real progress has been made in this sphere apart from the resumption of negotiations between the two principal nuclear Powers. Moreover, the problem of adequate verification, which can be resolved by the technical advances now available, should no longer form a major obstacle to such a ban.

The Kingdom of Morocco remains convinced that the conclusion of a treaty banning nuclear tests would be a considerable contribution towards halting the arms race and preventing nuclear proliferation by putting an end to further development of existing nuclear weapons and by preventing the development of new weapons. Efforts to that end should be intensified in both the bilateral and multilateral negotiations as well.

The Kingdom of Morocco, which has always supported nuclear non-proliferation, welcomes the positive results of the last conference of the parties considering the Non-Proliferation Treaty. However, while it is encouraging to note growing agreement on the need to avoid proliferation and the usefulness of the safeguards applied by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) it believes, nevertheless, that international co-operation in the area of the peaceful use of nuclear energy should be strengthened in particular to allow the developing countries access to technology that is needed for the advancement and development of nuclear energy for the purposes of economic and social development.

We also believe that the granting to non-nuclear countries of guarantees against the use or the threat of use of such weapons and the creation of and respect for denuclearized zones could be effective disarmament measures that would contribute to strengthening the prevention of nuclear proliferation and therefore should be encouraged.

(Mr. Zahid, Morocco)

The acquisition and development by Israel of a nuclear capability and its refusal to submit its nuclear installations to International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards, are factors which jeopardize efforts aimed at creating a denuclearized zone in the Middle East and stepping up the likelihood of the proliferation of nuclear weapons in that region.

A similar situation has also been created on the African continent by the nuclear capability of the South African apartheid régime which is a serious threat to the peace and security of that continent and hampers the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa.

The Kingdom of Morocco, which supports all efforts at establishing denuclearized zones, expresses its serious concern at the obstacles created by Israeli and South African nuclear capability which hamper the creation of such zones in the Middle East and in Africa respectively.

The risks of extending the arms race to outer space is another concern of the international community. As the common heritage of mankind it should continue to be used solely for peaceful purposes and in the interests of all mankind. International co-operation in the area of the exploration and use of outer space should be strengthened within the framework of respect for the existing legal system. The prevention of the militarization of outer space has greatly benefited the entire world as was declared by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization for 1987. To this end and to prevent such militarization, which would serve only to aggravate the present situation of insecurity, it is not only necessary but urgent to begin and to speed up the appropriate negotiations in accordance with the spirit and provisions of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and other Celestial Bodies.

(Mr. Zahid, Morocco)

The space Powers have a particular responsibility in this area but we believe that all other States and the United Nations should contribute towards achieving this objective which can only strengthen peace, security and international co-operation.

Conventional disarmament is also of considerable importance, particularly in those regions which have the greatest concentrations of those weapons. We support and encourage all efforts at conventional disarmament which can only serve to contribute to the reduction of tensions and the improvement of conditions for peace and international security. To achieve conventional disarmament the nuclear Powers and militarily important States have a particular responsibility.

The Moroccan delegation has always considered as extremely urgent the rapid conclusion of a convention on a complete and effective ban on the production, development, stockpiling and destruction of chemical weapons. While welcoming the progress made by the Conference on Disarmament in its work on this convention the Moroccan delegation hopes that this work will be crowned with success as soon as possible and will spare no efforts towards that end. We are convinced that the other members of the Conference on Disarmament will do the same.

The authors of the United Nations Charter who resolved

"... to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind",

have given the Organization as its primary objective the maintenance of peace and international security. To that end the General Assembly was given a mandate to study the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments (Article 11) by making the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources (Article 26). The central role and prime

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responsibility of the United Nations in the disarmament area has also been reaffirmed by the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, the first special session devoted to disarmament.

In the nuclear era when mankind's very existence is threatened the Organization more than ever needs to be strengthened and consolidated. The better functioning of United Nations bodies charged with the maintenance of peace and international security, as pointed out by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization for 1988, is a source of gratification to all of us. We hope that Member States will spare no efforts to consolidate these gains and to make other progress in this area. The delegation of Morocco, as it has done in the past, will continue to give its full support to strengthening the effectiveness of the Organization for international peace and security and for international co-operation for economic and social development.

Mr. MIGLIUOLO (Italy): The Italian delegation is extremely pleased to see you, Sir, presiding over the proceedings of the First Committee. Your unanimous election is not only an expression of widespread appreciation of your diplomatic experience and personal qualities, but is also a recognition of Canada's long-standing and strong commitment to disarmament.

Both Canada and Italy share a common goal of drastic reduction in the arsenals of all types of weapons in the context of more stable security. Our two countries also agree on the need for ever broader and stricter measures of verification of disarmament agreements.

(Mr. Migliuolo, Italy)

I want to assure you of my delegation's readiness to co-operate with you and actively contribute to our work. My delegation is fully confident that under your able chairmanship our work will be fruitful and forward-looking and achieve the great objectives of the Committee.

My heartfelt congratulations are also extended to the other members of the Bureau.



(Mr. Migliuolo, Italy)

This year's session of the General Assembly is taking place in an international climate marked by positive events in relations between the major Powers, and by encouraging results in the specific area of arms control and disarmament. The positive outcome of the summit meetings between the United States and the Soviet Union in Washington and Moscow, the conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles (INF Treaty) - indeed, the first real disarmament measure - as well as other important agreements and rapprochements on a series of questions, allow us to hope for decisive improvements with respect to international peace and security.

As stated by the Foreign Minister of Italy, Mr. Giulio Andreotti, before the General Assembly on 29 September of this year;

"The winds of history seem, today, to be blowing in the right

direction." (A/43/PV.10, p. 67)

Constructive winds of change have, indeed, been blowing in Moscow for the last three years and they have found positive response in Washington, where the foreign policy of the impending new Administration may soon benefit from the unique experience of a president fully conversant with the most intricate international problems.

While associating myself with the statement made by the representative of Greece on behalf of the 12 States members of the European Community, let me at the outset of my statement, essentially devoted to some specifically Italian comments, reiterate Italy's strong belief that the time has come to make decisive efforts to achieve concrete results in the field of disarmament.

The Italian Government believes that a gradual process of disarmament under effective international control, and progressive reorientation of military structures ensuring defence sufficiency are realistic objectives and must be

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pursued in a context of stability, transparency and respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter, if we want to ensure a better future for mankind.

Italy has full respect for the security requirements of each country. We believe that only through well-balanced protection of everyone's fundamental needs will it be possible to succeed in our common efforts for effective arms control. However, we must make every possible effort to ensure that the necessary balance is established at the lowest level possible, in a sincere renunciation of the use of force, and that greater portion of the available resources be allocated to the improvement of the well-being of all peoples. In this respect, we fully realize that research in the field of armaments may be beneficial - in some cases strongly so - to the development of advanced technology, for the civil sector also. However, we are deeply convinced that in terms of cost/benefit ratio it would be much more advantageous for funds diverted from arms development to be earmarked for fostering advanced civil technology. To this end, Governments should appeal more extensively to the human resources of their respective scientific communities in order to explore every single possibility of reconversion from military to civilian research. In this, we are encouraged by the ever increasing success of the initiative taken by the Government of Italy through the creation of the World Laboratory through the Erice scientific research centre in Sicily. We would like also to interpret in the same spirit a remark made by the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Mr. Vladimir Fyodorovich Petrovsky, about the reconversion of the Krasnoyarsk radar station.

While the main responsibility for the disarmament process lies with the countries with the greatest military power, primarily the United States and the Soviet Union, we are convinced that every country should play its part, making a most sincere and strong commitment, and fully respecting the spirit and the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Migliucio, Italy)

The United Nations can play a pivotal role in achieving the objectives of disarmament, given its universal character, which reflects the aspiration for peace, security and justice without violence of all mankind.

I wish to express my Government's sincere hope that a number of the constructive ideas which were highlighted during the third special session on disarmament be aired again and effectively developed in the First Committee during this session. A joint attempt to enhance and broaden areas of consensus to the greatest possible extent would certainly significantly help us in attaining the positive results we all desire.

I would also like to recall the importance, in the promotion of disarmament, of the increasingly efficient action by the Security Council in maintaining peace and finding solutions for regional crises and conflicts.

Everyone in the First Committee, I am sure, agrees that there should be an abatement in the human and economic resources devoted to arms: in implementing this principle, as established under Article 26 of the United Nations Charter, multilateral, regional and bilateral initiatives for arms control and disarmament can, and should, make a fundamental contribution.

From that standpoint, we are at a promising stage. The marked improvement in East-West relations allows us to foresee important new developments following the conclusion of the INF Treaty. In actual fact, the verification and inspection procedures for the control of basic data, the withdrawal and elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, seem to have gone well. This has contributed to mutual trust and has confirmed that it is actually possible to solve some problems once considered insurmountable.

(Mr. Migliuolo, Italy)

This seems to be a good omen for other negotiations, including the more complex ones, such as those - of vital importance to Italy and other European countries - on conventional stability, at lowest levels of forces, from the Atlantic to the Urals. It is a clear priority for the countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to eliminate the existing imbalances in conventional forces in respect of the countries members of the Warsaw Pact.

Agreement on the substance of these negotiations seems to be within reach, thanks to the progress made in Vienna by the 23 countries members of the two alliances in preparing a mandate for further negotiations.

For our part, we consider the elimination of imbalances and offensive capability as an absolute priority, in so far as they entail a special risk to the security of our continent. We are also convinced that drastically reduced military deployment on the European continent, where in recent decades the greatest concentration of forces and arms has been built up and where borders lie between the two major alliances, will have positive effects on security as a whole and on overall trust. Measures introduced for balanced reduction, more vigorous methods of monitoring, confidence-building and stability will, we hope, be an example that will also be applied to other regions for widespread reductions.

(Mr. Migliuolo, Italy)

We appreciate the efforts of several countries in favour of an amendment to the partial test-ban Treaty that would convert it to a comprehensive test ban covering all environments. I understand the frustration felt by many, and stressed once more by Ambassador Garcia Robles of Mexico - to whom I want to express my personal feelings of deep respect because of our long association in this house - on the lack of progress on a comprehensive ban at the Conference on Disarmament. We remain strongly in favour of an effectively verifiable nuclear-test ban and are providing practical contributions to the Geneva forum, which we still believe is the best way of achieving our common goal.

The Italian Government considers that, among the activities of the Conference on Disarmament, one has the greatest priority and must be tackled with the utmost determination in the interest of mankind: namely, the conclusion of a total and global ban on all chemical weapons. The indiscriminate use of these weapons, especially against innocent civilians, is an act of unbearable horror and revives feelings of revulsion originating in the most dreadful conflicts in the history of mankind.

In this spirit, Italy is also in favour of holding a conference of the signatories to the Geneva Protocol of 1925, with the aim of encouraging universal adherence to that agreement, solemnly reaffirming an unconditional commitment to the non-use of chemical weapons and improving the procedures for verification of violations by, among other things, strengthening the role of the Secretary-General.

We believe that a clear priority at such a meeting should be to express renewed commitment, especially by countries which possess chemical weapons, to redoubling our efforts to ensure the rapid conclusion of a comprehensive ban. Italy believes, in fact, that only on the basis of such a convention entailing the total elimination of existing chemical-weapon arsenals and production facilities,

(Mr. Migliuolo, Italy)

and an immediate ban on the production, transfer and use of chemical weapons, with a strict verification system, will the international community prevent the dread prospect of wider proliferation and more frequent and catastrophic recourse to such weapons.

As the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy, the Right Honourable Giulio Andreotti, said in his statement before the Conference on Disarmament, in February:

"In regional conflicts chemical weapons constitute a permanent temptation to extend hostilities to levels which justify the most alarming reactions from the international community. Their possession requires only simple technology, limited resources and brief training. Their components are marketed internationally. The possible proliferation of chemical weapons poses a serious threat to mankind."

We therefore believe that the current efforts in Geneva must be further intensified in order to give greater impetus to the negotiating process. Only if this is brought to a positive conclusion as quickly as possible will it offer an adequate response to the concern of so many Governments and world public opinion.

The Italian Government is fully in favour of any initiative that might improve the overall negotiating climate and hasten the conclusion of the convention. We were therefore among the sponsors of the initiative on a broad exchange of data submitted by the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany on behalf of the Western group. We were among the first delegations to insist on the need to organize inspections of the chemical industry on an experimental basis.

The report of the Conference on Disarmament presented to the General Assembly bears specific testimony to the progress made in the last few years on the preparation of a draft convention. Certainly several complex problems have yet to

(Mr. Migliuolo, Italy)

be solved: namely, the question of non-production, the institutional aspects, details on the carrying-out of challenge inspections, and the closing-out of production facilities. However, what we need is a determined effort of political will to tackle these subjects substantively, in a spirit of co-operation and with a view to obtaining consensus solutions.

I should also like to refer to another important item in the current multilateral debate on disarmament in Geneva: the prevention of an arms race in outer space. In that context, my Government sincerely hopes that the current bilateral negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union will produce positive results.

The rapid progress in space technology in recent years makes it necessary also to promote better knowledge of space activities so that outer space may be used for peaceful purposes and for the benefit of mankind as a whole. The Conference on Disarmament has for some years done very useful work on this problem. Much progress has already been made on the identification of many substantive questions, in the consideration of some important aspects of the legal system of arms control in outer space, and on a series of proposals put forward with the aim of preventing an arms race in this area.

In principle, the Government of Italy favours eventual negotiations, but it could not agree with the opinion sometimes put forward that there are no obstacles at the start of these negotiations. In fact, we think it necessary to study the subject further. The work done this year by the Conference on Disarmament on the prevention of an arms race in outer space further confirmed the complexity of the problem under consideration, of the approaches of individual States to the disarmament problem in general, and of the various interpretations of terminology. We consider the problem of the prevention of an arms race in outer space to be

(Mr. Migliuolo, Italy)

fundamental and extremely topical. To attain the positive goals aimed at, it is necessary to maintain a concrete and realistic approach. We must also carry out a thorough analysis of this area in order to obtain full knowledge and interpretations suitable for the support of our endeavour. We believe it is advisable, for that purpose, to re-establish the Ad Hoc Committee on the prevention of an arms race in outer space at the beginning of the next session of the Conference on Disarmament.

Italy attaches great importance to the need to seek together appropriate measures to provide increased transparency with regard to the transfer of conventional weapons and the prevention of illicit trafficking in this area. The vested interests, the number of those involved in these activities, the lack of reliable data, the current extent of these transactions and their often destabilizing impact on areas of conflict or international tension are further arguments indicating the need for all Member States of the United Nations to shoulder their responsibility on a problem of great importance to greater stability and secure international relations.

We certainly understand the complexity of many aspects in the areas of security, economics and technological development. However, we think that there must be a bold awareness of this problem on the part of the international community. In this respect, we are encouraged by various positions that emerged from the third special session of the General Assembly on disarmament concerning the ever-increasing need to consider this problem thoroughly and to seek constructive solutions.

On behalf of Italy, Foreign Minister Andreotti pointed out on that occasion that the search for greater transparency and monitoring in the transfer of conventional weapons could not be further delayed.



(Mr. Migliuolo, Italy)

Without prejudice to the results sought, Italy wishes today to stress the need for an urgent solution to the problem of the transfer of conventional weapons and its implications, which sharply contrast with both the principles and the provisions of the United Nations Charter and with the increasing efforts to build international relations on a more stable and secure foundation.

Italy, following past initiatives in this area, intends to continue, together with other interested countries, to play an active role. In this respect we appreciate the support received from several countries as well as the positive reference to our proposals made by the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union in his statement in the First Committee on 18 October.

(spoke in Russian)

We thank him for that positive reference.

(continued in English)

Italy is encouraged by the expectations and growing support of international public opinion in both the developed and the developing countries and views with interest the proposals put forward by Colombia, in spite of the fact that they obviously require further clarification.

Verification is an area where we believe the work of the forty-third session of the General Assembly should lead to broader agreement on the principle of a greater United Nations role.

At the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament the Foreign Minister of Italy suggested that we proceed along these lines, pursuing a flexible and realistic approach. Without interfering in the current negotiations, the broadest possible participation of Member States should be allowed in the verification process. In our opinion we should take as a starting-point for future work the set of general principles outlined in the

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Disarmament Commission's report. We should then prepare a study of ways in which the United Nations could provide specific support. In that context we could certainly include the use of advanced technology, to make available to all a technical base which would ensure greater reliability and universality of the verification process.

On the same occasion, having learned from our experience with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), we suggested that a group of experts be set up to verify, on an urgent basis, alleged uses of chemical or bacteriological weapons.

We believe those are the guidelines which should inspire us all. We should focus on adequate and effective measures to be applied to the multilateral agreements. This is the aim that should be emphasized for the first stage, benefiting, as we do, from prior experience of verification, for instance, as already mentioned, within the framework of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - the INF Treaty. In that respect Italy can through direct experience testify to the high degree of mutual trust which can result from an adequate verification system.

There are vast areas to be explored, and we believe the Secretary-General is well placed to guide wisely the work of experts towards satisfactory solutions. Based on universally accepted principles and modern, effective systems, they can ensure a broad climate of trust among the largest possible number of States in respecting disarmament agreements.

The Government of Italy considers the Non-Proliferation Treaty an essential element for strengthening the security of all States as well as for the consolidation of world stability at ever lower levels of nuclear arms. The Treaty has played a role of fundamental importance in ensuring a non-proliferation régime in conditions of effective verifiability, due to the efficient safeguards system

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set up by the IAEA and the promotion of valid co-operation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

In that respect we are pleased at Spain's adherence and Saudi Arabia's similar decision, and hope this will serve as a new incentive to other Governments, given the Treaty's purpose of universality.

The Italian Government believes that the desirable progress towards more drastic cuts in nuclear arsenals, following the elimination of intermediate nuclear forces in accordance with the objective of the Treaty, will enable us to look with well-founded optimism to the 1990 deadline when the Fourth Review Conference will take place.

Mr. AL-KAWARI (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your election as Chairman of this important Committee. I wish you, the two Vice-Chairmen and the Rapporteur all success in carrying out your duties. I am sure that your experience in the field of diplomacy and your knowledge of disarmament matters will go a long way towards guaranteeing the success of the Committee's work.

We are meeting to take up the problems of disarmament and security on the agenda of this session in an atmosphere which differs from that prevailing in preceding years. Indeed, the events witnessed by the international community in 1988 have resulted in a reduction of tensions and of the confrontations that threatened international peace and security. We have also seen the serious pursuit of talks between the two super-Powers on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons, following upon the conclusion last year of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - the INF Treaty. Those events have also demonstrated that the United Nations is capable of playing the role assigned to it when it was founded - the maintenance of international peace and security and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.

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The fact that at the present time belligerents are not resorting to force but opting for negotiations to settle disputes clearly illustrates that the principles of the Charter are well-founded and that they must be respected. We believe that this approach will continue to have favourable repercussions in the sphere of disarmament and in the area of the limitation of the arms race from which the international community has suffered for many years. We hope that the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on a 50-per-cent reduction in their strategic nuclear weapons will succeed, for the stability of the world and its complete denuclearization hinge on their success.

But such an agreement will not be enough. In fact, there are other areas in the sphere of disarmament which must be dealt with, such as, for example, weapons of mass destruction and the cessation of nuclear tests. In addition, we must try to reduce any threat of confrontation between military alliances, not only on land but also on the seas and oceans.

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That would permit the allocation to economic and social development of the resources at present devoted to armaments. What is more, there would arise an atmosphere of security and stability and Governments, thus assured of their political security, would be in a position to reallocate the resources they now devote to military purposes towards the development and the well-being of their peoples. To achieve this objective there must be increased co-operation and efforts internationally, in particular within the framework of the United Nations.

The outcome of the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament should not lead us to despair or to stand idle; rather, we must continue to devote all our energies to achieving the noble objective enshrined in the Charter, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security.

The optimism we feel at prospects for a settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict, for a resolution of the problems of Afghanistan and Namibia and for a reduction of tensions in southern Africa and with regard to other regional problems, turns to pessimism when we consider the question of Palestine. Indeed, Israel continues its barbaric behaviour, in contradiction to human norms and international law and in violation of United Nations resolutions to which the international community has subscribed. While the nuclear States are concluding agreements aimed at reducing their nuclear arsenals, there is increasing evidence that Israel has become the sixth nuclear-weapon Power with launching and delivery capacity. We have learned that Israel, having perfected nuclear missiles, has now launched a satellite for intelligence purposes. Israel's nuclear capability has thus attained a new stage in this destructive technology.

At a time when the international community is calling for adherence to the Non-Proliferation Treaty - the Fourth Review Conference of which will be held in 1990 - and other countries of the region are adhering to the Treaty, Israel has

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totally ignored the General Assembly resolutions adopted since the mid-1970s on the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East. It is therefore violating the principles of this Treaty with regard to refraining from the manufacture of nuclear weapons; it is also refusing to place its nuclear installations under international safeguards.

Hence we request the Assembly, as we begin preparations for the Review Conference of the parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, to insist on Israel's adherence to the Treaty and its acquiescence to the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, especially since the resolution on the subject at the forty-second session was adopted without a vote. It must be recalled that Israel's nuclear programmes - which are very advanced - pose a serious threat to the region and its peoples and could only have been carried out with foreign assistance, including from the apartheid racist régime.

Indeed, co-operation between that racist régime and Tel Aviv is continuing, thus causing serious concern for my country, the countries of the Middle East and African countries in general. In fact, the nuclear capability of the two régimes enhanced by their co-operation, has extremely negative repercussions for many regions and threatens international peace and security. The General Assembly has long been aware of the threat posed by this co-operation; hence it has adopted resolutions calling for an end to such collaboration and for implementation of all resolutions on the subject.

We hope that the improvement in the international political climate will make it possible to overcome the obstacles that are preventing the convening of the Colombo Conference on the Indian Ocean and the implementation of the resolution adopted in 1971 on the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, which is aimed at establishing a climate of peace and stability in the region based on respect for the principles of the Charter, in particular, the non-use of force, the

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peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and freedom of navigation. Implementation of the Declaration would doubtless contribute to consolidating co-operation, so that the Conference could be held before 1990, as called for by the General Assembly at its forty-second session in its resolution on the subject.

In conclusion, my delegation supports United Nations resolutions in the sphere of disarmament. We believe that the Organization has a decisive role to play in this endeavour and that it is in the interest of all Member States, large or small, to participate in the consideration of this subject. This is why we support the role played by the Organization in the field of disarmament through information and education. We are participating in and closely following the World Disarmament Campaign. We hope that all States, in particular those States bearing special responsibility, will continue to make the necessary efforts to reduce armaments which are gravely threatening the world's security.

Mr. PEJIC (Yugoslavia): May I first of all congratulate you most sincerely, Sir, on your election as Chairman of this important Committee. Your reputation as a tested champion of disarmament is indeed well deserved. Your country, Canada, could hardly be better represented in this noble cause. May I also express my appreciation and thanks to the other members of the Bureau. We have gathered at this session of the General Assembly at a time of important developments in the world. International relations have undergone some positive changes: conflicts and hostilities give way to negotiations, agreements and co-operation; and reason seems to prevail over emotion and temper. Peace and security have been given the chance for which we have long striven, and it is now up to us to see to it that that chance is seized and acted on. Our responsibility has therefore increased and our obligations multiplied. Yet the effort will not be

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lost if we speed up the process we have begun and direct it for the benefit of all; and it can be done if we join forces, participate equitably and contribute fully.

By its very nature, general and complete disarmament as a universal objective is attainable only with the participation of all countries. It is clear, however, that it cannot be achieved without a fundamental contribution by the most heavily armed. Yet they are not, nor should they be, the only ones acting in this field. This session should therefore encourage and embolden the process of disarmament and expand the groundwork for future activities of this Organization.



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There are a number of reasons that lead us to believe that today we stand a better chance of achieving the desired goals. The dialogue between the super-Powers is becoming ever more substantive and consistent. Four summit meetings between the Soviet Union and the United States in the last three years have had a positive effect on developments in the world as a whole. For the first time in history, the United States and the Soviet Union have concluded an agreement on the elimination of one entire category of nuclear weapons. We have all welcomed this step, which has raised hopes that the process of genuine disarmament has at last been launched. This agreement is of unquestionable political importance and may represent an overture to even more audacious and concrete moves. Here I have in mind primarily the ongoing negotiations on a considerable reduction of strategic nuclear arsenals. If our expectations are realized, a new path will be blazed which other nuclear-weapon States can follow. In the world of today, as well as in the world of tomorrow, prestige will be based not on the force of arms, but rather - and increasingly - on the readiness to meet the justified expectations and the needs of the entire international community.

It is with pleasure that we note that the changed attitude of the super-Powers echoes the long-standing endeavours of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which voiced its call for disarmament as long ago as its first Summit Conference, in Belgrade. As early as 1961 the Movement recognized that disarmament is the vital link in the chain of international security, in a world free of war and guided by respect for independence and sovereignty.

Signs of relaxation are noticeable in other areas as well. The process of the peaceful solution of disputes is spreading to regions beset by perennial crises and instability. That is encouraging and gives us hope that this positive process will spread to include also those regions that have been awaiting a just solution for a long time and, in so doing have been paying a steep price.

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However welcome and noteworthy these positive developments are, we cannot escape the fact that they are taking place in the shadow of disquieting, even alarming, international economic problems and situations. New international stability is inconceivable without economic progress and development, particularly of developing countries. If the accumulated economic difficulties of developing countries are not addressed promptly and resolutely, the world will soon be faced with even-greater uncertainty and with new forms of confrontation - hence the deep-rooted and all-important interrelationship of disarmament and development. For there is no doubt in our mind that disarmament and development are the two major issues of the present-day world and that they are very closely interrelated.

In the Nicosia Declaration that the non-aligned countries adopted at their recent ministerial conference in Cyprus it is stated, inter alia:

"If the current détente is to lead to a lasting global peace, it has to become wider in scope, content and participation".

That position is an accurate reflection of the accumulated experience that shows that past failures can be avoided only if international relations are radically democratized - and, after all, there is no alternative to that in the present-day interdependent and multipolar world.

By its very nature, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries is directed towards the United Nations, and our Organization is rightly said to have been experiencing a renaissance in recent days. The role of the world Organization, it has transpired, is irreplaceable in dealing with crucial issues of international relations and in implementing agreements. That is a lesson that ought not to be overlooked in the future: the role of the United Nations must not be side-stepped; it must be strengthened and promoted. The influence of the United Nations has a direct correlation with our contribution and the level of our commitment to the

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Organization. All the major questions and problems of the world should, as a rule, be considered in the United Nations. It is therefore hard to understand that there is still resistance to having some important disarmament issues considered seriously within our Organization.

That is what guided us in our preparations for and activities during the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. There is no doubt that we could have achieved more if there had been the political will on the part of some. Nevertheless, the last special session served its purpose and increased the awareness that disarmament is the right way to bring about more just international relations and greater security for all. Similarly, the session reaffirmed the position that the United Nations should play the central role and shoulder greater responsibility in the field of disarmament. We are convinced that special sessions on disarmament should be convened also in the future whenever merited by circumstances, and after proper preparations.

The Geneva Conference on Disarmament, as the only multilateral negotiating body on disarmament, is the best expression of the awareness that disarmament cannot be the exclusive domain of the most powerful. So far the Conference has not been able to present to the General Assembly draft agreements on questions being negotiated in Geneva. However, we are encouraged by the progress in the negotiations on the elimination of chemical weapons. The justified expectations of all of us that the convention on the elimination of chemical weapons will be concluded soon have been expressed quite often during the current session of the General Assembly. We appear to be in broad agreement on these questions. What we should do now is use the momentum and invest fresh efforts to bring about an even-greater level of agreement on the elimination of chemical weapons. That, in our opinion, should be one of the main directions of the engagement of our

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Committee. It will increase the likelihood that the Conference will conclude the convention on chemical weapons in the near future.

We also consider that the fact that the Conference on Disarmament is not as yet negotiating on major issues before it is inconsistent with the current atmosphere in international relations. We are wary of passing judgements, but it is really hard to understand that the Conference is not in a position yet to negotiate on all questions on its agenda. The postponement of the negotiations makes the achievement of desired results only more difficult.

The cessation of nuclear tests and a total nuclear-test ban are a priority and an important factor of nuclear disarmament. With the passage of the time we are becoming increasingly convinced that this question should be resolved once and for all. A number of valuable proposals have been put forward in this connection. One of the ways to proceed is to amend the partial nuclear-test-ban Treaty.

A no less important issue is the arms race in outer space. We should do everything we can to adopt measures to prevent such a race.

Conventional arms have been employed only too often as a means of aggression against the independence and integrity of countries and nations. Their perfection by the most powerful is assuming frightening proportions. Conventional disarmament is therefore an essential element of general and complete disarmament, and it is necessary to accord it due and full attention on the global, regional and subregional levels.

Despite divisions and the exorbitant concentration of arms and military forces, Europe has of late been witnessing a gradual relaxation of tension, and co-operation. A significant contribution to the further improvement of the international climate and relations would be the successful completion of the

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Follow-up Meeting of the Vienna Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). Neutral and non-aligned countries of Europe have rendered, and continue to render, their full contribution to the promotion of the CSCE process. Of particular importance would be negotiations on conventional disarmament between the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the Warsaw Treaty countries within the CSCE process and the opening of a new phase of the Stockholm Conference.

One question has caused particular concern in recent days. Some companies from the developed world are unscrupulously dumping toxic and nuclear wastes in the territories of other, mostly developing, countries. We condemn that practice most strongly and call for its urgent and immediate cessation.

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The current session provides us with an exceptional opportunity to translate the prevailing positive climate in international relations into tangible agreements. We must open new vistas in the field of disarmament and enable a greater and greater number of Member States to participate in speeding up the process that has begun. The world of today calls for realism and constructive engagement in breaking the mould of past delusions. The race in arms of yesteryear must be replaced by the race to contribute to what binds us together, to a forward march into a safer future.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.