



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 10th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. Roche (Canada)  
later: Mr. Batiouk (Vice-Chairman) (Ukrainian SSR)  
later: Mr. Roche (Chairman) (Canada)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

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

GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS

Mr. AL-KETAL (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives me great pleasure to congratulate you, Sir, on your election as Chairman of the First Committee. I wish you and the other officers of the Committee success in your onerous task. My delegation intends to co-operate fully with you in order to ensure that the deliberations of the Committee will be fruitful.

The sincere desire of the peoples of the world and their constant quest for peace and security to prevail stem from the conviction that this is the only way to utilize the often scarce resources available for their development, happiness and well-being, for providing a decent life and for increasing their ability to contribute positively to the building of a more humane civilization.

The peoples of the world recognize that amongst the prerequisites for achieving just and durable peace are the conduct of international relations on the basis of the United Nations Charter, the principles of international law, and equality and mutual respect, and the renunciation of obsolete privileges and ambitions and of the threat or use of force.

(Mr. Al-Retal, Iraq)

They would thus be renouncing the use of force and abandoning the yearning for, and the policies of, hegemony, expansion, aggression and interference in the affairs of others. Without this understanding, real peace cannot prevail, neither can there be anything but the strengthening of the bent to increase one's defences and military potentialities, in order for every State to defend its security and exercise its legitimate right to self-defence. Such an outlook can hardly encourage progress towards disarmament; it rather leads to the exacerbation of the arms race on both the regional and the international level.

The peoples of the world look forward with a great deal of optimism to a continuation of the atmosphere of détente that has started between the Soviet Union and the United States of America and to a further improvement in the prospects for settling certain long-standing regional conflicts within the tenets of the Charter and under the rules of international law. Iraq has welcomed this encouraging development, which resulted in the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - the INF Treaty - and the negotiations which aim at reducing the present levels of strategic weapons.

Iraq has also welcomed the positive initiatives of the Soviet Union in the field of disarmament, confidence building and the maintenance of international peace and security. In contrast, there has been the major disappointment caused by the failure of the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament to reach an agreed final document. None of the expected results of that session has materialized although the session took place in an atmosphere of détente and regardless of the determined efforts by many countries, especially those of the non-aligned movement, exerted with a view to making a success of the session, throughout meetings of the General Assembly and even before that, in the Havana meeting that preceded the special session.

(Mr. Al-Ketaj, Iraq)

Disarmament is a responsibility and a duty incumbent upon all States. The threat of nuclear weapons is a threat to all peoples and an impending catastrophe for all humanity if they were to be used in any circumstances. We must hope therefore that the atmosphere of détente will promote concrete achievements in the field of disarmament with regard to strategic weapons and the strengthening of the United Nations' role as well as the role of multilateral negotiations in the field of disarmament.

Within the context of this view of the United Nations' role, the delegation of Iraq finds it imperative to establish close contact between the workings of the international bodies concerned with disarmament and the maintenance of international peace, among which are this Committee and the Conference of Disarmament. The channels of communication between these bodies should be kept open, in order that the international community as a whole may have an opportunity of contributing to the negotiations on disarmament. Here I would reiterate the call by Iraq to facilitate the participation of all the countries desirous of taking part in the activities of the Conference on Disarmament. This call results from our belief that all the peoples of the world have a vital interest in the conduct of disarmament negotiations and, therefore, have the right to participate on an equal footing in the said negotiations.

The Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament stressed that of all the measures aiming at the achievement of the highest goal of all States, namely general and complete disarmament under effective international control, in the interest of the survival of mankind and the elimination of the scourge of war, especially a nuclear war, the highest priority

(Mr. Al-Ketani, Iraq)

should be given to effective measures of nuclear disarmament and the prevention of a nuclear war.

In this connection, we wish to stress the following important points.

First, the priorities of disarmament, as set out in the Final Document of the first special session, should not be amended, in any circumstances and regardless of the purposes behind such amendment. Therefore, all measures, whether they be bilateral, regional or international, including the holding of international conferences or special sessions, should aim at mobilizing efforts to overcome the hurdles which impede the realization of concrete results in the field of nuclear disarmament.

Secondly, the issue of formulating international treaty on the the total and absolute prohibition of nuclear tests remains the highest priority. Iraq, therefore, fully endorses the call by Mexico and other States to hold a conference of the States parties to the Partial Test Ban Treaty, with a view to considering and adopting an amendment that would turn that Treaty into an instrument that bans comprehensively all tests - in the atmosphere, in outer space, in the seas and oceans and under ground. We look forward to the holding of such a conference at an early date, and, we hope, not later than early in 1989.

Thirdly, the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of such nuclear weapons should be accorded a high priority. This is of particular importance in certain regions, especially in the Middle East. There cannot be any remaining doubt that the Israeli entity is in possession of nuclear weapons and of the vehicles necessary for their delivery. The intentional policy of ambiguity on the part of Israel and the vague statements made by officials of that régime that it will not be the first to introduce nuclear weapons into the region, have become a sort of bare faced game and a naive attempt to hoodwink the international community with regard to the genuine threat posed to

(Mr. Al-Ketani, Iraq)

peace and security in the region and the world as a whole and a threat to the non-proliferation Treaty, to which the other countries of the region have adhered.

The policy of creating a smoke-screen to hide Israel's nuclear activities and protect the Israeli régime in international forums are causes for extreme concern and denunciation, because this practice of turning a blind eye amounts to an intentional disregard of Israel's introduction of nuclear weapons into the Middle East and Africa through its collaboration with the racist régime in South Africa.

(Mr. Al-Ketal, Iraq)

The States parties to the non-proliferation Treaty will soon start the preparatory work for the fourth review conference in 1990. We should not overlook the flagrant defiance by Israel of that Treaty as demonstrated by its posture on the acquisition of nuclear weapons and the impotence of international organizations to take any appropriate measures in that respect.

In addition to the measures required for nuclear disarmament and the exorcism of the demon of nuclear war, measures should be adopted with respect to other weapons of mass destruction. In this respect, my delegation wishes to reiterate that such measures should be general and comprehensive. They should deal with every aspect relating to such weapons and, in particular their production, development, stockpiling and use, together with the definition of ways and means of effective verification. Without such a comprehensive approach, the measures will remain ineffectual and will lead to none of the practical and genuine results we hope for.

In this respect, we maintain that the efforts of the Conference on Disarmament should be intensified with a view to formulating a similar comprehensive treaty on chemical weapons. The efforts of States should focus on upholding the role of the United Nations and the Conference on Disarmament in order to achieve this comprehensive goal and thus avoid the pursuit of substitutes for the existing negotiating machinery.

The intensification of efforts in this respect calls for the reconsideration by certain States of their positions in the Conference on Disarmament and the relinquishing of such positions, as they have resulted in impeding or delaying the work of the Conference. Instead, they should adopt more positive attitudes in order for them to give a measure of credibility to their positions.

(Mr. Al-Ketal, Iraq)

In the context of this view of the situation, the delegation of Iraq maintains that consideration of questions relating to the production, development, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons will continue to be incomplete unless it includes military attacks on operating nuclear facilities, inasmuch as the outcome of such attacks will be similar to the use of radiological weapons. Thus, the prohibition should include military attacks against nuclear facilities in order to prevent a repetition of what took place in 1981 when the Israeli entity launched such an attack with its military aircraft against the Iraqi Tammuz reactor, a reactor devoted to peaceful purposes and subject to the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

Outer space belongs to all mankind. It is the common heritage of humanity. Therefore, it should be used solely for peaceful purposes and for the promotion of the well-being and happiness of all peoples, regardless of the level of their scientific and economic development. This would require those States which have the economic and scientific capability to use outer space strictly to adhere to the legal restrictions on the use of outer space for military purposes. We are extremely concerned regarding the attempts to extend the arms race to outer space and the ongoing preparations to deploy new types of weapons in outer space, along with its use for spying and other purposes that contravene the notion of outer space as the common heritage of mankind. Our concern has become all the greater after the launching by the Israeli entity of its first satellite, which functions in an orbit that will enable it to spy on Arab and African countries. In that way, Israel contributes in a practical manner to attempts to militarize outer space over and above its introduction of nuclear weapons into the Middle East.



(Mr. Al-Ketani, Iraq)

It is most deplorable and regrettable indeed that some speakers who have preceded me have repeated false allegations concerning the use of chemical weapons. Those statements are completely false. Those speakers know very well that reliable sources which are greatly respected in international circles and are very close to the scene of events have categorically refuted the claims that such weapons have been used. Those sources include Turkish Government officials, Turkish doctors, officials of the Red Cross and foreign journalists who visited the region. All those sources have emphasized that the allegation of the use of chemical weapons is groundless. The persistent repetition of such claims despite the fact that they are groundless can only be explained as a wilful insistence on harming the image of Iraq and interfering in its internal affairs. Iraq denounces those attempts and considers them to be part of a hostile campaign to prepare for a new act of aggression against its industrial facilities.

I wish here to refer to the statement made by His Excellency, Mr. Tariq Aziz, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq, on 17 September 1988. He said:

"Despite the tendentious campaign by well-known circles in the United States of America and certain western States, the motives and purposes of which Iraq officials have exposed before, and in order to remove any misunderstanding or ambiguity that might have resulted from that campaign" - the Foreign Minister emphasized that - "Iraq respects and adheres to all the provisions of international law and conventions accepted by the international community, among which is the Geneva Protocol of 1925, which bans the use of chemical weapons and toxic gases, together with other conventions within the framework of international humanitarian law, vis-à-vis all those who adhere to these conventions and respect all instruments and covenants as an indivisible whole."

(Mr. Al-Ketaj, Iraq)

The preconceived positions of certain States can only cast aspersions on the nature of the proposed conference for the States parties to the Geneva Protocol of 1925, which is to be held in Paris. This may result in negative implications for the negotiations between Iraq and Iran aimed at the establishment of an equitable and comprehensive peace between the two countries.

(Mr. Al-Ketani, Iraq)

I wish to reiterate here something that was stated by the Secretary-General at the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. He said:

"Like all other complex international questions, disarmament does not lend itself to simple solutions. Yet its difficulties do not diminish its urgency. The outcome of disarmament debates and negotiations directly concerns the survival of mankind and the economic and social development of the world community."

He went on to say:

"On the basis of the Final Document, we must - and we can - carry on the quest for disarmament by co-ordinating bilateral, regional and world-wide initiatives. For the sake of the survival of peace, of progress, we have no other option." (A/S-15/PV.1, p. 31)

The delegation of Iraq will speak again to express its views on certain agenda items, such as those on turning the Middle East into a nuclear-weapon-free zone and the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, and denuclearizing Africa, as well as other matters, when they come up for debate.

Mr. BAYART (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): One of the main themes of the statements of delegations in the general debate in both the General Assembly and the First Committee has been the desire to preserve and increase all the positive elements achieved by the relaxation of the international atmosphere by substantive agreements to consolidate and make irreversible the disarmament process and internationalize disarmament efforts. The First Committee's task is to make a specific contribution to the attainment of this goal by taking practical steps. The implementation of the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - INF Treaty - which has already begun, shows that nuclear disarmament is fully feasible. The Treaty represents the triumph of political

(Mr. Bayart, Mongolia)

realism. It is a first historic step towards real nuclear disarmament. The elimination of part of the nuclear means of waging war reduces the dependence of international security on so-called nuclear deterrence. It reduces the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons and is instrumented in the prevention of nuclear war.

Mongolia has expressed its satisfaction that, by agreeing to eliminate its medium-range and shorter-range missiles in the Asian part of its country, the Soviet Union has accommodated the wishes of the States of the Asian and Pacific region. Mongolia hopes that the willingness of the Soviet Union to eliminate two classes of nuclear missiles in Asia will, among other things, promote a solution to the problem of the reduction of the United States military presence in the region.

The full effect of the INF Treaty will be realized only if the nuclear armaments thus eliminated are not offset by a qualitative build-up of other types of weapons. In order to reinforce this first success in nuclear disarmament, it is exceedingly important for the United States and the Soviet Union to conclude an agreement on a 50 per cent reduction of their strategic offensive arms, in strict compliance with the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems (ABM), in 1972, and including the commitment not to withdraw within an agreed period.

We are delighted that the Moscow summit meeting of General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan gave an impetus to the framing of such an agreement. Our delegation was exceedingly interested to hear the statement of President Reagan in the General Assembly to the effect that work on the preparation of an offensive strategic arms treaty might be completed within a year. We, and many others, of course, would be pleased if this important event could take place even before that. None the less, the statement of the President of the United States and the announcement by the Soviet side of considerable progress in negotiations on this

(Mr. Bayart, Mongolia)

question bolster our hope for the prompt attainment of the goal of a true, substantial reduction in offensive strategic armaments.

My delegation particularly wishes to emphasize that additional multilateral disarmament efforts are especially important today. In paragraph 48 of the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, we read:

"In the task of achieving the goals of nuclear disarmament, all the nuclear-weapon States, in particular those among them which possess the most important nuclear arsenals, bear a special responsibility." (resolution S-10/2, para. 48)

Therefore, now, when questions of substantial reductions in the nuclear arsenals of the Soviet Union and the United States are entering the practical stage, the Conference on Disarmament, at which all nuclear-weapon States are represented, must conduct negotiations on questions of nuclear disarmament. This is a task entrusted to it by the General Assembly, in particular, in the Final Document of its first special session on disarmament.

We feel that special Security Council meetings to discuss objectives and tasks with regard to nuclear disarmament would provide an important channel for the combined efforts of the nuclear-weapon States.

A complete nuclear-test ban is a fundamental issue in connection with the cessation of the nuclear-arms race and nuclear disarmament. In the absence of solution to that problem, which is long overdue, it will be impossible to prevent the proliferation, both vertical and horizontal, of nuclear weapons. We attach particular importance to the Soviet-American negotiations on questions related to the problem of nuclear testing, and we hope that they will lead to the ultimate

(Mr. Bayart, Mongolia)

goal of a complete nuclear-test ban and, as steps towards the goal, to the prompt ratification of the 1974 Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear-Weapon Tests and the 1976 Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes.

However, bilateral talks must not be allowed to overshadow the commencement of multilateral efforts on questions related to a comprehensive nuclear-test ban, in this particular case at the Conference on Disarmament. All possible means to achieve this end must be used. We wish to express our support for the proposal of Indonesia, Mexico, Peru, Sri Lanka, Venezuela and Yugoslavia for the convening of a conference of the States parties to the 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water to consider possible amendments to that Treaty to turn it into a comprehensive nuclear-test ban. Mongolia welcomes the willingness of the Soviet Union to declare, mutually with the United States, a moratorium on nuclear-weapon testing, with or without a time-limit.

(Mr. Bayart, Mongolia)

Notwithstanding the unquestionably positive changes that have occurred in international affairs, the arms race is still going on, and the danger of nuclear war is still there. Therefore, until nuclear disarmament has been achieved it is impossible to prohibit the use or the threat of the use of nuclear weapons. In this regard, I wish to emphasize that the Foreign Minister of my country proposed at the third special session devoted to disarmament that the Security Council might consider the adoption of a legal instrument on banning the first use of nuclear weapons, an instrument acceptable to all nuclear-weapon States. We feel that there is already a sufficiently solid basis for such action.

The States parties to the Warsaw Treaty have declared that they would never be the first to use nuclear weapons. The People's Republic of China has assumed a commitment to the effect that it will never in any circumstances make first use of nuclear weapons. The member States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have also stated that none of their weapons would be used except in response to an armed attack. Lastly, we are aware of the joint Soviet-American statement that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. If, in the light of these statements, an appropriate binding legal instrument were to be elaborated to prohibit the first use of nuclear weapons, that would be tantamount to the prevention of nuclear war.

Great importance as regards reducing the threat of the outbreak of nuclear war is attached to the Soviet-United States agreement on notification of the launching of intercontinental ballistic missiles and submarine-launched ballistic missiles. Adherence to that agreement by the other nuclear-weapon States or the concluding of a similar agreement among all the nuclear-weapon Powers would be a substantive supplement to it. We would also emphasize the current importance of an agreement being reached among all the nuclear Powers on the establishment of centres for the reduction of the nuclear danger.

(Mr. Bayart, Mongolia)

The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world is an important step in disarmament. Such zones help to prevent nuclear war and strengthen the non-proliferation régime. My delegation welcomes the readiness of the Soviet Union, together with the United States and the People's Republic of China, to become a guarantor of the nuclear-free zone in the Korean peninsula proposed by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In the event of the implementation of this agreement, the measure, together with the Rarotonga Treaty, would make an important contribution to the strengthening of security in the Asia and Pacific region.

The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons has for two decades played an important role in the strengthening of international security. Mongolia, as in the past, advocates an increase in the number of parties to the Treaty, and enhancing its effectiveness. Therefore we propose that the General Assembly appeal to all States that have not yet done so to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty so that by 1990 - in other words by the time of the Fourth Review Conference of Parties to the Treaty - it would become truly universal.

According to certain data, expenditures on military research and development at present account for 25 per cent of total research and development outlays. Thus the latest accomplishments of science and technology are being extensively used to develop weapons and upgrade them in qualitative terms, particularly weapons of mass destruction. Therefore the proposal by India and other States for the establishment in the Office of the Secretary-General of a group for the assessment and forecasting of new technology is very timely and deserves support.

It is also essential without delay to prohibit the development of anti-ballistic-missile defences. The establishment of such defences by one side will compel the other side to concentrate all its efforts on the elaboration of means of overcoming them, and this would lead to an uncontrollable arms race in



(Mr. Bayart, Mongolia)

outer space. Many States have made a number of proposals and come forward with a number of initiatives designed to keep outer space peaceful and to keep weapons out of outer space. All these deserve thorough consideration. The prevention of an arms race in outer space is well served by the proposal of the Soviet Union for the establishment of a system of international monitoring of compliance with a ban on weapons of any sort in outer space, the central component of such a proposal being an international space inspectorate. Inspection at space launching facilities - of which there are not so many in the world at the present time - carried out immediately before the launching of objects into outer space would, in our opinion, be a simple and effective means of ascertaining that objects launched into space were not weapons and were not carrying weapons.

Within the range of initiatives designed to strengthen peace and security in the region of Asia and the Pacific, the Soviet Union has recently proposed the establishment at the Krasnoyarsk radar station of a centre for international co-operation in the use of outer space for peaceful purposes. This is a fine supplement to its proposal for the establishment of a world space organization.

The completion of the elaboration of a convention on the complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction is one of the most urgent disarmament tasks. The present level of the talks on the elaboration of a convention at the Conference on Disarmament makes it necessary for the participants to mobilize all their political will in order to achieve agreement and demonstrate openness and trust towards their partners.

Mongolia has already declared that it does not have any chemical weapons. Today I am empowered to state that as soon as a convention on the total prohibition of chemical weapons is opened for signature Mongolia will act to sign it among the first signatories. This again confirms our sincere desire to put an end to the

(Mr. Bayart, Mongolia)

chemical threat for all time. Mongolia actively advocates strengthening the régime prohibiting the use of chemical weapons and supports the proposal for the convening of a conference of the States parties to the 1925 Geneva Protocol and other States so as to take measures to strengthen that Protocol. We share the view that such a conference should give a powerful impetus to the acceleration and successful completion of talks in Geneva on the prohibition of chemical weapons.

The interrelationship between nuclear disarmament and the limitation and reduction of conventional weapons is acknowledged by the international community. Therefore the process of nuclear disarmament must be accompanied by and strengthened by measures in the sphere of conventional arms reductions. Mongolia has been carefully following the efforts being made in Europe to ensure a stable equilibrium at ever lower levels of armed forces and armaments. We feel that the programme of negotiations for a radical reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals proposed by the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty in July this year constitutes an excellent basis for the attainment of that objective.

The use of the latest accomplishments in science and technology for the development of means of waging war is gradually eliminating the broad boundary between nuclear and conventional weapons. This again testifies to the need to establish control over the use of new technology. We continue to believe in the need to consider the possibility of elaborating an international agreement on the prohibition of new types of conventional weapons, particularly those of great destructive force.

(Mr. Bayart, Mongolia)

The negative impact of the naval arms race on the general military and strategic situation internationally and regionally makes solution of that problem a matter of the highest urgency.\*

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\*Mr. Batiouk (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

(Mr. Bayart, Mongolia)

In his statement last Tuesday the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Petrovsky, submitted data on the naval forces of his country. That step, taken by the Soviet Union in a spirit of glasnost, and openness in the military sphere, demonstrates its trust towards its partners in its desire in actual practice to resolve this problem of naval armaments. We hope that the other so-called naval Powers will respond positively to this important initiative.

At the third special session on disarmament, despite all expectations, it was not possible to arrive at a final document. However, we do not consider that session as a complete failure. As we see it, it became an important phase in the development of a constructive dialogue on a wide range of questions of security and disarmament. It made it possible to broaden the parameters of interaction between States in their joint quest for practical means to resolve the cardinal problems of world development, as a counterweight to military and coercive methods. The session accumulated a whole range of constructive proposals and valuable ideas and considerations with regard to the disarmament question. We must now make full use of them.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize that the Government of my country fully supports and encourages the comprehensive activities of United Nations bodies and related agencies working on disarmament questions, and we advocate the unswerving enhancement of the role of the United Nations in disarmament problems. The aim of general and complete disarmament can be achieved only by the combined efforts of all States and through the strengthening of the United Nations.

Mr. ADJOYI (Togo) (interpretation from French): Mr. Chairman, heeding your appeal under rule 110 of the rules of procedure, I shall refrain from conveying to you the usual words of congratulation, although I remain firmly convinced that your personal qualities, as well as those of the other officers of the Committee, are deserving of the praise of the Togolese delegation.

(Mr. Adjayi, Togo)

The work of the First Committee is taking place in an international political climate in which - despite the persistence of many areas of concern - distrust, the quest for military and strategic superiority and belligerence seem nevertheless to be gradually yielding to the creative forces of reason.

A sign of our times, disarmament is finding its way owing to the growing awareness of the absurdity of ideological and military confrontation and, hence, of the virtues of openness, dialogue and broad agreement.

The consolidation and realization of encouraging trends towards arms control is all the more urgent, since there remain serious obstacles to the cessation and reversal of the arms race. We have known for a long time now that military competition was taking on growing dimensions as a result of the hostility between two socio-political and economic systems, each wishing to displace the other because of incompatibility, and as a result of distrust, and all manner of interference and pressure in the developing world.

Today we must recognize that the gradual improvement in East-West relations allows us to cherish the hope for genuine disarmament. An analysis of the situation shows that, in the second half of the 1980s, there has been a positive evolution in the two super-Powers' perception of the need for nuclear disarmament. Furthermore, it is comforting to note that this evolution echoes the high priority given to nuclear disarmament.

In this connection, the signing and ratification by the United States of America and the Soviet Union of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles is significant, as is the resolve of both countries to pursue negotiations with a view to a 50-per-cent reduction of their strategic nuclear arsenals. For that goal to be achieved within a reasonable period of time, it is important that efforts be undertaken by all to strengthen the Treaty on the

(Mr. Adjoyi, Togo)

Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems - the ADM Treaty - and to secure a common commitment on the non-militarization of space.

Futhermore, it is appropriate to hail the joint verification steps taken recently at the Nevada and Semipalatinsk test sites within the framework of the gradual process towards the total prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. While that gradual approach seems realistic given the present state of East-West relations, it has the major drawback of not preventing the qualitative development of nuclear weapons. It is therefore necessary to ensure that that approach does not become a pretext for the indefinite postponement of a total prohibition of nuclear tests.

In this connection, the Soviet proposal to establish a bilateral moratorium on nuclear tests deserves careful consideration.

The valuable contribution of the two super-Powers to the peaceful settlement of certain regional conflicts also deserves special mention. However, finding a way out of the impasse in other crises should remain central to their concerns.

For the bold initiatives taken by the United States of America and the Soviet Union to take their rightful place in the history of nuclear-disarmament efforts, bilateral negotiations must create a threefold process aimed at: first, avoiding the effect whereby implementation of plans to modernize nuclear weapons offset the impact of eliminating whole categories of such weapons; secondly, giving impetus to multilateral negotiations; and, thirdly, beginning the step-by-step and irreversible elimination of nuclear weapons.

The Secretary-General's report on the "Study on the climatic and other global effects of nuclear war" (A/43/351), is valuable, since it sheds new light on the serious threat of nuclear weapons posed to the survival of civilization.

(Mr. Adjayi, Togo)

According to that report,

"The scientific evidence is now conclusive that a major nuclear war would entail the high risk of a global environmental disruption ...

" ...

"The socio-economic consequences in a world intimately interconnected economically, socially and environmentally would be grave. The functions of production, distribution and consumption in existing socio-economic systems would be completely disrupted. The severe physical damage from blast, fire and radiation in the targeted countries would preclude the type of support that made recovery possible following the Second World War." (A/43/351, paras. 22, 25)

On the basis of the illuminating conclusions of the experts, we must concede that the promotion of nuclear disarmament is an urgent task connected with the defence of the right to life and the achievements of human civilization.

In my delegation's view, the Fourth Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) should be an opportunity to strengthen the non-proliferation régime. Universal adherence to the NPT should be assiduously promoted. In this connection, pressure on the racist régime of South Africa to adhere to the Treaty and respect the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa should be stepped up.

Togo was among the first signatories of the Treaty, and we firmly support Sweden's proposal for a new United Nations study on nuclear weapons, in the context of the Fourth Review Conference of the NPT.

(Mr. Adjoyi, Togo)

The Conference on Disarmament's adoption of a set of guiding principles on confidence-building measures and verification will unquestionably lead to greater awareness of the important contribution that the application of those concepts can make to the arms-control process. It is reassuring that those concepts are understood almost universally and form part of the efforts to improve East-West relations and increase respect for agreements on disarmament and on the prevention and control of conflicts.

This is shown by the exchange of inspection missions between countries of the East and of the West under the Stockholm agreement.

It is shown also by the initiatives taken by African countries to promote confidence-building measures within the framework of the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa. In February this year the Centre organized a conference on confidence, security and development in the framework of the Economic Community of Central African States. The conference considered the formulation of a programme of measures to strengthen confidence and security and to enhance the development prospects of the countries of that region.

Another meeting sponsored by the Centre was held at Lomé in August this year. Its purpose was to set up a training programme on the settlement of conflicts, the prevention and control of crises and confidence-building measures among States members of the Economic Community of West African States. We welcome the plan to extend that programme to include all interested African countries, and express appreciation of the work of the Centre, and the efforts of the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Akashi, to promote the Centre's activities.



(Mr. Adjayi, Togo)

These are only some of the meetings organized by the Centre this year. They highlight the central contribution which that institution can make to efforts by African leaders to safeguard and consolidate balance in the continent. Clearly, the Centre's increased effectiveness will depend largely on the political and financial support of States Members of the United Nations.

To the extent possible, the Government of Togo will continue to provide assistance to ensure the proper functioning of the Centre.

Allegations, now proved correct, of the use of chemical weapons in the Iran-Iraq conflict are a cruel reminder of the excesses and horrors of the First World War that led to the conclusion of the Geneva Protocol. Because of its limited scope and the many reservations to which it gave rise, that international legal instrument is today inadequate to prevent the proliferation of the chemical weapons - which some refer to as the poor man's atom bomb. These hard facts make the adoption of appropriate measures to halt the spread of chemical weapons and prohibit their production for all time extremely urgent.

That is why my country, which is a party to the Geneva Protocol and has undertaken not to carry out any chemical-weapons production activities, firmly supports the United States proposal to convene a conference of States signatories to the Geneva Protocol for the purpose of strengthening the Protocol. Besides providing an opportunity to reaffirm our commitment to the non-use of chemical weapons, the conference should have as its goal the prevention of the spread of these weapons, the promotion of universal adherence to the Protocol, and the strengthening of verification procedures.

(Mr. Adjayi, Togo)

It is also for this reason that, while awaiting the entry into force of the International Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction, Togo is in favour of the application of a variety of sanctions against States known to be guilty of using chemical weapons. The Conference on Disarmament is the body that should step up negotiations towards the conclusion of a convention providing for a strict international verification mechanism. In short, chemical weapons and all means of producing them must be eliminated for ever.

Including on the agenda of the First Committee the item entitled "Dumping of nuclear and industrial wastes" is, in our view, an important political decision reflecting the concern of African leaders with regard to practices that are to be considered inimical to our continent. Quite clearly this practice was started by unscrupulous business groups and transnational corporations bent on exploiting, for base materialistic purposes, the economic and financial difficulties confronting our countries. Such contempt for the environment and for the health of the peoples of Africa is a new threat to the security of our States.

The vigilance shown and the firm stand taken by the heads of State, in particular at the twenty-fourth summit conference of the Organization of African Unity and at the eleventh summit conference of the West African Economic Community, clearly show that they are aware of the dangers posed by the practice of dumping nuclear and industrial wastes. In calling for consideration of this question, Africa wishes to bring about a greater awareness of the serious damage that the dumping of waste poses for developing countries. Africa wishes also to see a concerted international strategy worked out for an effective struggle against this situation.

(Mr. Adjoyi, Togo)

For the moment, it would be well for developed countries to undertake strict control of transboundary and transmaritime movements of wastes to developing countries.

In this regard the delegation of Togo welcomes the serious attention that the European Economic Community has been giving recently to the question of the transport and dumping of toxic wastes. The resolution adopted by the European Parliament in Brussels in May 1988, as well as the prohibition measures envisaged by the European ministers of the environment, indicate the Community's concern with regard to practices that may seriously threaten the security of African and other developing countries. We should also welcome the solidarity expressed by New Zealand towards Africa with regard to attempts to dump nuclear and industrial wastes on our continent.

The rationalization of the work of the First Committee is a matter of common concern because of its implications for the increasing effectiveness of this important body, and because of the wish to strengthen the role of the United Nations as the central authority in the field of disarmament. The adoption of General Assembly resolution 42/42 N is a clear expression of that concern and provides us with an appropriate framework for future steps towards rationalization.

My delegation also welcomes the efforts made by the Chairman of our Committee to ensure efficient programming of our meetings. The following three steps should, in our opinion, guide us in improving the effectiveness of the Committee: first, the encouragement of intensive consultations on preliminary drafts and draft resolutions with a view to achieving consensus; secondly, the merging of draft resolutions and the grouping of questions in clusters without infringing the right of any delegation to submit proposals; thirdly, the avoidance of any simplification likely to interfere with the importance attached to a given item or to call into question the agenda allocated to the First Committee.

(Mr. Adjoyi, Togo)

The failure of the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament is already part of history as a major lost opportunity. That failure arrested the momentum that had been built up since 1978 and gave rise to doubts as to the ability of this Organization to promote a multilateral approach to disarmament. The absence of consensus at that session does not, however, mean that that was the end of special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. It is important that we should learn from the experience and thus mobilize our energies once more to preserve and consolidate the areas of agreement and to go deeper into questions which, because of their sensitivity or complexity, call for greater realism, openness and flexibility.

For the moment, the Final Document of the first special session devoted to disarmament remains a valid record of the progress made and of the principles and priorities adopted in respect of arms control and disarmament. In the final analysis, there are still encouraging signs of disarmament on the horizon, and they provide opportunities gradually to put an end to the arms race in all its forms. The hope that bilateral initiatives have given us could be even greater if the multilateral approach to disarmament were to be given new momentum through the participation of other militarily important States in the efforts towards arms control and disarmament. At a time when the United Nations is enjoying new prestige and credibility it is essential for us to work in concert to rid ourselves of the demons that turn the minds of men away from the virtues of peace.

Mr. ALEINIK (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): The spirit of the last meetings of the working bodies of the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was one of hope, intense creative effort and a vigorous search for broadly acceptable solutions. That spirit can still be felt in this room.

The constructive and non-confrontational tone set by the third special session from the outset, as well as the multitude of new proposals put forward, evidenced the seriousness of the approach taken by States and their desire to achieve a substantial breakthrough in favour of the prevention of war, the cessation of the arms race and a decisive shift towards disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament.

On the other hand, the conclusion of the third special session demonstrated that the large and diverse orchestra of the world community needs to become more symphonic, to play with greater consonance and unison, if it is to become genuinely philharmonic. For genuine harmony presupposes, notwithstanding the diversity and competition among various instruments and themes, a subordination to one higher and common goal. That highest common goal of the world community is to guarantee the interests of mankind as a whole, to guarantee to all the peoples of the world their right to life and development in conditions of stable peace and freedom.

If we look back objectively over recent years, free from rose-tinted illusions and from undue gloom, it is clear that after a period of confrontation during which substantial progress in disarmament was ruled out and, indeed, met with outright failure, mankind has now entered onto a path of serious achievements in many areas dealing with the further limitation and reduction of armaments and disarmament. The rudder that has enabled us to change course, as it were, and to steer away from disaster has been the new political thinking based on truly universal human priorities. By maintaining and developing the present bilateral impetus, supplemented by the multilateral process, a new quality in international relations

(Mr. Aleinik, Byelorussian SSR)

can be achieved. The present session of the General Assembly can stimulate and give impetus to such efforts.\*

We are witnessing a unique period in international relations. We see a shift occurring before our very eyes from a stage of hope to a stage of action, to the first practical steps in the area of nuclear disarmament. We are also witnessing the realization of a vision embodied in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which stated:

"the accumulation of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, today constitutes much more a threat than a protection for the future of mankind. The time has therefore come to put an end to this situation, to abandon the use of force in international relations and to seek security in disarmament" (S-10/2, para. 1).

At a time when there is still no guarantee that present processes may not be reversed, they must be strengthened. It is therefore extremely important to maintain the momentum achieved: having taken the first step, we must prepare for the second and ponder the third, without losing sight of our goal.

The entry into force and implementation of the Treaty between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles - the INF Treaty - pave the way for the actual elimination of other classes of nuclear weapons. The admittedly difficult progress towards that goal includes the welcome Soviet-United States talks on the 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons in the context of compliance with the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and non-withdrawal from it within a specified period of time. At the summit meetings at Washington and Moscow it was agreed that vigorous and determined efforts should be made at those talks to ensure their progress without pauses or

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\*The Chairman returned to the Chair.

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letdowns. Those meetings also reaffirmed the postulate that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. There was a determination to prevent any war between the Soviet Union and the United States, whether nuclear or conventional, and to renounce any intentions to achieve military supremacy. Those principles represent valuable contributions to the foundation of comprehensive international security.

The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic actively advocates the constant strengthening of those principles within the practical scale of values of the international community, including the United Nations, and believes that they should gain universal recognition. The logic and gradual development of the process of nuclear disarmament that is now under way demand that at some stage all the nuclear Powers must be involved in the process. In keeping with the spirit of that process and the aforementioned agreements, it is assumed that no steps will be taken to extend the arms race to other spheres.

A great deal of work, calling for intellectual daring and flexibility, is now being carried out in the area of strategic concepts. The realization of the fact that the old military and strategic maxims have brought mankind into the impasse of nuclear confrontation has led responsible State officials radically to reconsider relevant values in this sphere. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, Hans Dietrich Genscher, recently emphasized, quite correctly, that unlimited armament does not create unlimited security. The logic of that principle applied to nuclear weapons leads to the conclusion that the concept of nuclear deterrence has outlived whatever usefulness it might have had. We cannot continue to balance forever on the tightrope of fear over the nuclear abyss.

The nuclear Powers play a most important role in nuclear disarmament and are primarily responsible for it. It would be wrong, however, to underestimate the significance and potential of the multilateral dimension in resolving those problems. Multilateral efforts have a unique and singular potential for dealing

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with some aspects of preventing nuclear war and removing the nuclear threat. In that connection it is to be regretted that the world community has wasted so much time in futile attempts at the Conference on Disarmament to establish subsidiary bodies to deal with issues involved in the prevention of nuclear war, nuclear disarmament, the banning of nuclear tests and ensuring its own efficient functioning. The Byelorussian SSR will support draft resolutions that call for the establishment of such bodies and the commencement of their work.



(Mr. Aleinik, Byelorussian SSR)

In addition the world community has accumulated valuable experience in bilateral and multilateral spheres which will be of great help in actual nuclear disarmament. It includes procedures to verify compliance with the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles as well as the International Atomic Energy Agency's verification mechanism and experience which can be effectively used in developing politico-legal and verification mechanisms, both for the initial stage of nuclear disarmament and in a future nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world.

The potential of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) could be utilized, as was proposed by the Byelorussian SSR at the third special session devoted to disarmament, to study guarantees of the non-resurgence of nuclear weapons and the non-development of new types of weapons of mass destruction in a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world.

The full potential of the United Nations Disarmament Commission has yet to be used. The documents adopted by the Commission at this year's session, which contained guidelines for confidence-building measures and verification principles testify to the Commission's considerable productive potential. The Byelorussian SSR, which had the honour to chair the consideration of nuclear disarmament problems at the Commission's last session, is convinced that it is possible to break the long-standing stalemate in the examination of these issues. Substantial progress has been made by the Commission in its work to draft a nuclear-test-ban recommendation due to the efforts made, above all, by the delegations of Australia and Mexico. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR hopes that the language worked out by the Disarmament Commission will facilitate the examination of this problem at the current session of the General Assembly. That would be a significant step

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marking the beginning of practical multilateral work on this extremely important task of working out a comprehensive and complete nuclear-test ban.

We are convinced that on our way to that goal, which is crucial for nuclear disarmament, not a single opportunity or path should be neglected. In this context work done at the Soviet-United States full-scale stage-by-stage talks on matters relating to the nuclear-test problem is of great significance. A joint verification experiment conducted recently at the test sites of both countries is a major milestone in the sphere of openness. Moreover, it creates actual prerequisites for an early ratification of the Soviet-United States Treaties of 1974 and 1976 on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests and on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes, opening a new stage in subsequent talks on the limitation and, eventually, complete cessation of nuclear tests. It also has great conceptual significance both for disarmament and for environmental protection.

The Byelorussian SSR has been consistent in its support for the initiatives to establish nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world. It regards them as an unconditionally crucial element in strengthening international security. We call upon the nuclear Powers which have not yet done so to ratify the relevant protocols to the Treaties of Tlatelolco and Rarotonga. We also call on the States which have a role to play in the establishment of nuclear-free zones in their regions to begin the practical implementation of this idea.

At the third special session many States, including the USSR and other socialist countries as well as India, Zimbabwe, Sweden, Iceland, Togo, Cameroon, Ecuador, Nigeria and Greece, made proposals concerning both the non-use of nuclear weapons and various aspects of their elimination. These proposals in our view should be carefully studied and implemented. They should not be lost in the United

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Nations archives but on the contrary should give new impetus to the discussion of the entire range of nuclear disarmament problems at the current session of the General Assembly.

Multilateral efforts today play a major role in the elimination of chemical weapons, an important area in the elimination of weapons of mass destruction. The adoption of a global convention on the comprehensive prohibition and destruction of these weapons is becoming increasingly urgent. To be effective, such a convention should cover all States which have a chemical-weapon-production capability. Unfortunately, this year the Conference on Disarmament failed to enter the final stage of its work on drafting the convention. Very useful work has been done on several aspects, including the Soviet proposal to conduct an international experiment to test procedures for verifying the non-production of chemical-warfare agents by civilian industries. However, substantial and rapid progress has yet to be made in finding an effective solution to the complicated problem of preventing the development and production of chemical weapons without disrupting the normal development of peaceful chemistry, the problem of verification procedures and bodies, and so on. We hope that discussion of the chemical disarmament problem at the forty-third session of the General Assembly will induce the Governments of all participants in the Conference on Disarmament, without exception, to give their delegations instructions that will enable them without delay to complete the drafting of the convention.

A multilateral data exchange in the framework of the convention proposed by the USSR would contribute to the practical solution of verification problems.

The proliferation of chemical weapons and instances of their use aggravate concern for the convention's future. All this makes the efforts of the world community to create an atmosphere of intolerance of chemical weapons and, more

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important, of their use, particularly urgent. The Byelorussian SSR supports the role of the United Nations Secretary-General in investigating without delay evidence of the use of chemical weapons.

The geographical spread of chemical weapons lends further strength to the idea of establishing zones free from chemical weapons. The Byelorussian SSR has consistently supported relevant initiatives by the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia as well as by Bulgaria and Romania.

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Several proposals to ban chemical weapons and to prevent their use were made at the third special session devoted to disarmament. All of them should be closely studied.

The Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction has also grown in significance. It would be most useful if strict compliance with obligations under the Convention itself were supplemented with the participation of all countries in confidence-building measures and with the development of international co-operation within the framework of the Convention.

The Byelorussian SSR takes part in publishing information in accordance with the decisions and recommendations adopted by the ad hoc meeting of scientific and technical experts from States parties to the Convention. The forthcoming third review conference for the Convention prompts the need for scientists and research institutions to undertake more vigorous efforts in drafting appropriate recommendations.

In conclusion, our delegation would like to inform the Committee that, in September, just before the forty-third session of the General Assembly, the Byelorussian SSR had the honour of receiving a group of disarmament Fellows from the United Nations. When we got to know these talented young people better, we saw once again that our support for this useful programme was quite correct. We hope that they will soon join in our common effort to ensure an effective and irreversible disarmament process and to shape genuine comprehensive security.

The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.