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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 38th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. SOUZA e SILVA (Brazil)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 45 TO 65 AND 142 (continued)

CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION UPON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON DISARMAMENT AGENDA ITEMS

Mr. DANIELSSON (Sweden): I have the honour to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.28, on the reduction of military budgets, on behalf of the sponsors, which are Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Ireland, Italy, Malta, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Romania, Sudan, Uruguay and my own country.

The item "Reduction of military budgets" has been on the agenda of the First Committee for several years now. Some progress has been made. One example is the adoption in 1980 by the General Assembly of a carefully elaborated system for international reporting of military expenditures.

It is true that not very many States have yet complied with the recommendations of the Assembly to participate in the reporting. The system is, however, still at an early stage of implementation, and we hope that the number of participating States will grow in the years to come.

It is, of course, highly desirable to achieve active and growing participation on the part of States of all geographic regions and with different economic and budgeting systems. Apart from the important confidence-building impact such a development would have, it would also serve the purpose of enabling a further refinement of the reporting system.

It should be noted that the main objective of this whole reporting exercise is not to provide better statistics on military expenditures but to promote international agreements to freeze, reduce or otherwise restrain such expenditures. If and when Member States, and in particular the most heavily armed States, decide to try seriously to negotiate such agreements, they would need to know what the military expenditures are, and how they can be defined and reported in the framework of an agreement. The existing reporting instrument as adopted by the General Assembly would in this context provide a very useful basis for the negotiations. It is, therefore, important to preserve this reporting system and to improve it further by a continuous and possibly growing participation.

(Mr. Danielsson, Sweden)

In operative paragraph 1 of the present draft resolution the Assembly takes note with appreciation of the report of the Secretary-General on the replies received in 1984 from Member States in the framework of the reporting system. The replies are contained in document A/39/521. A reference to this document should be inserted under footnote 1, which appears in operative paragraph 1.

Operative paragraph 2 stresses the need to increase the number of reporting States with a view to the broadest possible participation from different geographic regions and representing different budgeting systems.

In operative paragraph 3 it is recommended that all Member States should report annually, by 30 April, to the Secretary-General, by using the reporting instrument.

No doubt, future negotiations will also have to deal with the problems of comparing and verifying military expenditures. Any agreement lasting more than one year will have to take into account that national rates of inflation may be very different, and each negotiating party will of course require sufficient assurance that the other parties do comply with the provisions of the agreement. The purchasing power of national currencies also varies considerably between different countries.

To be able to compare the military expenditures of different States there is thus a need to construct military price deflators and military purchasing-power parities. The General Assembly requested the Secretary-General, in resolution 37/95 B, to conduct a study on these problems. In operative paragraph 4 of the present draft, the Assembly takes note with appreciation of the progress report from the group of experts appointed to carry out this study. The progress report is contained in document A/39/399. It is also noted that a final report will be submitted to the fortieth session of the General Assembly.

In operative paragraph 5, the Secretary-General is requested to provide the group of experts with the necessary assistance and Secretariat services.

Finally, in operative paragraph 6, it is decided to include an item entitled "Reduction of military budgets" in the provisional agenda of the fortieth session of the General Assembly.

Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): The draft resolution on "Cessation of all text explosions of nuclear weapons", which I have the honour to introduce, is in document A/C.1/39/L.33 and is co-sponsored by Bangladesh, Ecuador, Kenya, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia and Mexico.

Its text is very similar to that of resolution 38/62, which was adopted on 15 December last year on the same item, and, like the resolution adopted in 1982 at the thirty-seventh session, it contains in its preambular part a very good summary of all the main antecedents of this matter, which for more than a quarter of a century has been under consideration by the General Assembly of the United Nations. We find mentioned therein the repeated condemnations of tests by the Assembly; the categorical declaration in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament by the Secretary-General of the United Nations more than 12 years ago identifying the absence of a political will by the nuclear-weapon Powers as the sole obstacle to achieving a total prohibition; the lack of compliance with the undertakings expressly entered into under the 1963 test-ban Treaty and article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons opened for signature in 1968 by the States which act as depositaries for these instruments; and finally, the growing negative influence that that behaviour had on the first and the second Review Conferences of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and will certainly have on the third, which is to be held next year.

Therefore there are only two additions that we thought we should include in the preambular part of the aforementioned draft resolution.

The first has been to add a new paragraph making very clear and easily accessible to the man in the street what was already implied in the diplomatic terms of the former fourth paragraph that is now the fifth. Indeed, the extra paragraph is intended to express the conviction that:

"the existing means of verification are adequate to ensure compliance with a nuclear test ban and that their alleged absence is nothing but an excuse for further development and refinement of nuclear weapons".

This opinion is reproduced from the report of the Conference on Disarmament, which faithfully reflected the position of the vast majority of the members of that negotiating body in Geneva.

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

The second addition is another paragraph, the sixth paragraph, whose contents I shall read out shortly. It emphasizes the gulf between the solemn statements made here and the recent attitude of two of the nuclear-weapon States depositaries of the partial test-ban Treaty. The text of that paragraph reads as follows:

"Bearing in mind that the three nuclear-weapon States which acted as depositaries of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water in the report they submitted on 30 July 1980 to the Comittee on Disarmament after four years of trilateral negotiations, stated, inter alia, that they were 'mindful of the great value for all mankind that the prohibition of all nuclear-weapon test explosions in all environments will have' as well as 'conscious of the important responsibility placed upon them to find solutions to the remaining problems', adding furthermore to be 'determined to exert their best efforts and necessary will and persistence to bring the negotiations to an early and successful conclusion'".

This was stated by the representatives of the three States depositaries on 30 July 1980, just four years ago.

With respect to the operative part of our draft resolution, the only change compared with resolution 38/62 is that we believed it was time for the Assembly - and this is the purpose of operative paragraph 1 - to reiterate "for the eighth time, its strongest condemnation of all nuclear-weapon tests".

Of course, among the operative paragraphs that are reproduced verbatim special importance is attached to operative paragraph 7, where the Assembly, in adopting the draft resolution which I am formally introducing now, would reiterate its appeal:

"to all States members of the Conference on Disarmament to initiate immediately the multilateral negotiation of a treaty for the prohibition of all nuclear-weapon tests and to exert their best endeavours in order that the Conference may transmit to the General Assembly at its fortieth session the complete draft of such a treaty".

The sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.33 would like to believe that this appeal by the Assembly will be heeded, especially by those States whose attitude made it impossible to implement resolution 38/62 in Geneva.

Mr. ALESSI (Italy) (interpretation from French): On behalf of the delegations of Belgium, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Italy, I have the honour to introduce the draft resolution on the "Prevention of an arms race in outer space" contained in document A/C.1/39/L.61.

It is hardly necessary at this stage in our work to reiterate the great importance of the problem of the prevention of an arms race in outer space. This importance is demonstrated by the many statements we have heard on the subject and even more so by the mounting concern of Governments and public opinion with regard to present and future activities in outer space that could endanger international security and stability.

(Mr. Alessi, Italy)

Unfortunately, notwithstanding the work done at its last session, the Conference on Disarmament has been unable to carry out substantive consideration of the problem relating to an arms race in space. It is imperative that consideration be undertaken without further delay in the proper setting, that is, in an <u>ad hoc</u> committee.

We have welcomed with hope the interest manifested by the two great space Powers in the possibility of entering into new bilateral talks on the subject. We profoundly regret that so far they have been unable to agree on a suitable agenda and we sincerely hope that a dialogue will be opened as soon as possible in a constructive spirit, without pre-conditions. The bilateral and multilateral processes are mutually stimulating. They are not rivals: they are complementary and equally essential.

The draft resolution which I have the honour to submit calls upon the Soviet Union and the United States to seek with priority mutually acceptable negotiating approaches which could lead to an agreement or agreements which would be effective and verifiable. It urges the Conference on Disarmament, as the single multilateral disarmament negotiating forum, to consider this question with priority at the beginning of its 1985 session and to intensify efforts to reach agreement on the establishment of an ad hoc committee and on its mandate.

The sponsors of the draft resolution reiterate their firm belief that space activities can make a fundamental contribution to international peace and security and the promotion of international co-operation.

We also believe that it is essential to achieve effective and verifiable measures capable of preventing any use of space which would undermine international stability and security.

The sponsors have sought to avoid any restrictive connotations concerning the possible priorities for the consideration of the various aspects of this problem. For the same reason, they have refrained from taking a stand on a question which has been under debate for a long time, namely, the content of the mandate to be given to the <u>ad hoc</u> committee of the Conference on Disarmament. They are convinced that would be for the Conference itself, on the basis of a consensus of its members, to agree upon a mandate which it deemed to be most appropriate for a helpful and prompt start on the substantive work on this subject.

(Mr. Alessi, Italy)

In conclusion, I cordially hope that the efforts of the sponsors to avoid controversial formulations will win broad support for the draft resolution.

Mr. DJOKIC (Yugoslavia): The international community attaches great importance to special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. Such international meetings are an expression of the common effort of Member States to broaden and enrich the international consensus reached at the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. Special sessions held so far are the best proof that the United Nations is an irreplaceable forum for the engagement of all Member States not only in the implementation but also in the further elaboration of the strategy of the international community in the field of disarmament.

In launching their initiative for the convening of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the non-aligned countries were guided by the belief that only joint action under the auspices of the United Nations could lead to defining the ways of achieving general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control. The convening of the third special session of the General Assembly on disarmament is the continuation of that commitment.

Draft resolution A/C.1/39/L.57 on the convening of the third special session on disarmament is procedural in nature. It reaffirms the resolve of the General Assembly to contribute to the furthering and broadening of positive processes initiated through the laying down of the foundations of an international strategy in the field of disarmament at the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The draft resolution, inter alia, recalls the decision of the General Assembly at its thirty—eighth session to convene the third special session on disarmament not later than 1988. Proceeding from that, the draft resolution envisages that the General Assembly will, at its fortieth session, set the date of the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and establish the Preparatory Committee for the third special session.

The group of sponsors, consisting of Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iran, Madagascar, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Romania, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tunisia, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Zaire and Yugoslavia, wishes to express its firm conviction that the draft resolution, which has been discussed in broad consultations, will be adopted

(Mr. Djokic, Yugoslavia)

by consensus, like all previous General Assembly resolutions relating to special sessions devoted to disarmament.

Mr. MAHBOUB (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of the delegations of Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates, Yemen and Iraq, I have the honour to introduce the draft resolution in document A/C.1/39/L.45, concerning Israeli nuclear armament.

Disarmament is the aim of all peace-loving States in the world; therefore they work for the achievement of that goal. Genuine disarmament cannot be achieved through pursuing a policy of setting up and expanding military arsenals, the most dangerous of which are arsenals of nuclear weapons. The report of the group of experts (A/36/431) established that Israel pursued a nuclear-armament policy and had the technical capability to manufacture nuclear weapons. It thus exposes the area to grave danger. International appeals and resolutions adopted by international organizations have focused on Israel and called upon it to renounce the policy of nuclear armament which it pursues and instead to observe international resolutions relevant to this issue.

(Mr. Mahboub, Iraq)

However, Israel has disregarded all these calls. It has persisted not only in disregarding these resolutions but also in openly disobeying them, by continuing to develop its nuclear military capability in collaboration with such ostracized régimes as the racist entity of South Africa.

This situation, which poses a threat to the States of the region by exposing them to the most destructive weapons, impels us to repeat our warnings about the consequences of condoning the military nuclear policy of Israel, especially inasmuch as it has persisted in it since 1982, the year in which the Secretary-General's report was prepared with the assistance of the Group of Experts.

Certain significant developments have taken place as regards Israel's military nuclear activities and the development of its military nuclear capability. Among them are the following.

First, Israel has not so far agreed to renounce the manufacture, use, development or acquisition of nuclear weapons. On the contrary, it has persisted, as we note from statements by its high officials, in making cryptic statements about its military nuclear capability and its ability to enter that field.

Secondly, there is increasing evidence of the growth of Israel's nuclear military capability and also that of its ally, South Africa, along with the former's possession of nuclear weapons, and also increasingly close collaboration between Israel and the South African entity. This collaboration and its growth give reason for profound concern and constitute a grave threat to peace and security in the regions of Africa and the Middle East in particular and to international peace in general.

Thirdly, Israel persists in pursuing its policy of failing to comply with Security Council resolution 487 (1981) and the General Assembly resolutions, the last of which was resolution 38/69, and also the resolutions of the International Atomic Energy Agency, all of which, inter alia, demand that Israel place its nuclear facilities, which have significant capabilities, under international safeguards.

Fourthly, Israel is still insisting on attacking peaceful nuclear facilities in Iraq and in other countries, thus breaching all international norms and instruments, including the United Nations Charter, and exposing the region to danger.

(Mr. Mahboub, Iraq)

The draft resolution deplores the Israeli threat, which still persists up to this time. It also deplores the persistent Israeli attacks on nuclear installations constructed exclusively for peaceful purposes in Iraq and other countries. As confirmed by our Organization and by respected international figures, it is thus threatening basically the International Atomic Energy Agency and its safeguard system, as well as the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons - a matter which compromises the credibility of those two universally recognized systems.

The draft resolution touches on these important matters. It once more condemns Israel's refusal to comply with international resolutions and demands, including those set forth in the preamble to the draft resolution.

The draft resolution also requests the Security Council to prohibit all forms of collaboration with Israel in the nuclear field. It also condemns the close nuclear collaboration between the two racist entities in Tel Aviv and Pretoria. It also calls upon peace-loving States to terminate all nuclear collaboration with Israel, so as to preserve international security. In operative paragraph 7, on the basis of evidence confirming the increasing military nuclear capability of Israel, it condemns its nuclear collaboration with South Africa. The draft resolution requests the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, in co-operation with the Department for Disarmament Affairs and in consultation with the League of Arab States and the Organization of African Unity, to prepare a report providing data and other relevant information relating to Israeli nuclear armament and to update the report of the Secretary-General on Israeli nuclear armament contained in document A/37/434 and to submit it to the General Assembly at its fortieth session.

The sponsors hope the draft resolution will receive the support of all States that believe in the importance of international security.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The CHAIRMAN: We have heard the last speaker inscribed on my list for the introduction of draft resolutions. Do any other delegations wish to take this opportunity to introduce draft resolutions? That is not the case.

At our meeting of last Monday I announced, first, that the First Committee would start taking action on draft resolutions at our meeting next Friday and, secondly, that today I would announce the first draft resolutions to be submitted to the Committee for action.

(The Chairman)

Concerning the first announcement, I have held consultations with delegations and groups of delegations, and I was informed that, in view of the great number of draft resolutions that were circulated only yesterday, many delegations would not have the opportunity to seek instructions and be prepared to take action on those draft resolutions on Friday. For that reason and bearing in mind, as I have announced on previous occasions, that I shall try to conduct the business of this Committee with as much flexibility as possible and to meet the concerns of those delegations, we shall not start action on those draft resolutions on Friday but we shall do so at our meeting on Monday morning.

Concerning my second announcement, I stated that today I would read out the first draft resolutions that will submitted to the Committee for action.

(The Chairman)

Before reading out the numbers of the draft resolutions, I should like to recall my earlier remarks concerning the criteria on which I have based the listing of the draft resolutions to be submitted to the Committee. As I stated before, I propose to arrange the draft resolutions according to their preparedness - that was the best word I could find - and, based on the criterion of preparedness, I have made up clusters of draft resolutions. The first list concerns more specifically procedural and institutional matters, and I shall later announce the subsequent draft resolutions submitted, also according to their preparedness and arranged in clusters.

Based on those criteria, I shall now read out the draft resolutions that will be submitted to the Committee and be put to the vote on Monday morning,

19 November, and if we do not dispose of them all on Monday morning and there is a spill-over, the Committee will continue to take action on them at the following meeting.

I have divided the first draft resolutions to be submitted into clusters. The first cluster of draft resolutions is as follows: A/C.1/39/L.11, L.13, L.16, L.23, L.27, L.29, L.36, L.38, L.48, L.52, L.54, L.57, L.68 and L.70.

The second cluster includes draft resolutions A/C.1/39/L.17, L.30, L.31, L.35, L.39, L.56, L.59 and L.62.

As members will have noticed, those draft resolutions do not correspond strictly to the criteria adopted, but they combine preparedness with interrelated matters and are of a procedural and institutional character. I shall attempt to proceed in a like manner for subsequent draft resolutions, announcing with as much prior notice as possible those to be submitted to the Committee for its decision.

If I hear no objections, I shall take it that the Committee decides to proceed as I have outlined above.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 4.05 p.m.