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New York

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 40th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. TAYLHARDAT (Venezuela)

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#### The meeting was called to order at 11.10 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 49 TO 69 AND 151 (continued)

CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION ON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON DIFARMAMENT ITEMS

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): In connection with draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.54, which is entitled "Compliance with arms limitation and disarmament agreements", I have taken the initiative of preparing a new text. The new text includes some changes intended to reflect more appropriately the debate that took place in the Committee. As a result of this initiative, the original authors of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.54 have agreed not to insist that the Committee take action on that draft. The new document, which reflects the Thairman's proposal, is now being reproduced, and it will be distributed to delegation's at the beginning of the meeting this afternoon.

(The Chairman)

As the time available to complete our work in this second phase is becoming increasingly short, and also since I have received indications from a number of delegations that they want to postpone action on some draft resolutions to this afternoon's meeting, I shall first call on those delegations that wish to introduce draft resolutions, whether those draft resolutions will be dealt with this morning or this afternoon.

Mr. MARIN BOSCH (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): We are very pleased to see you presiding over our work once again, Mr. Chairman.

It is my honour to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.25/Rev.1, "Amendment of the Treaty Banning Nuclear-Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water", on behalf of 57 Member States. The draft resolution, dated 15 November 1989, is the only text in this regard formally introduced to the Committee.

On the basis of our original text, draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.25, consultations were held among all the States parties to the 1963 Moscow Treaty. The sponsors want to express their appreciation to the representative of Egypt, Ambassador El-Araby, who agreed to our request to preside over those consultations, in which the States parties participated on an equal footing under customary international law. As a result of the consultations, which unfortunately did not meet with the success for which we had hoped, the sponsors have revised the draft resolution as a gesture of good will towards many of the other States parties that expressed their opinions.

The revised draft resolution has a new last preambular paragraph, which reads:

"Convinced that such a conference will serve to strengthen the Treaty".

In addition, changes have been made in paragraphs 1, 2 and 3.

In paragraph 1 we recommend the establishment of a preparatory committee, open to all parties to the Treaty, to make arrangements for the amendment conference,

#### (Mr. Marin Bosch, Mexico)

and recommend that it should meet at United Nations Headquarters, here in New York, from 29 May to 1 June 1990, followed by a one-week session of the conference from 4 to 8 June 1990 and a second substantive - I stress "substantive" - session from 7 to 18 January 1991, also in New York.

The venue and dates for the conference in paragraph 1 have been proposed on the basis of the opinion of the great majority of States parties to the Treaty.

The sponsors also consider, as a result of the consultations, that it would be very desirable to recommend how the costs of the conference should be apportioned. Hence, the contents of paragraph 2.

The last amendment to the original text is contained in paragraph 4, which invites the amendment conference to transmit to the General Assembly the documents it deems appropriate to keep the Assembly duly informed of its ongoing work. I believe that the paragraph reflects the opinion of the overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations, which is that on work such as the consideration of amendments to a Treaty as important as the Moscow Treaty a report should duly be made to the General Assembly by the States parties.

The sponsors propose that the revised draft resolution be put to a vote at this afternoon's meeting, when we are confident it will receive broad support.

Mr. FAHMY (Egypt): I have the honour to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10, "Prevention of an arms race in outer space".

Much has been said during the past few weeks about the improvement of the international climate and the progress that has been witnessed, or about what now for the first time appears possible in the field of disarmament. My delegation, like others in the Non-Aligned Movement, has applauded every semblance of progress, no matter how minor it may have been or how belatedly it has been achieved. We have looked favourably at all constructive approaches and have tried whenever and wherever possible to contribute towards furthering international understanding.

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(Mr. Fahmy, Egypt)

That constructive approach, a constant feature of our policy in international relations, is not novel, and it was not conceived in haste or in reaction to particular circumstances or events. Rather, it emanated from our sincere and unwavering commitment to the ideals and principles on which the Non-Aligned Movement was established - above all, the need for peaceful coexistence between States.

With that in mind, we were gratified to see many nations, particularly the two super-Powers and the members of the major military alliances, moving away from confrontation and closer to an era of international co-operation. Having said that, I must add that we did not allow the frustrations of the decades of polarization to weaken our commitment to, or conviction about, peaceful coexistence and international co-operation, and we shall not allow our euphoria over the lessening of international tensions to blind us or to make us ignore the realities that remain, realities that make it vividly clear that while positive developments have no doubt occurred the challenges and obstacles before us continue to be daunting.

High on the list of challenges is the prevention of an arms race in outer space, an endeavour that must be pursued resolutely by all. International co-operation in this regard must be nurtured, to ensure that outer space is utilized exclusively for peaceful purposes and for the benefit of all mankind. Further measures, particularly in the multilateral context, are of paramount importance and urgency.

The delegations of Egypt and Sri Lanka were joined this year by the delegation of Venezuela in co-ordinating the positions on the subject of the non-aligned countries generally and in particular of the 29 sponsors of the draft resolution, which include States outside the Non-Aligned Movement.

### (Mr. Fahmy, Egypt)

Throughout the negotiating process of the past few weeks, the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10 have, time and again, attempted to facilitate the proceedings of this Committee, to reduce the number of draft resolutions submitted on this subject, and to accommodate the positions of other delegations.

Regrettably, our numerous proposals were not found acceptable by some delegations. Hence, we have before us draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10, which is essentially unchanged from the draft resolution adopted by the Committee last year on this subject.

I have no intention of apportioning blame, because the differences that remained unsurmountable were not of a cosmetic nature, but reflected a substantive difference of view between the overwhelming majority of delegations here and a small minority. The differences that remained underscored clearly that the international suphoria is more a reflection of relief at what appears to be the end of an era of frustration and tension than an indication that major achievements have already been made. That is particularly true if one is to put those achievements in the balance against the challenges that remain. It is crystal clear that the prevention of an arms race in outer space is one area on which much more work remains to be done.

During the negotiating stage in this Committee, my delegation had the pleasure of close co-operation with Mr. Tan Han of the delegation of China, Mr. Kokeev and Mr. Agaev of the Soviet Union on behalf of the socialist group, and several Canadian colleagues, not least among them Mr. Phillip McKinnon, on behalf of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.19. Other delegations played an active role as well. They are, however, too numerous to name at this stage of our work. I should like to convey my gratitude to all for their co-operation.

### (Mr. Fahmy, Egypt)

I cannot conclude my statement today without conveying particular appreciation to Ambassador Rasaputram of Sri Lanka and Miss Maria Trujillo of Venezuela for their invaluable advice and collaboration in co-ordinating the positions of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10.

In conclusion, I should like to express the hope that, since it is almost identical to the text we adopted last year, draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10 will receive the same overwhelming support as that draft resolution.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): We turn now to draft resolutions in cluster 14. I call first on delegations wishing to make statements other than those in explanation of vote or position.

Mr. RASAPUTRAM (Sri Lanka): I should like to comment briefly on draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.25/Rev.1. A nuclear-test ban has been discussed since 1945, and has been on the agenda for the past 30 years. But progress has been slow because of competition to modernize. The argument in favour of modernizing nuclear weapons in response to probable threats is not valid today, in the wake of new developments of greater co-operation in all aspects of human activity. The opportunity afforded right now by the desire and willingness of nations to reach agreements in the nuclear field should not be allowed to slip by, as that would put the clock back a number of years. Such a regressive development would cause greater uncertainty, a lack of credibility about our intentions and a greater threat to peace. A nuclear-test ban cannot be relegated to a secondary position, but must be given the highest priority.

The draft resolution now has more sponsors than the number required to make the convening of an amendment conference mandatory. The non-aligned countries at their 1989 Belgrade summit called for the convening of such a conference as early as possible in 1990. The timing of the conference as mentioned in operative

(Mr. Rasaputram, Sri Lanka)

paragraph 1 of the draft resolution is therefore most appropriate, as it would, first, give added strength and momentum to the non-proliferation Treaty review conference; secondly, provide a testing-ground for the intentions of all nations to work towards a comprehensive nuclear-test ban so that nuclear proliferation can be eliminated; thirdly, keep the growing public and international interest in a test ban heavily loaded with greater confidence to make them participate in these activities even more vigorously and, fourthly, strengthen the arms-reduction achievements that have been agreed upon or will be agreed upon in the future without undermining them with developments in the nuclear field.

Finally, we believe that the acceptance of the revised draft resolution will open the doors to a new era in confidence-building measures for common security.

Mr. TAN Han (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The prevention of an arms race in outer space is a priority item in the field of disarmament of common concern to the international community. It is known to all that an arms race in outer space is carried out by space Powers that already possess and are further developing outer-space weapons. Those Powers therefore share a special responsibility for the cessation of the arms race in outer space, one which they cannot shirk.

The two space Powers with the greatest space capabilities should conduct serious bilateral negotiations on the cessation of the arms race in outer space and should adopt practical measures against the development, testing, production and deployment of outer-space weapons and for the destruction of all existing outer-space weapons. Prohibiting all outer-space weapons is the effective way to prevent an arms race in outer space.

Bilateral and multilateral efforts will be complementary in preventing an arms race in outer space.

## (Mr. Tan Han, China)

The prevention of an arms race in outer space is an urgent task. It was our hope that this year a single draft resolution would be adopted, expressing the common desire and determination of the international community. For that reason, the Chinese delegation has decided to support draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10, proposed by non-aligned and neutral countries. We ask that the Committee not take action on draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.28.

Mr. McKINNON (Canada): I am speaking on behalf of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.19: Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Turkey and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The sponsors of that draft resolution have decided that it should not be put to the vote. They have taken that decision after a prolonged effort to get a number of the elements contained in it reflected in another draft resolution on the same subject. That other draft resolution is contained in document A/C.1/44/L.10. That effort did not succeed. The sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.19 believe that the very significant progress we have seen in the international environment should allow the General Assembly to adopt a resolution on this subject that goes a long way down the road towards eliminating references that are confrontational, of doubtful relevance, and of little utility in providing what should be the considered guidance of the international community to the Conference on Disarmament. The sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.19 hope that at next year's session of the General Assembly we will find it possible to adopt a resolution that reflects the international atmosphere and provides the kind of responsible, constructive advice that should be given to the Conference on Disarmament.

(Mr. McKinnon, Canada)

We recognize the fundamental issues that divide the member States of this Committee on this issue. It is therefore a source of considerable pleasure to me that this has not affected the close personal relations among the negotiators and in this regard I would like to thank Mr. Fahmy, Mr. Agaev, Mr. Tan Han, Ambassador Rasaputram and Miss Trujillo.

Mr. KRASULIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): On behalf of the sponsors of draft resolution A/44/L.16 we wish to announce that we shall not request a vote on this draft resolution. We regret that this year, once again, notwithstanding intensive consultations among all groups of countries, including socialist, Western and non-aligned States and the delegation of the People's Republic of China, it has not proved possible to move towards a commonly acceptable solution. We intend to support draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10, submitted by the group of non-aligned States. We voice the hope that next year all States will undertake constructive efforts to arrive at a consensus and that all delegations will be motivated by a spirit of realism.

We believe that a consensus resolution by the General Assembly properly reflecting the real state of affairs and a genuine willingness on the part of States to work further on the various aspects of preventing an arms race in outer space could greatly enhance the prospects of bilateral efforts to prevent such an arms race.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): We have heard statements from Canada, China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics announcing the withdrawal of draft resolutions A/C.1/44/L.16, A/C.1/44/L.19 and A/C.1/44/L.28 in cluster 14. Thus only one draft resolution remains before the Committee, namely draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10. A separate, recorded vote has been requested on

#### (The Chairman)

the 11th and 18th paragraphs of the preamble and on operative paragraphs 1, 3 and 8. I therefore invite the Committee to take a decision on draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10, entitled "Prevention of an arms race in outer space". This draft resolution, which has 22 sponsors, was introduced by the representative of Egypt at this morning's meeting. I call on the Secretary to read out the list of sponsors.

Mr. KHERADI (Secretary of the Committee): The sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10 is as follows: Argentina, Bangladesh, Brazil, Cameroon, Egypt, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, India, Indonesia, Ireland, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Jordan, Malaysia, Mexico, Myanmar, Peru, Romania, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Venezuela, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): As no representatives have asked to speak to explain their votes before the voting, the Committee will now take action on draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10. We will first of all take action on paragraph 11 of the preamble to draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10. A separate, recorded vote has been requested.

In favour:

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel,
Italy, Japan. Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Turkey,
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The eleventh preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10 was retained by 119 votes to 1, with 13 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The Committee will proceed to take action on preambular paragraph 18 of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10. A separate, recorded vote has been requested.

In favour:

Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahames, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Sorswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Ungundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Kapublic, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Gorman Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Suudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruquay, Vanezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The eighteenth preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10 was retained by 117 votes to 1, with 13 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The Committee will now take action on operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10. A separate, recorded vote has been requested.

In favour:

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senagal, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10 was retained by 119 votes to 1, with 13 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The Committee will now take a decision on paragraph 3 of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10, "Prevention of an arms race in outer space." A separate, recorded vote has been requested.

#### A recorded vote was taken.

In favour

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Paragraph 3 of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10 was retained by 119 votes to 1, with 13 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The Committee will next take a decision on paragraph 8 of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10. A separate, recorded vote has been requested.

### In favour:

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Morway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel,
Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Turkey,
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Paragraph 8 of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10 was retained by 118 votes to 1, with 13 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The Committee will now proceed to vote on draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10, "Prevention of an arms race in outer space," as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

#### A recorded vote was taken.

In favour:

Afghanistan. Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany,

Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norwa, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinga, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: United States of America

Draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10, as a whole, was adopted by 132 votes to 1.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): As I mentioned earlier, the sponsors of the other draft resolutions in this cluster, draft resolutions A/C.1/44/L.16, L.19 and L.28, have indicated that they will not insist on action being taken on them by the Committee.

I shall now call upon delegations wishing to make statements in explanation of vote.

Mr. LEVINE (United States of America): The United States wishes to explain its vote against draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10, "Prevention of an arms race in outer space." There should be no doubt of the firm United States commitment to arms control in this area. The continuing bilateral nuclear and space talks between the United States and the Soviet Union are visible evidence of it. The United States would like nothing better than to be able to affirm this well-known commitment in this forum. Unfortunately, draft resolution L.10 does not permit us to do this.

The text of draft resolution L.10 takes no notice of the more positive international climate that has developed from improving relations between the

#### (Mr. Levine, United States)

United States and the Soviet Union. Indeed, by submitting virtually the same draft resolution this year as the one voted on in earlier years, despite the steadily improving international environment, this text is actually worse than the equivalent draft resolutions of earlier years. It bears less and less relationship to the realities of the international environment and simply becomes irrelevant, a collection of statements to be ignored. It consists of a repository of exaggerated and hostile rhetoric, with elements that are deliberately aimed at and critical of fundamental elements of United States policy.

If we want to develop a draft resolution in this forum that will truly reflect consensus on this subject, the successors to L.10 will have to be radically restructured. The increased number of paragraph votes for abstention that we have just witnessed reflects a heightened sense of frustration and disappointment over the overall thrust and tone of this draft resolution.

Because of the reasons that the United States has just set forth, therefore, the United States has voted "No".

Mr. McKINNON (Canada): The draft resolution we have just voted on is intended, through the provision of the considered views of the international community, to facilitate and guide the work of the Conference on Disarmament and, in particular, of its Ad Hoc Committee for the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space.

We continue to be concerned that over the years the draft resolution has evolved in a fashion that has diminished its utility in providing guidance to the Conference on Disarmament. As we noted at last year's session of the First Committee, there is a danger that the draft resolution will become part of the problem, and not part of the solution.

(Mr. McKinnon, Canada)

The difficulties that the Conference on Disarmament's Ad Hoc Committee on Outer Space has experienced do not spring from minor impediments that are to be impatiently brushed aside. They relate to two issues: the inability of the two major space Powers to arrive at the kind of understanding that would realistically make greater progress in the multilateral domain possible and the genuine complexity of the problems involved in the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

Regarding the first issue, Canada believes that the world community must keep constructive pressure on the major space Powers to resolve their problems. This approach requires that we recognize the intrinsic importance of the bilateral process and of the changes in the international atmosphere over the last several years.

#### (Mr. McKinnon, Canada)

In view of the complexity of the problems that the Ad Hoc Committee faces, it is clear that there will have to be a major effort to resolve those problems. They cannot be ignored or resolved by fear. It is in the light of these considerations, that my Government has carefully considered the draft resolution in its implications, particularly for our future work in the Ad Hoc Committee on the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space.

Although Canada voted in favour of the draft resolution as a whole, we believe that many parts of it could have been significantly improved with a view to strengthening the effective role and responsibility of the multilateral domaine in preventing an arms race in outer space. We therefore felt obliged to abstain on the eleventh and eighteenth preambular paragraphs and on operative paragraphs 1, 3 and 8.

Mr. MOREL (France) (interpretation from French): The French delegation wishes to explain its vote on draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10, "Prevention of an arms race in outer space".

France voted in favour of the draft resolution in order to give its support to the objective of preventing an arms race in outer space. None the less we regret that we were obliged to abstain yet again on several paragraphs of the draft resolution.

In the Committee at the last session of the General Assembly, France abstained on three paragraphs. This year we abstained on five. France, as a sponsor of the Western draft resolution, A/C.1/44/L.19, which was withdrawn, had hoped that certain elements of that draft - which we valued highly - could have been taken into account by the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10. That would have been all the more necessary in that, as many speakers noted in the general debate, there has been a definite improvement in the international situation and that improvement should have been reflected in the text of the draft resolution.

(Mr. Morel, France)

Moreover, the work at the last session of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Conference on Disarmament on this question showed that, notwithstanding a persistent divergency of views on the substance, a mounting interest in the question of transparency and confidence-building measures in space matters could well help advance the cause of the prevention of an arms race in outer space. We feel further that this other positive trend should also have been reflected in the draft resolution.

Unfortunately, negotiations held between the sponsors of draft resolutions A/C.1/44/L.10 and A/C.1/44/L.19 - in respect of which my delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the perseverance of the representative of Canada - failed to lead to a satisfactory compromise. For that reason my delegation was obliged to voice its reservations on those paragraphs of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10 which were most in need of improvement. France hopes that this regrettable situation will not prevent continuation of the positive developments in Geneva so that greater realism and pragmatism will be manifested the next time the First Committee takes up the question of the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

Mr. HOULLEZ (Belgium) (interpretation from French): I should like to explain Belgium's vote on draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10.

Already in 1988 Belgium had to abstain on the paragraphs of the earlier resolution corresponding to the eleventh and eighteenth preambular paragraphs and to operative paragraph 8 of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.10. My delegation had also made its acceptance of the fifth preambular paragraph dependent on explicit reference to Article 51 of the Charter. In that way we hoped that the sponsors of the draft would take those considerations into account at this session of the General Assembly. Furthermore, many efforts made this year by the Western co-ordinator, Mr. McKinnon of the Canadian delegation, to whom I would like to pay a tribute, did not lead to any substantial modification of the text submitted in Digitized by Dag Hammarskjöld Library

(Mr. Houllez, Belgium)

1988. That argument alone would undoubtedly justify our abstention on the paragraphs of the text that were put to a separate vote. But if we put the draft in an international context, we must note that it inno way takes into account the spectacular improvement in relations between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. This new climate will undoubtedly have favourable consequences in all spheres of disarmament, including outer space.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): We will now take up consideration of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.41/Rev.2. I call on the representative of India to introduce the text.

Mr. SHARMA (India): Draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.41/Rev.2, on scientific and technological developments and their impact on international security, presented on behalf of the sponsors of the resolution on this subject last year, covers a field which should be of universal concern as it pertains to the qualitative arms race and the negative impact an entirely new class of weapons systems will have on the global security environment.

The considerations underlying the introduction of the draft resolution were spelt out both when General Assembly resolution 43/77 A was introduced in the First Committee last year and earlier in the current session of the Committee. The resolution on the subject deservedly received widespread support last year and it is our hope that this will be extended when the draft resolution is voted upon today, in order to express the universality of concern in the Committee on this most important issue.

Our delegation has held extensive consultations towards this end and the second revision represents the results of that effort. We thank the delegations which co-operated with us in this exercise.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I now invite the Committee to take action on draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.41/Rev.2, entitled "Scientific and

#### (The Chairman)

technological developments and their impact on international security". The draft resolution, which has 10 sponsors, was introduced by the representative of India this morning.

I now call on the Secretary to read out the list of sponsors.

Mr. KHERADI (Secretary of the Committee): The sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.41/Rev.2 are as follows: the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Poland, Romania, Sri Lanka and Venezuela.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): A recorded vote has been requested.

In favour:

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against:

France, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Abstaining:

Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey

Draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.41/Rev.2 was adopted by 113 votes to 3, with 15 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote.

Mr. GEVERS (Netherlands): The Netherlands regrettably could not support draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.41/Rev.2, on scientific and technological developments and their impact on international security.

The pursuit of scientific and technological development in itself is, in our view, an abstract - that is unqualifiable - process. It is the application of scientific and technological research that can have a beneficial, neutral, or negative effect. That also holds true for military applications, which can

### (Mr. Gevers, Netherlands)

hamper disarmament efforts but also, as is equally probable, enhance and strengthen international security. To mention one example, scientific and technological developments as applied, for instance, to satellites could further transparency as well as a better knowledge of military capabilities.

Draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.41/Rev.2 stresses in the third preambular paragraph the possible negative effects on international security of technological developments that may have a military application. The Netherlands, however, holds the view that modern military technology, if properly used, may very well serve stability and enhance security.

Although the Netherlands voted in favour of draft resolution

A/C.1/44/L.46/Rev.1, entitled "Science and technology for disarmament", we would like to qualify our support. Mention is made of the possibilities that scientific and technological progress offers, for example in the field of conversion of military industry to civilian production.

That may well be so. Indeed, the application of science and technology is manifold. But it is political and economic factors that are at the basis of national decisions concerning conversion. Scientific and technological progress can at most be a factor of influence, not of decision. Therefore, we cannot, inter alia, give unqualified support to the "special responsibility" of "scientifically and technologically more advanced States" referred to in the fifth preambular paragraph.

Mr. RIDER (New Zealand): New Zealand voted in favour of the draft resolution on the subject of scientific and technological developments contained in document A/C.1/44/L.41/Rev.2.

There can be no doubt that the advances we see every day on the scientific and technological front have the potential to impact on international security.

Whether that impact is positive or negative is our choice. We must all be on our

(Mr. Rider, New Zealand)

guard against the introduction of new technologies which, in the longer term, might be destabilizing.

Next year, the report of the Secretary-General on that subject, referred to in document A/C.1/44/L.41/Rev. 2, will be before the First Committee. We look forward to it with interest.

In New Zealand's view, a balanced report on new scientific and technological developments should also endeavour to cover those developments that might assist arms control and disarmament efforts. That is the theme underlying the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/44/L.46/Rev.1, introduced by the German Democratic Republic and adopted by the Committee yesterday. New Zealand supported that draft resolution. As it noted, verification of compliance and conversion are just two areas in which technological developments could assist the disarmament process.

The sponsors of those two draft resolutions are to be commended for drawing to our attention both aspects of that important issue. Their draft resolutions complement each other. We urge them to take advantage of that and to put together for next year a single text that addresses the subject of science and technology and its implications for international security in a comprehensive manner. We are confident that such a text would attract the attention of most if not all delegations.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The Committee will now proceed to take action on draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.45/Rev.2.

I shall now call on representatives who wish to make statements other than in explanation of vote.

Mr. MAFAEL (Federal Republic of Germany): I would like briefly to express my delegation's view on draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.45/Rev.2, entitled "Defensive security concepts and policies".

(Mr. Mafael, Federal Republic of Germany)

My delegation agrees with the sponsors of the draft resolution that the principle of self-restraint in the build-up and maintenance of armed forces - which flows logically from the synthesis of Article 2 (4) and 51 of the United Nations Charter and the corresponding defensive orientation of security concepts and policies aiming exclusively at war prevention and defence deserve particular attention.

My delegation shares the view that the initiation or intensification of a dialogue on corresponding concepts can provide an important contribution to promoting transparency and building confidence, thus promoting the process in arms control and disarmament and strengthening stability. We therefore welcome the initiative, but we deem it necessary to contribute a complementary view on the subject, without which a fruitful discussion of the matter may remain too limited and not attain the intended results.

The defensive character of security concepts and policies can not derive purely from the fact that a military attack is excluded by declaratory means. Declarations of intent alone do not create sufficient prerequisites for establishing a just and stable framework for peace. The defensive character of security concepts has to be anchored in a defensive orientation of the military atrategy and corresponding force postures. As long as concepts and policies are not translated into corresponding force structures, they can be changed abruptly and remain a matter of mere declaration.

(Mr. Mafael, Federal Republic of Germany)

Intentions and objectives can change quickly; actual capabilities cannot.

Unless defensive intentions are implemented in material terms they do not have the necessary confidence-building, confidence-promoting and stabilizing effect. There should not be a discrepancy between the political-military rhetoric on the one hand and the real force structures and their underlying military strategic concepts on the other hand. Self-restraint and defensive orientation derive their credibility only from the comprehensive conceptual and material limitation of military capabilities and the declared objectives and intentions.

A lasting improvement in relations between States requires that all armed forces in a region serve only the purposes of the prevention of war and of self-defence and that they be organized and structured accordingly. We regret that the authors of draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.45/Rev.2 do not take adequately into account these extremely important criteria. With its declaratory character, the draft remains too limited and does not represent the very precise and comprehensive approach of the Vienna Talks on conventional armed forces in Europe.

For these reasons we are not in a position to support draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.45/Rev.2.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I now invite the Committee to take action on the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/44/L.45/Rev.2, which is entitled "Defensive security concepts and policies". This draft resolution is sponsored by the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It was introduced by the representative of the German Democratic Republic at the 31st meeting of the First Committee, on 8 November.

A recorded vote has been requested.

### In favour

Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe

### Against: None

Abstaining:

Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.45/Rev.2 was adopted by 107 votes to none, with 18 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I call on the representative of Belgium for an explanation of vote.

Mr. HOULLEZ (Belgium) (interpretation from French): I wish to explain briefly my delegation's abstention in the vote on draft resolution A/C.1/44/L.45/Rev.2, entitled "Defensive security concepts and policies".

In view of the improvement in the international atmosphere, and particularly in East-West relations, one could conclude that such defensive security concepts and policies should by now be evident. The draft resolution lists certain concepts which, taken separately, we support, but there are some paragraphs that are contradictory and vague. We believe that the aim of the dialogue on defensive

(Mr. Houllez, Belgium)

security concepts and policies is close to becoming a reality - something that transcends fiction. In practice, Belgium already applies such concepts.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): We have just dealt with the last draft resolution on the Committee's list for action this morning. There are eight draft resolutions for consideration at this afternoon's meeting, which will be the last that the Committee will devote to discrmament issues.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.