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**New York**

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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 11th **MEETING**

**Chairman:** Mr. **MROZIEWICZ** (Poland)

CONTENTS

GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS (**continued**)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 47 TO 65 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE ON ALL DISARMAMENT ITEMS

Mr. CHEZAL (Tunisia) (interpretation from French) % i k e

first of all to express to you, Sir, on behalf of the Tunisian delegation, our congratulations on your election to the chairmanship of the **First Committee**, Your talents as a great diplomat and your personal experience guarantee in advance that you will guide our work very well. I take this opportunity also to congratulate the other officers of the Committee on their election.

We should also like to express our gratitude to Under-Secretary-General **Yasushi Akashi** for his untiring activities in the cause of disarmament as well as to Mr. Sohrab **Kheradi** for his valuable assistance and his constant availability at the service of the Committee.

As has been stressed by previous speakers, the changes that have recently **occurred** on the international arena give us grounds - when all is said **and** done, and despite the different pace of development - for great hopes about a world that still needs **more** security.

The international community, with all its elements, is today more than ever before in a position where indifference is not tolerable. The commitment of everyone to the common **task** of ensuring a world where security, development and cooperation **become** major objectives for the future is now a responsibility that all of us must shoulder. And it is only by working in that direction - and that direction alone - that we shall be able to hope for a truly better world.

All of us want to share that hope, and the political will of **States** therefore **remains** a fundamental requirement for attaining our noble objectives

**(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)**

of disarmament **and** development - two essential elements whose close relationship **becomes** more obvious with every passing day.

As for the question of **armament** and **disarmament**, the history of international relations proves that the unbridled **accumulation** of weapons has always generated tensions and conflicts. The arguments that have been and are still being advanced to support the thesis of what some call the requirements of deterrence have only demonstrated **on** each occasion the opposite consequences of this principle. The manufacture of **ever** more murderous weapons and the race to accumulate the greatest possible number of them were direct 'results in past **decades**.

We are happy that since **then** many initiatives and decisions in the specific field of **disarmament** have been **taken**, because any **action** designed to free the world of its military arsenals can only benefit mankind as a whole. In **my** delegation's opinion, the encouraging steps already taken in this sphere will **unquestionably** generate other steps - provided, of **course**, the political will of States become8 ever stronger so that we can progressively remove the **obstacles** that have always stood in the path of general and complete disarmament.

In the statement by its Minister for Foreign Affairs to the General Assembly at the beginning of this month, Tunisia recorded with satisfaction the **positive and** promising steps taken in 1990 and 1991 in **the** field of disarmament: the **signing** in Paris in November 1990 of the Treaty **on** Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, and the signing in Moscow in July 1990 of the **agreement** in principle relating to the Strategic Arm Reduction Treaty (START) between the United States and the Soviet Union.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

My country also welcomed the important statement by President Bush on 27 **September** last relating to the reduction by the United States of several types of **short-range nuclear** weapons and others deployed on the **seas**, on land **and** in space - a historic **decision** which brought an **immediate** response from President **Gorbachev**, who announced squally positive **and** praiseworthy decisions relating to **the** elimination of tactical nuclear weapons.

On another level, some countries, such as France, China, **Tanzania** and **Zambia**, have **expressed** their intention to adhere to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and the multilateral negotiations on chemical **weapons** are about to produce results. At the same time, States signatory to the 1972 Convention on biological weapons, including Tunisia, have **stated** their intention to study possible steps to strengthen the means for prohibiting the use of **these** weapons.

We welcome **these** positive **achievements** and express the firm **hope that** other States will soon join in **these** efforts.

My delegation considers that the First **Committee** must focus its attention on the **positive** facts that have **characterized** this progressive movement **towards** international relations in which disarmament would be the cornerstone **of peaceful** relations between States and regions - relations which all of us want to be **equal** and mutually beneficial in various fields.

**While** we are happy to note the progress achieved thus far towards disarmament, **it** is none the **less** imperative that the Committee **deal** with what **remains** to be **done**.

(Mr. Ghazal, Tunisia)

With **respect to** the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of **Nuclear Weapons**, to which Tunisia is a party, **my** delegation considers that assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of **use** of such weapons are an essential element of a fair nuclear-non-proliferation **régime**. Such assurances should be unconditional, not subject to interpretation and without limits as to their scope, implementation or duration,

Moreover, it is **necessary** in order gradually to **eliminate** nuclear weapons not only that non-nuclear-weapon States be prevented **from** acquiring **them** but also that nuclear-weapon States agree to **negotiations** on eliminating nuclear **weapons**, for **horizontal**, selective, one-way restrictions can only weaken the non-proliferation **régime**. It also goes without saying that it is basic that States not yet parties to the non-proliferation Treaty should agree to international requirements, which would improve the chances for international consensus in this field.

The 1991 substantive **session** of the Disarmament Commission entrusted its agenda item on the nuclear-disarmament process to a working group. That working group has already begun a preliminary exchange of views which, unfortunately, has revealed differences both on substance and on approach. Still, **my** delegation is convinced that it would be useful **to** proceed with this undertaking so that in coming **sessions** of the Conference on Disarmament a consensus can be achieved.

The First Committee should therefore urge that all due attention be given that question, a question that is rightly of great concern to the entire international community, particularly to non-nuclear-weapon States which continue to feel their security threatened by the existence of nuclear weapons and by the lack of will on the part of **some** countries to consider the question

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

decisively. **We** also appeal to the leaders **of the** two great **Powers** and of other nuclear **Powers** to progress towards the complete elimination **of the** world's nuclear arsenals, which today have the power several times over to wipe out the world population and extinguish all life on Earth. We need an international convention prohibiting the development, stockpiling **and** use of nuclear weapons that would be fair and **non-discriminatory** and that would address both horizontal and vertical proliferation.

My delegatioa firmly believes that to achieve that goal we must also give all due importance to the prohibition **of** nuclear testing **in** all environments. **In** our view, a **general** and complete nuclear-test ban would enhance the credibility of a non-proliferation **régime**, particularly among the second-raak **nuclear Powers** and the non-nuclear-weapon States. The cessation of testing would also have beneficial effects on the human environment, especially in **areas** where these activities are now carried out. Even if in 1991 the **amendment** Conference of States parties to the Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests **in** all environments did not **achieve** the expected results, we remain convinced that the **Conference** should continue to act as a catalyst for future efforts.

The international **community** welcomed the announcement by President **Gorbachev** of a one-year moratorium on nuclear tests. We would express our hops that it will meet **with the correct** response from all other nuclear Powers.

While attention is focused today on a nuclear-weapons ban, the fact remains that there must be a ban also **on** all other weapons of mass **destruction:** chemical and bacteriological weapons. In a world where the

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

philosophy of **peace** and **détente** has **begun** to mark international relations there is no room **for** such weapons.

Tunisia is devoted to peace and devotes all its efforts and financial **resources** to the education, health and well-being **of** its **citizens; it is** a party to all disarmament treaties, conventions and agreements, whether with **respect** to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons, or the protection of the environment, which along with mankind itself has been the main victim of arms proliferation and related harmful activities such as the use, stockpiling and testing **of** arms and the dumping of toxic wastes.

Transparency in arms transfers is a **sine qua non** for limiting the unbridled arms **race**, which poses a threat to international security, and my delegation considers that if rigorous control can, as we **hope**, be established under United Nations auspices **it must** be universal and non-discriminatory and must **encompass** production **and** export of all types of weapons and weapons technologies. The arms **race** is just as much to be condemned when it results from imports as when **it** results from local production or is promoted by the **transfer** of weapons technology.

A particularly disturbing aspect of this problem is the illicit transfer **of** weapons. In the view of **my** delegation, the clandestine nature of these activities has serious implications for the internal order **of** States and, thus, **for regional** and **even** international security. It requires **vigilance** and monitoring **by** the international community.

Although the general view is that the trend in international relations is towards bolstering **international** security at a lower level **of** armament, it is **no** less **true** that security and **stability** have **other**, non-military aspects.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

Thus, developments in relations **between** the major military **Powers** have improved the chances for the peaceful settlement of regional **conflicts** and have opened the way **for** a new world order that would replace the confrontation that has predominated for decades with an era of cooperation and understanding in relations among nations.

In that **connection**, Tunisia - a member of the **Arab** Maghreb Union, grouping the States of its immediate regional surroundings - is working together with its Maghreb partners **to turn the** Mediterranean basin into a **lake of peace**, harmony and cooperation. In that spirit, the Arab Maghreb Union has since its creation attached special importance to a dialogue with the European Economic Community and the four European countries of **the** western **Mediterranean**, in order to lay the foundation for a new **form** of relations between **Europe** and the Maghreb.

Tunisia is preparing to host **the** summit conference of coastal States of the western Mediterranean early next year, and it is determined to continue its work, side by side with its European and Maghreb partners, to **consolidate** that **dialogue** and ensure the **success** of that model of North-South cooperation.



**(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)**

Thus, we believe that the major Powers and the industrialized countries in general make an effective contribution to the peaceful development of the third world by defusing regional tensions and by promoting collective security and economic equity.

Based on our conviction that regional cooperation is a decisive factor in international peace and security, Tunisia supports all efforts designed to resolve regional conflicts, including that in the Middle East, on a just and lasting basis. In this connection, Israel must today prove that it truly desires real peace in that region, so fraught with continuing and painful conflicts, by putting an end to its intransigence and its policy of resting settlements in the occupied Arab territories, including El Quds, and by renouncing its annexation of territories occupied by force, which has been condemned by the entire international community. The peace conference on the Middle East, which - thanks to the desire for peace demonstrated by the Arab side, including the Palestinian people and their leaders, and to the praiseworthy efforts of the international community, and most particularly of the United States of America - is scheduled to begin on 30 October 1991, will provide a historic opportunity for it to do so.

The major changes that have occurred in various areas in international life make us desirous of contributing as effectively as we can to the Committee's discussions in the hope that progress towards general and complete disarmament in all its aspects will be truly irreversible and with a view to preserving mankind from the scourge of war and tensions, to freeing substantial resources for development and to leading a truly interdependent world towards peace, security, growth and prosperity.

Mr. FLORES BERMUDEZ (Honduras) (interpretation from Spanish):

my delegation wishes to congratulate you on your **election** as Chairman. We are confident that **with** the benefit of your experience and **well-known** skills the First Committee will successfully discharge its responsibilities.

In the 1980s Central **America** suffered from the consequences of conflicts **whose** after-effects are still being felt and in whose solution the United Nations is now actively participating. Our crisis was created by the socio-political situations that **prevailed** in certain Central American countries, situations that then went beyond borders **and** created a regional **crisis**. The East-West conflict sharpened differences. **However**, with the **changes** that have occurred in the Soviet Union **and** with the restoration of democracy in Central America, the region is now beginning to **proceed** along a new path.

Integration and subregional cooperation are matters **of** top priority on the agendas of Central American leadership conferences. Our countries are now moving towards understanding. To **that** end we are overcoming differences in the area of security on the basis of the **Esquipulas IX** agreements, and we are creating a **new** Central **America** united in freedom, **democracy and** development.

Nevertheless, we still have a **long** way to go in the area of security. In this connection, the Central **American Security Commission** has **been** engaged in negotiations since last year, **As** a result **of** the negotiating process the Governments of Central America have produced a scale of assessment **to** assist us in evaluating **various** military **components, and** we have established a single maximum standard for all countries of the region.

In order for the scale of **assessments** to work we must know each country's military capacity. The Central American Governments have thus agreed to submit inventories of their military capacities to the United **Nations**

**(Mr. Flores Bernudez,  
Honduras)**

Secretary-General. In keeping with that **agreement** my **Government** submitted **its** inventory to the Secretary-General on 6 June of this year. Honduras hopes that neighbouring countries that have not yet complied will be able to do so as **soon** as circumstances permit **in order** that that we may achieve **an** equitable and just state of **security** in the **region**.

Within the framework of the **negotiations**, in June of **this year** Honduras put forward a draft Central **American** security treaty, which has also been submitted to **the United** Nations Secretary-General for his information. It proposes confidence-building measures among States, which include the submission of periodic reports **on** the size of armed forces **and** military budgets, information on military activities **and** contacts, and joint participation by military officers in **conferences** and training **courses**.

The draft treaty also entails certain obligations regarding the banning of **irregular forces**, arms trafficking, foreign military advisers, terrorism, subversion and sabotage, as well as prohibitions **on** weapons or mass or indiscriminate destruction.

**Our** draft proposal **also** establishes measures of cooperation and **assistance** in the areas of environmental protection **and** natural **disasters**, as well as in the fight against drug trafficking. It also entails the obligation to **set up programmes** to ensure the participation of groups trained in the **theory and** practice of the protection of **human** rights **as a fundamental** element in **any** democratic regime based on the rule of law.

**Our** proposal is based on the principle that international disputes are best **settled** by **peaceful means** and by the express renunciation of the notion of military superiority in our region. It calls **for** the **establishment** of **limits** on armaments and military **personnel and** sets up verification **and**

**(Mr. Flores Bermudez,  
Honduras)**

**control** machinery for compliance with the draft convention. **The** proposal also **takes** into account the internal security of countries that **may** be confronted with **domestic** acts of violence.

My Government has supported initiatives to limit armaments and weapons of mass destruction with the same enthusiasm with which it participated in negotiations concerning security in Central America. **In** this connection, **Honduras** especially welcomes the plans being made **by** the Government of Peru to enable the countries members of the Rio Group to adopt a series of agreements on that subject.

**Given** the initiatives **my** Government **has** taken in the area of Central **American security**, **my** **delegation** **supports** the **establishment** Of an international registry of arms transfers based on principles of universality, non-discrimination and transparency.

**(Mr. Flores Bermudez,  
Honduras)**

On this basis, the **register** should **include** the production of stockpiling of both conventional and non-conventional arms, as well as **transfers**. We should consider the possibility of **establishing** machinery dealing with each of these three components, taking into account the **fact** that in the areas I have just mentioned the register should **be** established gradually.

Previous speakers have listed in great detail recent treaties and events representing significant progress in strengthening international peace and security. Of particular importance were the decision of **President** George Bush on 27 September to adopt unilateral measures concerning the use of force and nuclear weapons and the concrete, positive response of **President Mikhail** Gorbachev on 5 October with regard to the Soviet Union's position on those matters,

**Despite** that progress, there are still fundamental security problems relating to a global nuclear-arms ban, a nuclear-test **ban** and a reduction of **strategic** weapons. Such measures would **guarantee** lasting security for contemporary civilisation. **Peace and** security cannot be achieved by a strategic balance of deadly weapons. Recognition of those facts is a categorical imperative for the preservation **of** our future.

**Mr. WHANNOU** (Benin) (**interpretation** from **French**): Like previous speakers, Sir, I wish on behalf of the delegation of Benin to congratulate you on your **election** as Chairman Of **the First Committee** for the forty-sixth session. I am **convinced** that, **thanks** to your personal qualities, our work will be **crowned** with success. I assure you **of** my delegation's cooperation. We also congratulate **the** other officers of the Committee. I pay tribute to your predecessor, the Ambassador of Nepal, Mr. Jai Pratap **Rana**, whose

(Mr. Whannou, Benin)

competence *and* skill **enabled** our **Committee** to move ahead in rationalising **its** work.

**My delegation is grateful to** the Under-Secretary-General **for** Disarmament Affairs, **Mr. Yasushi Akashi**, for his introductory **statement** and his work for disarmament.

I also wish to pay a personal tribute to the **memory** of the Ambassador of Mexico, **Mr. Garcia Robles**, who died recently. **Mr. Garcia Robles**, who won the Nobel Peace **Prize** in 1982, was regarded as **the father** of disarmament.

Drawing **bitter** lessons from **the** horrors of the Second World War, the **members** of the international **community** decided that they **must no** longer base their relationships on force **of arms**, but rather **on** respect for the rules and principles of international law and political dialogue **and cooperation**, in order to reduce the **risks** of more **conflagrations**, with **incalculable** consequences for mankind. In a short time mankind had experienced two world **Wars**. **That** is why the United Nations has made sustained disarmament **efforts** since its creation.

Those efforts have been directed in particular at the limitation, regulation, control and non-proliferation of nuclear **weapons**; the control and reduction of conventional **weapons**; conventions banning biological weapons; **and** conventions promoting measures to increase confidence, cooperation and security. **The** objective was general and complete disarmament, or, as Article 26 of the Charter **says**, the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments - for **legitimate defence needs** - of **the** world's **human** and economic resources.

Unfortunately, **another** war, called the cold war, soon started. **Born of ideological** rivalries, it was a war between the **super-Powers** for control of the world, a war marked **by** mistrust, confrontation between third parties,

(Mr. Whannou, Benin)

giving **rise** to so-called regional conflicts, **and** a balance of **terror**, with the **development** and sophistication of weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.

During that **period** of East-West **tension**, not only did our world experience **150** regional conflicts, costing the lives of **20** million, more than 80 per **cent** of them civilians, but **it** also suffered the risks of a horrible accidental **catastrophe** for mankind through **the accumulation** of weapons of mass destruction. At the same **time**, hardship was imposed on **the** whole international co-unity, and particularly the least well **off**, because military expenditures, being unprofitable **and** causing budget deficits, disrupted national and **international economic** structures. The **disarmament** process within **the** United Nations was therefore unable to make real progress, since the perception of collective security through disarmament was **based** on **each Member State's** view of its national security.

As the heads of **our** delegations stressed during the debate in the General Assembly, our **Committee** is carrying out its work in an international context in which confrontation and rivalries of all kinds **are** giving **way more and more to cooperation**, understanding and political dialogue, leading to **hopes** of the settlement of regional conflicts and the development of respect for human rights, whose flagrant violation and abuse preceded - even led **to** - the Second World War.

This positive trend in **the** international political **climate** has already yielded results at certain levels. **In** particular, there have been important, beneficial **disarmament** initiatives, which **my** delegation welcomes. I shall confine myself to mentioning only a few, as **follows: the** signing in Paris on

(Mr. Whannou, Benin)

19 November 1990 by 34 **countries** parties to the **Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe** of a Treaty on the reduction of conventional **forces** in a region **which** had been the theatre of ideological **East-West antagonisms**; the implementation of the **American-Soviet** Treaty of 1987 **on** the elimination of intermediate-range **nuclear forces**, and the conclusion on 31 July 1991 in **Moscow** of **the** American-Soviet Treaty **on** the reduction of **strategic long-range nuclear arsenals**; the **declared intention** of two Powers **known** to have nuclear **weapons**, and **the** decision of other **States**, to adhere to the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of **Nuclear Weapons**; the complete dismantling of the Warsaw Pact and the continuing reduction **of the** tactical nuclear arsenal of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation **in Europe**; the United States proposal, followed by the **positive** Soviet **response**, to eliminate all short-range tactical weapons on **land** and at sea; the unilateral one-year **Soviet** moratorium on **nuclear-weapons tests**; and **the** Guadalajara and **Mendoza** efforts **totally** to eliminate from Latin America **weapons** of **mass** destruction.

**Despite the** hopes raised by the political **changes** taking place in the world, we were reminded by **the Gulf** war, where **recourse** to nuclear weapons **and** other **weapons** of **mass** destruction **was** not out of **the** question, that mankind is **still** threatened by over-armament. In fact, **the invasion** of Kuwait by a **Member** State, in violation of the **norms** of international law, **was** possible only through **the** accumulation of arms beyond a State's legitimate defence and security **needs**.

**Moreover**, to maintain **the** peace, already **seriously** threatened by **inter-communal frustrations in Eurasia** during **this** period of transition **towards** a world order acceptable to all, our **Organization must** urgently take



(Mr. Whannou, Benin)

concerted, coordinated action to **produce** a treaty on **general** and complete **disarmament**, under **strict** and **effective** international **control**.

My delegation will **support any** effort to put **an** end to the arms race in all its **forms**; to **ban** chemical **weapons completely**; to **strengthen** the obligation of State<sup>s</sup> **under** the 1972 Convention on the elimination of biological **weapons**; effectively to control international **transfers** of conventional **weapons**; to prevent an arm<sup>s</sup> race in outer **space**; to **effect** naval **disarmament**; and to prevent the application of **science** and technology for the qualitative improvement of **weapons systems, and** particularly weapons of **mass** destruction. We **also** favour disarmament for development and **strengthening** the specific role of the United **Nations** in disarmament, particularly through its Regional Centre<sup>s</sup> for Peace and **Disarmament, its programme** of scholarships for disarmament **studies**, the World Disarmament Campaign, the United Nation<sup>s</sup> **Institute** for Disarmament **Research**, and **so on**.

(Mr. Whannou, Benin)

Wore precisely, **the** subject of nuclear weapons, their proliferation, the threat of their **use**, tests for their improvement or **manufacture** are a **source** of **grave concern** for my delegation. The world has learned recently that even when countries adhere to **the** Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear **Weapons (NPT)** and to the **IAEA safeguard clause** for the peaceful use of **nuclear** energy, there are **secret** ways to build up nuclear **military** stocks. **Thus**, we demand **the** immediate total elimination of these weapons beginning with the complete **cessation** of nuclear **tests**. My delegation deplores the fact **that**, because of adherence to the doctrine of nuclear deterrence, the review conference to **transform the Treaty** on the **partial** prohibition of nuclear weapons tests of 1963 into a total ban **was** not able to **accomplish its objective**. Nevertheless, following the **change** in international relations, **such** a complete **and immediate ban** would receive a favourable response given **the** new thinking on the policy of security *from the* defensive **and** interdependent point of **view**. Furthermore, while actually preparing a world **summit** conference to prevent the worsening of **our** common legacy - the environment - would it not be logical to go back to the review conference and try to achieve significant **progress on** the question of these tests, which also threaten the quality of life? That is why **my** delegation reaffirms its attachment to **the ban** on the discharge of toxic **wastes, as stressed** in the **statement** issued after the recent PM-African Conference on Environment and Development held at Bamako, Mali - a prelude to the summit conference to be held in Rio in 1992.

Regarding work on the **Convention** on the total ban on chemical weapons - whose **use is already** illegal under the Geneva Protocol of 1925 - **my** delegation has noted with satisfaction the report of **the President** of the Disarmament

(Mr. Whannou, Benin)

Commission on progress achieved. We would urge the **speedy** completion of this Convention, which will have to take into account the **complex and** difficult aspect of verification especially since **this weapon** of **mass** destruction, commonly known **as** the poor **man's** atom bomb, can be developed in a simple **fertilizer** plant. Effective verification should be carried out by **an** international team which would **improve its methods on** the **basis** of **experience** in detection and identification accumulated at various levels **and** through the progress of science and technology.

International **weapons** transfers have always exacerbated social **and** political **tensions** and enabled authoritarian **regimes** to stay in **power** through coercion. Statistics show that 80 per **cent** of military **expenditure** in the world is devoted to conventional arms and forces and that **the third** world buys 75 per **cent** each year , spending billions of **dollars** while **most** of their populations struggle **to survive**.

For **this** reason, **my** delegation welcomes the initiatives taken by the **five** countries supplying 85 per cent of the conventional **weapons** sold in the world to control **and** even prevent the **export** of weapons of mass destruction, **especially** to such explosive **areas as** the Middle East. We also welcome Security **Council** resolution 713 (1991) imposing a general **and** complete embargo on the export of weapons to the Federation of Yugoslavia, which is being **torn** apart by national **hatreds**.

We need a set of international regulations covering all **exporters** and importers **so as** to **ensure** total control over **weapons transfers**. This must be accompanied by efforts aimed at the peaceful settlement of international disputes, **as** indicated by the Secretary-General, **and at the protection of** new **democracies threatened** by military **coups**.

(Mr. Whannou, Benin)

**General and complete disarmament affect8 mankind as a whole, but in view of the special characteristics of each region, we must also adopt a regional approach. The Disarmament Commission has already tackled this question and will try to elaborate measures for such an approach in the form of a recommendation to the General Assembly.**

**In the meantime, my delegation would like to express its views on the importance of the regional aspects as a complement to our global efforts, it being understood that both should be considered simultaneously in order to really promote the cause of disarmament. We think that the regional approach will be more effective and realistic because it will make it easier to identify the causes of over-armament in each area and to find balanced solutions. The continent of Africa, in the context of disarmament, belongs to the Mediterranean, Indian Ocean and Atlantic areas. During the cold war, we were implicated in all sorts of rivalries between outside Powers despite our devotion to non-alignment in order to preserve peace. But also we were within the range of various categories of missiles. On the internal plane, we have suffered from time to time from relations of mistrust, conflict arising from territorial claims, ethnic disputes and risks of secession due to the Balkanisation of the colonial era, to social and economic differences, to political injustices and to the policy of apartheid. Over-armament to deter aggression has plunged some of our countries into debt.**

**Hence, my delegation supports the creation of nuclear-free zones**

● **Irreversible in the world - the Middle East, South Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean. It also reaffirms its attachment to the denuclearization of Africa through the effective implementation of the summit declaration of the**

**(Mr. Whannou, Benin)**

Organisation of African Unity (OAU) held in Cairo in 1964, supported by General **Assembly resolution 3261 (XXIX)**. **This** requires the countries of the continent **not** to acquire nuclear weapons and invites South Africa, which has had effective **and** unofficial nuclear capacity **since** 1989, to **adhere** scrupulously - in the **interest** of peace **and** international security - to the obligations stemming from its adherence to the NPT and to the IAEA safeguard clauses for the peaceful **use** of **nuclear** weapons. **This is particularly** important since **South Africa** must evolve rapidly into **a** multiracial **and** democratic society in order to take its place once again in the concert of nations.

In the field of regional disarmament, **my country**, which is on the **Atlantic**, attaches great importance **to** the **promotion** of a **zone** of peace **and** cooperation in the South **Atlantic** through **measures** which will increase trust and security based on political dialogue, cooperation and integration. We would like to **count** on the support of the United Nations, under General **Assembly** resolution **44/117 B**, to achieve those objectives. In April or May 1992 the States in our area will hold their third conference, probably in **Argentina**, to **harmonize their** views on the environment.

As we have **stated**, **disarmament** is a political process whose objective is to **restore** peace and **strengthen** security between States, to **establish** a climate *of* understanding, **trust** and cooperation, and to avoid war. The **work** of our Committee will be incomplete if it fails to **take** into **serious** consideration **the** non-military **aspects** of disarmament: **misery, famine, disease, poverty, drought, the precarious situation of refugees, desertification, the burden of structural adjustment policies, drug abuse, natural disasters and so on.** In a few days **these** evils can kill **as many** people **as** the Hiroshima bomb **and** they obviously threaten world stability.

(Mr. Whannou, Benin)

Row **can it** be **otherwise** in a world **that is** more interdependent **as a result** of the end of the bloc policy, where **security** must be indivisible? **The world is** threatened by a **vicious** circle of **tensions and crises**. Some **countries** may achieve security through **disarmament**. **Others may** remain **insecure because** of the **weakness** of their productive **structures**, making it **impossible** for them to gain a financial **surplus** for **social** economic **investments**.

(Mr. Whannou, Benin)

That **is why, even though disarmament is** costly, we **must anticipate** substantial disarmament-related **savings** to halt the deterioration of the socio-economic **situation** of the **poorest** among **us**. According to certain **studies**, hunger could **disappear** by the year 2000 if a mere fifth of world military expenditures per year **were** devoted to the problem. These expenditures give the world 556 **soldiers** per 100,000 of population, compared with 85 doctors. To reach **this** goal, the **countries** concerned must shoulder their important **responsibility** by doing as **the Secretary-General suggests** in his annual report. They **must** reduce the nearly \$200 billion devoted to weapons **and, with the necessary financial assistance, convert their military structures** and integrate them into the **civilian economy**. Without disarmament there can be **neither peace, security** nor development.

**Now** that the cold war **is** ending, **the** time **is** ripe for the Committee to place the **question** of **disarmament** in its right context. It must consider the three-way **relationship** between **disarmament**, development **and** security. It must move the **process** forward by **means** of **resolutions** and **decisions** that can be implemented by all Member States. The survival of mankind **is at stake**. The role of the United Nations is decisive, but it **is up to** each **Member State** to do its **part** by agreeing, if **necessary**, to limit its actual or potential military **strength**.

**Mrs. URIBE-DE LOZANO** (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish): **At** the **outset**, I want to **express** our regret at the death of Ambassador **Alfonso Garcia Robles**. In him **we lost** a fighter for the **cause** of disarmament who never quailed in the **search** for a better future for the world. For that **reason, history has granted** him the place it **reserves** for the great. We will **miss** him, but **his** teaching will continue to guide **us**.

(Mrs. Uribe de Lozano, Colombia)

Let me say, Sir, how pleased my delegation is to see you as Chairman of the First Committee and how confident we are that, thanks to your distinguished leadership, our work will go forward in the most constructive manner. We are pleased too that you have such a distinguished group working with you: the other officers and the members of the Secretariat, whom we thank in advance for their cooperation and hard work.

The world is confused by the international events of the past year, and many await with interest the response of the United Nations to the effects of those events on mankind: from positive changes to wars, conflicts and other human disasters. We do not yet know whether these changes in international politics which we hope will usher in a bright new century will really produce even minimal benefits for countries at the various levels of poverty. The trends of the past decade may continue: a few prosperous countries may become richer while others plumb new depths of underdevelopment; the strongest may acquire more weapons while those who understand that more weapons mean neither more security nor socio-economic progress will begin to reduce their arsenals.

From this session onwards, the General Assembly's work must be consistent with the end of the cold war and the advent of a new world order. It must reflect the intention of making the Organisation a body with a greater capacity to respond to global problems.

One of those problems is the continuing existence of nuclear weapons. The motives put forward in the past for retaining, testing and producing those weapons have disappeared. Nuclear strategies are a holdover from the cold war and are incompatible with a new world order. In this new world order that we are glimpsing, which must be of equal benefit to all peoples, peace will



(Mrs. Uribe de Lozano, Colombia)

depend not on **theories** of **nuclear deterrence** or an **some countries'** advantage<sup>8</sup> Over **others** but on a **just international system in which** the United Nations will genuinely play **its central** role in **the maintenance** of **peace** and **security** in a world free from the threat of war and the weighty problem of the **arm<sup>8</sup>** race.

Even in this new era, a high priority for the United Nations is to avoid war, especially a war using **nuclear weapons** or other weapons of mass **destruction**. That **responsibility continues** to **rest** principally on nuclear-weapon States **and** an **States** most heavily armed. But all nations have a vital **interest** in agreements and measures to avoid such war: **we know war's catastrophic consequences** for all **mankind**, **especially** for the inhabitants<sup>8</sup> of the **developing** world - the **site** of **all** war<sup>8</sup> **since the** Second World War.

It **seems** that the<sup>88</sup> **words have been** repeated **time** and again. **But to** clarify the problem we might **risk** being even **more** repetitive and **say** - along with the world literature of **disarmament** - that what we **need** to achieve disarmament **is not** simple formula<sup>8</sup> dictated by common **sense** or complicated **formulas** dictated by **the** most modern **strategies; there** are plenty of both, **and** valuable **as** well. **What we need is the political will to achieve disarmament;** the corollary of this **statement is** to be found **in this Organisation** and in the contribution every **citizen** can make, particularly **citizens** who can **organize themselves** and **make** their **opinions** heard by **their Governments**.

Although the **treaties signed** to date by **the** nuclear **Powers** and the **unilateral measures** they **have** undertaken will not **result** in the total elimination of nuclear **weapons**, they are concrete **steps** in the right direction. **We** applaud them **because they reflect** the **political decision to ease** tension and **manifest** greater **awareness** of the threat posed by nuclear

(Mrs. Uribe de Lozano, Colombia)

weapon8 and their proliferation and Of the risks involved in their use in armed conflict. But those armed Powers must rethink the merits of retaining nuclear weapon8 and replacing obsolete weapon8 With more modern ones; above all, they must ponder the very existence Of those weapons and their possible consequences for the peoples Of the world.

The Gulf war highlighted many of those dangers, including the danger of a conventional war escalating into a war using weapons of mass destruction. For instance, we must not view as a mere anecdotal episode of the Gulf war the results Of a television survey carried Out during the toughest day8 Of the war, an whether or not nuclear weapon8 should be used in that region: 65 per cent said they should. That should at least make us reflect on militarization's psychological effect8 an society.

(Mrs. Uribe de Lozano, Colombia)

There is **nothing irrelevant** about our **unwillingness** to accept the **possibility** that *those* missile8 which we could watch hitting targets in all directions, **some on television and** many other8 in awful reality, **could be** armed with weapons of **male** destruction. Nor is there anything irrelevant about the **horror with which** the world **witnessed** the **disastrous** effect8 of the use of **more sophisticated, so-called conventional** weapon8 - despite the fact that they do not discriminate **between combatants** and civilians.

Such event8 **must not** recur, and the United Nation8 is **here to see** that they do **not**, to **assert** the interests of the international community as a whole and **to seek peaceful solutions to conflicts** and **to the problems** of **the** armbrade that continue **to concern the world**.

The **countries** that form the **Rio Group** believe in the need to revitalise and renew the United **Nations** and to **ensure** that the Organisation will be **better** suited to meet today's challenges. In connection with the subject that **concerns us here**, I should like to • **enumerate the following elements in** the **proposal** being submitted by **the Rio Group**: first, we propose that maximum **impetus** be **given** the **peaceful settlement** Of **disputes** on the **basis** Of **respect** for the fundamental principles of international **law**; **secondly**, we **propose** to strengthen the general Assembly and the **Secretary-General** so as to achieve a **better balance** of functions **between** the **principal organ8** of the United **Nations**; **thirdly**, we propose to promote an understanding of the **importance** of **multisectoral action** by the **system as a whole** for the **success** of **international** cooperation aimed at the growth and **development** of the developing countries and for dealing with other issues of global **interest**; finally, we propose to encourage **joint action** to promote **social development** and **to foster** international condition8 that will facilitate the attainment of **social**

(Mrs. Uribe de Lozano, Colombia)

justice, for the benefit mainly Of the sectors most affected by underdevelopment and structural adjustment policies.

As the Rio Group stated in the document it submitted to the General Assembly:

"It is urgently necessary that conception8 of global and regional security take into account the economic and social factors which affect them. The General Assembly is the appropriate forum for considering sources of insecurity and global problem8 which particularly concern the developing countries." (A/46/437, annex, para. 9)

In a recent speech, the President of the World Bank suggested that a third of the debt of some of the principal developing countries was the result Of military expenditures. This raises questions about the purpose8 for which many countries have actually spent the money8 they have borrowed and about whether Governments, and particularly those Of the poorest countries, have drawn up unsound list8 of priorities or are improperly using the resources acquired for the military sector when they should have been used for the purposes of social and economic development.

It is obvious that large military expenditures have exacerbated the debt crisis and other economic and social problem8 in developing countries, and the same could be said of certain developed countries. For there is not one single response to the assertion that the developing countries spend an undue amount to defend their territories from threats, both foreign and domestic, for one of the often-painful and difficult decisions each government is obliged to make is the amount of the resources to be allocated to national defence against the amount to be expended for the economic and social development Of its people.

(Mrs. Uribe de Lozano, Colombia)

Colombia maintains fraternal relations with **its** neighbours and has traditionally devoted a minimal portion **of** its budget to military forces **and** arms purchases. Nevertheless, the defence of **its citizens** and political stability in the face of problems with international implications, such **as** illicit **arms** trafficking, terrorism and **the** drug problem, **have** made it inevitable that greater **resources** have **been devoted** to strengthening the country's crusade against **those scourges** and making it **more** effective.

In recent **years the** spiralling rise in **defence expenditures** by the developing countries appears to have been halted substantially. That can be attributed to the **depressed** economic condition in many **countries** and **also to** the multilateral effort being made to **reduce** military spending and to the declining demand for weapons. **However** that may be, **there exists** today a greater **understanding of** the negative **consequences** of excessive weapon stockpiling and the paradoxical **situation** in which poor countries waste their resources for such **purposes** without attaining any greater stability or security in return.

**It is** clear that **if we are to reduce or** limit the arms trade, **as with any** kind of **trade, we must reduce** both **supply** and demand in **order** to free the **resources** devoted to weaponry and armed forces for purposes of development. Today, **however,** it cannot **be** denied that like **some** ironic relic of the old world **order,** there is **increased pressure** to sell weapons. Supplying **countries that are** economically dependent on the production and sale of **weapons** and cannot **absorb their** own production domestically and **countries that have** reduced their national arsenals either under multilateral treaties or unilaterally must now have **recourse** to **foreign markets** to sell **their excess** weaponry and maintain the viability of the military-based **industries.** We can

(Mrs. Uribe de Lozano, Colombia)

thus expect that **pressures to 8811 weapons** by **offering loans, compensations** and **other economic incentives** will **increase**, given the **sluggish** and increasingly competitive market, **unless** some immediate steps are **taken** to destroy the weapons **subject to reduction agreements**, to halt **excessive** weapons production and **to convert military industries into industries for the** production of civilian products.

Today, the subject of international weapons **transfers** is **an** important item on the United Nations agenda, one that **has** acquired a particular importance **as** a result of the war in **the Persian Gulf**. We **now know that** without the trade in weapons that war would have **been impossible**. Similarly, other **past** and present conflicts would **have** been impassible, **at** **least** of **lesser scope**, had they not been staked by the transfer of armaments, which exacerbated them **and** prevented their prompt **solution**. My delegation **hopes** that the world has learned a lesson) it hopes that the knowledge acquired today will lead to a **better awareness of** the future, a future in which the commerce in weapons will continue to weigh **heavily** on poor countries and aggravate **their** problems if we do not fulfil our common **responsibility** to counteract its **harmful** consequences.

(Mrs. Uribe de Lozano, Colombia)

**Arming criminal** element<sup>8</sup>, **whether they be** part of **organised** crime, drug **traffickers** or **just** belong to the underworld, cannot be regarded **as** a legitimate act **in** any **country**. **States that** still allow the illicit **arms** trade or do **not prevent it**, for **whatever reason**, must **realize** that it **changes** the constitutional **order** in the **countries** where the weapons end up **and increases** the vicious **circle** of violence, **and in our country it hinders the peace proposals being made** with such **sacrifice** and longing by Colombians,

On behalf of the **Government** of Colombia, our delegation **wishes to** thank the **Secretary-General** for the report prepared with the **assistance** of a group of governmental **experts on ways and means** of promoting **transparency** in international **transfers** of conventional **arms** and on the **increasingly serious** problem of the illicit **arms trade**. We enthusiastically welcome the report, **which resulted** from a Colombian initiative and resolution **43/75 I**, **sponsored** by 20 **countries**. We **consider** the report to be an important **step towards** the responsible management by State<sup>8</sup> of their **arms** transfers. **In particular, it** should encourage States to implement the **necessary** controls over **arms exports** and imports **so** that the **arms** do not fall into the hands of **those** involved in the illicit **arms** trade.

The Government of Colombia believes that we must create a **keener awareness** of the danger involved in the illicit **arms** trade, **a disturbing** phenomenon causing great suffering to many **countries**. We believe that the States **affected** by the trade should **therefore** send to the Secretary-General for publication and distribution information about **seizures** by the authorities of arsenals **of weapons** that arrived **in their** countries **through** illegal channels.

(Mrs. Uribe de Lozano, Colombia)

Colombia **supports the establishment under United Nations auspices of a system of transparency, universal and non-discriminatory, recording information voluntarily provided by States about the transfer, production and stockpiling of conventional weapons, together with any other relevant information that might help promote trust between States. We believe that such a system should be designed in a manner reflecting true transparency to help achieve the objective of reducing tension and building confidence.**

**Transparency is not an end in itself. To counteract the negative effects of arms transfers and the overproduction and accumulation of weapons the international community will have to take stronger action leading to a reduction in weapons to the lowest levels possible. It will also have to produce international norms regulating arms transfers.**

A country's security and stability are closely linked to those of its neighbours. The desire for peace of the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean and the support of our Governments for the essential principles of the United Nations have led us to take measures to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in our region. Now we must implement initiatives to bring about a true limitation of weapons and a reduction of military expenditures, to free resources to further our development. One such initiative, whose philosophy we share, is that put forward by President Alberto Fujimori of Peru at the first Ibero-American Summit, suggesting Latin American disarmament as doctrine to be followed.

Of all the **initiatives** made by the international community to bring about disarmament, regional agreements, or agreements reached by a group of countries in a region, are particularly useful in contributing to an atmosphere of trust. We support the agreement **signed** a few days ago between



(Mrs. Uribe de Lozano, Colombia)

Argentina, **Brasil** and Chile, and **since** then supported by Uruguay, involving a multilateral convention **banning** chemical **weapons**. In the **same spirit**, we welcome the bilateral agreement between **Argentina** and **Brasil** to cooperate in the peaceful **use of** nuclear energy and to sign safeguard **agreements** with the **International Atomic Energy Agency**.

No less important to **the promotion** of regional and international confidence is the **accession** of South Africa, **Tanzania**, Zimbabwe and Zambia to the Non-Proliferation Treaty **and** the commitment announced by France **and** the **People's Republic of China** to adhere to **its** regime.

The **convention** to eliminate chemical weapons from **the face** of the **Earth** is about to be concluded. It **seems** that it has **been** possible to overcome the obstacle8 to **banning** the development, production, **stockpiling, acquisition, use** and **transfer** of such weapons. We welcome the **announcement** by **President** Bush that his country will be one of the signatories of the **convention**, that it will destroy its arsenals of chemical weapons and that it will not **insist** that the convention **contain a provision on a right to** retaliate.

Our delegation **hopes** that the logic of the initiative6 of the **United** States **and** the Soviet Union with regard to short-range nuclear **weapons** will be applied to the **militarisation** of **outer space, for which** there is no deed. Mankind will gain **little** if the **threats** being diminished on **Earth** are simply **transferred** to outer **space**.

The current **session** of the General Assembly **presents a great** opportunity. We believe that it is an exceptional opportunity **for the** nations of the world once again to sit down **at the same** table to **discuss** disarmament

(Mrs. Uribe de Lozano, Colombia)

problems in a promising atmosphere. For *many* **this gathering is** no longer a forum for **rhetoric**, doing little or **nothing** to solve a problem - **disarmament** - whose effects **are felt** in every corner of **the world**; in **borne corners** it has been latent **and** in others at times it has found **expression** in tragic events. We hope that **our work during the** current **session** of the General **Assembly** will **lead to better possibilities** of **realizing one** of the **most** deeply felt **aspirations** of **man kind** - real and effective disarmament.

**National**, regional and international **disarmament** actions require determination **and** imagination, as **well as** a **humanitarian** approach. The decision to **disarm** should affect all **sectors** and **unify** them. **Disarmament strategies** must **include work** to imbue all **sector6** of society with a **humanitarian** feeling, ennobling our work and **at the same** time resulting in a **great collective** effort, **with** human dignity **as** the **cornerstone** of international relations.

The meeting rose at 12 noon.