VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 17th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia)

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STATEMENTS ON SPECIFIC DISARMAMENT AGENDA ITEMS AND CONTINUATION OF THE GENERAL DEBATE

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will proceed with the second phase of its work, with statements on specific disarmament items and continuation of the general debate.

Sister KEENAN (Holy See): In addressing the First Committee today during the general debate, the Holy See delegation would like first of all to offer its warmest congratulations to the officers of the Committee.

During a period of commemoration of past events, it can be useful to reflect on the meaning of these events from the vantage point of today's world - not, certainly, to reinterpret history, and still less to assign responsibilities or to recriminate. Rather, a consideration of the significance of the past can help the peoples of the world, here gathered in the United Nations through their Governments, to turn more resolutely towards the future, the common future of humanity.
One of the most difficult problems facing today's world is that of disarmament. Forty years ago marked the end of the most devastating war that the world has known, a war overshadowed by the use of weapons of such destructive power that they provoked a revolution in scientific thought and military planning.

One lesson that paradoxically can be drawn from the Second World War is that peace is possible, that war is not inevitable—indeed, that war is not the solution to conflict and confrontation. To make such an affirmation and to draw its consequences is to accept that differences can and must be overcome, without compromise of principle, and that trust can exist despite ideological divisions. Such a conviction is not an abstract belief. It is rather a reasoned conclusion from the events of the past 40 years and directly concerns the question of disarmament. If peace is possible, then all must be done to ensure the conditions of peace, one of which is disarmament.

The Holy See has long joined with the world community in calling for concrete steps towards general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The past 40 years have, on the contrary, been a time of an unprecedented arms build-up affecting all parts of the world and including both nuclear and conventional arms. The Holy See will not cease to repeat that the arms race must be reversed. The nuclear arms build-up, while seeking some sort of balance that seems to elude those concerned, has greatly increased the level of fear in the world and has heightened divisions. The question could be asked if this fear of nuclear weapons, this preoccupation with their possible use, has not hindered serious consideration of other urgent problems facing the world community in the fields of development and human rights.

This nuclear arms build-up has been paralleled by a quantitative and qualitative build-up in conventional arms. While the threat presented by nuclear arms makes nuclear-arms reductions a priority, we do not have the right to overlook
the fact that conventional arms have been and are being used, causing not only the destruction of human lives but also the disruption of whole societies. Peace must be considered comprehensively in our modern, increasingly interdependent world. A local war is a threat to the peace of all States. Therefore, regional agreements, within the framework of global disarmament efforts, are a genuine and much-needed contribution to general disarmament. The Holy See supports agreements that lower the level of particular types of weapons or of armed forces as well as those that set geographical limits on the deployment of arms, respecting always the security needs of the States concerned. Such disarmament efforts, as well as solutions to local and regional conflicts negotiated on the basis of equity, will indeed ensure that peace is possible, that war can become a thing of the past.

Forty years ago a new type of weapon was used in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The lesson for today is clear: nuclear weapons must not be used again. Pope John Paul II, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of Hiroshima, stated that

"to speak of Hiroshima and of Nagasaki is to become vividly aware of the immense pain and horror and death that human beings are capable of inflicting upon one another. But it is also to be conscious of the fact that such a tragic destiny is not inevitable. It can and must be avoided. Our world needs to regain confidence in its capacity to choose moral good over moral evil".

Both major Powers have stated that a nuclear war must not be fought, that such a war cannot be won. This political judgement is reinforced by the conclusions of studies in various fields of science concerning the massive use of nuclear weapons. There is general agreement that such use would threaten life on much of the globe. The recent Third Review Conference of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, in which the Holy See participated, reaffirmed the conviction, expressed in treaty form by the vast majority of the world's States, that nuclear weapons cannot be
Instruments of war and that nuclear disarmament must begin. While recognizing the complexity of the question, the Holy See would like to reaffirm the importance of reaching concrete agreements on the reduction of nuclear arms in the near future and welcomes bilateral approaches as well as the many efforts within the United Nations to being about nuclear disarmament. Those possessing nuclear weapons have assumed a particular responsibility for peace in the world. The world, in turn, expects these States to carry out this responsibility by concluding agreements that would decisively reduce the level of nuclear weapons. No changes in strategic doctrines or policy can replace the necessity for such reductions.

The development of nuclear weapons and their use 40 years ago also marked a serious change in scientific investigation. Science, by its very essence, thrives on the free exchange of knowledge and information. It seeks to unlock some of the mysteries of the universe and should always look to the good of peoples. Yet modern technological weaponry has closely linked some of the greatest scientific achievements to military uses, to secrecy, to isolation among scientists in their research. This potential alienation of scientists and of science itself from the purpose of serving the good of all humanity raises serious questions of a moral order. This can be an occasion for individuals and Governments alike to engage in a still-deeper consideration of the role of moral choice in the building of society. In Hiroshima in 1981 Pope John Paul II challenged scientists and intellectuals to look at this question. He said:

"Surely the time has come for our society, and especially for the world of science, to realize that the future of humanity depends, as never before, on our collective moral choices".

He continued:

"The moral and political choice that faces us is that of putting all the resources of mind, science and culture at the service of peace and of the building up of a new society".
The decisions of Governments and ongoing scientific discoveries and the choices of individual scientists will influence peace in the world. The Holy See continues to encourage serious efforts to make full use of the positive role that science can play in disarmament. Such efforts, particularly if collaborative, can bring about concrete results in the long-awaited conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty, in the verification of disarmament agreements, in the peaceful use of outer space, in confidence-building measures, in the resolution and prevention of conflict – to mention only a few areas. The scientific revolution of 40 years ago that began with the use of atomic weapons must be turned to the building of peace.

At the time of the founding of the United Nations, the questions of disarmament and development could not be clearly seen in their relationship to one another. Now they can. While both disarmament and development must be pursued independently and urgently, the Holy See is pleased that an international conference on their relationship will be held in 1986. This relationship cannot be adequately defined in terms of East-West or North-South. Pope John Paul II will address an aspect of this question in his 1986 World Day of Peace Message.
The United Nations is founded on the conviction that all states have a duty and responsibility to contribute to the betterment of all peoples in all parts of the world. This is a bold vision, and the coming Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development will offer an excellent opportunity to give concrete and long-awaited expression to that conviction. The Holy See hopes that the Conference will concentrate specifically on the relationship between disarmament and development and on practical steps to solve some of the problems raised by this relationship.

In concluding, the Holy See would like to state that the founding vision of the United Nations has been tested and found true over the past 40 years. The means and mechanisms within the United Nations to achieve disarmament should be put to full use so that the danger of war, all war, may be lessened and peace, the long and patient process of peace, may become the central concern of the States Members of this Organization.

Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish):

Mr. Chairman, my delegation first wishes to congratulate you on having been elected Chairman of this Committee. The knowledge we have of your broad diplomatic experience, your exemplary fairness and thorough knowledge of the delicate matters we deal with, and a guarantee of the success of our work during this session.

We also wish to express our gratitude and acknowledgement of the work done by Ambassador de Souza e Silva last year, who masterfully contributed to consensus and to the best possible organization of our work.

Recently we concluded the commemorative session on the fortieth anniversary of our Organization with an impressive succession of Heads of State or Government and high dignitaries. The mere fact that the entire world attached such importance to
Mr. Icaza Gallard, Nicaragua

this celebration clearly indicates awareness of the gravity of this moment. This gravity is reflected in the state of the question of nuclear disarmament and reduction of armaments, in the persistence and exacerbation of local conflicts and in the serious economic crisis whose unfair and harmful effects must, for the most part, be endured by third-world countries, thereby seriously threatening their social and political stability.

As was rightly recalled by the Secretary-General in his commemorative address on the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, it is no mere coincidence that the first resolution adopted by our Organization referred to the elimination of atomic weapons and to the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Needless to say, after 40 years of hard work aimed at the attainment of those noble objectives, the elimination of atomic weapons from the face of the earth seems to be an unattainable goal.

The President of Nicaragua, Mr. Daniel Ortega Saavedra, in his address to the General Assembly, stated:

"The atomic threat must be eliminated. Hegemonistic attitudes must be put aside. The arms race must be stopped. The development of space weapons must cease. This is the universal demand." (A/40/PV.42, p. 6)

The task of preventing a nuclear catastrophe is of such importance that it cannot be left solely to the nuclear-weapon Powers. The fate of mankind as a whole is at stake, and we therefore consider it necessary for third-world countries, non-aligned countries, to play a more leading role in those important and serious matters. That is why we welcome and associate ourselves with the Declaration of New Delhi, adopted on 28 January of this year by the Heads of State or Government of India, Mexico, Sweden, Tanzania, Greece and Argentina. It is an initiative which responds to the appeal of our peoples and which should be carefully heeded by
the nuclear-weapon Powers which are ultimately responsible for the catastrophe
which threatens us.

At the forthcoming summit meeting to be held in Geneva between the Heads of
State of the Soviet Union and the United States, this universal appeal must be
heeded. We trust that this will be a constructive effort aimed at paving the way
for international détente.

In the same Declaration to which I have referred, signed in January of this
year in the capital of India, mention is made of the prevention of the arms race in
outer space and the conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty as two
crude concrete measures requiring special attention.

The Conference on Disarmament managed this year for the first time to set up
an Ad Hoc Committee on item 5 of its agenda which refers to the first of these two
issues. It is important to recall at this time that the conclusion of the
Committee in its report refers to:

"The importance and urgency of preventing an arms race in outer space and
that, consequently, everything should be done to ensure that at the next
session of the Conference substantive work on this agenda item will continue."

Following this first exploratory stage, my delegation wishes to state that, in
its view, negotiations must be initiated next year with a view to "the conclusion
of an agreement or agreements", as explicitly stated in resolution 39/59 adopted by
the General Assembly last year on this item.

We believe that space is the heritage of all mankind and that any strategic
defence system, as it is called, or any "star wars" programme constitutes the
beginning of the militarization of outer space and a further escalation of the
nuclear arms race. Space should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes, and
developing countries lacking the human material and scientific resources which this
type of research requires should demand participation in and the sharing and
transfer of such knowledge as a way to ensure that activities in space will be used
not for destruction and death, but for the development and progress of all the
peoples of the earth.

Another point which has received the attention of delegations during this
current debate concerns the need for a comprehensive nuclear test ban. A treaty
which fulfills these objectives is quite possible from a practical standpoint, given
the state of the art in seismological detection and the progress made with
international verification procedures. This would help enormously to limit the
nuclear arms race, because it would make it very difficult, even impossible, to
develop new weapons of that type.

In its Final Declaration the recent Review Conference of the States Parties to
the Non-Proliferation Treaty, held in Geneva, appealed to nuclear-weapon States
Parties to the Treaty to resume negotiations, and appealed to other nuclear-weapon
States, "as a matter of the highest priority" to participate as a matter of urgency
in the negotiation and conclusion of a treaty on the permanent prohibition of all
nuclear tests by all States in all environments. We wish to appeal to all those
States to respond favourably to this request.
I consider it necessary in this second part of my statement to refer to the problem of international security. It is clear that there can be no disarmament without security. Security can derive only from effective compliance with the principles and norms of the Charter and the effectiveness of the Security Council in fulfilling its important responsibilities. It is necessary therefore to reiterate at this time the need to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. Disregard for the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, disregard for the sacred right of peoples to determine their own political, economic and social system, daily recourse to force or the threat of force in international relations are all obstacles to disarmament.

We must reject and condemn adventurist policies based on the attainment of military superiority, policies of intervention, policies which encourage the holding of military manoeuvres as a means of intimidation and the establishment of military bases as a way of securing zones of influence - Power policies which make a mockery of the obligation of all States to resolve their differences through peaceful means. We must condemn the policies of dirty war and destabilization, of indirect intervention through agent States or the organizing and financing of gangs of mercenaries. We must condemn policies of blocking through the abuse of the right of veto in the Security Council, policies which render Chapter VII of the Charter a dead letter, in order to allow recognized international criminals to continue their illegal occupation of territory and their acts of State terrorism against neighbouring countries.

It is through this broader approach to international security and the need to respect the principles and standards which must govern relations between States, as set forth in the Charter, that we must confront the problem of disarmament. In particular that approach must be taken into account when we speak of conventional and regional disarmament.
While it is true that we must continue to attach the highest priority to measures of nuclear disarmament, conventional disarmament, and in particular regional disarmament, may entail an important contribution to world disarmament. In the study on conventional disarmament made by the Group of Experts appointed by the Secretary-General under General Assembly resolution 36/97 A, published in August 1984, it is stated that a regional approach to disarmament, far from being inconsistent with global efforts, could supplement and assist them if pursued with the wider aims fully in mind. The report further points out:

"The establishment and reinforcement of military bases and/or other foreign military presence forcibly imposed on colonial and other territories, the persistence of colonialism as well as attempts by States to deny the rights of peoples freely to determine their own future as well as their systems of social and economic development constitute a source of danger for the regions concerned and are incompatible with regional disarmament measures, in the context of general and complete disarmament. Priority should therefore be given, inter alia, to the eradication of these factors, to the settlement of disputes by peaceful means through negotiations, and to the promotion of self-determination and respect for territorial integrity ..." (A/39/348, para. 124)

So long as the type of factor referred to in the study of the Group of Experts persists, it will be virtually impossible to carry out a regional disarmament process. That point of view, supported by experts, is the one which my country advocates within the framework of the Central American peace process carried out by the Contadora countries. Our substantive position is to achieve in Central America a totally neutral and demilitarized zone. We advocate the total prohibition of military manoeuvres, the prohibition of the stationing in and transit through Central American territory of foreign troops, the departure of all foreign military
personnel and advisers and the establishment of a reasonable balance of forces with a view to a substantial reduction in armaments and the ultimate demilitarization of the area. However, this process is not possible so long as the United States persists in its policy of the militarization of Central America and armed aggression against Nicaragua. In this connection we have denounced that policy of force and the threat of force carried out by the United States, which is contrary to the principles which inspire the Contadora countries and which undermines the efforts of the Group to restore peace in that long-suffering region of the world.

A process of disarmament at the regional level would obviously have extremely beneficial effects for the economy of those regions. Nevertheless, we cannot lose sight of the global perspective of the disarmament problem and its relationship to the serious economic crisis which besets the world today and which is particularly serious for the developing countries. Those who have the obligation to disarm first are the major Powers, those countries which, by virtue of an unfair and unbalanced world economic system, have been able to devote enormous amounts to the production and stockpiling of all types of weapons, funds which could very well be devoted to co-operation and development in the poorer countries.

The reduction of the military budgets of the big Powers would have extremely beneficial effects since it would reduce fiscal deficits and interest rates, creating new sources of financing and alleviating the terrible problem of the foreign debt. In reducing the presence of armaments on Earth we would be contributing to the stability and development of the poor countries, thus consolidating world peace and security.

For all of the reasons I have mentioned, we welcome the resolutions of the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development and hope to contribute to the attainment of the objectives for which the Conference has been convened, as well as to its success.
Mr. DORJEE (Bhutan): Allow me, Sir, to begin by offering the warmest felicitations of the Bhutanese delegation on your unanimous election as Chairman of this important Committee. We are confident that you will guide its work to a successful conclusion. Please be assured of our delegation's full support and co-operation in the challenging task ahead of you. I should like also to congratulate the other officers of the Committee on the assumption of their respective offices.

The international community has of late been increasingly displaying profound concern over the predicament in which and the threat under which it lives, that of a nuclear holocaust and the extinction of mankind and life on earth.

Several heads of State and Government and leaders of delegations have, during the recent general debate in the plenary meetings, addressed the crucial issue of nuclear disarmament and the survival of mankind. In spite of all the hullabaloo, nations continue to increase their arsenals of destructive weapons in an attempt to seek security. The world is over-armed, yet for all the immense stockpiles of sophisticated weapons there is no security and no peace — rather there is growing tension and insecurity because of the burgeoning arms trade and an arms race which has frustrated all efforts towards general and complete disarmament. We believe that international peace and security can be guaranteed and preserved through development and the peaceful solution of conflicts, rather than through increasing the levels of armaments. International peace and security could be strengthened also if Member States had faith in and abided by the United Nations Charter.
(Mr. Dorjee, Bhutan)

The United Nations was founded to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, and Member States need to demonstrate their true commitment to that precept. While the Charter envisaged a system to assure the minimum diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments, it is a stark reality that an inconceivable amount of money is spent for military purposes. Global military expenditures exceed $1.5 million per minute, and if recent trends should persist, they would reach $1 trillion a year or $3 billion a day. All of that is continuing in the face of millions of people throughout the world, particularly in the developing countries, living in destitution and below the poverty level.

As a developing country, Bhutan, like many others, is concerned at the diversion of scarce resources to wasteful arms expenditures. Those material and human resources being diverted would otherwise be used for social and economic development purposes. My delegation should like to emphasize the strong link between disarmament and development. In that context, we note with satisfaction the successful conclusion of the work of the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development. Naturally, we expectantly look to the 1986 Conference ultimately to be able to devise ways and means to divert much-need resources from armaments to development assistance for the developing countries.

We start this year's deliberations in a more favourable climate generated by the agreement between the two super-Powers to engage in bilateral negotiations and, in particular, to embark on negotiations on nuclear and space weapons. My delegation hopes that the summit meeting will pave the way for agreements and concrete results on disarmament. We also welcome the consensus decision of the Conference on Disarmament on the establishment of an Ad Hoc Committee on the
Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space. We have repeatedly said that outer space should be used for peaceful purposes and for the benefit of mankind. We must work resolutely to prevent outer space from being militarized.

Bhutan supports all measures aimed at disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. We are a party to several treaties. In May, we acceded to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, convinced that the Treaty is essential to international peace and security. In this connection, we note the successful conclusion of the Third Review Conference of the parties to the non-proliferation Treaty. Similarly, we welcome the South Pacific Nuclear-Free-Zone Treaty endorsed by the South Pacific forum. Establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones on the basis of arrangements freely arrived at among the nations of the regions concerned is an important disarmament measure. It should be encouraged in various parts of the world.

The deteriorating international situation and the lack of faith and confidence among nations has also served to accelerate the arms race. The ever-accelerating arms race, rather than strengthening international peace and security, only aggravates existing tensions. Conflicts and tension will exist as long as efforts are made to divide the world into spheres of influence and military blocs. Problems and disputes should be resolved through peaceful negotiations rather than through the use of force or, the threat of the use of force. It is therefore imperative to initiate confidence-building measures to remove fear, suspicion, distrust and tension.

We hope that mounting international public concern and the voice of reason will ultimately result in general and complete disarmament under reliable and effective international control. The elimination of the arms race should encompass weapons of mass destruction as well as conventional weapons. As a first step, the
testing, production and stockpiling of nuclear and chemical weapons, including the production and proliferation of conventional weapons, must be halted.

As a hinterland State of the Indian Ocean, Bhutan is concerned at the heightening of tension in the region. We hope that the 1986 Colombo conference on the Indian Ocean will be crowned with success.

Finally, the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations affords us an opportune moment to renew our commitments to the goals of general and complete disarmament. In this anniversary year, it is heartening that all speakers have expressed confidence in the future of the United Nations. There have been many proposals on how to make the United Nations more effective. The Bhutan delegation hopes that a beginning can be made in this Committee on starting the process of strengthening the United Nations and making it an effective instrument of peace, security and development.

Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic): The delegation of the German Democratic Republic has followed with great attention and interest the debates in the General Assembly and here in this Committee. It has especially taken note of the numerous and varied statements made by Heads of State, Vice-Presidents, Prime Ministers and Special Envoys at the commemorative session marking the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.

My delegation feels more than ever confirmed in its belief that the primary question of our time is now, as before, the elimination of the threat of a nuclear war, the cessation of the arms race on Earth and the prevention of the militarization of outer space, that peoples and States expect specific measures designed to reduce armaments and to achieve disarmament, and that a healthier international situation and a shift in all international affairs are imperative and possible if all sides are guided by common sense and realism.
From the rostrum of the commemorative session marking the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations last Thursday morning, we could also hear words to the effect that it is indeed time to do more than just talk of a better world. It is time to act. We can agree with that statement and we should like to add that it is more than time that we act. The question is in what direction and with what objective specific actions and measures should be taken.

Does it really serve to improve the international climate and the solution of the vital questions facing humanity if some choose to make vague suggestions and verbal commitments to peace and disarmament, set priorities in an arbitrary way or even launch new attacks and accusations against socialist States and national liberation movements?

The Declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty entitled "For the elimination of a nuclear threat, for a turn for the better in Europe and in the whole world" adopted in Sofia last week has been submitted to the world public and also to the representatives on this Committee. That documents contains a broad and realistic platform that is a concrete programme of action for the settlement of both global and regional problems. With their far-reaching, creative and, at the same time, flexible proposals and initiatives, the Warsaw Treaty States are demonstrating how, in the tense international situation prevailing today, the negative trend can be stopped and a needed change for the better be brought about.

It has been and remains the main foreign policy goal of the socialist alliance to avert the threat of a nuclear war, reduce the level of military confrontation and develop international relations along the lines of peaceful coexistence and détente.
In examining that declaration, States and peoples and, more specifically, representatives on our Committee, are in a position to check and to verify, so to speak, the answers to the following, inter alia: who is holding onto the disastrous Star Wars concept, the so-called Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), and who is submitting specific proposals on the peaceful uses of outer space? Who is still seeking to carry out programmes leading to arms build-up and superiority in military and strategic terms and who, on the other hand, is proposing radical measures for disarmament, particularly in the nuclear field, and for scaling down confrontation? Who is still trying to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign States and who is submitting serious political solutions in the interests of States and peoples to the conflicts in the Middle East, in southern Africa, in South-East Asia and in the Caribbean that are of concern to all people?

After all, are not the most recent Soviet proposals on halting the nuclear-arms race and reducing armaments and the comprehensive initiatives of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty such as to allow a fresh start indeed in fulfilling the hopes and expectations the peoples have placed in a positive outcome to the forthcoming Soviet-American summit meeting?

 Permit me to go into some of the issues in which the German Democratic Republic has a special interest and on which it wishes to launch relevant initiatives.

It is clearly an essential prerequisite for a fruitful dialogue, understanding and co-operation that a higher effectiveness be achieved in the existing multilateral forums - the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, the Stockholm Conference and the Vienna talks. In this context the German Democratic Republic is in favour of opening negotiations, within the framework of the Conference on Disarmament, on the prevention of a nuclear war, with all the nuclear Powers
participating. Broad international consensus on the inadmissibility of a nuclear war could provide a basis for negotiations on those issues. Calls for specific and urgent measures and proposals on how to translate them into reality have existed for a long time. In this respect we have especially in mind a comprehensive ban on all nuclear-weapon tests and a freeze on nuclear-weapon arsenals, both approved emphatically and convincingly by many delegations during this debate. My delegation too is committed to these specific and highly effective steps. At the same time it opposes attempts to shift the priority of the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and to justify the concept of the first-use of nuclear weapons. We feel that the statement according to which a nuclear war can never be won and must never be fought should not remain an empty phrase but should entail practical consequences.

An effective measure to prevent a nuclear war in which the German Democratic Republic, because of its exposed geographical situation in Central Europe, has a particularly keen interest is an obligation by all nuclear-weapon States never to use such weapons first. World public support for that idea is growing. In this context my delegation would like to support the statement of the Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries at their conference in Luanda, namely, that all States possessing nuclear weapons should assume responsibility and give guarantees that they would not be the first to employ such weapons. Since the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China have taken the lead with their obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons the time has come for the other nuclear-weapon States to follow suit, especially in light of the fact that, on the fortieth anniversary of the first and only occasion upon which such weapons were actually used, such a move would be highly significant and be warmly welcomed all over the world.
My delegation intends to submit to the Committee a draft resolution on the non-first-use of nuclear weapons. It will propose, inter alia, that the Conference on Disarmament discuss the drafting of a legally binding international document in which the obligation by nuclear-weapon States not to be the first to use nuclear weapons would be enshrined. The proposed document could also include further provisions aimed at preventing a nuclear war.

In addition to immediate measures nuclear disarmament must succeed finally and completely in averting the threat of a nuclear war. Great importance should therefore be attached to the new Soviet-American negotiations. The German Democratic Republic welcomes the observation contained in the joint communiqué of 8 January 1985 that:

"ultimately the forthcoming negotiations, just as efforts in general to limit and reduce arms, should lead to the complete elimination of nuclear arms everywhere."

That objective inevitably requires the opening of multilateral negotiations with the participation of all nuclear-weapon States. It was with satisfaction that the German Democratic Republic joined the consensus on the final statement of the Third Review Conference on the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), which states, inter alia:

"The Conference urges the Conference on Disarmament, as appropriate, to proceed to early multilateral negotiations on nuclear disarmament in pursuance of paragraph 50 of the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to disarmament."

That call upon the Conference on Disarmament made jointly by the 86 States Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons gives us reason to expect the United States and other Western countries to reconsider their present position
on the opening of multilateral negotiations concerning nuclear disarmament. My
delegation intends to propose to this Committee that the Conference on Disarmament
be requested to set up a committee to draft a programme for nuclear disarmament and
for practical measures towards halting the nuclear-arms race.

In order to halt the nuclear-arms race, it is imperative to put an end to the
qualitative refinement of nuclear arms and to the development of new systems of
such weapons.
This is all the more urgent today as we face the third generation of nuclear weapons, including the nuclear neutron weapon, which is already in the production stage, as well as the X-ray laser operating on the basis of nuclear explosions and the electro-magnetic impulse weapon. The emergence of ever more dangerous types of nuclear weapons must be curbed, because otherwise a development completely beyond our control will arise. Therefore we should address to all nuclear-weapon States the demand that negotiations be opened on the prohibition of nuclear neutron weapons within an appropriate organizational framework of the Conference on Disarmament. If we succeed in bringing about a ban on the neutron weapon, an example will be set for the outlawing of an entire system of weapons. Such a move would show how to stop the development of more new types of nuclear weapons. My delegation will continue work to that end.

Chemical weapons rank among the most dangerous weapons of mass destruction, next to nuclear weapons. Their use would have devastating effects on the civilian population, especially in densely populated areas such as Europe. Bearing that in mind, the German Democratic Republic is very much involved in the drafting of a comprehensive convention at the Conference on Disarmament and has submitted a number of specific proposals.

It intends to put forward a draft resolution calling for an intensification of negotiations and urging States to promote this process in every possible way. Regional measures could also play a part in this. Together with other States, the German Democratic Republic is using every opportunity to achieve such a ban through additional initiatives.

The German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic therefore recently turned to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany with a proposal to start negotiations on the establishment of a chemical-weapon-free zone in Central Europe. A further-reaching intention is to free the whole of Europe
from chemical weapons. In this way favourable conditions could also be provided for a universal ban on these weapons and their removal from weapon arsenals. The negotiations at the Conference on Disarmament on a relevant convention would be given a strong impetus. A number of technical questions, especially how to supervise the destruction of chemical-weapon stocks, would be easier to settle. Above all, however, material conditions would be created for lessening military confrontation in Europe.

In conclusion I should like to assure the Committee that my delegation would be pleased to continue consultations with other interested delegations with regard to the above-mentioned proposed resolutions in order to achieve as high a degree of mutual agreement as possible. It will furthermore support all the efforts of other delegations that are especially aimed at averting the threat of a nuclear war and at negotiations on the freezing, reduction and elimination of weapons of mass destruction.

Mr. AL-ATASSI (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): First of all, on behalf of my delegation I should like to convey to you, Sir, warm congratulations on your unanimous election to the chairmanship of the First Committee. Your country, which is a friend of Syria, a non-aligned country, has in you a person capable of guiding the proceedings of this Committee. I am firmly convinced that you will be successful in your work as Chairman. Permit me also to convey, through you, warm congratulations to the other officers of the Committee.

This year, 1985, is the year of the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. The General Assembly concluded its celebrations just a few days ago. If we were not able to produce a declaration for the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, that does not mean that we have lost confidence
that our Organization is capable of building a better world of peace and security.

The tasks of our Committee are not easy. We might even go so far as to say that these are two extremely difficult and complex questions, particularly since they concern the very future of the world and the need to prevent the annihilation of human life on our planet.

Forty years have passed since the creation of the United Nations. Every year we have had on our agenda items on disarmament and international security. It is highly regrettable to note that no progress has been achieved in that regard in spite of the great efforts our Committee makes annually to achieve this objective, proof of which is provided by the numerous resolutions adopted every year.

Disarmament in general, and nuclear disarmament in particular, are items of concern to the whole world, and they are not the sole concern of the nuclear Powers because a nuclear holocaust will spare no one – neither big nor small, neither States that possess nuclear weapons nor those that do not. Everyone will perish and therefore all will be losers.

The cessation and reversal of the arms race are among the most important questions it is the task of our Committee to consider. Furthermore, comprehensive and complete disarmament is more than an imperative in view of the heightening of tension in the world and the destabilization in different parts of the world.

We should all like to see true disarmament. The arms race constitutes one of the most serious problems facing the world, and what we must prevent, above all, is a nuclear conflagration. Consequently we must take the necessary practical measures to achieve that end. The danger of nuclear war is a profound source of concern and anxiety for everyone in the world. If every year we deplore the dangers of nuclear war, we should also, once and for all, raise the question of who is impeding the work of our Committee and who is preventing the United Nations from eliminating the
danger of nuclear war. A solution does not depend on the vast majority of Member countries, most of which do not possess nuclear weapons; it is, in fact, something that depends on those that can prevent the dangers of destruction - that is, the few countries that possess nuclear weapons, and particularly the super-Powers.
We can avoid the danger of destruction through the political will and good faith of the two great Powers. Yet instead of negotiations aimed at the complete destruction of these weapons we are witnessing a contrary tendency, namely, a feverish build-up of nuclear stockpiles, the refinement of nuclear weapons and the application of scientific and technological advances to promote this stockpiling process.

The absence of confidence between the two super-Powers continues to play an important part in the arms race. Despite the progress achieved in the adoption of measures designed to increase confidence, develop verification procedures and to improve communication, a great deal remains to be done. We believe that confidence can be built up only through dialogue which can reduce tension in the world and overcome the misunderstandings which may arise if negotiations are broken off. The Syrian delegation regards the forthcoming summit meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev as a step towards the resumption of a dialogue aimed at resolving a large number of problems and particularly the problem of ending and reversing the nuclear arms race and receding tension in the world.

Although the arms race constitutes the gravest danger threatening the survival of mankind, there is another problem which aggravates the arms race and increases the danger of confrontation, that is, the attempt to extend the arms race into outer space, which has become a new theatre of operations. There is a serious danger of the militarization of space and of the emplacement in orbit of missiles threatening objectives situated on the earth. Outer space is a common heritage that should be used for the benefit of all mankind, and consequently it should be used only for peaceful and constructive purposes. We must therefore take the necessary steps to restrict the use of outer space to peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind as a whole. The insistence of certain States on the
militarization of outer space confirms the fact that they are bent on hegemony and domination even in outer space.

The Syrian Arab Republic believes that the conclusion of an international treaty under which the nuclear-weapon States would undertake not to use nuclear weapons has assumed vital importance in efforts to protect mankind against the catastrophe of a devastating world war. For this reason we associate ourselves with those who are urging the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva to pave the way for the conclusion of such a treaty.

The cessation of all nuclear tests is another important and essential step on the road towards nuclear disarmament, and we believe that the preparation of a treaty prohibiting all nuclear tests is a vital and urgent necessity. Among the various factors that could effectively help to limit the arms race, we would stress the importance of reducing the danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons has become an important instrument in disarmament efforts. We should therefore like to express our satisfaction at the results achieved by the Third Review Conference of Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons held in Geneva this year, as its Final Document in many respects confirms that the nuclear non-proliferation régime must be strengthened and calls upon States to accede to the Treaty.

The question of banning the production of chemical weapons is of great concern to the international community. My delegation believes that the complete prohibition of their use and their elimination has become an important matter which we should consider most seriously and on which we should reach agreement. My delegation urges the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva to continue its consideration of these questions so that the desired objective can be attained.
The creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones constitutes an important measure towards general and complete disarmament likely to contribute to the strengthening of international peace and security. The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic supports the Declaration designating nuclear-weapon-free zones in the Indian Ocean, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East.

It is most regrettable that the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly concerning the nuclear capacity of South Africa and Israel's nuclear armament have remained dead letters and that these subjects continue to be placed before the Assembly year after year. It is also regrettable that the acquisition of nuclear weapons by those two racist régimes is continuing with the knowledge of certain Western régimes, and even with their co-operation and support in violation of the agreements relating to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The question of Israel's nuclear armament is among the items on the agenda of this Committee every year, and that is a source of profound concern for the peoples of the region and indeed the entire international community. There is no need to remind this Committee of the reports of the United Nations Group of Experts on Israeli Nuclear Armament, which prove that Israel is capable of producing nuclear weapons. In this regard, I should like to recall the various resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly that reflect the profound concern of the international community with respect to the nuclear activities of Israel, which refuses to sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and to place its installations under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards.

In the course of the general debate on disarmament items, including Israel's nuclear weapons, I felt it necessary to bring to the notice of this Committee - so as to provide it with all the details - certain information about Israel's nuclear activities as reported this year in the United States press. Last May, for
example, the press revealed that a number of Krytrons had been shipped illegally from the United States to Israel. These devices are used to regulate the synchronization of nuclear fission, in other words for nuclear explosions. On 16 May 1985 a Los Angeles jury found Richard Smith guilty of smuggling 800 of these Krytrons to Israel. On 12 July of this year The Washington Post contained a report entitled "Illicit sale of uranium to Israel", in which it was stated that a metals company in Luxembourg had sold Israel about 47 tons of uranium which could be used for the production of nuclear weapons, in violation of the preventive measures adopted internationally. The article went on to say:

"The discovery of this shipment represented the first time that IAEA officials had noted a grave violation of international laws on the transfer of nuclear products since the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. As we know, Israel has not signed that treaty, and most experts believe that Israel is in fact capable of manufacturing nuclear weapons, although it does not acknowledge this."

I shall confine myself to presenting to the Committee this information concerning Israel's nuclear armament, which proves that there is close co-operation between that régime and certain Western countries, in violation of international agreements on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Enormous military expenditures under military budgets have hampered economic and social development plans throughout the world. This is true not only of the advanced nuclear-weapon countries, where military budgets have increased many times over, but also of the developing countries with very limited resources. These small countries, in order to preserve independence and protect their resources, use a large proportion of their national income for the purchase of weapons, whereas it should be used to raise the living standards of their peoples. Hence the close relationship between development and disarmament.
The Syrian Arab Republic is a member of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development and will make its contribution to the Conference, to be held in Paris next summer.

The Syrian Arab Republic believes that the persistence of the arms race is not the only threat to international peace and security. It cannot be denied that the arms race, particularly the nuclear-arms race, is a serious threat to international peace and security — indeed, to the very survival of mankind; but there are other threats to peace. We believe that international peace and security are threatened as much by the use of violence and force by certain States and by recourse to aggression as a means of settling disputes. Similarly, the desire for domination and hegemony is also a source of tension and a threat to international peace and security. Some States pursue a policy of annexation and expansion and do not recognize the right of neighbouring peoples to self-determination or even to life. The conduct of those States is one cause of the threat to international peace and security.

The behaviour of certain States that are poisoning the international climate is a phenomenon that should be considered by this Committee entrusted with questions of international peace and security. It is very useful to recall the behaviour of those States from time to time because of the danger it poses to international peace and security. That behaviour is made all the more dangerous because those States possess nuclear weapons and are trying to give them to racist régimes such as those in Pretoria and occupied Palestine. My delegation will revert to this question in detail during this Committee's subsequent consideration of items relating to the strengthening of international peace and security.
Syria, as a coastal State on the Mediterranean, must raise the question of the movement of foreign fleets and the threat they pose to the security and communications of the countries of the region.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, my delegation pledges its full co-operation with you. It will exert all its efforts to ensure the adoption of draft resolutions designed to limit, reduce and reverse the arms race.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.