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ENGLISH

FINAL RECORD OF THE FIFTH MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Friday, 26 January 1979, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman:

Mr. R. BOUDJAKDJI

(Algeria)

PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Algeria:

Mr. R. BOUDJAKDJI
Mr. A. FASLA
Mr. A. BENSMAIL
Mr. N. KERROUM

Argentina:

Mr. D.C. ORTIZ DE ROZAS
Mr. F. JIMÉNEZ DÁVILA
Mr. A.N. IOLTEINI

Australia:

Mr. L.D. THOMSON
Mr. A.J. BEHM
Ms. M.S. WICKES

Belgium:

Mr. P. NOTERDAEME
Mr. P. BERG
Mr. G. VAN DUYSE

Brazil:

Mr. G.A. MACIEL
Mr. L.P. LINDENBERG SETTE

Bulgaria:

Mr. P. VOUTOV
Mr. I. PETROV
Mr. I. SOTIROV

Burma:

U SAW HLAING
U THEIN AUNG
U THAUNG HTUN

Canada:

Mr. G.A.H. PEARSON
Mr. R. HARRY JAY
Mr. J. GAUDREAU

Cuba:

Mr. L. SOLA VILA
Mr. F.O. RODRÍGUEZ
Mrs. V.B. JACKIEWICH
Mr. C. PAZOS BECEIRO
Mr. R. VALIENTE
Mr. R.L. GARCIA

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. V. TYLNER
Mr. E. ZÁPOTOCKÝ
Mr. J. JIRŮSEK^{OV}

Egypt:

Mr. O. EL-SHAFEI
Mr. F. EL-IBRASHI
Mr. M. EL-BARADEI
Mr. N. FAHMY

Ethiopia:

Mr. T. TERREIFE
Mr. G. ALULA

German Democratic Republic:

Mr. G. HERDER
Mr. S. KAHN
Mr. M. GRACZYNSKI

Germany, Federal Republic of:

Mr. G. VAN WELL
Mr. F. RUTH
Mr. G. PFEIFFER
Mr. H. SCHNEPPEN
Mr. J. POHLMANN
Mr. E-J. VON STUDNITZ
Mr. H. MULLER

Hungary:

Mr. M. DOMOKOS
Mr. C. GYÖRFFY
Mr. A. LAKATOS

France:

Mr. F. DE LA GORCE
Mr. F. BEAUCHATAUD
Mr. J. FEVRE
Mr. J.C. PARAVY

India:

Mr. C.R. CHAREKHAN
Mr. S.T. DEVARE

Indonesia:

Mr. A. SANI

Iran:

Mr. M. FARTASH
Mr. D. AMERI

Italy:

Mr. N. DI BERNARDO

Mr. F. FERRETTI

Mr. M. ALESSI

Mr. M. MORENO

Mr. C. FRATESCHI

Mr. G. VALDEVIT

Japan:

Mr. M. OGISO

Mr. T. NONOYAMA

Mr. Y. KIKUCHI

Mr. T. IWANAMI

Mr. Y. NAKAMURA

Kenya:

Mr. C.G. MAINA

Mr. G.N. MUNIU

Mexico:

Mr. A. GARCIA ROBLES

Miss A. CABRERA

Mongolia:

Mr. D. ERDEMBILEG

Mr. L. BAYART

Morocco:

Mr. A. SKALLI

Mr. M. CHRAIBI

Netherlands:

Mr. R.H. FEIN

Mr. A.J. MEERBURG

Nigeria:

Mr. O. ADENIJI

Mr. K. AHMED

Mr. R.A. FATUNASE

Pakistan:

Mr. J.K.A. MARKER

Mr. M.H. KHAN

Mr. M. AKRAM

Peru:

Mr. J.A. MONTERO

Poland:

Mr. B. SUJKA
Mr. A. OLSZOWKA
Mr. H. PAĆ
Mr. S. KONIK
Mr. H. KRUCZYK

Romania:

Mr. I. RADULESCU
Mr. C. ENE
Mr. T. MELESCANU
Mr. G. TINCA

Sri Lanka:

Mr. A.C.S. HAMEED
Miss M.L. NAGANATHAN

Sweden:

Mr. C. LIDGARD
Mr. L. NORBERG
Mr. J. PRAWITZ
Mr. J. LUNDIN

Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics:

Mr. V.L. ISSRAELYAN
Mr. Y.K. NAZARKIN
Mr. A.M. VAVILOV
Mr. E.D. ZAITSEV
Mr. V.A. VERTOGRADOV
Mr. Y.V. KOSTENKO
Mr. M.G. ANTIUKHIN

United Kingdom:

Mr. N.H. MARSHALL
Mr. C.L.G. MALLABY
Mr. C.K. CURWEN
Mr. P.H.W. FRANCIS

United States of America:

Mr. A. FISHER
Mr. C. FLOWERREE
Mr. A. AKALOVSKY
Mr. R. HAGENCGRUBER
Ms. BLAIR L. MURRAY
Mr. M.L. SANCHES
Mr. A. YARMOLINSKY

Venezuela:

Mr. A.R. TAYLHARDAT
Mr. H. ARTEAGA
Miss D. SZOKOLOCZI
Mrs. R. LISBOA DE NECER

Yugoslavia:

Mr. M. VRHUNEC
Mr. M. MIHAJLOVIĆ
Mr. D. DJOKIĆ

Zaire:

Mr. BUKETI-BUKAYI
Mr. M. ESUK

Assistant Secretary-General
for Disarmament:

Mr. R. BJØRNERSTEDT

..... Mr. SUJKA (Poland): Before I turn to my statement, permit me to express the gratification of the Polish delegation at the fact that we can work now under your wise chairmanship. Indeed, the inauguration of this session of the Committee by the distinguished statesman from Algeria, Foreign Minister Bouteflika, is in itself a most auspicious start to our endeavours. At the same time I would like to offer to the delegations of the Soviet Union and of the United States our sentiments and words of appreciation for the years of guidance which they have provided to the Committee as its Co-Chairmen. Looking forward to their active participation in this Committee, we are confident that they will not fail to willingly share with us their vast experience in the conduct of our negotiating process.

Taking the floor on behalf of Poland, one of the countries which have actively contributed to the multilateral negotiations since they opened in Geneva in 1962, I have the pleasure to welcome the new members who are now joining this Committee as a result of the decisions of the special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to disarmament.

I have the honour in particular to place on record the satisfaction of my Government at the fact that among those members we can welcome France, an important nuclear-weapon Power and a State with which my country has had traditionally fruitful co-operation.

Poland is determined to continue her constructive involvement in efforts to consolidate peace and international security wherever they are made. Accordingly, I wish to assure all members of the Committee on Disarmament that the Polish delegation is ready to co-operate closely with all of them in our common endeavour to discharge the mandate which this organ has received from the special session as well as from the thirty-third regular session of the General Assembly.

Indeed, as we are all aware, the ultimate positive solution of the important tasks facing this and other disarmament negotiating forums -- that is, effective progress towards genuine disarmament with undiminished security of all parties -- may prove difficult, if not elusive, unless States are willing and able to muster their collective determination and political will to closely co-operate with one another in search of those objectives.

In the view of the Polish Government the fundamental and imperative task today is to sustain and consolidate the process of détente by taking decisive steps to halt the arms race and bring about meaningful measures of real disarmament. The technological arms race -- as it were -- has long overtaken the pace of disarmament negotiations and now constitutes one of the major threats to world

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peace and stability. Poland, therefore, attaches great significance to the Soviet Union-United States negotiations on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons. A SALT II agreement would bring down the level of military confrontation, thereby strengthening the course towards détente, peace and international security. Moreover, it would create a more propitious climate for disarmament efforts pursued in other negotiating fora, the Committee on Disarmament included.

It is generally recognized in fact that, in the long run, the arms race and détente are irreconcilable and incompatible with one another. Given the existence in the world today of vast stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction, a further unrestrained technological arms race, both in the nuclear and in the conventional fields, could work not only to subvert détente but also to undermine the results of progress made so far in the realm of arms limitation and disarmament. There are important security and economic considerations which more eloquently than ever are now arguing for the pressing need to halt and reverse the upward spiral of the arms race. Indeed, it would seem that unless the international community succeeds in that regard, there may well emerge the real danger of the development of qualitatively new types of weapons as well as the prospect that material and human resources may well continue to be denied for the solution of such dire problems facing mankind as the fight against hunger, eradication of disease, illiteracy, the development of new sources of energy and so on.

It will be recalled that the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was particularly emphatic in underlining the close interrelationship between advances in the field of disarmament, détente and the strengthening of international security. Its Final Document is explicit in stressing that "the dynamic development of détente, encompassing all spheres of international relations in all regions of the world, with the participation of all countries, would create conditions conducive to the efforts of States to end the arms race Progress on détente and progress on disarmament mutually complement and strengthen each other". Moreover, the special session left no doubt in anybody's mind that further continuation of the arms race would be incompatible with the implementation of the new international economic order based on justice, equality and co-operation. This is by no means a surprising statement. Against the staggering requirements of the socio-economic development of States everywhere, to spend well over \$1 billion a day on the implements of war is absurd. As a global phenomenon, which it is, the arms race is irrational and unpardonable.

We can safely say that international relations are now approaching a crossroads, which can lead either to the growth of mutual trust and co-operation, or to the growth of mutual fears, suspicions and arsenals. They may lead

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ultimately either to lasting peace, or at best to a balancing on the brink of war. Détente and disarmament open the road towards peace. To miss this opportunity would border on the irresponsible, especially when we recognize that peace is no longer a Utopian dream, that there is no alternative to peace if mankind is to survive.

We believe that the cause of durable peace in a disarming world would best be served and facilitated by greater all-round recognition of the fact that the peaceful co-existence of States with different systems and the non-use of force in international relations represent the two basic pre-conditions for the successful development of the present day world and for the effective solution of its nagging problems. In other words, international security can be strengthened most effectively by expanding the areas of mutual understanding and co-operation and by substituting them for the areas of confrontation, especially in the military field. By the same token, it would be a gross disservice to the cause of international security and mutual understanding if the military-industrial complex in certain countries were to be allowed to accelerate the arms race in pursuit of deceptive "military superiority", or -- as the case may be -- to conjure the threat of alleged "superiority" on the part of others in order to cover and justify its own designs.

In the considered view of the Polish Government, it is imperative for the international community to proceed promptly with practical implementation of the ideas and recommendations formulated in the Final Document of the special session.

We believe that the most important and urgent question is the question of nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war, which -- as we know -- corresponds to the priorities set forth by the special session. In this connexion, it is of particular significance to commence, without further delay, negotiations by all nuclear-weapon States on the halting of nuclear arms race, as urged by the General Assembly in its resolution 33/71 H, adopted at the thirty-third session.

A realistic, matter-of-fact and straightforward course towards disarmament and meaningful military détente in Europe and throughout the world has been offered recently in the Declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty. As will be recalled, the Declaration, which was adopted at a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee held in Moscow last November, has been circulated as an official document of the General Assembly (A/33/392).

The document has placed on record the grave concern of public opinion everywhere at the attempts of certain militaristic circles in the West to accelerate the technological arms race. While voicing alarm over this dangerous tendency, the Declaration puts forward a comprehensive programme of measures which could pave the

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way towards reversing the arms race and ultimately towards genuine disarmament. The States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty register in the document their determination to press for the achievement of these objectives, in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the recommendations of the special session.

As it were, the signatories stressed the continued validity of the proposals which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have made in the field of disarmament, as well as their readiness to proceed, together with other countries, to a constructive and productive consideration of such proposals.

In the view of my delegation, the most significant message conveyed in the Declaration is the statement that there is no type of weapon, whether nuclear or conventional, which the socialist States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty are not ready to limit or reduce, whether on regional or on global scale, on the basis of strict observance of the principle of undiminished security of each side. It may well be worthwhile recalling that the signatories of the Declaration expressly reaffirm that they have never sought, and do not seek at present, military superiority over any State or group of States, that their military efforts are and always will be aimed exclusively at ensuring their own defence capacity. Indeed, this posture directly reflects their underlying belief that military balance in Europe, and in the world for that matter, should be maintained not by increasing armouries but by their reduction and by resolute transition to specific measures of disarmament, especially in the nuclear field.

At the very outset of my statement I took the liberty to refer in passing to the fact that my country has actively participated in the Geneva multilateral disarmament negotiations ever since 1962. In actual fact, Poland sought to make a meaningful contribution to all the efforts aimed at consolidating international security and promoting genuine disarmament throughout the past 33 post-war years. It may be worth recalling that the first proposal in the field of disarmament which Poland made at the United Nations dates back to 1946. More than a decade later, in 1957, Poland used the same forum -- and, after a few years, the opening session of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament -- to submit a specific and realistic plan for the creation of an atom-free zone in Central Europe. The plan was subsequently modified to become something of a blueprint for a denuclearized and limited armaments zone.

While that idea has, regrettably, not materialized in our part of the world, it certainly had direct impact upon the political climate in Europe and helped to encourage imaginative thinking elsewhere, leading ultimately to its practical application on the Latin American continent.

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In 1964, again at the United Nations, my country formulated a proposal to convene a conference of all European States in order to examine the problem of European security in its entirety. Some ten years later, owing to the active and constructive input from countries of the socialist community as well as from other States, that idea came to fruition with the signing at Helsinki of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

Dedication to peace and disarmament is deeply ingrained in the social system of People's Poland, which has established a strict correlation between the successful socio-economic development of the country and consistent efforts to secure for Poland the best possible external conditions, the conditions of peace and security. Peace and security are the supreme aims of the foreign policy of Poland, and, indeed, also of other socialist countries. Imaginative and consistent efforts to promote détente and genuine disarmament are -- in our view -- the best instruments to attain these objectives. We try to practice what we preach when we get intimately involved in the Vienna talks to lower the dangerous level of military confrontation which now exists in Central Europe. We also try to translate our principles into practical action at the United Nations when, recognizing that the first line of defence against war is man himself, we propose that something should be done about it.

Indeed, bearing in mind the maxim which asserts that "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed", we took the initiative of proposing to the thirty-third session of the General Assembly -- and we have received its unanimous endorsement for -- a Declaration on the preparation of societies for life in peace. This subject was first raised by Edward Gierek, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party who, in addressing the General Assembly in 1974, stressed in particular the right of all nations to life in peace.

As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland, Emil Wojtaszek, noted when introducing the Polish initiative to the session of the General Assembly last September:

"Preparation for life in peace is the kind of activity which could be defined as the building of an infrastructure of peace in the consciousness of nations. The making of a peaceful world can neither be fully effective nor durable unless there is a most profound awareness in the minds of men that world peace is the supreme value and thereby an objective of the highest priority".

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Tabling the text of the draft Declaration on the preparation of societies for life in peace, Poland regarded that act as a valid contribution to generating a climate of mutual trust and an atmosphere conducive to more significant advances in the field of disarmament. We believed, in fact, that our step was tantamount to promoting the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations -- most specifically, lasting peace and security for all. It was a matter of special satisfaction for public opinion in Poland that the debate on the draft Declaration and its universal approval were bearing out not only the timeliness of the document but also the fact that aspiration for lasting peace is the predominant factor in the policies of States.

I should like to turn now to several preoccupations, more immediate and practical, which are related to the work of this disarmament negotiating organ, an important multilateral forum which has obvious world-wide relevance. My Government shares the widely held view that the enlargement of the Committee's membership embracing, as it does, both nuclear and non-nuclear-weapon States, developed and developing ones, aligned and non-aligned alike, will be a more representative body wherein the responsibility for the course and for the results of disarmament negotiations will be shared by the international community more equitably. We must not forget, furthermore, that the special session has also provided for specific procedural and substantive arrangements whereby States not members of the Committee will be able, if they so wish, to make proposals, to participate in -- as many of them are in fact doing right at this meeting -- and otherwise to follow the proceedings of the Committee, all of which substantially adds to the representative character of this organ.

The Final Document adopted by the special session has mapped the road for the Committee on Disarmament to follow in the days and months ahead. The programme of action outlined in the document sets realistic priorities which must be followed precisely and with due determination. Continuing its work, the Committee on Disarmament must take full advantage of the previous experience and expertise, putting them to the best use of the interest of its own effective work.

Poland feels strongly that, above all, the Committee on Disarmament must continue the pending business, especially where the negotiating process has reached a crucial stage, or where seriousness of the problems involved calls for urgent and positive action by the enlarged Committee. Thus, while we are looking forward to the early and positive outcome of the tripartite negotiations on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, we feel that the Committee must pursue its consideration of that matter with renewed vigour.

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The important tasks of the international community include the question of effective prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons, the subject of one of the foremost recommendations of the special session. My country has always believed that the universalization of the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, as embodied in the NPT, would be the surest way to preclude the physical spread of these weapons and to promote the widest international co-operation in the peaceful applications of energy of the atom. Both these objectives would be served by enhanced effectiveness of the IAEA safeguards, which Poland consistently seeks within the Agency framework and through contributions to the work of the "London Club".

Parallel political or international legal measures capable of contributing to a heightened sense of security of non-nuclear-weapon States would constitute integral elements of the broad range of measures aimed at preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and avoiding the threat of a nuclear conflict. I would like to recall that in this regard, responding to an initiative of the Soviet Government, the thirty-third session of the General Assembly has requested our Committee to take effective measures for the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States through appropriate international arrangements. Indeed, we are urged to consider, at the earliest possible time, specific drafts of an international convention. As the Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, has rightly noted in his valuable and penetrating message addressed to this session of the Committee -- "... if progress can be achieved on this question, an important element of stability will be introduced in the international situation, with beneficial effects on other disarmament questions".

We are confident that no one would legitimately claim that the aspirations of people anywhere could be possibly met by further improvement of the existing or the development of new types of weapons of mass destruction. Quite to the contrary. We, therefore, wish to urge the Committee to accord high priority to the question of the prohibition of the development of new types of weapons of mass destruction, as required by the Final Document of the special session. We believe that there are no insurmountable obstacles to the elaboration of a comprehensive agreement, supplemented by agreements on specific weapons, if and when identified.

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While on the subject of weapons of mass destruction, I feel duty-bound to stress the particular concern of the people and of my Government over two types of such weapons which are specifically meant to annihilate life, in the first place human life. I refer, of course, to chemical weapons. As we know, a ban on their development, production and stockpiling is long overdue. And I also refer to the nuclear neutron weapons, the prospect of whose deployment in the heart of Europe has been revolting to public opinion in Poland and throughout Europe ever since such a design became known. We would wish to hope that in the interest of objectives which we all cherish, the plans to develop and deploy nuclear neutron weapons will be put to rest once and for all.

The Polish delegation confidently expects that this important body will not fail to consider at the earliest opportunity, as it is obligated under General Assembly resolutions and in the light of the Final Document of the special session, the elaboration of further international agreements in the field of disarmament for the prevention of an arms race on the sea-bed and the ocean floor.

My list of the pressing items which await urgent and constructive examination by the Committee at its current and future sessions would be far too incomplete without adding two questions: the reduction of military budgets and the limitation of conventional arms transfers. My delegation feels very strongly, in particular, that it would be in the immediate interest both of the cessation of the arms race and of aid to developing countries if the question of the reduction of military budgets of States with major economic and military potentials were to be considered in the light of its political merits rather than in the context of endless technical studies.

In concluding, let me underline two considerations which, in the view of my country, are paramount to our endeavours:

1. To achieve meaningful progress towards genuine disarmament, States must forswear attempts at gaining unilateral advantage at the expense of the legitimate security interests of others. To make such genuine disarmament possible and enduring, it is indispensable to secure universal adherence to disarmament agreements.
2. While important and relevant, no institutional or procedural arrangements in the field of disarmament negotiations can be substituted for the political will of Governments and peoples to seek disarmament.

As far as Poland and the Polish people are concerned, they will never be found wanting when it comes for the will to seek peace and security through genuine disarmament. It is in this spirit that my delegation will participate in the endeavours of the Committee on Disarmament.

Mr. EL-SHAFEI (Egypt): Mr. Chairman, may I associate myself, as well as my delegation, with all the expressions of kind sentiments and words of praise addressed to you and, through you, to your country. The leading and ominous role of Algeria in the eradication of the unjust legacies and shackles of the past, and in the establishment of a new international order, based on sovereign equality, political independence, economic justice and a reliable system of collective security, augurs well for this new important phase in disarmament negotiation.

It is with a deep sense of cautious optimism that my delegation is taking part in this first session of the newly constituted multilateral disarmament negotiating Body. We hope and trust that this new restructuring -- a positive outcome of the tenth special session of the General Assembly -- will lead to a more effective international negotiating body, one which is more reflective of world realities and of the shared interests of the whole international community in the sphere of disarmament.

We believe that this could be attained if the ground rules adopted by the General Assembly for this body are complemented by and matched with a programme of work reflecting the new determination and fresh approach adopted at the tenth special session. An agenda which clearly and adequately identifies and focuses upon priorities, a set of rules of procedure which insure the principles of democracy and guard against paralysis and stagnation, are some of the important elements which can secure success.

Further, we regard the participation of all nuclear-Power States in disarmament negotiations to be a necessary prerequisite for any meaningful and pragmatic approach towards a universally applicable disarmament measure. It is therefore appropriate to renew our hope and expectation that the People's Republic of China will deem it fit to take an active part in this body in a not so distant future.

I would, however, hasten to add a proviso of cardinal importance, namely that all our efforts will be of no avail and the whole exercise will be rendered futile if the required political will to act courageously is lacking, and the moral commitment to our cherished goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control is absent.

In its resolution 33/71 F, the General Assembly expressed its conviction that the Final Document of the special session devoted to disarmament provided a

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solid basis to set in motion an international disarmament strategy that makes it possible at the same time:

- "(a) To carry out what is the most active and urgent task of the present day, namely, the removal of the threat of a world war, which would inevitably be a nuclear war;
- (b) To channel the negotiations among States towards the final goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, on the understanding that such negotiations shall be conducted concurrently with negotiations on partial measures of disarmament;
- (c) To strengthen international peace and security and to promote the economic and social advancement of all peoples, thus, facilitating the achievement of the new International Economic Order".

Consonant with that strategy, the Final Document Programme of Action defines the priorities of disarmament negotiations to be nuclear weapons; other weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons; conventional weapons, including any which may be deemed to be excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate effect, and reduction of armed forces.

It was gratifying to note the high priority which has been accorded in the Final Document to nuclear weapons as the greatest danger to mankind and its survival, as well as the special responsibility borne by the nuclear-weapon States -- in particular, those among them which possess the most important nuclear arsenals -- in the task of achieving nuclear disarmament.

The call for nuclear disarmament was -- my delegation would like to recall -- one of the main pleas of the non-aligned countries during the special session, out of the firm conviction that the complete elimination of nuclear weapons is the most effective guarantee against the danger of nuclear war and an essential condition for strengthening international peace and security.

The Programme of Action adopted during the special session specified that the achievement of nuclear disarmament will require, among other things, urgent negotiations of agreements for the cessation of the qualitative improvement and development of nuclear-weapon systems.

High among these negotiations is the one concerning the conclusion of a treaty prohibiting nuclear-weapon tests. My delegation cannot but register its regret that the multilateral negotiating body has not been able as yet to start negotiations on this matter of highest priority, due to the non-submission of the

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joint draft treaty expected from the three nuclear-weapon States. It cannot but urge these States to use their utmost endeavours to comply with the General Assembly's request and submit to this Committee the draft of such a treaty at the beginning of this session. Further, my delegation reiterates its hope that the moratorium called for by the General Assembly with respect to the conduct of any testing of nuclear weapons and other nuclear explosive devices be respected and upheld.

Another measure of significant importance towards the same end would be the conclusion of the agreement in the second series of the strategic arms limitations talks. This agreement which has been regrettably overdue should, at the earliest possible date, be transmitted to the General Assembly to be promptly followed by further strategic arms limitation negotiations between the two parties leading to agreed significant reductions and qualitative limitations on strategic arms.

In its quest for peace, Egypt cannot lose sight of the frightening prospect of the introduction of nuclear weapons to the Middle East, a nightmare which could greatly threaten international peace and security, inflict irreparable damage upon the confidence-building efforts and further complicate the situation in that region. It was therefore Egypt's persistent demand to take practical and urgent steps to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East. The Iranian-Egyptian initiative in this regard five years ago was a clear manifestation of this goal. Egypt, in compliance with paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 33/64, is prepared to declare, on a reciprocal basis -- pending, and in the process of the establishment of such a zone in the Middle East -- that it will refrain from producing, acquiring, or in any other way, possessing nuclear weapons and nuclear explosive devices, and from permitting the stationing of nuclear weapons on its territory by any third party and to agree to place all its nuclear activities under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards. It, further, stands ready to declare its support for the establishing of such a zone in the region and to deposit its declaration with the Security Council.

It is regrettable, however, that the overwhelming support of the international community for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East has been so far frustrated by the intransigent and unyielding policies and attitudes of the Government of Israel which stand as a stumbling block in the way of the establishment of such a zone. These policies, combined with the Israeli refusal to be bound by the NPT or to subject its nuclear activities to IAEA

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safeguards, can only subject the whole Middle East to the incalculable menace of the nuclear arms race and challenge the efforts of the international community and make the search for peace in the Middle East more intricate and troublesome.

Another policy of defiance of the will of the international community is the persistent attempt by the racist régime of South Africa to challenge the Declaration on the Demuclearization of Africa, and its close nuclear collaboration with Israel. This policy is of an equally important concern for my country, since it constitutes, we believe, a serious threat to international peace and security and places a grave responsibility upon the international community.

The goal of nuclear non-proliferation is an integral part of the effort to halt the arms race. It could only be guaranteed through the universal application of the NPT. In this respect, I would like to re-emphasize that Egypt is ready to complete the legal formalities required for becoming a party to the NPT the moment Israel would accede to that treaty. On this subject, we are of the view, however, that all efforts should be exerted to redress the imbalance between the obligations and responsibilities of the nuclear and non-nuclear weapon States respectively. Further, the inalienable right of access to technology, equipment and materials for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy for economic and social development should be unquestionably guaranteed, given adequate safeguards, to all States, with particular regard to the needs of the developing countries. The coming Review Conference of the NPT to be held in 1980 provides an ample opportunity for the realization of these legitimate and just demands.

The prohibition and prevention of the development, production and use of other weapons and systems of mass destruction figures as one of the high priority items in the final document of the special session. Among them, the conclusion of a convention on the complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and their destruction was considered to be one of the most urgent tasks of multilateral negotiations. It is therefore, pertinent that the General Assembly has requested this Committee to undertake at its first session on a priority basis, negotiations on this convention and, at the same time, has urged the USSR and the United States of America to submit their joint initiative to the Committee on Disarmament in order to assist it in achieving an early agreement on this subject.

Another urgent priority in disarmament negotiations is the prohibition or restriction of the use of certain conventional weapons which may be deemed to be

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excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate effects. It is our hope that the United Nations Conference on this subject -- to be held this year -- will be able to reach an agreement on specific instruments. Egypt's position in this connexion is based on the assumption that positive results in this field would stimulate further measures in the broader field of disarmament, and on the humanitarian consideration that undue suffering should be avoided. Having, unfortunately, been subjected to many inhumane weapons with a capacity to overkill, it is only natural for Egypt to support the consideration by the coming Conference of the full range of weaponry which fits the mandate assigned by the General Assembly. We believe that such an endeavour is a multidimensional one and that all aspects, of a humanitarian or national security nature, should be duly considered in order to attain the ultimate objective of the total prohibition of such weapons.

Similarly, negotiations on the limitations and reduction of conventional weapons should be initiated and actively pursued on the basis of parity and undiminished mutual security for all. It should also be without prejudice to the inherent right of individual and collective self-defence and the right to self-determination and independence of peoples under colonial or foreign domination.

My delegation, while fully aware of the priorities set forth in the Final Document, cannot nonetheless lose sight of the fact that the implementation of these priorities should lead to general and complete disarmament under effective international control, which remains the ultimate objective of all efforts exerted in the sphere of disarmament. It is our hope, therefore, that the Disarmament Commission will be able, in the near future, to transmit to our Committee -- through the General Assembly -- the duly considered elements of the comprehensive programme for disarmament. In this way, we will be able to discharge our mandate -- namely, to undertake the elaboration of a comprehensive programme of disarmament encompassing all measures ~~thought~~ to be advisable in order to ensure that the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control becomes reality.

The first Disarmament Decade is fast coming to an end. Practical measures towards the fulfilment of the objectives set forth in General Assembly resolution 2602 E (XXIV) have been, to our regret and alarm, quite scarce.

Annual military expenditure has reached the astronomical figure of \$350 billion. Five to six per cent of the total production of goods and services is being diverted to military needs. Military activities throughout the world

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absorb a volume of resources equivalent to about two-thirds of the aggregate gross national product of these countries which comprise the poorest half of the world's population. The opportunity cost of this colossal military expenditure is awesome in both financial and human terms.

Paragraph 35 of the Final Document of the General Assembly's tenth special session on disarmament clearly asserts that:

"There is a close relationship between disarmament and development. Progress in the former would help greatly in the realization of the latter. Therefore resources released as a result of the implementation of disarmament measures would be devoted to the economic and social development of all nations and contribute to the bridging of the economic gap between developed and developing countries".

The International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade envisaged Government assistance of 0.7 per cent of the GNP to facilitate a growth rate of 6 per cent for developing countries. It has been estimated that a 5 per cent shift of current expenditures on arms to development would suffice to approach the official targets for aid. The fulfilment of this target would be an important and constructive step towards erasing the want and poverty in which two thirds of the world's population live, as well as a solid contribution to the establishment of the new international economic order.

In its tenacious search for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, Egypt is fully cognizant of the close relationship between disarmament and development. The establishment of a durable and honourable peace in this troubled region of the world will definitely provide a solid basis for security. But it will also permit the States of the region to transfer huge resources, long being allocated to military purposes, towards the economic and social development and welfare of the whole region and its peoples.

It is a truism that the process of disarmament will be greatly enhanced with the pursuance of policies and the taking of measures to strengthen international peace and security and to build confidence among States. My delegation would like to recall what has been stated in this connexion in the Final Document, namely that "Disarmament, relaxation of international tension, respect for the right to self-determination and national independence, the peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the strengthening of international peace and security are directly related to each other".

The task facing this negotiating body is a most difficult and challenging one. But we are convinced nonetheless that with added determination and renewed commitment we will be able to fulfil world expectations and set the stage for the establishment of a genuine and lasting peace based on the respect of the rule of law.

Mr. TERRICFE (Ethiopia): Mr. Chairman, the Ethiopian delegation joins others who have spoken before in congratulating you on assuming the chairmanship of this first session of the Committee on Disarmament. We express full confidence in your leadership and pledge complete support towards achieving concrete results. We welcome those members who are participating for the first time in these disarmament negotiations. We are particularly gratified that a considerable number of them come from the developing and non-aligned countries, which makes participation more representative. We also welcome the fact that more of the nuclear-power States are playing their proper role and hope that this trend will continue until all take an active part in disarmament negotiations.

The tenth special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to disarmament demonstrated the overwhelming desire of the vast majority of mankind for an end to the arms race. In his message to the special session, the Ethiopian Head of State, Lt. Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, pointed out that "the advent of the nuclear age and the subsequent stockpiling of increasingly sophisticated and deadly weapons is today imperilling mankind and all human civilization with nuclear annihilation".

More than 10 years ago, the previous Committee on Disarmament agreed on a provisional agenda setting out priority items relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race, chemical and bacteriological warfare, regional arms limitations and other collateral measures which would lead eventually to general and complete disarmament. Today, we have before us an almost identical set of priorities emanating from the tenth special session of the General Assembly and endorsed by resolution 33/71 H of the thirty-third regular session of the General Assembly. Even more disturbing is the fact that in the intervening period, far from declining, the arms race has accelerated to alarming proportions: more nuclear warheads and new weapons of mass destruction have been developed. Hostilities around the world have continued apace.

As we embark upon a new attempt to proceed with disarmament negotiations, the Ethiopian delegation ventures to ask why efforts in this sphere have scored so little success in the past and why the world stands on the brink of self-annihilation? We recognize that the task of disarmament negotiations is inextricably linked to the question of international peace and security and to the building of confidence among States.

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There are forces at work in the world today, which through covert and overt operations destabilize countries, crush progressive movements and perpetuate aggression while attempting to realign countries against their own interest. These activities are responsible for mounting world tension and must cease if international détente is to be deepened. Ethiopia is well placed to appreciate this necessity, because she has been a victim of such type of international machinations not only throughout modern times but also only less than two years ago when hostile forces attempted to dismember the nation and halt the processes of change set in motion by the Ethiopian people in their quest for equity, justice and peace in Ethiopia. A wider conflagration could have ensued had the Ethiopian people not made all the sacrifices necessary to maintain their national integrity and promote peace in the Horn of Africa.

To secure peace it is necessary that equitable and progressive social, political and economic changes take place within and between nations and that mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and political and economic independence be promoted. The right of a nation to choose its own social and political system and the non-use of force in the settling of international disputes demand nothing more than adherence to the purposes and fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, to which Ethiopia remains firmly committed.

Concurrent with the tenth special session, the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) convened a summit meeting at which they decided to embark upon a qualitative and quantitative increase in armaments, unprecedented in the history of that organization. This action has been regretted by many countries, including Ethiopia, as evidence of a surprising degree of contempt for the world-wide struggle for détente, peace, security and disarmament.

Representatives of peoples and their Governments, particularly those of the developing countries, wish to see an end to the arms race. They have expressed similar concerns before the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. Many have deplored the callous waste of vast human, technological and material resources being devoted to maintain a "balance of terror" and to keep the war industry going. The Ethiopian delegation notes again with concern the staggering figure of \$1 billion per day being spent on armaments. This sum when calculated annually is equivalent to the aggregated GNP of those countries which

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together comprise the poorer half of the world. Diverting part of these resources to economic and social development would make the difference between life and death for millions who lack basic health care services, between starvation and the availability of minimum quantities of nutritious food and between the darkness of illiteracy and the acquisition of basic knowledge and skills for hundreds of millions of human beings.

Ethiopia, therefore, both appreciates and supports the initiative taken and the efforts made by the community of socialist States, in particular the Soviet Union, at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to introduce resolutions designed to ensure the survival of man, by averting a nuclear holocaust. We find even more encouraging the message to the Committee on Disarmament by the Head of the Soviet delegation which called for practical results in 1979 and "quicker progress in solving principal problems of disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament".

The re-activated Disarmament Commission as a deliberative body of the General Assembly and the expanded Committee on Disarmament should provide to the community of nations the means by which to adopt bold measures of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. Nuclear-weapon States not only must remove the difficulties standing in the way of negotiations, but they should also make genuine efforts to achieve détente, peace and stability so that the deprived peoples of the world will be able to provide for their own genuine security and economic needs and aspirations. It is against this background that the thirty-third session of the General Assembly defined priorities which it requested the Committee on Disarmament to consider and act upon. In our view the Committee on Disarmament has before it the following major tasks: resolution 33/71 H of the General Assembly requests the Committee on Disarmament to undertake on a priority basis negotiations on a treaty on the complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. Many countries recognize that some progress has been made in the tripartite talks between the United Kingdom, the USSR and the United States of America. However, an agreed text resulting from these negotiations has as yet to be submitted for consideration. The Ethiopian delegation, while fully aware of the technical difficulties involved, is nevertheless convinced of the possibility of concluding a comprehensive test-ban treaty if all the nuclear-weapon States

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demonstrate equally the political will to adhere strictly to the many resolutions of the General Assembly on the subject. That nuclear weapons pose the most serious threat to the survival of mankind has been reaffirmed. The threat or the use of force as a means of settling international disputes has long been established to be against the principle of the United Nations Charter. The attitude of the nuclear-weapon States toward these crucial issues is a measure of their genuine desire to move toward disarmament goals. It is our hope that the new momentum given to the Committee on Disarmament by the General Assembly will so influence our deliberations in this Session of the Committee on Disarmament that we will achieve concrete measures toward negotiations of a comprehensive test-ban (CTB) treaty.

The development of other weapons of mass destruction including chemical weapons is another subject which would require our immediate attention. It has been repeatedly stated that the development of the neutron bomb will inevitably intensify the arms race, jeopardize ongoing negotiations and undermine the positive process of détente. We reaffirm the view, that this new weapon, which is particularly targeted against human beings, should not be developed and deployed.

Resolution 35/59A requests the Committee to give high priority to a treaty or convention on the complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all types of chemical weapons and on their destruction. The United States of America and the USSR are urged to submit their joint proposal to the Committee on Disarmament. While the former CCD fully appreciated that there had been a narrowing of views on the part of the nuclear Powers towards a ban on chemical weapons, several members, including the Ethiopian delegation, were disappointed that complete agreement had not been reached. Ethiopia, because of its bitter experience, has always advocated vigorously the banning of chemical and biological weapons and lends full support to the initiatives taken so far. Nevertheless, we look forward, with other members of the Committee on Disarmament, to a speedy completion of negotiations and submission of a joint proposal on this issue.

A fourth point concerns the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones: resolution 33/63, sponsored by 36 African States, and adopted by a roll-call vote from which regrettably three important nuclear-weapon States abstained, calls for the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa. With

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farsightedness and wisdom the African Heads of State and Governments, at their summit conference in 1964, adopted a Declaration in which they expressed their readiness to undertake an international treaty to be concluded under the auspices of the United Nations. They urged the nuclear Powers to respect the declaration. The resolution condemns any nuclear collaboration by any State, corporation, institution or individual with the racist régime of South Africa which could frustrate the objective of OAU to keep Africa a nuclear-weapon-free zone. In open defiance of the Declaration, the General Assembly's resolutions and the decisions of the Security Council, certain Western allies of the racist South African régime have continued to develop that régime's nuclear capability. South Africa's racial policy, abhorred by all Africans, based as it is on the oppression and the degradation of man by man, has now reached a stage whereby it is now backed by a possible testing of a nuclear device. The security of all African States is directly threatened by such a move. Peace has been undermined in the region and the peoples of southern Africa are exposed to a new form of imperialism acting through the apartheid régime of South Africa. The Committee on Disarmament by resolution 35/72 A is requested to consider at the earliest possible date an international convention which should assure the non-nuclear-weapon States against the use of threat of use of nuclear weapons.

In conclusion, may I say that the desire of the peoples of the world for international peace, security and prosperity can only be achieved if the community of nations work together toward a common goal and create a situation in which the world is free from war or the threat of war, in particular nuclear war.

The nuclear-weapon States can no longer delay putting before this Committee concrete proposals for a comprehensive test-ban treaty, and complete prohibition of weapons of mass destruction, so that the Committee on Disarmament will play a more effective negotiating role thus ensuring a bright future for mankind. This is what the world expects of this Committee.

Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (translated from Spanish): It is particularly auspicious that the launching of the Committee on Disarmament has taken place under the chairmanship of Algeria which contributed in no small measure to its establishment, and that the words of guidance first spoken here have been those of its Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika who, with his colleagues, has promoted the cause of disarmament in so many forums.

The Argentine delegation is delighted at this coincidence and asks you, Mr. Chairman, to accept its cordial congratulations and the expression of its brotherly friendship.

At the same time, we should like on this occasion to extend our greetings to all other members of the Committee and to assure them of my delegation's co-operation in the joint task on which we have now embarked.

This first session of the Committee on Disarmament is an event of singular importance that marks the culmination of a lengthy process. The principal multilateral disarmament negotiating body, whose origins go back to resolution 1722 (XVI) adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1961, has commenced its activity with substantial reforms in its structure, membership and system of work, reforms which are aimed at eliminating the deficiencies of its immediate predecessor, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

For a number of years, my delegation, together with others holding similar views, emphasized the need to make these changes in the negotiating body -- in particular the replacement of the co-chairmanship system by a rotating chairmanship system -- in order to make it more effective, balanced and capable of discharging its responsibilities properly. These aspirations have been met. We therefore wish to place on record our satisfaction and, at the same time, to express the hope that these changes will genuinely help the Committee to bring its delicate mission to a successful outcome.

In commencing its work now, this Committee is completing the cycle of machinery provided for by the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which was held scarcely six months ago at United Nations Headquarters. As is well known, the Final Document, adopted by consensus on that memorable occasion, acknowledged in its section IV the urgent need to improve and revitalize the international disarmament machinery so that, given the indispensable

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political will of Governments, it would be in a position to implement the Programme of Action. To that end, it instituted two types of bodies with different characteristics: deliberative bodies, in which all States are represented, and negotiating bodies, which, because of their nature, have a limited membership.

After reaffirming the indisputable "central role and primary responsibility" of the United Nations in this field, the General Assembly logically reserved for itself the untransferable right to consider all problems relating to disarmament, and it decided that the First Committee should deal only with these questions and related international security questions. However, since its sessions are normally held for only three months in the year, it decided to establish a subsidiary intersessional body, the Disarmament Commission, which has wide terms of reference and has already begun its work very efficiently. Further, the Final Document provided for the convening of a second special session devoted to disarmament -- which has been fixed for 1982 -- and stated that a world disarmament conference should be convened at the earliest appropriate time.

Lastly, the Secretary-General of the United Nations was requested to set up an advisory board of eminent persons to advise him on various aspects of studies to be made by the world Organization in the field of disarmament and arms limitation. The Board has also been established and has already held its first meeting.

All of the foregoing relates to deliberative forums. With regard to the negotiating machinery, the main provisions are contained in paragraph 120 of the document in question, which is both the birth certificate of this Committee on Disarmament and a genuine constituent charter establishing its membership and outlining the modalities of its proceedings.

The affirmation that the Committee is open to the participation of all the nuclear-weapon States, an affirmation which has the effect of granting them the status of de jure members, has remedied one of the most glaring defects of the CCD. On many occasions, we have pointed to the grave omission involved in discussing and agreeing on international instruments on disarmament without the participation of two of the five nuclear Powers in the negotiations concerned; and we have expressed our justified doubts as to the degree of application that the instruments might have in view of the absence of those two Powers. The obstacles that stood in the way of their participation on an equal footing have

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been removed, and henceforth each of those States is free to decide whether or not to be represented in this Committee. The Argentine delegation wishes to express once again its satisfaction at the presence of France from which, on the first day of our work and with the authoritative statement of its Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. François-Poncet, we have already received such an expert and significant contribution. We should also like to express the conviction that the People's Republic of China will soon be taking its place among us and will be playing an active part. In that way we shall achieve a total membership, and the negotiations which take place here will have a genuine content.

In conformity with the terms of reference which have been given us, the Committee on Disarmament will have to conduct its work by consensus and adopt its own rules of procedure. Without prejudice to substantive matters, to which I shall refer later, it is obvious that this problem will take up a large part of our immediate activities. It is impossible to ignore the importance of establishing, from the very outset, rules of procedure that are clear and are suited to the specific task we are going to undertake. Some points have already been set out in the Final Document, such as the rotation of the chairmanship of Committee among all its members on a monthly basis, the reports to be submitted to the General Assembly, the submission of written proposals by interested States which are not members of the Committee and the possibility for them to participate in its deliberations, and the opening of plenary meetings to the public. These matters will be duly covered in the rules of procedure, but it will doubtless be necessary to include others.

There are two possibilities in this connexion. One is to agree on a set of simple basic rules which could be improved on later, as our needs and experience require; the other option would be to examine carefully and elaborate forthwith comprehensive rules of procedure that will not require major changes in the future.

The elements that we have to consider include the question of the method of consensus which is to govern the adoption of our decisions.

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The question is a delicate one. The concept of consensus in the field of disarmament has not been officially defined by the United Nations. The CCD operated by consensus but never attempted to define its meaning. The Committee on Disarmament can follow the same approach or can endeavour to define what is to be understood by consensus. Both alternatives are valid; but what is essential is that, whether consensus is defined or not, exactly the same approach must be strictly applied in all disarmament forums. We emphasize this from the start because my delegation is not ready to accept different or changing interpretations that serve the interests of one group of countries at the expense of others.

Now that the objections to the CCD have disappeared, we shall not be able to use formal excuses in order to justify further delays in the negotiations on disarmament. We now have a suitable means for conducting them. Naturally, if they are to proceed effectively, one imponderable and frequently elusive element -- the political will of the members -- must play its part. We trust that this new point of departure will be heralded by a general resolve to secure progress in the various matters that we have to consider.

Apart from the rules of procedure, we have to agree on our programme, bearing in mind the priorities established in paragraph 45 of the Final Document and the recommendations of the General Assembly which, at its recent session, decided on a number of tasks for our Committee. Intense activity therefore awaits us.

To begin with, in conformity with resolution 33/71 we must, on a priority basis, undertake negotiations on "a treaty on the complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests" and "a treaty or convention on the complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all types of chemical weapons and on their destruction".

With regard to the first of these topics, we continue to note unfortunately that, despite the lengthy discussions in progress, we still do not have the relevant draft treaty. The revitalization of this negotiating body is an auspicious occasion for submitting this text to it as soon as possible and, if feasible, at this very session. The Committee's new and more representative structure and the membership of other nuclear

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Powers are a guarantee in advance that this document will be given in-depth consideration and that the necessary care will be taken to secure the support first of all the nuclear-weapon Powers and also of all members of the international community.

We understand and share the urgent concern of many delegations that such a treaty should be concluded as soon as possible. However, this legitimate interest and understandable haste must not diminish the Committee's responsibility in the examination of this question. I venture to reiterate what was said in this connexion by the Argentine delegation on 17 November 1978, during the general debate of the First Committee of the General Assembly.

"All States represented here have agreed by consensus, as stated in paragraph 51 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, that the result of the negotiations on the prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests '... should be ... submitted for full consideration by the multilateral negotiation body ...'. I emphasize the words 'full consideration', which were chosen after lengthy discussion in order that we should not lose sight of the fact that the functions of the Committee in Geneva should not be those of a mere intermediary between the negotiating parties and the General Assembly.

"The competence of the Committee on Disarmament involves the receipt of any draft treaty submitted, its consideration in detail and in depth, and the whole negotiating process that is called for, including that of amendments to any provisions, in order that a consensus may be reached among all the Committee's members. Any restrictive interpretation of the functions we have assigned to the Committee on Disarmament would be detrimental to its role and would even cast doubt on the need for its very existence.

"Only after the negotiating body has, in the opinion of all its members, completed its full consideration of the draft international treaty will it be in a position to bring that draft before the General Assembly for its consideration. Apart from any other merit, that procedure will serve to ensure, in principle, wider acceptance by the most representative body in the United Nations"

(A/C.1/33/PV.42 (provisional), pp. 21-22).

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Similar comments apply to the overdue draft treaty or convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons. Although we should like it to be presented to us without delay, we are aware of the difficulties involved in preparing it and we hope that they will soon be overcome so that a detailed study can be made of its provisions.

At its thirty-third session, the General Assembly considered an important topic entitled "Strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States", whose inclusion in the agenda had been requested by the Soviet Union. During the discussion the Argentine delegation stated its views on this commendable initiative and listened with interest to the opinions expressed by many delegations, particularly that of Pakistan, the sponsor of one of the two draft resolutions, for both of which we voted.

Since the Committee on Disarmament has been requested to consider the proposals submitted, my delegation will take the floor again when our heavy agenda permits us to take up this point. Meanwhile, we shall simply reiterate the importance that we attach to the question and the desirability of giving it all the attention it deserves.

Also, in resolution 33/66, the Committee is requested to pursue its examination of the "Prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons" with a view to reaching agreement on this matter.

It is not my intention to draw up an exhaustive list of the subjects that have to be taken up by the Committee on Disarmament. Document CD/1 is in itself sufficiently eloquent in this respect. I have simply wished to mention some topics that call for priority treatment, without overlooking or underestimating others which may also be contained in the programme that we have to approve.

Nor is it my aim to expatiate on the dangerous situation created by the quantitative and qualitative speed-up in the arms race. The temptation is great. However, as the distinguished Minister of State of the United Kingdom, Lord Goronwy-Roberts, rightly reminded us in his statement, this is a place for negotiating disarmament agreements and not for making general statements.

By way of conclusion, I shall therefore prudently confine myself to stating that, no matter what determination we display in our task, the negotiations are proceeding much more slowly than the scientific and technological advances applied to the production of armaments. Hence we have an obligation to redouble our efforts and sharpen our imagination in order to control accumulation of armaments, before it is too late and before events that nobody wants overwhelm us with their dialectic of confrontation and destruction.

The pieces are now duly set out on the disarmament board. The time has come to use them properly and without delay.

Mr. VAN WELL (Federal Republic of Germany): The year 1978 was an important year for worldwide efforts to achieve disarmament and arms control. Never before have representatives of so many countries dealt so comprehensively with this subject as during the first special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted exclusively to disarmament. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany contributed with a number of proposals to the positive outcome of that conference. The Final Document adopted by consensus represents an important stage on the road towards the realization of the aims of the United Nations. It will be a major point of orientation for the disarmament and arms control policy of the Federal Republic of Germany. It is at the same time the basis for the work of the Committee on Disarmament.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany welcomes the establishment of this Committee, which in its present form is more suited to the ideas of many countries than the CCD. We are especially pleased that France is participating in the work of the Committee, which now includes four of the five nuclear-weapon States. We have listened with interest to the statement of the French Foreign Minister and see it as an important contribution to the debate we are beginning with this opening session. We hope that China will take its place here as soon as possible. We welcome in our midst as new participants Algeria, Australia, Belgium, Indonesia, Kenya, Cuba, Sri Lanka and Venezuela. The Federal Republic of Germany is interested in close co-operation with the representatives of these countries, and we are hopeful that their participation will generate strong impulses.

The worldwide disarmament machinery has been modified in keeping with the wish of the community of nations to have a "special platform with a more representative character" for both debate and negotiation. In opting for this change, the special session of the General Assembly held the view that for reasons of efficiency the negotiating body should be kept as small as possible. Owing to that decision, it has not been possible to include all countries whose presence in the Committee we would have welcomed. We therefore deem it necessary to make full use of the relevant provision of paragraph 120 of the Final Document and enable all non-member States which so desire to play an active part in the work of the Committee. At the same time, however, we are convinced that the newly-established institution must at first have a chance to consolidate itself, before the question of its composition will be reconsidered.

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Substantive progress will require the combined efforts of all members of the Committee. This co-operation should increase the general awareness of the need for international security partnership. As Chancellor Schmidt said in his address to the special session on 26 May 1978: "No one can guarantee his security and peace by himself". Consequently, the work of this Committee must be governed not by confrontation but by consensus and co-operation. While the system of CCD co-chairmanship by the United States of America and the USSR has ceased, we all continue to recognize their keyrole in worldwide efforts towards disarmament and arms control. Without the specific contribution of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, progress is not conceivable.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany therefore attaches great value to the progress achieved in the United States-Soviet negotiations on the limitation of strategic nuclear arms which hold out the prospect of an early SALT II agreement. Though bilateral in form, these negotiations help to stabilize the relationship not only between those two big Powers but between the two alliance systems as a whole; they thus also enhance world security.

The SALT process serves to establish a stable balance between East and West and thereby creates an important basis for more extensive efforts towards stabilization. My Government is convinced that this negotiation process should be developed further.

Already at the special session of the General Assembly, Western representatives drew attention to the growing superiority of the Warsaw Pact in the field of medium-range nuclear weapons. These weapons must give rise to deep concern in Western Europe and in other regions of the world within their reach.

For some time, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has been stressing the threat emanating from these so-called grey-area weapons to the stability of the overall nuclear balance agreed in SALT. It considers that the growing disparity in medium-range weapons must not be left out of consideration in the efforts to achieve a stable nuclear balance between East and West and must be taken into account both in the bilateral negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union and in the defence arrangements of the Western alliance.

From the beginning, the Federal Republic of Germany has supported the aim of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. It has declared its willingness to participate in concrete partial measures of arms limitation until such time as the long-term objective of general and complete disarmament has been

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achieved. This willingness has found expression in the treaty policy of the Federal Republic of Germany. It is also manifest in our participation in the work of this Committee.

The Federal Republic of Germany has played an active part in the work of the CCD ever since it joined in 1975. It intends to intensify its participation in the Committee on Disarmament. We plan to make specific contributions in the following fields:

- verification of a worldwide prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons;
- seismological verification of a comprehensive test-ban treaty;
- the development of confidence-building measures.

My Government is of the opinion that priority should be given to the conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and their destruction. It considers such a convention as a logical supplement to the Geneva Protocol of 1925 banning the use of chemical weapons.

In our view, a convention prohibiting chemical weapons calls for an adequate verification system commensurate with the military significance of these weapons of mass destruction. The willingness to agree to inspections is both proof and the basis of confidence in compliance with such a convention.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is therefore convinced of the need for an international verification system including on-site inspections. It considers such a system to be both desirable and feasible without prejudice to the interests of industry and research. Our experience as a country which undertook as early as 1954 not to manufacture chemical weapons, and which agreed to international controls of production plants, demonstrates that such controls can be effective and at the same time economically acceptable.

It was for this reason that Chancellor Schmidt, at the special session on Disarmament, in agreement with our chemical industry, invited all interested countries to send experts to the Federal Republic of Germany to see for themselves that adequate verification of a ban on the production of chemical weapons is possible. On behalf of my Government, I wish to extend here our invitation to visit three chemical companies between 12 March and 14 March this year. The plants to be visited, which manufacture phosphorous compounds, are BASF in Ludwigshafen, Bayer in Dormagen, and Hoechst in Knapsack.

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We welcome the announcement made by Lord Coronwy-Roberts two days ago that experts in this field will, following our demonstration, be invited to visit the United Kingdom to see a plant producing phosphorus compounds as well as a pilot plant for the manufacture of nerve gas which is being dismantled. We are convinced that these demonstrations by both countries will help to clarify questions concerning the verification of a chemical weapons ban.

The Federal Republic of Germany is following with great interest the negotiations on a comprehensive test ban and has long been advocating a treaty to this effect. It would like to see the results of these negotiations put before the Committee soon so that it can draft a convention.

In this connexion, too, the Federal Republic of Germany deems satisfactory verification to be essential. It will, therefore, continue to attach great significance to the work of the Ad Hoc Group of Seismological Experts for the detection, localization and identification of underground nuclear explosions and will participate in it as well. It has declared its willingness to make its seismic facilities available for the international monitoring of a comprehensive nuclear test ban.

My Government sees in a comprehensive test ban a contribution towards the quantitative and qualitative limitation of nuclear armaments and towards a worldwide non-proliferation policy.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany takes the view that the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is a major prerequisite for safeguarding peace.

Even before the Non-Proliferation Treaty was concluded, it had renounced the manufacture of nuclear weapons. It has acceded to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, adheres strictly to its provisions, and expects the other signatories to do the same. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany appeals to all States to adhere to this Treaty which established rights and responsibilities for both nuclear and non-nuclear-weapon States alike, and which it regards as an indispensable basis for a universal non-proliferation policy. My Government is prepared to continue to make every effort on the basis of that Treaty to help develop an effective non-proliferation policy. It will contribute in this spirit to the second Review Conference of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly has requested the Committee on Disarmament to consider by what alternative measures non-nuclear-weapon States can be effectively protected against use and threat of use of nuclear weapons by nuclear-weapon States. In its examination, the Committee is to take into account all declarations and proposals on this subject made up to now.

(Mr. Van Well, Federal Republic of Germany)

My Government welcomes the declarations made by the United States of America and the United Kingdom during the special session of the General Assembly. During the thirty-third session the two Governments emphasized once more that in so doing they had taken obligations upon themselves which went beyond the general prohibition of the use of force under existing international law. The Federal Republic of Germany reaffirms its support for those declarations and considers that they serve the security interests of all concerned better and more comprehensively than a worldwide convention could.

As in the case of the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, it is important to work out arrangements that are adapted to specific conditions for security and stability which vary from region to region.

A policy of concrete and practical arms control must be geared to the respective conditions and consequences of security policy if it is to enhance the security of all concerned. This means that negotiations and measures must be differentiated according to whether they apply to a specific region, or worldwide. One major criterion in this respect is how far nuclear potentials are an integral part of a region's security structure or whether the introduction of nuclear weapons to hitherto nuclear-weapon-free zones threatens their security and stability.

The recent initiative by Mexico and other Latin American and Caribbean countries for limiting the transfer of weapons and military equipment is a good example of a regional contribution towards the increasingly important subject of arms control. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany welcomes this initiative as a stimulus for worldwide efforts to release resources spent on arms for economic and social development. This is in line with the restrictive arms export policy of the Federal Republic of Germany.

My Government does not allow any arms and military equipment to be exported to areas of tension. The restrictive character of that policy is reflected in the small proportion of the Federal Republic's total exports accounted for by arms; in 1977 it was only 0.7 per cent.

Encouraged by the positive experience in Europe with the confidence-building measures provided for in the Final Act of Helsinki, the Federal Republic of Germany tabled a draft resolution during the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, which contained a recommendation to all States Members of the United Nations to conclude agreements on a regional basis concerning confidence-building measures, taking into account the specific conditions and needs of the region concerned.

(Mr. Van Well, Federal Republic of Germany)

Confidence-building measures should help to strengthen stability and security by making military and political conduct more calculable and more predictable. The almost unanimous approval of this resolution gives us hope that it will be possible in other parts of the world as well to improve the conditions for concrete arms limitation and disarmament measures by arrangements which help to establish and strengthen mutual confidence.

Mr. Chairman, in Europe a further contribution towards regional stabilization can be made by the Vienna negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions. Together with its allies, the Federal Republic of Germany hopes that concrete progress can be achieved in these important negotiations. Their object is to help create more stable relations and to reduce the dangers of military confrontation in Europe. The Western participants have therefore proposed to establish approximate parity in the form of a common collective ceiling for ground force personnel and a reduction of the battle tank disparity. The establishment of parity as well as the maintenance of the common collective ceiling require agreement on the existing manpower figures. We are convinced that such a verifiable result of the Vienna negotiations will meet the defence requirements of both sides, guarantee undiminished security, and serve to strengthen peace and security in Europe.

The establishment of parity in MBFR would also be a major contribution towards a more stable overall balance between East and West. Negotiations which are not aimed at establishing a stable balance offer little prospect of lasting success. The establishment and maintenance of such a balance is indispensable for progress in the sphere of arms control; it is at the same time the essential requirement for the further development of détente.

Regional and global measures of arms control, arms limitation and disarmament must be combined in order to secure peace through co-operation in an increasingly interdependent world. General and complete disarmament on the basis of effective international control remains the long-term objective; but we have already now to strive for gradual solutions of the urgent problems of arms control.

A realistic policy of arms control must neither raise hopes too high nor cause resignation. Pointing to the hitherto unsatisfactory results will get us no further. The worldwide efforts to achieve disarmament and arms control must continue. The Committee on Disarmament starting its work with this session is an important instrument of this policy. It should reflect the growing worldwide partnership in the field of security. The Federal Republic of Germany will play its part to meet the expectations linked with this new beginning.

The CHAIRMAN (translated from French): I have no more speakers on my list for this morning and before closing the meeting, I should like to propose to you that we should hold an informal meeting at the end of this afternoon, following our plenary meeting.

The points on which I hope that a rapid agreement can be reached at this informal meeting are the following:

(1) An agreement on the country to succeed Algeria on 1 February 1979 as Chairman of the CD;

(2) An agreement on the seating to be reserved in the conference room, after the opening meetings, for representatives of countries which are not members of the CD;

(3) An agreement on the use of the CD's time during the coming days.

In other words, I am therefore proposing to you that the sixth plenary meeting of the Committee should be suspended after the list of speakers is exhausted and that we should then hold a short informal meeting. As soon as agreement has been reached on the three points mentioned, we shall resume the plenary meeting in order to adopt formally the agreements which have been approved informally. The informal meeting will, of course, be open only to representatives of countries members of the Committee on Disarmament.

If there are no objections to what I have just proposed, I should like to remind you that the sixth plenary meeting is scheduled for 3 p.m. in this room.

I see no other delegation wishing to take the floor, and I therefore adjourn the meeting.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.