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ENGLISH

FINAL RECORD OF THE ELEVENTH MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Thursday, 15 February 1979, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman:

Mr. D.C. ORTIZ DE ROZAS

(Argentina)

PRESENT AT THE TABLE

<u>Algeria:</u>	Mr. A. BENSMAIL
<u>Argentina:</u>	Mr. D.C. ORTIZ DE ROZAS Mr. A.N. MOLTENI
<u>Australia:</u>	Mr. L.D. THOMSON Ms. M.S. VICKES
<u>Belgium:</u>	Mr. P. BERG Mr. G. VAN DUYSE
<u>Brazil:</u>	Mr. A. CELSO DE OURO PRETO
<u>Bulgaria:</u>	Mr. P. VOUTOV Mr. I. PETROV Mr. I. SOTIROV
<u>Burma:</u>	U THAUNG HTUN
<u>Canada:</u>	Mr. J.T. SIIARD
<u>Cuba:</u>	Mr. L. SOIA VILA Mrs. V.B. JACKIEWICH
<u>Czechoslovakia:</u>	Mr. V. TYLNER
<u>Egypt:</u>	Mr. M. EL-BARADEI Mr. N. FAHMY
<u>Ethiopia:</u>	Mr. T. TERREFE
<u>German Democratic Republic:</u>	Mr. G. HERDER Mr. S. KAHN Mr. M. GRACZYNSKI
<u>Germany, Federal Republic of:</u>	Mr. G. PFEIFFER Mr. J. PÖHLMANN Mr. H. MÜLLER

<u>Hungary:</u>	Mr. C. GYORFFY
<u>France:</u>	Mr. F. DE LA GORCE Mr. BENOIT D'ABOVILLE Mr. J-C. PARAVY
<u>India:</u>	Mr. S.T. DEVARE
<u>Indonesia:</u>	Mr. J. DAMANIK
<u>Iran:</u>	Mr. M. FARTASH Mr. D. CHILATY
<u>Italy:</u>	Mr. N. DI BERNARDO Mr. M. MORENO Mr. C. FRATESCHI
<u>Japan:</u>	Mr. M. OGISO Mr. T. NONOYAMA Mr. T. IWANAI
<u>Kenya:</u>	Mr. C.G. MAINA Mr. G.N. MUNIU
<u>Mexico:</u>	Mr. A. GARCÍA ROBLES Miss A. CABRERA
<u>Mongolia:</u>	Mr. D. ERDEMBILEG Mr. L. BAYART
<u>Morocco:</u>	Mr. M. RAHHALI
<u>Netherlands:</u>	Mr. R.H. FEIN Mr. A.J. MEERBURG
<u>Nigeria:</u>	Mr. T. OLUNOKO
<u>Pakistan:</u>	Mr. M. AKRAH
<u>Peru:</u>	Mr. J. AURICH MONTERO

Poland:

Mr. B. SUJKA

Mr. H. PAĆ

Mr. B. RUSSIN

Romania:

Mr. C. LEME

Sri Lanka:

Mr. B. POHSEKA

Sweden:

Mr. C. LIDGARD

Mr. L. NORBERG

Mr. S. STRÖMBÄCK

Mr. S. ERICSSON

Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics:

Mr. V.L. ISSRAELYAN

Mr. Y.K. NAZARKIN

Mr. A.M. VAVILOV

Mr. E.D. ZAITSEV

Mr. A.I. TIOURENKOV

Mr. Y.V. KOSTENKO

Mr. H.G. ANTIUKHIN

United Kingdom:

Mr. N.H. MARSHALL

Mr. P.H.W. FRANCIS

United States of America:

Mr. A. FISHER

Mr. C. FLOWEREE

Mr. A. AKALOVSKY

Mr. R. HAGENGRUBER

Ms. B.L. MURRAY

Mr. M.L. SANCHES

Mr. T. BARTHELEMY

Venezuela:

Mr. A.R. TAYI HARDAT

Ms. D. SZOKOLOCZI

Yugoslavia:

Mr. D. DJOKIĆ

Zaire:

Mr. M. ESUK

Assistant Secretary-General
for Disarmament:

Mr. R. BJÖRNERSTEDT

Mr. VOUTOV (Bulgaria): Mr. Chairman, first of all may I express my satisfaction at having the opportunity to make my first official statement at the current session of the Committee on Disarmament under your chairmanship. There are several reasons for this satisfaction: we know you as a distinguished friend of the Bulgarian people who, in your capacity as a diplomatic representative of Argentina in Bulgaria, contributed to the rapprochement between the two countries, and to the intensification of their mutual relations; we know very well your activities as one of the outstanding figures in the United Nations for the past two decades; we are convinced that under your able leadership the Committee will succeed in solving within this month the pending important organizational matters and will proceed to discussions and negotiations on the problems of disarmament which require immediate attention.

At the same time I wish to congratulate the new members of the Committee and their delegations -- namely, Algeria, Australia, Belgium, Cuba, France, Indonesia, Kenya, Sri Lanka and Venezuela. Their association with the disarmament negotiations gives rise to new hopes for more active and fruitful work by this Committee which is in the focus of attention of the international community, looking forward to finding solutions to the crucial problems of our time, that is, the halting of the arms race and definite movement along the road to disarmament.

Having in mind the unquestionable priority of nuclear disarmament among the problems facing this Committee, we attach particular importance to France's joining the disarmament negotiations. Bulgarian people have traditionally friendly ties with the French people, and we believe that the participation of France in the Committee on Disarmament will contribute to our work for achieving the lofty human goals entrusted to us.

I would like to congratulate as well the new leaders of two of the delegations in the multilateral disarmament negotiations -- namely, the head of the USSR delegation, Ambassador Victor Levonovitch Issraelyan, well-known to all of us as an outstanding figure in United Nations circles, and the leader of the delegation of Yugoslavia, Ambassador Marco Vrhunec -- and to ask them to convey our greetings to their predecessors with whom we had a fruitful co-operation.

It is well-known that the past year has been characterised by an overall intensification of the efforts for finding ways and methods for solving the problems of disarmament. For the first time in the history of the United Nations, a special session on disarmament was convened, in the preparation and the successful conclusion of which you, Mr. Chairman, made a valuable contribution, which has been noted in an eloquent manner by the majority of the preceding speakers.

(Mr. Voutov, Bulgaria)

The thirty-third session of the General Assembly accorded primary importance to the problems of disarmament, underlined by the adoption of more than 40 resolutions on its different aspects. The bilateral, trilateral and multilateral negotiations in Geneva, Vienna and elsewhere have been continued in the various fields of the many-sided complex -- armaments, disarmament and the security of international peace. We believe that this pace will be maintained in the days ahead, bringing about some meaningful results within the current year.

Adding to all this the 17-years experience gathered by this Committee during the several stages of its evolution, as well as the number of major international treaties and conventions elaborated by it, we have the right to maintain that a solid foundation exists for further energetic and well-aimed actions for reducing the danger to world peace and the danger of a nuclear war above all.

We share the view expressed here by many delegations that the development of the international situation concerning the problems of disarmament is at a very important stage. There are forces in the world led by their egoistic, ill-conceived interests or unsound ambitions and aspirations, which are trying to push their own countries and others along the deadly road to an even greater intensification of the arms race and to divert the peoples from the only sensible road which is the road to détente, and thus to hamper the efforts for finding solutions to global problems of a social, economic and humanitarian character.

In present-day international relations, reflected in the work of this Committee in the context of an escalating arms race, the role of what is known as the "political will factor" comes to the forefront with respect to both the States members of the Committee and to all non-members that participate in the arms race. Of course this has a most direct bearing on all nuclear States.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the other socialist countries members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization reiterated again clearly, through the Moscow Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee on 23 November 1978, their unequivocal attachment to the cause of détente as the only equitable alternative, confirming their sincere wish for a concrete and constructive approach towards disarmament. Let me quote the evaluation given by the President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, who stated recently:

(Mr. Voutov, Bulgaria)

"Starting from the principle of equal security, a principle that today is the only basis for all further negotiations, the socialist States have once again proposed realistic ways for achieving a breakthrough in the field of disarmament, for deepening the process of détente in the name of saving our planet from a nuclear holocaust. Humanity should cross into the twenty-first century in conditions of broad international co-operation -- such is the comprehensive formula of peace proposed by the Moscow meeting."

Such is the constructive and realistic policy of my country and of all countries of the socialist community. It has always been such, it continues to be so at the present stage and it will remain the same in the future, for it is based on our ideological conceptions, on the necessity of peaceful coexistence among States. We believe that peace can be preserved and the progress of all nations carried further only through strengthening, deepening and expanding the process of détente, through the creation of an atmosphere of good-neighbourly relations and goodwill, an atmosphere of sincere readiness to follow the road to disarmament. The entire history of the socialist community since the creation of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is a valid proof of our consistent policy of peace, international understanding and co-operation, a policy rejecting war as a method for solving disputed problems, a policy denouncing the arms race and favouring general and complete disarmament.

It is universally known that Lenin, the founder of the Soviet State, was the first to define the idea of peaceful coexistence; well known are the utmost efforts of the Soviet Union in the League of Nations, here in Geneva in the 1930s, to prevent the Second World War through building up a European collective security system in the face of the imminent nazi-fascist aggression. It is a fact of life that the Soviet Union, individually and in co-operation with other countries, has made in the years following the Second World War more than 100 proposals for the consolidation of peace, for the strengthening of international security, for the halting of the arms race, for genuine disarmament. The Soviet Union and the socialist countries were the main initiators of the convening of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The initiative for the Vienna talks on reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe is also to their credit. There has been no session of the United Nations General Assembly or other international political forum at which the socialist countries have not made, individually or collectively, proposals in favour of peace, peaceful coexistence and disarmament.

(Mr. Voutov, Bulgaria)

Regrettably, however, we had to note that the lack of political will in certain influential circles in the West for further real steps in the disarmament field not only hampers serious negotiations, but pushes even higher the escalation of the arms race. The multilateral efforts to create an appropriate atmosphere and international conditions for a constructive approach to these vital problems are being constantly undermined. Many countries and nations received with surprise and discontent the long-term programme for feverish arming of the NATO countries, adopted in Washington, only 250 miles from New York, at the moment when the special session on disarmament was taking place. This defiance of the profound wishes of humanity for peace and disarmament stems from the unhealthy and unrealistic dreams of its authors to achieve military superiority, making efforts at the same time to cover them up by the myth, invented in collaboration with their Far-Eastern followers, that a threat allegedly exists from the Soviet Union and socialist countries, members of the defensive Warsaw Treaty. We are obliged to recall the fact that the Warsaw Treaty Organization was established six years after the challenge with the creation of NATO had appeared. More than once the Warsaw Treaty has expressed its readiness and desire for a simultaneous dissolution of the two military organizations. I do not think it is necessary to prove that, since the production of the first atom bomb, the socialist countries have been compelled to respond to the challenge of the West in respect to their defence and national security, that is the creation, perfection and production of modern weapons. For, as the leader of the Soviet State, Leonid Brezhnev, has declared, it is unthinkable that countries whose security is endangered by the hectic armament of others should sit idle, and nobody should expect them to.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria fully shares the opinion of the prevailing part of the world public that there is no time to lose in the field of disarmament, starting first of all by taking the necessary steps in relation to the most horrible weapons, nuclear weapons. It is time to give up the old conceptions of domination and military supremacy. As stated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Petar Mladenov, at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly:

"It would be necessary to do away once and for all with the anachronistic pattern of thinking in respect of the questions of peace and security, as well as the out-moded stereotypes brought to life by the inertia of the past and based on the notion of military superiority. There can be no doubt of the fact that the policy of the position of strength does not correspond to the realities of the present-day world."

(Mr. Voutov, Bulgaria)

Taking all this into consideration, the Bulgarian delegation fully subscribes to the suggestion expressed here by a number of delegations to proceed as soon as possible to concrete matters starting from the most important and urgent questions. This would be fully in accordance with the Final Document of the Special Session which characterized the Committee on Disarmament as a "negotiating body".

We are faced by a number of significant organizational matters, as well -- the adoption of the agenda, the rules of procedure and the organization of our work. We believe that, with goodwill and mutual understanding, agreement on these matters could be reached very soon, as you, Mr. Chairman, have also noted.

Though important, organizational matters are still only an instrument for achieving our main objectives and tasks. They should not divert our attention for any considerable time. As to the agenda, we believe that it should be a comprehensive one, while at the same time we are to select the most pressing and important problems for discussion and solution within a certain period. On the basis of the agenda of the previous multilateral disarmament negotiations, the resolutions of the General Assembly and the proposals of the members of this Committee, we consider that a comprehensive agenda of the Committee may include the following main problems in the disarmament field:

- cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and gradual reduction of their stockpiles;
- general and complete cessation of nuclear weapon tests;
- strengthening of guarantees of the security of the non-nuclear States;
- prohibition of neutron weapons;
- prohibition of chemical weapons;
- prohibition of the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, including radiological weapons;
- reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces;
- reduction of military budgets;
- further measures aimed at preventing an arms race on the sea-bed and ocean floor and the subsoil thereof;
- prohibition or restriction of the use of specific conventional weapons;
- elaboration of a comprehensive programme for disarmament;
- general and complete disarmament.

(Mr. Voutov, Bulgaria)

I would like to dwell upon the concrete and immediate tasks confronting our Committee. As I have already mentioned, the greatest danger to peace is posed by nuclear weapons. Being a co-sponsor of the new initiative of the Soviet Union to begin negotiations on the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of their stockpiles (document CD/4), our delegation is deeply convinced that this is the most feasible way to curb drastically the nuclear arms race.

The essence and the practical significance of the idea have been so convincingly presented by the head of the Soviet delegation, the distinguished Ambassador Issraelyan, that I do not think it necessary to elaborate on them in detail. We believe that in accordance with the opinion expressed by the majority of the delegations, stressing the priority character of nuclear disarmament measures, the initiative of the socialist countries will be favourably received by the Committee and we could start its practical realization as soon as possible. Actually, we are asked to do so both in paragraph 50 of the Final Document of the Special Session and in General Assembly resolution 33/71 H, which urges the earliest possible beginning of consultations between all nuclear States with a view to putting an end to the arms race in this particular field.

The introduction of the working document of the socialist countries on problems of nuclear disarmament is a logical continuation of the ceaseless efforts of the socialist countries -- and the Soviet Union above all -- on this question, starting from the Gromyko Plan introduced in 1946 in the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission and leading up to the proposals put forward by Leonid Brezhnev on 2 November 1977 concerning the simultaneous cessation of production of nuclear weapons -- atomic, thermo-nuclear or neutron -- by all States.

In my capacity as Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the United Nations in New York for a number of years in the late 1950s, I had the opportunity of witnessing the negative and far-reaching consequences resulting from the unfavourable attitude of the West towards the Soviet proposals for a radical solution of the nuclear weapons problem. We should ask ourselves the question -- how would the world have looked today had nuclear weapons been nipped in the bud and had humanity been spared the economic, social and political impact of the nuclear arms race? Not to say anything of the atomic tragedy of the Japanese people!

(Mr. Voutov, Bulgaria)

That is why we must not give up. We should do everything possible to put a halt to the nuclear arms race and proceed to the gradual elimination of nuclear weapons, as soon as possible.

The Bulgarian delegation considers that document CD/4 is presented to the right addressee, that is the Committee on Disarmament. There are here all necessary conditions for negotiations, if all nuclear Powers are going to participate. At the same time there are other alternatives for negotiations as well as the readiness to hear other proposals. That is why our delegation is appealing for a most considerate attitude towards the consultations and the preparations for such negotiations, with a view to starting them as soon as possible while it is not too late.

In this connexion, our delegation would like to note that there are other urgent matters on which history teaches us not to drag our feet -- this applies for instance to nuclear neutron weapons. The socialist countries are proposing through their draft convention of 9 March last year to ban those weapons at this stage before they have entered military arsenals.

Another important and concrete task on which the Committee can and should begin work is the elaboration of the future international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States, on the basis of General Assembly resolution 33/72. Thus we would contribute to the confirmation of the principle of the non-use of force in international relations, and would make more meaningful the non-proliferation régime in the world. We fully share the opinion of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, contained in his important message to the Committee, that such a convention would be an important element of stability in international relations with beneficial effects upon other disarmament questions.

One extremely significant matter that the Committee faces is the question of the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. We are noting with satisfaction that the two Powers negotiating outside the Committee are soon to resume their negotiations on radiological weapons. However, I should not fail to reaffirm our conviction that this problem should be dealt with radically by concluding an all-embracing agreement. That is why the Bulgarian delegation is firmly on the side of the increasing number of States that favour the comprehensive approach.

(Mr. Voutov, Bulgaria)

We appreciate the difficulties and the complicated matters in the trilateral negotiations between the USSR, the United States of America and the United Kingdom in their effort to produce a joint draft agreement on the general and complete cessation of nuclear-weapon tests, and in the negotiations between the USSR and the United States of America on the draft convention to ban completely chemical weapons. Having in mind, however, that the solving of these problems is highly important, we would like to believe that the concerted efforts will bring positive results and the Committee will take up the discussion on the drafts in due time.

The Bulgarian people, together with the peoples of the whole world, awaits with great interest and hope the forthcoming conclusion of SALT II, which will be a boost and encouragement to negotiations in the other fields of disarmament.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion I would like to express the hope for a quick solution to the organizational matters in the Committee and for the beginning of genuine negotiations on the problems of disarmament, vital to the future of humanity. May I assure you and all distinguished delegations that the Bulgarian delegation will make its contribution and will do everything possible for creative and constructive negotiations in this Committee.

The CHAIRMAN (translated from Spanish): Now I should like to discuss another subject.

On 15 August 1978, the Ad Hoc Group of seismological experts submitted a sixth progress report (CCD/576). In the report, the Group suggested, inter alia, that a representative of WMO be invited by the Conference to participate informally in the work of the Group in relation to the transmission of data through the WMO communication network. The Group also established a draft agenda for its seventh and eighth sessions tentatively to be convened at the end of February and the end of April 1979, respectively. In particular, the Group suggested, subject to approval by the Conference, that its seventh session be held from 19 February to 2 March 1979. Subsequently, the Conference took note of the progress report; agreed that the work of the Group should be continued; decided to include the report in the Committee's report to the General Assembly at its thirty-third session; agreed to invite a representative of WMO to participate informally in the work of the Group; and expressed the hope that the above-mentioned arrangements would be continued under the Committee on Disarmament, the future negotiating body.

(The Chairman)

I have conducted informal consultations on the latter question and I found general agreement that these arrangements should be maintained. At the same time I also found general agreement that the Group, which is open to all members of the Committee on Disarmament, should remain open to States not members of the Committee. If there is no objection, we could then take note of those arrangements, as well as of the general feeling that wider participation in the Ad Hoc Group would be desirable.

If there is no objection, it is so decided.

It was so decided.

Mr. ESUK (Zaire) (translated from French): Excuse me for taking the floor in so impromptu a manner but, since many delegations will perhaps be leaving the conference room to deal with other tasks, I would like to inform the Group of 21 that a meeting of the working group will be held tomorrow, 16 February, at 10.30 a.m. in Conference Room I.

The meeting rose at 11.20 a.m.