

CD/PV.8  
6 February 1979  
ENGLISH

FINAL RECORD OF THE EIGHTH MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,  
on Tuesday, 6 February 1979, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. D.C. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina)

## PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Algeria: Mr. A. BENSMAIL  
Mr. H. KERROUM

Argentina: Mr. D.C. ORTIZ DE ROZAS  
Mr. F. JIMENEZ DAVILA  
Mr. A.N. MOLTENI

Australia: Mr. L.D. THOMSON  
Ms. M.S. WICKES

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

Brazil: Mr. L.P. LINDENBERG SETTE  
Mr. A. CELSO DE OURO PRETO

Bulgaria: Mr. P. VOUTOV  
Mr. I. PETROV  
Mr. I. SOTIROV

Burma: U SAW HLAING  
U THEIN AUNG  
U THAUNG HTUN

Canada: Mr. R. HARRY JAY  
Mr. J.T. SIMARD

Cuba: Mr. P. TORRAS  
Mr. L. SOLA VILA  
Mrs. V.B. JACKIEWICH  
Mr. C. PAZOS BECEIRO  
Mr. R. VALIENTE

Czechoslovakia: Mr. M. RUZEK  
Mr. V. TYLNER  
Mr. J. JIRUSEK

Egypt: Mr. O. EL-SHAFEI  
Mr. M. EL-BARADEI  
Mr. N. FAHMY

Ethiopia: Mr. T. TERREFFE

France: Mr. F. DE LA GORCE  
Mr. J.-C. PARAVY

German Democratic Republic: Mr. G. HERDER  
Mr. S. KAHN  
Mr. M. GRACZYNSKI

Germany, Federal Republic of: Mr. G. PFEIFFER  
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Mr. J. POHLMANN  
..  
Mr. H. MULLER

Hungary: Mr. M. DOMOKOS  
Mr. A. LAKATOS

India: Mr. C.R. GHAREKHAN  
Mr. S.T. DEVARE  
Mr. S. SABHARVAL

Indonesia: Mr. A. SANI  
Mr. A. KAMIL  
Mr. M. SIDIK  
Mr. J. DAMANIK

Iran: Mr. D. CHILATY  
Mr. D. AMERI

Italy: Mr. N. DI BERNARDO  
Mr. M. ALESSI  
Mr. M. MORENO  
Mr. C. FRATESCHI

Japan: Mr. M. OGISO  
Mr. T. NONOYAMA  
Mr. T. IWANAMI

Kenya: Mr. C.G. MAINA  
Mr. G.N. MUNIU

Mexico: Mr. A. GARCÍA ROBLES  
Miss L.M. GARCIA

Mongolia: Mr. D. ERDEMBILEG  
Mr. L. BAYART

Morocco: Mr. A. SKALLI  
Mr. A. BEN BOUCHTA  
Mr. M. CHRAIBI

Netherlands: Mr. R.H. FEIN  
Mr. A.J. MEERBURG

Nigeria: Mr. K. AHMED  
Mr. T. OLUMOKO

Pakistan: Mr. M. AKRAM

Peru: Mr. J. AURICH MONTERO

Poland: Mr. B. SUJKA  
Mr. H. PAC  
Mr. B. RUSSIN

Romania: Mr. C. ENE  
Mr. T. MELESCANU

Sri Lanka: Mr. A.C.S. HAMEED  
Miss M.L. NAGANATHAN

Sweden: Mr. C. LIDGARD  
Mr. L. NORBERG

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. M.G. ANTIUKHIN

United Kingdom:

Mr. N.H. MARSHALL

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. C. BAY

Mr. T. BARTHELEMY

Venezuela:

Mr. A.R. TAYLHARDAT

Mr. H. ARTEAGA

Ms. D. SZOKOLOCZI

Ms. R. LISBOA DE NECER

Yugoslavia:

Mr. M. MIHAJLOVIĆ

Mr. D. DJOKIĆ

Zaire:

Mr. M. ESUK

Assistant Secretary-General  
for Disarmament:

Mr. R. BJÖRNERSTEDT

Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): As this is the first time that the Soviet delegation has spoken this month, might I venture to extend my greetings to you, Mr. Chairman, and wish you success in your responsible role as Chairman of the Committee on Disarmament.

It is a particular pleasure for me to be able to extend my greetings to you, Ambassador, because I remember that I had the chance of extending my greetings to you as President of the Security Council. The same was true when you were Chairman of the First Committee of the General Assembly, it was also true when you were Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to Disarmament. It was also true when you were Chairman of the General Committee of the special session; and now, to my collection of greetings to you I can add my wishes as you have become Chairman of the Committee on Disarmament.

The success of any particular body will naturally depend on the delegations that participate in it, but the role of the Chairman is something that it is difficult to underestimate the importance of. To have such an experienced and esteemed Chairman as the Ambassador of Argentina, Mr. Carlos Ortiz de Rozas, means, I think, that we are justified in counting on the success of the work of the Committee.

Among the problems of disarmament which have been under discussion for many years in various international bodies, including the Committee on Disarmament, the question of halting and reversing the nuclear-arms race and achieving nuclear disarmament occupies the most important place. And the fact that it has a long history does not make this question any the less topical. On the contrary, the continuous growth and improvement of nuclear arsenals makes it increasingly acute and, we have to acknowledge, complicated. As was emphasized in the Final Document of the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons are more than enough to destroy life on earth.

It is generally recognized that the nuclear-arms race creates the greatest danger for humanity. No one harbours any illusion but that a nuclear holocaust, should it be allowed to break out, will surpass, in its disastrous consequences, all the calamities and wars which mankind has ever known.

In order finally and completely to prevent the danger of nuclear warfare, it is absolutely necessary to start taking resolute action to curb competition in the military use of nuclear energy and carry out real measures of nuclear disarmament.

(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

It would be wrong to assert that measures relating to nuclear weapons are at present outside the framework of the disarmament negotiations. Irrespective, however, of their importance for preventing the danger of nuclear war, or for strengthening international security, such measures have often been of a marginal nature. The peoples of the world expect much more, and we have no right to ignore their demands.

That is why the task of starting negotiations on ending the production of nuclear weapons and destroying them is now coming to the fore. This task is reflected in the recommendations of the special session devoted to disarmament, in particular in paragraph 50 of its Final Document, and in the decisions of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. Thus, resolution 33/71 H of that session contains a direct appeal to all nuclear States to start consultations regarding "an early initiation of urgent negotiations on the halting of the nuclear-arms race".

As for the Soviet Union, it urged the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons on the very day the first atomic bombs appeared, and the Soviet Union has pursued this course throughout the post-war period. It is a course which was reaffirmed and developed in the statements delivered on 2 November 1977 and 25 April 1978 by Mr. L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. A number of other countries have come out in favour of starting, at an early date, negotiations on eliminating nuclear weapons from the arsenals of States. This appeal was also repeated at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States members of the Warsaw Treaty at the end of November 1978.

May I be allowed to introduce, on behalf of the delegations of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland and the USSR, for consideration by the Committee, a working paper concerning negotiations on ending the production of all types of nuclear weapons and gradually reducing their stockpiles until they have been completely destroyed (CD/4, of 1 February 1979).

(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

We would like to express the hope that delegations have been able to acquaint themselves with this document, which was distributed several days ago. In this connexion, may I be permitted to dwell on just a few points.

Since it is impossible to achieve all at once the aim of the negotiations, which is to end the production of all types of nuclear weapons and gradually reduce their stockpiles until they have been completely destroyed, the implementation of appropriate measures should be carried out by stages on a mutually acceptable and agreed basis. The content of measures at each stage would be the subject of agreement between the participants in the negotiations.

For example, at a particular stage, consideration might be given to such questions as the cessation of the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons, cessation of the production of fissionable materials for military purposes, gradual reduction of the accumulated stockpiles of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles, etc. At the same time it will be necessary, in each particular case, to work out mutually acceptable verification measures as well.

The question arises, of course, as to where and how the negotiations on ending the production of nuclear weapons and destroying them should be prepared and conducted. As we see it, the Committee on Disarmament is quite a suitable forum for this purpose. On the one hand, it is open for the participation of all the nuclear Powers. In this connexion we welcome once more the fact that France has joined this body. We are also entitled to believe that the People's Republic of China, which has so far evaded concrete negotiations on disarmament, will at last realize that self-isolation from disarmament is in the interests neither of general peace nor of the Chinese State itself.

On the other hand, the Committee on Disarmament includes representatives of a considerable number of non-nuclear States which are vitally interested in the solution of nuclear-disarmament questions and which are of course prepared to present their proposals on these subjects. Moreover, the fact that the Committee has some experience of conducting negotiations on these questions is also of some importance. As we all know, the ENDC was actively engaged in discussing nuclear-disarmament questions as early as the 1960s, and these questions figured prominently in its agenda.



(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

To begin with, by way of preparation, consultations should be conducted within the framework of our Committee to determine the set of questions to be considered and decided, and to reach agreement on organizational aspects of the conduct of the negotiations. The preparatory consultations should be started at the current session of the Committee with a view to beginning negotiations on the substance of the problem in 1979.

We would like to point out that while suggesting that the Committee on Disarmament should be the forum for the preparation and conduct of the negotiations on nuclear disarmament, the Soviet delegation is prepared to consider alternative methods as well.

The Soviet delegation is convinced that for progress in the negotiations on nuclear disarmament the participation of all the nuclear Powers is essential. This idea is reflected, in particular, in the Final Document of the special session as well as in the above-mentioned resolution 33/71 H. The levels of the arsenals of the individual nuclear Powers are not the same, however, and it would be wrong to turn a blind eye to this. On the contrary, this should be taken into account, together with other factors, in determining the degree of participation of each of these States in the measures to be taken at any particular stage. The thing to be aimed at here is that the existing balance of nuclear strength should remain undisturbed at all stages, while its levels are constantly being reduced.

In other words, it is absolutely necessary, both at the negotiations and in the implementation of concrete measures, strictly to respect the principle of the inviolability of the security of States. Only in this way can agreements be reached on all the problems on disarmament, including the problems of nuclear disarmament.

A logical corollary of the need to provide any side with guarantees of the inviolability of its security is the need to strengthen the political guarantees of the security of States, and its guarantees under international law, parallel with, and in support of, the adoption of measures of nuclear disarmament.

(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

In deciding on the programme and the agenda for the negotiations on ending the production of nuclear weapons and gradually reducing their stockpiles, special attention should also be given to the question of correlating these negotiations with the efforts already being made to limit the nuclear-arms race. It may happen that during the negotiations we propose there may emerge points of contact with, let us say, the negotiations on strategic-arms limitation. It is important in our view to achieve a situation in which negotiations of greater scope will not be to the detriment of other, bilateral and multilateral, negotiations concerning particular, and narrower, areas of the problem. Nor should they impede the achievement of bilateral or multilateral agreements on the limitation, or even elimination, of any nuclear armaments on a mutually agreed basis.

These are the ideas regarding possible approaches to the solution of nuclear-disarmament problems which our delegation considered it expedient to state at this stage of our Committee's work. We are prepared to listen to any opinions and proposals which other delegations may have on this subject, and to discuss them in a constructive spirit, as the importance and urgency of the task of nuclear disarmament requires.

World public opinion awaits from the the Committee on Disarmament concrete decisions and actions which would lead to effective measures in the field of disarmament. The adoption by the Committee of decisions which should make it possible to start negotiations this year on ending the production of all types of nuclear weapons and gradually reducing their stockpiles until they have been completely destroyed would be in consonance with those expectations.

The CHAIRMAN: I would like to thank Ambassador Issraelyan for the really very kind words he addressed to me when he enumerated the repeated occasions on which he expressed similar words to me. I think this highlights the many years we have been spending on this subject, and I really am grateful to him.

Mr. SUJKA (Poland): Mr. Chairman, I should like first to associate my delegation with the congratulations and good wishes expressed to you as Chairman of the Committee on Disarmament for the month of February. We are confident that the disarmament expertise and negotiating skill which you bring to your office will be major assets at this important stage of our deliberations.

In my statement a few days ago, I referred in rather general terms to the significance which Poland has consistently attached to early and meaningful progress towards effective nuclear disarmament, towards lessening and eventually pre-empting once and for all the menace of nuclear war. As we have just heard, precisely these subjects were addressed by the distinguished representative of the Soviet Union. While it might be difficult in this brief intervention to add something basically new to what Ambassador Issraelyan has already said in his able introduction of the working paper of the socialist countries, I would like to make some observations which I deem both relevant and necessary. In fact, I wish to refer to some considerations which led Poland and, indeed, other socialist States as well, to co-sponsor document CD/4 concerning negotiations on ending the production of all types of nuclear weapons and gradually reducing their stockpiles until they have been completely destroyed. In the view of my delegation, what is particularly noteworthy about that proposal is its timeliness and its timing.

As for its timeliness -- it comes promptly in the wake of the Moscow meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty and of the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. As we know, they both issued urgent calls to commence, without further delay, negotiations on the halting of the nuclear-arms race and on nuclear disarmament, with the participation of all nuclear-weapon Powers as well as other States.

As for its timing -- the proposal is made at a propitious moment, when for the first time a multilateral disarmament negotiating forum, the Committee on Disarmament, begins its work, with the participation, in principle, of all nuclear-weapon States and a geographically and politically representative group of non-nuclear-weapon States.

As is generally recognized, the nuclear arms race and the sustained expansion of nuclear arsenals pose a grave threat to the very survival of mankind. A secondary but unpardonable by-product of that process is the diversion of enormous resources and energy from peaceful economic and social pursuits to wasteful military purposes. Over the years, that unrelenting process has resulted in the stockpiling of more destructive power than can have any conceivable military purpose. Some years ago it was believed, for instance, that the world's

(Mr. Sujka, Poland)

armouries hold stockpiles of nuclear weapons whose destructive power was equivalent to 15 tons of TNT for every person on earth, a figure which I presume must have considerably increased since then. In other words -- quite enough to annihilate many times over all trace of life.

In the hope that such an eventuality never comes to pass and that substantive progress would be made towards ending the nuclear-arms race and towards elimination of the vast stocks of weapons of mass destruction, above all nuclear weapons, the General Assembly was prompted to proclaim the 1970s a Disarmament Decade. We feel it is both important and significant that the suggestion of the socialist States to initiate practical preparations for radical and wide-ranging nuclear disarmament negotiations has been made before the end of the Decade of Disarmament, when there is still time left in which, assuming the existence of sufficient political will, we could meet the promise held out by the Decade of Disarmament.

The proposal introduced to-day on behalf of the seven socialist States closely corresponds to the sense of the recommendations adopted by the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament. It responds in particular to that contained in paragraph 50 of the Final Document. In point of fact, the proposal and its perception of the objectives and modalities of effective nuclear disarmament coincide with those which the special session has embodied in the very first words of its Final Document. As will be recalled, the opening paragraph of the Document states, among other things, that "... the accumulation of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, to-day constitutes much more a threat than a protection for the future of mankind. The time has therefore come to put an end to this situation, to abandon the use of force in international relations and to seek security in disarmament, that is to say, through a gradual but effective process beginning with a reduction of the present level of armaments."

As we all know, it is frequently argued with greater or lesser justification that the endeavours of the international community to advance the cause of disarmament through measures of arms limitation have not succeeded in preventing an increase in armaments, and have not significantly slowed down the arms race. We believe that the initiative co-sponsored by Poland and other socialist States to start early consultations in order to prepare for substantive negotiations within the framework of the Committee on Disarmament, with the participation of all nuclear-weapon States, represents a basic departure from the concept of mere arms control towards genuine disarmament.

(Mr. Sujka, Poland)

It should be noted that the underlying premise of the proposal contained in the working paper is that the only alternative left at present is to seek security based on a lower level of nuclear arms. Such a level should be reached through gradual and balanced steps, with due respect for the principle of undiminished security of all parties. Given the basic equality between all the nuclear-weapon Powers, that implies the necessity of their joint negotiation. To suggest otherwise does not seem realistic.

The proposal of the socialist countries, the first substantive document tabled in the Committee on Disarmament at its current session, is wide in scope, constructive and realistic. My country is happy to be among its co-sponsors and extends its unreserved support for the course of action it outlines. We trust that in view of the far-reaching implications of document CD/4, the Committee on Disarmament will not fail to examine carefully its contents. Above all, we believe that it will lend its support for the call to start preparatory consultations at the earliest possible date with a view to beginning negotiations on genuine nuclear disarmament.

The CHAIRMAN: I would like to thank the distinguished representative of Poland for the kind words of greeting which he extended to me.

U SAW HLAING (Burma): In this first statement of my delegation, may I express our pleasure in extending our sincere greetings to all the delegates present here, and to congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, on your assumption of duties as Chairman of the newly constituted Committee on Disarmament. I believe that under your chairmanship the Committee will be able to take decisions on its organizational and procedural questions and other substantive tasks lying ahead.

We welcome the presence of the distinguished representative of the French Republic and also the distinguished representatives of the new members of this Committee from Algeria, Australia, Belgium, Cuba, Indonesia, Kenya, Sri Lanka and Venezuela. My delegation looks forward to having close co-operation with them as well as with all other delegates present here, and is confident that their participation in the Committee will greatly contribute to the work of the Committee.

It is significant in the history of disarmament negotiations that the Final Document which was the expression of the views of the whole world on the objectives and priorities of arms control and disarmament was adopted by consensus at the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, and we attach great importance to this major achievement of the United Nations.

(U Saw Hlaing, Burma)

It is our fervent hope that with the basic principles of disarmament, the Programme of Action and the disarmament machinery necessary for its implementation laid down by the special session, the international community can look forward to a period of intensified co-ordination and more persevering efforts among all nations aimed at general and complete disarmament under effective international control. To attain the goal, what is essential is a rational and logical diversification in our efforts to tackle the complexity of the issue.

The world-wide disarmament machinery for deliberating and negotiating has been modified for maximum effectiveness, and, in accordance with the provisions, the negotiating body has been restructured. In compliance with the spirit of paragraph 120 and its subparagraphs of the Final Document, we feel that the Committee should make full use of them in order that those interested non-member States, should they so wish, may take part in the work of the Committee.

As we all know, in the restructured negotiating body, opening to participation by all the nuclear-weapon States is a more realistic attitude, and together with it the newly established democratic procedures of the multilateral negotiating body in which all the member States, both nuclear-weapon States and non-nuclear-weapon States, are equal partners, will, hopefully, increase the impact in the years ahead and broaden the scope of our common approach to collective effort.

My delegation, however, entirely agrees with earlier speakers in this Committee who said that the combined efforts of all members of the Committee are required to achieve substantive progress in our negotiations, and our negotiations must be governed by consensus and co-operation and not by confrontation.

Again, as we all know, the ending of the arms race and the achievement of real disarmament are tasks of primary importance, and yet the prospects for these are in large measure determined by the political and economic interests alone of the nations of the world. The fact remains that all these measures in the field of arms control and disarmament directly touch the sensitive part of the security of nations, regardless of size, and can be implemented only after it had gone through the necessary process of negotiation and political decision. If the nations still sought to maintain their security through the possession of nuclear arms, it will be hard to find at this stage such a congenial situation in which one can talk about reversing the arms race. It is therefore believed that for the world today there is no alternative but to build greater national and international security by developing co-operation and understanding between States and thereby creating a situation conducive to finding fair agreements and political will among the parties.

(U Saw Hlaing, Burma)

The Committee on Disarmament has been entrusted by the thirty-third session of the General Assembly to undertake, on a priority basis, negotiations on a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty and a chemical-weapon treaty. In addition, we have the following substantive issues that are our common concern: prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction; the cessation of the production of fissionable materials for weapon purposes; the conclusion of an international convention on the question of measures to strengthen the security of non-nuclear States. These are issues of priority, and apart from this, we are aware that it may have to proceed with the elaboration of a comprehensive disarmament programme following the meeting of the Disarmament Commission in May. The resolution pertaining to the above-stated items adopted by the thirty-third session of the General Assembly are indeed the reflection of the wide-range approach to world security and disarmament laid down by the special session. In our view, it would be more effective to concentrate on specific issues at the start rather than to put all the issues together.

It is heartening at the outset of the new Committee to note the report that SALT II is very near to resolving the remaining issues that stand in the way. We would welcome the agreement as a first step to the objectives of reducing strategic arsenals and nuclear weapons. It is also an important basis for establishing a stable balance between East and West necessary for reducing international tension.

It is a recognized fact that nuclear disarmament is the gravest and most complex issue facing the international community today. As we have been convinced that the accumulation and development of such weapons constitute a threat more than a protection for mankind, it is, therefore, considered that to halt this trend the comprehensive test ban is an issue in the forefront and should be given the highest priority in this Committee. In the past it imposed the most difficult and challenging task for the CCD, the former negotiating body, in the situation that the CCD as a whole was undertaking to negotiate the treaty while the real negotiating parties responsible for progress in this respect could not transmit at all to the CCD what were to be negotiated there at certain stages, or at least in the first phase.

We also realize that there is no other way of taking up the issue more effectively than through the trilateral or nuclear-weapon States' negotiations on this subject. However, we should not, on the other hand, keep the Committee for long only with a hope that the negotiations will bear fruit one day. With every advance in the technological development of strategic weapons, the process

(U Saw Hlaing, Burma)

of negotiations becomes increasingly complex and difficult. If we are too late to achieve some early steps, at the very least, to halt the arms race, the objective of ensuring general and complete disarmament may prove elusive for ever.

Nevertheless, we appreciate that a multilateral treaty, banning nuclear tests in any environment together with verification provisions is heading to conclusion. My delegation would support a text which would effectively halt nuclear-weapons testing in all environments, with no discrimination in its effect, which would lead to the aim of ending the qualitative improvement and development of nuclear-weapon systems and which would prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

If early agreement is reached on a CTB treaty, it will be a marked advance in arms control and disarmament efforts and will put a barrier to further sophistication of nuclear weapons and the expansion of existing nuclear arsenals. It will also enhance understanding and confidence among States in all regions of the world. Nonetheless, we should not lose sight of the fact that this will be a prerequisite only to one of our objectives of nuclear disarmament.

The question of chemical weapons has been under consideration in the former negotiating body, particularly between the two big Powers, for some years, and, together with the CTB treaty, this is an immediate task for the Committee. Burma, as a party to the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention, expects an early agreement on effective measures for the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and for the destruction of present stocks. We feel that this is an urgent matter which can be resolved at an early date soon after the verification problems and other technical aspects are thrashed out. We do not underestimate the difficulties and the extremely complex nature of negotiations, especially concerning the question with regard to the scope of the agreement and its verification. We hope that negotiations under the joint initiative will continue more intensively in order to achieve an agreed text on the convention in this Committee during the current year.

The Committee is entrusted with continuing its consideration of the question of new types of weapons of mass destruction. New advances in science and technology may have opened up new possibilities of developing certain new types of weapons of mass destruction, hitherto unknown to us. It would be sensible if consideration were given to the feasibility of formulating agreements on prohibition and limitation of new weapons as such, if they were identified. We would support all those fair and balanced measures which would prevent or limit armament.



(U Saw Hlaing, Burma)

The question of an adequately verified cessation and prohibition of the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes is an important item to which my delegation hopes the Committee will give serious consideration as part of the measures to be taken in the field of nuclear-arms control.

The Committee is also to consider the question of strengthening guarantees of security of non-nuclear-weapon States. My delegation shares the view that the international legal guarantees safeguarding the non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or the threat of use of nuclear weapons would enhance the security of such States and develop better understanding between the nuclear-weapon States and non-nuclear-weapon States. We hope that the Committee will be able to find a solution in the search for international arrangements which would give more explicit assurances against the use of nuclear weapons on non-nuclear-weapon States.

We have clearly defined in the right direction the procedure and priorities for the goal of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, in other words the goal for the survival of mankind and its civilization, in the Final Document of the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament, and we have before this Committee a range of important tasks entrusted to it by the special session and by the thirty-third regular session. What we urgently need now is to begin such negotiations without undue delay and thereafter direct our efforts towards the gradual realization of the plan.

My delegation believes that this Committee, which has a more representative character than its preceding body, taking advantage of the past long experience of the same preceding body and having the existing preconditions for and some progress in settling some of the issues on its agenda, will prove its role most effective in achieving the objectives of arms control and disarmament, and we hope that the results of the Committee's elaborations will make further progress towards the ultimate goal through the process of nuclear disarmament.

The achievements on disarmament which we are striving for with all our efforts could be, in fact, already half way to within our reach if the mutual understanding and the climate of confidence among nations, particularly big-Power nations, find their political will in time. Never before has the world so desperately needed such achievements, with which is linked not only our very survival but also the future of our descendants. My delegation will dedicate its best efforts, together with all other participants in this Committee, to pursuing constructive approaches towards those achievements.

The CHAIRMAN: I would like to thank the distinguished representative of Burma for his statement and the congratulations he was nice enough to address to the Chair.

Mr. HERDER (German Democratic Republic): May I first be permitted to join previous speakers in congratulating you, Mr. Chairman, on your nomination as Chairman of the Committee for the month of February. We are convinced that given your long experience in dealing with disarmament matters as well as your personal abilities, the Committee will not fail to undertake great efforts from the very beginning of its work, with a view to reaching tangible progress.

The German Democratic Republic is one of the sponsors of document CD/4, concerning negotiations on ending the production of all types of nuclear weapons and gradually reducing their stockpiles until they have been completely destroyed, which has been today officially submitted by the representative of the USSR.

Our delegation is of the view that this proposal is in consonance with the request by many delegations, also expressed in our statement of 26 January 1979 to this Committee, to see to it that from the very beginning the Committee should focus its attention on matters of substance and, in doing so, should concentrate, above all, on the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction, especially nuclear weapons.

An early examination of this proposal by the Committee and the progress to be attained through its implementation represent a logical corollary flowing from the Final Document of the tenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, which states that at present the nuclear-arms race poses the greatest danger to the survival of mankind, and that for this reason effective measures to achieve nuclear disarmament and to prevent a nuclear war are of the greatest priority.

In accordance with this pressing corollary, the member States of the Warsaw Treaty underlined in the Declaration of 23 November 1978 their unreserved willingness "... to reach agreement without further delay on the beginning of talks on these questions, with the participation of all nuclear Powers, and not only of those Powers. The sooner a specific date is fixed for such talks the better."

What is, in the first place, the meaning of the proposal submitted in document CD/4, as we see it?

(Mr. Herder, German Democratic Republic)

Firstly, the initiation of negotiations on ending the production of all types of nuclear weapons and gradually reducing their stock-piles until they have been completely destroyed would represent an important step towards a fundamental turn in the negotiations on the cessation of the arms race. This step would mark the transition from goodwill declarations to practical measures, which are indispensable for halting the nuclear-arms race.

Secondly, the implementation of the proposal would correspond to the requirement contained in article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which reads that "Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament ...". Thus, this would contribute to strengthening the regime of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Thirdly, successful negotiations on the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons would lead to the use of enormous energy resources exclusively for the purposes of peaceful development of mankind and not for its annihilation. This would meet our responsibility to guarantee henceforth the use of important primary materials for tackling the urgent economic tasks of the future.

The consistent commitment of the German Democratic Republic to reaching complete destruction of nuclear weapons becomes even more evident if one takes into account her political and geographical situation in the centre of Europe. As is well known, Europe has the greatest concentration of nuclear weapons. According to the information provided by different international institutes, a total of more than 10,000 nuclear weapons are said to exist in this area on both sides of the existing military alliances.

Is it not obvious under those circumstances that the cessation of the nuclear-arms race has become a question of death or life for the peoples and States in this region?

In large parts of Asia, too, nuclear weapons are increasingly stockpiled, and it is well known that a certain African State has been exerting for some years great efforts to take possession of those weapons.

(Mr. Herder, German Democratic Republic)

Consequently, negotiations between all nuclear-weapon States on the complete destruction of all types of nuclear weapons have become a pressing need of the present time.

The advantages of the proposal submitted by seven socialist States on initiating negotiations on the cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons are obvious. The proposal is simple, clear and evident. It contains no preconditions. It does not impede in any way other negotiations held at present on different aspects of the limitation or reduction of nuclear armaments. Its purpose is to generate a process that would ultimately lead to the prohibition and destruction of all nuclear weapons. The flexible approach to the subject is to be underlined. This also concerns the degree of participation of individual nuclear-weapon States in the measures to be agreed upon at each stage of nuclear disarmament. Those measures should be based on the principle of undiminished security of all participants at a lower military level, as the final document of the tenth special session underlined expressively. The envisaged stage-by-stage nuclear disarmament will allow all nuclear-weapon Powers to participate from the very beginning in the proposed negotiations.

The delegation of the German Democratic Republic is conscious of the complexity of reaching agreement on the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and their destruction. Great efforts and primarily political willingness of all those participating will be necessary.

It is encouraging that many States, among them nuclear-weapon States and non-nuclear-weapon States, members of military alliances and non-allied States, have underlined in the course of the exchange of views held in the Committee the urgent and topical need of introducing measures to halt the nuclear arms race. Thus, a good basis is laid for starting immediately discussion of the submitted proposal in the Committee.

The delegation of the German Democratic Republic is confident that the proposal to initiate negotiations on the cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons will meet with a broad support. Our delegation expects the discussion on this problem to take its appropriate place in the future activity of the Committee.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the distinguished representative of the German Democratic Republic for the good wishes which he conveyed to me as Chairman.

Mr. FEIJN (Netherlands): On behalf of the Netherlands delegation I should like to express our great satisfaction that you, Sir, will be guiding our work during the first full month of the CD. This will be a crucial month; and we have no doubt that your very able and experienced guidance will be decisive in making this first full month of the CD a success. You can count on the support of the Netherlands delegation.

With your permission, I should like to take this opportunity to introduce formally a working document from my delegation on chemical weapons. The paper contains some suggestions on how the Committee on Disarmament could actually start serious discussions on a treaty on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons, and on their destruction.

In the past, several methods were tried in order to come to grips with the complex CW-issue. Apart from numerous working documents-- mainly on specific problems-- the CCD held several informal meetings with the participation of experts. These meetings were helpful in clarifying particular issues, but it would seem that we have come to the end of the road with this kind of unstructured meetings, particularly in view of our experiences of last year.

Several delegations also introduced draft treaties, covering the whole CW-field. The advantage of considering a draft treaty as a whole was, of course, that one could interrelate the different issues involved, but the discussion also became more complex. Moreover, those drafts did not provide the basis for negotiations, because of pending or ongoing bilateral negotiations and because certain countries had problems with parts of those drafts.

During the last few years, the general approach has therefore been: let us wait for the announced initiative of the United States and the Soviet Union. We consider and we shall continue to consider such an initiative to be of paramount importance and we strongly hope that it will be realized reasonably soon. However, it is also clear that talks in this Committee on the CW question have been blocked for some time because of those ongoing bilateral talks.

We do not think that this is necessary. As explained in our paper, the Committee could well start work on the CW problem parallel to the bilateral efforts. In fact, we believe, the two parallel approaches could cross-fertilize each other. This is the more so since the CW problem is not a typical bilateral affair, as my delegation has remarked several times in the Committee.

(Mr. Fein, Netherlands)

Although we realize that on certain important points different views exist in the Committee, we also have the impression that on many other questions views are not very apart or are even identical. However, the Committee never tried to identify the points of agreement. Our suggestion is to work out, methodologically, step by step, the framework for a basis for an agreement, which in the end would lead to a treaty on chemical weapons.

We could start our work in general terms. For example, the Committee could take up again a working paper introduced by a number of members of the Group of Fifteen of the CCD, document CCD/400 of 26 April 1973. In this paper some general principles for a CW treaty were expressed. The Committee could then decide to draft a new version of a paper, a paper which would stipulate the general principles for the treaty we are trying to achieve.

This first stage of writing a rather general paper could be finished at the end of our spring session. The Committee could then decide how to proceed. The Committee as a whole could try to refine the paper or it could set up different technical or non-technical working groups to settle certain issues in detail. Hopefully, a more refined paper could be agreed upon towards the end of the summer session, allowing us to present a substantial basis for the treaty to the United Nations General Assembly. At the General Assembly, all Members of the United Nations would have an opportunity to express their views on the outline of the agreement. Depending on the progress made, the Committee on Disarmament could decide when the time seems ripe to work out the treaty itself. The treaty text would probably follow easily from the detailed outline.

The advantage of such a procedure is that the Committee can build up, step by step, the basis for an agreement without losing sight of the different related issues involved. The procedure we suggest is, of course, in no way intended to interfere with other activities aimed at clarifying certain special problems, such as the most important "workshops" organized by the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom, an initiative that we have highly praised some days ago. On the contrary, those workshops will undoubtedly be of great help in clarifying some important problems.

We hope that the members of the Committee will give serious consideration to our suggestion, which is meant to help in tackling one of the disarmament areas which has been mentioned by many members of the Committee as urgent and important, in fact by the world community as a whole. I may refer to paragraph 75 of the Final Document of the special session on disarmament, which states: "The complete

(Mr. Fein, Netherlands)

and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and their destruction represent one of the most urgent measures of disarmament. Consequently, the conclusion of a convention to this end, on which negotiations have been going on for several years, is one of the most urgent tasks of multilateral negotiations."

At the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, a resolution was adopted, A/RES/33/59 A, on 14 December 1978, which, in operative paragraph 3, states:

"Requests the Committee on Disarmament, as a matter of high priority, to undertake, at the beginning of its 1979 session, negotiations with a view to elaborating an agreement on effective measures for the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and for their destruction, taking into account all existing proposals and future initiatives."

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the distinguished representative of the Netherlands for the generous words he addressed to me.

Mr. TERREFFE (Ethiopia): Mr. Chairman, let me first of all associate myself with the previous speakers who directed to you expressions of gratitude for what you are trying to do here. I feel that the Ethiopian delegation is in a position to assure you the greatest support and co-operation in what you are doing, and has full confidence in your demonstrated capability and tact when dealing with disarmament questions.

The Ethiopian Delegation has given serious thought to the working document CD/4 and has listened carefully to the statements just made by a number of ambassadors who spoke before me. After the lucid introductory statement made by the distinguished ambassador of the USSR, there is hardly anything I can add as to the importance and timeliness of the document. Indeed, we are grateful to all the sponsors of the document, for we feel it justifiably draws the attention of the Committee on Disarmament to one of the most important decisions of the tenth special session of the General Assembly.

Paragraph 50 of the Final Document called for urgent negotiations for agreement in at least three areas: cessation of the qualitative improvement and development of nuclear-weapon systems; cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery; a comprehensive, phased programme with agreed time-frames, for progressive and balanced reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery.

(Mr. Terrefe, Ethiopia)

Resolution 33/71 H, which was adopted by an overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations, including 32 member States of the Committee on Disarmament, has urged all nuclear-weapon States to proceed to consultations regarding an early initiation of urgent negotiations with a view to achieving the three objectives mentioned above.

The proposal of the Soviet Union and six other Socialist States that preparatory consultations should be held, within the framework of the Committee on Disarmament, for preparing negotiations on ending the production of all types of nuclear weapons and gradually reducing their stockpiles until they are completely destroyed, has a sound base. The proposal accurately reflects the desire of a large number of States, including Ethiopia, which both at the tenth special session of the General Assembly and the thirty-third regular session insisted that the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and their gradual elimination from the arsenals of war should be considered by the Committee on Disarmament at the earliest possible date and as a priority.

This move towards a concrete nuclear disarmament programme, in our view, is the kind of political will that most of the States referred to in their opening statements in this Committee. The Ethiopian delegation would like to express its strong desire that the Committee on Disarmament should consider at the earliest time the proposals contained in document CD/4. We on our part will give it, with other members of the Committee, the attention that it deserves, so that the proposed consultations and negotiations on the subject can take place early in 1979.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Ethiopia for his statement and for his very warm words of congratulation which he was kind enough to address to me.

Mr. TORRAS (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): Mr. Chairman, as I take the floor for the first time under your chairmanship, I should like to devote my first words to telling you what store our delegation sets by your experience, which will be of great value to the work of the Committee, added to the fact that you are a representative of one of our Latin American countries.

I asked for the floor to express my delegation's support for the proposal introduced this morning by the representative of the Soviet Union, on behalf of the socialist countries. I shall not repeat the arguments as to its timeliness and value, for they have already been rehearsed and they are self-evident, since the proposal represents an attempt to set on foot the negotiations relating to the



(Mr. Torras, Cuba)

objectives to which priority was assigned by the tenth special general session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to disarmament and by its thirty-third regular session, those objectives being to put an end to the testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons and finally to ensure their destruction. To the importance of such a step for the maintenance of world peace is added, for the developing countries, the possibility that the astronomic funds thus freed might be devoted to development assistance.

In addition to this general observation, I wish to refer to two features of the proposal which are very important to my country as to many other countries.

The first relates to the statement that: "Agreement on this important problem can be reached only provided there is strict observance of the principle of the inviolability of the security of States and the interests of peace throughout the world." For Cuba, which is still being subjected to a policy of aggression to which I have already referred, this principle is of great importance, because, however important disarmament measures may be for all countries, including my own, they cannot be realized without taking into account the security of States and establishing peace throughout the world -- which is in the interests of all nations.

The second feature to which I wish to refer is that the elaboration and implementation of measures in the field of nuclear disarmament should be accompanied by an extension of the guarantees of security for all States, or, in other words, that gradual progress towards nuclear disarmament should be combined with the progressive strengthening of security for all, without there being any need for the latter to wait until the former has been achieved.

For all these reasons, we believe that the Committee should discuss this proposal at the earliest opportunity.

This morning also, proposals were submitted relating to chemical weapons, proposals on which we cannot yet express any opinion since we have not had time to analyse them, but which deserve the Committee's attention on account of the importance of the subject.

The CHAIRMAN: I would like to thank the distinguished Ambassador of Cuba for his statement and for his kind words extended to me.

We have had, this morning, the formal introduction of working documents CD/4, co-sponsored by Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and CD/6, sponsored by the delegation of the Netherlands. Working document CD/5, sponsored by Italy, was also circulated.

(The Chairman)

Members of the Committee will recall that, at our last meeting, we agreed that if time were available we might use it immediately after the formal meeting by holding an informal meeting in order to have a first preliminary exchange of views on the various aspects which relate to our work. It would appear that in view of the somewhat late hour this meeting could not be started and completed this morning. From certain consultations that I have had with various delegations it would appear that the other possibility, which was that of having an informal meeting this afternoon, or even perhaps tomorrow morning, will not be suitable as there are groups of delegations which are putting their time to good use in order to complete certain drafts on our rules of procedure. Under these circumstances, I think that experience has shown in the past that time could be better used if these delegations were to have this afternoon and tomorrow morning available to complete their work and therefore be in a better position to hold the exchange of views to which I referred. If there were no objections to this from members of the Committee, I would therefore suggest that we have our next formal meeting on Thursday, 8 February, at 10.30 a.m. As was the case envisaged for today, if we were to have time immediately after the formal meeting, then we would convert our meeting into an informal meeting in order to hold the said first preliminary exchange of views. Otherwise, if necessary, we could either continue the informal meeting, or start it Thursday afternoon. If there are no objections I will presume that the suggestion of the Chair meets with the approval of the members of the Committee.

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN: At the same time, I would like to urge delegations that are working actively and intensively on the preparation of drafts to carry out the task as rapidly as possible so that we may fulfil the programme of work that I have submitted to the Committee. From a first examination of the various informal drafts that have been circulated, it would appear that there are no insurmountable differences among these texts; this would enable the Committee to adopt its rules of procedure promptly. What is of the utmost importance is that in these informal meetings we agree on the method that is to be followed for the treatment of the various documents and so that, as a consequence of this, we could find a unified

(The Chairman)

criterion and finally adopt our rules of procedure. I would therefore suggest that the useful contacts that have been made during the past few days should continue so that we will be able to rapidly complete our work in the informal meeting which will take place after the formal meeting on Thursday. If there are no other comments from delegations, I will adjourn the meeting.

Our meeting will take place on Thursday, 8 February, at 10.30 a.m. in this room. The meeting stands adjourned.

The meeting rose at 12 noon.