

UNITED NATIONS

G E N E R A L A S S E M B L Y



PROVISIONAL

A/C.1/PV.2080 7 November 1975

ENGLISH

Thirtieth Session

FIRST COMMITTEE

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND AND EIGHTIETH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Friday, 7 November 1975, at 3 p.m.

Chairman:

Mr. GHORRA

(Lebanon)

Rapporteur:

Mr. ARTEAGA ACOSTA

(Venezuela)

- Economic and social consequences of the armaments race and its extremely harmful effects on world peace and security /31/ (continued)
- Implementation of General Assembly resolution 3254 (XXIX): report of the Secretary-General /34/ (continued)
- Napalm and other incendiary weapons and all aspects of their possible use: reports of the Secretary-General /35/ (continued)
- Chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons: report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament /36/ (continued)
- Urgent need for cessation of nuclear and thermonuclear tests and conclusion of a treaty designed to achieve a comprehensive test ban: report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament /37/ (continued)

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- General and complete disarmament /41/ (continued):
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- Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East: report of the Secretary-General /46/ (continued)
- Prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other hostile purposes, which are incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being and health: report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament /47/ (continued)
- Declaration and establishment of a nuclear-free zone in South Asia: report of the Secretary-General /48/ (continued)
- Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the South Pacific /120/ (continued)
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The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 120, 122 and 126 (continued)

Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): My country is greatly interested in all the disarmament problems included in the agenda of this Committee. In spite of the many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in the hope of achieving tangible progress on questions of general and complete disarmament and the banning of nuclear tests, whether underground or in the atmosphere, and in spite of the tireless and continual efforts deployed by the international Organization and the far-reaching effects of this problem, what our Organization has achieved in this context can be considered extremely meagre and limited if compared with the proliferation of lethal weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear and biological weapons.

We find that nuclear tests are still continuing and this causes us constant concern. We share with the international community its anxiety over the continuation of such tests. The negotiations on disarmament in this international Organization, in its specialized bodies and agencies as well as in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD) have led to some treaties and agreements and to a partial accord. In spite of our appreciation of the importance of those treaties, we feel that they have not solved the problem of disarmament in the way we had hoped and to which we had aspired, particularly as far as disarmament and nuclear-weapons tests are concerned.

My delegation believes that priority should be given to the question of disarmament and to the threat arising from the use of these weapons, that of the annihilation of mankind and its civilization. We know that the destructive force of these weapons is increasing day by day and has gained far-reaching and unexpected levels.

My country welcomes the Non-Proliferation Treaty, considering it as one of the most important treaties in the field of nuclear disarmament and also as a positive development in the attainment of peace and international security, in spite of the fact that this Treaty is still limited and has not been ratified or acceded to by a large number of countries. We have also supported the need

to convene a world disarmament conference in which all the nuclear and other States, whether large or small, should participate on an equal footing within the context of the Disarmament Decade, in the hope that that would lead to positive and effective measures on disarmament.

Among the most important problems confronting our world today is the question of the increase of chemical and biological weapons, incendiary weapons and napalm. A large number of countries have not ratified the Geneva Protocol on the banning of such weapons, which was supposed to have been implemented more than 50 years ago. The research on and development of such weapons and toxins and the stockpiling of chemicals is indeed a very sad proof of the disregard for human values to which our Organization is dedicated. Consequently, my country supports the preparation of a treaty on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of toxic and chemical weapons, whether conventional or otherwise, since we consider such a step to be one of the necessary measures for real disarmament.

Another important matter is the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones which in turn would contribute effectively to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The policy of the State of Qatar has been demonstrated in its support for efforts aimed at establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones and helping to ease international tension and consolidate peace and international security.

In this respect I should like to mention the Middle East and Indian Ocean zones. Regarding the Middle East, the development of these weapons by the big countries and super-Powers has been reflected in the smaller countries and has led to the arms race being imposed on us in this region of the world by the big Powers. This region has suffered fierce wars for many long years and there is no doubt that at the present time, more than ever before, there is every need for measures which would dispel the spectre of a nuclear war.

In order to reach this objective, all the parties concerned in this region should ratify and accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. We know that the Zionist entity, the State of Israel, to this very day is still refusing to accede to this Treaty, which leaves us in no doubt as to its true intentions and its aggressive and expansionist designs. Very soon it will

become clear to the average layman throughout the world that an historical error was committed by the international community when it allowed that Zicnist entity to develop and expand in the form of a State without any boundaries and in a region which is one of the most vital and important from the strategical, economic and spiritual standpoint.

This climate has grown in a climate of manoeuvres, conspiracies and the violation of rights and disregard of what the civilized world has accepted in the ways of values and principles. It is a hotbed of aggression and a threat to peace and security, not only in the region of the Middle East but throughout the world.

Perhaps one of the most important expressions of Israeli disregard for the principles of peace and international security was the official threat emanating from the Israeli authorities about using nuclear weapons in a war in the Middle East and the stockpiling of large quantities of weapons, both known and unknown, by Israel in embarking upon enother destructive war.

The well-known Israeli daily, dated 17 June 1975, reported that General Mordecai Ghor said some time ago:

"We should not be afraid that, within a short while, that is, in a period of 10 to 15 years, there should be some contraction in the superiority of the Israeli army over the Arab armies. As for the period that will follow that, we should expect a revolutionary change in the propagation of nuclear weapons and the proliferation of these weapons. The ratification of this treaty by Israel is a precondition to declaring the Middle East zone as a nuclear-weapon-free zone."

My country is greatly interested in the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a nuclear-weapon-free zone, and we would like to support the Lusaka Declaration of 1970, a Declaration of the non-aligned countries, in which they endorsed the idea of

"... the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace from which great Power rivalries and competition as well as bases conceived in the context of such rivalries and competition should be excluded, and declaring that the area should also be free of nuclear weapons,". (General Assembly resolution 28%2 (XXVI))

For the very same reason, the State of Qatar would like to state its full support for the Declaration of South Asia, Africa and Latin America as nuclear-weapon-free zones.

Finally, my delegation has great hopes in the possibility of implementing General Assembly resolution 3093 (XXVIII) aiming at the reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries.

In closing, I would like to reassert that my Government will support any tangible measure or resolution which would contribute towards taking positive and constructive steps for complete and general disarmament and international control.

Mr. AKIMAN (Turkey) (interpretation from French): Achievement of general and complete disarmament has been the primary objective of the international community for generations. Yet this ultimate objective still eludes us although in the sphere of international relations there has in recent years been a trend towards détente and co-operation. Having said this, I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express the views of the Turkish delegation on a number of important disarmament questions. Mr. Chairman, as you said in your statement, the range of disarmament questions has increased compared with last year. This proves at least the ardent desire of the whole of the international community to solve this crucial problem. It is the reason why, despite this lack of progress, despite this stagnation, we should continue our efforts so that the dream of general and complete disarmament may come true.

We welcome the entry into force, on 26 March 1975, of the Convention on bacteriological or toxin weapons. We regard this as an important event since that Convention is the first on the destruction of existing weapons to be concluded since the Second World War.

The accession of the United States to the Geneva Protocol of 17 June 1925 is a further source of satisfaction.

These two important events lead us to the conclusion that real progress could be achieved in the area of the elimination of chemical weapons. In this connexion we believe that, as a first stage, a convention on the more

(Mr. Akiman, Turkey)

dangerous and lethal means of chemical warfare or a convention on chemical agents that could be prohibited, taking into account verification measures, might represent very important progress in this field.

May I be permitted to add in this connexion that my Government supports international efforts aiming at the elimination from the arsenals of States of certain conventional weapons with non-selective effects or which cause unnecessary suffering, such as napalm and other incendiary weapons.

On the initiative of the Soviet Union, a new item was inscribed on the agenda of our Committee -- namely, the question of the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and of new systems of such weapons. We regard this proposal as an important initiative worthy of special consideration because, in our view, it would be highly desirable not to limit the work of our Committee exclusively, as we intended, to the limitation or prohibition of methods of warfare, but, rather that we concentrate on measures for the prohibition of future techniques of warfare. From this point of view, we view with interest the Soviet initiative on the subject.

We are gratified, too, to note that the question of the prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other hostile purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being and health was the subject of detailed study by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament within the framework of General Assembly resolution 3264 (XXIX).

May I take this opportunity to convey my sincere congratulations to the members of the delegations of the United States and of the Soviet Union who succeeded in submitting identical draft conventions on the subject. May we express the hope that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament will in the near future draft a single text on this question.

(Mr. Akiman, Turkey)

On the question of underground nuclear-weapon tests, my delegation deplores the fact that no tangible progress was made in this field at the latest Geneva negotiations. In our view, the complete cessation of underground nuclear-weapon tests and the conclusion of a test-ban treaty, including appropriate verification, could well represent an important step along the road to the consolidation of détente and constitute true progress towards the limitation of the arms race. It is to be hoped that the encouraging breakthrough achieved in the area of seismic detection and identification methods will open the way towards a rapid solution of this problem.

I should like to emphasize on this occasion that the participation of all nuclear-weapon States in the search for a solution of the question of the cessation of the testing of explosive devices in all environments will be one of the surest means of resolving this crucial problem. We believe that the achievement of this aim will help not only to reduce the dangers to which mankind is exposed but may also promote efforts towards general and complete disarmament.

Another important problem in this sphere is the future of peaceful nuclear explosions. At the present time, it is said that all nuclear explosives, irrespective of their field of application, could be used for the manufacture of nuclear weapons. On the other hand, we must not neglect the benefits that could be derived from peaceful nuclear explosions which offer the technical advantage of constituting a source of cheap energy which could availed of for the development of natural resources and the carrying out of important public works. In the face of such a dilemma, we think it only logical to seek to resolve these two interdependent problems in the following way: the rapid cessation of all nuclear weapon explosions by all countries, in all environments, and the recognition of the right of an appropriate international organization to carry out peaceful nuclear explosions where necessary, provided that the benefits eventually to be derived from such explosions are accessible to all countries, including non-nuclear-weapon States.

The study of the question of nuclear-free zones in all its aspects, as submitted by the special group of experts, is an important item on our agenda.

(Mr. Akiman, Turkey)

May I be permitted to express our thanks to the experts who took part in the preparation of that document and, in particular, Professor Korhonen of Finland for the able way in which he completed this difficult task as Chairman of the group entrusted with the preparation of that study. We believe that the study is of great value as a reference document in this field.

My country believes that in those regions where the recessary political and strategic conditions exist for the creation of denuclearized zones, the creation of such a zone would represent an important regional step towards general and complete disarmament. We also believe that the creation of such zones would represent a valuable contribution to the strengthening of détente.

When we speak of political and strategic conditions, we mean that the initiative for the creation of a nuclear-free zone must in principle stem from the countries of the zone in question. The decision of countries to participate in such zones could only be taken by the countries themselves in the light of their national security needs. In our view, the definition of the zone is another fundamental factor in the creation of such regions, and we must not lose sight of the right of a State to declare its territory a nuclear-free zone and demand that it be respected as such. Moreover, appropriate international verification, as well as the participation by all militarily important States in that zone, are further essential elements for any initiative in this field.

The Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference has pursued its study of this question within the framework of the mandate given to it in resolution 3260 (XXIX). We believe that, thanks to the untiring efforts and diplomatic skill of its Chairman, Mr. Hoveyda of Iran -- a country with which mine maintains cordial and sincere relations -- that Committee succeeded in once again highlighting the general trend in favour of the idea of convening and holding the conference after adequate preparation with the participation in the preparatory stages and in the conference itself of all nuclear-weapon States, without exception, and all militarily important States.

'Mr. Akiman. Turkey

As one of the 40 mon-nuclear weapon members appointed to participate in the work of that Ad Hoc Committee, we continue to believe that it should continue its work under a new mandate with a view to finding the appropriate means to achieve its purposes.

Mr. ERDEMBILEG (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): Before beginning its statement today, my delegation would like most cordially to congratulate the Soviet delegation on the occasion of our joint celebration of the fifty-eighth anniversary of the Great October Revolution and whole-heartedly to wish great new successes to them in the performance of the important tasks of the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which has been a tireless champion of peace and international security and the social progress of peoples.

The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic, in its first statement on disarmament questions, would like to express its views on the two new agenda items introduced by the delegation of the Soviet Union as important and urgent, that is, the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons and the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests.

Our delegation, both in the general debate of the plenary of the Assembly and also in its statement on the question of the strengthening of international security in this Committee, expressed its whole-hearted support for the new initiatives of the Soviet Union and pointed to their topicality and timeliness. We should particularly like to stress the sincerity of the intent of the Soviet Union which, in proposing these new initiatives, based itself primarily on the urgent need to strengthen and intensify international détente by concrete and effective measures in the field of arms limitation and disarmament. Therefore, the new Soviet proposals have naturally received a very broad response from world public opinion.

In our view, the strengthening and consolidation of international détente by concrete measures should proceed in two fundamental directions: by means of the comprehensive development of economic, scientific and technological co-operation among States, and by the adoption of practical measures in the field of disarmament and the limitation of the arms race.

Without wishing to minimize the significance of the former, my delegation, like many others, wishes to lay particular stress on the extreme timeliness and importance of the latter, in as much as the arms race, which unfortunately has still not been curbed, entails a particular danger of the erosion of the foundations of détente and of international peace and security.

Effective measures in the field of disarmament can strengthen mutual understanding and trust among peoples and at the same time release vast sums of money and thus promote the laying of a much more solid foundation for international co-operation. It is precisely in this light that we approach the new proposals of the Soviet Union and understand their purpose and significance. I should like to point out, first of all, that they represent the concrete, positive replies of the Soviet Government to the demands of world public opinion that a halt be called to the arms race and that measures be taken in the field of disarmament, particularly with regard to the elimination of means of mass destruction.

These demands are, of course, growing more than ever. The overwhelming majority of the 127 representatives who spoke in the general debate at this session of the General Assembly stressed the need for new initiatives in the field of disarmament. As the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization, pointed out:

"... the technological arms continually promises new and more horrible developments" (A/10001/Add.1, p. 7)

and weapons. He particularly stressed the significance of disarmement as a decisive condition for the United Nations to discharge its fundamental task of maintaining peace and security.

On the other hand, it must be stated that we still have with us those who favour a return to the cold war and a continuation of the position-of-strength policy, and who, for these purposes, are striving to whip up the arms race. NATO militaristic circles are particularly assiduous in their efforts to intensify military preparations, primarily by urging the further sophistication of armaments and, in so doing, have recourse to the notorious method of scare-mongering about the "Soviet threat" or the "threat from the East". hawks in the United States want the United States to cling to the right of the first nuclear strike, and they want this right to be buttressed by the creation of what is known as the "first-strike weapon". I should like to add that there are even people -- you can meet them literally on every street corner -- sounding off about the inevitability of a third world war. But they have nothing constructive to propose inorder to avert such a threat. Quite the contrary, what they are seeking is a stepping-up of armaments and of preparations for war, while undermining the process of international détente and strengthening the struggle against the countries of the socialist community and other democratic forces.

What is particularly reprehensible is that these people indignantly reject everything that is being done by the peace-loving forces to avert the threat of war and to strengthen international peace and security. These actions can only be described as straightforward war propaganda, and these circles wish to confer upon them the status of State policy. Their conduct is beyond all description; they are attempting to use the rostrum of the United Nations, the major function of which is the preservation of international peace, for their own propagandistic purposes.

The peoples of the world have frequently witnessed the use of the advances of science and technology for purposes having nothing whatsoever to do with peaceful, constructive purposes. The discovery of atomic energy and the possibilities of its use for the good of mankind was undeniably a tremendous advance in scientific and technological thought and practice. However, as we know, it was first used for military purposes -- and quite unnecessarily, at that. The tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are still fresh in our memories.

In our view, world public opinion is rightly concerned and alarmed at the fact that the advances of contemporary science and the technological revolution might be used, among other things, for the purpose of creating new types of weapons of mass destruction.

I doubt that there is anyone today who would be bold enough to assert that atomic submarines armed with nuclear warheads, aircraft missiles, multitargeted intercontinental ballistic missiles and other forms of strategic offensive weapons represent the limits of sophistication of The representative of the Soviet Union, Ambassador Malik. in his interesting and detailed statement in this Committee on 30 October, quoted many statements of scientists and specialists who had expressed their profound concern at the existence of a real scientific and technological possibility of creating new types of weapons which would be even more destructive than nuclear weapons. Other delegations, which spoke in support of the new initiatives of the Soviet Union, also gave us many facts corroborating the timeliness of the proposal for the prohibition of the development and production of new weapons of mass destruction and of new systems of such weapons. Many distinguished scholars and humanists have, at one time or another, made urgent appeals to prevent the use of the achievements of science and technology for purposes of mass destruction. However, the military and monopolistic circles of the West are continuing to pursue their adventuristic policy in their efforts to cling to what is described as "nuclear supremacy".

We are all very well aware of what this kind of policy has led to. It has led to an untridled arms race, particularly a nuclear arms race, and swallowed up fabulous amounts of material and human resources. This, of course, was an evil consequence of the fact that the development and production of weapons of mass destruction were not brought under international control and banned in good time. That has led to an even greater qualitative sophistication and production of new systems which employ such types of existing weaponry of mass destruction as nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, and others.

As we see it, the various measures in the fields of limiting the arms race and disarmament are mutually complementary, while any step backwards, particularly the creation of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, will create an opportunity to circumvent existing international limitations, for example, in the fields of strategic armaments, biological weapons and other types of weapons. That fact leads us to the conclusion that the world community only stands to gain from the adoption of timely preventive measures to limit the arms race in a fundamentally qualitatively new field before a situation arises in which, because of its lack of foresight, it is presented with a fait accompli.

From that point of view we can without any shadow of doubt describe as timely the aforementioned new Soviet initiative, which is in keeping with the interests of all peoples and in the interest of ensuring international peace and security. In this connexion it can be said that measures of such a preventive nature normally increase the chances of achieving agreement without particular difficulty, since the issue here relates to a type of weapon which has not yet been incorporated into the arms inventories of States. The latest example which gives us grounds for making that assertion is the proposal for the prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other hostile purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being and health, put forward by the Soviet Union at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

Our Committee now has before it drafts of an identical convention submitted simultaneously by the Soviet Union and the United States in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at its summer session. Our delegation, like many others, hopes that the General Assembly will be able to approve the convention which will finally be produced at its next session. In its new proposal the Soviet Union has taken a further step: it has appealed to all States in the world, and primarily the major Powers, to combine their efforts to put an end once and for all to the existing threat of the creation of new types of weapons of mass destruction. The Soviet Union is making its proposal for the purpose of preparation and conclusion of an appropriate international agreement which would ban such types of weapons and weapon systems, the use of which might have even more frightful consequences than the use of nuclear weapons themselves.

The core of the Soviet draft convention submitted for the consideration of the General Assembly is the obligation of States, primarily the major Powers, not to develop or produce new types of weapons of mass destruction and systems of such weapons or to help, encourage or incite any other State or group of States, or any international organization, to undertake any kind of action to that end. At the same time the draft convention also provides for the protection of the inalienable rights of States to develop and use scientific research and discoveries for exclusively peaceful purposes and places an obligation upon States to promote the development of international co-operation in the field of the peaceful use of the latest advances of science and technology and discoveries for the good of mankind.

We would like to highlight another important point in the Soviet draft convention: the obligation on States parties to hold talks, in a spirit of goodwill, on effective measures to limit the race in armaments of all kinds and to call a halt to that race, and to conclude a treaty on complete and general disarmament under strict and effective international control.

The Mongolian delegation fully supports the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet delegation (A/C.1/L.711), and has become a co-sponsor of that draft. We believe, like so many others, that it would be a good idea to transmit the draft agreement for discussion in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, so that it may as soon as possible reach agreement on a text and submit a report on the results achieved for consideration by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session.

The conclusion of an international agreement on the prohibition of the development and production of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons would, in our view, create an additional favourable condition for the taking of effective measures to limit, and in the final analysis to destroy, existing arsenals of armaments. The talks which have been held hitherto with regard to the limitation of the arms race and to disarmament, in various forums, have yielded certain results. In particular I would mention the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction, which was designed to remove from the arsenals of States that very dangerous type of weapon of mass destruction.

Our delegation attaches great significance to the agreement on the prevention of nuclear war concluded between the Soviet Union and the United States and to the agreements and the accord between those countries in the field of limiting strategic armaments. In that connexion, our delegation hopes that an agreement will very soon be concluded limiting strategic offensive weapons, on the basis of the Vladivostok accord. We think that in order to achieve that important goal new efforts should be made, taking advantage of all favourable considerations and conditions.

I should like now to make some points regarding the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon testing. We attach particular importance to a comprehensive prohibition of nuclear-weapon testing, which constitutes one of the most radical measures we could have on the cessation of the nuclear arms race and an appreciable step towards nuclear disarmament.

We would like to express our hope that the members of the Committee, recognizing the timeliness of the problems raised, will approach the consideration of these problems constructively so that the General Assembly can take a positive decision on them, and this in its turn would be rendering a useful service to the strengthening of international peace and security.

The Mongolian delegation preserves its right to speak on other questions of disarmament at a later stage.

Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I would just like to express my cordial thanks to the representative of the Mongolian People's Republic, Comrade Erdembileg, for his warm words of congratulation to the Soviet Union on the occasion of our national holiday.

I would also like to thank the representative of Turkey for his congratulations addressed to the Soviet Union and the United States in connexion with the fact that the delegations of these two countries have submitted to the Disarmament Committee a draft convention on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques.

The meeting rose at 4.30 p.m.