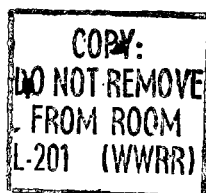




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FIRST COMMITTEE
33rd meeting
held on
Monday, 15 November 1982
at 10.30 a.m.
New York

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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 33RD MEETING

Chairman: Mr. GBEHO (Ghana)

CONTENTS

DISARMAMENT ITEMS

AGENDA ITEMS 39 TO 57, 133, 136, 138 AND 139 (continued)

Draft resolutions were introduced by:

Mr. Komives (Hungary) - A/C.1/37/L.18
Mr. Rose (German Democratic Republic) - A/C.1/37/L.21
Mr. Chanana (India) - A/C.1/37/L.4/Rev.1

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ENGLISH

The meeting was called to order at 11.25 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 39 TO 57, 133, 136, 138 AND 139 (continued)

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will continue its consideration of and action upon draft resolutions under all disarmament items.

I am sure that all members agree that our treatment of draft resolutions ought to be considered as the more important of the two phases of our debate on disarmament items. Therefore, members are invited to address themselves to specific draft resolutions, since our general debate has already been concluded. Delegations may refer to one or more draft resolutions in a single statement, or may speak as many times as necessary should they wish to consider certain draft resolutions separately.

I should like to indicate that, if I find that some draft resolutions can be acted upon earlier than planned, we can take action upon them on the understanding that due advance notice will be given to members of the Committee and that this procedure will be applied to those draft resolutions which do not present major difficulties. This procedure, of not holding draft resolutions until the end of the period allocated for the consideration of all draft resolutions on disarmament items, would help to facilitate greatly not only the work of the Committee, but that of the General Assembly as a whole.

I urge delegations to submit draft resolutions with financial implications as soon as possible in order to enable us to conclude our work on time.

The Committee will proceed to take action on agenda item 54, "Chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons", as soon as the report of the Secretary-General, which is now in preparation, is submitted to the Committee.

I hope that members of the Committee will take particular note of the statement I have made this morning; I intend to stick to the deadline about which members have already been notified: Wednesday, 17 November, 1 p.m., is the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions under all disarmament items. I have been asked by some members of the Committee whether it is true that I intend to be flexible about that date. For the benefit of all, let me say that I intend to stick strictly to the deadline as set: any draft resolutions not received by 1 p.m. Eastern Standard Time on Wednesday, 17 November, will not be entertained in the Committee.

I hope that even those who are consulting in the back of the room have heard this announcement.

Mr. KOMIVES (Hungary): On behalf of the delegations of Afghanistan, Angola, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Madagascar, Mongolia, Mozambique, Poland, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Viet Nam, I have the honour to introduce the draft resolution in document A/C.1/37/L.18, concerning the non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present.

The sponsors of the draft resolution, like many other countries, attach great importance to strengthening the system of political and international legal guarantees for the security of non-nuclear-weapon States. The idea of concluding an international agreement on this issue is, in the opinion of the sponsors, one of the possible actions to serve this goal. Such an action would be in full accordance with the interests of a large group of non-nuclear-weapon States which in recent years have advocated that nuclear weapons should be withdrawn from foreign territories and that the stationing of such weapons on territories where they are not found at present should be prevented.

The sponsors regard this question as a special element of the process of curbing the nuclear arms race and reducing and eventually completely destroying the nuclear-weapon stockpiles. The timeliness and urgency of that task are emphasized by the fact that, while already many States have clearly expressed their intention not to allow the deployment of nuclear weapons on their territories, there are plans to build up nuclear-weapon arsenals on the territories of other States. This would not only escalate the nuclear arms race but also increase the danger of a nuclear war being launched from the territories of countries where nuclear weapons are deployed. In general, the stationing of nuclear weapons on additional territories and the deployment of an increasing number of more sophisticated nuclear weapons on territories where nuclear weapons are already stationed would have a negative impact on the international situation and further complicate disarmament negotiations. The dangerous implications provoked by such plans are more and more recognized by the peoples of many non-nuclear-weapon States, which demand the cancellation of such plans.

(Mr. Komives, Hungary)

The prevention of the further deployment of nuclear weapons would constitute a step towards the larger objective of the subsequent complete withdrawal of nuclear weapons from the territories of other countries, thus contributing to preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, strengthening the non-proliferation régime, enhancing the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones and concluding an agreement on effective international assurances for non-nuclear-weapon States. It also could contribute to the prevention of destabilization of the existing approximate strategic balance of power in the nuclear field and reduce the threat of the outbreak of a nuclear war. Thus, a corresponding agreement would not only increase confidence among States but also serve the main goal of the United Nations Charter - the strengthening of international peace and security. For these reasons the sponsors of the draft resolution consider that the concluding of an international agreement on the non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present is both necessary and timely.

In 1978 the General Assembly adopted resolution 33/91 F, which appealed to all nuclear-weapon States to refrain from stationing nuclear weapons on the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present and to all non-nuclear-weapon States which do not have such weapons on their territories to refrain from any steps which would directly or indirectly result in the stationing of such weapons on their territories. Resolution 34/87 C called upon all States to examine the possibility of concluding an international agreement on this question. The opinions and suggestions of a significant number of States on the subject, incorporated in the report of the Secretary-General in document A/35/45, clearly demonstrated the necessity and possibility of such an agreement and the wish to take practical steps to prevent the further stationing of nuclear weapons. In resolutions 35/156 C and 36/97 E the General Assembly requested the Committee on Disarmament to proceed without delay to talks with a view to elaborating an international agreement on the non-stationing of nuclear weapons.

Despite those consecutive resolutions of the General Assembly, the Committee on Disarmament has been prevented so far from dealing with the question of non-stationing in an appropriate manner, not to mention the

(Mr. Komives, Hungary)

elaboration of a corresponding international agreement. In the light of this situation and taking into account the increased danger of the deployment of nuclear weapons on the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present and of the deployment of more and more sophisticated nuclear weapons on territories where there already are such weapons, the sponsors consider it necessary to continue the efforts aimed at the elaboration and conclusion of an international agreement on the non-stationing of nuclear weapons.

The draft resolution that I have the honour to introduce is short and clear. In operative paragraph 1 the General Assembly requests once again the Committee on Disarmament to proceed without delay to talks with a view to elaborating an international agreement on the non-stationing of nuclear weapons. In operative paragraph 2 it calls upon all nuclear-weapon States not to station nuclear weapons on the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present and to refrain from further action involving the stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of other States. In operative paragraph 3 it calls upon all nuclear-weapon States to freeze qualitatively nuclear weapons on the territories of other States. Operative paragraphs 4 and 5 are self-explanatory. Lastly, in operative paragraph 6 it decides to include this item in the provisional agenda of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

In conclusion, I should like to express the hope of the sponsors that this draft resolution will receive favourable consideration in our Committee and will command the widest possible support.

Mr. ROSE (German Democratic Republic): On behalf of the delegations of Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Poland, Romania, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Viet Nam, I should like to introduce the draft resolution entitled "Nuclear weapons in all aspects" contained in document A/C.1/37/L.21.

(Mr. Rose, German Democratic
Republic)

Nuclear weapons pose the biggest threat to mankind and its survival. Proceeding from this awareness, the Final Document of the first special session on disarmament underlined the need for urgent negotiations in this field.

The second special session devoted to disarmament confirmed the priority of nuclear disarmament. At the current session of the General Assembly a large majority of Member States of the United Nations have again demanded that the nuclear arms race be halted and reversed without delay. Mere statements, however, are not enough. What are needed are practical measures to attain that goal.

(Mr. Rose, German Democratic Republic)

Today, with the threat of nuclear war having become aggravated, that need is more imperative than ever before. This year, one nuclear Power added to its plans for the conduct of a limited nuclear war the concept of a protracted nuclear war. All those concepts are based on the illusion that such a war would be feasible and winnable. Adventurous schemes of that kind carelessly jeopardize the survival of mankind.

Therefore, we firmly reject the claim that doctrines of nuclear deterrence would secure world peace. Those doctrines are rather root causes of the nuclear arms race and contribute towards its escalation. They constitute a major obstacle hindering the negotiations on nuclear disarmament.

The sponsors of the present draft resolution, therefore, deem it necessary that the United Nations General Assembly should oppose such nuclear doctrines and support proposals aimed at effective measures to prevent nuclear war and achieve nuclear disarmament.

The draft resolution before the Committee has been drawn up along these lines. The preamble is largely modelled on resolution 36/92 E adopted last year.

The first paragraph of the preamble underlines the conclusion of the second special session that the prevention of nuclear war is the most acute and urgent task of the present time. Paragraph 7 of the preamble expresses alarm at the fact that to the doctrine of a limited nuclear war was added the concept of a protracted nuclear war.

Operative paragraph 1 addresses itself to the Committee on Disarmament calling on it to take up negotiations for the elaboration of a nuclear disarmament programme and to establish to that end an ad hoc working group. That task is in full conformity with the Final Document of the first special session on disarmament and is designed to initiate practical steps towards implementing paragraph 50 of that document. Conditions to attain that aim exist in the Committee on Disarmament. Over the past few years questions of nuclear disarmament have been discussed by the Committee in all their aspects. It can draw on a number of important working documents on questions of nuclear disarmament. Very useful proposals for the cessation of the nuclear arms race were made at the second special session and at the current General Assembly session.

(Mr. Rose, German Democratic Republic)

The time has come to proceed to negotiations. The considerations I have just put forward should be taken into account in elaborating a nuclear disarmament programme. Such multilateral negotiations would in no way prejudice ongoing bilateral negotiations. It is rather reasonable to assume that the two forms of negotiations could complement each other. The multilateral negotiations with all nuclear-weapon States participating are to define the stages of nuclear disarmament, thus ensuring a comprehensive approach to the solution of this question, which is of vital importance to mankind.

The purpose and the text of the present draft resolution are in line with the letter and spirit of the Final Document of the first special session devoted to disarmament. The sponsors of the draft therefore hope that all countries will give it their support.

Mr. CHANANA (India): On behalf of the delegations of Algeria, Argentina, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Cyprus, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guyana, Indonesia, India, Jamaica, Madagascar, Mali, Nigeria, Romania, Yugoslavia and Zambia, I have the honour to introduce the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/37/L.4/Rev.1, entitled "Convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons". As early as 1961, the General Assembly had declared, in its resolution 1653 (XVI), that the use of nuclear weapons would be a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and a crime against humanity. That declaration has been subsequently reaffirmed in several resolutions of the General Assembly. At the thirty-sixth session, resolution 36/92 I of 9 December 1981 entitled "Non-use of Nuclear Weapons and Prevention of Nuclear War", which had been sponsored by as many as 30 delegations, was adopted by the General Assembly by 121 votes in favour, 19 against and 6 abstentions.

An important feature of the voting pattern last year was the affirmative vote cast on the resolution by two nuclear weapons States, China and the Soviet Union. China, it would be recalled, had also voted in favour of the initiative at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Encouraged by the overwhelming majority with which resolution 36/92 I had been adopted at the thirty-sixth session and the support extended to the idea of a total prohibition

(Mr. Chanana, India)

on the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons by China and the Soviet Union. India had submitted to the second special session on disarmament the text of a possible draft convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. It had been our earnest hope that in view of the unprecedented surge of public anxiety all over the world over the increasing danger of the outbreak of a catastrophic nuclear war and the rising tide of popular opposition to nuclear weapons, the special session would adopt concrete measures for the prevention of nuclear war and for nuclear disarmament. The draft convention was put forward by India as a possible urgent measure for the prevention of nuclear war. Precisely because of the urgency of the matter, it was our hope that the draft convention would be adopted by the General Assembly at the second special session on disarmament itself, after being discussed and given due consideration. However, that did not prove to be possible for reasons that are well known. The proposal was transmitted to the current session of the General Assembly for consideration and necessary action, and appeared in its original form as document A/C.1/37/L.4 of 19 October 1982.

(Mr. Chanana, India)

Since the commencement of the current session of the General Assembly, my delegation has been in close touch with several non-aligned and other delegations including several of the sponsors of earlier resolutions on the non-use of nuclear weapons and prevention of nuclear war with a view to determining how best we could proceed to make progress on this question. It was felt, for example, that the draft resolution to which the text of the draft convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons would be attached should be mainly procedural in character and open up practical opportunities for concrete negotiations on an international agreement on the item. For this reason, the sole operative paragraph in A/C.1/37/L.4 has been dropped and instead we have a formulation that would request the Committee on Disarmament:

"...to undertake, on a priority basis, negotiations with a view to achieving agreement on an international convention prohibiting the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons under any circumstances, taking as a basis the text of the annexed draft convention"

I should like to clarify that the draft convention annexed to draft resolution A/C.1/37/L.4/Rev.1, while serving as a basis for negotiations, does not, and is not intended to, preclude consideration in the Committee on Disarmament of any other proposals or initiatives designed to achieve the same objective.

The second and last operative paragraph in the draft resolution is new, but it is self-explanatory.

As compared to A/C.1/37/L.4, the revised draft that I have introduced today differs in one further aspect. A new preambular paragraph has been added whose intention is to make it abundantly clear that the prohibition of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons is not an end in itself, but rather a step towards total nuclear disarmament and ultimately general and complete disarmament. Thus, the new paragraph in the preamble reads:

"Further convinced that a prohibition on the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons would be a step towards the complete elimination of nuclear weapons leading to general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control".

(Mr. Chanana, India)

In introducing this revised version of A/C.1/37/L.4 on behalf of its sponsors, I should like to recall to this Committee what the Final Document of the first special session on disarmament (A/RES/S-10/2) stated four years ago. In its opening paragraph, the Final Document stated:

"Alarmed by the threat to the very survival of mankind posed by the existence of nuclear weapons and the continuing arms race, and recalling the devastation inflicted by all wars"

Again, in paragraph 11, the Final Document drew attention to the "unprecedented threat of self-extinction arising from the massive and competitive accumulation of the most destructive weapons ever produced"

"Existing arsenals of nuclear weapons alone are more than sufficient to destroy all life on earth." In paragraph 18, the Final Document stated categorically: "Removing the threat of a world war - a nuclear war - is the most acute and urgent task of the present day. In the following paragraph it was stated that: "The principal goals of disarmament are to ensure the survival of mankind and to eliminate the danger of war, in particular nuclear war." (ibid.)

These quotations from a consensus document that was reaffirmed by all Member States at the second special session on disarmament just a few months ago make it very clear that the first and foremost task of the present time is to ensure the survival of mankind, which is threatened by the possibility of the outbreak of nuclear war. This is not the perception just of the sponsors of the draft I have introduced. This is the common assessment of the international community.

What measures do we need to adopt in order to ensure the survival of mankind and prevent the outbreak of nuclear war? Here again, the Final Document has clearly indicated the path which the international community must take. In paragraph 20, it was stated that "effective measures of nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war have the highest priority". It also states that:

"...other measures designed to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war and to lessen the danger of the threat or use of nuclear weapons should be taken."

(Mr. Chanana, India)

All that the sponsors are suggesting is that in line with the approach adopted by the Final Document, we must consider effective measures for the prevention of nuclear war, along with nuclear disarmament, as matters of the highest priority. We further suggest that we should consider measures designed to prevent nuclear war and to lessen the danger of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. The draft convention attached to A/C.1/37/L.4/Rev.1 is one such measure. We are willing to consider others. It is, however, necessary that the sole multilateral negotiating body in the field of disarmament be enabled to undertake negotiations with a view to the prohibition of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. Since the survival of mankind is involved, all States have a vital interest in this matter and therefore multilateral negotiations of an agreement on the item would be both appropriate and indispensable.

It is our earnest hope that the cause of our collective survival, which is the sole motivation behind this draft resolution, will enable all Member States to support this modest initiative.

The meeting rose at 12 noon