

CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT

CCD/PV.772
16 February 1978

ENGLISH

FINAL RECORD OF THE SEVEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY SECOND MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Thursday, 16 February 1978, at 10.50 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. BINTU'A-TSHIABOLA (Zaire)

PRESENT AT THE TABLE

<u>Argentina:</u>	Mr. F.J. DÁVILA
<u>Brazil:</u>	Mr. G.R.B. ARROIO
<u>Bulgaria:</u>	Mr. P. VOUTOV Mr. G. GAVRILOV Mr. I. SOTIROV
<u>Burma:</u>	U THAUNG HTUN
<u>Canada:</u>	Mr. J.T. SIMARD
<u>Czechoslovakia:</u>	Mr. M. RUZEK Mr. J. JIRUSEK Mr. V. ROHAL-ILKIV
<u>Egypt:</u>	
<u>Ethiopia:</u>	Mr. T. TERREFE
<u>German Democratic Republic:</u>	Mr. G. HERDER Mr. M. GRACZYNSKI Mr. M. RAKAU
<u>Germany, Federal Republic of:</u>	Mr. G. PFEIFFER Mr. K. HANNESSCHLÄGER
<u>Hungary:</u>	Mr. M. DOMOKOS Mr. I. KÖRMENDY Mr. A. LAKATOS
<u>India:</u>	Mr. S.T. DEVARE
<u>Iran:</u>	Mr. H. AMERI Mr. D. CHILATY
<u>Italy:</u>	Mr. N. DI BERNARDO Mr. C. FRATESCHI

<u>Japan:</u>	Mr. T. SAWAI Mr. Y. NAKAMURA
<u>Mexico:</u>	Mr. M. MARÍN
<u>Mongolia:</u>	Mr. D. ERDEMBILEG Mr. L. BAYART
<u>Morocco:</u>	Mr. ALI SKALLI
<u>Netherlands:</u>	Mr. A.J. MEERBURG
<u>Nigeria:</u>	Mr. S.T. ADAMU
<u>Pakistan:</u>	Mr. K. SALEEM
<u>Peru:</u>	Mr. J. AURICH-MONTERO
<u>Poland:</u>	Mr. A. OLSZOWKA Mr. H. PAC Mr. M. KRUCZYK
<u>Romania:</u>	Mr. C. ENE Mr. V. TUDOR Mr. O. IONESCU Mr. G. TINCA
<u>Sweden:</u>	Mr. S. ERICSSON
<u>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:</u>	Mr. V.I. LIKHATCHEV Mr. B.P. KRASSULIN Mr. N.V. PESTEREV Mr. P.F. SHAKHOV Mr. G.A. SHEVCHENKO
<u>United Kingdom:</u>	Mr. J.G. TAYLOR Mr. C.L.G. MALLABY

United States of America:

Mr. A.S. FISHER
Mr. A. TURRENTINE
Mr. A. AKALOVSKY
Mr. R.N. FRITZEL
Mrs. B. KILLIAN
Mr. J. SHERRY
Miss B. MURRAY

Yugoslavia:

Mr. M. LALOVIĆ
Mr. D. DJOKIĆ

Zaire:

Mr. BINTU'A-TSHIABOLA
Mr. MULONGANDUSU ESUK

Special Representative of the
Secretary-General:

Mr. Risto HYVÄRINEN

Alternate Representative of the
Secretary-General:

Ms. A. SEGARRA

Communiqué of the meeting

The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament today held its 772nd plenary meeting at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of H.E. Ambassador Bintu'a-Tshiabola, representative of the Republic of Zaire.

The representative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria (H.E. Ambassador Petar Voutov) underlined the importance of the current session of the Committee in the light of the growing world interest in disarmament. Important national and international forums, such as the parliaments of many countries, the 64th Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, the Belgrade meeting and numerous non-governmental organizations, had discussed the alarming arms race and had issued appeals for disarmament. The relaxation of tension had become a dominating tendency in the world, but political detente should be supplemented by appropriate measures in the military sphere. The responsibility that rested with CCD in that respect was great, as were the hopes pinned on that unique organ of disarmament by world public opinion.

The representative of Bulgaria, emphasizing the Committee's major achievements in its sixteen years of work, stated that his delegation considered as prejudiced and unfounded some negative assessments of the performance of the CCD. In that connexion, he expressed the view that the attention of the Committee should be focussed, not on unsubstantial matters but on the most pressing problems of disarmament -- the nuclear weapon test ban, the prohibition of chemical and radiological weapons, as well as the full demilitarization of the sea-bed.

The Bulgarian representative noted the importance of the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly, which might contribute to the activation of disarmament efforts.

Ambassador Voutov expressed satisfaction with progress in the tripartite negotiations on the CTB, as well as with the prospects for a joint Soviet-United States draft on the prohibition of chemical weapons.

He conveyed the unequivocal support of the Bulgarian Government for the initiatives of the Soviet Union on the cessation of production of nuclear weapons and the complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, presented by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and expressed the hope that those initiatives would clear the way to the conclusion of the respective agreements.

The Bulgarian representative quoted an excerpt from a letter from the President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, to the Youth and Students Conference for Disarmament: "... now in a period of peace, the arms race duplicates in certain ways the disasters of war".

The attention of the CCD was drawn to the dangerous plans for starting production of a new weapon of mass destruction -- the neutron bomb. The Bulgarian representative said that these plans, if carried out, would have grave psychological, political, economic and military consequences.

At the end of his statement, Ambassador Voutov supported the idea that the CCD should elaborate a comprehensive programme for disarmament to be adopted at a future world disarmament conference.

The Committee adopted its schedule of meetings for the spring session.

On behalf of the group of non-aligned countries members of the CCD, namely, Argentina, Burma, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Peru, Zaire and Yugoslavia, the representative of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, H.E. Ambassador Miloš^V Lalović, introduced a document which the non-aligned countries had submitted in New York to the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to Disarmament. The document was entitled: "Non-Aligned Working Document Containing the Draft Declaration, Programme of Action and Machinery for Implementation (A/AC.187/55/Add.1)" (CCD/550).

The next plenary meeting of the Conference will be held on Tuesday, 21 February 1978, at 10.30 a.m.

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The CHAIRMAN: I declare open the 772nd plenary meeting of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

I have two speakers inscribed on my list for today's meeting, the representatives of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.

Before we proceed to hear the speakers, I wish to refer to the document which was discussed at the preceding informal meeting, entitled: "Co-chairmen's proposal after consultations with delegations on the schedule of the CCD meetings for the 1978 spring session". I understand that there is a consensus on this document and therefore, if there are no objections, I shall declare the document adopted. As there are no objections, it is so decided.

I now have pleasure in giving the floor to the distinguished representative of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Ambassador Milos Lalović.

Mr. LALOVIĆ (Yugoslavia): As the Committee members no doubt already know, the non-aligned countries submitted to the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament, on 24 January 1978, in New York, a working document containing the draft declaration, programme of action and machinery for implementation.

It is not my intention to introduce this document in the Committee in the full sense of the word, or to embark on a detailed consideration of some of the substantive questions contained in it. This was already done recently in New York, when this document was officially presented to the Preparatory Committee. What I would like to do, above all, is stress that the group of non-aligned countries members of the Committee, namely Argentina, Burma, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Peru, Zaire and Yugoslavia, felt that it would be useful for this document to be circulated for information purposes as a working document of the CCD. We are certain that this important document, setting forth the positions and concrete proposals of the non-aligned countries regarding the contents of the basic document to be adopted by the special session, is deserving of the full attention of all Committee members.

Mr. VOUTOV (Bulgaria): First of all I would like to express my most cordial thanks for the warm regards that have been addressed to my predecessor, Ambassador Raiko Nicolov, as well as for the greetings addressed to me on my return to the CCD after an absence of several years.

I for my part wish to express my satisfaction that I will have the opportunity to work together with all of you -- distinguished representatives of 30 countries -- in the search for solutions to some of the most vital problems of

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humanity, the problems of disarmament. I feel honoured to work together with the distinguished diplomat of the fraternal Soviet Union, Ambassador Victor Ivanovitch Likhatchev, whose energy and competence we all appreciate, with the honourable representative of the United States, Ambassador Fisher, a well-known diplomat who has participated in quite a number of international negotiations, and with all the representatives in this Committee.

I would like to welcome particularly the new heads of delegations, who are joining the CCD now: Ambassador Terrefe, of Ethiopia; Ambassador Pfeiffer, of the Federal Republic of Germany; Ambassador Fein, of the Netherlands; Ambassador Adeniji, of Nigeria; and the representative of Burma, U Tha Tun. I avail myself of this opportunity to pay my respects to the special representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Hyvärinen, as well as to Ms. Segarra, the Alternate Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

Each session of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has its place in international life. But I would like to underline that this session has a special meaning due to the importance and the urgency of the problems that face the CCD today in the light of the growing world interest in the problems of disarmament in general. This is expressed in the ever more demanding appeals of different international forums and political organizations, and by the parliaments of a number of countries. The 64th Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, which was held in Sofia last September, discussed all the aspects of disarmament and adopted relevant resolutions. The problems of disarmament have been given due attention at the Belgrade meeting to review the realization of the Helsinki decisions on security and co-operation in Europe. In all corners of the globe, prominent political and public leaders are convening a growing number of conferences on a national and regional level to discuss the alarmingly spiralling arms race and to manifest their opposition against the intention to produce and deploy the new types of weapons of mass destruction, the neutron bomb being the ill-fated symbol of this notorious trend. As we know, an international conference of this kind will take place here in Geneva at the end of this month—that of the non-governmental organizations for disarmament.

All these international events and initiatives, being arranged on a wider geographical basis with every passing year, are an indicator that awareness of the dangers of the arms race is reaching ever-widening circles of people across the world. All this is proof that the all-round efforts to achieve international understanding and co-operation are bearing fruit, that the relaxation of tension is being consolidated as a dominating tendency in the present-day world.

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But if international détente, achieved at the expense of such an amount of effort and energy, is not supplemented by corresponding measures in the military sphere, the nations will not enjoy its entire effect. This shows how great is the responsibility that rests with the CCD in this field, what kind of hopes are pinned on it, what positive role it plays and could play in the fate of nations as a unique international forum and organ of disarmament.

When summing up the evaluation of the CCD performance, the world public is taking into consideration the achievements of the Committee during its 16 years of existence. I have no intention to go through them in detail. I just want to note that these achievements, though imperfect, are of definite significance and are laying the ground for new treaties and agreements in the field of disarmament. Suffice it to mention, what is well-known, that since 1962, due to the efforts of the CCD, five major international treaties and conventions have been worked out and consequently adhered to by the majority of States in the world.

Now, as we understand from the statements of the distinguished representatives of the USSR and the United States, on the eve of the current session they have entered into new rounds of their negotiations on CTBT and CW, and on the radiological weapons. We have to express our expectations that in the very near future the Committee will be able to start the elaboration of the respective draft treaties.

Having in mind all this, as well as the history of the creation and activities of the CCD, it is difficult to avoid expressing a certain amazement at the prejudiced and unfounded negative assessment of the work of the CCD and evaluations of the Committee itself, whatever the source they are coming from. Some propose a "thorough reorganization" of the Committee, others are not hiding their intentions even to abolish the CCD.

It is neither useful, nor justified by any viewpoint whatever to seek formal, procedural and even symbolic pretexts and to use them as arguments for undermining this valuable and necessary body for disarmament -- the CCD! We consider unconvincing and ill-founded the allegations that the CCD is lacking democratic spirit because of the institution of the co-chairmanship, that this institution prevents a full representation of the Committee, due to which, allegedly, certain countries which should participate in the CCD refuse to join it, that the procedure of the Committee should be changed, going as far as denying the co-chairmen the right to chair meetings of the CCD, and so on.

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All these assumptions are not resting on sound grounds. There has not been a single occasion until now of any kind of high-handedness by the co-chairmen. None of us has registered or felt such a tendency. We all feel equals here and work with equal rights and on an equal footing. All delegations chair meetings of the CCD in alphabetical order. The co-chairmen have this right and obligation too. At any meeting each delegation can make any statement or submit a proposal, present documents for discussion, propose amendments or oppose something and even refuse to accept a decision that all the rest of the member States of the CCD are inclined to take. In short, a real consensus-based approach is strictly observed. The procedure of the Committee has been established and reaffirmed unanimously. Its efficiency has been amply demonstrated.

The opinion of our delegation is that justice requires us to underline the contribution of the two States co-chairmen of the CCD to the Committee's positive results. We owe them gratitude for their strenuous work both in the CCD and outside it. Their common efforts contribute substantially to the preparatory work of the CCD. Those who would disagree on this point of view had better ask themselves what would have been the results of the CCD without the active bilateral work of the delegations of the Soviet Union and the United States.

The Bulgarian delegation, taking into consideration all that I have just stated, believes that the whole attention of the current session of our Committee should be concentrated mainly on the most pressing problems of disarmament, namely on the progress of the CTBT and CW negotiations, as well as on discussion of the specific proposals put forward by the Soviet Union relating to the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons, on the nuclear-weapons test ban, and the mutual denunciation of the production of the neutron bomb, the prohibition of radiological weapons and the full demilitarization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof.

These, according to my delegation, are the main tasks which must focus the entire attention of the CCD, instead of its being diverted to other, non-substantial, subjects.

The special session of the General Assembly on disarmament will take place in a few months' time. This is an important international event, and the People's Republic of Bulgaria will take an active part in it. But we do not think it is correct to link up the work of the current session of the CCD with the special session -- as far as timing, the programme or the pace of our deliberations are concerned. It is obvious that the CCD is facing quite concrete problems. On some

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of them we have covered a long way, on others we are gearing up for a fruitful discussion. The Committee is supposed to elaborate thoroughly prepared treaties, which should be acceptable to the whole world, so that such treaties can remain valid and applicable for decades. These considerations should guide the CCD in the execution of its programme of action, and not the idea of speeding it up at any price under the pressure of other international forums or outside initiatives.

In this statement, I shall defer presenting the views of my delegation on the particular items on the CCD agenda. We will contribute our ideas and proposals to the discussion when the Committee gets down to examining those questions. However, I would like to take a minute or so to touch on some of the urgent problems of disarmament.

Before I do this, I could not fail to express our satisfaction with the information that has been made available to us by our co-chairmen, concerning their bilateral consultations on the prohibition of chemical weapons. We have come to know that "these negotiations are being conducted very intensively and certain progress has been achieved in them" (CCD/PV.767, p.22), and that on a number of specific questions there was a considerable degree of agreement and some mutually acceptable formulations had been arrived at. We congratulate the two delegations and wish them to reach agreement as soon as possible on the remaining important points of their joint draft, which the CCD will take as a basis for a final elaboration of the treaty on the prohibition of chemical weapons, acceptable to all parties.

We welcome also the information that some progress has been made in the negotiations on the CTB.

Our delegation would like to bring to the attention of the CCD that the Bulgarian people have joined in the interest, widely generated in the whole world, in the declarations of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid Brezhnev, on the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests.

There is no doubt that these constructive proposals of the Soviet Union, coming at a moment when we all desire to reach new results soon, are creating a real possibility for conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty.

However, despite the efforts at the current negotiations, despite the numerous peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, there is no slowing down of the arms race.

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On the contrary, on the insistence of some well-known and still influential circles, the arms race is being escalated. This tendency is manifested in the steadily inflated budgets of certain States. Military research and development is in full swing, new types of arms appear every other day.

The menace of this senseless arms race has been vividly expressed by the First Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, in his letter to the European Youth and Students Conference on Disarmament in Budapest only last January. I quote: "There has never been and there could never be a more terrible drama in the life of humanity than war. The most vital and sacred interests of the peoples demand, and this is proclaimed in the United Nations Charter, that the present and succeeding generations are saved from the scourge of death and destruction of war. It would not be highly exaggerated if one maintained that now, in a period of peace, the arms race duplicates in a certain way the disasters of war. The experts have calculated that in the fire of this race more than 300 billion United States dollars are being burnt for nothing, burnt without any real use."

In some other statements, Todor Zhivkov expressed the nation-wide indignation in Bulgaria at the plans to start the production of a neutron bomb. The Bulgarian National Assembly has adopted a declaration-appeal to the parliaments of all countries on the prohibition of this insidious weapon. Our people, as all other peoples in the world, is asking: Why is it necessary to start the production of a new weapon even more destructive for human beings? Isn't it obvious that such a move would mean a new round in the arms race? Isn't it a new proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction, both horizontally and vertically, entailing grave destabilizing psychological, political and military consequences in the world? Why is it necessary to develop and deploy such new weapons, when unfortunately the world has accumulated enough quantities of nuclear weapons to destroy itself many times over?

The proponents of the neutron bomb are not even trying to conceal their intentions to deploy it against the Soviet Union and the other socialist and friendly countries. But one must remember that boomerangs turn back against those who are throwing them. In this connexion, the clear and categorical statement of Leonid Brezhnev, that the Soviet Union will not remain a passive observer and will be compelled to respond to the challenge and to ensure the security of the Soviet people, of its allies and friends, is fully justified.

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The indignation of the peoples in the countries of the socialist community is provoked mainly by the cynicism of the inspirers of the creation of the neutron bomb, who are claiming that it destroys only living organisms, while causing limited material damage. More important to them than man is their business, their capital, the material assets. In the socialist countries, all efforts are aimed at permanently improving the whole life of the individual, both material and cultural, without any discrimination.

The Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community are the most peace-loving countries in the world. From the beginning of their march along the road to socialism they have been relentless champions of peace, struggling for the peaceful co-existence of all nations and peoples, irrespective of their political or socio-economic systems. Are not those more than 100 proposals that the Soviet Union has made to stop the arms race a sufficient illustration of a peaceful foreign policy?

In conclusion, I would like to re-emphasize that the focus of attention of the current session of the CCD should be concentrated on the most pressing problems of disarmament, while setting the priorities correctly. At the same time, we should devote efforts to the elaboration of a comprehensive programme for disarmament, to be adopted at the future world disarmament conference.

I would like to assure all of you that the Bulgarian delegation will continue to contribute to the activities of the CCD on all issues that are brought up for discussion with a view to finding a solution in this Committee.

The meeting rose at 11.25 a.m.