

CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT

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ENGLISH

FINAL RECORD OF THE SEVEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-THIRD MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Tuesday, 21 February 1978, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman:

Mr. F. Jimenez Dávila

(Argentina)

PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Argentina: Mr. F.J. DÁVILA

Brazil: Mr. I. MASTROGIOVANNI

Bulgaria: Mr. P. VOUTOV
Mr. G. GAVRILOV
Mr. I. SOTIROV

Burma: U. THA TUN
U. THAUNG HTUN

Canada: Mr. J.T. SIMARD

Czechoslovakia: Mr. M. RŮŽEK
Mr. J. JIRŮŠEK
Mr. V. ROHAL-ILKIV

Egypt: Mr. T. DINANA

Ethiopia: Mr. T. TERREFE

German Democratic Republic: Mr. G. HERDER
Mr. M. GRACZYNSKI
Mr. M. RAKAU

Germany, Federal Republic of: Mr. G. PFEIFFER
Mr. K. HANNESSCHLÄGER

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

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

Iran: Mr. M. FARTASH
Mr. H. AMERI
Mr. D. CHILATY

Italy: Mr. N. DI BERNARDO
Mr. C. FRATESCHI

Japan: Mr. T. SAWAI
Mr. Y. NAKAMURA

Mexico: Mr. M. MARÍN

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

Morocco: Mr. ALI SKALLI

Netherlands: Mr. A.J. MEERBURG

Nigeria: Mr. S.T. ADAMU

Pakistan: Mr. M. YUNUS
Mr. K. SALEEM

Peru: Mr. J. AURICH-MONTERO

Poland: Mr. H. PAĆ
Mr. M. KRUCZYK

Romania: Mr. C. ENE
Mr. V. TUDOR
Mr. O. IONESCU

Sweden: Mr. G. HAMILTON
Mr. L. NORBERG

Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics: Mr. V.I. LIKHATCHEV
Mr. N.V. PESTEREV
Mr. P.F. SHAKHOV
Mr. G.A. SHEVCHENKO
Mr. L.A. NAOUMOV
Mr. A.I. TIOURENKOV

United Kingdom: Mr. J.G. TAYLOR
 Mr. C.K. CURWEN

United States of America: Mr. A.S. FISHER
 Mr. A.R. TURRENTINE
 Mr. A. AKALOVSKY
 Mr. R.N. FRITZEL
 Mrs. B. KILLIAN
 Miss B. MURRAY

Yugoslavia: Mr. D. DJOKIĆ

Zaire: Mr. Lukabu K'HABOUJI

Special Representative of the Secretary-General: Mr. Risto HYVÄRINEN

Alternate Representative of the Secretary-General: Ms. A. SEGARRA

CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT

The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament today held its 773rd plenary meeting at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of Mr. F. Jimenez Dávila, representative of Argentina.

The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (H.E. Ambassador V.I. Likhatchev) made a statement on the question of the comprehensive programme of disarmament, in which he recalled that in February 1977 the USSR had submitted to the Committee for its consideration the memorandum of the Soviet Union on questions ending the arms race and of disarmament (CCD/522), and had proposed that it should be used as one of the basic documents for the preparation of the comprehensive programme of disarmament.

The representative of the USSR noted the efforts being made by the socialist countries members of the Committee to contribute further to the preparation of that programme, and submitted to the Committee on Disarmament for its consideration a working paper on the comprehensive programme of disarmament (CCD/552), which had been co-sponsored by the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In submitting that document to the Committee on Disarmament for consideration, he pointed out that it consisted of three sections, devoted respectively to: 1. Fundamental purposes and principles which should serve as guidance in disarmament matters; 2. Specific disarmament measures in all possible areas; 3. Machinery for disarmament negotiations.

In commenting on the various sections of the document, Ambassador Likhatchev stressed that the principal and ultimate objective of States in the field of disarmament was general and complete disarmament under strict international control. The relaxation of international tension at the political level should be accompanied and strengthened by military détente. Concrete partial measures aimed at limiting the arms race, reducing armaments and achieving disarmament had an important role to play as stages on the road to general and complete disarmament.

The USSR representative emphasized that measures to curb the arms race and bring about disarmament should be based inter alia on certain important principles such as the principle of not impairing the interests of any of the parties to agreements; the abandonment of attempts to obtain unilateral advantages; the universal affirmation and development of the principle of the non-use of force in international relations; participation in negotiations -- and in the agreements elaborated -- by as many States as possible, and in particular by the nuclear Powers and States possessing the most powerful weapons and armed forces, as well as other principles.

Referring to concrete disarmament measures within the framework of the programme, Ambassador V.I. Likhatchev recalled recent proposals made by the Soviet Union in the field of nuclear disarmament, and emphasized the need for the simultaneous cessation of the production by all States of nuclear weapons -- of any such weapons, whether atomic, hydrogen or neutron bombs or missiles. At the same time, the nuclear Powers could undertake to start the gradual reduction of existing stockpiles of such weapons and move towards their complete, total destruction. He also listed the specific measures that should be included in a comprehensive programme in respect of other types of weapons of mass destruction, conventional weapons, and regional disarmament, and also touched upon the question of the machinery for disarmament negotiations.

The representative of the USSR expressed the hope that the working paper submitted on the comprehensive programme of disarmament, as well as the Soviet Union's memorandum on questions of ending the arms race and of disarmament, would be used, together with other proposals, as the basis for the preparation of a comprehensive programme of disarmament.

The representative of the Mongolian People's Republic, Ambassador D. Erdembileg, devoted his statement mainly to the question of halting the nuclear arms race and achieving nuclear disarmament.

After stating that the agreement between the USSR and the United States of America on the prevention of nuclear war was important from the standpoint of forestalling the emergence of a risk of nuclear conflict, the representative of Mongolia observed that the conclusion of a similar agreement between the other nuclear Powers would be in the general interests of the consolidation of peace and international security.

Ambassador Erdembileg stressed that, in the whole matter of nuclear disarmament, the main requirement was still the indispensable participation of all nuclear-weapon States. He went on to say that a constructive contribution to that cause would be made if States that were powerful in the military and economic sense were also to assume an undertaking, either unilaterally or bilaterally, to help in averting the threat of nuclear war.

Attaching great importance to the new Soviet proposals for an agreement on the simultaneous cessation by all States of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, and for the adoption of measures to reduce existing stockpiles of such weapons and move towards their complete destruction, he expressed the hope that other nuclear Powers and States with a large military potential would respond favourably to that call, so that the threat of nuclear war could be eliminated by a collective effort.

He also pointed out that the Mongolian People's Republic, like the other socialist countries, had from the very outset advocated the general and complete cessation of nuclear-weapon tests, since it believed that that was the only approach which would make it possible to put an end to the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons and to prevent the emergence of new types of such weapons.

In that connexion, the Ambassador of Mongolia drew attention to the importance of adopting a timely decision on the practical implementation of the new proposals by the Soviet Union for the mutual renunciation of the production of the neutron bomb and the declaration of a moratorium on nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

Ambassador Erdembileg said that Mongolia had attached and continued to attach the greatest importance to the strengthening of the régime for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, to the successful conclusion as soon as possible of the talks on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons, and to the reaching of agreement on the renunciation of the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction.

He also observed that measures which contributed to the limitation of the arms race included efforts to establish nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace in various regions of the world and to reach agreement on the complete demilitarization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor. He referred, too, to the need

for a positive solution, as soon as possible, of the question of the elimination of chemical weapons of mass destruction from the arsenals of States, which would represent a genuine step towards disarmament.

The representative of the Mongolian People's Republic stated that the special session of the United Nations General Assembly could fulfil its function successfully only if all States, large and small, displayed the necessary political will and the determination to contribute to negotiations on disarmament and to the achievement of positive results in that vitally important field. It would then become a broad international forum capable of promoting concrete discussion both of fundamental principles and objectives and of the main areas for priority efforts by States with regard to the halting of the arms race and to disarmament. From that point of view, the special session might be of value also with respect to the preparations for the convening of the most comprehensive and authoritative international forum -- a world disarmament conference.

He also remarked that, with its solid working experience, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament -- an independent, multilateral negotiating body -- would contribute to the constructive efforts of other forums dealing with the many urgent problems of disarmament.

With regard to a question which was now frequently being raised in the Committee with the clear aim of achieving a fundamental reorganization of its structure, Ambassador Erdembileg stated that that was a matter which should be approached with all due seriousness and taking political realities fully into account. Review of the institution of the co-chairmanship of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament touched directly upon the fundamental principles on which the activities of that authoritative and viable organ were based.

The "Schedule of CCD Meetings for Spring Session" (CCD/551) was circulated.

The delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics introduced a "Working paper on the comprehensive programme of disarmament" (CCD/552), which was co-sponsored by the delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic and the Polish People's Republic.

The next plenary meeting of the Conference will be held on Thursday, 23 February 1978, at 10.30 a.m.

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Mr. LIKHATCHEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Pursuant to the resolution of the thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly (32/80), the Committee on Disarmament at this spring session is continuing work on the question of elaborating a comprehensive programme of disarmament. Both in plenary and at its informal meetings the Committee will have to examine questions of the better organization of its future work and to continue the examination of the substance of the problem. In the near future the Committee will establish an ad hoc working group and define its mandate, so that the examination of the problem will enter a new phase, the phase of detailed elaboration of the comprehensive programme of disarmament.

In the course of recent years, particularly in 1977, the Committee devoted a great deal of attention to the solution of this problem. Distinguished representatives will probably recall that, in the course of the spring and summer sessions, approaches were made to the examination of the substance of the problem, and a number of delegations submitted working papers and proposals on the comprehensive programme of disarmament.

Realizing the importance of this task, the Soviet delegation in February 1977 submitted to the Committee for its consideration the Memorandum of the Soviet Union on questions of ending the arms race and disarmament (CCD/522), and suggested that it should be used as one of the basic documents in the preparation of the comprehensive programme of disarmament.

This proposal is justified by the fact that the Memorandum is a major complex document containing a detailed programme of disarmament measures which are the most topical now and for the future. The Memorandum contains specific suggestions by the Soviet Union on the areas in which efforts to control the arms race should first be concentrated, on how, from a practical standpoint, the most important problems in the field of disarmament could be solved or begin to be solved, and what should be done for this purpose having regard to the objective of general and complete disarmament.

(Mr. Likhatchev, USSR)

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries members of the Committee on Disarmament, considering the task of ending the arms race and of disarmament to be one of the most important and urgent in the world today, are not only taking new initiatives in this field and engaging in specific negotiations, but also attach great attention to the question of elaborating the comprehensive programme of disarmament.

Seeking to make another contribution to the preparation of such a programme, seven socialist countries are today submitting to the Committee for consideration a working paper on the comprehensive programme of disarmament (CCD/552). This document is co-sponsored by the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

This document is based on the proposals presented by these countries in September 1977 to the Preparatory Committee for the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament as well as on the proposals, particularly in the field of nuclear disarmament, which have been submitted during the past three or four months.

It seems that, at this stage of our work, there is no need to dwell in detail on the provisions of this programme and on its justification. This will be done in the near future, and will be the subject of our negotiations in the ad hoc working group. Nevertheless, we would like to present some clarifications of this document.

The sponsors of the working paper proceed from the premise that the comprehensive programme of disarmament should, firstly, define the fundamental purposes and principles which must serve as the guidelines in disarmament matters and this is precisely what is done in the first section of the working paper; secondly, it should provide for specific disarmament measures in all possible areas -- as described in the second section of the document; and finally, the programme should obviously contain basic provisions dealing with forms of and machinery for negotiations -- and these are set out in the third section of the working paper.

(Mr. Likhatchev, USSR)

The gist of each of the sections is as follows.

Fundamental purposes and principles:

The principal and ultimate objective of the efforts of States in the field of disarmament is general and complete disarmament under strict international control;

The political relaxation of international tension should be accompanied and strengthened by military détente;

Specific partial measures aimed at limiting the arms race, reducing armaments and achieving disarmament are to play an important role as stages on the road to general and complete disarmament and the establishment of a stable peace;

Measures to curb the arms race and bring about disarmament should be based on the principle of not impairing the interests of any of the parties to an agreement and on the abandonment of attempts to obtain unilateral advantages;

The universal affirmation and development of the principle of the non-use of force in international relations are extremely important in terms of ensuring favourable conditions for curbing the arms race;

In order to prevent the continuation of the arms race it is essential to put an end to qualitative improvements of weapons, especially weapons of mass destruction, and to the development of new means of warfare;

It is of the utmost importance that negotiations and agreements should involve the largest possible number of States, particularly the nuclear Powers, and States which possess the most powerful weapons and armed forces;

Agreements in the field of disarmament must provide for effective verification of disarmament measures, with the scope and nature of such verification depending on the scope, nature and characteristics of the specific measures provided for in the agreements; and

(Mr. Likhatchev, USSR)

The resources released as a result of the implementation of disarmament measures should be used in a manner which will promote the well-being of peoples, the solution of world-wide problems faced by mankind, and the economic and social progress of the developing States.

The second section of the paper -- Basic provisions:

We believe that, in accordance with the above purposes and principles, it is essential to seek appropriate international agreements in the following principal areas:

Cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament. It is necessary to reach agreement on a simultaneous halt in the production of nuclear weapons by all States; this would apply to all such weapons -- whether atomic, hydrogen or neutron bombs or projectiles. At the same time, the nuclear Powers could undertake to make a start on the gradual reduction of existing stockpiles of such weapons, and move towards their complete, total destruction;

Measures to avert the danger of nuclear war;

Complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests;

Consolidation in every possible way of the régime of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons;

Prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and destruction of stocks of such weapons;

Prohibition of the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction;

Establishment of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace;

Limitation and reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons;

Reduction of military budgets;

Complete demilitarization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor; and

Regional measures for military détente and disarmament.

(Mr. Likhatchev, USSR)

The third section of the paper -- Machinery for disarmament negotiations:

We proceed from the premise that all channels for the conduct of negotiations should be effectively used for the purpose of solving problems connected with the ending of the arms race and achieving disarmament. The existing system of negotiations -- multilateral, bilateral and regional -- is, as a whole, suited to the scope and nature of the varied problems of disarmament. The existing types of negotiations should continue to be used.

A breakthrough in solving the problem of disarmament requires that it should be considered in the broadest and most authoritative international forum -- a World Disarmament Conference.

The United Nations General Assembly special session on disarmament should become an important international forum for a broad discussion of approaches of principle to the solution of disarmament questions as well as of main areas in which priority efforts should be made by States in this sphere.

Such, in brief, is the content of the working paper on the comprehensive programme of disarmament submitted by the seven socialist countries. We hope that this working paper, as well as the Memorandum of the Soviet Union on questions of ending the arms race and disarmament, will be used, together with other proposals, as the basis for the elaboration of the comprehensive programme of disarmament.

Mr. ERDEMBILEG (Mongolian People's Republic) (translated from Russian):
Since I am speaking for the first time at this spring session of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, I should like on behalf of the Mongolian delegation sincerely to welcome our new colleagues -- the heads of the delegations of Bulgaria, Burma, Ethiopia, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands and Nigeria. We ask them to convey our feelings of respect and gratitude and our heartfelt good wishes to their predecessors who have left the Committee to assume new functions. My delegation is ready to maintain business-like contacts and to co-operate closely with the new representatives of these States in the Committee.

(Mr. Erdembileg, Mongolian People's Republic)

The Mongolian delegation would also like sincerely to welcome the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Risto Hyvärinen, and the Alternate Representative, Ms. A. Segarra.

At this stage in the work of the present session of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, the Mongolian delegation would like to make some comments on one of the key questions, that of the cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament.

The world community is today calling with increasing insistence for a substantial reduction in and the complete elimination of the threat of nuclear war, which constitutes the greatest danger for the world and for the progress of all mankind.

Thanks to the consistent efforts of the socialist countries and all peace-loving States, important measures promoting a general improvement in the international political climate have been resolutely taken in recent years. The process of disarmament is being deepened by well-known bilateral and multilateral actions directed towards a reduction of the nuclear threat, and by a number of other partial measures in the sphere of limiting the arms race and of disarmament.

In present circumstances, however, international peace and stability are not fully protected against the undermining of their foundations. As in the past, therefore, it continues to be the essential task of all States to multiply their efforts to buttress political détente by practical measures of military détente. The new constructive proposals of the Soviet Union are directed towards these aims. In this connexion, I should like to emphasize the importance of the new document adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its thirty-second session on the initiative of the Soviet delegation. I am referring to the Declaration on the Deepening and Consolidation of International Détente (General Assembly resolution 32/155). As all members of this Committee will be aware, during the discussion of this Soviet proposal at plenary sessions of the General Assembly as well as in the First Committee, the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations clearly affirmed their profound interest in the deepening and development of positive changes in international life and in strengthening them by practical measures in the sphere of limiting the arms race and of disarmament, particularly by the adoption of measures to avert the danger of nuclear war.

(Mr. Erdembileg, Mongolian People's Republic)

With your permission, distinguished members of the Committee, I should like particularly to emphasize the importance of one paragraph in the Declaration, which stresses the determination of States Members of the United Nations to consider taking new and meaningful steps, both in bilateral and multilateral arms control negotiation forums, aimed at achieving the objective of a cessation of the arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race, at an early stage and realization of disarmament measures, especially nuclear disarmament, with the ultimate objective of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

Mention should also be made of another basic element of this document and emphasis placed on the urgent appeal to States to refrain from the threat or use of force and to abide in their relations with other States by the generally accepted norms of international law. As is well known, it would to a considerable extent help to protect mankind against a nuclear catastrophe, if the principle of mutual renunciation of the use or threat of force through the use of nuclear as well as conventional weapons was affirmed as an incontrovertible law of international life, in other words, invested with the form of a multilateral treaty obligation.

There is no need here to consider in detail the reason why it has not yet been possible to begin negotiations on the conclusion of an international treaty on this question.

Everyone is well aware that the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist brotherhood of nations, together with all peace-loving States, have consistently advocated the earliest possible conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, in the highest interests of peace and of the future of all mankind.

The Mongolian delegation also deems it necessary to give broader scope to measures aimed at reducing and averting the danger of nuclear war and at preventing the accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons. The main requirement in this sphere is the assumption and strict observation by all nuclear-weapon States without exception of the obligation to act in such a way as to prevent the occurrence of situations which may give rise to a dangerous straining of relations between them. This means that all nuclear Powers must avoid military confrontations which might lead to nuclear war. To this end, the possibilities afforded by the Security Council must be used to the fullest extent

(Mr. Erdembileg, Mongolian People's Republic)

in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. As is well known, these important provisions have been reflected in individual USSR-United States documents, in particular the agreement between the USSR and the United States on the prevention of nuclear war.

In our view, the measures adopted by some nuclear Powers to prevent the occurrence of a risk of nuclear conflict constitute important action, although these measures are only partial and do not fully meet the urgency of the problem. We are aware that, in addition to the agreement I have just mentioned, two other agreements on preventing the accidental occurrence of nuclear war exist today. These are the recent agreements concluded between the USSR and France and between the USSR and the United Kingdom.

In our opinion, the conclusion of agreements by other nuclear Powers on the prevention of nuclear war would be wholly in conformity with the general interests of strengthening peace and international security. We do not underestimate the importance of the factor which makes it possible, in accordance with current scientific and technological progress, to make increasingly widespread use of possibilities for perfecting and developing measures to prevent the accidental or unintentional use of nuclear weapons. But it is a matter for concern that not all nuclear Powers are prepared to assume the obligation to avert the nuclear threat.

The Mongolian delegation has repeatedly emphasized that the main prerequisite for all work on nuclear disarmament continues to be the indispensable participation of all States possessing nuclear weapons.

In our view, it would be a constructive contribution to this work if the major States from the military and economic standpoint were also, unilaterally or bilaterally, to assume the obligation to help avert the nuclear threat.

Every State, whether a nuclear-weapon State or a non-nuclear-weapon State, has a legitimate right to ensure its own security. We cannot, however, agree to a situation in which one or two nuclear Powers are clearly attempting to gain a unilateral advantage or do so to justify their non-participation in multilateral efforts to reach agreement on genuine measures in the sphere of disarmament. This reinforces our view that the actions of certain circles which use mythical assertions of an impending "threat from the East" or "threat from the North" as a pretext to call for a major war and which wish to plunge mankind into the abyss of a thermonuclear catastrophe can only be described as criminal.

(Mr. Erdembileg, Mongolian People's Republic)

It is absolutely clear to every sensible person that, in present circumstances, when vast amounts of stocks of weapons for the mass annihilation of people have been accumulated in the world, there is no alternative to nuclear disarmament.

In this context, it is difficult to overestimate the importance and immediacy of the constructive new proposals of the Soviet Union concerning the reaching of agreement on the simultaneous cessation by all States of the production of nuclear weapons -- whether atomic, hydrogen or neutron bombs or missiles -- and on the adoption of subsequent measures to reduce accumulated stocks of such weapons until they are completely eliminated.

As is well known, the Soviet Union, in advocating this concept, has expressed its willingness to sit down at the negotiating table at any time with all other nuclear Powers and with non-nuclear-weapon States in order comprehensively to consider all aspects of the problem of nuclear disarmament and jointly to work out specific ways to solve it in practice.

We hope that other nuclear Powers and States possessing major military potential will respond positively to this call in order to bring about, by their joint efforts, the elimination of the threat of nuclear war.

I should like to add that this endeavour would be given great impetus if all States refrained from any actions which hamper international negotiations on the drafting of individual agreements aimed at the limitation of nuclear weapons and at nuclear disarmament.

May I now dwell briefly on the question of the general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests.

Like other socialist countries, the Mongolian People's Republic has from the very outset advocated the comprehensive solution of this urgent problem, basing its position on the view that only through such an approach will it be possible to put an end to the qualitative perfecting of nuclear weapons and to prevent the emergence of new types of such weapons.

The incomplete solution of this vital problem has, in our view, left in its wake a complex task with many unknown factors, since it is precisely the selective approach to this question which has helped to engender new generations of weapons of mass annihilation such as nuclear weapons. The principal danger lies precisely in the fact that military and monopolistic circles in the West,

(Mr. Erdenbileg, Mongolian People's Republic)

taking advantage of the fact that the problem is still unsolved, are clamouring for the further perfection of these weapons for the mass destruction of people. It is therefore natural that their campaign for the neutron bomb has caused profound alarm and anxiety in the peoples of the world. The activities of those who attempt to depict these weapons of mass destruction as "an attractive version" of a "clean" weapon and are hatching plans to produce neutron weapons and deploy them in western European countries appear particularly monstrous in this light.

Such a course of events may create a situation with far-reaching consequences. Historical experience shows that no challenge to world peace and security such as, for example, the notorious policy of "balancing on the brink of war" or of "nuclear deterrence" has stood the test of time.

We are all well aware of what such activities led to and what the relationship of forces in the world arena has now become.

Today, the peoples of the world insistently demand that there should be no return to the days of the "cold war". With this in mind, they warmly welcome the new initiative of the Soviet Union which, guided by the ideals of peace and the friendship of nations, has proposed that there should be mutual renunciation of the production of neutron bombs.

In his statement of December 1977, our President, Mr. Tsedenbal, after strongly condemning the policy of speeding up the arms race and whipping up war psychosis, as well as the actions of advocates of the production of such a truly inhuman weapon as the neutron bomb, expressed, on behalf of the Mongolian people, full support for the new Soviet proposal aimed at the achievement of practical measures in the sphere of nuclear disarmament.

In its declaration of 22 December 1977, the Parliament of the Mongolian People's Republic again expressed the determination of our people and Government to continue to advocate the prevention of a world thermonuclear war and the promotion of peace and international security.

As the representatives of a people which, together with all progressive forces in the world, firmly opposes neutron weapons, we should like fully to support the view that the Committee on Disarmament, too, should devote due attention to this pressing problem of disarmament.

(Mr. Erdembileg, Mongolian People's Republic)

We consider that the implementation of measures to prohibit the production of neutron weapons, together with other important problems of nuclear disarmament, will depend principally on a realistic approach to the matter on the part of the Government of the Power which also bears particular responsibility for the maintenance of international peace as a permanent member of the Security Council, and on wise action by the leading circles of certain States of Western Europe which are not entitled to ignore the concern of the world community, including the alarm of their own people.

The Mongolian delegation considers that a spirit of reason should prevail in this complex matter, which requires immediate solution, and that it should be approached in a realistic manner.

For this reason, life urgently requires the achievement, in the very near future, of an international agreement binding, in particular, all nuclear Powers without exception to refrain from all nuclear weapon tests, in order once and for all to bar the way to the further perfection of these weapons of mass destruction.

As you know, since the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, which was drafted by the Committee on Disarmament and concluded in 1963, the efforts of our Committee to achieve the comprehensive prohibition of nuclear weapon tests have continued untiringly. The Committee already has before it the supplemented draft agreement on this question, submitted by the Soviet delegation at the beginning of last year, which provides for the possibility of local verification carried out on a voluntary basis. A number of other documents are also before the Committee. Negotiations in Geneva between the delegations of the USSR, the United States and the United Kingdom aimed at drafting a treaty on a complete and comprehensive test ban are continuing parallel with the Committee's efforts.

In this connexion, I should like to note with satisfaction that, with a view to ensuring the successful outcome of the tripartite negotiations, the Soviet Union recently made a new and important proposal by stating it was prepared to agree that, together with a ban on all nuclear-weapon tests for a definite period, a moratorium should be declared on nuclear explosions for

(Mr. Erdembileg, Mongolian People's Republic)

peaceful purposes. This major step represents an appreciable contribution to the achievement of agreement on this question. In our view, Ambassador Likhatchev was entirely right when he stated recently in the Committee that the Soviet Union, for its part, also expects the United States and the United Kingdom to adopt a constructive approach with a view to the speediest possible solution of the problem of banning nuclear-weapon tests. In that respect, we hope we are right in feeling encouraged by the statement made by the Co-Chairman of CCD, Ambassador Fisher, at the official meeting of the Committee held on 31 January.

The Mongolian delegation fully shares the hope of other members of the Committee that the result of the tripartite talks now in progress will be made known here in the very near future. We expect from the participants in those talks results which will enable the Committee successfully to complete its task of agreeing on the text of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests.

With regard to the question of verification, which has proved difficult to resolve in practically all earlier negotiations on the elaboration of international agreements in the sphere of disarmament, we hold the view that it must not be allowed to become a stumbling block on the road to achieving agreement as rapidly as possible on a mutually acceptable solution. On the question of checking, we maintain as before that national detection devices, supplemented by international co-operation in the exchange of seismological data, should be considered sufficiently effective. We have already stated our view that this provision, supplemented by the Soviet proposal concerning the possibility of verification on the spot with the permission of the State concerned, could serve as a basis for consensus on this matter.

We think that the question will be more or less cleared up when our Committee proceeds within the next few days to discuss the final results of the work of the Ad hoc Group of Scientific Experts on seismological matters.

And now, moving ahead just a little, I should like to point out that, in order further to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, it is necessary to enhance the effectiveness of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. However, the task of making this Treaty universal is complicated by the fact that France and China, as well as a number of so-called near-nuclear States, are still not parties to it.

(Mr. Erdembileg, Mongolian Peoples' Republic)

The Mongolian delegation holds the view that we should not allow a similar situation to arise with regard to the future international treaty on the complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. With this in mind, it would seem entirely reasonable to provide that the future treaty should come into force after all the nuclear-weapon States have acceded to it.

I should like to add that there can be no question that the cause of the further consolidation of the régime of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons would be served by the comprehensive strengthening of IAEA's system of safeguards. Moreover, steps must be taken to ensure that the peaceful use of nuclear energy for the economic development of States does not become an avenue for the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

We fully agree with the majority opinion that the solution of disarmament problems, including the problem of nuclear disarmament, must not be the exclusive right of the nuclear Powers alone, and that all States, irrespective of their size or level of development, must bear a certain part of the responsibility. But none the less, we continue to think that it is principally the nuclear Powers, including those Powers which continue to stand aloof from multilateral efforts, which have a special responsibility in this respect.

It is perhaps not by chance that, before the beginning of the spring session of CCD and of the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the Government of France issued an official statement of its policy in the field of disarmament, which has been distributed within the United Nations as a working paper (document A/AC.187/90).

We would sincerely welcome the business-like participation in bilateral or multilateral efforts to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament of a great Power like France. There is also a need for the participation of China, which still opposes anything connected with the positive solution of any disarmament problem.

The Mongolian delegation has attached and continues to attach the greatest importance to the successful conclusion of the Soviet-United States talks on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons and to the reaching of agreement on the renunciation of the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. Naturally, the timely halting of the race to acquire nuclear technology, particularly in the field of weapons of mass destruction, would undoubtedly help to a great extent to save mankind from the horrors of nuclear war.

(Mr. Erdembileg, Mongolian Peoples' Republic)

Among measures which contribute to the limitation of the nuclear arms race, we must also include efforts to establish nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace in various regions of the world. Along with such measures of regional military détente, agreement on the complete demilitarization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor would promote the implementation of the noble idea of using this vast area exclusively for peaceful purposes.

We presume that, in accordance with General Assembly resolution A/RES/32/87/A, the Committee on Disarmament will proceed promptly with the consideration of further measures in the field of disarmament for the prevention of an arms race on the sea-bed and the ocean floor.

The question of the prohibition of chemical weapons has been on the Committee's agenda for many years. The Mongolian delegation has more than once stressed in the Committee that this problem must be solved on the basis of a comprehensive approach, and that the elimination from States' arsenals of chemical weapons of mass destruction would represent a genuine step towards disarmament.

We reaffirm our position on this matter and would wish to see within the Committee, on the part of other participants in our discussions, more constructive efforts and the political will to promote agreement in this important area of disarmament.

In conclusion, I should like to say a few words about the programme of action on disarmament, including the question of the machinery for negotiations.

We proceed from the premise that the programme of action on disarmament should include the main areas in which efforts must be made to achieve the elaboration of appropriate international agreements.

At the same time, it is extremely important to define the fundamental provisions and principles which should underlie negotiations on and solution to questions relating to the curbing of the arms race and to disarmament.

Everyone is well aware that a number of socialist countries, including Mongolia, have made a joint declaration in the United Nations on these matters, which are set out in specific terms in documents A/AC.187/81 and 82. There is therefore no need to go into them in detail. I would nevertheless stress that, at the basis of these documents, lie the ideas contained in the USSR Memorandum on questions of ending the arms race and on disarmament, which evoked a wide response at the last session of the United Nations General Assembly and in other international forums.

(Mr. Erdembileg, Mongolian Peoples' Republic)

The joint working paper of the group of socialist countries, of which the Mongolian delegation is one of the sponsors, has just been formally introduced in the Committee. This document once again fully reflects the basic purposes and principles and the main considerations by which those socialist countries are guided in their consistent efforts to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament.

The Mongolian delegation considers that there is a general opinion to the effect that the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly should set out in one of its final documents the main provisions of a programme of action on disarmament.

It is our feeling that the special session will be able to fulfil its function successfully only if all States, large and small, display the necessary political will and their determination to contribute to negotiations on disarmament and to the achievement of positive results in this vitally important field. It will then become a broad international forum capable of promoting concrete discussion both of fundamental principles and objectives and of the main areas for priority efforts of States with regard to the halting of the arms race and to disarmament. From this point of view, the special session might also be of value with respect to the preparations for the convening of the most comprehensive and authoritative international forum -- a world disarmament conference. Nor do we exclude the possibility that the special session and its positive decisions might facilitate to some degree the work of the bilateral, multilateral or regional negotiations on disarmament matters now in progress, including the activities of CCD. We also consider that, with its solid working experience, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament -- an independent, multilateral negotiating body -- will in its turn contribute to the constructive efforts of other forums dealing with the many urgent problems of disarmament.

With regard to a question which is now being raised repeatedly in the Committee with the clear aim of achieving a fundamental reorganization of its structure, we feel it necessary to state that this is a matter which should be approached with all due seriousness and taking present-day political realities fully into account.

The urgent review of the institution of the co-chairmanship of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament touches directly upon the fundamental principles on which this authoritative and viable organ is based.

(Mr. Erdembileg, Mongolian Peoples' Republic)

The Committee on Disarmament is currently facing more substantial problems which await a positive solution.

The Mongolian delegation, together with other members of the Committee, expresses the hope that the results of our continuing efforts to arrive at agreements on the various complex problems of disarmament will once again be fully reflected in the special report of the Committee to be prepared by the Secretariat, and will be carefully studied by the members of the Committee for submission at the appropriate time to the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

I have tried in my statement to set out some of the views of my delegation on the questions dealt with in the Committee. We shall state our opinions on the other items on the agenda in greater detail at a later stage in our work.

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.