

# CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT

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## FINAL RECORD OF THE FIVE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,  
on Thursday, 16 March 1972, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. Constantin Ene (Romania)

GE.72-4530

## PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Argentina: Mr. M.E. DELPECH

Brazil: Mr. P. NOGUEIRA BATISTA  
Mr. O.S. CARBONAR

Bulgaria: Mr. K. CHRISTOV  
Mr. O. MITEV

Burma: U SEIN TUN  
U NYUNT SHEIN

Canada: Mr. G. IGNATIEFF  
Mr. R.W. CLARK  
Mr. R.E. MOORE

Czechoslovakia: Mr. M. VEJVODA  
Mr. M. SOUKUP

Egypt: Mr. EL SAYED EL REEDY  
Mr. M. ABOUL NASR  
Mr. M. ISMAIL

Ethiopia: Mr. M. IMRU  
Mr. T. GEBRU

Hungary: Mr. I. KUMIVES  
Mr. J. PETRAN  
Mr. F. GAJDA

India: Mr. P.K. BANERJEE  
Mr. K.P. JAIN  
Mr. G. SHANKAR

Italy: Mr. R. CARACCILO  
Mr. E. GIUFFRIDA  
Mr. R. BORSARELLI  
Mr. P. BRUNI

PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Japan:

Mr. M. NISIBORI  
 Mr. H. OTSUKA  
 Mr. Y. TANAKA  
 Mr. H. MATSUMOTO

Mexico:

Mr. A. GARCIA ROBLES  
 Mr. M. MARIN  
 Mrs. M. PRIETO

Mongolia:

Mr. O. KHOSBAYAR  
 Mr. Z. ERENDO  
 Mr. J. CHOINKHOR

Morocco:

Mr. M.A. KHATTABI

Netherlands:

Mr. M.J. ROSENBERG POLAK  
 Mr. A.J. ETTEMA

Nigeria:

Mr. J.D.O. SOKOYA  
 Mr. A.A. OLUMIDE

Pakistan:

Mr. N.A. NAIK  
 Mr. N. MIRZA

Poland:

Mr. W. NATORF  
 Mr. S. TOPA  
 Mr. A. GRADZIUK  
 Mr. A. CZERKAWSKI

Romania:

Mr. C. ENE  
 Mr. O. IONESCO  
 Mr. C. GEORGESCO  
 Mr. C. MITRAN

PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Sweden:

Mrs. A. MYRDAL  
Mr. L. ECKERBERG  
Mr. U. REINIUS

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

Mr. A.A. ROSHCHIN  
Mr. Y.K. NAZARKINE  
Mr. V.M. BASAKOV  
Mr. A.I. BELOV

United Kingdom:

Mr. H.C. HAINWORTH  
Mr. D.F. DUNCAN  
Mr. J.T. MASEFIELD  
Mr. R. HOULISTON

United States of America:

Mr. J. MARTIN  
Mr. A.R. DAY  
Mr. W. GIVAN  
Mr. M.H.A. VAN HEUVEN

Yugoslavia:

Mr. M. MIHAJLOVIC

Alternate Representative of the  
Secretary-General:

Mr. W. EPSTEIN

Communiqué of the Meeting

The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament today held its 550th plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the Chairmanship of H.E. Ambassador Constantin Ene, representative of Romania.

Statements were made by the representatives of Czechoslovakia and Romania.

The delegation of Mexico submitted a "Working paper containing a list of the documents of the Committee on Disarmament relating to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco) and of the statements by the Mexican delegation dealing wholly or partially with that treaty" (CCD/359).

The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Tuesday, 21 March 1972, at 10.30 a.m.

Mr. VEJVODA (Czechoslovakia): In these days we remember the tenth anniversary of the existence of our Committee. Prior to its establishment, various disarmament committees had not been of long duration. Of course the very fact that our Committee has survived one decade is not enough to provide us with a sufficient reason for jubilation. It should only be noted that the Committee has been able to exist for such a relatively long time because it was a constructive committee, because it produced certain positive results, even if not fully satisfactory by far, and because this Committee still provides a basis for substantial and fruitful negotiations at present and in the future. By this we do not wish to say that the Committee is a perfect one in all its aspects and that we are opposed to any change in that or other direction. Yet what we are opposed to is every kind of hurried and unstudied action that would after all bring solution to nothing and that might get into jeopardy only what has remained and continues to remain the most positive aspects of the Committee. What we want to make clear already now is that Czechoslovakia favours the participation in our Committee of all nuclear-weapon States as well as of both German States.

We do not wish to make a survey of what positive has been done by the Committee in the last decade; such assessment has already been made here several times before we have taken the floor today. However, we should like to make use of today's opportunity to stress the many-year personal participation in the Committee's work of a number of those sitting here with us, to appreciate highly the engagement in, and personal contribution to, the Committee's work of such members of many years as are

(Mr. Vejvoda, Czechoslovakia)

Mrs. Myrdal from Sweden, Ambassador Roshchin from the Soviet Union, Ambassador Christov from Bulgaria, Ambassador Ignatieff from Canada, and the officials of the United Nations Secretariat who have devoted their forces to our Committee since its outset, like Mr. Epstein and others. On this occasion I should like to join all those who have welcomed before me the new members of our Committee: the distinguished delegate of Japan, Ambassador Nisibori; the distinguished delegate of the Netherlands, Ambassador Rosenberg Polak; the distinguished delegate of Romania, Ambassador Ene; and our new co-chairman from the United States of America, Ambassador Martin; and to wish them much success in the work as well as plenty of satisfaction over the fruitful results that all of us would surely like to reach.

When a decade ago this Committee started its activities, it was given, as a birthday present, the task to work on plans for general and complete disarmament. We need not use many words to note that we have been owing exactly this task very much. Recently it was stated here that the work on this task was lacking, and is lacking, suitable conditions. Were perhaps the international political conditions in 1962 more favourable than they are today? At that time the United Nations General Assembly as well as this Committee started their work on general and complete disarmament in due earnestness, although there were no fewer unsolved problems and crisis situations throughout the world than they are today. In the time of indisputable lowering of tensions in the world, in the time when Europe has more or less come to a consensus that there prevail favourable conditions for negotiations that would bring a definitive solution to the questions of security and co-operation in this continent that was so often tossed about amidst crises and conflagrations, in the time when the United Nations is approaching its universality by mile steps, when from among the militarily more important Powers only the two German States remain outside that Organization, it is this time that provides no suitable conditions for the talks on general and complete disarmament? We believe that certain concrete preparations can be made now and continued possibly at a world disarmament conference, which, as we believe, will surely be convened in the shortest possible time. Our Committee could be helpful in the preparation of background material as well as in other measures concerning the world disarmament conference. In order to make the work of the conference easier, it will be good if it is provided with perfect information on achievements, proposals and discussions in individual fields of disarmament talks held so far.

(Mr. Vejvoda, Czechoslovakia)

In connexion with these contemplations we can ask a question, how the work of the Committee in the course of the last decade has contributed to the stopping of the growth of the armament spiral. We can perhaps state that there has been achieved some success in reducing its growth in certain fields. Certainly no one contests the fact that, without the nuclear weapon non-proliferation treaty, global races in nuclear armaments would be started and would deeply affect a number of countries.

In spite of that it should be noted that the armament spiral is growing, that new weapons are still being produced, weapons that are ever more sophisticated and therefore increasingly expensive. A recent decision of the Government of the United States of America to increase the 1973 armament expenditures up to a total amount of 83½ billion dollars has been a proof thereof. It is so because the forces working for disarmament and peaceful uses of means so far expended for armaments do still have their big and obstinate foes who are poisoning the atmosphere and putting by all means a brake on attaining the possibility for the disarmament talks to reach reasonable results which in their consequences would be beneficial to all countries without discrimination.

In this connexion it is alarming that in some western countries theoretical treatises and articles on the world and armaments situation are speaking more and more about the necessity of the so-called superarmaments; new ideas and political philosophies preach that mutual relations among States with different social systems should be viewed only from the aspect of various phases of military conflict. Such political concepts refuse the perspective of the relaxation of tension and the improvement of international relations, and are inclined to enforcing a solution of disputes between socialist and capitalist countries through military methods, which means inclusive of also nuclear confrontation. Perhaps it will not be detrimental if we mention this precisely when the past ten years of the Committee's work are being assessed and when we are trying to find out reasons why this or that has failed to succeed, shortly why the achievements of disarmament negotiations have corresponded neither to the expectations nor to the efforts of the delegates assembled in this hall of negotiations.

(Mr. Vejvoda, Czechoslovakia)

The adversaries of real disarmament are not arguing today that disarmament should not have been discussed at all. Rather the contrary. The attitude of such extremists is characterized by the assertion that to reach an agreement on disarmament means first to be perfectly armed. For example, a member of the so called Center for Strategic and International Research at Georgetown University, M. R. Killmarx, demands that disarmament be discussed "from the position of technical and military superiority". "Disarmament control" is allegedly only another area of international conflict, says Killmarx when he states literally that in the application of disarmament control "we have to proceed forward only to partially reduce the risk of global conflict and open what may become a new channel for pressure"-- conceived as pressure on socialist countries. Killmarx further speaks about such arms control as would help, as he says literally, "the penetration into the Soviet Society" and its "opening".

Unlike the above-mentioned deterrent theories, the concept of the socialist countries proceeds from the necessity of ensuring a ban on the use of force and military pressure in solving disputes among States. The socialist countries have never advanced the theory that armament should be pursued first in order to attain disarmament later. On the contrary, we have always pointed to how more usefully the resources expended for armaments could be employed, how the living standards of the people throughout the world could be enhanced, if it were made possible to use for peaceful construction the amounts released by disarmament.

We have stressed, and we continue to do so, that States with different social systems can live in peace with each other, that the differences in systems must not constitute an insurmountable obstacle to an all-sided development of relations between them. Having eliminated war as an instrument of their policies, the States of the whole world, even if they belong to different social systems, should build up their relations on the basis of agreement and co-operation in the interest of peace.

The Declaration on Peace, Security and Co-operation in Europe issued at the Prague session of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Treaty in January of this year has urged that "In the interest of the strengthening of international peace the European States must in every way possible assist in solving the question of general and complete disarmament and above all of nuclear disarmament as well as help the realization of measures directed to the limitation and cessation of the arms race". This is the line pursued by the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic together with other socialist countries since its entrance on the forum of international disarmament negotiations.

As far as disarmament in Europe is concerned, the Member States of the Warsaw Treaty made it clear in their Prague Declaration that a reduction of armed forces in Europe should also be discussed. They proceed from the fact that the question of the reduction



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of armed forces and armaments in Europe, both foreign and national, should be solved in a way that would not be harmful to countries participating in that reduction. This policy is pursued by the socialist countries, Members of the Warsaw Treaty, since 1966, when the first call for convening a conference on European security was made. The setting down and assessment of a method for the solution of that problem cannot be an exclusive matter of military groupings in Europe, but must be done with the participation of all European countries, including the non-aligned. We believe that the results of these negotiations can provide a good example also for disarmament talks in other parts of the world, and that in consequence this Committee, whose tasks certainly include also the gathering and generalization of experiences from all current disarmament negotiations with the purpose of their direct utilization also for the work on general and complete disarmament, should receive regular information on the preparations, progress and results of the deliberations on the reduction of military forces and armaments in Europe.

As for the agenda of this year's session of our Committee, we see its priority tasks as those given to us by the United Nations General Assembly in the fields of chemical weapons and the ban on underground tests of nuclear weapons.

Concerning the question of complete prohibition of chemical weapons, it should be noted, first of all that it is closely connected with the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction which was worked out by our Committee last year and recommended by the 25th session of the United Nations General Assembly for signature and ratification. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is prepared to sign this Convention as soon as it is opened for signature and, following that, to start immediately due ratification proceedings. Already at present we feel in duty bound to stick to the individual regulations of the Convention on Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons, which means for us concretely in this Committee to comply with Article VIII binding us "to conduct negotiations in good faith on effective measures for prohibiting the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons, and for their destruction and on appropriate measures concerning the equipment and means of delivery specifically designed for the production or use of chemical weapons for warfare". The Czechoslovak delegation will give its attention to the question of complete prohibition of chemical weapons later in some of its statements in the course of this session of our Committee. Today we should like to state above all that we consider the Convention on Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons to be a significant link of progress on the road towards general and complete disarmament. At the 26th session of the United Nations General Assembly the representative of Japan noted that the most realistic approach to

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the solution of general and complete disarmament was, and continues to be, the signing of individual treaties and agreements on disarmament measures in the fields that are ripe for solution. The representative of India demanded, also at the 26th session of the United Nations General Assembly, that in the course of a gradual solution of general and complete disarmament problems a balance be maintained among measures preventing armaments, measures curtailing armaments and real measures of disarmament, with a special stress exactly on the latter set of measures. The Convention on Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons constitutes one of the disarmament measures in a field that was ripe for solution, on the way towards general and complete disarmament in the sense of the delegate of Japan's remarks at the 26th session of the General Assembly, and is precisely such a real measure of disarmament. If it itself does not possess sufficient power to maintain balance among measures mentioned by the representative of India, it surely is a significant step forward in this field. May I be permitted to express therefore my conviction that also those States, which, like my country, would naturally prefer a convention that would cover both bacteriological (biological) and chemical weapons, will assess the Convention dealing only with bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons, inter alia, also from this point of view? We believe that this is why there will be a great number of those countries which will sign and ratify the Convention on Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons so that it may enter into force as soon as possible.

At the 26th session of the General Assembly some countries, for example France, declared their view that the Convention on Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons could weaken the 1925 Geneva Protocol. We regret that France, in the spirit of this kind of understanding, or more likely for the lack of understanding, shown for the Convention on Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons does not intend to sign it as declared by the French representative in the General Assembly, even though France unilaterally prohibited the production of all bacteriological agents for military purposes. We should like to repeat once again what in our opinion was made absolutely clear at our meetings last year, namely that the Convention on Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons does not weaken the Geneva Protocol at all, that it even refers to, and directly proceeds from, the Protocol. It is absolutely irrelevant to the force of the Geneva Protocol, which prohibits the use of both types of weapons, whether the prohibition of their development, production and stockpiling and their destruction will be solved by more conventions and not by one only. On this occasion we should like to join once again the appeals to the effect that the countries which have not yet ratified the 1925 Geneva Protocol do so as soon as possible, including also the United States of America, which in spite of official declarations in that sense has so far failed to ratify it.

(Mr. Vejvoda, Czechoslovakia)

Thus we should like to emphasize once again that we consider the Convention on Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons to be a significant positive part of disarmament efforts. We fully agree with those who have said here that this Convention will become still more valuable after its completion by the prohibition concerning chemical weapons, too. To achieve that prohibition will not be a simple question; many problems, including political ones, are connected with it; but this must not reduce our efforts by any way, and we believe that, according to a saying that "patience bears fruits", our patience and efforts also in this field will be rewarded by final success. Certainly nothing would be helped if the signature and ratification of the Convention on Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons were postponed until a convention on chemical weapons is agreed upon.

Permit me now to say a few words on what is rightfully called disarmament problem No. 1, that is nuclear disarmament. The last year's initiatives of the socialist countries in this field are certainly in good memory, above all the appeal of the Soviet Union aimed at the convening of a conference of five nuclear Powers which would deal with those questions in a comprehensive way. Unfortunately, except France, the other nuclear Powers have not given a positive answer to the Soviet appeal. We think that neither this year should the question of nuclear disarmament escape the attention of our Committee. And it is exactly in this connexion that I should like to mention the problem of the prohibition of underground tests of nuclear weapons which has already been mentioned at this session several times.

The positive aspects of an agreement on the ban of underground tests are clear. The agreement would indirectly slow down the race in the production of strategic weapons. It would very much strengthen the Treaty on Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and reduce the potentiality that other countries might seek a possibility to develop nuclear weapons. It would eliminate the danger of polluting the environment as a consequence of further testing. It would make the development of less expensive nuclear weapons whose technology might spread into other countries, impossible. It would constitute an important step on the way to nuclear disarmament. Certainly we need not convince each other about these multiple benefits stemming from a ban on underground tests. We have to wish only that a reasonable attitude should prevail in the approach to the questions of control, that they should not be tackled from the point of view of the above-mentioned theory, namely that the control over disarmament measures should be helpful to an "opening" of that or another society or State, which could be utilized politically. Today it is already possible to quote a number of scientists of all countries, including the United States, who have proved in a more than convincing manner that the present capabilities and possibilities of installation of

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ever better detection systems make it truly absolutely reasonable and safe for all participants to conclude an agreement on the basis of national means of verification.

The question of nuclear disarmament is closely connected with the quality of the compliance with the Treaty on Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has signed and ratified the Treaty, and the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency adopted, at its session at the end of February of this year, an agreement between the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on safeguards ensuing from the Non-proliferation Treaty. At the beginning of March of this year all agreements on safeguards should enter into force. We regret that EURATOM has not yet come to an agreement with the IAEA on that question. From the rest of the European countries with the potential capacity to become a nuclear arms producer, it was the German Democratic Republic which concluded an agreement on safeguards with the IAEA. On 7 March a Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic signed that agreement in Vienna.

The Committee should call for a speedy ratification of the Non-proliferation Treaty by other countries and for an immediate conclusion of agreements on safeguards as required by the Treaty, so that we can move out from the "twilight zone" in this area very quickly.

Permit me in conclusion to express the conviction that this year's session of our Committee will deliberate profoundly on the substance of the problems to be solved, and that it will weigh calmly and reasonably also the questions connected with the safeguarding of workability and perspectiveness of our Committee, and that it will contribute by its own part on the way forward to the attainment of the all-world disarmament.

The CHAIRMAN (Romania): Before explaining the Romanian delegation's position on the problems of the current session of the Committee, and since I am speaking for the first time, I should like to take this opportunity to express my most sincere appreciation to all those distinguished representatives who, in their statements, have welcomed me to this Committee.

I assure you that my delegation will be prepared, as it has been in the past, to co-operate constructively and fruitfully with all delegations participating in the disarmament negotiations, so that we may make progress in our common task.

Permit me to pay in my turn a tribute to all delegations present at this meeting, to the special representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Ilkka Pastinen, and to the alternate special representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. William Epstein, as a token of our esteem and respect.

(The Chairman, Romania)

The present session of the Committee on Disarmament coincides with some profound transformations and innovations on the world stage, when the principles of peace and co-operation are being ever more vigorously affirmed and the participation of all States in international life is being intensified. These are phenomena of immense significance for attempts to solve the grave problems now confronting the whole world, of which disarmament is one of the most outstanding.

This is the setting, faithfully reflected in our Committee, in which disarmament negotiations must encourage positive trends towards the easing of tension, security and co-operation. For the sake of these, the highest interests of all peoples, we must redouble our efforts to halt the armaments race and begin disarmament, first by prohibiting and destroying nuclear weapons, and to trace a new, more energetic and more effective course for our negotiations so that genuine disarmament measures can be achieved without delay.

This situation arises from the unsatisfactory state of the disarmament negotiations and the dangerous escalation of the arms race.

During the ten years which have passed since the Committee's establishment, despite the endeavours of various States it has done all too little to fulfil its mandate: that is, to prepare agreements on effective measures to halt the arms race and to disarm, and to conclude a treaty on general and complete disarmament. While the disarmament negotiations drag on, the arms race and expenditure on armaments have been dizzyly escalating, with particularly serious consequences for the economic and social life of the nations and for their peace and security. Without underrating the importance of the agreements that have been reached, we are all too well aware that because of their very nature they have not affected the spiral of armaments and military arsenals nor reduced the dangers of a thermo-nuclear conflict.

An expert assessment of the present dimensions of the armaments process, and of its manifold and profoundly harmful effects both national and international, is given in the Report on the Consequences of the Armaments Race (A/8469 and Add.1), prepared by the Secretary-General of the United Nations at the suggestion of Romania supported by many other States, and submitted to the General Assembly at its last session.

(The Chairman, Romania)

This important document concludes that "The threat of ultimate disaster it [the arms race] has generated is by far the most dangerous single peril the world faces today-- far more dangerous than poverty or disease, far more dangerous than either the population explosion or pollution . . . . The cost of the arms race is enormous and because of it, resources have been denied almost every other field of social activity"; it "makes more acute the very international strains to which it relates", and contributes "to acute imbalances in the international payments" . . . . Political differences become sharpened by the fear and suspicion which the amassing of armaments generates . . . . International trade, already impeded by other factors, is slowed, particularly in the products of advanced technological industry . . . . Cultural exchanges stagnate".

The President of the Council of State of Romania, Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, recently stated: "At the present moment when expenditure on armaments is engulfing fabulous sums, is weighing ever more heavily on the standard of living of the peoples and is confronting them with the ever-present spectre of a world-wide catastrophe, intensification of the campaign for general disarmament, and particularly for nuclear disarmament, is a major commandment of our times. The peoples must act with determination to impose disarmament and the destruction and outlawing of nuclear weapons and of all weapons of mass destruction. We judge it necessary to proceed forthwith to specific and effective measures such as the dismantling of military bases on the territories of other States, the abolition of military blocs, and other actions aimed at military disengagement and at the reduction of armed forces and of the burden of armaments."

The importance of a determined disarmament campaign is highlighted by the continued use of armaments as instruments of the imperialist policy of force, aggression and diktat and as a means of coercing and threatening independent and sovereign States and destroying the right of peoples to existence and free development.

In keeping with Romania's position of principle in favour of disarmament, and on the instructions of the Romanian Government, my delegation considers that the present stage of negotiations should be a concentrated frontal attack on the basic problems of disarmament: halting the arms race, executing nuclear disarmament measures in absolute priority, starting negotiations in depth on general disarmament, and negotiating partial measures.

(The Chairman, Romania)

It is widely recognized internationally, and confirmed also in the Report on the consequences of the armaments race, that "nuclear weapons constitute the most fearful category of armaments to which military expenditures are devoted, and these pose the greatest threat which mankind now faces."

This is precisely the reason why Romania maintains with the greatest vehemence that the disarmament negotiations should give the highest priority to nuclear disarmament.

We consider the present state of affairs to be completely abnormal, when more than two years after the entry into force of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, which expressly gave prime importance to nuclear disarmament, the problems relating to nuclear disarmament have still not been given their proper place in the negotiations. What is more, measures of particular importance, such as prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, halting of their production and reduction and elimination of existing stocks have never reached the stage of substantive negotiations. We believe that the time has come to give practical expression to the prime importance of nuclear disarmament and to turn to the consideration of specific measures. No postponement or delay of such negotiations, no further evasion of practical study of the problems of nuclear disarmament, can be justified by any political, military or other consideration or understood by the world, which demands the immediate reduction and removal of the nuclear threat.

This is why we favour the adoption and implementation of such measures as prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons; establishment in different regions of the world of denuclearized zones firmly guaranteed by the nuclear Powers; halting of the production of nuclear weapons, including fissionable materials for military purposes; reduction and total elimination of stocks of nuclear weapons and of their delivery systems.

Of all nuclear disarmament measures, the Romanian Government considers that prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons is the most urgent. The need for an immediate prohibition of the threat or use of nuclear weapons as the first priority measure of nuclear disarmament stems directly from the basic principle set forth in Article 2, paragraph 4 of the Charter of the United Nations: "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations".

(The Chairman, Romania)

Consequently a formal prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons would confirm and develop the cardinal rules of international law which every country is bound to observe. The first step in this direction was the adoption on 24 November 1961 by the United Nations General Assembly of the important Declaration on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, which states that "The use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons is contrary to the spirit, letter and aims of the United Nations and, as such, a direct violation of the Charter of the United Nations."

Therefore "Any State using nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons is to be considered as violating the Charter of the United Nations, as acting contrary to the laws of humanity and as committing a crime against mankind and civilization."

A second step of higher quality, towards an express and definitive prohibition in international law of the threat of use of nuclear weapons would be to embody that prohibition in a universal international agreement with binding legal force, containing firm guarantees that it will be observed by all.

The peoples of the world have every political, legal and moral right to claim, and obtain without further delay firm guarantees that they will never in any circumstances be imperilled by the threat or use of nuclear weapons.

In the view of the Romanian delegation it is the solemn duty of every government, every politician and the forces of peace and progress towards their own people and the other peoples of the world to act most resolutely to impose without delay the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

As part of the efforts now deployed to strengthen the law of the international community and to establish strictly as the ground of relations between States the universal principles of national independence and sovereignty, equal rights, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, such a measure would be a legal, political and moral barrier to the use of nuclear weapons. It would contribute to the growth of mutual confidence among the nuclear-weapon countries and among all States, and would pave the way towards real nuclear disarmament.

Another measure of particular importance for all non-nuclear-weapon countries is the granting of firm security guarantees by the nuclear-weapon States.



(The Chairman, Romania)

In view of the serious threat created by the nuclear armaments race and the stocks of nuclear weapons and delivery systems, the demand of the non-nuclear-weapon countries for appropriate security guarantees have taken on particular importance in the context of the conclusion of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the conditions created by its entry into force. The first pre-requisite of the simplest international equity is that States which commit themselves under the Treaty not to produce and or acquire nuclear weapons in any way should obtain in exchange firm guarantees, equal in political and legal value to the commitments they themselves have assumed, that never in any circumstances will they be threatened with the use of nuclear weapons and that these will never be used against them.

These are the reasons why Romania believes, now as in the past, that it is absolutely essential that the nuclear-weapon States should assume the solemn commitment that never in any circumstances will they use or threaten to use these weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States. Similar demands and proposals have been made by many States and eloquently expressed in the documents of the first Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States.

In the opinion of the Romanian delegation security guarantees must be one of the specific topics discussed in the disarmament negotiations. An independent solution could be reached and an international agreement on complete prohibition of the threat or use of nuclear weapons could be concluded.

In this context we should like to repeat before the Committee, stressing its full and complete relevance to the present situation, the proposal put forward by Romania on 5 March 1970 that, by a universal international document with binding force, firm commitments should be undertaken not to resort to the threat or use of force nor to interfere, in any form whatsoever or in any circumstances, in the internal affairs of other States. The conclusion of an international instrument prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons would be a highly important first step in that direction.

Among the measures likely to help to reduce and eliminate the nuclear threat, Romania attaches great importance to the establishment of denuclearised and peaceful zones in various regions of the world. Having declared its support for denuclearized and peaceful zones, Romania continues to press for the transformation of the Balkan region into a nuclear-weapon-free zone of peace and good neighbours.

(The Chairman, Romania)

Today more and more States are seriously interested in the idea of establishing denuclearized and peaceful zones. This interest is shown by the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, and by many proposals to shield areas of Europe, Asia, Africa, the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean from the nuclear threat. Nevertheless, though the idea of establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones has been greatly strengthened in recent years, it has not yet been given independent and radical study.

In our view the start of negotiations on the main principles of the establishment and status of nuclear-weapon-free zones could usefully stimulate the enterprise and action of governments for this purpose. Because Romania was convinced of this it submitted, as you are aware, the proposal relating to "The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various areas of the world, including the Balkans."

The banning of underground nuclear-weapon tests, a measure which many States have supported, is still an important problem on the Committee's agenda. During the last series of negotiations the opinion was convincingly argued that the difficulties of control -- often cited as an obstacle to an agreement -- might be solved by improvement of modern methods of detection; since the conclusion of an agreement depends, in the last analysis on the political will of States.

Starting from the Romanian Government's position of principle that all means of mass destruction -- nuclear, chemical and bacteriological (biological) -- should be outlawed and banished from the military arsenals of States, the Romanian delegation also favours prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and of their elimination in virtue of an international agreement meeting the legitimate interests of peace and security of all States.

While we recognize the value of such partial measures concerning chemical weapons and underground tests, which Romania has always advocated, we wish to repeat at the same time our view that the negotiation of these arguments should in no way undermine the prime importance to be attached to nuclear disarmament.

A treaty on general and complete disarmament remains the chief aim of disarmament negotiations.

The practically complete cessation during the past few years of specific study of the problem of general disarmament, in spite of repeated appeals by the General Assembly, has seriously affected the general course of the negotiations, which thus have neither a clear and uniform outlook nor a consistent programme of action.

(The Chairman, Romania)

The Romanian delegation desires to take this opportunity to reiterate the Romanian Government's support of the cause of general disarmament, and its conviction that States should redouble their efforts to make tangible progress towards this goal and that measures aimed at the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons would provide an additional opportunity for progress towards general disarmament.

The Romanian delegation would like to see the start of negotiations for a draft treaty on general disarmament. A specific step in this direction would be to begin to study the negotiating machinery and the various components of a treaty on general disarmament.

That is in fact the task entrusted to the Committee by the General Assembly in its resolution 2825 (XXVI), which "urges the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, at its next session, to resume its efforts on the question of general and complete disarmament along the lines set forth in General Assembly resolution 2661 C (XXV)" and "to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session on the results of these efforts."

It is our view that general disarmament presupposes the participation of all peoples and nations. This is precisely why the main task at present is to mobilize the will of all States and to intensify efforts to achieve concrete progress towards general disarmament.

The Socialist Republic of Romania has repeatedly advocated the convening of a world disarmament conference which would provide a forum for the contribution of all States in full and complete equality and would consider the basic questions of a halt in the armaments race, the attainment of general disarmament and, above all, the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons.

That was why Romania, while co-operating painstakingly with Mexico and a number of other countries at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, contributed to their agreement on the adoption of the resolution by which the question of the world disarmament conference would be dealt with in depth at the next session of the General Assembly, which at the same time would provide a forum for the views and suggestions of States.

The interests of peace and international co-operation and progress towards disarmament require that even greater courage and resolution should be shown in ensuring that partial measures likely to instil confidence should form part of the issues with which the Committee is concerned.

(The Chairman, Romania)

The Romanian delegation believes that one measure which could be considered without delay is freezing and reduction of the military budgets of all States. This measure would open the way to negotiation of broader agreements.

A reduction of military expenditure, a halt in the armaments race and gradual progress towards general disarmament would release vast human and material resources which could be devoted exclusively to peaceful purposes.

At the same time great opportunities would be provided for effective support of action for the economic and social advancement of developing countries. A much greater contribution could thus be made to practical execution of the major purposes of the strategy of the Second United Nations Development Decade.

Romania also strongly supports the adoption of such measures as the liquidation of military bases on foreign soil; the withdrawal of armed forces within national borders; renunciation of manoeuvres along the borders or on the territory of other States; renunciation of acts and threats of force and other such acts likely to create tension and suspicion and encourage the armaments race; a ban on the creation of new military bases and on the siting of new nuclear weapons on foreign soil; and the dissolution of military blocs.

The Romanian delegation would like to take this opportunity to renew its support of the proposals aimed at the achievement without delay of effective measures to halt the armaments race and to achieve disarmament. These proposals, presented to the Committee by Romania on 5 March 1970, are as timely as ever and must be included among the questions with which the forum of negotiations on disarmament will be actively concerned.

As a European country, Romania attaches primary importance in its foreign policy to efforts aimed at achieving security on our continent. We take European security to mean the normalization of relations among all countries on the continent, the unfettered development of multilateral co-operation among them, and the establishment of a system of sound guarantees based on recognition of the realities of post-war history and protecting all nations from the danger of aggression and from pressure or interference in their internal affairs. Romania is acting with consistency and determination to establish security on our continent and to convene as soon as possible a pan-European conference to that end. It is firmly convinced that such a conference would meet the vital interests of the peoples living in Europe and would at the same time ease tension and promote co-operation on every continent and strengthen world peace and security.

(The Chairman, Romania)

In the context of action to achieve European security, we feel that great importance should be attached to regional disarmament measures in Europe, such as the establishment of peace and non-nuclear zones in various parts of the continent, in the Balkans, in Central and Northern Europe and anywhere else in Europe in accordance with the wishes of the countries in the area.

Along the same lines, consideration might be given to measures to reduce armed forces and armaments consistently with the security interests of all European States and all countries.

All nations are vitally interested in the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, the adoption of effective disarmament measures, and real progress towards general disarmament. The satisfaction of their legitimate desire for peace, security, progress and well-being depends on their action to attain those objectives. That is why we should now pass from words to deeds, and from general discussion to effective negotiations likely to lead to the adoption of practical disarmament measures.

Consequently this should be a turning point both in the approach to basic disarmament problems and in the form and methods of negotiation.

For several years now the Romanian delegation, together with others, has emphasized in proposals and suggestions that the Committee must redouble its efforts and make them more effective, and that its structure and working must be improved. A broad measure of support for this view emerged at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

In this context the Romanian delegation has a few comments to make concerning the forum for disarmament negotiations.

In our opinion it is essential to identify and agree on generally-acceptable measures that would result in the establishment of a proper forum for negotiations, able to concentrate its efforts most effectively on practical means of prohibiting and eliminating nuclear weapons, on the negotiation of partial disarmament agreements, and on real progress towards general disarmament. The first step in that direction is to create conditions that will enable all countries possessing nuclear weapons to participate in the disarmament negotiations.

The prevailing trends in the present-day world and the relentless course of international events, which I have already mentioned, suggest that the forum for disarmament negotiations should be reorganized on democratic lines, in accordance with the principle of equal rights of States, with the prime objective of increasing the effectiveness of those negotiations.

(The Chairman, Romania)

To that end, appropriate conditions should be created to enable all the States concerned to take part in the disarmament negotiations. It is the duty of every State and every government to contribute to progress towards disarmament; in this great work of peace, everyone's contribution is needed and everyone's interests must be respected.

With these considerations in mind, the leadership of the special disarmament negotiation body should also be reorganized. In our opinion its officers might be elected for each session or annually, in accordance with the system of rotation used in the United Nations.

Of the measures likely to ensure that the disarmament negotiations proceed under the best conditions and are focussed on the most pressing problems, the essential ones are the preparation of a definite agenda in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and with due regard for the proposals made by Member States, and the adoption of a specific programme of work for each session based on that agenda.

It is particularly important that the negotiation body should be required to try to implement the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and to report to the Assembly periodically on the outcome of its work.

An essential feature of the procedure of the forum for disarmament negotiations must be maintenance and strict application of the principle of adopting decisions by consensus of all the participating States at all stages of negotiation.

To make the work of the forum for disarmament negotiation more effective, it will also be very important to establish within that forum sub-committees or working parties with the participation of all member countries for studying and negotiating specific measures connected with specific categories of problems, such as nuclear disarmament, conventional disarmament, partial disarmament measures and regional disarmament.

These are the views and ideas the Romanian delegation wished to present, at this stage of our work, on the question of the disarmament negotiation body. We have listened with interest to the remarks and suggestions made by other delegations and are willing to consider carefully all other suggestions and ideas on this subject.

In concluding, the Romanian delegation would like to emphasize again its desire to continue to contribute, together with the delegations of all the other member States, in full awareness of its responsibility and in a constructive spirit, to the detailed examination of all of the problems on the agenda of the disarmament negotiations, in order to identify and agree on generally-acceptable solutions in accordance with the common desire of all nations for peace, security and progress.

The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.