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3 July 1979
ENGLISH

FINAL RECORD OF THE THIRTY EIGHTH MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Tuesday, 3 July 1979, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman:

Mr. P. VOUIOV

(Bulgaria)

PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Algeria:Argentina:

Mr. A. DUMONT
Miss N. FREYRE PENABAD
Mr. C.A. PASSALUNGA
Mr. A. N. MOLteni

Australia:

Sir James PLIMSOLL
Mr. A. BEHM
Ms. M. WICKES

Belgium:

Mr. P. NOTERDAEME
Mr. P. BERG
Mr. G. VAN DUYSSE

Brazil:

Mr. C.A. DE SOUZA E SILVA
Mr. S. DUARTE

Bulgaria:

Mr. P. VOUTOV
Mr. I. SOTIROV
Mr. C. HALACHEV

Burma:

U SAW HLAING
U THEIN AUNG
U NGWE WIN
U THAUNG HTUN

Canada:

Mr. R. HARRY JAY
Mr. J.T. SIMARD

Cuba:

Mrs. V.B. JACKIEWICH

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. M. RŮŽEK
Mr. V. TYLNER

<u>Egypt:</u>	Mr. M. EL-BARADEI Mr. N. FAHMY
<u>Ethiopia:</u>	Mr. T. TERREFE
<u>France:</u>	Mr. F. BELUCHATAUD Mr. M. COUTHURES
<u>German Democratic Republic:</u>	Mr. W. KOETTER Mr. M. GRACZYNSKI
<u>Germany, Federal Republic of:</u>	Mr. G. PFEIFFER Mr. H. MÜLLER
<u>Hungary:</u>	Mr. M. DOMOKOS Mr. C. GYÖRFFY Mr. A. LAKATOS
<u>India:</u>	Mr. S. T. DEVARE
<u>Indonesia:</u>	Mr. D. B. SULEMAN Mr. I.M. DAMANIK
<u>Iran:</u>	Mr. D. AMERI
<u>Italy:</u>	Mr. M. MORENO Mr. C. FRATESCHI
<u>Japan:</u>	Mr. M. OGISO Mr. T. NONOYAMA Mr. R. ISHII
<u>Kenya:</u>	Mr. S. SHITEMI Mr. A. JET ODENDO
<u>Mexico:</u>	Mr. A. GARCÍA ROBLES Miss A. CABRERA

Mongolia:

Mr. D. ERDEMBILEG

Mr. L. BAYART

Morocco:

Mr. S.M. RAHHALF

Mr. M. CHRAIBI

Netherlands:

Mr. R.H. FEIN

Mr. A.J. MEERBURG

Nigeria:

Mr. O. ADENIJI

Mr. T.O. OLUMOKO

Pakistan:Peru:

Mr. J. AURICH MONTERO

Poland:

Mr. B. SUJKA

Mr. H. PAC

Mr. M. KRUCZYK

Romania:

Mr. C. ENE

Mr. L. TOADER

Sri Lanka:

Miss M.L. NAGANATHAN

Sweden:

Mr. C. LIDGARD

Mr. S. STRÖMBÄCK

Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics:

Mr. V.L. ISSRAELYAN

Mr. Y.K. NAZARKIN

Mr. N.V. PESTEREV

Mr. A.I. TIOURENKOV

Mr. M.G. ANTIUKHIN

Mr. A. VAVILOV

Mr. N.P. SMIDOVICH

United Kingdom

Mr. D. HURD
Mr. D.M. SUMMERHAYES
Mr. N.H. MARSHALL
Mr. P.M.W. FRANCIS
Mr. A. REEVE
Mr. C. HUMFREY

United States of America:

Mr. A.S. FISHER
Mr. C. FLOWERREE
Mr. D. KOELEMAY
Mr. T. BARTHELEMY
Mr. W. DUNLOP
Mr. K. BROWN
Mr. A. RADZIANKO

Venezuela:

Mr. R.L. DE NECER

Yugoslavia:

Mr. D. DJOKIĆ

Zaire:

Mr. E. MULONGANDUSU

Secretary:

Mr. RIKHI JAIPAL

The CHAIRMAN: Before giving the floor to the first speaker on my list I would like, on behalf of the Committee, to extend a warm welcome to Mr. Douglas Hurd, the Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, who is among us today to follow the proceedings of this plenary meeting. I wish him a very pleasant stay in Geneva and hope that his contacts with the members of the Committee will be fruitful. His presence in the Committee will certainly be most beneficial to our work.

Distinguished delegates, it is a great honour for my country, and for me personally, to preside over this unique forum for multilateral negotiations in the field of disarmament. In assuming the chairmanship, may I first of all extend my appreciation and gratitude to my distinguished predecessors in this post, whose experience and wise guidance contribute substantially to the fact that today the Committee rests on a solid foundation. I am especially indebted to my immediate predecessor, the distinguished representative of Brazil, Ambassador de Souza e Silva, who set a high standard of efficiency in dealing with the problems of this second part of the annual session of the Committee. I am also lucky to have on my left Ambassador Jaipal, the distinguished Personal Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and Secretary of the Committee on Disarmament, whom I greet most warmly.

Distinguished delegates, may I be permitted to point out that the Committee enters the final weeks of the present annual session in a favourable and creative atmosphere, which is only natural in the aftermath of the summit meeting that produced the SALT II agreement. We therefore have reasons to look forward to active and fruitful negotiations in the weeks ahead, which may bring us closer to new practical steps on some problems of disarmament.

Before proceeding to our agenda I would also like to inform the Committee of the presence amongst us, of twenty fellows, from different countries, participating in a programme of studies on disarmament. This programme was approved at the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

Mr. HURD (United Kingdom): Mr. Chairman, may I just thank you for your kind words of greeting. As the Minister in the new British Government responsible for disarmament, I am delighted to have this opportunity of visiting Geneva to take part in a meeting of the Committee on Disarmament under your distinguished chairmanship.

(Mr. Hurd, United Kingdom)

Since I am here in Geneva for a number of other activities, it is sad to me that I can only be at this plenary meeting for a short while and therefore do not intend, on this occasion, to make a full statement. It did, however, seem to me important and pleasant to make a first contact with the work of this Committee. Since you have given me the floor, Mr. Chairman, I would very briefly like to say, and confirm to the members of this Committee, the importance which my Government attaches to the work of the Committee. It seems to us, and probably to you, that one of the underlying duties is to maintain the security of one's own State and citizens, and this involves the taking of legitimate defensive measures. But the attainment of real measures of disarmament -- measures which are realistic, equitable and verifiable -- can, in our view, make a crucial contribution to security by maintaining the equilibrium of power at a lower level of armaments and military forces. For this reason, my Government will continue to play an active role in this Committee as in the other important conferences and meetings where we are present, in which arms control negotiations are now in progress. May I finally, take this opportunity to congratulate Ambassador Jaipal on his appointment as Secretary of this Committee. We attach great importance to the post which he has now assumed and believe the appointment of someone with such a distinguished record in multilateral diplomacy will enhance the status of our Committee and make a significant contribution to its work. Finally, may I wish you every success, Mr. Chairman, during your period of chairmanship of our Committee.

Mr. TERREFE (Ethiopia): Comrade Chairman, the Ethiopian delegation would like first of all to congratulate you on your assumption of the chair for this month. We wish you success in your important assignment. We are confident that your diplomatic skill and good will will be a great asset in guiding our deliberations on very important topics: the cessation of nuclear arms race, new types of weapons of mass destruction, chemical weapons and a nuclear test ban -- all scheduled for this month.

My delegation would also like to thank your distinguished predecessor Ambassador de Souza e Silva of Brazil, who so ably chaired the meetings during the month of June, and also to welcome to this Committee Ambassador Dumont of Argentina, Ambassador Sir James Plimsoll of Australia and Ambassador Radjavi of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

(Mr. Terrefe, Ethiopia)

Let me, Comrade Chairman, also associate myself with the words of welcome you have extended to Mr. Hurd, the Honourable Minister of State of the United Kingdom. My personal congratulations also go to Ambassador Jaipal, the Special Representative and the Secretary of the Committee on Disarmament.

My delegation has listened carefully to the views expressed by various members of this Committee on each topic discussed so far. Ethiopia's position on each of the topics discussed is well known, so I do not need to make an extensive statement on them. However, with your permission Mr. Chairman, I would like to refer to some of them briefly in the light of our deliberations during this second session of the Committee on Disarmament.

The Ethiopian Government views the signing of the SALT II Agreement by the heads of State of the USSR and the United States as a significant step towards the quantitative and qualitative limitation of strategic weapons. Its importance in creating a climate of mutual trust should not be underestimated. Our Chairman, Comrade Mengistu Haile-Mariam congratulated President Leonid Brezhnev and President Jimmy Carter on the successful signing in Vienna of SALT II in the following words:

"On behalf of the people and Government of Socialist Ethiopia, and on my own behalf, I should like to express to you my warmest congratulations on the successful signing in Vienna of the Second Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Arms -- SALT II.

"The signing of this historic document constitutes a major step forward in the arduous struggle for détente, genuine disarmament and lasting peace. This major victory for peace has opened up the prospect for positive co-operation between nations of different social systems. Entire mankind should hail the Treaty as an outstanding achievement leading towards a more stable and constructive foundation for peaceful inter-State relations, based on the principles of equality, justice, security and respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of others."

My delegation also feels that the week we have spent discussing ways and means of assuring the non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of the use of nuclear weapons has been worthwhile. The time was propitious, even though we have

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not yet agreed on the content and form in which such security assurances are to be extended to non-nuclear-weapon States. For our part, the Ethiopian delegation lends its full support to the kind of international arrangements proposed in working document CD/23. Working document CD/10 should also be considered with a view to arriving at an agreed text. We value the unilateral declarations by the five nuclear-weapon Powers making various degrees of commitments. These are necessary conditions for any kind of negotiations to start, but they are not sufficient in themselves. We would like to express the hope that the common element of these declarations, along with the working documents we have at our disposal, may form the basis for a draft international convention which could be presented to the next General Assembly. For practical reasons we have to entrust this assignment to a subsidiary body of the Committee on Disarmament while we consider other topics on the agenda.

We hope also that the Committee on Disarmament will give due consideration to the preoccupation of many African member States regarding the nuclear threat posed by the racist régime of South Africa. The report submitted to the Committee on Disarmament (CD/17) by the Special Committee against Apartheid cites too many illuminating examples which cannot be ignored whilst considering the question of negative security guarantees.

Regarding the item on the cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament, my delegation has already expressed its views during the spring session of the Committee on Disarmament when, along with several other members, we supported the proposal contained in document CD/4 which stated in part:

"The subject of negotiations should be the ending of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of their stockpiles until they have been completely destroyed. At different stages of the negotiations consideration could be given, for example, to cessation of the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons, cessation of the production of fissionable materials for military purposes, gradual reduction of the accumulated stockpiles of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles, destruction of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles. Agreement should also be reached on the necessary verification measures." (CD/4, page 1)

We can now focus our attention on the content of this and other relevant documents, with a view to initiating preliminary negotiations.

I would like to assure you that my delegation stands ready to co-operate in the deliberations on this and the other important topics which we have to consider during the remaining part of this session.

Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Mr. Chairman, permit me to extend a warm welcome to you, the representative of fraternal Bulgaria, as you take up the post of Chairman of the Committee on Disarmament; I wish you success. July is a special month in the work of the Committee, and I would even say that it is the most crucial month in the Committee's 1979 session, since we hope it will be possible to conclude the first concrete agreements on the questions on the agenda. We are sure that your considerable experience, your knowledge and the respect which you enjoy among the members of the Committee will make it possible to take effective decisions in the course of the Committee's work in July.

In general, the Committee's work over the last month has been positive: we have held useful and constructive consultations on the question of strengthening guarantees of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States. This assessment is shared by many members of the Committee. If such is the case, the credit goes to the distinguished Ambassador of Brazil who, with much tact and skill, occupied the chair in the month of June.

Permit me to welcome to the Committee on Disarmament Douglas Hurd, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, and to express the hope that his stay in Geneva will make it possible to establish useful contacts with a view to attaining the goals before the Committee.

We are pleased to see in this room Mr. Jaipal, the outstanding Indian diplomat whose activities in the most varied of posts have always been highly appreciated. We are ready to continue our co-operation with Mr. Jaipal in his new capacity as the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Secretary of the Committee on Disarmament.

Today the Committee on Disarmament is considering once again the agenda item entitled "Cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament".

(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

This question lies at the core of the struggle to curb the arms race -- a fact that was reflected in the Final Document adopted by consensus at the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, paragraph 50 of which states unequivocally that "The achievement of nuclear disarmament will require urgent negotiation of agreements at appropriate stages and with adequate measures of verification satisfactory to the States concerned" and specifies the measures that must be taken in that respect.

As you know, the socialist States have already presented the Committee with proposals (CD/4) aimed at achieving the goals set out in the Final Document of the special session of the General Assembly relating to nuclear disarmament.

The results of the meeting in Vienna between L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and J. Carter, President of the United States of America, as well as the documents signed in Vienna will undoubtedly have a positive effect on the Committee's discussions on the problem of nuclear disarmament. The full implementation of the documents in question opens up new possibilities for halting the growth of nuclear missile arsenals and ensuring the effective quantitative and qualitative limitation of such weapons. A resolution dealing with the results of the Vienna meeting adopted by the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR states that the attainment of this goal would represent "a new phase in the limitation of the nuclear arms race and would open up the way for a substantial reduction of armaments and for the realization of the supreme goal, namely, the complete cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and the elimination of nuclear weapon stockpiles".

We attach the greatest importance to the agreement reached in Vienna on the principles and main orientations of future strategic arms limitation talks, that is to say SALT III, in the course of which the sides, taking account of the factors influencing the strategic situation, will try to attain the following specific goals: significant and substantial reductions in the numbers of strategic offensive weapons and qualitative limitations on strategic offensive weapons. SALT III is therefore to lead to the further limitation of nuclear weapons.

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Another important point is that the joint Soviet-United States communiqué on the Vienna meeting makes special mention of the fact that the USSR and the United States of America have "committed themselves to take major steps to limit nuclear weapons with the objective of ultimately eliminating them". For its part, the Soviet Union is prepared to take the most resolute measures in this respect. At their meeting in Budapest on 14 and 15 May of this year, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States Parties to the Warsaw Pact expressed their support for the maximum intensification of efforts with a view to the speedy achievement of practical agreement on the dates and procedures for holding talks on ending the production of nuclear weapons of all types and on the gradual reduction of their stockpiles up to and including their complete elimination.

Of course, the results of the meeting in Vienna and the documents signed at that meeting are rightly associated with hopes for the more rapid solution of the entire range of problems related to disarmament, including those on the agenda of the Committee on Disarmament. I think it would be no exaggeration to say that this is true above all of questions concerning the limitation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament.

In the view of the Soviet delegation, the Commission should proceed without delay to the preparation of conditions for the beginning of concrete negotiations on ending the production of all types of nuclear weapons and gradually reducing their stockpiles until they have been completely destroyed. Appeals for negotiations on this subject were voiced in the statements made by representatives of many of the countries represented on the Committee at the spring part of this session.

In the course of discussions in the Committee, many delegations raised questions with a view to clarifying the contents of the proposals set out in document CD/4 and put forward constructive ideas directed towards its implementation. These statements have been studied carefully by the authors of the document.

Today the Soviet delegation would like to make some additional comments on document CD/4.

The purpose of the socialist countries' initiative is to make talks on nuclear disarmament comprehensive. Such an approach is necessary if the goal is to be the complete and final elimination of nuclear weapons. At the same time, we do not exclude the discussion, during negotiations, of any partial questions leading to the effective limitation of or a ban on any type of nuclear weapon and the means of its delivery on a mutually agreed basis (for example, the production of fissionable materials intended for use in weapons, launch vehicles, etc.). Of course, agreement still has to be reached on the subject of the talks.

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With regard to the participants in talks on nuclear disarmament, the Soviet delegation would like once again to emphasize categorically that the task of achieving the complete elimination of all nuclear weapons urgently requires the participation in talks on this question of all the nuclear-weapon Powers -- China, France, the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States. Otherwise we would be faced with a more than strange situation in which some nuclear-weapon Powers would be conducting talks on the limitation and reduction of their nuclear arsenals while other nuclear-weapon States would be moving towards an increase in their nuclear-weapon stockpiles.

Many of the questions raised by delegations at the spring part of the Committee's session concerned the stages to be passed through on the way towards the goal of the complete elimination of nuclear-weapon stockpiles. At this stage it would probably be premature to describe these stages in detail, since this will be a subject for the future talks. However, some preliminary comments can be made in this connexion, and in particular on the basis of paragraph 50 of the Final Document of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which states that the achievement of nuclear disarmament will require an agreement on "a comprehensive, phased programme with agreed time-frames, whenever feasible, for progressive and balanced reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, leading to their ultimate and complete elimination at the earliest possible time".

The authors of the proposals contained in document CD/4 proceed on the assumption that the elimination of nuclear weapons cannot be achieved at a single stroke and that the attainment of this goal will involve more than one stage. Nuclear disarmament measures must be implemented gradually, in a definite sequence or in parallel within time-limits to be agreed upon, and they must be underpinned by the strengthening of political and international legal guarantees of the security of States. However, each individual measure taken must be an organic part of the nuclear disarmament programme as a whole, thus ensuring the comprehensive approach necessary to achieve the elimination of nuclear weapons. The passage to each subsequent stage must take place after the full implementation of the measures included in the preceding stage.

The various stages of nuclear disarmament may differ not only by virtue of the nature of the measures involved but also of the degree of participation of the various nuclear-weapon States in such measures, that is to say, the number of measures taken by them. The number of measures to be taken at each stage by these Powers will have to be agreed upon during the talks themselves.

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In order to maintain the existing balance in nuclear power during the gradual reduction in the level of nuclear armaments, it will be necessary to take account of the quantitative and qualitative significance of existing arsenals of the nuclear-weapon States and the other States concerned. Here we have in mind national military arsenals taken in their entirety, including both nuclear and conventional weapons. Such an approach will ensure the desired balance in measures to eliminate nuclear weapons -- undoubtedly an important condition for the strict observance of the principle of not jeopardizing the security of States.

The Soviet Union fully shares the view expressed by other delegations that the principle of not jeopardizing the security of States must constitute the basis for any agreement on questions related to disarmament, including, of course, nuclear disarmament. If this principle is taken into account, the agreement reached will be effective and will strengthen the security of all States.

We believe that the negotiations should be conducted on the strict understanding that, during the nuclear disarmament process, none of the nuclear-weapon States should try to gain unilateral military advantages, either directly or indirectly. It therefore follows that regard for the security interests of the nuclear-weapon States should not jeopardize the security interests of all the other non-nuclear countries.

During the discussion of the proposals submitted by the socialist countries, certain delegations noted that the solution of problems connected with verification of the implementation of a nuclear disarmament arrangement will raise considerable difficulties. Attempts were even made, on the basis of this argument, to cast doubt on the expediency of conducting negotiations aimed at the elimination of nuclear weapons. In submitting their proposal, the socialist countries proceeded on the assumption that nuclear disarmament negotiations will inevitably be difficult because they cover political, military and technical questions which, by their very nature, are complex. As we see it, problems of verification will not be the only ones calling for serious efforts on the part of the participants in the negotiations if they are to be solved. Furthermore, we have already acquired a certain amount of experience in the solution of verification problems. Indeed, there is a whole series of agreements in force concerning disarmament and the limitation of the arms race, and each of them contains a provision on verification. Naturally, observance of commitments to cease the production of and eliminate nuclear weapons calls for extremely effective verification. It can be based on the use of national means of verification supplemented by

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well-thought-out international procedures. Since measures aimed at halting the production of nuclear weapons and eliminating them will be complex and consist of a number of stages, the form and conditions of such verification must correspond to the objective, extent and nature of the measures implemented in each stage.

Nuclear disarmament talks cannot be productive if they fail to take into consideration the bilateral and multilateral arrangements already arrived at on quantitative and qualitative strategic arms limitations, on curbing the proliferation and testing of nuclear weapons, etc. Negotiations already in progress or planned on these questions can be conducted in parallel with negotiations on ending the production of and eliminating all nuclear weapons. One set of negotiations must not jeopardize the other; they should be complementary.

These are the additional points that the Soviet delegation wished to make.

During the first part of the session, the Soviet delegation stressed that discussion of the question of halting the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament should result in the speedy initiation of consultations on the preparation of talks on ending the production of and eliminating nuclear weapons. We hope that our discussion of the question will bring to light new and helpful ideas and opinions, both as regards the organizational aspects of preparations for the talks as well as the substance of the problems raised in document CD/4.

One question which arises is how these consultations should proceed. Which matters should be discussed in the consultations and where should they lead?

I shall answer the last question first. In view of the extraordinary complexity and multifaceted nature of the problem under discussion, an attempt must be made, in the course of the preparatory consultations, to define the set of problems to be discussed, to decide who is to participate in the negotiations, and to try to solve the organizational problems raised by the conduct of the talks. We consider that the Committee already has before it specific material for this purpose. It consists mainly of the working paper submitted by the socialist countries in document CD/4, various ideas expressed during the initial discussion of this subject, as well as the proposals and considerations which we expect will now be forthcoming.

And, finally, the answer to the first question. We stated earlier that we were prepared to agree to any method of conducting these consultations. In our view, the most expedient course would be to set up a working group -- whether formal or informal is immaterial. The important point is that the consultations should begin. The Soviet delegation expects members of the Committee to adopt a

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constructive approach to the solution of the problem of preparing for practical negotiations on ending the production of all types of nuclear weapons and gradually reducing their stockpiles until they have been completely destroyed.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to thank Ambassador Issraelyan, the distinguished representative of the Soviet Union, for his statement and for his warm fraternal greetings expressed to my country and to myself personally. The list of speakers for today is now exhausted; would any distinguished delegate like to take the floor? I see none.

Before adjourning today's meeting I should like to inform you that the next plenary meeting of the Committee will take place on Thursday, 5 July, at 10.30 a.m.

I would now like to suggest that we continue our work in an informal meeting immediately after the adjournment of the present plenary meeting. If there are no objections I will convene an informal meeting to continue the discussion of items 2 and 3 of the programme of work. I would also like to inform the Committee of some questions which were discussed yesterday.

The meeting rose at 11.45 a.m.