DISARMAMENT COMMISSION

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THIRTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 16 May 1980, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. VELLODI (India)

Agenda item 4: (continued)

(a) Consideration of various aspects of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament, in order to expedite negotiations aimed at effective elimination of the danger of nuclear war

(b) Consideration of the agenda items contained in section II of resolution 33/71 H, with the aim of elaborating, within the framework and in accordance with the priorities established at the tenth special session, a general approach to negotiations on nuclear and conventional disarmament

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The meeting was called to order at 11.05 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 4 (continued)

(a) CONSIDERATION OF VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE ARMS RACE, PARTICULARLY THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AND NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, IN ORDER TO EXPEDITE NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT EFFECTIVE ELIMINATION OF THE DANGER OF NUCLEAR WAR

(b) CONSIDERATION OF THE AGENDA ITEMS CONTAINED IN SECTION II OF RESOLUTION 33/71 H, WITH THE AIM OF ELABORATING, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRIORITIES ESTABLISHED AT THE TENTH SPECIAL SESSION, A GENERAL APPROACH TO NEGOTIATIONS ON NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL DISARMAMENT

Mr. KOCHUPEY (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): First, Mr. Chairman, I should like to express our satisfaction that at this session you are again guiding our work. That is certainly an earnest of the success and effectiveness of the efforts of the delegations in this Commission to achieve mutually acceptable solutions.

Despite the fact that the world situation has recently become more complicated, the efforts made by peace-loving peoples during the last decade have not been in vain. We have managed to achieve certain positive results. A number of measures have been taken to halt the arms race and bring about disarmament. A definite negotiating system on disarmament matters has been established, on both the multilateral and the bilateral levels. In general, it can be said that in the 1970s the basis was laid for further progress on the path towards détente and disarmament.

The countries of the socialist community, faithful to their peace-loving foreign policy, have been and still are prepared to proceed farther along that path and, to that end, last year put forward a whole series of specific proposals to limit armaments, to achieve disarmament, to expand and strengthen confidence-building measures in Europe, and so forth. The general programme of specific measures designed to halt the arms race was set forth, in particular, in the speech made by Mr. Brezhnev in Berlin on 6 October 1979 and at a meeting in December 1979 of the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty.
Unfortunately, we are compelled to note that this year's session of the Disarmament Commission is taking place in conditions where, as a result of actions taken by certain Powers, the situation in the world has been aggravated. The responsibility for this should be borne by those who saw in détente - which established itself as a leading tendency in inter-State relations in the 1970s - an obstacle to their plans and policies to impose their will on other peoples which have been arbitrarily included in the spheres of "vital interests" of imperialism. The network of military bases is being expanded in various regions of the world and forces for military interference in the affairs of independent States, the so-called "rapid deployment forces", are being knocked together.

In December 1979 a dangerous decision for the cause of peace was taken: that new American medium-range missiles should be stationed in a number of Western European countries. The aim was to upset the balance of forces in Europe, to ensure the military supremacy of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and to strike a blow at the principle of equality and the equal security of all sides. This could indeed start off a new spiral in the arms race.

Bearing all those circumstances in mind, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR considers that, in this international situation which has become more complicated, it is extremely important not to slacken but, on the contrary, to double, nay triple, our efforts to attain specific agreements in the field of curbing the arms race and disarmament. Therefore, our Commission should unambiguously speak out in favour of adopting realistic disarmament measures. Thus it would discharge the mission entrusted to it by the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and the behest of the last session of the General Assembly that it prepare elements of a draft resolution on the declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade. The countries of the socialist community call upon it to do that. In our view, the proposals of the Soviet Union concerning measures that should be adopted during the Second Disarmament Decade, as set forth in the letter sent by the Foreign Minister of the USSR, Mr. Gromyko, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, fully meet those needs.

The Ukrainian SSR has spoken out in support of those measures in a letter addressed to Mr. Waldheim. We note with satisfaction that, on the whole, many other delegations in the Commission have spoken about those measures.
We are convinced that the thrust of our efforts to halt the arms race and curb armaments, on which we ought to concentrate, should also be directed towards weapons of mass destruction, in particular nuclear weapons, and conventional weapons and should extend not only to individual regions but also to the whole world. What are customarily called confidence-building measures should also be included.

Of importance are measures relating to the cessation of production of all types of nuclear weapons, including the gradual reduction of stockpiles of those weapons until they have been completely eliminated. We believe that talks on those matters should be started as soon as possible.

Parallel measures should be adopted to strengthen political and international law guarantees for the security of States. Measures should also be taken further to limit and reduce the number of strategic weapons; and due attention should be given to further qualitative limitations, bearing in mind all factors which have an impact on the strategic situation in the world, including in Europe. In this respect, I should like to recall that the Soviet Government has proposed by talks to resolve the problem of cutting back on medium-range missiles in Europe, if the NATO decision to emplace additional missiles were to be rescinded or if its implementation were to be postponed in the interests of the success of those talks.

The adoption of measures to ban radiological and nuclear-neutron weapons and the convention banning chemical weaponry would save mankind from the threat of the use of well-known types of weapons of mass destruction.

The full and complete cessation of nuclear-weapon tests, the strengthening of the non-proliferation régime, the provision of security guarantees for non-nuclear States and the limitation of territories where nuclear weapons can be emplaced would all be important steps towards eliminating the nuclear threat.

The conclusion of a comprehensive agreement to ban the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of those weapons still remains relevant. We are in favour of adopting measures to limit conventional weapons. First and foremost, the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and countries bound to them by military agreements should undertake to stop expanding their armies and increasing their arsenals of conventional weapons. In practice it is those States that should reach agreement
on reducing their military budgets or, as a minimum, freezing them for a certain period of time.

Certain types of conventional weapons require the taking of special measures conducive to the elimination of the danger they present. The manufacture of new conventional weapons of great destructive force should be stopped. By an international agreement, we should ban or restrict the use of conventional weapons which are excessively injurious or have indiscriminate effects. The efforts of the United Nations conference in that direction should be supported on an all-round basis. Agreement on measures to reduce the level of military confrontation in Europe is relevant, and so are confidence-building measures suggested by the socialist countries.

There are other measures the implementation of which would give further substance to the programme for the Second Disarmament Decade. They have been mentioned in the Commission and in documents submitted by States in response to the United Nations Secretary-General's request.

The results of talks on problems of disarmament in the 1970s prove that realistic measures in this field are possible and feasible. However, it is quite obvious that not all States have as yet acceded to the multilateral agreements that have been reached in this field. Among them is China, a militarily powerful State. In this connexion, we consider it quite timely to appeal to those States which have not yet done so to accede to the existing agreements in the field of limiting the arms race and disarmament. We believe that that would help us to achieve more far-reaching practical measures in this field.

The obstacles that actually exist and those that have been artificially created in the way of further progress in détente and disarmament should be eliminated by consistent and concentrated efforts.

The socialist States have repeatedly stated that they are ready to limit and ban on a mutual basis, according to agreements with other States, any type of weapon, without diminishing anybody's security of course, in conditions of complete reciprocity among all States which possess those weapons. As Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev emphasized in his statement before electors on 22 February of this year:
"Now in the 1980s, as heretofore in the 1970s, we are in favour of strengthening, not destroying, détente. We are in favour of cutting back on armaments, not increasing them. We favour rapprochement and mutual understanding among peoples, not the artificial alienation of peoples and hostility."

In this spirit, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR intends to co-operate with other delegations at this session of the United Nations Disarmament Commission as well.
Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (interpretation from French): As many preceding speakers have pointed out, this session of the Disarmament Commission is taking place at a time when international tension has increased, the world political climate has been worsening and there exist great dangers for the peace and independence of peoples.

This situation, no doubt, has deep causes, rooted in the accumulation of a whole series of major problems yet to be solved. International life has been made more difficult by the widespread aggravation of economic, political, national and social contradictions, the intensification of the struggle for a new division of the world into spheres and zones of influence and by the re-emergence of the policy of force and diktat. The unceasing accumulation of weapons and the race to produce new and ever more sophisticated types of weapons - nuclear weapons in particular - has already reached unjustifiable levels far transcending the defence needs of States, and has become more and more a factor of insecurity for all nations and a constant source of tension, distrust and instability in international relations.

Today, more than ever, all States must join efforts to solve the complex problems of the contemporary world by exclusively peaceful means - through negotiations - with a view to the elimination of the threat or use of force in international relations and with respect for each people's right to decide its own destiny, without any external interference or pressure.

As the President of Romania recently declared, in the present particularly difficult circumstances there is no more important task than to bend every effort to safeguard international peace and security and to respect the independence and sovereignty of every nation.

The repeated appeal of my country's President, Nicolae Ceausescu, to all Governments, parliaments, political parties and democratic forces, as well as to the peoples of the world and to world public opinion, has been
for firm, tireless action in order to bring the arms race to an immediate halt and to achieve mankind's supreme aspiration, disarmament.

Our Commission, which is called upon to consider particularly important problems constituting the very essence of disarmament, can and must, through the will of us all, make a tangible contribution to stemming the tide of the worsening international political climate, to the building of confidence among States and to a resumption of the process of détente.

Like other delegations, we lay particular stress upon the need for our Commission's debates to be inspired by an understanding of the danger threatening humanity and to be action-oriented. Our debates should yield specific guidelines and recommendations that can lead to continued dialogue on disarmament problems and the beginning without delay of a genuine process of halting the arms race and bringing about disarmament.

Romania was one of the sponsors of the resolution adopted at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, upon the initiative of Nigeria, concerning the proclamation of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade. The fundamental objective of that Decade should, in our view, be the beginning of a genuine disarmament process and the implementation of concrete measures and actions likely to contribute to the eventual achievement of general and complete disarmament. The activities undertaken during the Second Disarmament Decade should be fully integrated with those of the comprehensive disarmament Programme and should dovetail with it so that the two can be mutually supportive.

In this respect, Romania, in the reply that it transmitted to the Secretary-General concerning the Second Disarmament Decade, stressed the need for efforts undertaken during the 1980s to focus on the freezing and reduction of military expenditures, the halting of the arms race - primarily the nuclear arms race - as well as on cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and the initiation of a process of negotiation for their reduction, and specific action leading towards general and complete disarmament.
The objectives of the Second Disarmament Decade must also be viewed within a broader context, notably the context of building a new international economic and political order, and should be consistent with the objectives of the Third Development Decade. The solution of the innumerable short, medium and long-term problems of the developing countries is inseparable from the problem of the needed financial resources that should be released, above all, by a reduction in the present vast military expenditures.

Particular attention should be given, during the Second Disarmament Decade, to practical measures for mobilizing public opinion and political forces throughout the world so that those forces can make a greater contribution to the cause of disarmament.

Since solution of disarmament problems no longer falls under the exclusive competence of Governments but, rather, is a problem of great concern to the broad masses and to practically all peoples, we feel that measures must be adopted so that appropriate structures can be established at the national level to make it possible for public opinion in every country to understand clearly the danger of the escalation of the arms race.

By the same token, the United Nations and its specialized agencies must intensify their activities in order to facilitate a broader dissemination of information and other data concerning the arms race situation and developments in disarmament negotiations.

With reference to the problems that are the subject of our exchange of views, it is generally recognized that firm action in the sphere of disarmament must constantly take account of the priority of nuclear disarmament measures. No doubt, responsibility for achieving this complex objective - which is of major importance to the entire world - belongs to the nuclear-weapons countries. None the less, because of the vital interest of peoples in the success of disarmament negotiations, all States must be given an opportunity to fulfil their duty, as stipulated in the Final Document, to make a contribution to the efforts in the field of disarmament. It is in this spirit that we view our own participation in discussions of the nuclear disarmament problem in this Commission, and we fully share the view expressed by other delegations that the exchange of opinions that we are now conducting should lead to consensus on concrete action for an immediate end to the arms race and the attainment of nuclear disarmament.
As is well known, for many years, in international negotiating bodies and deliberative bodies dealing with disarmament, Romania has made specific proposals aimed at the adoption of urgent measures such as the conclusion of a convention by virtue of which the nuclear-weapon countries would give negative security guarantees to all non-nuclear countries; the non-emplacement of nuclear weapons on the territory of other States; the cessation of the production of fissionable materials for military purposes; the prohibition of the perfecting of nuclear weapons, including the cessation of all nuclear-weapons tests and the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons; and the creation of denuclearized zones in different parts of the world.

The adoption of such measures would undoubtedly contribute to confidence-building among States, would strengthen international security and thus would promote the negotiation of significant agreements on the reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons. Romania believes that, concurrently with efforts that will be made with a view to reaching agreements on the problems I have just mentioned, it is necessary to proceed on an emergency basis to the organization of substantive negotiations on the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and their gradual reduction until those weapons can be totally eliminated, as that is no doubt the ultimate goal of any strategy for nuclear disarmament.

In this context I should like to stress Romania's firm belief that negotiations must begin on nuclear weapons in Europe. NATO's decision of December last concerning the emplacement of new types of nuclear missiles in certain Western European countries is a danger to all the countries of the continent. It could lead Europe, which is already over-armed, into a new phase of escalation of the arms race. Our urgent appeal that that decision be reversed, or at least that its implementation be suspended, is aimed at facilitating the beginning of talks on a problem of vital interest to all the peoples of Europe. It is based on the idea that the achievement of a balance of forces in Europe, as elsewhere in the world, should be accomplished not through increasing armaments but rather through their gradual reduction.

Any consideration of the nuclear-disarmament process should be based on recognition of and respect for the legitimate right of all States without discrimination to use nuclear energy and technology for peaceful purposes.
Given the fact that the peaceful uses of nuclear energy are, at the present stage in the technical and scientific revolution, an important means for the quick development of the economy, attempts to establish monopolistic practices in nuclear technology on the pretext that expansion of their use would lead to a proliferation of nuclear weapons are unacceptable. By virtue of their sovereign equality, all countries have a right to benefit, within the framework of broad international cooperation, from the most important advances of science and technology, including advances in the nuclear sphere. The main source of the increased danger of proliferation is the constant accumulation of nuclear weapons and their increasing sophistication - in other words, their vertical proliferation. The exercise of the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation (INFCCE) confirmed that, from the technical standpoint, a guarantee of free access to energy and nuclear technology does not weaken the régime of nuclear non-proliferation.

The second conference of the parties entrusted with consideration of the implementation of the non-proliferation Treaty, which will take place in August, should facilitate access by States to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, and above all it should lead to effective measures to halt the nuclear-arms race and to strengthen the security of non-nuclear States. In our view, that is the only way to eliminate the danger of proliferation and to strengthen the viability and credibility of the Treaty.

With a view to achieving those objectives, at the first conference of the parties entrusted with consideration of the implementation of the Treaty Romania made specific suggestions concerning the security guarantees that nuclear States should offer the non-nuclear countries. I stress this question, which is a political one par excellence, because it involves the security of virtually all the countries of our world.

We are convinced that security guarantees for all countries, nuclear or not, as well as international security in general, involve nuclear disarmament, the elimination of nuclear weapons, and the complete elimination of nuclear arsenals. However, until specific measures can be taken in this direction, the States that have committed themselves under the Non-Proliferation Treaty to renounce the acquisition of nuclear weapons have the fully justified right to demand and to obtain from the nuclear Powers firm guarantees that never and in no circumstances will they ever be the victims of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, or of the use of force in general.
We have always felt that security guarantees for non-nuclear States should be provided in the form of an international convention. We have been participating actively in the consideration of this question in the Committee on Disarmament, and we are in favour of the continuation and intensification of negotiations so that concrete results can be achieved as soon as possible.

An important aspect of the arms race is, assuredly, developments in the field of conventional weapons. Just like other disarmament measures, action in the sphere of conventional disarmament should take into account the military and political characteristics of each geographical zone, as well as the strengthening of international peace and security. As a European country, Romania is firmly in favour of the implementation of measures of military disengagement and disarmament on our continent, and in that respect my country hopes that the meeting to take place in Madrid will make substantial progress in that direction. We feel that due attention should be given to serious preparations for the Madrid Conference, so that it can respond to the hopes of peoples interested in the attainment of security, co-operation and détente on the continent, objectives that presuppose the implementation of genuine measures of military disengagement and disarmament in Europe.

My delegation is prepared to continue to participate in the consideration of the complex aspects of conventional disarmament. In this context I should like to mention our great interest in the working documents submitted to our Commission by Spain and Denmark. The ideas and proposals in those working documents are a contribution to our approaching the vast problems of conventional disarmament from a broader perspective and from a new angle, and they can certainly stimulate discussions at this session and at future sessions. We are prepared to consider during our discussions any initiative in the framework of efforts to implement and attain the objectives set by all of us in the Final Document of the special session and in other resolutions devoted to disarmament.
Sir. SOUTHICHAK (Lao People’s Democratic Republic) (interpretation from French): Sir. Chairman, my delegation is happy to see you presiding over the present session of the Disarmament Commission. Your experience and your exceptional qualities permit us to hope that this session of the Commission will once again be crowned by success.

Since this year we are entering upon a new phase in our striving for disarmament, it is imperative that we more seriously reconsider the aims and objectives of disarmament, as well as the practical measures that could result from our efforts. It has become ever more unthinkable that the international community should live in the grip of fear because of the capacity for destruction that exists rather than living in a world where peace and security reign for all.

At the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, the exhaustive evaluation of the results of the last decade led to the conclusion that the objectives that the General Assembly had initially defined 10 years ago now were as remote as they had been then, if not more so, since the arms race, far from slackening, had accelerated and is still gaining speed despite all efforts made to check it.

This acceleration of the arms race fundamentally results from the attempts by imperialist circles to preserve their supremacy in the arms field, to perpetuate even further the political and economic order based on domination, subjugation and the exploitation of peoples by the classic means of military intervention and gross interference in the internal affairs of independent States of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Although the international situation has seen positive developments in recent years, it remains a matter of concern because of the challenge to peace posed by the forces of imperialism and international reaction. The preparations for intervention and war against independent countries have taken an ever more dangerous turn in respect of peace and international security. Europe, the continent which has twice experienced war, will be exposed to a growing danger of confrontation as long as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) envisages the large-scale deployment in Western Europe of Pershing II and Cruise missiles. In the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean,
NATO is working to strengthen its military bases and its military potential. Africa, for its part, will be exposed to nuclear perils by South Africa, which has just installed nuclear weapons in co-operation with certain western Powers. In South-East Asia, the situation is marked by aggression and the threat of aggression from international reaction because of its policy of great-Power chauvinism and the imperialist attempt to give new life, in another form, to the military pact of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). Even more dangerous still will be the use of its interventionist instrument, the rapid intervention force, conceived for the perpetration of acts of aggression and interference in the internal affairs of independent and sovereign States.

All this seriously threatens international peace and security and, without a doubt, gives impetus to the dangerous arms race.

In the course of its present session, the Disarmament Commission is called upon to examine the various aspects of the arms race. In this respect, emphasis has been placed on the nuclear arms race and on nuclear disarmament, on the urgency of getting negotiations under way and on the general approach of those negotiations with respect to both nuclear and conventional weapons.

In that regard, a glance at the recent past has shown that the arms race has accelerated during the last decade. That acceleration may be explained by the increase in global military expenditures, amounting to slightly more than $200 billion in 1970 - the year the Decade was proclaimed - while by the end of the Decade it amounted to $450 billion. The disclosure of that figure is horrifying for everyone who is aware of the gravity of the situation in the arms field in the present day and it is revolting when one realizes that millions of human beings are still living in poverty, or even, as some say, absolute poverty.

In fact, in spite of certain localized wars of aggression perpetrated by the forces of imperialism and international reaction, wars of which we disapproved from the start, the Decade which has just ended is considered the decade of victory for peace and détente. The adoption of the Final Act of Helsinki opened up a new prospect for fruitful co-operation for the cause of peace.
and détente. Likewise, certain achievements have been noted in the field of disarmament, achievements which took the form of the signing of agreements and treaties on disarmament, among which was the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty. The most remarkable and important achievement was the adoption by the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, of the Final Document which includes an introduction, declaration, programme of action and machinery related to disarmament. That Final Documents points to a whole series of new directions from which various fields of disarmament might be approached and negotiations be undertaken in order to achieve specific disarmament measures.

The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic welcomes the adoption at the last session of the General Assembly of resolution 34/75, which proclaimed the decade beginning in 1980 as a disarmament decade. That resolution contains certain elements which had already been incorporated in General Assembly resolution 2602 (XXIV) of 16 December 1969. There is also some point in noting that four of the seven preambular paragraphs of resolution 34/75 stressed the question of development which will be considered as a question of priority during the course of the present Decade as well. In the course of the new Decade, along with the imperative of development, highest priority should be given to the elaboration of a global disarmament programme which would include a gradual programme for measures to be taken in the various fields of disarmament. In that connexion, the first substantive session of this Commission decided that the implementation of this programme should contribute in the first place to bringing about the cessation of the arms race and to the initiation of a true process of disarmament. In our view, that is an important question which it is the duty of this Commission to resolve. We believe that one of the practical methods of halting the arms race would be the reduction of military expenditures, particularly by those States with significant economic and military potential.
The Commission was quite rightly given the task of examining this question in greater depth during this session. We also think that all should refrain from manufacturing and developing new weapons so that we can begin the disarmament process. Operative paragraph 3 of that same resolution says that the draft resolution on the decade should embody an indication of targets for accomplishing the major objectives and goals of disarmament, as well as ways and means of mobilizing world public opinion in this regard. My delegation continues to believe that the elements contained in the Final Document of the special session of the General Assembly, in particular that regarding the convening of a world disarmament conference, should be repeated in the draft resolution regarding the disarmament decade in order to provide guidelines for our efforts at attaining disarmament goals for the new decade as well. We also think that the comprehensive programme of disarmament adopted by consensus by our Commission, following concerted efforts, should also receive our full attention when we prepare the resolution on the decade.

As far as negotiations go, we think that the existing machinery, both bilateral and multilateral, still offers possibilities for various States to achieve results on a number of disarmament measures. At the bilateral level, the climate of trust which reigned at the end of the last decade between the great Powers possessing large arms arsenals following the signing of the joint Soviet—United States communiqué and the signing of the SALT II Treaty gave everyone hope that another major step could be taken substantially to reduce those two Powers' weapons, nuclear as well as conventional. But regrettable for us all, the spirit of that communiqué has been deliberately forgotten for the moment and the Treaty has not yet been ratified by the United States, for unjustified reasons adduced by the Administration of the United States. Indeed, the agreement that emerged from that communiqué and Treaty is the result of the policy of co-operation and détente established during the last decade, a policy that the countries and forces which cherish peace, national independence, justice and social progress still hold dear, since they intend at all costs to preserve this important achievement for peace and international security. Any attempt to undermine the trust born as a result of that event will only compromise the cause of disarmament and détente and therefore accelerate the arms race.
At the multilateral level, the Committee on Disarmament, which has just taken over from the negotiations started several years ago in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, is one of the appropriate mechanisms that conducts its work on the basis of consensus and adopts its own rules of procedure and agenda. A striking fact is that the Committee is open to participation by States possessing nuclear weapons. In order for these negotiations to achieve concrete results, in the field of both nuclear and conventional weapons, it is not enough simply to refrain from obstructionism; we must work in good faith to attain the goals and objectives of disarmament. To this end, a number of initiatives have been taken regarding nuclear weapons, the initiative emanating from the eight socialist countries concerning negotiations to halt the manufacture of new types of nuclear weapons and gradually to reduce their stockpiles until their complete elimination being of particular importance and presenting a very reasonable approach to achieving new progress in the field of nuclear disarmament. Also, since in disarmament negotiations all relevant proposals should be taken into consideration, we consider that the initiative taken by the Group of 21 regarding the nuclear arms race and disarmament will also provide a basis for concerted action to make similar progress in this sphere.

My delegation considers that, in order effectively to eliminate the risk of a nuclear war, negotiations should be resumed, in accordance with the spirit of resolution 34/83 C of the General Assembly, and that each State or group of States should refrain from seeking to ensure its military supremacy by installing nuclear weapons in countries or territories not yet possessing those weapons and also refrain from deploying any nuclear weapon that could destroy the balance of force that exists at present. To this end, attention should also be focused on requests for the guarantee by States possessing nuclear weapons not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States. We do not think that strengthening the solemn commitment to that guarantee, which merely has the force of a resolution, responds to the quite understandable hopes of most States which want to see an internationally binding treaty or instrument concluded.

We think also that we should be able to agree on a treaty on the non-use of force. To achieve all this, it is important to proceed with the greatest determination
in negotiations on all questions that are still pending on both nuclear and conventional weapons and that negotiations that have already been started should be pursued.

In order to achieve good results, negotiations require the political will of all, as well as a good basis enabling us to achieve certain concrete measures in the field of disarmament. To this end, my delegation welcomes the adoption at the last session of the General Assembly of the Declaration on International Co-operation for Disarmament submitted by Czechoslovakia, a declaration that, inter alia, seeks to bring about effective, constructive and continued co-operation among all States to attain the objectives of disarmament.

Before concluding, my delegation would like immediately to condemn the attempt on the part of certain people to bring up questions other than those on the agenda of the Disarmament Commission, to which the supreme body of the United Nations gave the mandate of examining specific questions on disarmament. In trying to discredit the Soviet Union and Viet Nam, one of the authors of that attempt was merely seeking to slough off responsibility for unspeakable crimes committed against more than 3 million Kampuchecans and also to justify its preparations for intervention and interference in the internal affairs of the countries of the region, while the other seeks to justify its plan for a renaissance of the arms race and the implementation of the NATO decision concerning the deployment in Western Europe of medium-range nuclear missiles against the Soviet Union and also its plan to strengthen its military potential in various regions of the world.
Mr. De Souza e Silva (Brazil): The United Nations Disarmament Commission is meeting for the second time since the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The Brazilian delegation attaches great significance to this universal forum for debating and reviewing the questions connected with disarmament. Together with the Committee on Disarmament, which constitutes the negotiating forum, this body is charged with important tasks in presenting guidelines agreed upon by the international community for the realization of the common goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

The mandate given to the Disarmament Commission by the General Assembly for this session is contained in resolutions A/34/75 and A/34/83 H. The latter deals mainly with the Assembly's consideration of the report of the 1979 session of this Commission and with items contained in our agenda for this session. As is well known, the Commission during its 1979 session devoted its efforts almost exclusively to the discussion of the elements of a comprehensive programme on disarmament. Those were adopted by consensus and will be the subject of further discussion and negotiation in the Committee on Disarmament, which has established an Ad Hoc Working Group to that end. The fact that Ambassador Adeniji of Nigeria has been selected as Chairman of the Ad Hoc Working Group enhances the prospects of achieving a balanced document which could be a suitable basis for the adoption of a programme on disarmament by the second special session devoted to disarmament, in 1982.

The consensus achieved at the end of the 1979 session of the Disarmament Commission on the document transmitted to the Committee on Disarmament, however, covers over several important concerns. The Brazilian delegation did not wish to block the consensus that emerged on that occasion. But we did place on record the opinions of our delegation, especially with regard to the imbalance with which the report of the Disarmament Commission approaches the basic question of responsibilities and obligations for disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament. We also voiced our reservations, at the time when the document was being drafted, on the formulations now contained in items 5 and 6 of paragraph 14 A, which deals with the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We felt then, as we continue to feel, that there should be explicit mention of the vertical aspects of nuclear proliferation. The document also fails
to take account of the important qualifications recognized in the Final Document of the special session, regarding nuclear-weapon-free zones. Other short-comings are still present in the text as finally approved. The Brazilian delegation intends to co-operate, in a constructive spirit, with the Working Group set up within the Committee on Disarmament, so that the "elements" will finally present a more balanced approach and will constitute a sound basis for a comprehensive programme on disarmament.

This year, however, the United Nations Disarmament Commission is confronted with another task of great importance and of considerable difficulty. Resolution A/34/75 directs this Commission to prepare the elements of a draft resolution entitled "Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade", and to submit these elements to the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Pursuant to the operative part of that resolution, the Secretary-General consulted Member Governments for their views and suggestions. Some of the replies have already been distributed and others, including the views of the Brazilian Government, are expected to be released shortly in document form. We have studied with interest the ideas contained in the replies of other Members of the United Nations. The Secretary-General has distributed a useful working paper to the Disarmament Commission to assist it in its work on the declaration. The question is under consideration by the Commission under item 3 of its agenda.

This Commission has on its agenda also a number of issues of paramount importance in the field of disarmament. Our discussion today is primarily centred on nuclear disarmament, under item 4. In the course of my statement, however, I shall also touch upon other aspects of the spectrum of disarmament questions. We attach the highest priority to nuclear disarmament, which we regard as the primary target of disarmament efforts. Indeed, we believe that the Disarmament Commission should hold a thorough discussion of this issue, which for several reasons was carried over from its 1979 agenda, since there was no substantive consideration of it during last year's session. The report to be submitted by the Disarmament Commission to the General Assembly must thus devote substantial attention to nuclear disarmament and to the nuclear armaments race.
My delegation deems it worth while, at this stage of our work, to take stock of disarmament efforts, particularly in the nuclear field. It is fitting that the Disarmament Commission should engage in such an activity as the first disarmament decade draws to a close. Despite the lofty purposes that inspired the declaration of the first disarmament decade, the results of the endeavours of the international community in the field of nuclear disarmament during the 1970s look dismal indeed. For the past 10 years, mankind has witnessed an unprecedented upward twist in the spiral of the armaments race, particularly in the realm of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems.

The vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons, a question which has long been neglected, has attained new and even more ominous heights. Growing international tensions compound the picture of bleak prospects for the success of efforts currently under way in the field of disarmament. It is thus imperative that the international community, represented in the Disarmament Commission, take decisive steps to give new dimensions to its resolve to proceed without delay to nuclear disarmament, as the first phase of a programme aimed at achieving general and complete disarmament.

Thus, we welcome the opportunity to participate, in the framework of the Working Group set up by this Commission, in the discussion of the elements of a declaration of the 1980s as the second disarmament decade. In the view of the Brazilian delegation, such a document should give unequivocal expression to the determination of the international community to embark upon practical measures of disarmament. Special targets should be defined in a realistic way so that the whole exercise becomes a sound, meaningful basis for progress during the decade. The declaration should recognize the urgency and priority of nuclear disarmament and the primordial role assigned to the United Nations in its achievement; it should also recognize the special responsibility of nuclear Powers in this process and, at the same time, take due account of the fundamental and legitimate concerns of the entire international community, on a non-discriminatory basis. Agreements which spell responsibilities and obligations for nuclear Powers and non-nuclear-weapon
nations must avoid discrimination and should not attempt to perpetuate existing imbalances. A declaration of the 1980s as the second disarmament decade should also focus on the economic and social aspects connected with disarmament measures, in keeping with the needs of two thirds of humanity. No hindrance to the full utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes should result from international disarmament measures; furthermore, the resources freed by such measures should be channelled for the promotion of economic and social development, particularly in the less developed countries. Finally, the declaration should envisage the optimum utilization of the multilateral machinery for the consideration and negotiation of disarmament questions. The United Nations has at its disposal several forums in which proper consideration can be given to the issues connected with disarmament. What is needed is the political will of the Members of the Organization to make use of that machinery to transform into reality the often-repeated expressions of support for the goals of disarmament.
The agenda for the present session of the United Nations Disarmament Commission also deals with the reduction of military budgets, in addition to the items relating to the Disarmament Decade and to the nuclear arms race. As I have said before, it has been the consistent position of the Brazilian delegation that nuclear disarmament is the most urgent task facing the international community, a task to which the United Nations has assigned the highest priority. The reduction of military budgets devoted to the improvement of nuclear capability and to the perfecting of nuclear weapons thus constitutes a matter of the greatest concern for my delegation. We believe that the United Nations Disarmament Commission should concentrate its efforts on the search for agreed guidelines in this field, taking into account the increasing danger that the nuclear armaments race poses for the whole of mankind. Resources freed by reductions in nuclear-weapon budgets should also, in our view, be used for the betterment of conditions of living by their reallocation for purposes of economic and social development, particularly in the developing countries.

Before I conclude, I should like to express my delegation's satisfaction at working under your most experienced and able guidance, Mr. Chairman, and to pledge our full co-operation.

Mr. GYAWALI (Nepal): I wish to express on behalf of my delegation our happiness at seeing you, Sir, a representative of our friendly neighbour, India, in the Chair. I am confident that your able guidance will help to make the deliberations of this Commission fruitful.

While entering the first year of a new disarmament decade, I wish we could have looked with satisfaction at the preceding decade. Unfortunately, that is not the case. The previous decade, in spite of some positive achievements, utterly failed in one thing, that is, in halting the arms race. The world today stands much more saturated with arms than at the beginning of that decade.
The closing of the previous decade and the beginning of the new one have brought forth more military tensions and various threats to international peace and security. Whether it be a lack of mutual trust, a lack of the political will or a lack of restraint, nations with their sophisticated nuclear arsenals are not only proceeding speedily towards a dangerous precipice but are also dragging their poor brethren of the third world with them. Hence the halting of the arms race, and more specifically the nuclear arms race, has been a matter of the utmost priority. As soon as possible, we have to eliminate nuclear armaments or else be prepared to be eliminated by them. My delegation sincerely hopes that by the end of this decade we will not have to assess this decade also with a sense of disappointment, as the previous decade was assessed in the Final Document of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

The declaration of the 1970s as the first Disarmament Decade had aroused considerable hope that it would create a strong world opinion against the mounting arms race and result in its mitigation. The General Assembly, by its resolution 34/75 concerning the declaration of the 1980s as a disarmament decade, has given reflection to the renewed hope that we should now at least achieve some concrete results. My delegation shares that hope. We believe that that can be achieved by reactivating international disarmament machinery for negotiations and concentrating first on certain priorities, as pointed out by the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, namely: nuclear weapons, other weapons of mass destruction, conventional weapons, including any which may be deemed excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate effects, and the reduction of armed forces. In addition to the identification of priorities, the declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade should emphasize the reversal of the arms race as well as the close relationship between disarmament and development.

We earnestly hope that the Decade will witness an early conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty. We find the present lack of progress in the tripartite talks unfortunate, the more so because of the considerable progress reported till the recent past. Similarly, we do not find it too much to
expect the early conclusion of an international instrument to guarantee the security of the non-nuclear States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. These could form the short-term objectives of the Decade and their realization could be a great achievement before the second special session on disarmament scheduled for 1982.

The effective universalization of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the development of effective international instruments to back the creation of nuclear-free zones could be other concrete achievements of the Second Disarmament Decade. The creation of zones of peace can go a long way in the relaxation of tensions and the promotion of regional security, co-operation and goodwill, thereby enhancing international peace and security. It can also create conditions for undisturbed devotion to development. Those were the reasons which had motivated my country to propose itself as a zone of peace.

My delegation would also welcome the effective initiation of the process of conventional disarmament. In this connexion, regional agreement on the quantity of conventional armaments for maintaining the security of States and the subsequent dialogue between suppliers and recipients on that basis could be a constructive approach.

However, we regret the lack of progress on the ratification of SALT II while we had been looking forward to other subsequent SALT negotiations.

To conclude, disarmament is a field in which we have no other choice but to succeed ultimately. We have no alternative but to break the vicious circle of nuclear, conventional and other armaments of destruction and to utilize the resources so far misused for the improvement of the living conditions of mankind. This has to be done before it is too late and the capacity for making decisions passes out of our hands.
The CHAIRMAN: I hope that those representatives whose names are on the list of speakers will appreciate the time constraints under which we are working. We have to complete the general exchange of views on this item on Monday so as to allow enough time for the consideration of other items in the plenary Commission and for the Working Group to meet. As of now, it is my expectation that we shall be able to complete our debate on agenda item 4 on Monday morning. Therefore, I appeal to all those who were listed to speak today and who are now listed to speak on Monday to be ready to do so then.

Mr. RIOS (Panama) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. Chairman, would you be good enough to read out the list of speakers for Monday.

The CHAIRMAN: There are 16 listed for Monday morning - one tentatively. They are: Denmark, Sierra Leone, Venezuela, Panama, the Philippines, Egypt, Sweden, Finland, the United States of America, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Canada with a question mark, Czechoslovakia, France, Bhutan and Senegal.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.