GENERAL ASSEMBLY

DISARMAMENT COMMISSION

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE NINETY-SIXTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 21 May 1985, at 3 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. AHMAD (Pakistan)

- Review and appraisal of the implementation of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade: preliminary assessment and suggestions to ensure progress

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The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.


Mr. THIELICKE (German Democratic Republic): The delegation of the German Democratic Republic shares the concern expressed by many countries concerning the lack of tangible results in the field of disarmament during the last few years. In our opinion, the review of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade provides a good opportunity to assess the situation which has prevailed in the first half of the Disarmament Decade and to draw the necessary conclusions for the second half of the Decade.

Together with the other States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, my country has during the first half of the Second Disarmament Decade persistently pursued the implementation of the goals outlined in resolution 35/46 and has submitted a comprehensive set of proposals aimed at removing the danger of nuclear war and scaling down military confrontation in both Europe and the world at large.

At sessions of the United Nations General Assembly, my country has launched initiatives concerning mainly the non-first use of nuclear weapons, nuclear disarmament and the prohibition of the nuclear neutron weapon as well as chemical weapons. In such multilateral and regional negotiating forums as the Conference on Disarmament, the Stockholm Conference and the Vienna talks, my country has - alone or together with other socialist countries - submitted a number of concrete proposals designed to bring about effective measures towards arms limitation and disarmament.

Notwithstanding all the efforts of both socialist and non-aligned States, progress has been elusive in the early 1980s owing to the drive for military superiority by imperialist circles, a policy that is destabilizing the international situation and aggravating nuclear confrontation. This policy of force and diktat has led to an unprecedented massive arms build-up, particularly in the nuclear field, and to efforts to spread the arms race to outer space. At the same time, doctrines are upheld which proclaim the admissibility of nuclear war and which, specifically, take into account the first use of nuclear weapons. Owing to this policy, bilateral and trilateral negotiations on different issues of arms limitation and disarmament have been broken off or undermined during the end of the
1970s and the first half of the 1980s. Agreements signed between the Soviet Union and the United States in the 1970s have not been ratified - owing to the position of one side. It has also been mainly that nuclear-weapon Power that has so far prevented the start of genuine multilateral negotiations on nuclear issues at the Conference on Disarmament.

While the danger of nuclear war has grown, the forces opposing that danger and capable of overcoming it have also gained in strength. This is reflected, for example, in the growth of the world-wide peace movement.

At the Berlin meeting of the Committee of Foreign Ministers in December 1984, the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty expressed their firm conviction that

"there are possibilities of achieving a turn for the better. What it takes is the initiation of a policy of realism and businesslike co-operation in the effort to meet the challenges facing the peoples of Europe and the world at large".

To eliminate the danger of a nuclear inferno it is imperative to prevent the militarization of outer space, to put an end to the arms race on Earth and to limit and reduce nuclear-weapon arsenals until they are finally eliminated. Therefore, the German Democratic Republic welcomed the beginning of new Soviet-American negotiations, which have exactly that aim. We fully support the constructive approach of the Soviet Union, which is ready for the most radical steps. It would no doubt be of great importance if the United States were to respond constructively to the proposals made by the Soviet Union on 7 April 1985.

The start of the new bilateral negotiations is undoubtedly an encouraging development. The ongoing arms race and the complicated international situation make it necessary, indeed urgent, to complement those negotiations by multilateral negotiations. In the statement he delivered on 9 May the head of the delegation of the German Democratic Republic outlined a set of measures which should be considered in parallel with the Soviet-American talks during the second part of the Disarmament Decade. I should like to use this opportunity to elaborate on some of them.

The militarization of outer space would entail serious dangers to mankind. The realization of plans which are on purpose labelled "defensive" would lead to an accelerated armaments competition in all areas and make limitations on and reductions of strategic offensive arms impossible. The danger of nuclear war would considerably increase.
Reports about recent events show the dangerous line the proponents of a so-called space defence have embarked upon. This is already true of one of the first steps of this programme - the development of an X-ray laser space weapon powered by a nuclear bomb. We should like to ask how such weapons can be brought into line with the Moscow Treaty on a partial test ban, the Outer Space Treaty and other agreements. No time must be lost. The 1980s must become not the decade of an arms race in outer space but, rather, the decade of peaceful research and co-operation in this area. Our aim for the 1980s should be to consolidate and strengthen the agreements on arms limitation achieved in the 1960s and 1970s - not to bury them.
What is called for are measures of a preventive nature against an arms race in space. By the way, in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in the mid-1970s the socialist countries had already drawn attention to the possible creation of laser and particle-beam weapons and had proposed the prohibition of new weapons of mass destruction. At that time Western delegations denied the dangers inherent in such developments. Had it been possible to agree on the steps advanced by the socialist countries we might be better off today.

There can be only one conclusion: all opportunities have to be taken to come to an agreement on the prevention of an arms race in outer space. The Conference on Disarmament should proceed to relevant negotiations. The draft treaty submitted by the Soviet Union in 1983 offers an appropriate basis. Interesting ideas have been advanced by France, Sweden, Italy, Canada and other countries.

By putting up a barrier against the qualitative nuclear-arms race, a comprehensive nuclear-weapon test ban could to a large extent complement the Soviet-American negotiations.

In this body as well ideas have been advanced according to which a comprehensive test ban should be approached in what has been called a practical way, that is, in a discussion of the questions connected with it and, especially, with regard to verification. My delegation cannot agree to such an approach. A comprehensive test ban has been discussed, considered and negotiated for 30 years now. The time is more than ripe for a final solution, that is, for the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. It stands to reason that such a treaty will, of course, contain pertinent provisions on verification. But we are against attempts, in this as in other fields, to raise a so-called verification question to prevent an agreement. There are no unsurmountable technical problems concerning verification. As Glenn Seaborg, the former Chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, put it in 1983, the ability to monitor compliance with a comprehensive test ban has become more assured in the course of the 1960s and 1970s, and tests above one kiloton have a high probability of being detected and identified.

In this connection I would also like to refer to the former Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, David Owen, who only recently wrote:

"Today there is a solid scientific United Kingdom view that a total test ban could now be verified, and this is supported by many scientists and politicians in the United States."
We hope that the countries concerned will reconsider their positions so that the second half of this Disarmament Decade will finally see the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapons tests.

For my delegation and, I am sure, for the overwhelming majority, a comprehensive test ban is a short-term priority goal.

In order to achieve progress during the second half of the Disarmament Decade serious negotiations are necessary. What is needed is the will to conduct them in a constructive spirit and to seek compromise solutions that meet the legitimate security interests of all States. They must not be misused as a smokescreen for an intensified arms build-up.

The Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament continues to be the guideline for the activities of States in disarmament negotiations. The attitude towards this unanimously adopted document is the yardstick against which to measure readiness to pursue the objectives of the Second Disarmament Decade by taking concrete steps at the bilateral, multilateral and regional levels.

Mr. PAVLOVSKY (Czechoslovakia) (interpretation from Russian): In connection with our present discussion of agenda item 9, the review and appraisal of the implementation of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade, the delegation of Czechoslovakia would also like to make a few brief comments.

The first half of this Decade has been a period of aggravation of tensions, military confrontation, acceleration of the nuclear and other types of arms races, increasing lack of confidence and a destabilization of international relations. Never before in history has any country indulged in such a mass accumulation of a nuclear strike force as we witnessed during the first half of this Decade, carried out by the United States. Such an accumulation has shunted aside the goals set forth in the Declaration and have, in fact, called into question the future of the process of negotiation as well. By way of illustration we could mention the expenditures projected by the Pentagon for armaments: in 1984, the sum was $273 billion; in 1985, $323 billion; in 1986 $356 billion; in 1987 $388 billion; in 1988, by which time we shall be nearing the end of the Decade, the sum is $425 billion. It is becoming obvious that, given the pursuit of such a policy and its predication upon the strategy of nuclear victory and superiority in outer space, the objectives of disarmament can be achieved only with great difficulty.
Czechoslovakia, like other socialist countries, is a party to the Warsaw Treaty, and we employ deeds, not words, to ensure the implementation of the objectives of curbing and reversing the arms race, and first and foremost the nuclear-arms race. Those objectives were set forth in the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade. If we take as an example the proposals contained in the Prague political declaration of 1983 and compare them with the objectives, principles and efforts towards disarmament proclaimed by the United Nations, we can easily see that the socialist States are doing everything in their power to free mankind from the threat of nuclear conflict and to bring about the adoption of realistic and practical measures for disarmament.
The many constructive initiatives taken by the Soviet Union and other socialist States, which are well known to all, have been submitted to the United Nations at the Conference on Disarmament at Geneva, at the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of military forces and armaments in central Europe and in other forums. Thus, during the past five years the socialist States have not weakened, but, rather, have increased their efforts to curb the arms race and to ensure a trend towards disarmament. On numerous occasions they have reaffirmed their readiness to engage in negotiations and practical discussions to find mutually acceptable solutions to all controversial questions that may arise during the negotiations, on the basis of equality and respect for the security of all States.

In major areas — in particular, on questions of nuclear disarmament — the efforts of the socialist States have always been combined with efforts by the non-aligned countries and other peace-loving States. Those efforts have not been made in vain. Thanks to them, and to unilateral measures taken by the Soviet Union during the past few years to lower the levels of military confrontation, it has been possible to avoid the worst — that is, the eruption of a nuclear conflict. However, the arms race did not contribute to that.

As a result of a policy of peace and co-operation with all peace-loving forces followed by the socialist and non-aligned countries, the realization is gradually growing throughout the world that there is a need to end the arms race and turn towards disarmament. There is an ever-growing awareness that no arms race — nuclear, conventional, outer space or naval — serves the interests of the security of peoples; rather, it is contrary to them.

In our view, here we find one of the important bases for the emergence of the political will that is indispensable for achieving practical solutions to the problems of disarmament, a will that must be shown by all States. We agree with the conclusion that the path towards negotiations on practical disarmament measures is still open, and we hope that all States — above all, the nuclear Powers — will show a readiness in practice to follow such a path. That should be the aim of the Commission and its recommendations to the General Assembly.

Mr. NEYCHEV (Bulgaria): The People's Republic of Bulgaria supported the General Assembly's Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade. We regard this as an important and timely initiative which has its place within a system of material, moral, political and international legal measures designed to achieve the ultimate goal in this field: general and complete disarmament under effective international control.
(Mr. Neychev, Bulgaria)

We continue to believe that the main goal of the Second Disarmament Decade should be to preserve, strengthen and develop the positive achievements made in limiting the arms race during the 1970s and to implement new practical measures in that area.

At the same time, taking a realistic view of the current state of international relations, we are disappointed that the purposes of the First Disarmament Decade were not achieved, and we are disturbed by the fact that the objectives of the Second Disarmament Decade are also far from being attained.

In this respect, the Bulgarian delegation shares the serious concern, expressed by many States, broad cross-sections of peoples throughout the world and the mass anti-nuclear and anti-missile movements, regarding the dangerous world situation and the fact that the first half of the Second Disarmament Decade has not been marked by progress towards stopping the arms race, but has, indeed, seen a regression in several important areas.

We are deeply concerned that a significant and ever-increasing part of the world’s material and human resources continues to be squandered on the arms race, thus impairing international security and efforts to achieve a more just international economic order. Therefore, the Bulgarian delegation would like once again to stress the close relationship between disarmament and development. It is convinced that implementation of effective disarmament measures must release the resources being absorbed by the unproductive arms race for the execution of economic and social programmes, especially for the purposes of international economic co-operation.

Notwithstanding all the efforts of both socialist and non-aligned States, progress has been elusive in the early 1980s, due to the drive for military superiority by certain circles, a policy that is destabilizing the international situation and aggravating the nuclear confrontation. As a result of the deployment of new American medium-range missiles, there has been a sharp deterioration of the situation in Europe, too, where military confrontation has always been particularly acute. New land-, sea- and air-based strategic weapons systems continue to be created and deployed. New non-nuclear weapons systems are being developed with a destructive power approaching that of weapons of mass destruction.

The increasing danger of a nuclear catastrophe is accompanied by more acute confrontation and a reduction of confidence among States. The normal process of negotiations on the various issues of disarmament has essentially been disorganized.
(Mr. Neychev, Bulgaria)

Plans for the militarization of outer space entail serious dangers for mankind. Their realization would lead to an accelerated armaments competition in all fields and make limitations on, and reductions of, strategic offensive weapons impossible.

Never before has mankind faced such a formidable threat as it does today. The only sensible way out of the present situation is through the immediate cessation of the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race on earth, and its prevention in outer space. Measures of both a material and moral or political character aimed at removing the threat of nuclear war are essential. The solution of all other problems facing mankind and its very existence depend upon the achievement of that goal.

To eliminate the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, it is imperative to prevent the militarization of outer space, to put an end to the arms race on earth and to limit and reduce nuclear-weapons arsenals until their final elimination. In this respect, the Bulgarian delegation attaches great importance to the negotiations started in Geneva between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States on the entire range of problems relating to nuclear and space weapons, which must be considered and solved together.

We also believe that it would be of great importance if the United States responded constructively to the proposals made by the Soviet Union on 7 April 1985 concerning a moratorium on the creation of space weapons, including research and development activities, as well as testing and stationing, a freeze on strategic defensive weapons at their present levels, and the discontinuance of the deployment of United States medium-range missiles in Western Europe and of Soviet counter-measures.
By introducing a moratorium on the deployment of its medium-range missiles and suspending other counter-measures in Europe until November 1985, the Soviet Union has demonstrated its willingness to achieve real progress.

My country also regards the strengthening of the non-proliferation system for nuclear weapons as a matter of great importance, and I should like once again to stress in this connection the importance of strict performance of the obligations entered into by countries members of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the need to obtain the accession to that Treaty of all States that are not yet parties to it.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria attaches great importance to measures for arms limitation at the regional level. At the Geneva Conference on Disarmament and the Stockholm Conference and on the Balkan peninsula, it has - alone or with other socialist countries - submitted a number of concrete proposals designed to bring about effective measures aimed at arms limitation and disarmament. We and the other socialist countries have put forward a realistic programme for confidence-building and security on the continent, including the conclusion of a treaty on the non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations. The socialist countries have made constructive proposals to the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization aimed at making Europe free from chemical weapons and freezing and reducing military expenditures.

Along these lines, Bulgaria has put forward a proposal for establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone on the Balkan peninsula and has also supported the Swedish proposal to establish a zone free of battlefield nuclear weapons in central Europe.

Bulgaria has initiated and advocated holding negotiations on the limitation of naval activities and naval armaments. The proposal to convene a conference on transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, which is resolutely supported by the People's Republic of Bulgaria, represents another step in this direction.

Implementation of all those measures would make it possible not only to avert the threat of war but also to relieve the heavy material and intellectual strain of the arms race, which places an undue burden on the peoples of the world.
Bulgaria's position of principle in the field of disarmament is reflected in its consistent efforts to implement the measures stipulated as part of the comprehensive programme of disarmament, Disarmament Week, the Second Disarmament Decade and the World Disarmament Campaign, and the measures aimed at convening a world disarmament conference. Bulgaria takes an active part in the work of all forums inside and outside of the United Nations in which disarmament problems are discussed. It considers that the efforts of States Members of the United Nations and of the Organization itself must focus on priority tasks, the most important of which are the limitation of nuclear weapons, nuclear disarmament and the prevention of the spread of the arms race to new areas, particularly outer space, and that agreements reached in this field should take the form of specific, legally binding documents.

I should also like to inform members of the Commission that the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has taken, together with efforts brought to bear at the international level, a number of domestic political measures which are directly related to the strengthening of peace. For example, article 63 of the Constitution of Bulgaria stipulates the obligation of every citizen to help maintain and strengthen peace and prohibits war propaganda as a serious crime against peace and humanity.

The mass media of Bulgaria also operate in full accordance with the requirements of the preparation of societies for a life of peace and co-operation. They widely publicize all disarmament initiatives put forward in the United Nations or in other forums, objectively report international events and explain the negative consequences of the arms race and reveal its true cause. Every year the Bulgarian public observes Disarmament Day and Disarmament Week, during which public meetings are organized in factories, institutions and universities.

In conclusion, I should like once again to stress that Bulgaria is firmly resolved to continue its consistent pursuit of this policy. The people and the Government of Bulgaria are prepared to continue to do everything within their power to achieve the purposes of the Second Disarmament Decade and to make their contribution to the implementation of effective measures to promote the achievement of general and complete disarmament under strict international supervision.
Mr. SHELDOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): The Byelorussian SSR supported the adoption of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade and considers the objectives and principles proclaimed therein as well as the steps pointed out in the Declaration as important tasks facing the international community.

The position of the Byelorussian SSR regarding the Second Disarmament Decade was stated in the letter sent by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Byelorussian SSR to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, dated 18 April 1980.

During the years that have elapsed since the adoption of the Declaration, the Byelorussian SSR has done everything in its power to promote the implementation of the tasks of the Decade. Our point of view on questions regarding that implementation is to be found in the note by the Permanent Representative of the Byelorussian SSR to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, dated 15 May 1985. It is in this context that today's statement by our delegation concerning item 9 of the agenda of this session should be understood.

We note that the first half of the 1980s was unfortunately marked by a sharp growth, to dangerous levels, of tension in international relations. This period was not characterized, as has already been stressed here by many of the speakers who preceded me, by sufficiently tangible progress in curbing the arms race. Furthermore, a reverse tendency was in fact to be seen in some areas.

To assess the origins of that process, we need a clear understanding of what the origins of the threat to peace were and are and why the tasks of the Second Disarmament Decade are not being carried out. Here we must note that certain States - and these are well known - have embarked on an overt policy designed to upset the existing military-strategic balance and to achieve military supremacy in order to assure themselves of domination in the world and the ability to dictate their will to other States and peoples.

Daily reality can leave no doubts regarding the practical nature of this policy and the danger of its consequences. As has already been noted at the present session of the Commission, among others, as a result of the policies and actions of militarist forces, first and foremost of the United States of America, there has been a sharp increase in the threat of nuclear war, which threatens mankind with annihilation. There has been a buildup in the arms race in all areas and, above all, in the most dangerous area - that of nuclear weapons.
The Byelorussian SSR is, however, convinced that such a course of events does not indicate the fatal inevitability of a further downward slide into the abyss of confrontation and of nuclear agony. There are still possibilities for a radical breakthrough for the better in international affairs. The experience of the 1970s demonstrated that real results in the field of limiting armaments and promoting disarmament are possible. The initiatives put forth by the USSR and other countries of the socialist community in the 1980s at various international forums, both multilateral and bilateral, have created a solid basis for progress in the most important areas designed to prevent nuclear war, halt and limit the arms race and promote disarmament. Their constructive, specific and flexible nature ensures indispensable progress in this area.
A factor which strongly reinforces the initiative of the States of the socialist community can be seen in the steps they undertook unilaterally in the 1980s aimed at consolidating international security, creating a favourable climate for effective measures in the area of limiting the arms race and promoting disarmament. They include the commitment of the Soviet Union - which is of historic significance - not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, as well as its renunciation to emplace anti-satellite weapons in outer space for as long as other States refrain from doing so.

The positive gains of the international community in these years include a number of proposals by the non-aligned countries and other States. The numerous important General Assembly resolutions adopted in the 1980s on the initiative of the socialist and non-aligned States are also positive measures. There is an urgent necessity for steps designed to implement the measures laid down in those resolutions, namely, the implementation of a freeze on nuclear weapons, the achievement of a general and complete ban on the testing of nuclear weapons and, until the conclusion of an appropriate treaty, the introduction of a moratorium on any type of nuclear explosion and the rejection of the first-use of nuclear weapons. Among priority steps are a ban on chemical weapons and on the development and production of any new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, the limitation of naval activities and naval armaments and the convening of a conference aimed at transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. The States of the socialist community are doing all in their power to promote progress in each of these areas.

The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament made a positive contribution to efforts in this area. It emphasized the high priority of the task of preventing nuclear war and reaffirmed the relevance of the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. The World Disarmament Campaign, which was begun in keeping with a decision of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, is promoting increased support for the objectives of disarmament by world public opinion. The Byelorussian SSR attaches great significance to anti-war movements and public opinion and has made a voluntary contribution to the Fund for the World Disarmament Campaign.
In the past five years the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic has participated in conferences to review the effectiveness of the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof and of the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques. These conferences help ensure effective use of these important international instruments, and we called for their universality.

An important element was the entry into force in 1983 of the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects. The Byelorussian SSR ratified this Convention and all three of its Protocols in 1982.

Along with the efforts made on a global level - something which has significant potential - are the efforts being undertaken at the present time on a regional scale and on a bilateral basis. The Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe and the negotiations on reductions in military forces and armaments in Central Europe must make a substantive contribution to the implementation of the objectives of the Second Disarmament Decade. The USSR and its allies have made important proposals at these forums. Major steps to strengthen international security and confidence could be, inter alia, agreements freeing Europe from chemical weapons, the freezing and subsequent reduction of military budgets and the conclusion of a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations.

As has already been stressed here, the Soviet-American negotiations on nuclear and space weapons are of great significance. It is necessary that effective agreements be worked out at these negotiations aimed at preventing the extension of the arms race to outer space and at halting it on earth, at limiting and reducing nuclear weapons and at strengthening strategic stability.

An important step to promote progress here is the proposal of the Soviet Union made to the United States in April this year regarding the introduction, for the entire period of the negotiations, of a moratorium on the creation, testing and deployment of strike space weapons - including related scientific and research programmes - the freezing of strategic offensive weapons, the halting of the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europe and, correspondingly, the growth of response measures of the USSR. It is necessary for both sides to approach the negotiations constructively - and it is this attitude of the USSR
towards the negotiations that was reaffirmed by its new step: the unilateral introduction, until November 1985, of a moratorium on the deployment of its medium-range missiles and its halting of the implementation of other response measures in Europe.

The Byelorussian SSR believes that these proposals, resolutions and agreements form a solid basis for beginning the implementation of effective, realistic and tangible measures designed to avert nuclear war, limit the arms race and promote disarmament - that is what is required for such a decisive step, since all other necessary pre-conditions already exist. Political will is needed; the States of the socialist community have that will.

A substantive positive effect on progress in the area of curbing the arms race, promoting disarmament and strengthening international security would be achieved by the adherence of the greatest possible number of States - and first and foremost of all nuclear Powers without exception - to existing multilateral Treaties and Conventions in this area.

The implementation of the objectives of disarmament would not only mean a strengthening of international security but also open the way for a reallocation of significant sums from those now absorbed by the arms race towards rendering economic assistance to developing countries.

It should also be noted that the newest scientific and technological discoveries can - unless timely and effective measures are taken - make the problem of control of the arms race immeasurably more difficult.

In the light of the problems I have pointed out, the second half of the 1980s can be a decisive period. Concrete action is necessary. In undertaking such action, we need to base ourselves on a balanced assessment of the existing situation. A palette consisting of paint of one single colour will not work here. Only a balanced picture will be in keeping with reality. To give such an assessment is the task of the work of the Disarmament Commission in dealing with agenda item 9.
Mr. ENGREFFY (Hungary): When we look back at the period since the proclamation of the Second Disarmament Decade, the Hungarian Government is of the opinion that the arms race has further intensified and that the tension in international relations has also increased. Nevertheless, on the basis of the positive developments of recent months, we can state that not only elements of tension and confrontation but also objective interests for co-operation and peaceful coexistence are present in international relations, though, regrettably, negative tendencies still prevail. My Government remains to be convinced that there is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence among States, to the peaceful settlement of disputes and to international relations free from the use of force and discrimination.

In the series of the most urgent measures to be taken in the interests of disarmament, the prevention of the extension of the arms race to outer space is of outstanding importance. My country welcomed with satisfaction, and lends full support to, the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on their intention to include in the Geneva negotiations on strategic and medium-range nuclear weapons the subject of preventing the militarization of outer space, in close interrelationship with the two aforementioned matters. Examination of this field in a complex way may create a good basis for establishing the preconditions for a lasting and long-anticipated breakthrough in disarmament.

The Hungarian People's Republic attaches particular importance to measures aimed at preventing nuclear war, especially those that may contribute to the establishment of the effective political and legal conditions that are indispensable for their implementation. In this context, we consider that unilateral commitments by nuclear-weapon States regarding the non-first use of nuclear weapons under any circumstances are of exceptional significance.

It has been stated several times that the lack of confidence among nuclear-weapon States, especially between the two countries with the greatest arsenals, has been of decisive importance in bringing about the present tense international situation. Renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons - of which the Soviet Union has given a good example - would significantly strengthen confidence in general, and among States possessing nuclear weapons, especially if the States concerned would reaffirm it in a legally binding international instrument. Such a measure would at the same time mean renunciation of the use of
nuclear weapons and would be an outstanding step on the road leading to the complete renunciation of the use of military force. Although this proposal has been raised as part of the European disarmament process, if it could be codified in a treaty it would have a significance beyond its geographical framework.

The qualitative and quantitative freezing of nuclear arms and armaments would be of similar importance, a measure by means of which the basic conditions for elaborating an overwhelming disarmament programme could be created.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic attaches especially great importance to the elaboration of a multilateral treaty on the general and full prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. During the latest session of the General Assembly, Hungary introduced a draft resolution which was later adopted by an overwhelming majority. Special importance is lent to this proposal by the fact that only four months separate us from the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

The Hungarian Government also pursues an active foreign policy in order to promote disarmament in Europe, which went through the monstrosities of two world wars, and the elaboration of measures aimed at a lower level of armaments by taking into consideration the security of the States concerned and the preservation of the military balance of forces. Among such measures, we lay special emphasis on codifying the renunciation of the threat or use of force in an international agreement. This would increase confidence between the States concerned and would contribute to the establishment of a more relaxed international climate, indispensable for the elaboration of concrete disarmament measures, and for strengthening peaceful coexistence as the only rational alternative, as well as mutually advantageous co-operation.

Hungary has stood and continues to stand for the elaboration of concrete measures in the interest of disarmament, both in its bilateral relations and in multilateral forums. In our view, the year 1985, during which the parties concerned should take decisions of fundamental importance in connection with disarmament and the strengthening of international peace, could be of great significance. The Hungarian People's Republic is ready to consider most seriously and participate actively in the elaboration of disarmament proposals that take into consideration the interests of all the parties concerned.
The year 1985 provides an opportunity not only to recall the achievements of the Second Disarmament Decade so far, but also to place them in a broader historical context, for this year we celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War. This anniversary also reminds us of the date of the first use of an atomic bomb. This emphasizes in an especially sharp way the restricted character of the modest results so far obtained in the field of curbing nuclear armaments. This should encourage and even compel every State - within the framework of the United Nations, which is commemorating its fortieth anniversary, at every important multilateral forum concerning disarmament, and in their bilateral relations - to redouble its effort to promote disarmament and prevent a further arms build-up.

Mr. MGBOKWERE (Nigeria): The continuing attention devoted to the review of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade is a clear demonstration of the serious concern of the international community at the lack of progress in reaching agreements on measures aimed at achieving complete and general disarmament under effective international control. It also underscores the need for all States to reaffirm their commitment to the objectives of the Decade and for a good-faith effort on the part of the super-Powers to reach agreements in their current round of negotiations in Geneva.
I recall that paragraph 25 of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade provides for a mid-term review and appraisal by the General Assembly at its fortieth session through the Disarmament Commission. To that end the General Assembly, at its thirty-ninth session, adopted resolution 39/148 Q of 17 December 1984, requesting the Commission to make a preliminary assessment of the implementation of the Declaration and offer suggestions to ensure progress. There has been an encouraging response to that important request.

It is sad that, half way through the Decade, no substantial progress has been made as regards the aims and objectives of the Decade; rather, the danger to international peace and security posed by the nuclear-arms race has become more potent than ever before. The deployment of strategic weapons in Europe has further increased tension between the two super-Powers and their alliances.

Nigeria welcomes the opportunity given to various delegations specifically to express their views on the implementation of the Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade. Certain Member States have been able to indicate areas of some progress and those areas where there has been a lack of progress. However, there is a ray of hope that the resumption of the bilateral talks between the two super-Powers is an indication of their intention to respond to the wishes and aspirations of the world community for dialogue and co-operation in the search for complete and general disarmament. The outcome will prove the sincerity with which they approach the negotiations to control the arms race in outer space and to achieve the limitation of medium-range and strategic weapons. It would be helpful to the disarmament process if the General Assembly were constantly informed of the state of the negotiations and if consideration were given to the presence of a United Nations observer at the talks.

Indeed it is unfortunate that the programme of action elaborated in the Declaration has continued to suffer such lack of progress even though the measures were identified for priority attention. Section B of the Declaration recognizes the significance of a comprehensive programme of disarmament in the disarmament process. It is disheartening to note that, despite its lengthy efforts, the United Nations Conference on Disarmament could not submit a consensus text to the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament of 1982. In 1984 also, no progress was made on the subject.
The interruptions of bilateral negotiations by the two super-Powers further stress the necessity of an agreement on a comprehensive programme of disarmament. It is important, therefore, for all Member States to commit themselves to the successful elaboration of the programme by 1986, as requested by the General Assembly.

Those priority areas identified in paragraph 12 of the Declaration call for the urgent attention of the United Nations Commission on Disarmament. These include a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty, a chemical weapons treaty and effective international arrangements to assure the non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. A comprehensive test ban is an indispensable element for the success of an effective régime for non-proliferation. The Conference on Disarmament, while taking note of the negotiations that have commenced on a chemical weapons treaty, should in addition call on all States to co-operate so as to ensure the early conclusion of the negotiations. By the same token the United Nations Commission on Disarmament should facilitate the establishment of an ad hoc committee to deal with the question of measures to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons.

It is equally important to expedite action on efforts to conclude the various arms limitation agreements being negotiated outside the United Nations. Although agreements have been reached on a troop ceiling at the mutual and balanced force reduction talks, differences over the actual deployment of forces have contributed to the stalemate or lack of progress in the negotiations. The two super-Powers should take measures to ratify SALT II, which was signed in 1979, aimed at limiting strategic offensive weapons.

Owing to the lack of concrete disarmament measures half way through the Decade, there has not been any release of resources for the promotion of international economic co-operation and the attainment of the objectives of the Third Development Decade. Paragraphs 15 and 16 of the Declaration provide for measures to achieve the reallocation of resources released from disarmament for socio-economic purposes. Members of the Preparatory Committee on an International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development are therefore urged to complete their task in accordance with General Assembly resolution 39/160 of 17 December 1984 so that the conference can be held in conformity with the pertinent General Assembly resolution.
Furthermore the Declaration provides for the implementation of paragraph 33 of 
the Final Document on the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and the 
strengthening of the existing zone established on the basis of the agreement 
reached among the Latin American countries, culminating in the Treaty of 
Tlatelolco. The international community should therefore channel efforts towards 
the establishment of other zones by the end of the Decade. It would be essential 
for other nuclear-weapon States to respect such zones as nuclear-weapon-free areas.

The other areas of the Declaration on which the Commission should take 
positive action are confidence-building measures, the strengthening of 
international peace and security, and the treaty on the prohibition, development, 
production and use of radiological weapons.

My delegation considers it important for the Commission to recommend to the 
General Assembly that it call upon all States, first, to reaffirm their commitment 
to the objectives of the Decade; secondly, to refrain from doing anything that 
would jeopardize the achievement of the ultimate objective of general and complete 
disarmament under effective international control; thirdly, to take urgent steps to 
halt the arms race, in particular the nuclear-arms race, so as to demonstrate the 
effectiveness of disarmament negotiations as well as the improvement of the 
international climate; and, fourthly, to avert the threat to human existence posed 
by the nuclear-arms race by undertaking a legally binding instrument not to use 
nuclear weapons.
Mr. LOWITZ (United States of America): In my opening statement to this body, on 8 May, I addressed all six agenda items of this session, including the subject of the Second Disarmament Decade. Rather than repeating myself, I should like simply to direct the attention of members to the section of my statement dealing with agenda item 9 (A/CN.10/PV.87, pp. 6-10) as a principal contribution by the United States to the discussion of today's subject. However, I shall briefly summarize my Government's views on the Second Disarmament Decade.

While it is true that we have little to show by way of concrete disarmament agreements during the first part of the Second Disarmament Decade, we should not lose sight of some of the important efforts and developments to date.

A major accomplishment during the first five years of the decade has been our efforts to uphold the authority of important disarmament agreements in force. In this context, I should like to recall the successful review conferences on the following important agreements: the Biological Weapons Convention, the Sea-bed Arms Control Treaty, the Environment Modification Convention, and the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Biological Weapons Convention will again be reviewed this year and next year.

Questions have been raised with increasing frequency concerning compliance with arms control and disarmament agreements in force and other binding international obligations. In some cases the international community has taken certain steps in an effort to redress the problem. We have seen this in the case of chemical weapons, where in 1980 the United Nations General Assembly first called upon the Secretary-General to investigate reports of chemical weapons use. Evidence of non-compliance with binding international commitments is most disturbing. On the other hand, one can be heartened that the international community has come to a keener awareness of the danger that such non-compliance poses. There is today a movement towards widespread agreement that arms control agreements now under negotiation must include strict international verification procedures so that confidence in compliance is assured.

At present, arms control negotiations are under way in both multilateral and bilateral forums dealing with a comprehensive agenda of global and regional security issues. First, bilateral negotiations on United States/Soviet Union nuclear and space arms started in Geneva, Switzerland, in March and, following a short intermission, will resume on 30 May. These follow earlier negotiations on strategic and intermediate-range nuclear forces. Secondly, the Conference on Disarmament, the multilateral disarmament negotiating forum, will resume its 1985
session on 11 June in Geneva, where a number of important issues are being considered and negotiated. Thirdly, the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe resumed during the first week of May. Fourthly, the mutual and balanced force reduction talks, dealing with conventional disarmament, are also continuing, in Vienna. Fifthly, the Preparatory Commission for the Third Review Conference of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, to take place in September this year, has recently prepared the agenda for that Conference. Finally, the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly will meet here in New York this fall in what my Government hopes will be a productive session as the United Nations celebrates its fortieth anniversary.

The purpose of my reviewing on-going and upcoming bilateral and multilateral disarmament meetings is to demonstrate their wide-ranging nature and significance in international relations.

As we review the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade, let us remember that the early 1980s witnessed an ambitious arms control agenda. My Government hopes and believes that the promise of that agenda could be brought to fruition in the late 1980s. This clearly requires, however, that all participants show good will, realism and fairness in the pursuit of legitimate national and international security objectives. The United Nations Disarmament Commission can make its own contribution to the goal of a more stable international system by submitting a balanced report to the General Assembly on agenda item 9 that includes recognition of the need for equal and verifiable reductions of armaments - both nuclear and conventional.

Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): The Cameroon delegation has asked to speak in order to address what it considers to be one of the most important items on the agenda of the current session of the United Nations Disarmament Commission. The item on the mid-term review of the Disarmament Decade is of great significance in the first place because, in general terms, it is being considered at a time when, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, the world is making a critical review of the achievements and prospects of the world body; and, in more particular terms, the mid-term review of the Disarmament Decade affords the international community a valuable opportunity to refocus attention on the practical implementation of the goals and objectives proclaimed by the international community in the field of disarmament.
(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

The Cameroon delegation cannot but regret the fact that the first five years of the current Disarmament Decade have not produced the results we had hoped for or expected. Despite many efforts and vast expenditures of time and other limited resources, not only has disarmament remained a distant dream, but — perhaps even more disturbing — the arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race, has continued to escalate quantitatively and qualitatively and now threatens to expand to outer space. During the same period armed conflicts, especially in the developing areas of the world, have continued and, in some cases, even worsened, benefiting only — and, in some cases, promoted by — the distant manufacturers, suppliers and dealers in conventional armaments. The situation leaves us frustrated, especially as the collective security system provided under the framework of the United Nations Charter has remained inoperative.

The goal of disarmament is, in our view, security. At the same time, there can be no disarmament without security. The search for these two goals must therefore proceed in a parallel manner. To pursue disarmament in the absence of security would be a fruitless exercise. We therefore urge a firm recommitment by all States to the provisions of the United Nations Charter, in particular those relating to the non-use of force and to the peaceful settlement of disputes among States.

The Cameroon delegation, in considering the prospects for progress in the field of disarmament in the years ahead, believes that the international community should embark upon a constructive and realistic course that avoids confrontation among States as well as promoting confidence and cooperation. Only in this way, in our view, can the remaining five years of the Disarmament Decade bring about fruitful results.
We have examined with keen attention and interest the views and suggestions of Member States submitted to the Secretary-General in accordance with General Assembly resolution 39/148 Q. The delegation of Cameroon believes that implementation of the constructive proposals made by several States, and in particular those advanced by the Government of our sister country, Nigeria, would contribute significantly to promoting the realization of the goals and objectives of the Disarmament Decade. We are convinced, in particular, that the international community has at its disposal adequate resources and machinery for effective action in the field of disarmament. The urgent requirement of the moment is for States to make full and constructive use of those available resources and facilities.

We wish to join those who have evoked the spirit of San Francisco, the birthplace of the United Nations, to guide this generation's response to the horrors and wastage of war and the menacing agents of conflict that threaten not only desirable notions of development but also the very survival of man on this planet. We look forward to the day when proliferating statements and conference resolutions will give way to a universal resolve to implement measures that are productive of conditions of lasting international peace and security.

Mr. Dubey (India): It has become customary for the United Nations to designate decades in order to focus on specific issues before the international community. This all began with the designation of the 1960s as the First United Nations Development Decade. Since then we have had decades designated to focus on a large number of other issues, such as the elimination of racial discrimination, the role of women in development and, as far as this Commission is concerned, the very important issue of disarmament. The 1970s were the First Disarmament Decade, and now we are at the midpoint of the Second Disarmament Decade.

I am repeating what has been stated by my colleagues if I say that our discussion of this item provides us with a very good opportunity to take stock of what has happened over the past five years, try to explore or assess the degree of success we have had in achieving our objectives, and try to discover the reasons for our failure and chart out our course of action for the second half of the Decade. This review and appraisal and the whole concept of the Decade itself are basically attempts to discharge our duty of international accountability within a particular framework or programme. It is an assessment of progress against the norms and benchmarks we have set for ourselves.
I should like to bring out a few points with regard to progress. On disarmament negotiations, we must note with great dismay that not a single agreement on arms control or disarmament has been negotiated during this period. This is in contrast to the 1970s, when it was possible to achieve modest results in this area. As a matter of fact, some of the agreements reached in the 1970s have themselves come to be devalued and detracted from because of charges and counter-charges traded between the major powers with regard to adherence to those agreements. The bilateral and trilateral negotiations that were under way at the beginning of the Decade were broken off suddenly, and some of them were brought to a standstill or given up when a certain degree of light could be seen at the end of the tunnel and some progress appeared to be in sight.

The bilateral negotiations have been resumed, which is, of course, a very welcome development, but we should not forget their fundamental limitations. First, their scope is limited; secondly, the basic purpose of those negotiations is to manage the nuclear world rather than to eliminate nuclear weapons altogether; and, thirdly, they are being carried out within the framework of doctrines that confer validity upon the maintenance of nuclear arsenals and even to their use.

The second aspect we should review concerns developments in the field of the arms race. Here the picture is one of further escalation, both quantitative and qualitative. To give only one figure, whereas the total number of nuclear warheads was about 40,000 in 1980, it is now 50,000. Qualitatively, nuclear weapons have become more accurate and can be delivered faster, the warning time having now been reduced from 15 to 5 minutes; they are more lethal and greatly diversified with regard to their effectiveness, performance and range. There is also a thrust towards the development of a new generation of weapons systems, including outer-space weapons systems, which add an altogether new dimension to the nuclear-arms race, if only because they have the potential of triggering a whole new round of the arms race both on earth and in space - not to mention the unconscionably high level of expenditure that would be involved in the development of such systems.

In the last year or so there has been another very important development with regard to increasing evidence of the catastrophic nature of the effects of a nuclear war. In this connection, any review or assessment must take account of the findings according to which the use of even a fraction of existing nuclear warheads would bring about a global nuclear winter that would obliterate all traces of life on earth.
(Mr. Dubey, India)

On the positive side, it must be noted that there are important signs of a silver lining – namely, the upsurge of public opinion all over the world against nuclear war and nuclear weapons, the refusal of people to heed the advice of their Governments to coexist with the means of their own destruction, nuclear weapons, and the moral courage demonstrated by people all over the world in their readiness to bear physical suffering even to bring pressure to bear upon their Governments to adopt measures to halt the nuclear-arms race and prevent nuclear war.
A later development was the launching of the World Disarmament Campaign, which could have a profound influence on world public opinion, which in turn could have a positive fall-out on our efforts for nuclear disarmament and halting the nuclear-arms race.

Another aspect that must be taken into account in any review is the reason for the present state of affairs. Here we are on very delicate and slippery ground, because it is very difficult to go into the reasons without attributing blame. My delegation has no intention of doing that, but I should like to make two points. First, there is no doubt that the nuclear-weapon Powers, which have the main responsibility, are principally responsible for the failure of the first half of the Decade. Secondly, we cannot fail to mention that the single most important factor responsible for the escalation of the nuclear-arms race and interfering with the progress of nuclear disarmament is the doctrine of deterrence. The reason is clear: it is a doctrine based on fear and suspicion, which can hardly be the basis for achieving disarmament; a doctrine predicated on the permanent division of the world into two hostile camps; and a doctrine the ultimate purpose of which is to seek superiority in order to expand influence and domination.

Looking ahead to the future, the second half of the Decade, we see that in spite of the dismal record of the first half we must persevere with our efforts. We cannot abdicate our responsibility out of desperation. We are grappling with such a serious issue, that of the life and death of mankind, that we have no alternative but to be incorrigible optimists. For this, we must have a vision, a set of objectives, a programme of action and a scheme of priorities. Our vision is in the United Nations Charter. Our ultimate and broad objectives are also in the Charter - peace, security and prosperity. Our more detailed objectives - the Programme of Action and scheme of priorities - are laid down in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament and in the Declaration of the Second Disarmament Decade.

Our task is to renew our resolve and bend our will to achieve those objectives. I wish to list some of the important tasks. The most important, of course, is to adopt measures for the prevention of nuclear war. We must at all costs remove the thick curtain of fear enveloping the world. We must assure mankind of the right to live. At the same time, we should halt the nuclear-arms race. Almost all the speakers on the subject have referred to proposals for a
freeze – a freeze on testing, on production, on development and on deployment of nuclear weapons and on the development of new weapons systems, such as that in outer space. At the same time, a top priority subject for the past three decades in the field of disarmament has been a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

We must proceed simultaneously with the reduction and elimination of existing arsenals. Here the bilateral talks between the two big powers should produce a concrete and effective agreement. We wish also to reiterate our resolve to make progress in the other ongoing negotiations.

Finally, I must touch on the very important issue of disarmament and development, not only because of the diversion of resources that it involves, a fraction of which could solve some of the most critical social and economic problems facing the world today, but because this global military expenditure has clearly emerged as the principal factor responsible for the present global economic crisis. Unless we are to limp along with this crisis, we must address ourselves to this serious problem, sooner rather than later.

In this connection I would refer to the great political importance of the decision taken by the General Assembly to convene a conference on the relationship between disarmament and development. While carrying out our review and appraisal, we should reiterate our resolve to do everything possible to make the conference a success.

Together with the representative of Nigeria, we shall this evening or tomorrow morning submit a working paper including those points, which, hopefully, will be a useful basis for negotiating an agreed text of the mid-term review and appraisal of the implementation of the Second Disarmament Decade and suggestions to ensure progress.

The CHAIRMAN: That concludes the list of speakers on agenda item 9.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.