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# Conference on Disarmament

1 March 2011

English

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## Final record of the one thousand two hundred and twelfth plenary meeting

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, on Tuesday, 1 March 2011, at 3.15 p.m.

*President:* Mr. Pedro Oyarce .....(Chile)

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I call to order the 1212th plenary meeting of the Conference on Disarmament. In beginning this meeting this afternoon, we would like to warmly welcome the Secretary of State for Global Affairs of Romania, His Excellency Doru Romulus Costea. Romania's participation in the Conference on Disarmament, Sir, is a testimony to your country's contribution to the multilateral system of disarmament and non-proliferation. We will listen to your views with special interest. You have the floor, Sir.

**Mr. Costea** (Romania): First of all I would like to thank the Secretary-General and the President of the Conference for their kind invitation to address this unique forum in the field of disarmament and non-proliferation negotiations. Allow me also to express my particular pleasure and satisfaction as a former Permanent Representative of my country to the Conference on Disarmament to have again the opportunity of speaking to this august body. I had the honour to be one of six Presidents of the Conference the first time the P-6 format was used in 2006. I can testify, based on my own experience, that failure and frustration have for too long been part of this routine. We therefore consider it useful to reiterate the calls for action in the Conference on Disarmament.

Allow me to congratulate you, Mr. President, on assuming this presidency, and let me assure you of Romania's full support for your work to the benefit of this Conference. Let me wish the P-6 every success in their common endeavour to advance the work of the Conference on Disarmament during this session.

Romania fully shares the views expressed during the Conference by Hungary, on behalf of the European Union, but allow me to make some remarks in my national capacity.

We consider disarmament and arms control as the keystones of the global security architecture. Romania shares the conviction that in today's world peace and security must be addressed from a global perspective. We need a multilateral security system that is based on cooperation and effective multilateral disarmament machinery. We are facing security challenges at all levels – global, regional and local. This is a common challenge which requires cooperation and coordination. We believe that global challenges require global solutions. Multilateralism is not a matter of choice; it is a matter of necessity.

In our view, the most effective way to reduce the risks of the misuse of nuclear materials, including by non-State actors, is the irreversible elimination of all nuclear arsenals. In late 2009, and throughout 2010, there was a growing feeling of optimism among the international community about boosting international non-proliferation, arms control and disarmament. We witnessed positive premises for a global multilateral agenda, from the Security Council summit of September 2009 to the Global Nuclear Security Summit in Washington in April 2010, and the successful conclusion of the 2010 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT).

Romania officially welcomed the ratification of the Treaty between the Russian Federation and the United States of America on Measures for the Further Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (New START Treaty) and its entry into force on 5 February 2011. Success in extending and deepening the cuts in nuclear arsenals in an irreversible way would indeed be another important step towards a world free of weapons of mass destruction.

We gather here in Geneva at every annual session to reconfirm our commitment to the core purpose of the Conference on Disarmament, that is, to negotiate solutions for multilateral non-proliferation and disarmament. The high level of participation in the work of the Conference is just one way of unblocking the situation. We are aware that in a forum of dialogue and negotiations with 65 members, where decisions are taken by consensus, it is difficult to gain universal support for some steps; however, it should not be impossible

for us to agree at least on the programme of work. Let me recall that it is the job that is never started that takes the longest to finish.

My presence here representing the Government of Romania speaks of the great importance which my country gives to enhancing the multilateral disarmament agenda. We share the broad concern about the current impasse of the Conference on Disarmament. Indeed, despite adopting its first programme of work in over a decade, in 2009, the Geneva-based Conference has been unable to translate this breakthrough into substantive progress.

This moment, this breakthrough needs to come soon, and it must really mark the reinvigoration of multilateral disarmament. Romania shares the hope that the political support that was lent to the Conference on Disarmament on 24 September 2010, as well the proposals for its revitalization, can provide the Conference on Disarmament with the impetus to resume its role as a negotiating forum. Otherwise, there is a real danger that the Conference on Disarmament will lose its relevance, as States might seriously consider other ways and means of negotiating international disarmament agreements outside this forum. That would hardly be in everybody's interest.

However, despite the difficulties that the present Conference on Disarmament has faced during the last decade, Romania continues to attach great value to the work of this body. My Government strongly supports the Conference on Disarmament as a major framework for nuclear issues, acknowledging its importance for international peace and strengthening world security.

The Conference on Disarmament has a track record of negotiating landmark disarmament agreements, and we are sure that it is capable of attaining many more successes. Its negotiating role must be preserved and reinforced. We also acknowledge the fact that the Conference on Disarmament is currently the only forum in which all nuclear States take part. We share the conviction that the Conference should move forward and meet the expectations of the international community.

Mr. President, 2011 is going to be a pivotal year for the Conference on Disarmament. At this juncture, reaching consensus on a programme of work is still possible. Romania supports the adoption of such a programme of work as soon as possible.

If the Conference on Disarmament is to resume its place as a relevant negotiating body, immediate action needs to be taken. We must not lose sight of the fact that the Final Document of the 2010 NPT Review Conference calls for further concrete action in the international disarmament and non-proliferation regime, including for the Geneva disarmament community. One of the key issues is the negotiation in the Conference on Disarmament of a fissile material cut-off treaty (FMCT). As a European Union member State, for Romania, launching these negotiations is both urgent and important. Yet we do not oppose the discussion of any other issues. As we have stated several times, the commencement of FMCT negotiations is the next logical step for advancing nuclear disarmament and preventing proliferation.

Although the parameters for the negotiation of a future FMCT are at the core of the current deadlock, differences and concerns can and must be addressed through negotiation on substance. This is after all the essence of multilateral diplomacy. It is crucial for the disarmament agenda that the whole Conference on Disarmament membership shows political will for these negotiations.

The entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) is a vital component of the international effort to prevent nuclear weapon proliferation and to bring about nuclear disarmament. It is a matter of deep concern for my Government that the CTBT has not yet entered into force, and we welcome the fact that this important Treaty is

back on the agenda of the United States of America; we look forward to its ratification as soon as possible.

All efforts towards the constant supporting and strengthening of the Treaty are important. In October 2011, Romania will host a national data centres evaluation workshop, which is jointly organized by the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization. The main objective is to bring experts together to assess the activity of these centres and to find ways to upgrade this system's capabilities continuously.

Another key topical issue before the Conference on Disarmament is outer space. In this age of globalization the use of outer space should be exclusively for peaceful purposes. As reliance on outer space increases rapidly, the task of maintaining space for peaceful purposes alone is getting more urgent every day. We hope that the Conference on Disarmament membership will continue to engage in 2011 in an open and fruitful debate on these matters.

Romania's recent activities for promoting and supporting the peaceful use of outer space include taking over the chairmanship of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space in 2010 and signing the agreement on accession to the Convention of the European Space Agency in January 2011.

Geneva will this year host two important meetings: the Seventh Review Conference of the Biological Weapons Convention and the Fourth Review Conference 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.

Terrorism, globalization and the rapid developments in bioscience pose new challenges to all of us and render the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) particularly topical. It goes without saying that we consider the Biological Weapons Convention to be one of the cornerstones of disarmament and the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The Convention is the central pillar of the regime totally prohibiting biological and toxin weapons. There is no alternative to this regime. Romania remains committed to contributing to the common endeavours aimed at identifying the best means to counter biological threats.

Conventional weapons should not be forgotten. Romania greatly values the key role that the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW) plays in resolving the humanitarian concerns caused by the indiscriminate use of certain conventional weapons. With regard to the ongoing CCW process on cluster munitions, Romania would like to reiterate its support for the efforts to prohibit cluster munitions that have unacceptable humanitarian consequences. We look forward to a continued constructive dialogue and negotiations in Geneva, leading to broad agreement on an effective regulation of cluster munitions. The experts have gone a long way towards agreement on most of the issues that would be addressed by a future protocol on these kinds of munitions. Parties to the Convention can demonstrate its continued relevance and vitality by completing the negotiation of the draft protocol on cluster munitions.

Let me conclude by reiterating our strong conviction that multilateral disarmament forums evolve in response to political realities. The Conference on Disarmament is no exception. The difficulties it faces now are a reflection of the complexity of international relations. Without the clear and strong political will of the entire Conference on Disarmament membership, there is little point in reminding ourselves of what is at stake. It is, however, important for all of us that this Conference seizes the momentum of multilateral disarmament. Let me reiterate once again the strong support of my Government to this end and to achieving a safer and more peaceful world.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): Thank you, Mr. Secretary of State, for your kind words to the Chair and to this year's Presidents, and thank you also for your comments made from the viewpoint of one who has worked in this Conference, and for sharing your experience and challenges that the Conference on Disarmament has to face.

We shall now suspend the meeting for a couple of minutes so that I can escort the Secretary of State from the room, to be followed by the representative of Japan.

*The meeting was suspended at 3.29 p.m. and resumed at 3.32 p.m.*

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): It is an honour for this Conference to welcome His Excellency Mr. Ikuo Yamahana, a Member of Parliament and Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan.

Mr. Vice-Minister, your participation in this Conference today shows the value attached by Japan to the work of this forum and to multilateral and bilateral efforts concerning disarmament and proliferation.

You have the floor, Sir.

**Mr. Yamahana** (Japan): Mr. President, I am greatly honoured to be given the opportunity to address the Conference on Disarmament, which has negotiated and produced numerous treaties that have become the cornerstones of arms control and disarmament. I strongly support your efforts to revitalize the Conference on Disarmament after the long years of paralysis.

Since last year's session, we have seen significant progress in the area of nuclear disarmament based on multilateral cooperation. At the 2010 NPT Review Conference, we agreed on a concrete action plan that includes the advancement of the substantive work of the Conference on Disarmament. At the high-level meeting on revitalizing the work of the Conference on Disarmament and taking forward multilateral disarmament negotiations convened by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, a large number of the ministerial-level participants, including the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Maehara, called for the revitalization of the Conference on Disarmament. Furthermore, Japan welcomes the entry into force of the New START Treaty between the United States and Russia, as it represents important progress in nuclear disarmament. We must maintain and intensify this momentum for nuclear disarmament by doubling such endeavours by the international community.

We emphasize that the Conference on Disarmament is significant for the very reason that it is the sole multilateral disarmament negotiating forum which brings together all nuclear-weapon States and States that are not party to the NPT. It is extremely regrettable that no progress has been made in this body, despite the historic agreement reached on a programme of work in 2009. Given the heightened expectations in the international community, including those of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, further continuation of the same dysfunctional pattern within this forum is unacceptable. Japan requests all Conference on Disarmament members to show a spirit of flexibility and cooperation, and to commence immediately substantive work in this Conference.

A fissile material cut-off treaty, on which it was agreed in 2009 to commence negotiations, is an important measure for nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation in realizing our goal of a world without nuclear weapons. With an FMCT, we aim, amongst other things, to prohibit the production of fissile material for nuclear-weapon purposes and to ensure that fissile material for non-nuclear-weapon purposes is not diverted for nuclear-weapon purposes. It is also expected that by establishing a verification system, transparency will be enhanced and nuclear security strengthened.

An FMCT is a concrete and immediate step which we must take in order to push forward international nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. Japan calls for an immediate commencement of negotiations on an FMCT within the Conference on Disarmament as a matter of the highest priority. Moreover, pending the entry into force of an FMCT, Japan urges all relevant States to declare and maintain a moratorium on the production of fissile material for nuclear-weapon purposes.

Last month, the Governments of Japan and Australia co-hosted an expert side event on FMCT definitions, which was open to all Conference on Disarmament members and observer States, for the purpose of advancing substantive discussions on an FMCT. We wish to contribute to future negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament by further deepening technical discussions and reporting to the Conference on Disarmament on the discussions that took place at the event. Additionally, we will also work for the immediate commencement of FMCT negotiations as a top priority in the framework of the meeting of foreign ministers on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, which Japan launched together with Australia and other countries in September 2010.

It is also necessary to make progress with discussions on the other core issues in the Conference on Disarmament. I would like to emphasize Japan's conviction that a practical and concrete approach engaging all States holding nuclear weapons is the fastest way to reach the goal of their elimination. We must not stop taking steps toward nuclear disarmament. We strongly hope that the endeavours by the United States and Russia, as mentioned before, will now lead to the advancement of global nuclear disarmament involving other States that possess nuclear weapons. We also anticipate that the United States and Russia will continue to make efforts towards further reductions in their nuclear arsenals. It is crucial that efforts towards nuclear disarmament by all States possessing nuclear weapons should be carried out in a transparent manner and based on the principles of irreversibility and verifiability. Japan will be prepared to discuss ways forward in multilateral nuclear disarmament.

As a first concrete step towards realizing a world without nuclear weapons, Japan attaches importance to the reduction of the role of nuclear weapons. It is also essential to deepen substantive discussions on ways to increase the effectiveness of negative security assurances. We call on the nuclear-weapon States to provide stronger negative security assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States as soon as possible.

Japan upholds the basic idea that an arms race in outer space must be prevented. Against the backdrop of expanding space activities in recent years, we consider it necessary to discuss in the Conference on Disarmament various issues regarding an arms race in outer space, including promoting confidence-building measures on space activities from a comprehensive perspective.

Japan has devoted itself to disarmament and non-proliferation education, believing that Japan owes it to itself to pass on the realities of the catastrophes caused by nuclear weapons to future generations. We can say that it was these efforts which resulted in the reference for the first time to disarmament and non-proliferation education in the final document of the 2010 NPT Review Conference.

As part of the effort in this area, we established Special Communicators for a World without Nuclear Weapons, in September 2010, on an initiative by Prime Minister Kan. Through this initiative *hibakushas* (survivors of the atomic bombings) are asked to communicate in broad terms their actual experiences related to the tragic results of the use of nuclear weapons to the international community. Thus far, a total of 27 Special Communicators have been active in 12 events worldwide. On 14 March 2011, nine Special Communicators are visiting Geneva on the occasion of an event related to nuclear

disarmament education. I hope that as many colleagues as possible within the Geneva community interested in disarmament and humanitarian affairs will join us for this event.

I am also pleased to announce that Japan and the United Nations University will jointly hold the Global Forum on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Education in Nagasaki on 17 and 18 March 2011. With wide participation from Governments, international organizations and civil society, the Forum aims to contribute to a better understanding of the importance of disarmament and non-proliferation education, to promoting cooperation, and to developing efforts in this area.

With the increasing momentum towards nuclear disarmament, the Conference on Disarmament should not remain a dormant conference. We must revitalize the Conference so that it can fulfil its primary role. We must make tangible and continuous efforts, step by step, towards a world without nuclear weapons. In this regard, we call on all Conference on Disarmament members to cooperate with a view to agreeing on a programme of work which will allow for the immediate start of substantive work. Japan is determined to take the lead in such efforts together with other countries.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): Thank you, Mr. Vice-Minister, for your comments, and also for the references and invitation you issued to receive visits from Communicators in Geneva and the event which the United Nations University and the Global Forum on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation will organize in Nagasaki.

We shall suspend this meeting briefly so that I can escort the Vice-Minister from the chamber.

*The meeting was suspended at 3.45 p.m. and resumed at 3.50 p.m.*

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): It is an honour for the Conference to welcome His Excellency Gazmend Turdiu, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Albania.

We are grateful for your participation this afternoon in the Conference on Disarmament, Sir, because it reflects your country's contributions to the multilateral system of disarmament and non-proliferation. We are also aware here in the Conference of your work as President of the Tenth Meeting of the States Parties to the Convention on Anti-Personnel Mines.

You have the floor, Sir.

**Mr. Turdiu** (Albania): I feel particularly honoured to address the Conference on Disarmament in my capacity as the President of the Tenth Meeting of the States Parties to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction, the so-called Ottawa Convention, or Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention.

It is also a great pleasure to be here on this auspicious day, a day when so many high-level representatives have travelled to Geneva to address the Conference, and a day which coincidentally is the twelfth anniversary of the entry into force of the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention.

The anniversary of the Convention is an important opportunity to recall why we pursue disarmament negotiations and what benefits we can expect when we conclude and implement the high-quality outcomes of these negotiations.

Why do we disarm? We do so for the peace and security of an international order that is based on appreciation of the sovereign responsibility of States for matters under their jurisdiction. Indeed, the most profound sovereign responsibility of a State is to guarantee the rights and to ensure the well-being of its own population. As such, we should recall the

second reason why we disarm. Although we disarm to ensure the peace and security of States, disarmament is also a means of ensuring the safety and the well-being of people, the prosperity and security of communities, and freedom for individual women, men, boys and girls to exercise their rights. The Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention is an embodiment of all the reasons why you are attending this session of the Conference on Disarmament. Yet concerns related to using anti-personnel mines bring to mind two additional reasons why we must remain especially focused on getting rid of this sinister weapon.

First, the indiscriminate and long-lasting nature of anti-personnel mines means that their victims are more likely to be civilians than combatants, or more likely to be communities of people rather than battalions of soldiers. This point was well recognized more than a decade ago.

Second, the military utility of anti-personnel mines is marginal at best, and such perceived utility is greatly outweighed by the humanitarian impact. In addition, this perceived utility can easily be replaced through means that do not possess the insidious characteristics and long-lasting consequences of anti-personnel mines. This point was also well recognized more than a decade ago.

Since traditional disarmament and arms control arenas had proved to be inadequate in addressing the concerns related to anti-personnel mines, and as a result of increased awareness and recognition in the mid-1990s that something had to be done about their inhuman nature, the Ottawa process was born and then the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention came to life.

Exactly 12 years ago, the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction entered into force. It has since been confirmed as one of the most successful disarmament instruments in history. The 156 States parties to the Convention have, to borrow from the Charter of the United Nations, taken “effective collective measures” in order to “maintain international peace and security”. Moreover, each of these 156 States is no less secure because it has forsworn the use, stockpiling, production and transfer of anti-personnel mines, just as no State that has not yet joined our common cause is any more secure because it continues to retain and/or use anti-personnel mines.

Quite simply, this is a weapon that no longer has a place in our international order. The real measure of success of the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention, however, rests less on how many States have joined the cause, or how few persist outside of this effort. Success should be measured in the number of mines destroyed, the amount of land freed from deadly bondage, and the number of survivors who have greater hope that their needs will be met and their rights respected.

Since the Convention entered into force, States parties have reported the destruction of almost 44 million mines. Sixteen of the 54 States parties with anti-personnel mines in mined areas have now reported the completion of their obligation to render all such areas fit for normal human activity.

Moreover, this Convention broke new ground in terms of responsibility to the victims of the weapons that we wish to control or eliminate. It has served as an inspiration for how the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons and the Convention on Cluster Munitions seek to meet the needs and guarantee the rights of victims of conventional weapons.

In just 12 years, the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention has become binding international law for 156 States; I am heartened that more are considering the importance of joining this cause. At the Tenth Meeting of the States Parties in 2010, I was delighted to hear that both Finland and Poland intend to ratify or to accede to the Convention in 2012. I



remain hopeful that the United States of America, with its potential to demonstrate real international leadership, will conclude the review of its landmine policy in such a way that it too will become part of our collective effort.

I wish to conclude by noting that the twelfth anniversary of the Convention's entry into force is not only a time to mark our achievement, it is also an opportunity to assess what remains to be done with the three main pillars of this Convention: mine clearance, stockpile destruction and, in particular, victim assistance. While stockpile destruction is progressing well, as more areas are cleared from anti-personnel mines and other unexploded ordnance and then returned to the local communities, we will need to continue and strengthen our support to mine survivors for as long as they live. Our aim is not only to provide proper medical assistance and treatment, but also to make it possible for them to reintegrate in the social and economic life of their countries.

Many challenges lie ahead, and we will need to redouble our efforts in order to achieve our common goals. Our mission is the conclusive end to all suffering and casualties caused by anti-personnel mines. However, our mission will only be complete through: strengthened national ownership on the part of those States parties that must still clear mined areas; more intensive effort concerning the needs and rights of survivors; the continuation of our solemn legal obligation to assist one another in implementing the Convention.

Given the track record to date, I am optimistic that this Convention will continue to produce results. Having said that, I am hopeful that more States will see that this instrument is a case of multilateralism working the way it should. This Conference may wish to study this example in order to see how the efforts we invested in the work of this august body produce real results, both in the maintenance of international peace and security and in ensuring the safety and well-being of people.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): Thank you, Mr. Secretary-General. We would like to thank you specially for your comments on the Ottawa Convention, an instrument which includes many dimensions, particularly the humanitarian dimension. We also thank you for your reference to the challenges the Convention poses for a safer world.

I shall escort the Secretary-General for a moment and we will resume the meeting.

*The meeting was suspended at 3.51 p.m. and resumed at 3.58 p.m.*

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): Thank you very much. This concludes the high-level segment for today. We have no more speakers. This brings this afternoon's work to an end; the next plenary meeting of the Conference will be held on Thursday, 3 March at 10 a.m. As you are aware, we shall be having a debate on fissile material.

This meeting is adjourned.

*The meeting rose at 4 p.m.*