

# CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

CD/PV.965  
19 August 2004

ENGLISH

---

## FINAL RECORD OF THE NINE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIFTH PLENARY MEETING

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,  
on Thursday, 19 August 2004, at 10.15 a.m.

President:

Mr. MYA THAN

(Myanmar)

The PRESIDENT: I declare open the 965th plenary meeting of the Conference on Disarmament.

At the very outset, I should like to extend a cordial welcome to Ambassador Zdzisław Rapacki, who has recently assumed his responsibilities as representative of Poland at the Conference on Disarmament. I should like to take this opportunity to assure him of our cooperation and support in his new assignment.

Before we proceed to our business, I should like to extend a warm welcome to the Nagasaki Peace Messengers and citizens of Nagasaki, who are following our plenary meeting today. For several years now, students from Nagasaki have been visiting the Geneva branch of the Department for Disarmament Affairs to convey, on behalf of thousands of students from Nagasaki and Hiroshima, a message calling for nuclear disarmament. It is encouraging to see that the younger generation is so devoted to the noble cause of arms control and disarmament and so interested in the work of the Conference on Disarmament.

Today, we are bidding farewell to Ambassador Yaakov Levy, Permanent Representative of Israel, who is leaving Geneva to assume new duties.

Since joining the Conference on Disarmament in September 2000, Ambassador Levy has represented his country for almost four years with great dedication, high professionalism and outstanding diplomatic skills. During his presidency of the Conference on Disarmament in 2003, Ambassador Levy contributed considerably to the improvement of the working methods of the Conference. He has his well-deserved share in working out the basis for the enhancement of the engagement of civil society in the work of the Conference. He also conducted intensive consultations on issues that, over time, acquired new relevance, such as terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, as well as compliance with multilateral arms control and disarmament agreements.

On behalf of the Conference on Disarmament, as well as on my own behalf, I should like to wish Ambassador Levy and his family much success and happiness in the future.

I have on today's list of speakers for the plenary meeting two speakers: Ambassador Yaakov Levy of Israel and Ambassador Yoshiki Mine of Japan. However, before giving them the floor, I should like to make some opening remarks as Myanmar assumes the presidency of the Conference.

It is a great honour for me as well as for my country to preside over this august forum, the Conference on Disarmament, during the concluding part of its 2004 session.

The last presidency of the year is the most hectic one. It entails report-writing, winding up the activities of the CD, laying down the groundwork for next year's session and endeavouring to make advances, to the extent possible, on substantive issues.

Myanmar was a founder member of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC) in 1962. Since then, Myanmar has participated in various disarmament forums and has made its modest contributions in the field of arms control and disarmament. Myanmar has

(The President)

assumed the presidency three times in the Conference on Disarmament. It is a great privilege for me to have this opportunity to serve as the third President of the CD from Myanmar in this august body.

The year 2004 is the year of the Group of 21. I should like to pay tribute to my colleagues from the G-21, Ambassador Amina Mohamed of Kenya, Ambassador Rajmah Hussain of Malaysia, Ambassador Pablo Macedo of Mexico, Ambassador Khasbazaryn Bekhbat of Mongolia and Ambassador Omar Hilale of Morocco, for the able leadership and diplomatic skills with which they have conducted the proceedings of the CD during their tenures. I also wish to express my deep appreciation to Mr. Sergei Ordzhonikidze, Secretary-General of the Conference on Disarmament, Mr. Enrique Román-Morey, Deputy Secretary-General, Mr. Jerzy Zaleski and other members of the secretariat for their valuable support and cooperation.

The CD is at a critical juncture. After eight years of inaction in this forum, the international community is looking to the CD to revitalize its work and to accomplish substantive progress. The establishment of ad hoc committees or a programme of work remains elusive.

Nevertheless, there have been useful and constructive activities and developments at the 2004 session of the CD. Under the presidency of Ambassador Amina Mohamed of Kenya the CD took a decision on enhancement of the engagement of civil society in the work of the Conference, under which non-governmental organizations will be allocated, after the adoption of a programme of work by the CD, one informal plenary meeting at its annual session to address the Conference.

Under the presidency of Ambassador Rajmah Hussain of Malaysia, an open-ended informal consultation was held on the work programme. Under the presidencies of Ambassador Pablo Macedo of Mexico and Ambassador Khasbazaryn Bekhbat of Mongolia and Ambassador Omar Hilale of Morocco, seven informal plenary meetings were held on the issues on the agenda of the Conference on Disarmament. Furthermore, under the presidency of Ambassador Omar Hilale of Morocco, one informal plenary meeting was held on “new and additional issues related to the agenda of the Conference on Disarmament”, and two informal plenary meetings were held on the “methodology of the work programme of the Conference on Disarmament”. This has generated powerful momentum and interest in the CD.

We should take good advantage of such momentum and interest to move forward in the CD and to explore possibilities with a view to reaching consensus on the establishment of ad hoc committees or a programme of work.

In Myanmar there is a saying that, in whatever you do, the most important and crucial factor is to have an appropriate outlook or consideration - “*Yawnisaw manasikara*”.

(The President)

It is the way one looks at things and the way one projects one's vision as to what one can achieve. Depending on the way one looks at it, one may say that a glass is half full or half empty. Likewise, one may consider one's position fully justified, and may consider that the other parties ought to make accommodations to reach an agreement.

It is only when one can adopt an appropriate and correct outlook and take a balanced view, taking into account the position of the other parties as well as one's own, that one can create a "win-win" situation and achieve a successful outcome. I hope that the member States of the CD will be able to adopt such an appropriate and positive outlook and show maximum flexibility. This will contribute to our search for common ground and to finding a solution to the current problem.

May I take this opportunity to outline what I intend to do or the work plan for the remaining period of this year's session? It consists of the ongoing process of consultations on the establishment of ad hoc committees or a programme of work; the ongoing process of consultations on interim steps such as the appointment of a special coordinator or special coordinators to facilitate the process with a view to reaching agreement on the programme of work; the convening of informal plenary meetings; and report-writing.

It is late in the year. We have the difficult and heavy responsibility of report-writing ahead of us. Nevertheless, as the President of the Conference, I shall not give up efforts to make progress on substantive issues. Our priority is the establishment of ad hoc committees or a programme of work. There have been many important proposals, namely the A-5 proposal, my own proposal and many other initiatives. I will continue my efforts and consultations on the basis of these proposals and fresh inputs from the delegations.

Sometimes, it can be helpful to take interim steps to facilitate the process with a view to achieving our main objectives. In this context, I will continue my consultations on the appointment of a special coordinator or special coordinators if it can help us in our endeavours.

Most of the delegations to the CD have informed me that they favour the convening of a few more informal plenary meetings. Taking into account their desire and willingness to have a few more informal plenary meetings, I intend to convene an informal plenary meeting on "how to move forward on substantive issues/programme of work" on Tuesday 24 August 2004, in the morning.

In so doing, we will use the provision of the decision on the improved and effective functioning of the Conference on Disarmament contained in document CD/1036 concerning, inter alia, the holding of an additional meeting during the 22nd week of the CD's session, which this year begins on Monday, 23 August.

Here I should like to stress that it is important to have structured and focused discussions. Delegations are invited to contribute their views on specific aspects of the A-5 proposal and other specific aspects on the programme of work. It appears that the majority of delegations can

(The President)

go along with the A-5 proposal. Those delegations which are not in a position to go along with the A-5 proposal should explain and make suggestions on ways and means to modify the A-5 proposal.

All delegations are also invited to express their views on specific substantive issues rather than making general comments.

The Conference on Disarmament is a unique institution. It cannot be recreated under the prevailing political circumstances. Nor can it be replaced by another body as the sole multilateral negotiating forum in the field of arms control and disarmament in the foreseeable future. The CD has the capacity to deliver concrete results when there exists political will and concerted efforts by the member States to negotiate arms control and disarmament agreements. One shining example is the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT). Incidentally, there will soon be the presentation of a book on the CTBT in the CD this morning by Ambassador Jaap Ramaker of the Netherlands, who presided over the successful conclusion of negotiations on the draft treaty as the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test Ban. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the Biological Weapons Convention and the Chemical Weapons Convention are also among the important international treaties delivered by the CD and its predecessor bodies. It is therefore incumbent on all of us to revitalize this most valuable multilateral institution.

One of the cardinal rules of the CD is the rule of consensus. The position of each and every member State counts. The merits and demerits of this rule have been the focus of much heated debate. In my view, it is the strength of the CD. We should respect the rule of consensus. I will therefore respect the position of each and every delegation. I will take into account the position of each and every delegation in trying to find common ground on substantive issues as well as on procedural arrangements. Bearing this in mind, I have transmitted to all the member States a letter and a questionnaire to facilitate the process of intensive consultations. I am consulting all the delegations in the CD.

With your support and cooperation, I will do my best to make such progress as is warranted by the collective will and the consensus of the member States of the CD.

I now give the floor to Ambassador Yaakov Levy of Israel.

Mr. LEVY (Israel): Mr. President, since it is the first time I am taking the floor under your presidency, let me congratulate you on your elevation to this high post; be assured that our delegation will support you in your endeavours. Many thanks also for the kind words addressed to me in your opening remarks regarding my departure.

During four years of work in the Conference on Disarmament, the Israeli delegation has participated in an active and sincere manner in discussions, both formal and informal, and consultations, in plenary sessions as well as within the Western Group, culminating in our assuming the rotating presidency of the Conference about a year ago.

(Mr. Levy, Israel)

This involvement, including presiding over the Conference, is in our view a demonstration of Israel's participation, on an equal footing, in the work of the international community.

Israel has also participated in other disarmament forums taking place in Geneva, in our view demonstrating in a constructive fashion its involvement in the CCW negotiations, where agreement was reached on the fifth protocol regarding explosive remnants of war, thus taking an active part in the only recent achievement in the world of disarmament.

These four years of activity in the Conference on Disarmament have coincided with events that have changed the outlook of the world of disarmament. I refer of course to the events of 11 September and the emergence of the threat of the combination of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, as well as recent revelations regarding the lack of efficacy of the international regimes and the need to bring them up to date.

In four years of work in the CD, we have recently witnessed an interesting momentum around the initiative of the Ambassador of Mexico and his successors, especially the Ambassador of Morocco. This initiative created informal discussions regarding various subjects on the agenda, culminating in a discussion on the subject of emerging threats. This discussion and its continuation will no doubt enable the CD to better connect with current reality and emerge as an up-to-date body rather than as an isolated and lofty forum. It is imperative that members of the CD be fully cognizant of current emerging threats, otherwise the chance of a breakthrough in its work could be remote.

Disarmament is, in our view, not a goal as such, rather an instrument through which countries secure their vital interests. Israel, like any other member of the Conference, will view and evaluate any proposal through this prism. The consensus mode is crucial to such an important forum, ensuring that each country will be able to feel comfortable in examining any proposals in the light of its particular security interests. Consensus is a cornerstone of the world of disarmament.

The involvement of civil society in the work of the CD, in a measured way has taken some steps forward recently, beginning with the initiative of the Irish presidency, continuing with our own presidency and culminating with the proposal presented by the Kenyan presidency. We feel a degree of satisfaction in being party to this process.

On a more personal note, my four years as Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the Conference on Disarmament as well as to the United Nations and other international organizations have given me the pleasure of interacting with a multifaceted and multicultural world present in Geneva and in this hall. The Conference on Disarmament, considered a most exclusive club embraced me as a full member even though, as all of you know, as an ambassador who covers other organizations, I was often called away, like other colleagues, to take part in other forums, sometimes even on days of plenary and regional group meetings. Still, I appreciate my colleagues' readiness to interact and update me on an equal footing as a full member of the CD ambassadorial team, thus demonstrating that the members of this Conference indeed constitute what is known as the "best club in town".

(Mr. Levy, Israel)

Even though the achievements of the Conference have fallen short of what we would have liked, the ability to interact on a continuous, informal, high-level plateau is an enriching experience which I will take back with me.

As an ambassador of a country that is not yet fully recognized by some Members of the United Nations, I had hoped that my stay in Geneva, an international town, would enable me to find new avenues for discussion and exchange with colleagues of such countries, where opportunities are denied to us on a bilateral level. This has been partially realized. Still, I am thankful for all these colleagues, who, even in the absence of formal diplomatic ties between our countries, did not hesitate to engage me on a variety of formal and informal levels, contributing, I would hope, to a better perception of both sides' views, a process which will ultimately and inevitably lead to better understanding of the difficult path between conflict in our region and its peaceful resolution.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Ambassador Levy of Israel for his statement and the farewell message, and for the kind words addressed to the Chair. I now give the floor to Ambassador Yoshiki Mine of Japan.

Mr. MINE (Japan): Mr. President, at the outset, I would like to congratulate you on the assumption of the presidency and express my sincere appreciation of your efforts to move the Conference forward at this very critical juncture. I would like to assure you of the full support and cooperation of my delegation in our common efforts to bring this stalemate to an end.

I support the President's initiative on informal plenary meetings to provide impetus to the substantive work of the CD. The informal meetings have proved useful. We have had in-depth discussions at the informal plenary meetings under previous presidencies. I would like to take this opportunity to express appreciation for the excellent work of Ambassador Macedo, Ambassador Bekhbat and Ambassador Hilale.

I would also like to stress the importance of the function of formal plenary meetings. Informal meetings have their own virtue, allowing us to express our views more frankly and interact with each other more easily, whereas formal plenaries have their own benefits, pinning down our work in a formal manner, thus enabling us to solidify our developments. We should extract elements from the informal meetings that are worth registering formally.

Having said this, I would like to speak briefly about the sixteenth United Nations Conference on Disarmament Issues recently held in Sapporo, Japan, from 26 to 29 July. Japan has sponsored a United Nations Conference on Disarmament Issues in a different local city each year since 1989. The theme of this year's conference, the second to be held in Sapporo, was "Mounting challenges to peace and security and disarmament today".

The Conference was organized by the United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs and the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Asia and the Pacific, in close cooperation with the Government of Japan, Sapporo city and the Hokkaido prefecture.

(Mr. Mine, Japan)

More than 80 participants attended, from Governments, academic institutes, non-governmental organizations and the press. On our side, Mr. Kazunori Tanaka gave a welcome address in his capacity as Parliamentary Secretary for Foreign Affairs. From Geneva, the Ambassador of Malaysia, Ms. Rajmah Hussain, participated in the Conference, as she mentioned the other day.

The Conference provided an invaluable opportunity for interaction between experts and a deepening understanding of disarmament and non-proliferation issues, such as the nuclear black market, strengthening the International Atomic Energy Agency, challenges and prospects of the 2005 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons Review Conference, strengthening multilateralism, regional security in north-east Asia and the role of civil society.

Also, the Conference was a contribution to disarmament and non-proliferation education, on which Japan places great importance. The Conference was open to the Japanese public, and it offered an excellent opportunity for the citizens of Sapporo to deepen their understanding of disarmament and non-proliferation.

A citizen's Forum on disarmament and non-proliferation education was also held during the Conference, based on the 2002 United Nations study on disarmament and non-proliferation education adopted at the United Nations General Assembly in 2002.

Japan would like to continue its efforts to enhance disarmament and non-proliferation education.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Ambassador Mine of Japan for his important statement and the kind words addressed to me. I now give the floor to Ambassador Zdzisław Rapacki of Poland.

Mr. RAPACKI (Poland): I wish to thank you, Mr. President, for your warm words addressed to me. It is my honour and privilege to represent the Republic of Poland in this room. I wish to assure you of my country's constant support for the Conference on Disarmament. Let me also wish you all success in your task as the President of the Conference on Disarmament.

The Conference on Disarmament is not in its best days. However, I believe that by common effort we can change that situation.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Ambassador Rapacki of Poland for his remarks and the kind words addressed to me.

This concludes my list of speakers for today. Does any delegation wish to take the floor at this stage? That does not appear to be the case.

I should like to inform you that it is my intention to continue the efforts of my predecessors and to convene an informal plenary meeting on Tuesday, 24 August in the morning at 10 a.m. on "How to move forward on substantive issues/programme of work". In so doing we shall use the provision of the decision on the improved and effective functioning of the

(The President)

Conference on Disarmament contained in document CD/1036 concerning, inter alia, the holding of an additional meeting during the 22nd week of the CD's session, which begins this year on Monday, 23 August.

As you are aware, we have less than four weeks until the end of the 2004 session, part of which will be devoted to consideration of the draft annual report to the General Assembly. Rule 44 of the Conference's rules of procedure provides that the draft annual report shall be made available to all members of the Conference at least two weeks before the scheduled date of adoption. With the assistance of the secretariat, I am currently preparing the draft report, which, in accordance with rule 45 of the rules of procedure, will be factual. The draft report will be available in all official languages in delegations' pigeonholes on Tuesday, 24 August 2004. It is my intention to conduct the first reading of the draft report at an informal meeting following the plenary meeting on Thursday, 26 August 2004.

This concludes our business for today.

As announced last week, this plenary will be immediately followed by an informal meeting during which Ambassador Jaap Ramaker, the last Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test Ban, will introduce a book entitled The Final Test - A History of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Negotiations.

The next plenary meeting of the Conference will be held on Thursday, 26 August 2004, at 10 a.m., and as just announced, it will be followed by an informal plenary meeting devoted to the first reading of the draft report of the Conference.

The meeting rose at 10.45 a.m.