



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 32ND MEETING

Chairman: Mr. PASTINEN (Finland)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.35 a.m.

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The CHAIRMAN: I should like to draw the attention of the representatives in this Committee to two new draft resolutions which have been circulated this morning. They both pertain to agenda item 125, "Review of the implementation of the recommendations and decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth special session". Draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.16 concerns the transmission of all information and comments made by Member States on the proposals and suggestions listed in paragraph 125 of the Final Document. Draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.17 is concerned with the study on the relationships between disarmament and development.

The present estimate is that for the next two weeks there will be 105 speakers on these items. I would remind representatives that if they have any draft resolutions to be introduced, now is the time to do so.

Mr. FOKINE (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): The Soviet delegation wishes to speak today on certain relevant disarmament questions which the First Committee is considering as part of the third section of its agenda. In significant part these questions are concerned with the problem of nuclear disarmament.

First, during the discussion of agenda item 125 of the present session of the General Assembly of the United Nations the overwhelming majority of the delegations have indicated that the implementation of concrete nuclear disarmament measures, as provided for in the Final Document of the special session on disarmament, is a problem that should be given top priority in the efforts of States in the field of disarmament, and that nuclear disarmament is the key problem of modern times.

Significant progress could be made in the cessation of the nuclear arms race and of the qualitative and quantitative growth of nuclear weapons by the implementation of the well-known proposal concerning the cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons introduced by the Soviet Union. The Soviet delegation has already referred to that proposal. At this time it is sufficient to point out that the suggestion that all nuclear Powers as well as a certain number of non-nuclear Powers should enter into consultation among themselves with a view to the commencement of talks is receiving growing understanding and support. The adoption by the General Assembly of a decision with an appropriate appeal to States would, in our opinion, have a significant positive effect.

Secondly, the problem of nuclear disarmament, including the question of the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, is closely associated with the Soviet Union's proposal concerning the non-stationing of nuclear weapons upon the territories of States where they are not found at present. This proposal is in keeping with the clearly expressed intention of many States to prohibit the emplacement of nuclear weapons on their territories. At the same time its implementation would be of great significance from the point of view of limiting the sphere of territorial deployment of nuclear weapons, and it would contribute to the establishment of nuclear-free zones. In a word, it would contribute to the cessation of the nuclear arms race and to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and thereby would prove to be an important measure in the maintenance of peace and security in various parts of the world.

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A solution of this problem is visualized by the Soviet Union as an international agreement under which nuclear Powers would commit themselves not to deploy nuclear weapons on territories where they do not exist at present. Such a commitment would cover all types of nuclear weapons, regardless of whether they were deployed as part of a combat system or were in stockpiles. The agreement would include a commitment by States which do not have nuclear weapons that they would refrain from any actions which would lead directly or indirectly to the stationing on their territories of such weapons. From a practical point of view an international agreement on such a basis should not be very difficult to reach. It is understood that a solution to the present problem would depend to a large extent on those non-nuclear States which have no nuclear weapons on their territories at the present time. Some among them have already stated that they would not permit the deployment of nuclear weapons on their territories. If such a position were to be taken by other non-nuclear States this would be an important prerequisite for the achievement of an agreement.

With regard to the obligations of nuclear States to undertake not to place nuclear weapons in territories where they do not exist at present, the Soviet Union has already stated that it is ready to do so, and we see no reason which should prevent other nuclear Powers from following the same course. It goes without saying that such an obligation on the part of nuclear-weapon States should be universal. In other words, it should apply to any non-nuclear State on whose territory there are no nuclear weapons, independently of whether this or that nuclear Power is in alliance with such non-nuclear States or not.

The Soviet Union ventures to hope that the thirty-third session of the General Assembly will appeal to all States possessing nuclear weapons to adhere strictly and unswervingly to the principle of the non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of States where they do not exist at the present time, and to all States which do not possess nuclear weapons and which do not have them upon their territories to refrain from any steps which might directly or indirectly lead to the stationing of such weapons on their territories.

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Thirdly, a major and highly topical problem is the reduction of military budgets, especially when it is taken into account that at present plans are being continued to increase allocations for the arms race. During the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Council adopted a decision concerning the earmarking of additional gigantic sums for military purposes. This took place at a time when States were applying increasing efforts to stop the madness of the arms race and its further fomenting by those whose interests lie in the militarization of the economies of States and the super-profits derived from arms. The Soviet Union is firmly convinced that such an abnormal state of affairs can and must be put an end to.

The constant growth in military budgets of States must be replaced by a systematic reduction of those budgets. The most recent Soviet proposals on the question of the reduction of military budgets were submitted at the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament and have been argued in depth in the statement of the member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Minister for Foreign Affairs, A. A. Gromyko, in the plenary Assembly at the present session on 26 September, and is definitely within the purview of the First Committee.

May I invite the attention of delegations to some of the aspects of that statement. Since 1973 when, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, the General Assembly adopted resolution 3093 (XXVIII) calling for the reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries, five years have elapsed. However, that decision has remained unimplemented.

The Soviet Union has always said, and continues to say, that in order properly to solve the problem of the reduction of military budgets political will is necessary and political decisions are required. It is known that, by reference to the incomparability of the military budgets of States an attempt is being made to avoid such decisions and to deal with the technical aspects of military budgets instead of in fact reducing them. The time has come to realize that such an approach can get one nowhere. Moreover, the impression is being given that

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the artificially created impasse seems to be in keeping with the interests of certain champions of endless - and let me say this clearly - and fruitless examinations of military budgets. The way out of the situation is clear and simple - if one is genuinely striving to achieve the goals set and not looking for excuses to delay a decision on this highly relevant problem which is readily understandable by every human being.

The Soviet proposal that States which have large economic and military potential, including all the permanent members of the Security Council, should agree on specific amounts for the reduction of their military budgets, not in terms of percentage points but in absolute figures, is a good basis for energetic and purposeful measures and a practical way of solving this problem. Such a reduction could be started in the course of the next financial year and could cover a three-year period. In this connexion, 10 per cent of the funds released as a result of the reduction in military budgets could be directed to increase assistance to the developing countries.

We are satisfied that the Soviet Union proposal was supported at the tenth special session on disarmament, the Final Document of which states:

"Gradual reduction of military budgets on a mutually agreed basis, for example, in absolute figures or in terms of percentage points, particularly by nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant States, would be a measure that would contribute to the curbing of the arms race and would increase the possibilities of reallocation of resources now being used for military purposes to economic and social development, particularly for the benefit of the developing countries." (A/S-10/2, para. 89)

It seems obvious that, with the reduction of military budgets, not in terms of percentages but in absolute terms, by an order of magnitude of one it would be possible to eliminate difficulties connected with the problem of so-called "comparability of budgets", inasmuch as the question would then involve the removal by States of specific amounts which, in the course of talks would be defined and diverted to peaceful purposes. The Soviet delegation

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considers that its proposal concerning the reduction of military budgets offers a suitable basis for holding constructive talks and for the achievement of concrete agreements.

Fourth, the tenth special session of the United Nations on disarmament drew attention to the growing danger of the transfer of the arms race into a qualitative sphere. The following is stated in paragraph 39 of the Final Document:

"Qualitative and quantitative disarmament measures are both important for halting the arms race. Efforts to that end must include negotiations on the limitation and cessation of the qualitative improvement of armaments, especially weapons of mass destruction and the development of new means of warfare so that ultimately scientific and technological achievements may be used solely for peaceful purposes." (Ibid., para. 39)

That is an important observation, because it is necessary to put an end to the existing state of affairs where many outstanding scientific and technological achievements and discoveries are placed at the service of war and not used for the benefit of mankind. The Soviet Union and the other socialist States are doing everything in their power to secure a speedy solution of that task. In the course of discussions within the framework of the United Nations, and in the Committee on Disarmament, the socialist countries have demonstrated in practice that they have every sympathy for all constructive ideas and proposals aimed at the solution of the question of the prohibition of new types of weapons of mass destruction and are displaying maximum flexibility also in regard to forms for possible agreements. But the Soviet Union is radically opposed to the idea that the search for a solution to the problem of achieving agreement on this highly important question should be replaced by academic discussions as to whether some of the new forms and methods of mass destruction of humans - and among them there are many highly inhuman ones - are truly "new types" or merely "new variants" of such weapons.

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If we conduct endless discussions on this question, instead of solving it, we can readily see what prospects paid by multibillion dollar sums await mankind.

The Soviet Union is in favour of achieving agreement on the question of the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons and of accelerating the formulation of special agreements on specific types of weapons in those cases where that is necessary. The adoption by the General Assembly of a decision in this respect would unquestionably have positive significance.

The relevance of measures in that respect is especially understandable in the light of the fact that only recently - specifically during the period when Disarmament Week was being celebrated in accordance with a decision of the tenth special session of the United Nations - in the United States a draft bill was approved concerning the allocation of funds for the production of the basic components for neutron weapons, and a step was thereby taken to include in the arsenals of war a new sophisticated weapon of mass destruction with all the devastating consequences flowing therefrom, including their effect on the cause of the limitation of armaments and of disarmament. Such a course of events would definitely deal a very serious blow to the hopes of peoples for eliminating the threat of nuclear war.

The Soviet Union is in favour of the total prohibition of neutron weapons. Together with the other socialist countries, the Soviet Union, in March of this year, introduced for the consideration of the Committee on Disarmament a draft convention on the prohibition of the production, stockpiling, deployment and use of nuclear neutron weapons. We call upon all States, in full responsibility, as long as there is still time, to deal with this problem.

Fifth, I shall speak now on agenda item 48 concerning the convening of a world disarmament conference.

In accordance with paragraph 122 of the Final Document of the tenth special session of the United Nations on disarmament:

"At the earliest appropriate time, a world disarmament conference should be convened with universal participation and with adequate preparation."

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Two practical conclusions follow from this: the General Assembly is, first of all, to determine the definite dates for the convening of a world disarmament conference, and, secondly, to set up an organ for the preparation of that conference. There would be a danger, otherwise, that the wish of the special session concerning the convening of a world disarmament conference "at an early appropriate time" would remain just something on paper.

The Soviet delegation has listened with great interest to the ideas expressed in the course of the present session by representatives of many countries - in particular by those of Ghana, Burundi, Madagascar, Syria, Greece, Cuba, Laos, Angola, Afghanistan, the United Arab Emirates and other countries - on the question of the convening of a world disarmament conference, which were dictated by the understandable desire to utilize, in the interest of the speedy solution of the problem of disarmament - quite apart from those forms which are already being used - a world disarmament conference also, with its new, extensive and so far untapped, resources. Only a world disarmament conference would be capable of elaborating such a method for its work that the decisions adopted would go outside the framework of mere recommendations and would be mandatory in character for all States.

Of course, for the elaboration of appropriate procedures, as well as for the formulation of future substantive decisions of the world disarmament conference, time would be required. What would be required also would be serious, comprehensive preparation. And it becomes all the clearer how important it is already to decide now upon the dates for the holding of the world disarmament conference and the best way to prepare it.

One of the important results of the special session is the recognition by those who took part in it of the fact that the problem of disarmament is universal, that it affects the vital interests of all peoples and States, and that this goal can be achieved only by means of joint efforts. Proceeding from precisely that collective opinion, the Soviet delegation once again emphasizes the full importance of the adoption of decisions concerning the practical preparation of the convening of a world disarmament conference. The Soviet Union has given a positive appraisal to the results of the first special

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session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament proceeds from the fact that a second special session convened within a reasonable time - let us say in four years - could likewise do useful work.

Sixth, the agenda of the First Committee contains an item entitled "Implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace". The Soviet Union has consistently been in favour of military détente in the region of the Indian Ocean and fully understands the proposal concerning the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, considering that such a measure would contribute to strengthening peace and security in that region and would have a tangible, positive effect upon the international situation as a whole. The Soviet Union has expressed its readiness to seek ways to limit and progressively to decrease military activity in the Indian Ocean, including the liquidation of foreign military bases. The beginning of talks between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on this question has been welcomed by many countries on various continents of the world because agreement between the USSR and the United States would give a more realistic form to the idea of the conversion of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. However, through no fault of the Soviet Union, since February of this year talks have been stopped on an artificial pretext. It is in the light of this necessary clarification of the actual situation, the Soviet Union views the appeal of the Special Committee on the Indian Ocean concerning the speedy resumption of talks. The Soviet side states that it is ready, as before, to negotiate in a responsible and constructive way with the United States of America.

Seventh, in 1980 conferences are to be held on the review of the effects of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and of the Convention on the Prohibition of Bacteriological Weapons. As experience of the holding of similar conferences has shown, these events can and must be an important way to strengthen the effectiveness of agreements and to raise their universality. The Soviet Union, as a depository of both these international instruments, attaches serious importance to a very careful preparation for these conferences. We consider that during that preparation full use must be made of the useful

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experience of holding such conferences that has been accumulated in the past. The Soviet delegation expresses the hope that both conferences will be duly prepared and will serve to strengthen further the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the Convention on the Prohibition of Bacteriological Weapons. We venture to hope that States Members of the United Nations which are not yet parties to the aforementioned international agreements will adhere to them as soon as possible, thereby making their contribution to the cause of the adoption of further measures in the field of the limitation of the arms race and disarmament.

Eighth, the delegation of the USSR fully shares the view expressed in the Committee by scores of delegations that there is no problem in the world which is more urgent than the struggle for peace and disarmament. In the statement of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Alexei Nikolayevich Kosygin, on 4 November 1978 in connexion with the sixty-first anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the following was said:

"For the present and future of the whole of mankind there is no task more important than that of the cessation of the arms race and the transition to genuine disarmament. Without this there will be further growth in the great and irreplaceable losses in material and spiritual resources of peoples. Without this, peace can be neither lasting nor stable."

This is not being recognized only by those whose policy is aimed at undermining détente, at exacerbating international tensions, at blocking all measures aimed at curbing the arms race and promoting disarmament. Concern over the securing of peace and therefore concern over disarmament, of course, is something that is natural for the socialist system in which there are no classes and social groups interested in the arms race. There is an organic link between tasks which are resolved within the socialist system, at the centre of which is man and his needs, and the tasks of disarmament. It is entirely logical, therefore, that the goal of general and complete disarmament is enshrined as one of the tasks of Soviet foreign policy in the Constitution of the USSR, in

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its article 28. The Soviet Union is convinced that this goal is attainable and is fully resolved to achieve its implementation.

The CHAIRMAN: There are a number of additional sponsors of draft resolutions. They are: draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.5, Swaziland; draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.10, Chile and Singapore; and draft resolution A/C.1/33/L.7, Singapore.

The meeting rose at 11.10 a.m.