



VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 30TH MEETING

Chairman: Mr. NAIK (Pakistan)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 31 TO 49 AND 121 (continued)

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will continue this afternoon consideration and action upon draft resolutions on all disarmament items. Before I call on the first speaker, I should like to recall that the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions is Friday, 14 November, at noon. I should also like to take this opportunity to invite members to inscribe their names on the list of speakers for those draft resolutions which have already been introduced or to introduce further draft resolutions. At this time there are only a few speakers for the remainder of the week and, accordingly, we might be obliged to cancel most of the scheduled meetings this week. I would therefore urge members of the Committee to respond positively to my appeal to inscribe their names on the list of speakers as soon as possible so that we shall be able to schedule our meetings appropriately and to utilize to the maximum extent the resources that have been allocated to the First Committee.

I now call on the representative of Pakistan to introduce the draft resolutions in documents A/C.1/35/L.3 and A/C.1/35/L.5.

Mr. GHAFOR (Pakistan): The purpose of my delegation's statement today is to introduce two draft resolutions in documents A/C.1/35/L.3, on the "Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia", and A/C.1/35/L.5, on the "Conclusion of an international convention to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons".

First of all, I shall take up the draft resolution on the "Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia", which is an initiative in pursuance of Pakistan's abiding policy to keep our region free from the menace of nuclear weapons and its commitment to the objectives of nuclear non-proliferation. It is our conviction that the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia consistent with the decisions of the tenth special session, devoted to disarmament, will greatly enhance the security of all States of the region against the nuclear threat.

(Mr. Ghafoor, Pakistan)

The tenth special session, devoted to disarmament, recommended the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in appropriate regions of the world as an effective measure to contain nuclear proliferation and to reduce the threat of a nuclear holocaust. The special session in this regard pointedly referred to three regions of the world, namely, Africa, the Middle East and South Asia. My delegation is convinced that the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia is a realistic objective for the attainment of which all countries of the region should make earnest efforts. From the point of view of geographical, historical, cultural and other relevant considerations, the South Asian region is distinct and qualifies for the pursuit of the objective of the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone. Moreover, the respective Governments of the countries of the region have more than once declared unilaterally their commitment to nuclear non-proliferation. The next step in this regard can be a joint endeavour to translate these unilateral commitments into a regional declaration which is binding on successive Governments. Pakistan has already initiated a proposal towards this end and is willing to undertake any discussions or consultations in its pursuit. Such a joint declaration would, in our view, be an important milestone towards the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in our region.

(Mr. Ghafoor, Pakistan)

As is obvious from the text of the present draft resolution submitted by my delegation in document A/C.1/35/L.3, it is almost identical to that submitted last year on this subject. In its operative paragraphs the draft resolution reaffirms its endorsement in principle of the concept of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in south Asia and once again urges the States of south Asia and such other neighbouring non-nuclear-weapon States as may be interested to continue to make all possible efforts to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in south Asia. We hope that this draft resolution will receive the support of this Committee, reflecting the desire of the international community to pursue in all aspects the goal of nuclear disarmament as well as that of reducing the menace of nuclear weapons through every possible measure.

Now I should like to offer certain comments in respect of the draft resolution submitted by Pakistan under item 46 on "Conclusion of an international convention to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons" in document A/C.1/35/L.5.

The concern of non-nuclear-weapon States over the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons by nuclear-weapon Powers has been a major preoccupation in the disarmament negotiations carried out in the United Nations forums since the very beginning. The threat posed by the presence of nuclear weapons in the arsenals of nuclear-weapon Powers is in no manner or degree the creation of the non-nuclear-weapon States. Yet this threat affects the security and indeed the survival of non-nuclear-weapon States as gravely as those of the nuclear Powers. Moreover, while the nuclear-weapon Powers are relentlessly enhancing their nuclear destructive capabilities, no meaningful progress has been made in evolving effective means to deter a nuclear threat. My delegation, therefore, wishes to emphasize that the nuclear-weapon Powers are under a special obligation to give assurances in a credible way that their nuclear weapons will not be used against non-nuclear-weapon countries.

(Mr. Ghafoor, Pakistan)

It has been generally recognized that the most effective assurances against nuclear threat for the non-nuclear-weapon States and, indeed, for all nations are nuclear disarmament and the complete prohibition of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. However, this goal remains a distant possibility. Until it comes about, some effective and interim steps are imperative to insure the non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons.

Deeply convinced that such assurances are possible politically, legally and technically, my country has been dedicatedly pursuing the objective of evolving binding and effective arrangements for what have been called "negative security guarantees" for non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. We are encouraged that some progress has been made on this issue in the deliberations of the Committee on Disarmament and particularly in the Ad Hoc Working Group last year. The elements involved in the negative security guarantees have been identified. There has been considerable discussion on the form of such guarantees, particularly for the conclusion of an international convention. While we do not preclude consideration of any other internationally binding effective arrangements, we believe that an international convention remains the most effective form in which the assurances of the non-use of nuclear weapons can be extended to non-nuclear-weapon States. However, I may mention that the Pakistan delegation maintains a flexible approach on the question of the form of such guarantees and this approach is implicit in the draft resolution submitted by us in document A/C.1/35/L.5. It is for this reason that we have proposed a change in the nomenclature of our agenda item and have recommended a new formulation: "Conclusion of effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons".

(Mr. Ghafoor, Pakistan)

The other important aspect of this question is the nature of assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States. We feel that the nuclear Powers must assure all the non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. Unfortunately, the major nuclear Powers do not find it possible to provide unqualified and categorical assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States because of their strategic doctrines and their commitments in the context of their nuclear security alliances, primarily the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) alliance and the Warsaw Treaty. With a view to circumventing these difficulties, Pakistan has submitted a formulation calling for assurances from nuclear-weapon Powers for those non-nuclear-weapon States which are not parties to the nuclear security guarantees, that is, mainly the non-aligned countries. This formulation was endorsed by an overwhelming majority of the General Assembly in resolution 31/189 C as recalled in the preamble of our draft resolution. It is also contained in article I of the draft convention submitted by my country in the Committee on Disarmament.

While my delegation has an open mind on the question of both the form and the nature of negative guarantees, we remain convinced that a common and uniform approach can be evolved to meet the concerns of all States. Along with other countries, we will pursue our efforts to evolve a common formula. At the same time, however, we cannot agree with the proposals that a Security Council resolution, or much less a General Assembly resolution, noting the unilateral declarations by the nuclear-weapon Powers could serve as an effective arrangement as called for by the special session on disarmament for assurances against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons by nuclear-weapon Powers against non-nuclear-weapon States. Moreover, these unilateral declarations are different from each other in scope conditions and qualifications and are susceptible of varying interpretations.

(Mr. Ghafoor, Pakistan)

We have to pursue our efforts with greater determination and political will to implement the specific recommendation of the Final Document of the tenth special session with regard to negative security guarantees to non-nuclear-weapon States. The extension of effective assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States will have a salutary impact on nuclear non-proliferation and will make an important contribution to international peace and security. With these words, I would express the hope that the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/35/L.5 will receive wide support in this Committee and will thus underline the need for the urgent conclusion of effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call upon the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, who will introduce the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/35/L.11.

Mr. PFEIFFER (Federal Republic of Germany): Mr. Chairman, thank you very much for giving me the floor to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/35/L.11, in response to your appeal to delegations this afternoon, to introduce draft resolutions as soon as possible after they have been given to Members of the Committee.

We are introducing this afternoon a draft resolution on confidence-building measures that is contained in document A/C.1/35/L.11 of 10 November 1980 under item 48 (g). I have the honour to present this draft resolution on behalf of my own delegation and on behalf of the delegations of Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Finland, France, Ghana, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Mauritius, the Netherlands, Peru, the Philippines, Romania, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, Uruguay and Zaire.

(Mr. Pfeiffer, Fédéral République of Germany)

The concept of confidence-building measures is aimed at a gradual reduction of mistrust and fear in order to contribute to the development of confidence and a better understanding among nations. It proceeds from the realization that States need to be reassured that certain activities of other States are no threat to their own security. Such a degree of confidence can, however, only be achieved if the amount of information available to Governments enables them to foresee satisfactorily, and to calculate, the actions and reactions of other Governments within their political environment. Confidence-building measures should contribute to establishing a climate favourable to the conduct of negotiations and to the conclusion of agreements on disarmament and arms control.

In Europe an agreement on confidence-building measures emerged in August 1975 from the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Since then the measures provided for in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference have proved their usefulness. That experience encouraged us to submit to the General Assembly, at its thirty-third and thirty-fourth sessions, draft resolutions on confidence-building measures, both of which were approved.

General Assembly resolution 33/91 B, inter alia, recommended that all States should consider on a regional basis arrangements for specific confidence-building measures, taking into account the specific conditions and requirements of each region and invited all States to inform the Secretary-General of their views and experiences regarding those confidence-building measures they considered appropriate and feasible.

As of today, 33 States have responded to that appeal and stated their opinions on how a higher degree of confidence among States can be achieved, thereby contributing significantly to the further development of the concept of confidence-building. Those answers are contained in document A/34/416 and its addenda 1, 2 and 3, and in document A/35/397.

In resolution 34/87 B the General Assembly decided to undertake a comprehensive study on confidence-building measures and requested the Secretary-General to carry out the study with the assistance of a group of qualified governmental experts, appointed by him on an equitable geographical basis. The Assembly further requested the Secretary-General to submit a progress report on the work of that group to the thirty-fifth session of the Assembly. That report is now before the Committee as document A/35/422.

(Mr. Pfeiffer, Federal Republic of
Germany)

The Secretary-General appointed the following experts as members of the group: Ambassador Leopoldo Benites of Ecuador, Ambassador Frank Boaten of Ghana, Mr. O. N. Bykov of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Franz Ceska of Austria, Ambassador Charles C. Flowerree of the United States of America, Ambassador Pracha Gunakasem of Thailand, Ambassador Kamanda wa Kamanda of Zaire, Mr. Ion Nicolae of Romania, Mr. Nobumasa Ohta of Japan, Ambassador Hugo Palma of Peru, Ambassador Esko Rajakoski of Finland, Ambassador P. M. Roberts of Canada, Colonel Milan Stembera of Czechoslovakia and myself, who has the honour to serve as chairman of the group.

I should like to take this occasion to thank all the members of the group, as well as its secretary, Miss Amada Segarra, and its consultant, Mr. Mats Marling of Sweden, for their efforts and the valuable contributions that each of them made in the course of the thorough discussions of the subject at the two meetings held in Geneva in April of this year and in New York in July. The group will hold two more meetings in 1981 in order to complete its task.

The scope of the study, as contained in the progress report, emerged during the discussion that the group has had so far. This outline provides for the further pursuit of the relevant considerations as regards objectives and characteristics, as well as opportunities for confidence-building measures on the basis of an analysis of the actual international situation. The scope and chances of confidence-building measures will be dealt with and the principles of such measures are to be identified. A section entitled "Approach" will elaborate in particular the regional, interregional, international and global approaches and methods of implementation of confidence-building measures.

Various types of those measures will be analysed and the role of the United Nations in the process of encouraging and promoting confidence-building measures will be evaluated. Finally, a section entitled "Conclusions and recommendations" is to give a brief survey of the results and recommendations concerning how those results may be used in order to promote confidence and understanding among States.

(Mr. Pfeiffer, Federal Republic of
Germany)

I shall not go into details of the expert group's discussions now. I should like to point out, however, that, on the basis of our deliberations and taking into account the answers received from Governments, there was general agreement within the group that regional conditions demand an open and flexible approach to the question of confidence-building. Relations among States are influenced and determined by many factors - military, political, social, economic and others. In the discussions in the expert group it became evident that a higher degree of transparency is important. While it is obvious that in regions with a high concentration of armed forces and armaments, military measures that assure the transparency, predictability and consistency of the political and military behaviour of States have to play the decisive role, in other regions where the danger of armed conflict is less pronounced, other confidence-building measures may be of equal significance. Such measures could help to create the climate and conditions conducive to the removal of inequalities in the political, social and economic fields as underlying causes of tensions and conflict, thereby creating a prerequisite for disarmament and arms control.

In that context it was generally recognized that concrete measures providing for openness, reliability and predictability in relations among States would contribute to the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security, thus helping to ensure that the use and the threat of the use of force are eliminated from international life as has been provided for in the United Nations Charter.

It is in the light of these preliminary results that my delegation, together with the 29 delegations I mentioned at the outset of my statement, introduces draft resolution L.11. In its only preambular paragraph it recalls General Assembly resolutions 33/91 B and 34/87 B, to which I have already referred. In its operative paragraphs it takes note with satisfaction of the report of the Secretary-General and of the progress report of the Group of Governmental Experts on Confidence-Building Measures, requests the Secretary-General to continue the work and to submit the study to the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session and, finally, provides for the inclusion of an agenda item entitled "Confidence-building measures" in the provisional agenda of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

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A/C.1/35/PV.30

14-15

(Mr. Pfeiffer, Federal Republic of
Germany)

I hope that in the light of the broad and general support the subject received during previous sessions of the General Assembly, the draft resolution I have just introduced may be considered as a draft to be adopted by consensus.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the representative of Egypt to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/35/L.6 regarding the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East.

Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): In the statements I have already made in the First Committee during the current session I have emphasized that the possession of nuclear weapons by any State in the Middle East region would put an end to our efforts to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone and would entail not only a nuclear arms race but would expose the region to dangers of unforeseeable consequences. Therefore, during the past six sessions, Egypt has urged the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East, a goal in keeping with our objective to put an end to nuclear horizontal proliferation and to avoid a nuclear arms race in that region of the world.

In this context, Egypt took the initiative in signing the Non-Proliferation Treaty and reaffirmed its readiness to ratify that Treaty if Israel acceded to it.

During the past few years, the support of the international community for any serious demarche aimed at achieving the objective of creating a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East has become apparent for various reasons, the most important of which is that that region has characteristics which are different from those prevailing in other regions of the world. Moreover, there is the fact that the present dangerous situation there demands that full priority be given to this question, in view of the possible dangers that would go beyond the limits of the region if nuclear weapons were to be introduced in the Middle East. That situation was reflected in the overwhelming support given to all draft resolutions submitted earlier on the subject, the latest being resolution 34/77, on which all States voted except Israel.

My delegation today wishes to introduce the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/35/L.6 on agenda item 38. It broadly outlines the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East and, in particular, includes questions relating to the need for all States to accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and to submit all their nuclear activities to the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

(Mr. Abdel Meguid, Egypt)

The draft resolution takes into account the situation resulting from the difficulty of bringing all countries in the region to the negotiating table in order to conclude the necessary arrangements relating to the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, by inviting States in the region to declare solemnly their support for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone, in order that we may achieve that objective, and their decision to refrain on a reciprocal basis from producing, acquiring or possessing nuclear weapons, and also by inviting them to deposit those declarations with the Security Council, in keeping with paragraphs 60 to 63 of the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament. The role of the Security Council is important at this stage of the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone, and in particular in regions where a special situation reigns, such as the Middle East. That is why the draft resolution calls on the Security Council to consider the declarations as appropriate in order to preserve peace in this sensitive region of the world, and in keeping with the special situation that prevails there.

We must assume our responsibilities and co-operate seriously with a view to the achievement of these objectives. The draft resolution submitted by Egypt should be supported by the Committee.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the representative of the German Democratic Republic to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/35/L.4.

Mr. KRUTZSCH (German Democratic Republic): Draft resolution A/C.1/35/L.4 on the implementation of the recommendations and decisions of the tenth special session deals with the intensification of disarmament negotiations. It is a follow-up to an initiative launched at the thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly which resulted in the adoption of resolution 34/83 C of 11 December 1979.

(Mr. Krutzsch, German Democratic
Republic)

In that resolution the United Nations General Assembly emphatically called upon States to make every effort to bring to a successful end the current negotiations in the field of disarmament, and to resume interrupted negotiations, as well as to start negotiations on important measures, as provided in the Final Document of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament.

(Mr. Krutzsch, German Democratic Republic)

As was said by most of the speakers in the general debate in this Committee, the degree of the fulfilment of the demands enunciated in that resolution gives no grounds for satisfaction. At the same time, it was stressed by many delegations that the present situation should give reason to increase the efforts to reach disarmament agreements.

To that end, we must point to the necessity for the work of the Committee on Disarmament and the other negotiating bodies to be concentrated mainly on negotiations of concrete texts of draft agreements. The Committee on Disarmament too often was prevented from discussion of substantive questions by lengthy discussion of procedural matters. At other levels important negotiations such as the bilateral talks between the USSR and the USA on questions relating to the Indian Ocean and to the limitation of the arms race, which have been suspended, have not been resumed.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic has already called attention to this state of affairs and addressed a letter to the Chairman of the Committee on Disarmament advocating the implementation of resolution 34/83 C - and here I would refer members to document CD/107 of 27 June 1980. It is urgently necessary to emphasize the demand for an intensification of negotiations on disarmament. Concrete measures to be agreed upon are of decisive importance for the success of the Second Disarmament Decade. This is clearly revealed by the recommendations of the Disarmament Commission on the Second Disarmament Decade, as well as by its recommendations under agenda items 4 (a) and 4 (b) that were adopted at this year's summer session of the Commission.

The Disarmament Commission noted with deep concern that there is a considerable lack of progress in the realization of the Programme of Action set by the tenth special session and recommended to the United Nations General Assembly

(Mr. Krutzsch, German Democratic Republic)

" ...that it call upon all States to undertake measures for the implementation of the Programme of Action enumerated in the Final Document, including efforts to facilitate the resumption and continuation of the talks that have been interrupted and, more specifically, the measures to be agreed upon in connexion with the Second Disarmament Decade." (A/35/42, para. 20, subpara. 4)

This idea is reflected particularly in operative paragraph 1 of our draft resolution. Serious and dispassionate negotiations towards the achievement of generally acceptable agreements on disarmament obligations binding under the terms of international law constitute the nucleus of the efforts in the field of disarmament.

That must be emphatically underlined by the United Nations General Assembly with all its authority. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic therefore deems it urgently necessary to adopt a resolution which, proceeding from the experiences of the past year and in the light of forthcoming tasks, renews and re-emphasizes the unanimous appeal launched by the thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly for the intensification of the disarmament negotiations.

The present text is based on the wording which met with general approval at the last session of the General Assembly. Let me give a more detailed explanation of the text of the present draft resolution.

The first preambular paragraph corresponds to preambular paragraph 1 of resolution 34/83 C of last year. The second preambular paragraph primarily reflects the wording of preambular paragraph 7 of last year's resolution. The third preambular paragraph contains a version of operative paragraph 1 of last year's resolution. The fourth preambular paragraph explicitly recalls resolution 34/83 C and reiterates the first part of operative paragraph 2 of that resolution. The fifth preambular paragraph refers to the fact that since the

(Mr. Krutzsch, German Democratic Republic)

that since the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly no tangible results have been achieved as far as arms limitation and disarmament are concerned. This sixth preambular paragraph gives expression to an experience gained over many years, both in the Committee on Disarmament and in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, namely, that if it is possible to avoid the discussion of controversial political issues the prospects for achieving positive results increase.

In the operative part of our draft resolution, paragraph 1 is a condensed version of subparagraphs (a) and (b) of operative paragraph 2 of last year's resolution. Paragraph 2, while drawing the attention of the negotiating bodies to the substantive items of the agenda, also takes into account critical remarks made during the general debate in our Committee concerning too lengthy discussions on procedural questions. Paragraph 3 points to the important link between progress in the disarmament field and the preparation of the second special session on disarmament. Paragraph 4 is mainly a reiteration of operative paragraph 3 of the resolution adopted last year, and paragraph 5 is of a procedural nature.

My delegation would like to express its hope that the present draft resolution will find broad support and we would of course be very grateful for any proposals that would help improve the text.

The CHAIRMAN: I would inform the Committee that Burundi, Ethiopia, Morocco, Somalia and Zaire have become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/35/L.7.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The CHAIRMAN: There are no further speakers for this afternoon.

With regard to the future meetings of the First Committee, as I informed members at the beginning of this meeting there are very few speakers inscribed for the rest of this week. For tomorrow morning I understand that so far we have only three, but it is my intention to seek the co-operation of delegations in maintaining our earlier decision that no meeting should be scheduled unless there are at least four. And even if we were to get the fourth speaker for tomorrow morning, I am afraid that at present there are no speakers for tomorrow afternoon or for the whole of Wednesday. Furthermore, only one speaker is listed for Thursday morning's meeting, and there are no speakers for Friday.

As I recalled earlier, noon on Friday, 14 November, is the deadline for the submission of draft resolutions. I would therefore once more urge members - and especially those delegations that intend to submit draft resolutions - to act as early as possible.

In adjourning this meeting I would again request Member States to inscribe their names on the speakers list and would suggest that they consult the Journal for information about the next meeting of the First Committee.

The meeting rose at 4.05 p.m.