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Chairman: Mr. Radha Krishna RAMPHUL
(Mauritius).

AGENDA ITEM 35

**Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of
International Security: report of the Secretary-General
(A/8661, A/8665 and Corr.1, A/8673, A/8680, A/8749,
A/8775 and Add.1-2, A/C.1/1024, A/C.1/L.627)**

1. The CHAIRMAN: As the members of the Committee are aware, the question of the strengthening of international security was first included in the agenda at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly in 1969 on the initiative of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. At that session, following a constructive debate on the item, the Assembly invited Member States to study the proposals and statements made during the debate and to inform the Secretary-General of their views and proposals and also of any measures adopted by them for the purpose of strengthening international security [resolution 2606 (XXIV)].

2. At the twenty-fifth session the General Assembly had before it the report of the Secretary-General.¹ Following an extensive debate, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security by a nearly unanimous vote: 120 in favour, 1 against, with 1 abstention. The members of the Committee are well aware of the contents of this very important Declaration adopted by the Assembly during its twenty-fifth anniversary session. In resolution 2734 (XXV), which contained the Declaration, the General Assembly also requested the Secretary-General to report at its next session on steps taken in pursuance of the Declaration.

3. At its twenty-sixth session in 1971, the General Assembly, after considering the Secretary-General's report on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security,² solemnly reaffirmed all the principles and provisions contained in the Declaration and requested a further report from the Secretary-General to be submitted to the present session of the Assembly [resolution 2880 (XXVI)]. This report is now before the First Committee in document A/8775 and Add 1 and 2. The Committee will note that the replies of Governments included in the Secretary-General's report contain many expressions of support for the Declaration and for its implementation.

4. In addition to the Secretary-General's report, there are a number of other relevant documents. The Committee has before it a draft resolution on the item which is sponsored by eight delegations and contained in document A/C.1/L.627. The First Committee is now beginning the debate on this item in the light of the documentation to which I have referred. It is my earnest hope that members of the Committee will discuss this important item in the most constructive way and that our discussion will lead to a further positive contribution to the strengthening of international security.

5. Mr. KULAGA (Poland): In this opening statement in the debate on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, it is my privilege to introduce to the Committee draft resolution A/C.1/L.627, on behalf of its sponsors: namely, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and Poland.

6. In our approach to the problem now under discussion, we start from the following main premises: First, the indisputable fact of a general improvement of the international situation and a trend towards its further normalization and rationalization. This fact emerged clearly from the many discussions we have had up to now, starting with the general debate. It has been particularly marked in bilateral relations. The idea of regional security and co-operation has gained much wider recognition; more practical steps are being taken to implement it, the most notable one being the multilateral preparatory talks for the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which are to start in Helsinki in two days. Secondly, there continues to persist in the world a number of areas of tension, injustice, armed conflicts and hotbeds of war, which call for an urgent solution. Some of the problems relating to colonialism and racialism, we have already considered or are considering.

¹ A/7922 and Add.1-6

² A/8431 and Add.1-5.

Another, the question of the Middle East, will soon appear on our agenda. Still others, not on our agenda, are very much on our minds and also in our hearts. Thirdly, the positive trends in the international situation ought to be consolidated, developed and strengthened. Thus they could, and therefore should, provide an incentive to the international community to intensify its efforts with a view to settling the existing conflicts. Fourthly, the United Nations, in pursuance of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, should and, in view of the favourable trends in the international situation, can take steps designed to strengthen international security.

7. That these premises are widely shared is shown by the new ideas introduced at the present session of the General Assembly on such vital issues as the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and the convening of a world disarmament conference in order to give new impetus to the all-important efforts towards disarmament. This is evident, if only from the priority the Assembly has rightly accorded to the problem of ensuring a final solution to the process of decolonization. It is evident from developments in bilateral relations between States in very recent days.

8. If, therefore, these premises accepted and these aims recognized as valid, it follows that the Assembly must take specific, constructive measures towards their fulfilment. We should first aim at extinguishing existing armed conflicts, righting the consequences of aggression, taking concrete steps for the implementation of the right of peoples under colonial or racist oppression to independence and freedom from exploitation. That is what the draft resolution submitted by the eight delegations deals with in its operative paragraph 1.

9. For years, many years, the conflict in Indo-China, and Viet-Nam in particular, has greatly preoccupied the peoples of the world. A few weeks ago the news broke of the impending settlement in Viet-Nam. Up to this day, however, this settlement has not been formalized, and this is not due to the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam. War is still present in Indo-China. Innocent people are still dying under tons of bombs—this at a time when the prospects of ending the war, of finally recognizing the inalienable right of the Viet-Name people to determine its own destiny, are so immediate. At this stage we wish to restate our firm conviction that this immediately attainable goal will now be achieved.

10. If there is one question that has retained the continuous attention of the United Nations, but which has continuously been met with intransigence, it is that of the Middle East.

11. For more than five years now, aggression has continued. Its forms have been many: occupation of Arab territories by force and deprivation of Arab rights in particular. The culprit is Israel. In the political balance we have, on the one hand, Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 as the basis of a settlement; we have the universal recognition of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force, in contravention of the provisions of the Charter of the

United Nations; we have an almost universal demand for the solution of the Middle East problem on this basis. On the other hand we have the constant Israeli refusal to accept such a solution, independently of the forms that refusal takes—attacks, further arming, attempts at consolidating accomplished facts, delaying tactics, or others.

12. The way to the solution is clear; the necessity for such a solution is important and urgent. There can be only one conclusion: respect for and implementation of the relevant decisions of the Security Council and recommendations of the General Assembly, and withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories.

13. The problem of the liquidation of colonialism and racism in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa in particular is very much on everybody's mind. Here too the legal and political framework of action is clear. In the Charter at the United Nations, in the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*], in the 1970 Programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration [*resolution 2621 (XXV)*], in numerous decisions of the Security Council, we have a crescendo of the voice of international public opinion demanding the final eradication of the evil of colonialism and racialism. We have indisputable proof of the political consciousness, the will and determination of colonial peoples to attain independence and sovereignty. We are, we must be, fully aware of the historical inevitability of an end to colonialism and neo-colonialism. Therefore, on the grounds of historical process, of the rights of colonial peoples and countries, of the interests of international security—even on the grounds of their own interests—those directly and indirectly responsible for the maintenance of colonialism and racialism should quickly and decisively draw the right conclusions.

14. For the trend in international relations is to recognize that it is in the supreme interest of all to strengthen security on the basis of a strict observance of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. As provided in operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/C.1/L.627, that observance should include such principles of peaceful coexistence as non-use of force, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, territorial integrity, equality of States, mutual respect for sovereignty and independence of States, and broad development of economic and other co-operation of mutual benefit.

15. This trend is clearly and increasingly making its impact on the world scene and is becoming its most distinguishing trait. In many capitals, in almost every continent, it recurs, in different contexts, with different accents, which only underline the over-all validity of those principles, their over-all importance in inter-State relations—bilateral, regional, multiregional—in the service of the universal interest.

16. The year which followed the adoption of resolution 2880 (XXVI) has witnessed an enlargement of the process of *détente*, vividly illustrated in the report of the Secretary-General [*A/8775 and Add.1-2*]; a process whose main achievements we see in three aspects: First, the welcome process of betterment of inter-State relations and the fact

that this process has encompassed relations between great Powers, though regrettably not among all great Powers. Second, that it has been particularly marked in a continent—Europe—whose problems have so often in the past had an ominous bearing upon world security. Third, that it has covered, qualitatively speaking, a field of the utmost importance, that of the nuclear arms race.

17. The recognition in the "Basic principles of mutual relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America," dated 29 May 1972, of the fact that "in the nuclear age there is no alternative to conducting their mutual relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence"³ is of cardinal importance for the relations between those two Powers and reaches to the core of relations between all States, indicating as it does the only rational basis for relations between States with different social and political systems.

18. Such is also the meaning of the communiqué of 1 June 1972 signed after President Nixon's visit to Poland and published as an official document of the United Nations,⁴ in which Poland and the United States stressed that the development of peaceful co-operation among States must be based on the principles of territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers, non-interference in internal affairs, sovereign equality, independence and renunciation of the use or threat of use of force.

19. Equally, the treaties concluded by the USSR and Poland with the Federal Republic of Germany, the final and unquestionable recognition of territorial and political realities established following the Second World War, are of historical significance; they too transcend the bilateral framework in which they were concluded and are a very important contribution to international peace and security.

20. This is also true of the treaty initialled by the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany on the establishment of normal and good-neighbourly relations between the two German States, which, together with other agreements concluded earlier, will resolve a most difficult and thorny problem which has complicated relations in Europe and the world for such a long time.

21. The importance of that agreement cannot be overstated. What is now finally taking shape between the two German States was for many impossible to envisage only a few years ago. It is to be noted that the agreement takes up a question of greatest relevance to the United Nations itself—that of the admission of the two German States to our Organization.

22. We have always underlined the right of the German Democratic Republic—of both German States as a matter of fact—to membership in our Organization. We continue to maintain that this right must be conceded without delay in the interest of our Organization itself. Similarly, we stress the right of Bangladesh to membership in the United Nations.

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-seventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1972*, document S/10674.

⁴ *Ibid.*, document S/10693.

23. It is also hardly possible to overrate the importance of two other bilateral agreements and their impact upon world relations and world security. I refer to the Moscow agreements on the limitation of strategic nuclear arms [*see A/C.1/1026*] and the obligation undertaken by the USSR and the United States to do their utmost to prevent the outbreak of a nuclear war.

24. It is not my intention to go on enumerating joint statements, inter-State treaties and agreements that are manifestations of the tendency I have mentioned and are contributions to the cause of international peace and security, particularly since this is perhaps the most common element of the replies of Governments in the report of the Secretary-General.

25. It is this objective and positive development which leads our delegations to propose, in operative paragraph 2 of our draft resolution, an appeal to States to enter into negotiations in order to conclude bilateral or multilateral agreements on co-operation in maintaining peace and strengthening international security on the basis of the principles I have already expounded.

26. I wish now to draw attention to another discernible and growing trend—that of regional efforts towards security and co-operation. From an initiative of a few, it is becoming an enticing prospect—and in some cases an attainable reality—for all. Begun in Europe because of objective needs and threatening confrontations, it is gradually expanding to other continents.

27. In Europe the framework of this concept, while still comprising the elements of avoidance of confrontations in a region saturated with nuclear weapons, has acquired, through bilateral contacts and agreements in particular, new elements of greater understanding and trust, of greater recognition of the advantages of European security and co-operation for individual European States, for Europe as a whole, for the world at large, and thus for the improvement of international relations and the fulfilment of United Nations objectives.

28. The viability, indeed the objective advantages of this concept, will be demonstrated in the opening, the day after tomorrow, of the multilateral preparatory talks for the convening of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Europe is thus entering into the stage of building a system of collective security and of expanding economic, cultural and scientific co-operation.

29. Speaking as a representative of Poland, may I be allowed to draw attention to the joint Declaration on Friendship and Co-operation between Poland and France, signed by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, Edward Gierek, and the President of the French Republic, Georges Pompidou, on 6 October 1972, and published as an official document of the United Nations,⁵ which may constitute a Polish-French contribution to a blueprint, a model for co-operation between States with different social and economic systems.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Supplement for October, November and December 1972, document S/10835.

30. This stage has become possible as the result of a process in Europe of cataloguing, studying and clearing away a number of problems which have, throughout the post-war period, been subjects of disputes. In a series of bilateral agreements, European countries have cleared the atmosphere of mistrust; political realities have finally been recognized. The way has been opened for the attainment of objectives necessary on an all-European scale. We thus have, for the first time since the war, a situation in which the European countries can make a common contribution to the cause of security and prosperity in their region and in the world.

31. A Europe at peace, based on security and co-operation, will be an important component of world security; this in itself is of great importance. But this process will not stop at that. Increased co-operation in Europe, in particular in the economic field, will for objective reasons and, I am convinced, for subjective ones as well, be enlarged and benefit other regions of the world. For we believe that the comprehensive form of co-operation in resolving numerous problems within the framework of the European continent can and should play a positive role in stimulating co-operation with States in other parts of globe, and first and foremost with the developing countries.

32. We have in the last part of this statement concentrated on Europe, because the efforts towards a European security system are the most advanced and have taken the most concrete form. But we have followed and are following with interest the progress of the concept of regional collective security in other regions of the world. We remember, in particular, the proposal to establish a system of collective security in Asia and the interest with which it was received. We have noted that such a large and representative world forum as the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held in August of this year in Georgetown, devoted much positive attention to the problem of regional security and co-operation as a means of ensuring world security.

33. That is why we propose in our draft resolution that the creation of systems of collective regional security in different areas of the world should receive the support of our Organization. We shall therefore listen with great attention to the discussion on this subject which, for us, is of great importance indeed. For in regional security and co-operation we see one of the very important components of a just, peaceful and developing world, in accordance with the objectives of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

34. In my statement I have endeavoured to outline a set of measures which combines the realistic and the possible with the necessary, which allows us to advance significantly towards the strengthening of international security. We do not minimize the difficulties. There are still forces which are trying to maintain and even to project into the future a past which is condemned. There are forces bent on maintaining and aggravating tensions. We have isolated examples of negativism and even of nihilism. But this should not divert us from the right path; we must continue to follow it, to review the progress made, the obstacles to be removed, for the stakes involved are too great, the possibilities too real; our duty is, therefore, obvious.

35. It is with the sincere aim of indicating that difficult but realistic and constructive road that the delegations of Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Poland have presented draft resolution A/C.1/L.627 which, on behalf of the sponsors, I have the honour to commend to the Committee.

36. Mr. NUR ELMI (Somalia): Since this is the first time I am speaking in the First Committee, I hope it is not too late for me to congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, on your election to the chairmanship of this important Committee and also to offer to you the unreserved co-operation of my delegation.

37. The delegation of the Somali Democratic Republic attaches great significance to the question of the strengthening of international security, since it furthers the implementation of the central objective of the Charter of the United Nations—the task of maintaining and strengthening international peace and security and of saving the present and succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The constructive and comprehensive discussions on this item at past sessions of the General Assembly contributed to a greater political awareness of United Nations activities and to the adoption of effective measures for the implementation of the main task of the world Organization.

38. The problem of strengthening international security concerns all nations and States, and an overwhelming majority of Member States take an active part in the discussion of this question in the United Nations. This question is given particularly great attention by the developing and non-aligned countries, and the results of a number of recent meetings in which the non-aligned countries participated testify to that.

39. It is the view of the Somali delegation that the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the United Nations in 1970 [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*] was a most important development in the history of our Organization.

40. While the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security reaffirms and consolidates the fundamental purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter, its major provisions include, first and foremost, the principle of the non-use of force. That was reaffirmed in the statements of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of non-aligned countries during the recent Conference held in Georgetown, Guyana, where the essence and main idea of the entire complex of problems of strengthening international security and the prohibition of the use of force were given special prominence in the following passage contained in the statement on international security and disarmament adopted by the Conference:

“In particular, States must refrain from the threat or use of force in their international relations”.

41. The inclusion in the agenda of the item entitled “Non-use of force in international relations and permanent

prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons" represents a further elaboration of that prohibition at the current session of the General Assembly.

42. Being a member of the group of non-aligned States, the Somali Democratic Republic regards the Declaration as a plan for practical implementation of the collective responsibility for international peace and believes that it contains practical guidelines on every major problem under consideration in the United Nations. The Declaration contains an entire programme of clear-cut measures aimed at giving the United Nations greater effectiveness and a greater role in maintaining and strengthening international peace and security. It sets down specific recommendations on the strengthening of over-all co-operation among States. As the Secretary-General of the United Nations pointed out in the introduction to his report on the item under discussion, it is the implementation of the Declaration that will make "a decisive contribution to the establishment among all States . . . of new relations based on equality and mutual respect towards each other, and to a stronger and more effective United Nations." [A/8775, para. 10].

43. The trend towards a healthier international situation and towards normalization has recently been further developed. Practical steps towards reducing tensions and strengthening collective security in Europe have won a world-wide positive response. Progress in certain areas of disarmament has also become visible. The principle of the peaceful coexistence of States is acquiring ever greater recognition in contemporary international life, which also contributes to the fruitful search for concrete ways towards the relaxation of tensions and the strengthening of international security. Nevertheless, in spite of those significant positive developments many provisions of the Charter and of the Declaration still remain unimplemented. We feel that the current session of the General Assembly should discuss, thoroughly and comprehensively, the question of effective measures for the consistent implementation of the main provisions of the Declaration. In the course of that discussion it is highly desirable that expression should be given first of all to the feeling of grave concern with regard to military conflicts and hotbeds of war existing in different parts of the world, which threaten international peace and security. The senseless war in Indo-China has not yet been brought to an end; the dangerous situation in the Middle East still persists; and the colonial war waged by Portugal against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, the detestable policy of *apartheid* of the South African régime and the usurpation of power by a racist European minority in Southern Rhodesia endanger peace in Africa and in the world. We feel, therefore, that greater attention must be given to the provisions of the Declaration on the inadmissibility of any forcible action depriving peoples still under colonial domination of their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence.

44. The provisions of the Charter and of the Declaration on rendering assistance to the oppressed peoples in their legitimate struggle for the achievement of the early elimination of colonialism and any other forms of foreign domination have not yet been realized. The States Members of the United Nations have to ensure the full implementation of United Nations decisions on the liquidation of

colonialism and racialism, and in particular of their dangerous manifestations in southern Africa. In this connexion it is necessary for States, in conformity with the appeal of the General Assembly in resolution 2880 (XXVI), to take concrete measures which would contribute to the solution of the existing conflicts and situations that might jeopardize international peace and security.

AGENDA ITEMS 26, 31 AND 34 (continued)

World Disarmament Conference: report of the Secretary-General (A/8654, A/8668, A/8681, A/8693 and Corr.1, A/8757, A/8817 and Add.1, A/C.1/L.618)

Chemical and bacteriological (Biological) weapons: report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (A/8818, A/C.1/L.628)

Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace: report of the Secretary-General (A/8809)

45. The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now consider item 31. I understand that there is one draft resolution on this item ready for submission, and I call upon the representative of Egypt to introduce it.

46. Mr. SIRRY (Egypt): On behalf of the delegations of Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Ethiopia, Hungary, India, Japan, Mongolia, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Poland, Sweden, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Yugoslavia and Egypt, I have the privilege of introducing the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.628, on the important and urgent question of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons.

47. In its preambular part the draft resolution gives expression to the determination to act with a view to achieving effective progress towards general and complete disarmament, including the prohibition and elimination of all types of weapons of mass destruction, such as those using chemical or bacteriological (biological) agents. It notes that the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction has been opened for signature and has already been signed by a large number of States and that that Convention is a first possible step towards the achievement of an early agreement on the effective prohibition of chemical weapons. The draft then expresses the Assembly's determination to continue negotiations to that end.

48. Mention is also made of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and it is recalled that the General Assembly has repeatedly condemned all actions contrary to its principles and objectives. The draft goes on to reaffirm the need for the strict observance by all States of the principles and objectives of the Protocol.

49. The draft resolution then says that, having considered the report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, the General Assembly notes that a work programme, a draft convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical

weapons and on their destruction, and other working papers, proposals and suggestions have been submitted to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

50. The preambular part of the draft resolution concludes with a reference to the benefits to mankind which would result from prohibiting the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and to the desire to create a favourable atmosphere for the successful outcome of the negotiations.

51. Operative paragraph 1 reaffirms the recognized objective of effective prohibition of chemical weapons, while operative paragraph 2 reiterates the request made to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in General Assembly resolution 2827 A (XXVI), to continue negotiations, as a matter of high priority, with a view to reaching early agreement on effective measures for the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and for their destruction.

52. Operative paragraph 3 stresses the importance of working towards the complete realization of the objective of effective prohibition of chemical weapons, as set forth in the draft resolution, and urges Governments to work to that end.

53. In the remaining operative paragraphs, the draft reaffirms the hope for the widest possible adherence to the biological Convention. It invites all States that have not yet done so to accede to the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and calls anew for the strict observance by all States of the principles and objectives contained therein.

54. It concludes by requesting the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to report on the results of its negotiations to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

55. The delay in putting this draft before the Committee testifies to the lengthy and delicate negotiations on its provisions that took place between the various groups represented in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. It is thus a compromise draft. It was negotiated as a response to the general wish prevailing that only one, widely acceptable draft be submitted. This has now been done, and the sponsors recommend the draft for the consideration of the Committee and hope that it will receive unanimous support.

56. May I therefore suggest that you, Mr. Chairman, schedule a time for the consideration of and voting on this draft—perhaps tomorrow afternoon—so that all delegations may be in a position to give it their full support.

57. The CHAIRMAN: I wish to inform the Committee that India and Malta have become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.628.

58. The Committee will now resume its consideration of agenda item 26. I understand that the draft resolution on this item is before us in document A/C.1/L.629.

59. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): In my statement at the 1883rd meeting, in this Committee, I mentioned that the

non-aligned countries were engaged in consultations which, we hoped, would reconcile the different views expressed on the question of setting up a special committee which would examine the views and suggestions expressed by delegations in order to create adequate conditions for the convening of a world disarmament conference at an appropriate time.

60. The consultations have been long and by no means easy. A draft resolution has been prepared, and on behalf of the 48 Powers—including Colombia, Madagascar, Mali and Romania, which are not listed in document A/C.1/L.629, and of the non-aligned group and the others which have sponsored the draft resolution—I take pleasure in introducing the text.

61. May I be permitted to explain briefly some of the elements in the draft resolution. Regarding the first four preambular paragraphs, we have literally taken them from resolution 2833 (XXVI) of the General Assembly session of 1971. These paragraphs commanded unanimous support last year and it is therefore the hope of the sponsors that they will receive similar support this year.

62. The meaning of the next two paragraphs is clear and therefore needs no further explanation. I would, however, wish to mention that they deal with the conditions of security to which all States legitimately aspire. The sponsors believe that these paragraphs do not prejudice the various views on this fundamental aspect of international politics. The wording has been very carefully chosen in order to register the non-controversial fact that security is an element always linked to disarmament, for we believe that it is useless to talk of *détente* without including the question of disarmament.

63. The seventh preambular paragraph is, like the first four, a formulation already accepted in resolution 2833 (XXVI) as the basis for any decision of the General Assembly on this item of the agenda. The eighth and ninth preambular paragraphs are statements of fact and therefore non-controversial. However, their importance is stressed by the sponsors because these paragraphs are indispensable, too, for the interpretation of the operative paragraphs of the draft resolution.

64. Having said that, I now wish to say a few words about the operative part. In the view of the sponsors, operative paragraph 1 reflects the need for additional efforts by all States, whether or not they are Members of the United Nations, to create those adequate conditions for the convening of a world disarmament conference.

65. Operative paragraph 2 deals with the setting up of a special committee which is to be charged with the task of examining all the views and suggestions expressed, and which may still be expressed, by Governments on the question of convening a world disarmament conference and related programmes. These views and suggestions are noted by the General Assembly in the eighth and ninth preambular paragraphs to which reference has already been made. The special committee should deal with all of those views without exception: that is, those views expressed in the report of the Secretary-General and those which we have heard during the debate of the present session of the General Assembly. There are other important aspects in the

formulation of this paragraph. First, the special committee may also deal with related problems. This reference has been included to facilitate the work of the committee, thus ensuring some flexibility in the terms of reference, an element which is highly desirable especially when dealing with matters relating to disarmament. Secondly the special committee will not adopt decisions or recommendations of any kind; that body will merely present a report to the General Assembly next year. The report will be adopted, as has been the practice in other United Nations organs, on the basis of consensus. To put it simply, this means that views will not be imposed on anyone by majority vote. It also means that everyone will have the right to have his opinions reflected in the report.

66. Operative paragraph 3 requests the President of the General Assembly to appoint, after consultations, 35 Member States to the special committee. As the draft points out, this is not a matter which is to be left entirely in the hands of the President of the General Assembly, since it is obvious that he would need guidance from the General Assembly in order successfully to achieve the objectives of this very important and sensitive task. The sponsors believe that the Assembly would fail in its duty if it did not assist in the discharge of this responsibility. As shown by the eighth and ninth preambular paragraphs the text of the resolution has been drafted in such a way that the President of the General Assembly will also be guided by the views and suggestions of States. Most of the delegations have advanced their opinions as regards the composition of the special committee. In this connexion, may I say that it is the unanimous views of the sponsors of the draft resolution that the participation of the five nuclear weapon States is essential in order to ensure the success of the work which will be entrusted to the special committee. We believe that is also the opinion of the overwhelming majority of delegations here.

67. The last two operative paragraphs are self-explanatory, therefore I will not offer any comments on them.

68. I shall conclude by making a few general remarks. It will be noticed that the draft does not deal with the date and place for the convening of the special committee. This has been omitted deliberately. The sponsors believe that in order to ensure that the committee can achieve its objectives the President of the General Assembly should have enough time to complete the pertinent consultations. If we are to ensure success in this important and sensitive issue, time and intensive informal consultations are extremely essential. As a matter of fact, date and place should also be the subject of those consultations.

69. I wish to point out that the sponsors firmly believe that this draft resolution in no way prejudices the various opinions expressed during the debate and in the report of the Secretary-General. This is a procedural resolution and, as I pointed out in my statement on 3 November, a positive compromise. We feel that it is a well-balanced draft and, in consequence, deserves careful consideration and unanimous support.

70. The CHAIRMAN: The Committee is now seized of two draft resolutions. The first, on item 31, is submitted by Egypt and several other delegations and is contained in document A/C.1/L.628. The second draft resolution is on item 26. It is sponsored by Zambia, whose representative has just introduced it, and several other delegations, and is contained in document A/C.1/L.629. Draft resolution A/C.1/L.628, concerning chemical weapons, will be put to the vote at the beginning of tomorrow afternoon's session. Regarding the draft resolution on a world disarmament conference, I still hope that we may be able to consider it and put it to the vote tomorrow afternoon, but we shall review the situation then.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.