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VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 10TH MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina)

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The meeting was called to order at 11 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 9, 10, 11 AND 12 (continued)

REVIEW AND APPRAISAL OF THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRESSING NEED TO ACHIEVE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN THE FIELD OF DISARMAMENT, THE CONTINUATION OF THE ARMS RACE AND THE CLOSE INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISARMAMENT, INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT  
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The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I draw the attention of the Committee to the fact that a paper submitted by Norway dealing with the adoption of a programme of action on disarmament (A/S-10/AC.1/31) has been distributed.

As this Committee agreed, this morning we shall hear the reports submitted by the Chairmen of Working Groups A and B. First, it gives me great pleasure to call on the Chairman of Working Group A, Vice-Chairman of the Committee, Ambassador Templeton.

Mr. TEMPLETON (New Zealand): I should like to present to the Committee a second progress report on the work of Working Group A, that is, on the introduction, declaration and machinery. During the period 9-15 June, Working Group A held three meetings at which organizational and substantive matters were considered.

In accordance with the decision taken on the organization of its work, the Working Group began the examination of the question of machinery on Monday, 12 June. After a general discussion on that question, an open-ended Drafting Group on Machinery was established on 13 June, and Ambassador Gharekhan of India was appointed Co-ordinator. The Drafting Group, which has so far

(Mr. Templeton, New Zealand)

held two meetings, had before it amendments submitted by the delegations of Senegal, Kuwait, Sweden, a joint amendment submitted by Austria, Egypt, India, Mexico, Norway and the United Kingdom, and amendments submitted by Sri Lanka and Mauritius. It also had before it a working paper submitted by the Chairman of Working Group A containing a summary of the general discussion held in the Working Group on the question of machinery. The Drafting Group has completed the first reading of the entire section on machinery, including the new proposals which have been submitted since the special session began. Informal negotiations are at present going on among interested delegations. The Drafting Group hopes to be able to meet the deadline set by the Chairman of the Working Group to complete its work.

The Drafting Group on the Introduction, which was established on 5 June under the co-ordination of the Chairman of the delegation of Mexico, Mr. Garcia Robles, held two additional meetings during the period covered by the present report. At its third meeting, the Drafting Group continued to consider the text of the draft introduction. At the fourth meeting, the overwhelming majority of speakers expressed their agreement with the draft as contained in WC.A/CRP.23/Rev.2, from which all brackets have now been eliminated. Other delegations said that they maintained reservations on two or three points of the draft. The text was therefore transmitted ad referendum to the Working Group, which will consider it next week with a view to submitting an agreed text to the Ad Hoc Committee.

The Drafting Group on the Declaration, which was established on 7 June under the co-ordination of Mr. Krutzsch, of the German Democratic Republic, has held three additional meetings and concluded the first reading of the three sections of the declaration in the draft final document, namely, Review and Appraisal, Goals and Priorities and Principles. In addition, the Drafting Group concluded the second reading of section A, Review and Appraisal, and succeeded in eliminating square brackets from various paragraphs. The results achieved so far are as follows.

In section A, Review and Appraisal, paragraphs 1, 4, 5 and 7 are free from square brackets. In paragraph 2 there are still square brackets. Regarding the first sentence of paragraph 3, negotiations are proceeding in order to find a formulation which could lead to the omission of the text in footnote 9 on page 19 of the Report of the Preparatory Committee (A/S-10/1). A general consensus on the texts in paragraphs 6 and 8 depends on the withdrawal of reservations expressed in each case by one delegation.

In section B, Goals and Priorities, paragraphs 1 and 6 are now without brackets.

In section C, Principles, square brackets have been deleted from the middle and the end of paragraph 2, and from paragraph 5.

Intensive consultations are being held among the sponsors of the various proposals and other interested delegations with a view to eliminating the remaining square brackets.

(Mr. Templeton, New Zealand)

If I may add a word to the formal report which I have just read and which has been circulated as Conference Room Paper No. 5, I would stress the need, first, for further intensive work on the draft declaration and especially on the section on Principles, where many brackets remain to be eliminated. A great deal of hard work remains to be done and, if I may say so, a greater degree of flexibility and readiness to compromise needs to be demonstrated on all sides if the work on the draft declaration is to be completed by Monday afternoon, the deadline by which the work of the Drafting Groups must be completed if our timetable is to be adhered to so that Working Group A will be able to report to this Committee on 21 June.

Secondly, I see a need for further intensive informal consultations on the machinery chapter. I hope such consultations will continue during the weekend, in addition to whatever meetings the Co-ordinator of the Drafting Group on the Declaration may consider necessary.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to add my voice to what the Chairman of Working Group A, Mr. Templeton, has just said in concluding the presentation of his report, regarding the most urgent need to proceed in a spirit of compromise and flexibility, so as to move forward on the draft declaration, which should be completed by next Monday. Time is running out, and I believe that delegations, having studied this document for many months in the Preparatory Committee, and now during the special session, should now have a frame of reference that would enable them to remove the last remaining brackets, and proceed to the adoption of the draft declaration.

May I stress what I said earlier in this connexion - that the draft declaration, particularly the section on principles, will be a document of the General Assembly serving as an important recommendation for guiding the work of disarmament; it does not have the characteristics of a binding, compulsory treaty. It therefore seems illogical that some delegations are still insisting on language which is obviously not going to be accepted as a basis for a consensus.

(The Chairman)

I should also like to endorse the recommendation made by Mr. Templeton that the informal groups should proceed as actively as possible with their consultations in order to arrive at agreed solutions on other points regarding the machinery which are now being considered in the Drafting Group concerned or which have not yet been dealt with.

I now call upon the Chairman of Working Group B, the Vice-Chairman of this Committee and representative of Poland, Mr. Jaroszek.

Mr. JAROSZEK (Poland): I have the honour to present to the Ad Hoc Committee the second progress report of Working Group B, dealing with the programme of action, which I understand will be distributed as Conference Room Paper No. 6.

During the period covered by this progress report, 9 to 16 June 1978, the activities of Working Group B were concentrated on the intensive substantive work of negotiating and drafting the programme of action. This effort continued throughout the week on various levels, i.e., meetings of the open-ended drafting groups, informal consultations and informal exchanges in smaller groups of interested delegations.

The results and the status of the negotiation and drafting process were summed up at the meeting of Working Group B held in the afternoon of 15 June 1978.

(Mr. Jaroszek, Poland)

At that meeting Ambassador Adeniji of Nigeria, the Co-ordinator of Drafting Group I which deals with nuclear disarmament, and Ambassador Hamilton of Sweden, the Co-ordinator of Drafting Group II which deals with conventional disarmament and other matters, informed the Working Group about the activities of their respective drafting groups.

In Drafting Group I which deals with nuclear disarmament, after having completed the first reading of the part of the Programme of Action assigned to it, the Group has continued its work in informal meetings. Between 9 and 15 June it held nine informal meetings during which amendments and suggestions were put forward by various delegations.

On 12 and 15 June the Group held formal meetings to review the progress made in the course of informal meetings. In those informal meetings, agreement was reached to remove the remaining brackets in chapter A, "Objectives - general and complete disarmament", and partly in chapter B, "Priorities". Certain progress was also made with regard to chapter C, "Immediate and short-term measures to halt and reverse the arms race", section 1, "Nuclear weapons". The subsections of that section are, however, still the subject of private consultations between the delegations concerned. At the time of the submission of this report in the Working Group, the Drafting Group had started the informal consultations on the last subsection of section 1 (g), "Non-proliferation".

In Drafting Group II which deals with conventional disarmament and other matters, five formal meetings were held, devoted to the first reading of that part of the Programme of Action assigned to it, to the submission of new proposals and, at the last formal meeting, to the review of the progress of the Group's work.

During the period under review, the Group held seven informal meetings in which it considered section 2, "Other weapons of mass destruction"; section 3, "Conventional weapons, including particularly inhumane weapons"; section 4, "Reduction of military budgets and armed forces"; and chapter F, "Disarmament and Development". In the course of those meetings, revised formulations were put forward by a number of delegations as the result of the efforts to reach consensus on the texts considered as well as to reflect new proposals submitted at this special session.

(Mr. Jaroszek, Poland)

Consultations are continuing on unresolved parts of the sections already considered, as well as on other sections of the part of the Programme of Action allotted to the Group.

At its meeting on 15 June Working Group B considered also the suggestions of its Chairman regarding the organizational aspects of the work to be accomplished until the conclusion of its meetings, including questions related to its final report to the Ad Hoc Committee of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly. It was decided that, according to the deadlines set by the Ad Hoc Committee, Working Group B will hold its last meeting on Wednesday morning, 21 June 1978, at which it will consider its final report.

I should like to add the following to the formal report that I have just presented.

It can be said that, while some progress has been made in the drafting process, significant amount of work is still to be accomplished. I would therefore repeat what I said at the meeting of this Committee last Friday, namely, that maximum goodwill will have to be shown by the delegations participating in our work, as well as a good deal of flexibility in the spirit of compromise and mutual understanding in order to finish our work within the time allotted to us.

At the meeting of the Working Group held yesterday, I ventured to suggest - and it was accepted by that body - that perhaps during the remaining few days efforts should be concentrated, in the first place, on such issues where the possibilities for reaching consensus were most promising because, as is apparent from the reports of the Co-ordinators of the drafting groups, it is my opinion that quite a few sections of the draft are ripe for finalization. So, in our final report to this Committee, we should be able to submit a text with as few as possible remaining brackets.



The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to add my voice to the appeals and relevant comments made in the last part of Ambassador Jaroszek's report. Like him, I believe that it will be extremely useful when dealing with the Programme of Action for delegations to concentrate their efforts on those aspects where consensus can be achieved, doing so with flexibility and in a spirit of compromise.

I also believe that, since our work has advanced thus far and the special session will soon end, delegations or groups of delegations which have introduced proposals or amendments in working group meetings, should make their statements almost exclusively through spokesmen so that we will not have a lot of speakers on the same question, thus delaying the completion of our work. I believe that statements made exclusively by spokesmen in the case of joint submissions would facilitate the work of the drafting groups in the final phase of their work.

Mr. YANGO (Philippines): The Philippine proposal contained in document A/S-10/AC.1/L.9 for an amendment to section III, "Programme of Action", of the draft final document is a simple one. It is so simple that the proposed amendment is indeed self-explanatory.

In section III, "Programme of Action", subsection H, "Comprehensive Programme for Disarmament", paragraph 4 should be amended as follows: after the first sentence ending with "United Nations peace-keeping operations", add a new sentence reading:

"In this context, the work of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization and the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations assumes greater significance."

(Mr. Yango, Philippines)

Thus the fourth paragraph of subsection H, as amended, would read as follows:

"The process towards complete and general disarmament under strict and effective international control should be accompanied by the establishment of reliable procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, effective arrangements for the maintenance of peace and security, including renewed efforts to supplement by means of appropriate guidelines the arrangements concerning the United Nations peace-keeping operations." (A/S-10/1)

In this context, the work of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the strengthening of the role of the Organization and the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations assumes greater significance.

"Studies and/or negotiations should be undertaken with a view to recruiting a permanent United Nations police force (Article 43 of the Charter) and establishing an international organ to supervise the application of disarmament agreements in force." (Ibid.)

It is the view of my delegation that disarmament should be considered not as a process by itself: rather, it should - and must - be considered in the context of unavoidable reality. Disarmament must be considered and deliberated upon in conjunction with such equally important subjects as international security arrangements, peace-making and peace-keeping procedures and institutions, and the peaceful settlement of disputes. Otherwise, all our efforts towards disarmament may prove futile.

(Mr. Yango, Philippines)

My delegation firmly believes that nations cannot, and will not, disarm into a vacuum devoid of alternative and proven methods and machinery for keeping the peace, settling disputes and guaranteeing disarmament itself. For this reason, my delegation has always taken an active interest in the role of the United Nations on such issues as peace-keeping, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the strengthening of international peace and security.

It is a blot on us as Members of the United Nations, in which we profess belief and to which we pledge service in recognition of its merits and importance, at the same time to show our lack of faith and confidence in the collective security system envisaged in its Charter.

My delegation has always stood in support of this collective security system, and we resolutely intend to continue that support, in the hope that this security system will ultimately prevail.

I think the time has come when we should dedicate and devote more persistent effort to strengthening the role of the United Nations and render to it the just value and importance in international relations for which it was conceived. Let us breathe more life into the Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations and really give it its chance in order to produce agreed guidelines on peace-keeping operations. Let us also deal with the Special Committee on the Charter and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization with more diligence and circumspection, especially since the Special Committee has just begun its consideration of the peaceful settlement of disputes in conjunction with the maintenance of international peace and security.

(Mr. Yango, Philippines)

The interrelationship between disarmament and international security is very aptly described in the report of the Secretary-General in document A/S-10/7, paragraph 36 of which reads as follows:

"Further exploration of the interrelationship between international security and disarmament under conditions of general and complete disarmament could cast greater light on the underlying issues and their implications for the security system provided for in the Charter and could assist in the building of a consensus on what peace and security arrangements are needed and could be translated into concrete measures and institutions. A point to be borne in mind is that, as the disarmament process progresses towards the goal of general and complete disarmament, bringing with it a cessation of the arms race, substantial disarmament in areas of military significance and, concomitantly, decreasing reliance on military force, there may be significant changes in the political conditions and attitudes prevailing in the context of the arms race and many difficulties that today seem insuperable may lose their importance or become more amenable to solution." (A/S-10/7, para. 36)

It is in the light of the foregoing considerations that I express the hope that the Philippine proposal will be adopted by this Committee.

Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): In the course of the discussions held by the Working Groups, the question of the disarmament negotiating machinery was touched upon. The Soviet delegation wishes to draw attention to its own proposal regarding the convening of a world disarmament conference (A/S-10/AC.1/L.4), of 26 May this year. We believe that the special session of the Assembly is empowered genuinely to promote the cessation of the arms race.

In defining ways in which this goal can be achieved, the special session could take a stand on methods for the practical elaboration of disarmament measures. An item on this subject, as you know, is on the agenda of this special session: it envisages discussion of the question of convening a world disarmament conference as an important task of the special session.

Recognition of the vital need to halt the arms race is the crucial problem of modern times and has led in recent years to the activization of bilateral and multilateral negotiations on disarmament and the holding of conferences on these questions in various forums.

Naturally, this process has a bearing on United Nations activities as well, as is clearly reflected by the fact that this special session of the General Assembly is devoted exclusively to disarmament problems. The Soviet Union has initiated many bilateral and other negotiations. We highly commend the import of these negotiations in reducing the threat of war, but in paying tribute to the well-founded traditional methods of conducting negotiations on disarmament questions and advocating their more effective use, the Soviet Union is convinced that a world disarmament conference is the best forum for examining disarmament problems in all their aspects, and the best forum also for making recommendations to be adopted by the special session devoted to disarmament.

The holding of this special session of the General Assembly once more reaffirms the need for holding a world disarmament conference. In this respect, the Soviet Union advocates taking a decision to convene such a conference and to make it successful.

(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

The proposal to hold that conference has been made over a period of many years. The idea of convening a world disarmament conference was widely supported by the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations, and that fact is mentioned in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee for a world disarmament conference, which was introduced by the Chairman of that Committee, Ambassador Hoveyda, to the special session. The non-aligned countries have spoken out in favour of this idea as well and have mentioned it at their summit conferences in recent times.

The General Assembly of the United Nations has adopted a number of useful decisions putting forward proposals to convene a world disarmament conference. The United Nations has accumulated considerable experience in framing questions connected with the convening of such a conference. The Ad Hoc Committee of the General Assembly has been functioning for several years, and that Committee includes 40 non-nuclear States as well. The nuclear Powers, of course, also participate - the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom and France. However, tangible results in the work of that Committee have been rather meagre.

We want to move on to practical measures towards disarmament, and to do that the Soviet Union considers it important and pressing to take new steps to promote the speedy convening of a world disarmament conference. We consider that the United Nations special session should, with the agreement of States, use every means available to it to emphasize the need for convening such a conference. The achievement of agreement on this point would mark an important stage in preparing for the world disarmament conference. The convening of such a conference would respond to the need to accelerate the efforts of all countries of the world, both nuclear and non-nuclear States, to resolve disarmament problems. An important task in the work of the Conference would be to discuss ways and means to achieve general and complete disarmament under strict international control. Due attention should also be paid to elaborating separate partial measures, such as nuclear disarmament, banning new systems and types of weapons of mass destruction, reducing conventional weapons and renouncing the use

(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

of scientific achievements for making more sophisticated weapons of mass destruction.

A number of highly constructive proposals could also be examined at the world disarmament conference. Do those States which have made such proposals, including those which have been made at this special session, really want their initiatives to remain wishful thinking and not be embodied in any concrete and legally significant agreement? The whole thrust behind the idea of holding a world disarmament conference is precisely to have all States gather together on an equal footing to adopt genuinely binding decisions oriented towards the future, since the world disarmament conference would provide a decisive turning point in disarmament by moving from the adoption of recommendations and the expression of wishes to the achievement of real agreements. Declarations and the expressions of wishes already abound in the archives of the United Nations. However, there is a lack of the kinds of agreements which would be binding on States. That is why we favour the holding of a world disarmament conference. In that way we can move from the realm of words to that of deeds. To do that it is necessary for all States to give their representatives at the conference sufficient authority to draw up such agreements. In order to formulate such instruments it may be necessary to include qualified experts and specialists in that work.

The organization of the work of that Conference must be carefully planned. Bearing in mind the complexity of the problems with which it will deal, the conference could, unlike the special session devoted to disarmament, become a body that would work on a permanent basis and, if necessary, continue its work for several years.

Many delegations are raising the question of the possibility of holding yet another special session devoted to disarmament. Of course new difficulties may arise, and perhaps even greater difficulties, in preparing the way for another special session. That could be avoided if we were to convene a world disarmament conference which as I have already stated, could continue its work, if necessary, for several years.

(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

The world disarmament conference could establish a number of working bodies of restricted membership so as to ensure a businesslike procedure and agreement on the future accords. Those States which would be involved and directly concerned could take part in the discussion of certain specific problems which would contribute to taking mutually acceptable decisions. We must emphasize again that this would not at all mean that any State or group of States would not be allowed to discuss any particular disarmament problem.



(Mr. Issraelyan, USSR)

Of course, all States could be involved in the work which are interested in the speedy solution of any particular problem. So this flexible working method, and the use of various procedures, which would be specifically designed for the purposes of the world disarmament conference, would promote speedy progress and permit all the interests of all States to be taken into account.

This special session of the General Assembly has its rules of procedure, which we use as guidelines, as we do in the General Assembly. However they do not always guarantee the best progress, as shown, for example, by today's reports from the two Working Groups. The main thing in the activities of the world disarmament conference is to give an impetus to the practical solution of disarmament problems, to reach new results in limiting arms.

To our way of thinking, one of the useful results of the special session could be a clear-cut recommendation for speeding up work on the convening of a world disarmament conference. To this end, the final document of the special session could specify a definite date for holding the world disarmament conference. For the practical preparation of the conference, it would be a good idea to set up a preparatory committee consisting of States which possess nuclear weapons and States included in the Committee on Disarmament. They would be able to draw up an agenda and a programme of work; they could even resolve other questions as well, connected with the preparations for the world disarmament conference.

The Soviet delegation expresses the hope that delegations will pay serious heed to the question of convening a world disarmament conference. In view of the inclusion in our agenda of the item on a world disarmament conference, we hope that a decision can be taken shortly.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I now call on the Observer of the Holy See.

Father HECKEL (Holy See) (interpretation from French): Almost all the statements in plenary have emphasized the link between disarmament and development. Many have advocated the maintenance and strengthening of denuclearized zones and zones of peace. In submitting a few thoughts on these two subjects, the delegation of the Holy See does not intend to interfere in the priorities which this special session proposes to establish. These two concerns are not included among those priorities; they encompass and include them all. They provide specific means of developing the "balance of trust" which is called for by the message of the Holy Father, which can prevent the balance of forces from degenerating into a balance of terror, and eventually into war.

Resolute disarmament would make available vast human and material resources for development, even if an operation of such scope cannot be analysed simply in terms of transfers. However, even if we can readily grasp the movement from disarmament to development are we really giving enough emphasis to the reverse movement of development to disarmament? To do away with hunger, illiteracy and unjust inequalities among peoples strengthens internal peace. Furthermore, by placing in the forefront of its concerns and achievements a vast world development project, the community of nations would release an impetus of constructive co-operation that could drive back the logic of fear and of the arms race.

A powerful factor which led to détente among the great Powers was, even more than fear, the hopes of their peoples for further economic and social progress, which was being blocked by an excessive military effort. Why should a similar impetus not arise from a joint development programme by all mankind?

Therefore, without denying the specific nature of the disarmament task which this special session has opportunely brought to the attention of the world community, it would be beneficial to place the various stages involved explicitly within the framework of the broader scheme for development and for a new international order to which the United Nations should give a new impetus without delay.

I turn now to zones of peace. The establishment and strengthening of denuclearized zones and zones of peace is an outstanding means of verifying the seriousness of all other disarmament efforts and opening up a horizon of hope through exemplary achievements.

The great Powers realize how difficult it is to reduce armaments wherever they have been accumulated. That is one more reason not to extend further the deployment area of nuclear or other weapons. To some extent a moral stand has already been taken respecting outer space, for example, and the sea-bed and certain continents. This effort must be pursued. The security of all stands to gain. And it will be a matter of justice for peoples which have neither the means nor the desire to be involved in the disputes among the great Powers, and to whom the right must be guaranteed to have their areas protected from the presence or the use of weapons of mass destruction.

Of course, this implies that the people concerned in these denuclearized zones and zones of peace must themselves, from within, strengthen the conditions of peace which they wish to be observed. Here there is a realistic field for the application of a fruitful idea of individual and collective self-reliance, in the application of all their energies to building more just societies; settling peacefully the disputes which were inherited from the colonial era or which have arisen since then, and setting up effective structures for the peaceful settlement of such disputes.

(Father Heckel, Holy See)

These most immediate responsibilities in no way prejudice the responsibility of all countries jointly to create the common conditions for peace in the world and to settle regional problems, which would give them an accrued weight of experience and political and moral authority to participate in the more universal debate.

The United Nations can effectively assist such regional efforts and thereby restore confidence in the universal mission of peace which gave birth to the Organization, the most generous ambitions of which should not be abandoned or reduced to the spectacle of failure or missed opportunities.

Whenever peace is not given concrete form it runs the risk of being ineffective. If, on the contrary, it is given concrete form it finds a point of departure from which to spread its goodwill to vaster areas. The positive and happy experience of peace will always be more dynamic and creative than the mere fear of destruction, which often inhibits imagination and energy.

Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): I have a few general observations pertaining to our over-all discussion.

To my delegation the most over-riding consideration is to ensure that, pending gradual and eventual complete world disarmament, particularly concerning nuclear and other equally devastating weaponries, States that have acceded to non-proliferation treaties and that aspire to establishing in their areas nuclear-free zones be given by the highest law-enforcement organ of the United Nations, namely the Security Council, individually and collectively, fool-proof guarantees against nuclear aggression by third parties. In particular I am referring to the continent of Africa and the Middle East, where, unfortunately, nuclear activities have already made substantial inroads.

We are treading on extremely dangerous ground, and unless such super-Power guarantees are extended, non-proliferation and nuclear-free zones will be spurious, not to mention the dangers they will pose to world security and the temptation for future generations to find loopholes to evade such a sacred commitment to this paramount issue.

(Mr. Nuseibeh, Jordan)

My second observation is that the advisory group or institute proposed and heartily endorsed in the Ad Hoc Committee and the various working groups should not be a mere monitoring panel but should have the power to engage in such activities as on-the-spot inspections. In other words, such an institute or authority or whatever it may eventually be called should be entitled to go to any atomic plants and see for itself whether the nuclear activities of each and every State supposedly engaging in such activities for peaceful purposes are actually being conducted for such purposes.

The term so far used, "effective international control", seems to my delegation to be less than unequivocal. "Control" may mean requesting certain reports from the various States, or certain pledges or commitments that their activities are strictly for peaceful purposes. But in my opinion the term "control" is somewhat vague even though the word "effective" is used to make it somewhat more meaningful.

My third observation is that in everything we have been discussing concerning armament and disarmament we are all in agreement that armaments are the result of unresolved issues and perhaps over-exaggerated fears. I see no reason why the United Nations, which is really the representative of the world, should not devise a system of adjudication, as represented by its various organs, that would be accorded the validity and the authority of a court of law. When a court passes a judgement everybody has to accept it. Unless we have such a system peacefully to resolve international disputes, and so long as we allow international disputes to remain unresolved, I do not think there will be much incentive for countries really to fulfil their obligations under the disarmament conference, which is really our ultimate and deep-rooted feeling about the matter. We have all emphasized that this time we are talking about the survival of mankind. So let us be serious about it. Let us try to close the existing gaps which are endangering both regional and world peace.

Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (interpretation from Russian):

My delegation would like to thank the Chairmen of the Working Groups for the information they have given us about the progress they have made.

We note that some progress has been made in drawing up a final document for the tenth special session of the General Assembly on the basis of the report of the Preparatory Committee. We have seen that, given a constructive approach to various questions involved, the complex nature of which I do not underestimate, agreement can be reached. It is superfluous now to discuss whether the results are satisfactory or not. We know that in the coming hours and days intensive work will have to be done, and we are ready for that. Nevertheless we are concerned by the fact that there is emerging a trend to complicate and even to divert the move towards concrete disarmament measures. The tenth special session of the General Assembly is devoted to questions of disarmament, and its results will be measured by the steps it will take in that direction.

(Mr. Florin, German Democratic Republic)

If we only agree to carrying out a certain number of studies of certain supervisory systems or monitoring systems, many people will be bitterly disappointed, and our Organization in particular - the initiators of the tenth special session - cannot help but be concerned by that. It may be desirable for our delegation to recall that in drawing up the final document of the conference, more attention should be paid to questions which would promote specific concrete measures for disarmament and achieve agreement on the proposals made.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): Since there are no further speakers we have thus completed our work for this morning.

Once again I appeal to representatives to examine the various documents being dealt with in the working and drafting groups, in a spirit of flexibility. Next week is a decisive week for us all. According to our schedule, the documents should be practically all ready. Special efforts must be exerted to ensure that those documents are of substance and reflect in some measure the concerns which prompted us to convene this special session. At the same time, I urge representatives, individually and collectively, to hold informal contacts and consultations with a view to securing consensus solutions to the major questions still to be considered.

The next meeting of this Committee will take place on Monday afternoon.

The meeting rose at 12.05 p.m.